RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 3:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iran

The EU meets in the coming days, and we are hoping for a strong public - and private - position on Iran. Bill has identified 5 countries that need touching to help drive a good outcome: [redacted] B5

I know Huma has discussed with you, but a 2-minute discussion with each that underscores the key points reflected on your card would do the trick, if you can swing it.

Tx. Also, the intervention, with your modifications, turned out well. The process, in this case, did not generate a good enough product -- I tried to make it clearer and stronger this morning and your amendments helped a lot.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Frm SecState Trip to Middle East

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**From:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Friday, December 04, 2009 9:09 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Burns, William J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Subject:** Frm SecState Trip to Middle East

---

**From:** Colby Cooper [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 04, 2009 8:56 AM
**To:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Cc:** Anne Lyons; Colby Cooper
**Subject:** CR Trip to Middle East

Joe -

Just wanted to give you a heads-up that former Secretary Rice will be traveling to the UAE and Saudi Arabia December 11-14. This is purely a business trip, as you can expect she may conduct courtesy calls with government officials. The desk and Posts have been notified as a courtesy. I have direct contact with the RSOs as a contingency. Security and Transportation, at their insistence, are being provided by the host countries.

Hope all is well.

Best,
Colby

---

Colby J. Cooper
Email: B6
Phone:
Fax: (251) 928-0271
Cell: B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 1:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji

----- Original Message -----
From: Carson, Johnnie
To: Verveer, Melanne S; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Cook, Akunna E; Pasi, Geeta
Sent: Fri Dec 04 12:42:49 2009
Subject: RE: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji

Melanne and Huma: I want to bring you up to speed on our support to Asha Haji. Embassy Nairobi informed me earlier today that one of our political officers spoke to Asha this morning, offered her assistance, agreed to meet with her and stated we were prepared to request Kenyan police protection for her and her family. (Asha is currently in Nairobi with her family.) [redacted] B6

[redacted] Ambassador Ranneberger has been working to secure hospital treatment for all of those being medevaced to Nairobi.
The embassy will respond with as much assistance as it can to Asha's concerns.
I'll pass you any additional information I receive on this issue. Regards, Johnnie

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 6:13 PM
To: Carson, Johnnie; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji

Thanks, Johnnie. I was in meeting with S and Asha. Asha did say she was living with her family in Nairobi and she was terrified for their safety and her own.
I'm sure it will mean a great deal if embassy gets on touch with her to see what's's possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Carson, Johnnie
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verveer, Melanne S; Bando, Jun; Cook, Akunna E; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Pasi, Geeta
Sent: Thu Dec 03 12:30:03 2009
Subject: RE: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji

Huma: We are all horrified by this morning's suicide bombing and loss of life in Mogadishu.
Tell Allida that I have just spoken to Amb. Michael Ranneburger in Nairobi. I asked Michael to contact Asha Haji as soon as possible to determine how we might be of assistance to her and her family. (Michael knows Asha and believes she may be in Nairobi, but will find out asap where she is. Asha's family, husband and children, are generally resident in Nairobi.) I've asked Michael to secure Kenyan police protection for the family while they are in Kenya and to explore

with Asha whether she is interested in looking for a way to come to the U.S. via some type of application for refugee status. Michael will ask our consular officers to explore the options available -- if Asha wants to consider them.
I also alerted Michael to the fact that Asha's brother was seriously wounded in the bombing. I have asked that they get a full name as soon as possible and to see what we can do through the TFG, the UN and AMISOM to have him flown to Nairobi. Michael said that he and the embassy have already arranged for a private hospital in to treat the seriously injured who are being arriving by special flights in Nairobi. If we can identify Asha's brother, we will give him priority.
Finally, Michael has spoken to Sheik Sharrif extended our condolences and encouraged his resolve. I will be speaking to Sheik Sharrif later today.
Hope this update is useful. I will report more as I get. Johnnie

-----Original Message-----
From: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 11:35 AM
To: Carson, Johnnie
Cc: Verveer, Melanne S; Bando, Jun
Subject: Fw: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji
Importance: High

Johnnie - what kind of guidance can we give Allida who is a good friend of HRC and who has been also trying to help Asha Haji. I know hrc has been concerned about this.

----- Original Message -----
From: amblack [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma; Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Dec 03 11:28:47 2009
Subject: Somali Rebels trying to kill Asha Haji

Huma, H met Asha at CGI and raised concerns about her security. She sent Asha to undersecretary Carson. They met for an hour. Note to US embassy in Nairobi was to be sent re Asha and her family's security. Embassy won't meet with her.

Today's massacre killed her closest allies and blinded and critically wounded her brother.

Asha is last moderate leader. She is speaking out.

They want to kill her, Huma.

Please tell Hillary.

If you want I will email her.

Asha's phone [redacted]

Dick Wilbur at US Mission to UN in Geneva tried to contact embassy in Nairobi by email. No response yet.

Thanks, Allida
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 2:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Your table tomorrow

| | |
|---|---|
| Secretary Clinton | Host |
| Mr. Les Moonves | CBS |
| Mrs. Christine Schwarzman | Benefit Committee |
| Mr. Matthew Cowles | Artists Committee Guest (Baranski) |
| Ms. Mimi O'Donnell | Artists Committee Guest (Hoffman) |
| Mr. Frank Langella | Artists Committee |
| Ms. Christine Baranski | Artists Committee |
| Mr. Stephen Schwarzman | KC Chairman |
| Ms. Barbara Walters | Artists Committee Guest (Langella) |
| Mr. Philip Seymour Hoffman | Artists Committee |
| Ms. Julie Chen | CBS |
| Mr. Edward Albee | Former Honoree |

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 3:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Suggestion... Sid .

You might use this phrase: Milestones determine timelines.

Then in discussing milestones you can broaden the discussion beyond military targets to political and diplomatic objectives.

S

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 11:12 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Have a great time!

Will do - taking off from miami now - will call you once we get there around 330pm

XO
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]
Sent: Sat Dec 05 07:10:18 2009
Subject: Have a great time!

Cheryl--i'll be at home until 4:30 and then all day tomorrow. Email if you want to talk and let me know what you think of Punta Cana. H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 12:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Eikenberry prep

It starts at 2. I will call to give you a download as it unfolds.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 05 12:15:02 2009
Subject: Eikenberry prep

How's it going? Call me at home if you want. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 2:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Brian roberts returned your call

B6

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 3:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Honduras

We'll see what comes of this, but...

Meanwhile, Amorim was in Esfahan, Iran with Mottaki yesterday.

# Brazil signals recognition of Honduran election

(AP) – 40 minutes ago

RIO DE JANEIRO — A top Brazilian official has signaled that Latin America's largest nation may recognize the Honduran candidate who won last weekend's post-coup presidential election.

Dilma Rousseff is chief of staff for Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. Rousseff says the Central American country's Nov. 29 election should be considered separately from the June 28 coup that ousted ex-President Manuel Zelaya.

Previously, the government had said it would not recognize the election unless Zelaya was returned to office and allowed to serve out his term, which ends Jan. 27.

Rousseff told Brazilian television late Friday from Germany that the coup "is one thing" and "discussing the election" another.

She says "this new process" — the election — "has to be considered."

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 3:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Columbia, Brazil and Honduras

Thanks very much for contacting me-- I just got off a plane in Florida on my way to Mexico for my first visit and consultations w Carlos Pascual. Return Wed morning.

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

On Honduras we are ok-- despite complications. We maintain a principled position (no to coup), with a realistic one based on need to have an end game for Honduras. Our formulation that election was necessary but not sufficient -- succeeded in shifting dynamic in many other countries and pushing back on erroneous press reports alleging administration vacillation.

[redacted] B5

Best regards,

Arturo

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/04/2029

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Sent: Sat Dec 05 12:14:02 2009
Subject: Columbia, Brazil and Honduras

Arturo--

I spoke w [redacted] as I know you did as well. I'd like to discuss ideas about what we can do to help and summon more support in their reaction to Chavez. 1.4(D) B1
Pls think thru possible public and private strategies that we can discuss Monday.

[redacted]

And, finally, what's the latest from Honduras? [redacted] B5

It's never dull in WHA! Thanks, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 5, 2009 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Karzai

The below is from Karl Eikenberry, who recommends you call Karzai. Richard wrote in to second what Karl wrote.

B5

Recommended talking points:

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 6, 2009 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Jake--

We could reach out in the next couple of hours or alternatively early tomorrow. The Eikenberry points sent last night, plus Holbrooke's add'n, provide a good roadmap.

B5

Let us know how you'd like to proceed.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Dec 06 10:33:09 2009
Subject: Re: Jake--

When can I make the Karzai call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Dec 06 10:30:03 2009
Subject: Fw: Jake--

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Dec 06 08:06:33 2009
Subject: Jake--

H called me yesterday when I was out of pocket. Available now if she still wants to talk.

Thanks, R

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 6, 2009 12:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Kouchner just put a call into you. Checking on subject.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 6, 2009 4:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Eikenberry/McC

Got a readout from Rich. We still have work to do on the cables, which we'll do at our session with Eikenberry tomorrow. The July 2011 date was a trouble spot too -- but there is no excuse for that and that got mostly sorted by the end.

Everything else was good.

My sincere apologies for missing elements of prep today -- I had to deal with some personal stuff that unfortunately interfered.

Rich and I have organized a session for tomorrow to nail things down with Karl.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 11:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) UK's Brown calls London meeting on Yemen on January 28

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**From**: Beekman, Philip M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-SCT; SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc**: MacDonald, Andrew T
**Sent**: Fri Jan 01 10:46:13 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) UK's Brown calls London meeting on Yemen on January 28

LONDON (Reuters) - British Prime Minister Brown has invited key international partners to a meeting to discuss how to counter radicalisation in Yemen following last week's failed attack on a U.S.-bound plane, his office said. Brown will host the event in London on January 28. The high-level meeting will be held in parallel with an international conference on Afghanistan the same day.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills
**Sent:** Sunday, December 6, 2009 9:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: Charles Blow in NYT today

December 5, 2009
Op-Ed Columnist

# Black in the Age of Obama

By CHARLES M. BLOW

A hundred and fifty years ago, Charles Dickens opened "A Tale of Two Cities" with the now-famous phrase: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times. ..."

Those words resonated with me recently while contemplating the impact of the Obama presidency on blacks in America. So far, it's been mixed. Blacks are living a tale of two Americas — one of the ascension of the first black president with the cultural capital that accrues; the other of a collapsing quality of life and amplified racial tensions, while supporting a president who is loath to even acknowledge their pain, let alone commiserate in it.

Last year, blacks dared to dream anew, envisioning a future in which Obama's election would be the catalyst for an era of prosperity and more racial harmony. Now that the election's afterglow has nearly faded, the hysteria of hope is being ground against the hard stone of reality. Things have not gotten better. In many ways, they've gotten worse.

The recession, for one, has dealt a particularly punishing and uneven hand to blacks.

A May report from the Pew Research Center found that blacks were the most likely to get higher-priced subprime loans, leading to higher foreclosure rates. In fact, blacks have displaced Hispanics as the group with the lowest homeownership rates.

According to the most recent jobs data, not only is the unemployment rate for blacks nearly twice that of whites, the gap in some important demographics has widened rapidly since Obama took office. The unemployment rate over that time for white college graduates under 24 years old grew by about 20 percent. For their black cohorts, the rate grew by about twice that much.

And a report published last month by the Department of Agriculture found that in 2008, "food insecurity" for American households had risen to record levels, with black children being the most likely to experience that food insecurity.

Things on the racial front are just as bad.

We are now inundated with examples of overt racism on a scale to which we are unaccustomed. Any protester with a racist poster can hijack a news cycle, while a racist image can live forever on the Internet. In fact, racially offensive images of the first couple are so prolific online that Google now runs an apologetic ad with the results of image searches of them.

And it's not all words and images; it's actions as well. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's 2008 hate crimes data released last week, anti-black hate crimes rose 4 percent from 2007, while the combined hate crimes against all other racial categories declined 11 percent. If you look at the two-year trend, which would include Obama's ascension as a candidate, anti-black hate crimes have risen 8 percent, while those against the other racial groups have fallen 19 percent.

This has had a sobering effect on blacks. According to a Nov. 9 report from Gallup, last summer 23 percent of blacks thought that race relations would get a lot better with the election of Obama. Now less than half that percentage says that things have actually gotten a lot better.

The racial animosity that Obama's election has stirred up may have contributed to a rallying effect among blacks. According to a Gallup report published on Nov. 24, Obama's approval rating among whites has dropped to 39 percent, but among blacks it remains above 90 percent.

Also, this hasn't exactly been a good year for black men in the news. Plaxico Burress was locked up for accidentally shooting off a gun in a club. Henry Louis Gates Jr. was locked up for intentionally shooting off his mouth at his own home. And Michael Jackson died after being shot full of propofol. Chris Brown brutally beat Rihanna. Former Representative William Jefferson was convicted. And most recently, the "personal failings" of Tiger Woods portray him as an alley cat. Meanwhile, the most critically acclaimed black movie of the year, "Precious," features a black man who rapes and twice impregnates his own daughter. Rooting for the president feels like a nice counterbalance.

However, the rallying creates a conundrum for blacks: how to air anxiety without further arming Obama's enemies. This dilemma has rendered blacks virtually voiceless on some pressing issues at a time when their voices would have presumably held greater sway.

This means that Obama can get away with doing almost nothing to specifically address issues important to African-Americans and instead focus on the white voters he's losing in droves. This has not gone unnoticed. In the Nov. 9 Gallup poll, the number of blacks who felt that Obama would not go far enough in promoting efforts to aid the black community jumped 60 percent from last summer to now.

The hard truth is that Obama needs white voters more than he needs black ones.

According to my analysis, even if every black person in America had stayed home on Election Day, Obama would still be president. To a large degree, Obama was elected by white people, some of whom were more able to accept him because he consciously portrayed himself as racially ambiguous.

In fact, commiserating with the blacks could prove politically problematic.

In a study to be published in the journal Proceedings of the National Academy of the Sciences this month, researchers asked subjects to rate images of the president to determine which ones best represented his "true essence." In some of the photos, his skin had been lightened. In others, it had been darkened. The result? The more people identified him with the "whiter" images, the more likely they were to have voted for him, and vice versa.

The Age of Obama, so far at least, seems less about Obama as a black community game-changer than as a White House gamesman. It's unclear if there will be a positive Obama Effect, but an Obama Backlash is increasingly apparent. Meanwhile, black people are also living a tale of two actions: grin and bear it.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Minyon Moore** [redacted] B6
Date: Sat, Dec 5, 2009 at 8:42 PM
Subject: Charles Blow in NYT today
To: [redacted]

Read his column today … "Black in the Age of Obama" … much to discuss

"This means that Obama can get away with doing almost nothing to specifically address issues important to African-Americans and instead focus on the white voters he's losing in droves."

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/05/opinion/05blow.html?_r=1&th&emc=th

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 7, 2009 1:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Mini schedule

Yes! Forthcoming

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 1:08 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Mini schedule

Can you pls send me a copy for today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 7, 2009 11:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: For S

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Dec 07 21:59:19 2009
Subject: For S

You were great tonight. Everyone was hugely energized. Not to take anything away from the speechwriters, but you were at your best in the last 5 minutes speaking from the heart. That's what we have to bottle for the development speech. This was a great way to tee it up. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 7, 2009 11:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: for S -- a family plea

---

**From**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Mon Dec 07 18:19:30 2009
**Subject**: for S -- a family plea

This is probably entirely inappropriate, but I had gathered that you were thinking possibly of taking off on Dec 21. I would urge you to – for your own sake. The pace is absolutely killing and you deserve it. But it will also mean that a lot of folks who would like to take some time off with their family before Xmas (e.g. moms like me who are necessary to make Xmas happen) would feel much freer to do so. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 7:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Checking in

Thank you for your message. I am out of the office today with intermittent access to email.

If you need immediate assistance, please call Joanne Laszczych at 202-647-5548.

Thank you.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 12:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

Happy new year to you and Bill--and Chelsea! Congrats on the upcoming marriage. A good sign, I hope, that this year will be better. Onward, upward. Sid ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Jan 1, 2010 12:08 PM
Subject: Happy New Year!

Thx for sending the emails about the Nigerian. We are working on all of the issues raised.

I hope you, Jackie and the boys (men??) have a happy, healthy, prosperous 2010. I will look forward to seeing more of you in the upcoming months.

All the best, H

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

And read Krugman today in nyt
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Jan 1, 2010 12:08 PM
Subject: Happy New Year!

Thx for sending the emails about the Nigerian. We are working on all of the issues raised.

I hope you, Jackie and the boys (men??) have a happy, healthy, prosperous 2010. I will look forward to seeing more of you in the upcoming months.

All the best, H

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 7:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Saudi-Cuba

Got it. It's on my list to track down today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Dec 08 07:24:46 2009
Subject: Saudi-Cuba

I mentioned to you that Saud asked if we objected to their making a grant to Cuba for development in health. I don't see why we should but I may be missing something. Pls run the traps.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 7:45 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Checking in

Great - let's do 730 your time.

XO

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Dec 08 07:16:30 2009
Subject: Checking in

Sorry we didn't talk last night but I actually collapsed when I got back from my speech. Let's try again tonight. Let me know what time will work. I should be home by 7. Hope you're loving the sun!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 12:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

Krugman, in case you haven't seen:

January 1, 2010
Op-Ed Columnist

# Chinese New Year

By PAUL KRUGMAN

It's the season when pundits traditionally make predictions about the year ahead. Mine concerns international economics: I predict that 2010 will be the year of China. And not in a good way.

Actually, the biggest problems with China involve climate change. But today I want to focus on currency policy.

China has become a major financial and trade power. But it doesn't act like other big economies. Instead, it follows a mercantilist policy, keeping its trade surplus artificially high. And in today's depressed world, that policy is, to put it bluntly, predatory.

Here's how it works: Unlike the dollar, the euro or the yen, whose values fluctuate freely, China's currency is pegged by official policy at about 6.8 yuan to the dollar. At this exchange rate, Chinese manufacturing has a large cost advantage over its rivals, leading to huge trade surpluses.

Under normal circumstances, the inflow of dollars from those surpluses would push up the value of China's currency, unless it was offset by private investors heading the other way. And private investors are trying to get into China, not out of it. But China's government restricts capital inflows, even as it buys up dollars and parks them abroad, adding to a $2 trillion-plus hoard of foreign exchange reserves.

This policy is good for China's export-oriented state-industrial complex, not so good for Chinese consumers. But what about the rest of us?

In the past, China's accumulation of foreign reserves, many of which were invested in American bonds, was arguably doing us a favor by keeping interest rates low — although what we did with those low interest rates was mainly to inflate a housing bubble. But right now the world is awash in cheap money, looking for someplace to go. Short-term interest rates are close to zero; long-term interest rates are higher, but only because investors expect the zero-rate policy to end some day. China's bond purchases make little or no difference.

Meanwhile, that trade surplus drains much-needed demand away from a depressed world economy. My back-of-the-envelope calculations suggest that for the next couple of years Chinese mercantilism may end up reducing U.S. employment by around 1.4 million jobs.

The Chinese refuse to acknowledge the problem. Recently Wen Jiabao, the prime minister, dismissed foreign complaints: "On one hand, you are asking for the yuan to appreciate, and on the other hand, you are taking all kinds of protectionist measures." Indeed: other countries are taking (modest) protectionist measures precisely because China refuses to let its currency rise. And more such measures are entirely appropriate.

Or are they? I usually hear two reasons for not confronting China over its policies. Neither holds water.

First, there's the claim that we can't confront the Chinese because they would wreak havoc with the U.S. economy by dumping their hoard of dollars. This is all wrong, and not just because in so doing the Chinese would inflict large losses on themselves. The larger point is that the same forces that make Chinese mercantilism so damaging right now also mean that China has little or no financial leverage.

Again, right now the world is awash in cheap money. So if China were to start selling dollars, there's no reason to think it would significantly raise U.S. interest rates. It would probably weaken the dollar against other currencies — but that would be good, not bad, for U.S. competitiveness and employment. So if the Chinese do dump dollars, we should send them a thank-you note.

Second, there's the claim that protectionism is always a bad thing, in any circumstances. If that's what you believe, however, you learned Econ 101 from the wrong people — because when unemployment is high and the government can't restore full employment, the usual rules don't apply.

Let me quote from a classic paper by the late Paul Samuelson, who more or less created modern economics: "With employment less than full ... all the debunked mercantilistic arguments" — that is, claims that nations who subsidize their exports effectively steal jobs from other countries — "turn out to be valid." He then went on to argue that persistently misaligned exchange rates create "genuine problems for free-trade apologetics." The best answer to these problems is getting exchange rates back to where they ought to be. But that's exactly what China is refusing to let happen.

The bottom line is that Chinese mercantilism is a growing problem, and the victims of that mercantilism have little to lose from a trade confrontation. So I'd urge China's government to reconsider its stubbornness. Otherwise, the very mild protectionism it's currently complaining about will be the start of something much bigger.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri, Jan 1, 2010 12:08 pm
Subject: Happy New Year!

Thx for sending the emails about the Nigerian. We are working on all of the issues raised.

I hope you, Jackie and the boys (men??) have a happy, healthy, prosperous 2010.

I will look forward to seeing more of you in the upcoming months.

All the best, H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 5:21 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Dinner tonight

Is at 7pm in the Jockey Club of the Fairfax Hotel
2100 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 5:21 PM
**To:** H

Jack is having 7pm dinner at fairfax hotel with eikenberry and petreaus which is right down the street from u on mass avenue. Monica can make make sure u get in ok if u want to go.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 3:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Oh, my--and , thankfully, Happy New year!

B6

Thank you for such a lovely note. [redacted] Life seems very sweet indeed this New Year's Day, and all the more so with the privilege of doing meaningful and important work with a great team of people and a leader whom I am proud to serve. It has been quite a journey indeed, one that has been hard at times, but immensely rewarding. Happy New Year, and here's to a great 2010.
AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Fri Jan 01 12:00:58 2010
Subject: Oh, my--and , thankfully, Happy New year!

Dear Anne-Marie,

I was just reading your two wonderful memos on S/ P accomplishments and the QDDR, [redacted]

I also want to thank you for a wonderful year of work, creativity, collaboration and progress. I know the start for all of us was shaky, but we have hit our stride and you are such a valuable member of the team, a generator of ideas, a conductor of talent and even a necessary nudge from time to time. Thank you for making this journey w me.

I will schedule the S/P visit and photo as soon as I can. Until we see one another next week, be well and take care (please!)

All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 5:39 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** RE: Dinner tonight

Lauren can meet you there if you decide to go.

---

**From:** Hanley, Monica R
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 08, 2009 5:21 PM
**To:** 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Dinner tonight

Is at 7pm in the Jockey Club of the Fairfax Hotel
2100 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 5:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** NPR documents

As I mentioned, you will be receiving a binder of NPR documents tonight. I mischaracterized the structure of the binder. The cover note is merely an extended table of contents, and behind it are six 2- or 3-pagers on the six major questions on which they seek your guidance. The papers are technical, and some are easier to read than others, but it is worth a quick scan tonight before they march through them tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 6:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

Okay- I just left. Lew and patraeus are both there.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Tue Dec 08 18:48:47 2009
Subject: Tonight

I just heard you were at the Jockey Club but you don't need to stay. I'm just stopping by so pls don't feel obligated. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 7:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Left mssg w/ your

[redacted] at 730pm

B6

We are headed to dinner at 8pm so if I miss you, how early can I call in am?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 8, 2009 7:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: NPR documents

Good question. Strobe will know the answer on good sounding boards. I know that he spends a fair amount of time with nonpro/arms control types of all stripes. I will check in with him.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 08, 2009 6:44 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: NPR documents

Do we have any independent third opinion we can ask for advice?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 08 17:39:03 2009
Subject: NPR documents

As I mentioned, you will be receiving a binder of NPR documents tonight. I mischaracterized the structure of the binder. The cover note is merely an extended table of contents, and behind it are six 2- or 3-pagers on the six major questions on which they seek your guidance. The papers are technical, and some are easier to read than others, but it is worth a quick scan tonight before they march through them tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 1:34 AM
**To:** H
**Attachments:** New Life Center Foundation 2009.jpg

The new year is bound to bring in a continuing wave of crisis around the world. Consider this photo a momentary respite. It is evocative of the good feeling you engender everywhere. The photo is of the Director of New Life Center in Chiang Mai. They are doing incredible work there and have made exceptional progress since your visit. They remember you with great gratitude. I had one of your signed photos left after distributing the others to the Burmese women human rights leaders (who also felt that you were on their side).

Everywhere I went over the holidays, there was much favorable comment about your leadership. I'm so proud to be back working with you. Because you've created such ripples of hope, we've got so much to do!

Love to all the Clintons and best wishes for a healthy, happy, productive and rewarding New Year.

<<New Life Center Foundation 2009.jpg>>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Gordon, Philip H <GordonPH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 9, 2009 3:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thanks!

Madame Secretary –
Many thanks for taking the time to meet the family today. They were thrilled to meet you (and I enjoyed the break from the Ukrainians…)
Best,
Phil

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 6:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** no anifah call at 7:30.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Thank you and a very happy new year to you both!

Will make sure to add to the calendar.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Jan 02 05:58:48 2010
Subject: Schedule

First, Happy Happy New Year, Lona, to you and your family and thank you for another wonderful year of getting me organized w your legendary good spirits and calm in the midst of chaos. Here's to an even better 2010!

And, here are a few dates to keep track of--

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 7:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** But fm lieberman is confirmed for 7:30. Sending call sheet now.

RELEASE IN PART B6 [redacted]

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 7:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: But fm lieberman is confirmed for 7:30. Sending call sheet now.

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Dec 10 07:03:11 2009
Subject: Re: But fm lieberman is confirmed for 7:30. Sending call sheet now.

Ok. Also pls [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 10 07:00:32 2009
Subject: But fm lieberman is confirmed for 7:30. Sending call sheet now.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 8:26 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 12/10/09 Thursday

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **PRIVATE MEETING w/ BRADY WILLIAMSON**
10:15 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **BILATERAL w/CROATIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GORDAN**
11:00 am **JANDROKOVIC** Secy's Conf. Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:00 am **USG PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
11:05 am Secretary's Office

11:05 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/CROATIAN FOREIGN**
11:15 am **MINISTER GORDAN JANDROKOVIC** Treaty Room

11:30 am **PHONE CALL w/ BRAZILIAN FM CELSO AMORIM**
11:40 am Secretary's Office

11:40 am **OFFICE TIME**
12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **PHONE CALL w/ MALAYSIAN FM ANIFAH AMAN**
12:40 pm Secretary's office

12:40 am **OFFICE TIME**
1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **VIDEO CONFERENCE TO THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT**
1:45 pm **LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD IN HUMAN RIGHTS**
Principals Conference Room 7516

2:00 pm **DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S ANNUAL RETIREMENT**
3:00 pm (t) **CEREMONY** Dean Acheson Auditorium, First Floor

3:00 pm **PRESS TIME**
3:30 pm 8th Floor or Marshall Room

4:00 pm **PRIVATE MEETING w/ JOE DIMENTO**
4:10 pm Secretary's Office

4:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:45 pm Secretary's Office

6:45 pm (t) **HOLIDAY RECEPTION FOR MEMBERS OF THE PRESS**
7:15 pm (t) Jefferson and Adams Rooms, 8th Floor

7:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 10:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Guinea/Madagascar

There are a number of different possibilities for how the decision on the Guinea/Madagascar credentials may go tomorrow. (It is Zambia and Tanzania bringing the challenge on behalf of the AU.) I was under the impression that we would not have to vote on the potential credentials challenges. We may have to.

We may have to vote on a motion to ***deny*** them credentials and exclude them. For the moment, the guidance is to vote to credential all countries – including these two – as is customary, while conducting outreach with Tanzania, Zambia, and the AU to explain that we have our own imperatives but we support the fact that they are taking a principled stand. [redacted] B5

We may have to vote on a motion to ***defer*** decision, which would allow them to be seated and vote but would not formally grant credentials. For the moment, the guidance is to potentially support such a motion – this was the practice with respect to South Africa between 1983 and 1994. Everyone is in the same place on this.

Ultimately, however, the whole thing may die of its own weight. This is probably the most likely outcome.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Blackwater case

**Importance:** High

ATTORNEY-CLIENT PRIVILEGE/ATTORNEY WORK-PRODUCT

And Happy New Year to you (and your family) too! I am so thrilled to be in this job and working with you. I am having a great time, and hope to have an even better 2010.

Re Blackwater. I have already put these very questions to our team, and they are working up a memo on the subject. Significantly, the press accounts are all saying that State Department lawyers appropriately warned the DOJ prosecutors, but that the DOJ lawyers chose to take a different route.

My initial reactions to your questions are as follows:

B5

I will keep pressing and give you an oral report at Monday's 8:45, and we can get the promised memo to you soon thereafter.

Please let me know if you need more.
Best
Harold

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 02, 2010 8:53 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Blackwater case

Harold---

First, Happy New Year to you and your family and thank you for all of your great work this past year. I am looking forward to the year ahead. B5

Second, what can we do about Judge Urbina's ruling [redacted] For example, what is the likelihood of success on appeal? Can the US file a civil action against the company? Pay compensation to the victims? What other options do we have?

All the best, H

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 15, 2009 10:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Memo, idea on Berlusconi attack. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo berlusconi 121509.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

December 15, 2009

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: The Berlusconi assault

The physical attack on Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi is a major political event in Italy and Europe. His assailant is a mentally disturbed man without a political agenda who has been in and out of psychiatric care since he was 18 years old. Nonetheless, the assault has significant repercussions. It has generated sympathy for Berlusconi as a victim—he has been obviously injured, lost two teeth and a pint of blood, and doctors will keep him in the hospital for perhaps a week for observation. The attack comes as Berlusconi was beginning to lose political footing, having lost his legal immunity. One court inquiry is turning up evidence of his links to the Mafia while another is examining his role in the bribery case of British lawyer David Mills. Berlusconi's government and party have used the attack as a way to turn the sudden sympathy for him to his advantage, claiming that his opponents have sown a climate of "hate." Through demogogic appeals they are attempting to discredit and rebuff the legal proceedings against him and undermine the investigative press. (Berlusconi is suing La Repubblica, the large independent newspaper in Rome that has been most aggressive in digging into his affairs of all kind.)

It would seem proper and decent for the President to call Berlusconi to express his concern about his health and wish him a speedy recovery, if he hasn't done so already. There are many reasons for Obama to do this, not least to condemn violence against a democratically elected head of state. It would be awkward for the U.S. President not to call a Western head of state of a NATO country who has been physically harmed. Berlusconi, for his part, would certainly make such a call public. It would therefore also be awkward if a call were used only as an element in his sympathy campaign against the court proceedings.

If so, there is a larger message that should be communicated, perhaps by the President in his conversation, but most importantly through a statement from the State Department, also conveyed by the U.S. ambassador in Italy. The USG condemns any and all violence as an assault on democracy. By the same measure, this incident involving an apparently deranged individual should not be exploited to raise

social tensions. Instead, it should inspire reflection on the necessity of every citizen to adhere to the rule of law as well as to respect freedom of speech and the press.

Two articles on the legal inquries into Berlusconi below:

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berlusconi-cut-deal-with-mafia-court-told-1834647.html

# Berlusconi 'cut deal with Mafia', court told

Former hitman claims Italian PM gave 'benefits' to the Mob for political support

By Michael Day in Milan

*Saturday, 5 December 2009*

The Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, made a deal with the Sicilian Mafia in the early 1990s that put the country "in the hands" of the Mob, a court in Turin was told yesterday.

Gaspare Spatuzza, a jailed Mafia hitman turned witness, told a packed and heavily guarded bunker courtroom that his Cosa Nostra Godfather boss had cut a deal with Mr Berlusconi in 1993 that provided unspecified "benefits" to the Mafia in exchange for political support. The media tycoon entered politics a few months later and won his first term as Prime Minister in 1994.

Spatuzza said his boss, Giuseppe Graviano, who was jailed over Mafia bomb attacks in Rome, Milan and Florence, had told him that the Mob had "got everything" with the help of Mr Berlusconi, adding that Graviano called Mr Berlusconi "the man from Channel 5", in reference to his TV network.

The damaging claims came at the appeal hearing of Marcello Dell'Utri, a key Berlusconi associate and senator, who is challenging his nine-year jail sentence for links with the Mafia.

Spatuzza, in prison for several murders, testified: "Graviano told me the name of Berlusconi and said that thanks to him and the man from our home town [an apparent reference to Dell' Utri] we have the country in our hands."

Mr Berlusconi has denounced the claims of Spatuzza as "vile", and "unfounded and defamatory", denying ever having links with the Mafia. The Prime Minister's spokesman said the testimony yesterday was the Mafia's "completely logical" revenge against the Prime Minister for his "determined" fight against organised crime.

Dell'Utri told the court that neither he nor Mr Berlusconi had Mafia connections. "It's in the interest of the Mafia to force the collapse of the Berlusconi government because this government has done the most in the fight against organised crime," he said. Mr Berlusconi, who recently lost his legal immunity to prosecution, was said to have been furious this week, after the parliamentary Speaker, Gianfranco Fini, the man who is supposed to be his closest ally, had said that the Spatuzza evidence was "an atomic bomb".

Mr Fini was recorded by an unobserved microphone while talking privately at an official dinner. Rumours of the conservative Prime Minister's links with the Mob have persisted since investigators learnt that a Cosa Nostra hitman, Vittorio Mangano, worked as Mr Berlusconi's "stable-master" at the media mogul's villa in Arcore outside Milan in the 1970s. Much speculation has also centred on the origins of Mr Berlusconi's vast wealth.

Last week, the Prime Minister's broadcast group, Mediaset, and his holding company, Fininvest, announced it intended to sue the left-wing newspaper La Repubblica over an article that said Mediaset was "20 per cent owned by the Mafia".

La Stampa newspaper noted that the "dread combination of Mafia allegations and separation from his wife are now his principal torments". Mr Berlusconi's estranged wife, Veronica Lario, is said to be seeking a £3m-a-month divorce settlement, and a messy courtroom battle looms. Mr Berlusconi also faces a retrial on the charge that he bribed the British lawyer David Mills to lie in court.

TIME
Friday, Dec. 04, 2009

# After a Court Ruling, Berlusconi's Legal Woes Resume

By Jeff Israely

The world has spent the past six months wondering how — and with whom — Silvio Berlusconi spends his Saturday nights. But the combative, scandal-plagued Prime Minister of Italy would prefer to talk about his mornings instead. "Do you know how I've been forced to spend my Saturday mornings since I entered politics?" Berlusconi once declared to business leaders in Rome. "With my lawyers."

Italy's self-proclaimed Defendant in Chief makes a point of lamenting all those weekends spoiled by stacks of court dossiers as further proof that he is the victim of politically motivated magistrates, whom he called during the same speech "the spreading cancer of our democracy." (See Berlusconi's worst gaffes.)

To combat such perceived persecution, Berlusconi has tested the bounds of decorous democratic conduct, including his allies' pushing a bill through Parliament last year that gave him and other top Italian officeholders immunity from prosecution. But since the Constitutional Court overturned that law in October, several criminal investigations into Berlusconi's business dealings have been reopened, with other new charges rumored to be looming.

The potentially most damaging trial is set to resume Friday, Dec. 4, in Milan, with the 73-year-old billionaire being accused of paying British attorney David Mills $600,000 in 1997 to withhold incriminating evidence about his broadcasting empire Mediaset. Mills is appealing a conviction in the same case; both men have denied any wrongdoing.

So, alas, Berlusconi is back to spending his downtime with a well-paid cadre of more than a dozen *avvocati*, who have been successful so far in keeping their biggest client clear of criminal convictions. Not that the lawyers have ever really gone away. Since the media baron first ran for office 15 years ago, his legal advisers have doubled as political consiglieri, key members of Parliament and even important Cabinet Ministers. Indeed, while some critics have spoken of Berlusconi's reign as a kind of sultanate of showgirls or government by gaffe, others have described it as a republic of attorneys. (See what Berlusconi's Obama "jokes" say about Italy.)

His longtime lawyer Cesare Previti served as Italian Defense Minister during Berlusconi's first term in 1994 before being convicted of corruption himself (and losing twice on appeal). During Berlusconi's second term (2001-06), Gaetano Pecorella, a former leftist, served as president of Parliament's Justice Commission, where he was instrumental in shepherding through new laws that helped shield Berlusconi from investigating magistrates.

Giovanni Sartori, a Columbia University professor of constitutional law, says the role Berlusconi's personal lawyers have played in his legislative agenda is yet another gargantuan conflict of interest to add to those related to his ownership of Italy's main private television stations. But by now, Sartori says, Berlusconi's lawyers have perfected the art of exploiting Italy's painfully slow justice system: many cases conclude without a final verdict because the statute of limitations has been reached. "It is more a mania than a necessity," Sartori says of Berlusconi's near obsession in battling magistrates. "He feels persecuted, and fighting the judges is what makes him happy."

Berlusconi's current point man is Nicolo Ghedini, a somber-faced, lanky 49-year-old criminal-defense attorney from the northern city of Padua, who has served in both the Italian Senate and the lower house of Parliament. Ghedini has continued to mount a grinding defense in the criminal cases, arguing in the Mills case that Berlusconi cannot be present in the Milan courtroom for the next several months because of time conflicts with his duties as Prime Minister. Ghedini has also spearheaded an increasingly aggressive legal strategy that has included several libel suits against opposition newspapers. He declared in September that if necessary, Berlusconi would testify in a suit against a journalist who referred to rumors that the Prime Minister is impotent. Last week, Berlusconi vowed to launch additional suits against newspapers that printed unsubstantiated reports that a close adviser of his was involved in a 1993 bombing campaign by the Sicilian Mafia. (Read "An Offended Berlusconi Goes on the Offensive.")

Despite these many legal headaches, Berlusconi is embroiled in one other particularly thorny case that even he can't blame on overzealous magistrates. Veronica Lario, Berlusconi's wife of more than 20 years, filed for divorce earlier this year, which sparked an avalanche of accusations that he frequented a prostitute from Bari

and an underage model from Naples. The Milan daily *Corriere della Sera* reported last week that Lario has demanded 3.5 million euros ($5.2 million) in monthly payments, and Berlusconi countered with an offer of 300,000 euros ($450,000). No matter how this and the other cases shake out, there is little hope that Berlusconi can avoid a mountain of lawyers' fees and some grim Saturdays that he'd rather devote to other business and pleasures.

- Find this article at:
- http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1945439,00.html

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Blackwater case

ATTORNEY-CLIENT PRIVILEGE/ATTORNEY WORK-PRODUCT

Ok. Will do.

B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 02, 2010 10:28 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Re: Blackwater case

Thanks, as always.

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 02 10:24:37 2010
Subject: RE: Blackwater case

ATTORNEY-CLIENT PRIVILEGE/ATTORNEY WORK-PRODUCT

And Happy New Year to you (and your family) too! I am so thrilled to be in this job and working with you. I am having a great time, and hope to have an even better 2010.

Re Blackwater. I have already put these very questions to our team, and they are working up a memo on the subject. Significantly, the press accounts are all saying that State Department lawyers appropriately warned the DOJ prosecutors, but that the DOJ lawyers chose to take a different route.

My initial reactions to your questions are as follows:

B5

I will keep pressing and give you an oral report at Monday's 8:45, and we can get the promised memo to you soon thereafter.

Please let me know if you need more.
Best
Harold

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 02, 2010 8:53 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Blackwater case

Harold---

First, Happy New Year to you and your family and thank you for all of your great work this past year. I am looking forward to the year ahead.

Second, what can we do about Judge Urbina's ruling For example, what is the likelihood of success on appeal? Can the US file a civil action against the company? Pay compensation to the victims? What other options do we have?

All the best, H

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** pverveer B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 12:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** (no subject)

Cover story in the Economist this week. Very big issue when I was in Japan and Korea. Korean parliamentarians want to get women and economic growth on the G20 agenda when they have the lead next year and we are advocating for Japan to advance the issue at APEC which they are leading this year.

On another note, so sad about Smith Bagley. He was a good person and was one of your biggest fans.

Women and work

# We did it!

Dec 30th 2009
From *The Economist* print edition

## The rich world's quiet revolution: women are gradually taking over the workplace



Getty Images

AT A time when the world is short of causes for celebration, here is a candidate: within the next few months women will cross the 50% threshold and become the majority of the American workforce. Women already make up the majority of university graduates in the OECD countries and the majority of professional workers in several rich countries, including the United States. Women run many of the world's great companies, from PepsiCo in America to Areva in France.

Women's economic empowerment is arguably the biggest social change of our times. Just a generation ago, women were largely confined to repetitive, menial jobs. They were routinely subjected to casual sexism and were expected to abandon their careers when they married and had children. Today they are running some of the organisations that once treated them as second-class

citizens. Millions of women have been given more control over their own lives. And millions of brains have been put to more productive use. Societies that try to resist this trend—most notably the Arab countries, but also Japan and some southern European countries—will pay a heavy price in the form of wasted talent and frustrated citizens.

This revolution has been achieved with only a modicum of friction (see article). Men have, by and large, welcomed women's invasion of the workplace. Yet even the most positive changes can be incomplete or unsatisfactory. This particular advance comes with two stings. The first is that women are still under-represented at the top of companies. Only 2% of the bosses of America's largest companies and 5% of their peers in Britain are women. They are also paid significantly less than men on average. The second is that juggling work and child-rearing is difficult. Middle-class couples routinely complain that they have too little time for their children. But the biggest losers are poor children—particularly in places like America and Britain that have combined high levels of female participation in the labour force with a reluctance to spend public money on child care.

## Dealing with the juggle

These two problems are closely related. Many women feel they have to choose between their children and their careers. Women who prosper in high-pressure companies during their 20s drop out in dramatic numbers in their 30s and then find it almost impossible to regain their earlier momentum. Less-skilled women are trapped in poorly paid jobs with hand-to-mouth child-care arrangements. Motherhood, not sexism, is the issue: in America, childless women earn almost as much as men, but mothers earn significantly less. And those mothers' relative poverty also disadvantages their children.

Demand for female brains is helping to alleviate some of these problems. Even if some of the new theories about warm-hearted women making inherently superior workers are bunk (see article), several trends favour the more educated sex, including the "war for talent" and the growing flexibility of the workplace. Law firms, consultancies and banks are rethinking their "up or out" promotion systems because they are losing so many able women. More than 90% of companies in Germany and Sweden allow flexible working. And new technology is making it easier to redesign work in all sorts of family-friendly ways.

Women have certainly performed better over the past decade than men. In the European Union women have filled 6m of the 8m new jobs created since 2000. In America three out of four people thrown out of work since the "mancession" began have been male. And the shift towards women is likely to continue: by 2011 there will be 2.6m more female than male university students in America.

## The light hand of the state

All this argues, mostly, for letting the market do the work. That has not stopped calls for hefty state intervention of the Scandinavian sort. Norway has used threats of quotas to dramatic effect. Some 40% of the legislators there are women. All the Scandinavian countries provide plenty of state-financed nurseries. They have the highest levels of female employment in the world and far fewer of the social problems that plague Britain and America. Surely, comes the argument, there is a way to speed up the revolution—and improve the tough lives of many working women and their children?

If that means massive intervention, in the shape of affirmative-action programmes and across-the-board benefits for parents of all sorts, the answer is no. To begin with, promoting people on the basis of their sex is illiberal and unfair, and stigmatises its beneficiaries. And there are practical problems. Lengthy periods of paid maternity leave can put firms off hiring women, which helps explain why most Swedish women work in the public sector and Sweden has a lower proportion of women in management than America does.

But there are plenty of cheaper, subtler ways in which governments can make life easier for women. Welfare states were designed when most women stayed at home. They need to change the way they operate. German schools, for instance, close at midday. American schools shut down for two months in the summer. These things can be changed without huge cost. Some popular American charter schools now offer longer school days and shorter summer holidays. And, without going to Scandinavian lengths, America could invest more in its children: it spends a lower share of its GDP on public child-care than almost any other rich country, and is the only rich country that refuses to provide mothers with paid maternity leave. Barack Obama needs to measure up to his campaign rhetoric about "real family values".

Still, these nagging problems should not overshadow the dramatic progress that women have made in recent decades. During the second world war, when America's menfolk were off at the front, the government had to summon up the image of Rosie the Riveter, with her flexed muscle and "We Can Do It" slogan, to encourage women into the workforce. Today women are marching into the workplace in ever larger numbers and taking a sledgehammer to the remaining glass ceilings.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: They asked for 250 words and I wrote slightly more, briefly on China. Sid

# 2010: global cracks, human prospects (part II)

[redacted]
David Hayes, 2 January 2010
**Subjects:**

- Democracy and government
- International politics

More openDemocracy authors reflect on a volcanic decade in global politics - continued from part I

*openDemocracy deputy editor David Hayes asked openDemocracy writers to reflect on the decade that has passed and the one that lies ahead by considering three questions:*
*1) What was the most significant trend in the century's first decade?*
*2) What do you most hope for, and most fear, about the decade to come?*
*3) What idea do you see fading and/or emerging in 2010 and beyond?*

- Sidney Blumenthal

The greatest challenge for the early 21st century is that China's leadership has contempt for much of the international order and many of the international organisations developed since the second world war. In pursuit of its narrow and even crude understanding of its interest, China will constantly abuse and break international rules, protocols and bodies. Its willful destruction of the Copenhagen summit on climate change reveals the pattern. Its mercantile currency policy in a beggar-thy-neighbour approach, environmental degradation, and disdain for human rights and the rule of law generally are the obvious reflections of its despotism. Through its rough and strange neo-imperialism, in Africa especially but also elsewhere, China is able to gain help, partly through economic intimidation, in its international forays to repel or strike down the responsibilities of internationalism.
Internally, China is a prison of nations, an empire similar to imperial Russia and the Soviet Union, and may also be the most unequal industrial country in distribution of income. China's power is increasing, but the authoritarian regime is hardly the wave of the future as some awestruck worshippers of raw power and money (whether investment bankers or ex-Marxists) imagine. The system is inherently unstable, which accounts for its rigid currency policy (at root a fear of operating on other than a virtual slave-labour standard, of turning its poverty-stricken millions into consumers with real choice, and ultimately of letting go even a little bit).
In the long-term the tyranny of the one-party state and its military rule is at odds with the new economic classes of entrepreneurs and professionals it has fostered. China's growing economic power is accompanied by expanding arrogance, demonstrated not least in the incivility and rudeness with which President Obama was treated on his trip there. China's regime lacks an ideal other than a communist gloss on Confucian uniformity, itself based incoherently on reckless economic development, for example in the areas of currency, environment and labour; it has no "soft power", not just because of the coarseness of its supposed diplomacy, but also because its cultural appeal does not travel. China forces its way through coercion of one sort or another.
The next decade will see how flexible or inflexible its rulers are and how secure their system is. The brief effort at a rhetorical gesture by some in the Obama administration who floated the turgid phrase "strategic reassurance" was risible and did not last. For now, the west has no policy to deal with China as it is. The place to begin is on currency.
The most powerful idea for the 21st century is the equality of women. It is the idea most feared by those - from the Vatican to the Taliban - arrayed against modernity, the still vibrant project of the Enlightenment. Someday the United States may even have a woman president. It took fifty years after granting the vote to African-Americans to pass a constitutional amendment giving it to women. Perhaps the distance between electing the first African-American president and the first female one will not be so great.

*Sidney Blumenthal is former senior adviser to President Clinton, and an Oscar and Emmy award-winning documentary producer. He is writing a book on Abraham Lincoln*
*Also by Sidney Blumenthal:*
*"The choice" (21 November 2007)*

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 10, 2009 11:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Karl and Frank,

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:26:55 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

Jake--Pls share with H.

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Jones, Paul W
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:22:56 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Eikenberry, Karl W
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:22:22 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Ricciardone, Francis J
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:21:57 2009
Subject: Karl and Frank,

B5

Many thanks. RH

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 6:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: human rights draft
**Attachments:** 2009-12-11 Human rights 2am.docx

Here it is -- came in ovemight. Huma will have copy for you this morning.

**From:** Daniel Baer [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; cheryl.mills[redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Posner, Michael H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Sent:** Fri Dec 11 02:15:32 2009
**Subject:** human rights draft

All,
Attached is a revised version of the speech for discussion / review by S tomorrow.

Some things to note:

[redacted] B5

I am hoping that I can start integrating guidance from S tomorrow afternoon.

all best,
Dan

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

B5

Copying you as heads up for your 1pm call only –not for decision.

cdm

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** Jacobson, Roberta S; S_SpecialAssistants; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** Re: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Cheryl needs to address

---

**From:** Jacobson, Roberta S
**To:** S_SpecialAssistants; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Sent:** Sun Jan 17 09:58:11 2010
**Subject:** FW: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Please see attached additional information and **question from Canadian government prior to this afternoon's 1300 phone call**. Specifically, the Canadian government is asking whether the Secretary could come to Montreal for the GOC's "prep" donors meeting **the evening of 1/23 or morning of 1/24**? [Note: Montreal has world's second largest Haitian diaspora, hence location.]

WHA would recommend participation if at all possible. Thank you, Roberta

---

**From:** Alex.Bugailiskis
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** Jacobson, Roberta S
**Subject:** URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

B6

Good morning Roberta! Congratulations on a successful visit by the Secretary of State. We are looking forward to this afternoon's teleconference. After opening remarks, Minister Cannon will ask Prime Minister Bellerive to speak and the UN (we may only have DPKO LeRoy on line due to visit of Sec Gen to Haiti). He will then ask FM Amorim and Sec State Clinton to provide their views on the situation and then open the floor to Kouchner and others. Response has been good and most will be represented at FM level (Mexico/Espinosa may still be in flight from Japan, and Argentina and Costa Rica will be Vice-Ministers).

There is as well agreement in principle to begin laying the groundwork for a broader Donors Conference on Reconstruction and our offer to host a preparatory meeting on January 25th has been well received. However, early indications are that the EU has a conflict as they have their General Relations and Foreign Relations meetings scheduled for that day. As the EU would be essential for such a meeting we are scrambling to look for alternative dates. Given the momentum we would rather go earlier than later. Minister Cannon would be available to host this on the weekend of the 23-24th of January (dinner on the 23rd, meeting on the morning of the 24th). However, I believe that Ambassador

Jacobsen had indicated that Mrs. Clinton has another engagement on the 23rd. Could you please let me know, before this aftemoon's teleconference, if in principle, Mrs.Clinton might be available to attend a meeting in Montreal on the evening of the 23rd or the morning of the 24th?

Many thanks Roberta.

*Alex*

12/11 2am

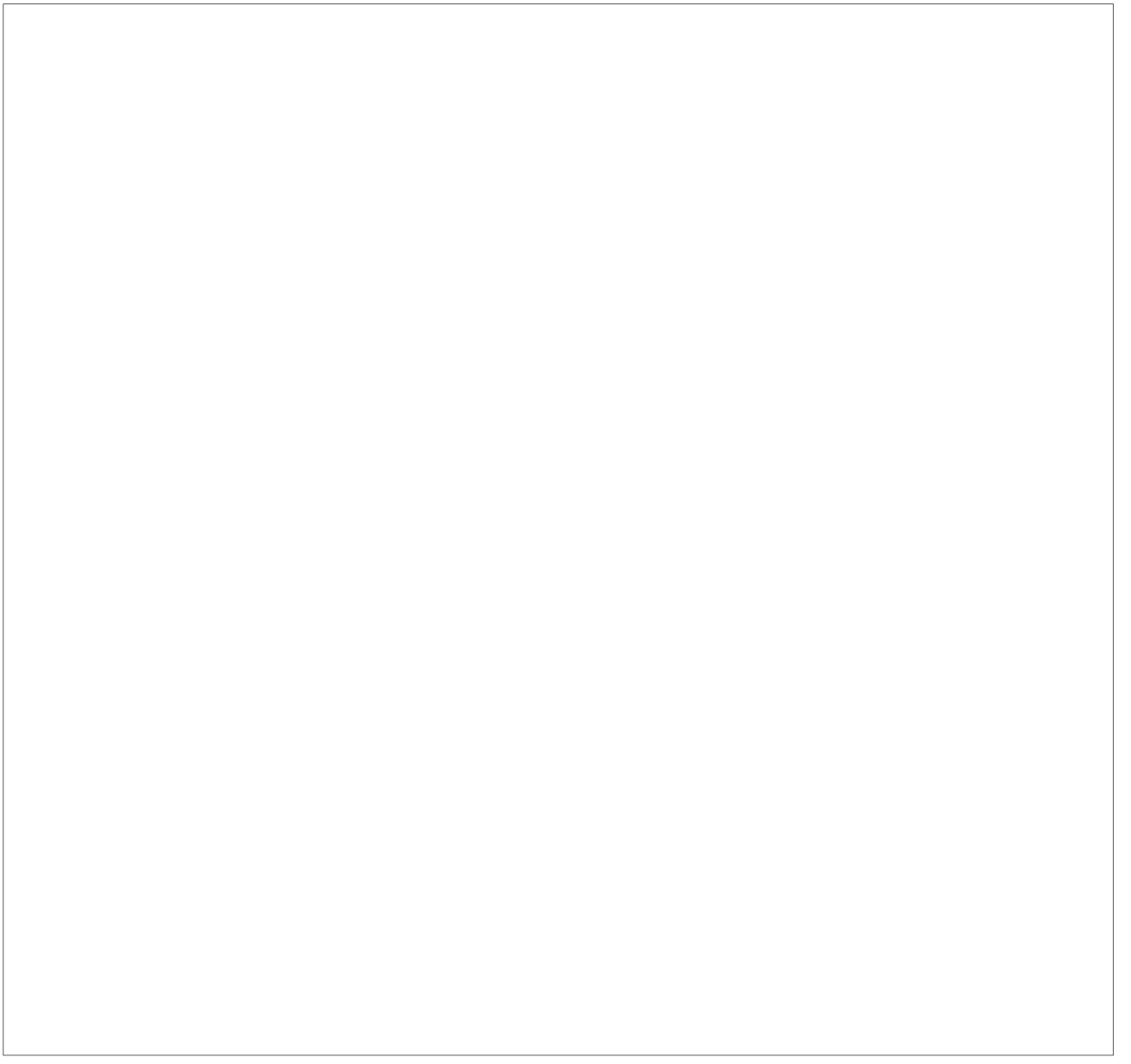
RELEASE IN PART B5

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

# HUMAN RIGHTS/ DEMOCRACY

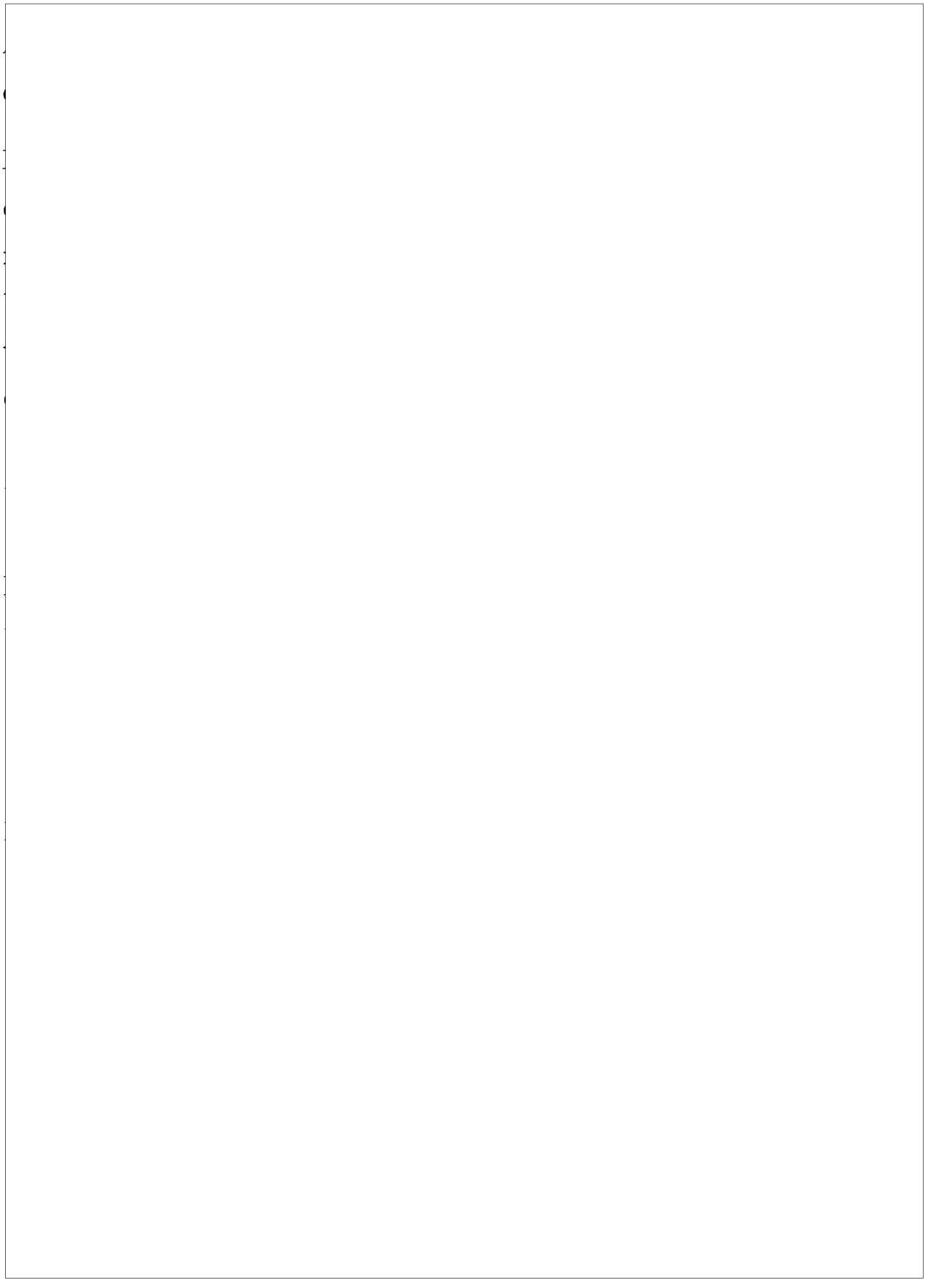
[Acknowledgments]

1.



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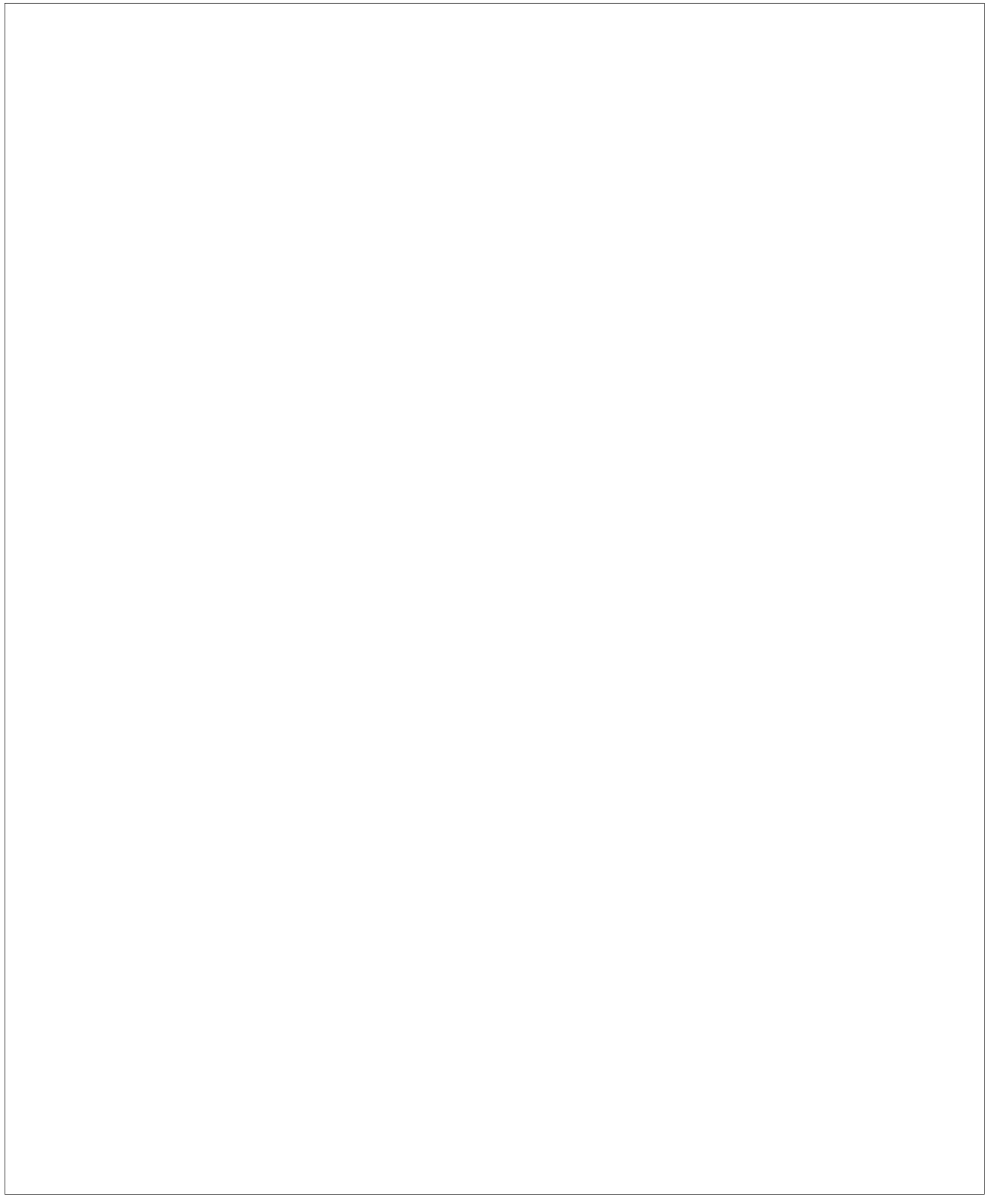


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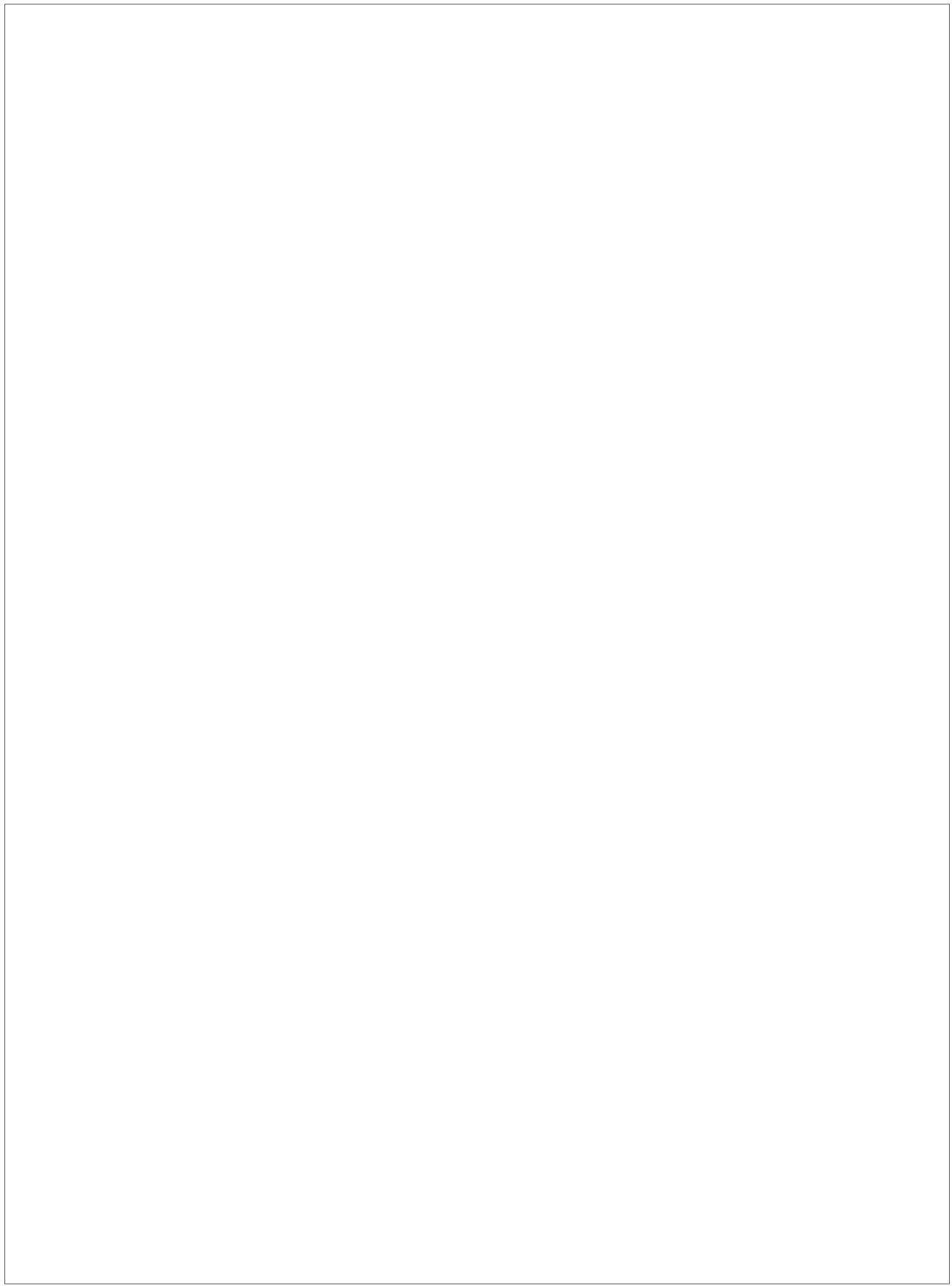


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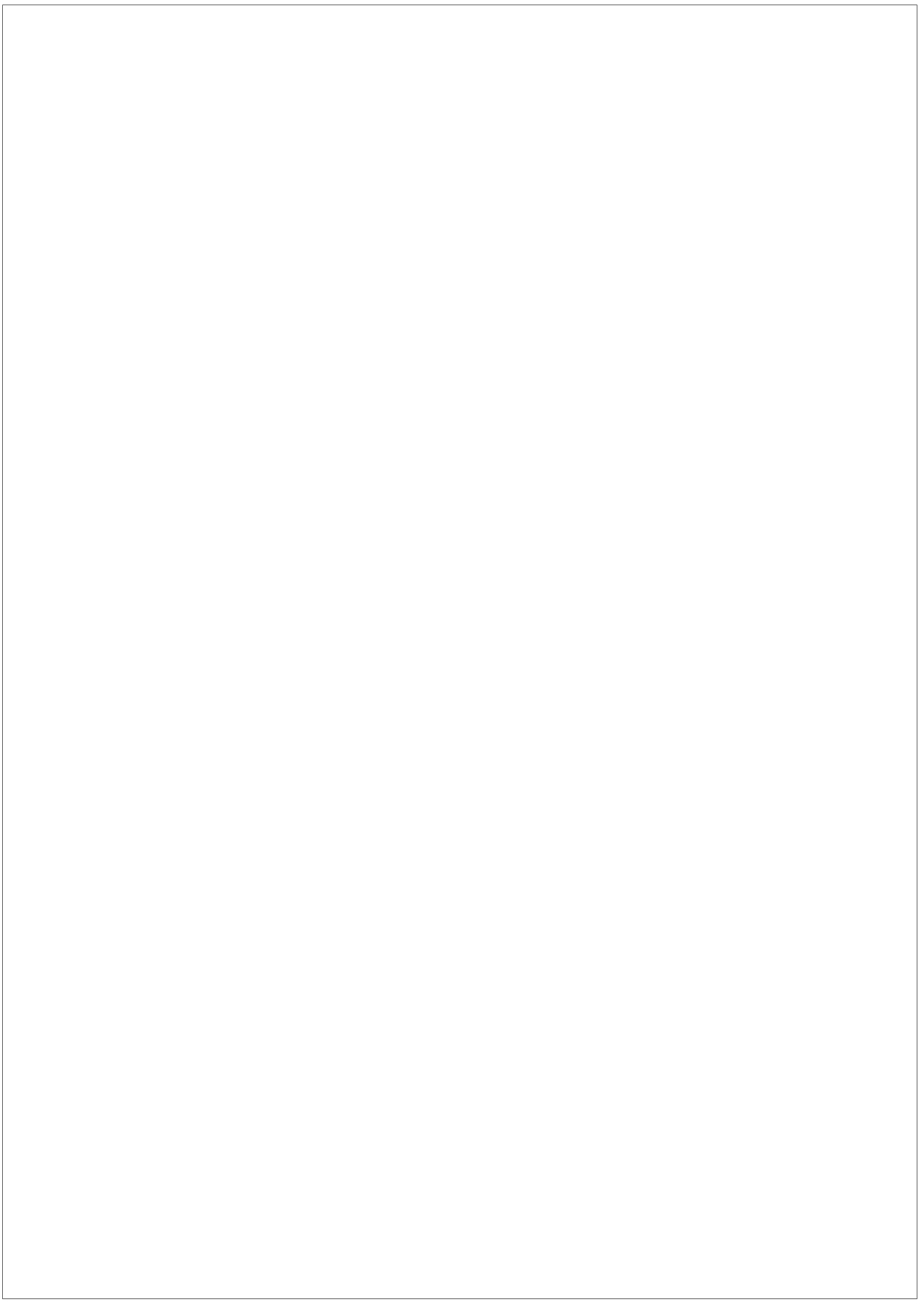
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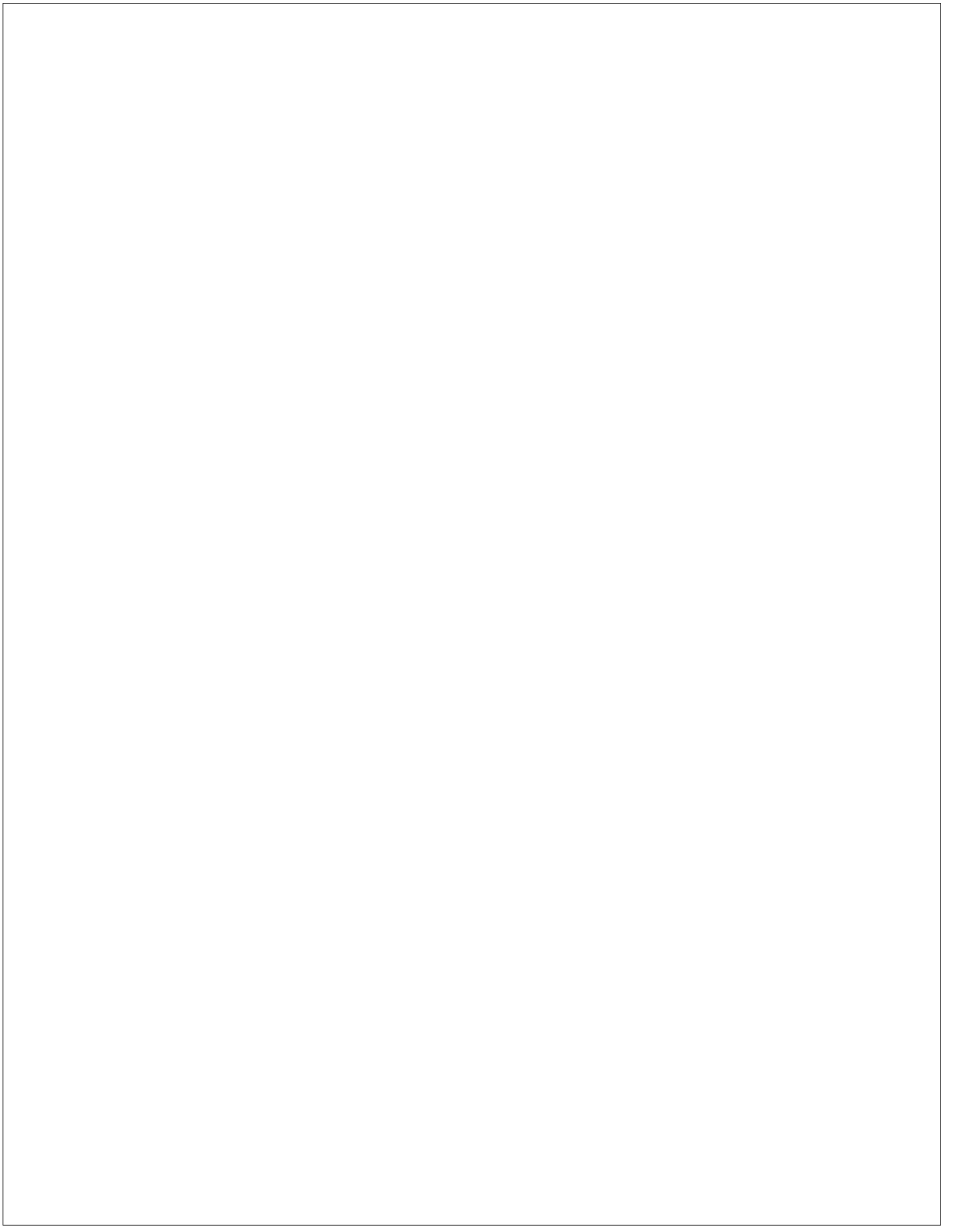
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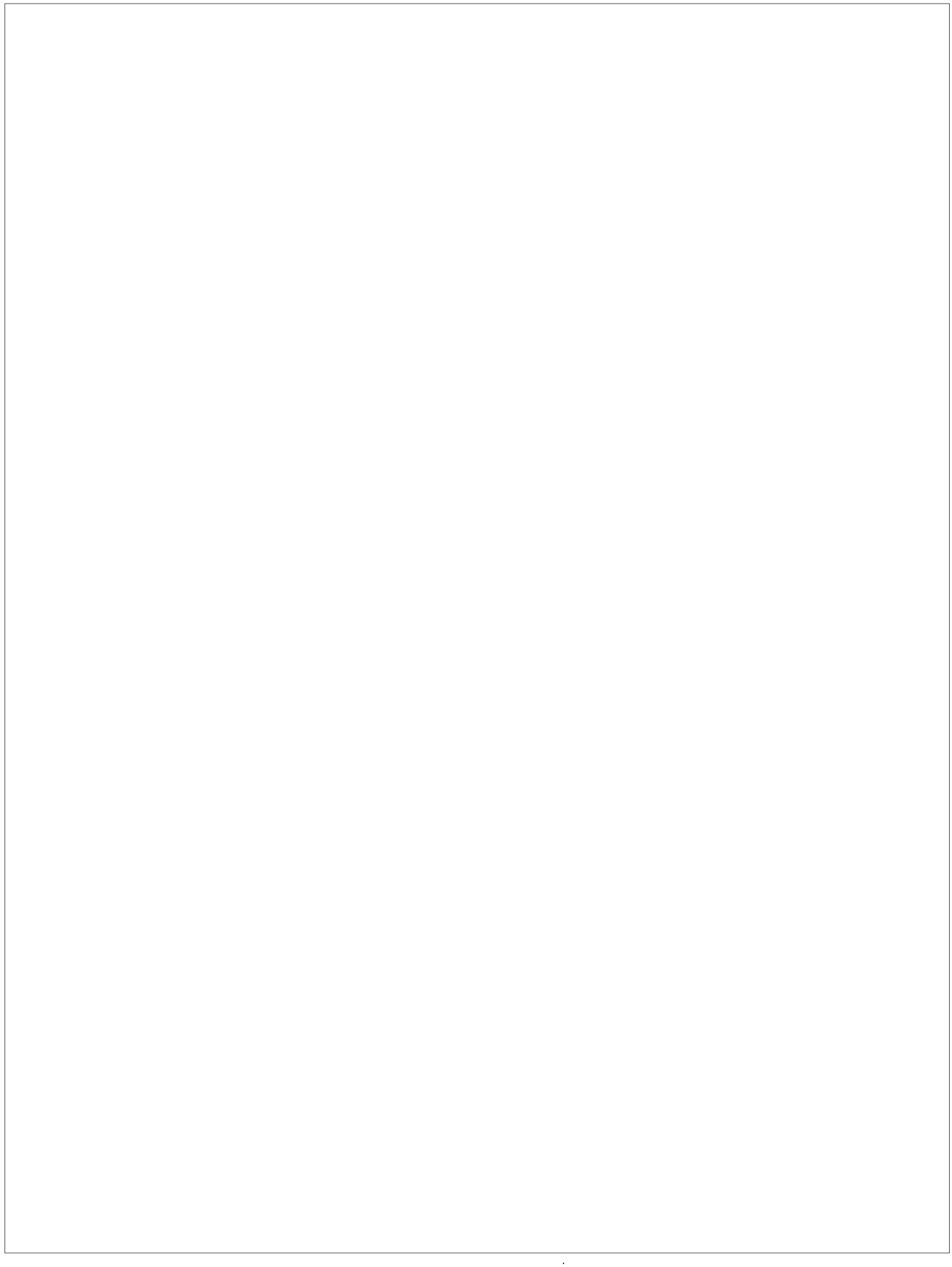
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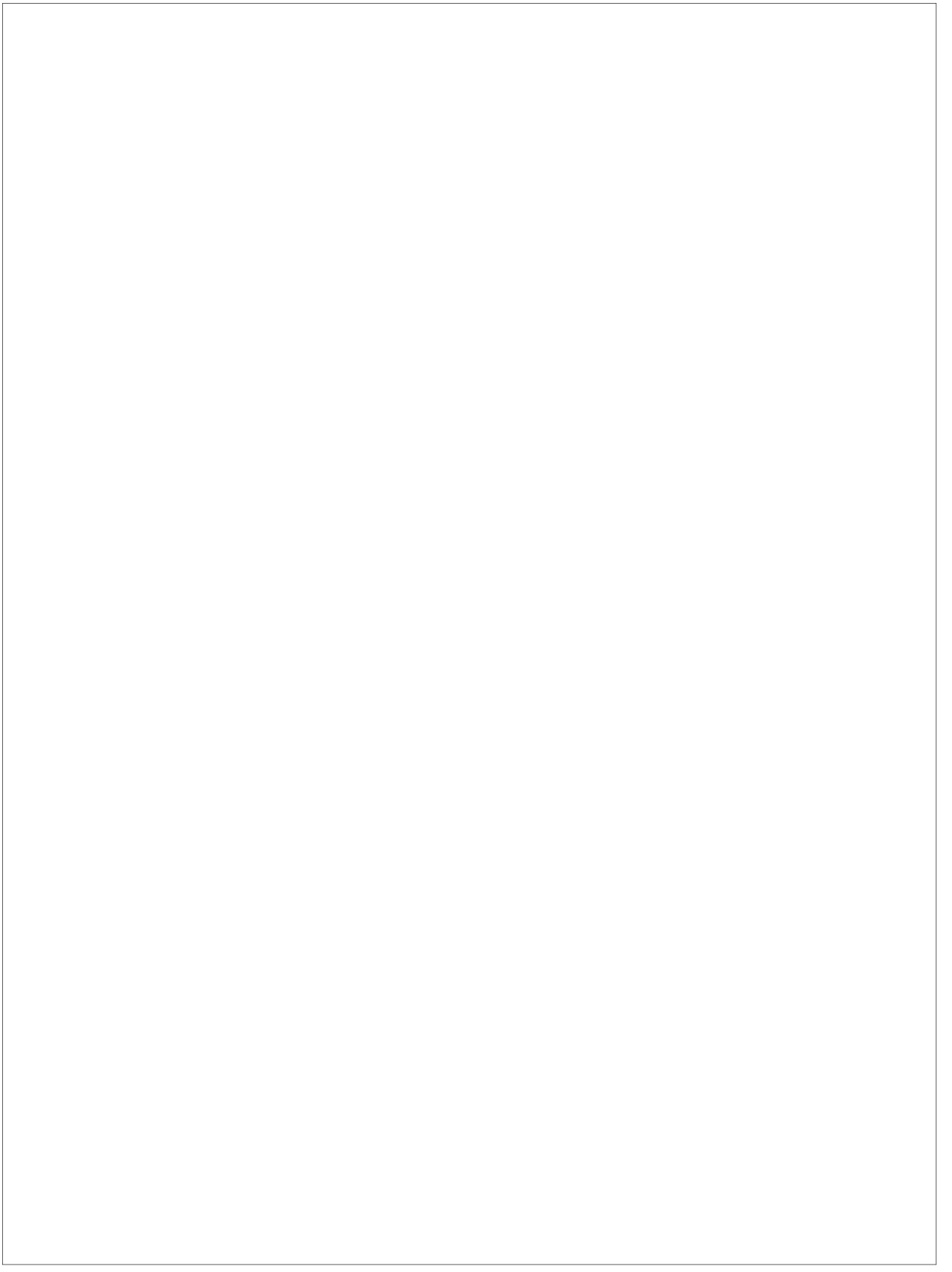
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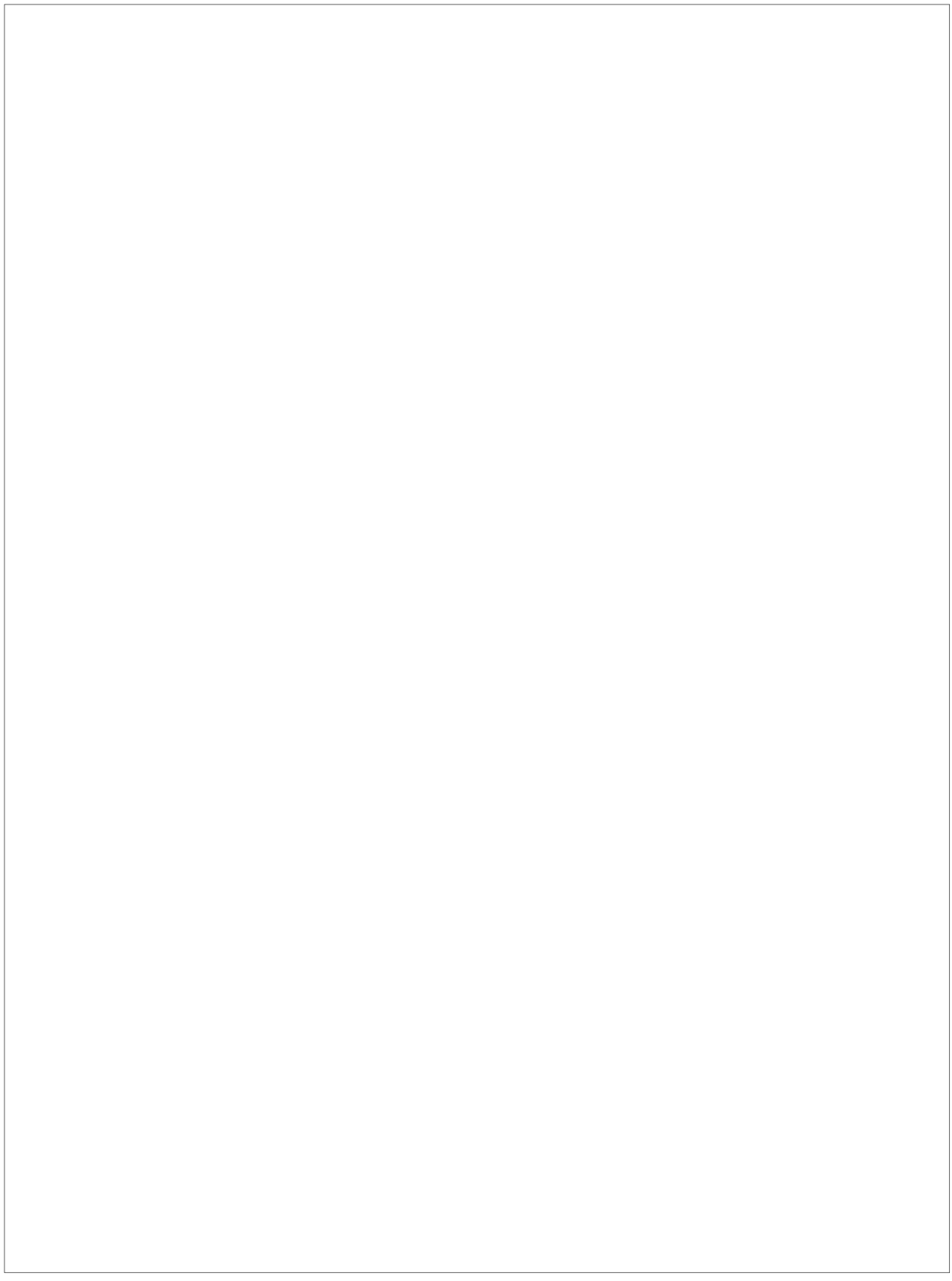
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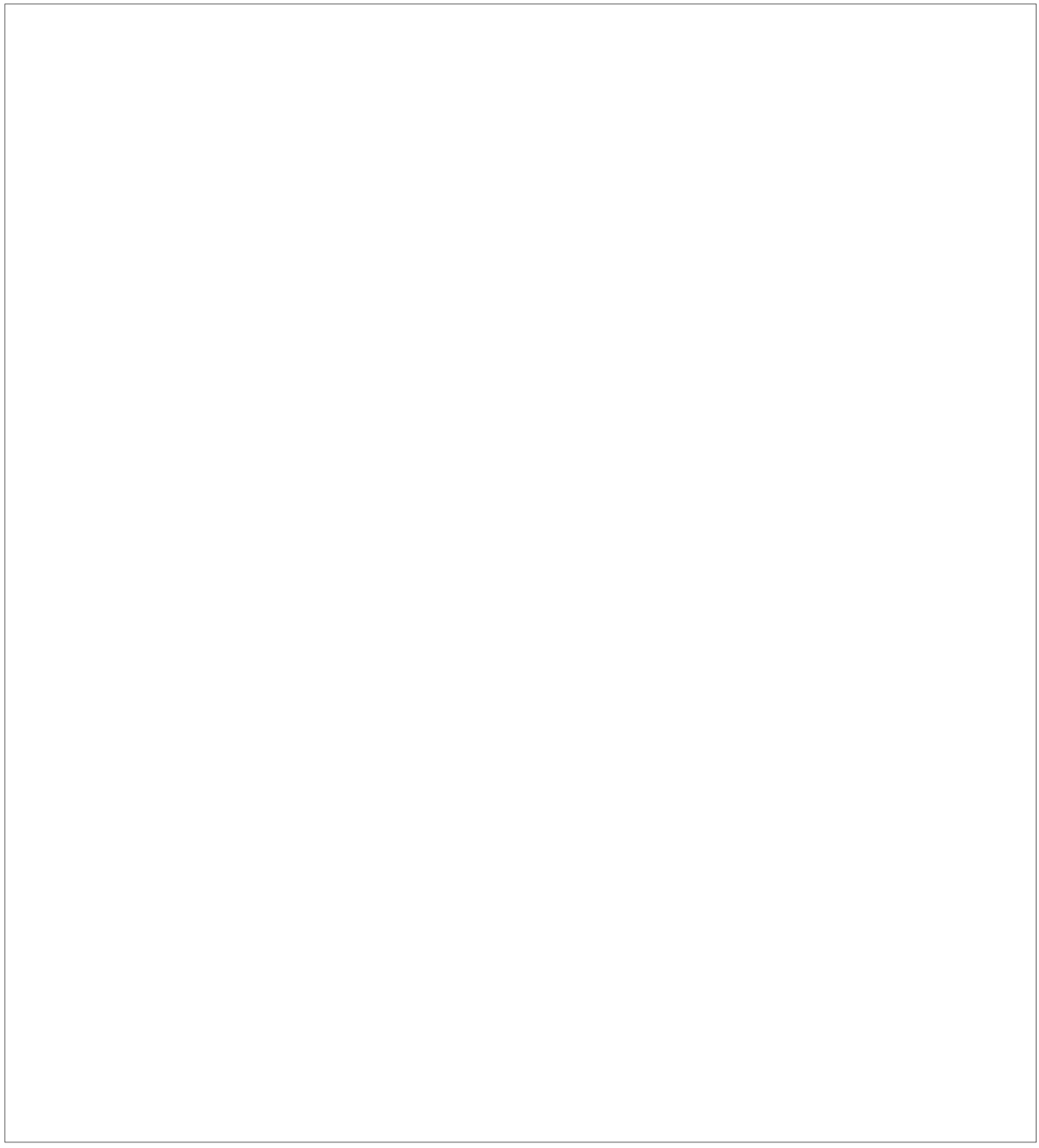
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B5



B5



RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

[redacted] B5

---

**From**: Verma, Richard R
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Sun Jan 17 10:47:39 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

---

**From**: Bulgrin, Julie K
**To**: Verma, Richard R; Adams, David S; Rooney, Matthew M; Turk, David M
**Sent**: Sun Jan 17 10:46:24 2010
**Subject**: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

Flew into Santo Domingo last night. Went overland to PaP. With Amb. Merten in Haiti.
About to do an aerial tour w/Amb. Planning on going out with S. Florida search and response teams. (Was former State trooper so we think he has some experience in search and rescue, but cannot know for sure.) He's doing this on his own, so we're not sure what he's planning.

His staff had been trying to persuade him not to travel for at least the immediate future, but it clearly didn't work. He has received too many phone calls from constituents encouraging him to go.

Contacts in his office:
Clarence Williams, Chief of Staff. [redacted] (Cell Phone) B6
Hassan Christian, [redacted] (I've been talking to him.)

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 6:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Karl and Frank,

Will do on both counts.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Dec 11 05:48:29 2009
Subject: Re: Karl and Frank,

Let me know what the outcome of this inquiry is. Also, I have sent Richard two emails over the last few weeks and never rec'd a response. Can you check to find out whether he ever got it? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:29:44 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:26:55 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

Jake--Pls share with H.

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Jones, Paul W
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:22:56 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Eikenberry, Karl W
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:22:22 2009
Subject: Fw: Karl and Frank,

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Ricciardone, Francis J
Sent: Thu Dec 10 23:21:57 2009
Subject: Karl and Frank,

B5

Many thanks. RH

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 6:28 AM
**To:** H; preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Kissinger interview

We are meeting with you at noon to discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines [redacted]
Sent: Fri Dec 11 05:51:12 2009
Subject: Kissinger interview

I just found out that Jon Meacham will "moderate" the interview which puts this in a very different light. I need some guidance about what points I'm trying to make and any info about Meacham's possible line of questions.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 6:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea/Madagascar

I have asked about the abstention possibility and they are looking into the mechanics.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Dec 11 04:47:23 2009
Subject: Re: Guinea/Madagascar

I agree on both, but wonder can we abstain on the first?

Also, I have not rec'd the speech draft. Should I have ?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 10 22:06:12 2009
Subject: Guinea/Madagascar

There are a number of different possibilities for how the decision on the Guinea/Madagascar credentials may go tomorrow. (It is Zambia and Tanzania bringing the challenge on behalf of the AU.) I was under the impression that we would not have to vote on the potential credentials challenges. We may have to.

We may have to vote on a motion to *deny* them credentials and exclude them. For the moment, the guidance is to vote to credential all countries – including these two – as is customary, while conducting outreach with Tanzania, Zambia, and the AU to explain that we have our own imperatives but we support the fact that they are taking a principled stand. [redacted] B5

We may have to vote on a motion to *defer* decision, which would allow them to be seated and vote but would not formally grant credentials. For the moment, the guidance is to potentially support such a motion – this was the practice with respect to South Africa between 1983 and 1994. Everyone is in the same place on this.

Ultimately, however, the whole thing may die of its own weight. This is probably the most likely outcome.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 7:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: John Kerry's birthday

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Fri Dec 11 07:23:38 2009
Subject: John Kerry's birthday

Pls add him to call list for today.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 8:13 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Today

Sounds good.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Dec 11 07:37:54 2009
Subject: Today

Dennis Ross is coming to see me at noon.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

Fyi

---

**From**: Verma, Richard R
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Sun Jan 17 10:47:39 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

---

**From**: Bulgrin, Julie K
**To**: Verma, Richard R; Adams, David S; Rooney, Matthew M; Turk, David M
**Sent**: Sun Jan 17 10:46:24 2010
**Subject**: Rep. Meek is Haiti - details

Flew into Santo Domingo last night. Went overland to PaP. With Amb. Merten in Haiti.
About to do an aerial tour w/Amb. Planning on going out with S. Florida search and response teams. (Was former State trooper so we think he has some experience in search and rescue, but cannot know for sure.) He's doing this on his own, so we're not sure what he's planning.

His staff had been trying to persuade him not to travel for at least the immediate future, but it clearly didn't work. He has received too many phone calls from constituents encouraging him to go.

Contacts in his office:
Clarence Williams, Chief of Staff, [redacted] (Cell Phone) B6
Hassan Christian, [redacted] (I've been talking to him.)

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 8:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 12/11/09 Friday

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:20 am **REMARKS TO THE DIPLOMACY CONFERENCE ON LATIN**
9:50 am **AMERICA** Marshall Auditorium

10:00am **PHONE CALL w/FRENCH FM BERNARD KOUCHNER**
10:15am Secretary's Office

10:15 am **PHONE CALL w/DR. HENRY KISSINGER**
10:30 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **SPEECH PREP TIME**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **PRE-BRIEF FOR KISSINGER INTERVIEW**
12:30 pm Secretary's Office (Jake, PJ and Philippe)

12:30 pm **PRIVATE MEETING w/ Joe Wilson**
12:50 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **HOLIDAY RECEPTION FOR NEA AND WHA**
2:00 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Approx. 300 ppl expected.

2:05 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Andrews AFB
2:30 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews AFB

2:35 pm **DEPART** En route New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport
Contact: FBO SheltAir Office 718-779-4040

3:30 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport *En route OTR

4:30 pm **OTR**
5:30 pm Location: Tbd

5:30 pm **DEPART** OTR *En route Park Avenue
6:00 pm **ARRIVE** Park Avenue

6:00 pm ***NEWSWEEK* INTERVIEW w/DR. HENRY KISSINGER**
7:00 pm Dr. Kissinger's Office, 350 Park Avenue (between 51st and 52nd Streets)

7:05 pm **DEPART** Park Avenue *En route Cipriani's
7:25 pm **ARRIVE** Cipriani's

7:30 pm **KEYNOTE ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PAKISTAN**
8:30 pm **FOUNDATION'S INAUGURAL GALA** Cipriani's at 42nd Street

8:35 pm **DEPART** Cipriani's *En route Private Residence

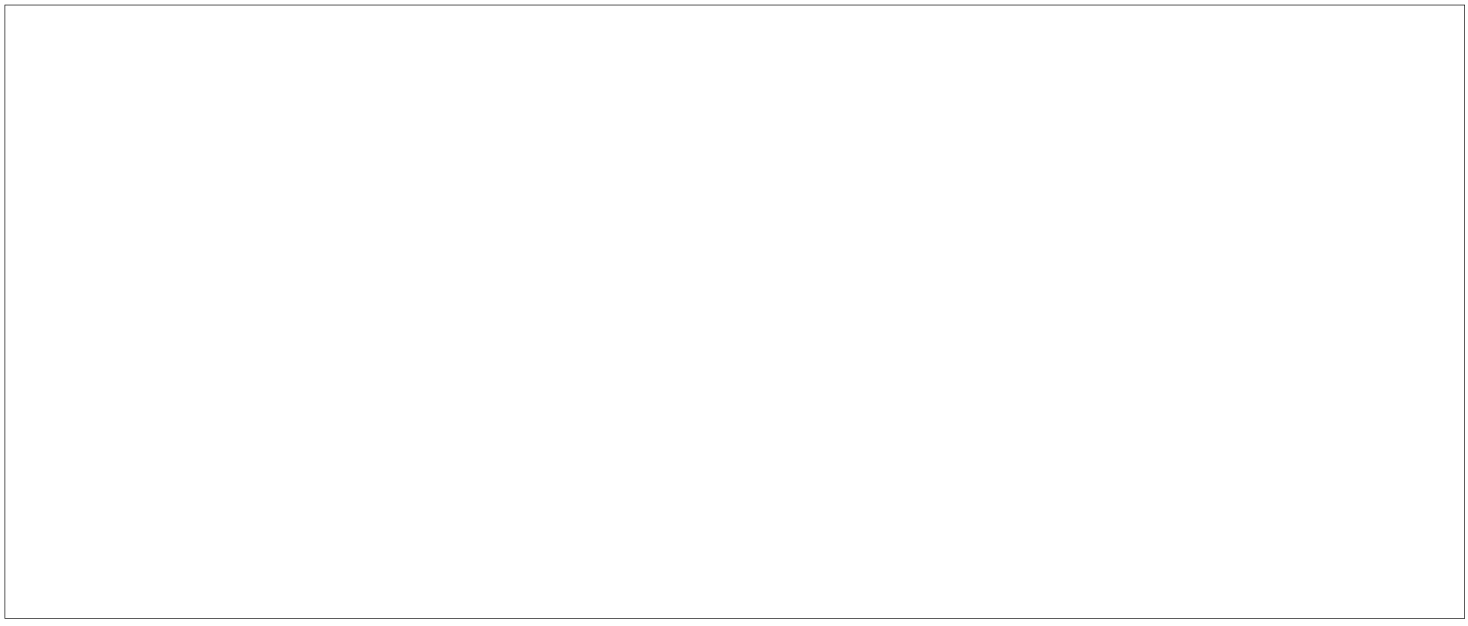
RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 1pm call sheet.

This is what you should have just gotten.

B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 11:21 AM
**To:** Luzzatto H B6
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: Hello/FYI/Invite

Tamera, we are so excited you are keeping tradition this year!

---

**From:** Luzzatto
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 11:13 AM
**To:** hdr22@clintonemail.com
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Hello/FYI/Invite

A big, warm hello and

As you may know, I signed up for hosting another holiday party with many Senate alum suggesting the idea as a way of having a reunion and, hey, a party. We invited staff covering most of our years, and looks like a great collection will come. It'll be pot-luck so not quite as elegant as before.

SO, just in case, and I'd imagine it's not possible, it'll be Monday night, 7:00 to 9:30, December 21.

No matter what, wanted you to know we are gathering yet again with our Senator Clinton bond.

love, T

From: info@mailva.evite.com
Reply-to: info@evite.com
To: luzzatto
Sent: 12/8/2009 12:01:01 A.M. Eastern Standard Time
Subj: Thanks for sending your Evite invitation

Having trouble viewing this email? Go to invitation.
**Add info@mailva.evite.com to your address book to ensure that you receive Evite emails in your inbox.**

[redacted]

[redacted]

VIEW YOUR INVITATION

[redacted]

**Let Evite help you plan your event**

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 1:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: We ought to do outreach

Fyi - background for call sheet you will get

----- Original Message -----
From: Carson, Johnnie
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Yamamoto, Donald Y; Posner, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Cook, Akunna E
Sent: Fri Dec 11 12:38:27 2009
Subject: We ought to do outreach

Cheryl: Yes, the Secretary should make the call

B5

I remain ready to participate in any meetings with any domestic or international gay rights groups to brief them on what we are doing, and on my conversations with Museveni on this issue. I plan to meet with Cheryl Benton and others today this afternoon to work on an outreach strategy.

Regards, Johnnie

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, December 10, 2009 10:19 PM
To: Carson, Johnnie; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Yamamoto, Donald Y; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: We ought to do outreach

Thx

Should we have S also call pres?

----- Original Message -----
From: Carson, Johnnie
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Posner, Michael H; Crowley, Philip J
Cc: Benton, Cheryl A (PACE); Yamamoto, Donald Y; Cook, Akunna E; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 10 15:07:49 2009
Subject: FW: We ought to do outreach

Cheryl: I am happy to participate in any outreach meetings on this issue and would be pleased to share contents of my conversations with President Museveni and his reassurances to me. (We continue to monitor this issue and I am prepared to go back to Museveni at any time to express our deep concerns and to press him to deep six this legislation.)

Let me know if you want us to participate in any meetings. Regards, Johnnie

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, December 10, 2009 11:00 AM
To: Carson, Johnnie; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Benton, Cheryl A (PACE); Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: We ought to do outreach

See below.

I am looking at the article and don't know where this stands in terms of what will really happen (welcome an update) but we should do some sort of meeting now with international gay groups to lay out what we have done.

The process will focus not only our public and quiet diplomacy (calls to pres, etc) efforts but also it will give chance for feedback on more we should do.

I am worried this will not turn out well. We need some outreach unless I am missing what is being done in dept.

Can we do this in next several days?

Cdm

Uganda to Drop Death Penalty, Life in Jail for Gays (Update1)Last Updated: December 9, 2009 10:44 EST By Fred Ojambo Dec. 9 (Bloomberg) -- Uganda will drop the death penalty and life imprisonment for gays in a refined version of an anti-gay bill expected to be ready for presentation to Parliament in two weeks, James Nsaba Buturo, the minister of ethics and integrity, said.The draft bill, which is under consideration by a parliamentary committee, will drop the two punishments to attract the support of religious leaders who are opposed to these penalties, Buturo said today in a phone interview from the capital, Kampala.Ugandan lawmaker David Bahati presented a private member's bill on Oct. 14 which sought the death penalty and life imprisonment for gay people in the country. The Ugandan government supports the bill because homosexuality and lesbianism are "repugnant to the Ugandan culture," Buturo said. Still, it favors a more refined set of punishments, he said.In addition to formulating punishments for the gay people, the bill will also promote counseling to help "attract errant people to acceptable sexual orientation," said Buturo.The proposed legislation has attracted criticism from gay rights activists, both locally and internationally, who argue that the law would promote discrimination and hatred toward the gay community.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call sheet.

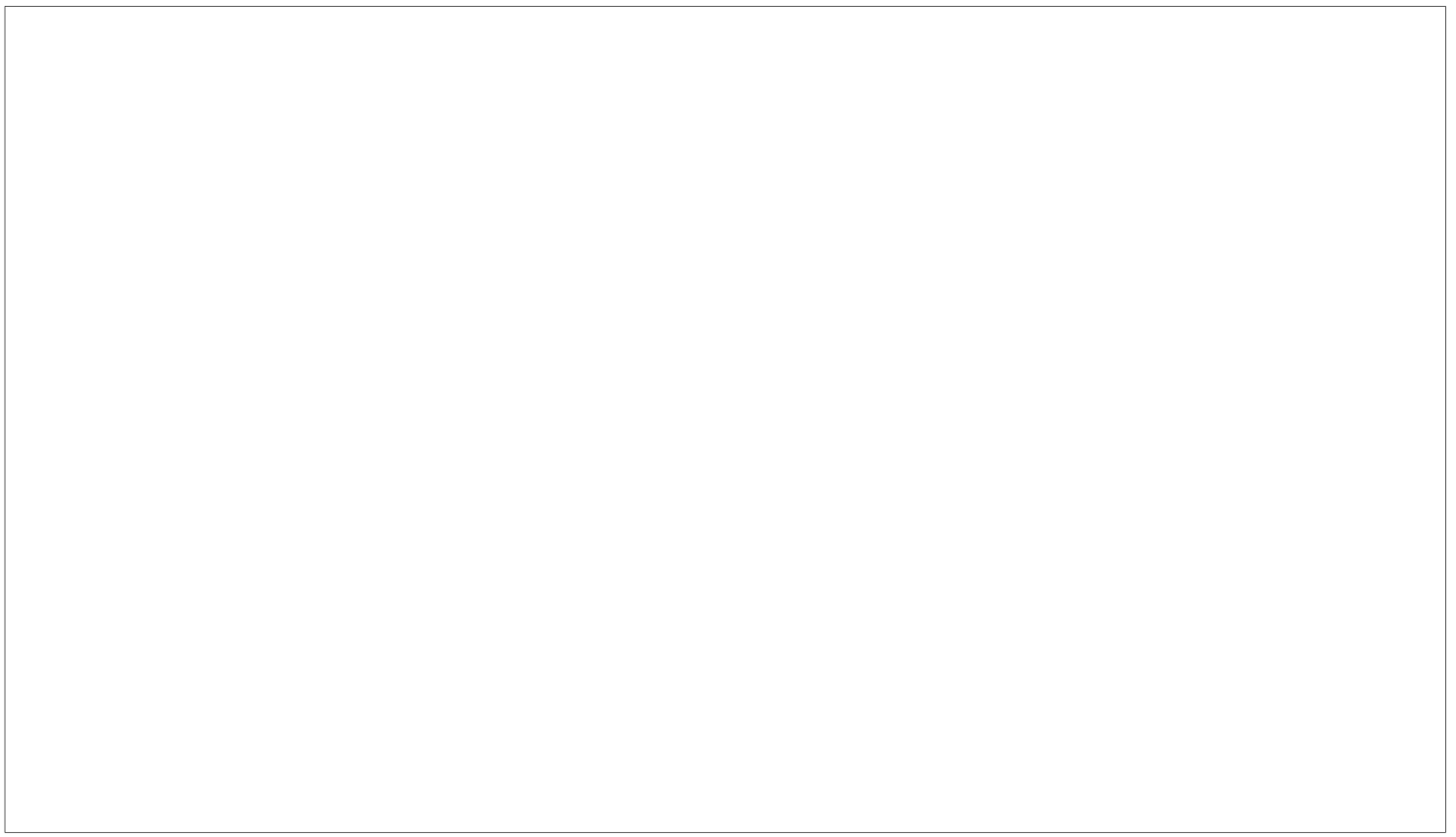
Marina told me she left. I'm faxing to secret service. Dan will make sure u get it

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:48:20 2010
Subject: 1pm call sheet.

This is what you should have just gotten.

B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 3:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

If you want us to send a hard-copy note, we can do that too. Betsy is concerned you might have the wrong e-mail address for him.

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 3:33 PM
**To:** 'Voda ebeling'
**Subject:** RE:

Ok no problem – ill check

---

**From:** Voda ebeling [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 11:52 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:**

Lauren: could you please check, if possible, what email address HRC is using for Kevin O'Keefe? She told me in an email that she sent him a congratulatory email for his award. I don't believe he has heard from her. She should be using: [redacted]

If impossible to find out, don't worry. He did say he received an email invite to a Holiday State event and it was sent to the address above. Thanks, Betsy

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 4:23 PM
**To:** H; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Landler story

I'm checking with one person, but no further intel on my end yet

But don't think Mark's writing, just fishing - unless the WH gave it to the Times, but there's no way they'd handle you that way

Let me confirm that point, which is important to know

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Landler story
Sent: Dec 11, 2009 4:14 PM

Any more info about his email?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 5:07 PM
**To:** H; preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Landler story

Landler has called me twice -- I haven't called back because I don't want to go down the road.

I talked to Matt and off-handedly asked about the issue -- he said that people are deeply unhappy with our friend, but not much else. Said he didn't think anything was imminent. But it was not a very optimistic conversation.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, December 11, 2009 4:15 PM
To: 'preines[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Landler story

Any more info about his email?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 1pm call manifest

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 5:18 PM
**To:** H; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Landler story

They are trying to report this out, but not writing imminently

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines
Date: Fri, 11 Dec 2009 21:23:04
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Jake Sullivan<sullivanjj@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Landler story

I'm checking with one person, but no further intel on my end yet

But don't think Mark's writing, just fishing - unless the WH gave it to the Times, but there's no way they'd handle you that way

Let me confirm that point, which is important to know

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Landler story
Sent: Dec 11, 2009 4:14 PM

Any more info about his email?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 9:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Interview

I went back upstairs with Dr Kissinger and we talked about it. I regret the seating, it just begged Meacham to interview you, to ask a question, then alternate answering. Was just a very different dynamic than you two before the sitdown. It would be bad TV. But it's print.

So as an observer, and I think this will come across to the reader, it was a fascinating meeting of two eras that are very different but very the same. Two very different people, but the same job, experiencing it much the same way. His spiel at the end about the goal should be more than ending the war will translate well.

And most importantly, the photos look great

He was also a sport and called my friend and talked for 10 mins about non-proliferation

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Interview
Sent: Dec 11, 2009 9:05 PM

How do you think it went?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 10:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Documents

There are a few things I sent to oscar to print:
- revised AfPak strategy overview memo that came from holbrookes office.
- prep paper from rich for testimony next week.
- a draft copy of the action memo and report on Kerry-Lugar-Berman that Jake wanted you to see this weekend. the final package will be in dc Sunday night. The report is due to Congress on Monday.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 11:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Japan Open Skies

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Byerly, John R
To: Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Hormats, Robert D; Fernandez, Jose W; Campbell, Kurt M; Zumwalt, James P; Borg, Anna M; Sullivan, Jacob J; Seiden, Maya D; Cue, Lourdes C; Smith, David B; Verma, Richard R; Smitham, Thomas D; [redacted] Fitzgerald, Betsy A; Urs, Krishna Raj; Roche, Timothy P; Walcott, Naomi; Limaye-Davis, Y Viki; Kiingi, Elizabeth M; Humphrey, Kerry S; Stewart, Tucker Richmond
Sent: Fri Dec 11 23:14:40 2009
Subject: Japan Open Skies

B6

We initialled the text of an Open Skies Agreement with Japan at about 10 tonight. I owe enormous thanks to so many of you for a true team victory. From Secretary Clinton on the seventh floor to my tireless secretary in EEB, Tucker Richmond Stewart, we pulled together to make a bit of aviation history and, much more important, to do something good for our consumers, communities, and national economy.

I was able to contact the offices of about ten key Senators and Members of Congress before the signing, with a focus on those who, with a strong Delta presence at home, had expressed concerns about proceeding. I stressed that we'd negotiated provisions that offer Delta assurances of fairness and the potential to grow. I also emphasized that the decision to proceed was taken only after careful consideration at very senior levels of State, DOT, and White House.

Thanks, again, to all for your support.

John Byerly

With help I'll make more calls next week and will arrange briefings for all who are interested.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Yes will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 13:44:01 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

The Canadians said they would do transcript of call so pls ask WHA to obtain one for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:09 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Contacting with wha now. Frattini would have to cancel his trip so we would have to re-schedule for another date or just do in context of one of these multilateral meetings. He has a big speech in italy on the 26th.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 13:48:18 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Can you ask WHA to work for times so I can fly up mid morning and return late afternoon. Could I see Frattini next day? What seems best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:25 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Can you do update call?

Give me a few minutes

---

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]
**Subject:** Can you do update call?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan
**Attachments:** 2009-12-31 Lewis Department Notice.docx; 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan.docx

**Importance:** High

HRC:

Per our conversation, she advised I could forward this – it will also come through channels.

cdm

**From:** Lewis, Reta Jo
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 5:18 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan
**Importance:** High

Hi Cheryl:

Today, I was able to have good preliminary conversations with Jean Bonilla and Lorraine Hariton in EEB. Both Jean and Lorraine are very excited about the opportunity to partner on this new area for the Secretary and provided me with some very valuable insight and discussion on how we can partner and collaborate on programming and initiatives together.

I also included the information from ECA – that we discussed in the document. The INR meeting was cancelled today and will be scheduled for early next week. As I move around the Department and talk with other officials in the coming week, I believe we will be able to build out a more robust Work Plan and garner some great collaborations on this effort.

Additionally, in a recent conversation that I had with Governor O'Malley from Maryland, I shared with him that the Secretary was launching a new effort that would assist state and local leaders with respect to their global affairs portfolios. The Governor was extremely excited and remarked that he has some great idea for the Secretary about how the Department can be a major value-add to local governments. He told me that he wants to be very engaged in what we do in the Department in this area. I will be scheduling a time to meet with him and his economic team once my position has been announced. He wanted me to let her know that he had been thinking about her and wanted to reach out and did not know how and then I walked in and we began to have this discussion and he said – what a way to start his year for 2010 – something coming to reality that he had been thinking about.

Also, Maura Pally in ECA forwarded me a meeting that I took with the Deputy Director of the National Lieutenant Governor's Association. They were in town working on their upcoming Washington meeting. They too are very excited about what we are planning and want to work very closely with us in the coming months as we launch this effort. Lt. Governor Bill Bolling in VA is the current Chair.

Please let me know if you need to make any additional changes. Thanks so much for all of your assistance and support!!!

Have a great New Years!!

Best,

Reta

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Ill confirm if he'll be there for london.
As for paris, looks like sarkozy will be there but we won't know for sure till tomorrow. So it would mean sarkozy meeting, speech and kouchner around 6pm when he's back from davos.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:27:44 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

If he's coming to London, could I see him there? Also what's status of France?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:14:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Contacting with wha now. Frattini would have to cancel his trip so we would have to re-schedule for another date or just do in context of one of these multilateral meetings. He has a big speech in italy on the 26th.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 13:48:18 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Can you ask WHA to work for times so I can fly up mid morning and return late afternoon. Could I see Frattini next day? What seems best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Checking.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:36:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Since Davos is now about Haiti, do I need to go? Bill is going.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:32:08 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Ill confirm if he'll be there for london.
As for paris, looks like sarkozy will be there but we won't know for sure till tomorrow. So it would mean sarkozy meeting, speech and kouchner around 6pm when he's back from davos.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:27:44 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

If he's coming to London, could I see him there? Also what's status of France?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:14:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 13:48:18 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

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----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Daniel Baer
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Baer, Daniel B
**Subject:** Re: Trying again
**Attachments:** 2009 12 12 Human Rights 10 am.docx

Hi,

Attached is a new draft in which I have tried to pack in the changes/additions you requested yesterday (as well as Cheryl's and Lissa's suggested edits).

To use a metaphor (or rather simile) of the season, we are at the stage where it's a bit like decorating a Christmas tree: trying to hang the ornaments so no branch bends too much, and so the whole tree stays upright.

I wanted to get it to you first, but will circulate to the others now, and can send to Oscar if that's helpful in terms of getting you a hard copy.

Dan

12/12

RELEASE IN PART B5

930 am

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

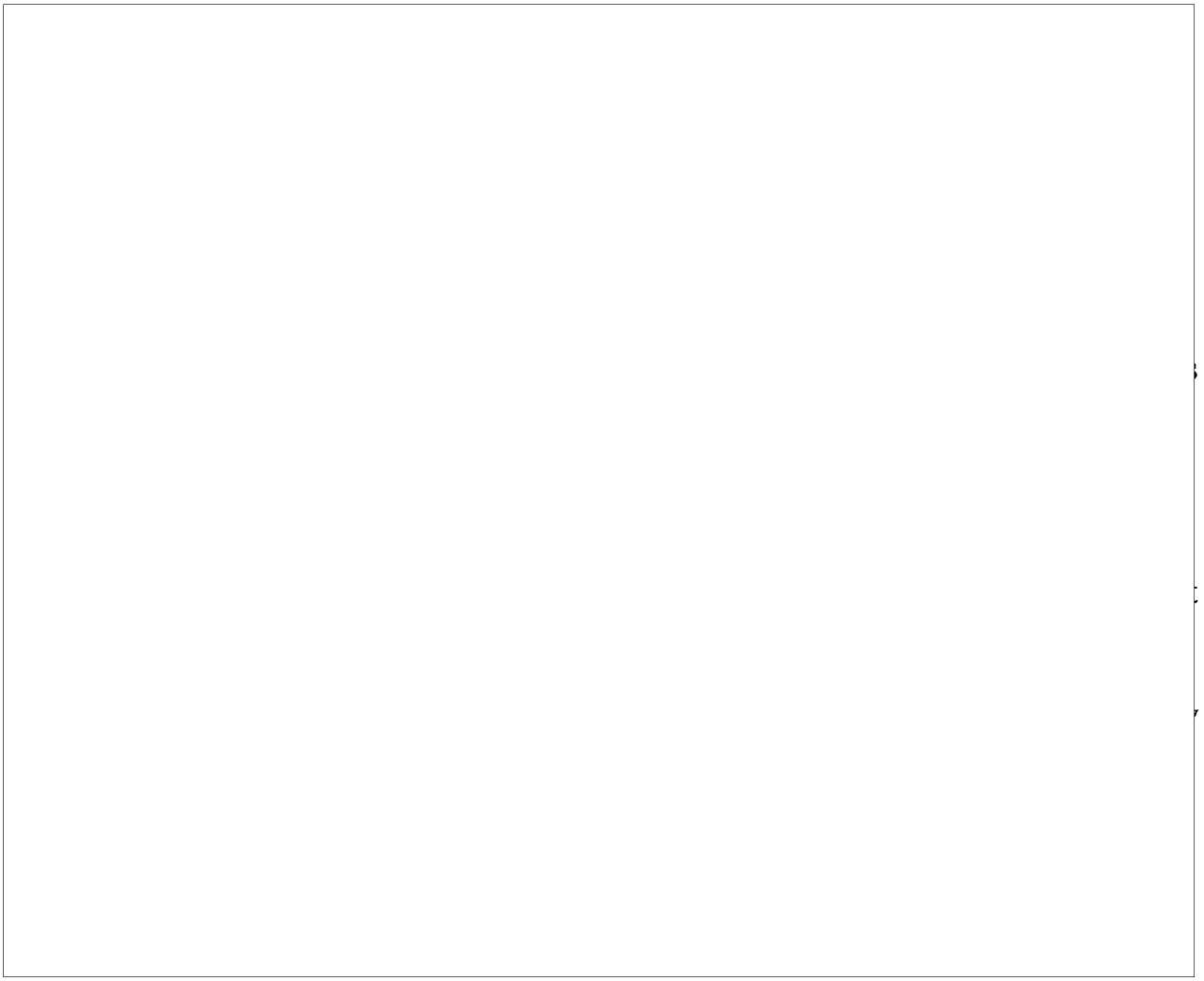
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# GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

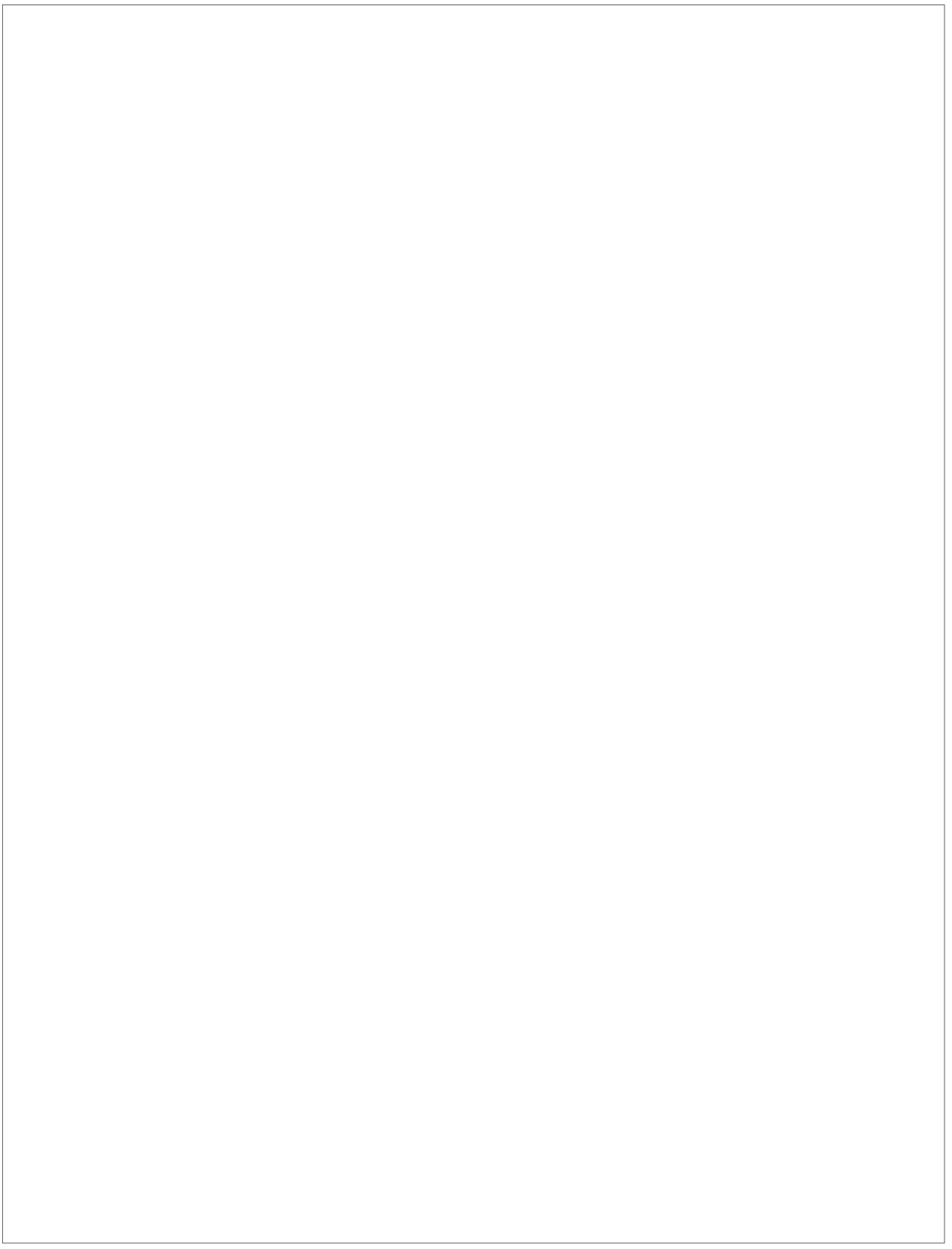
# WASHINGTON, DC

# DECEMBER 14, 2009

B5



B5

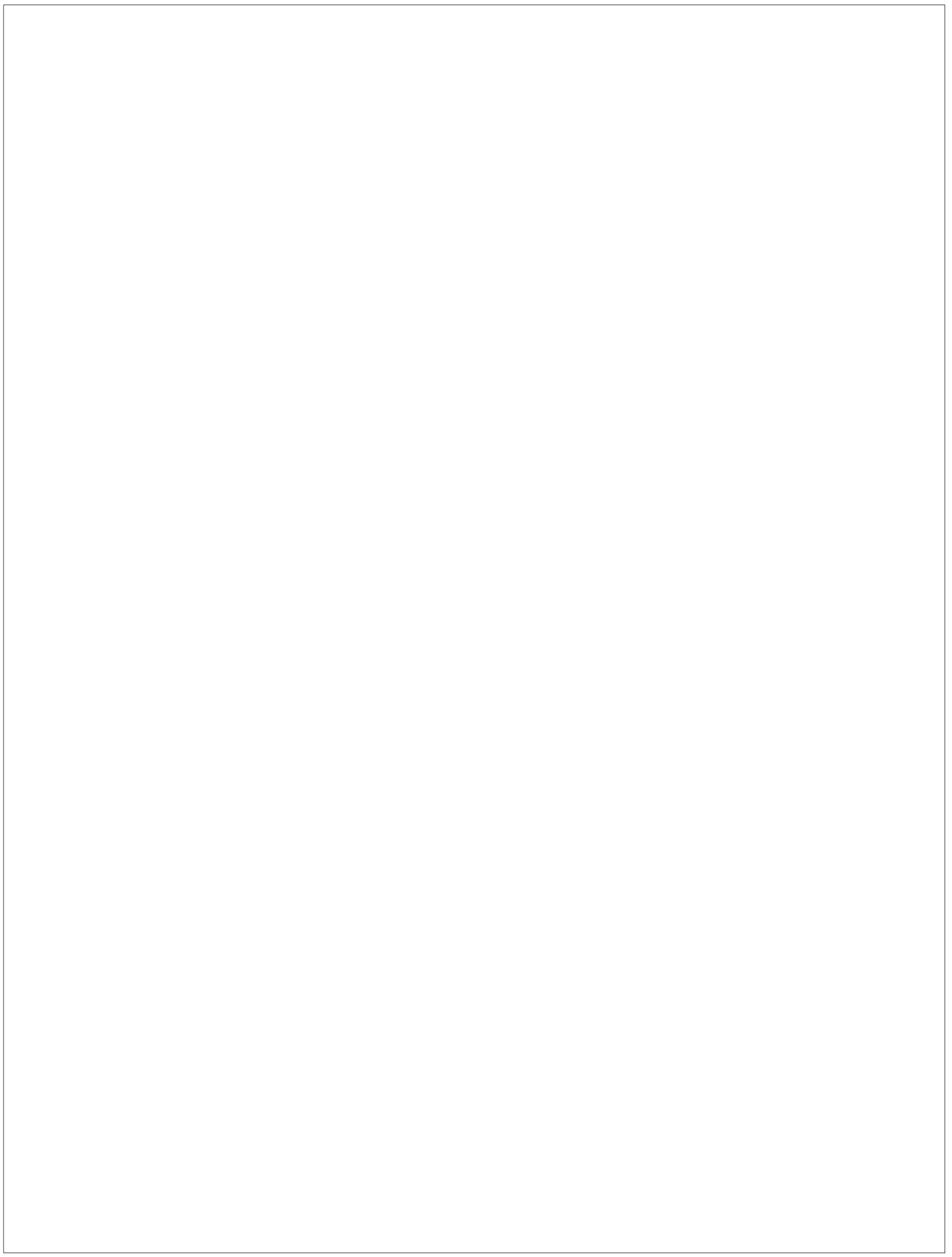


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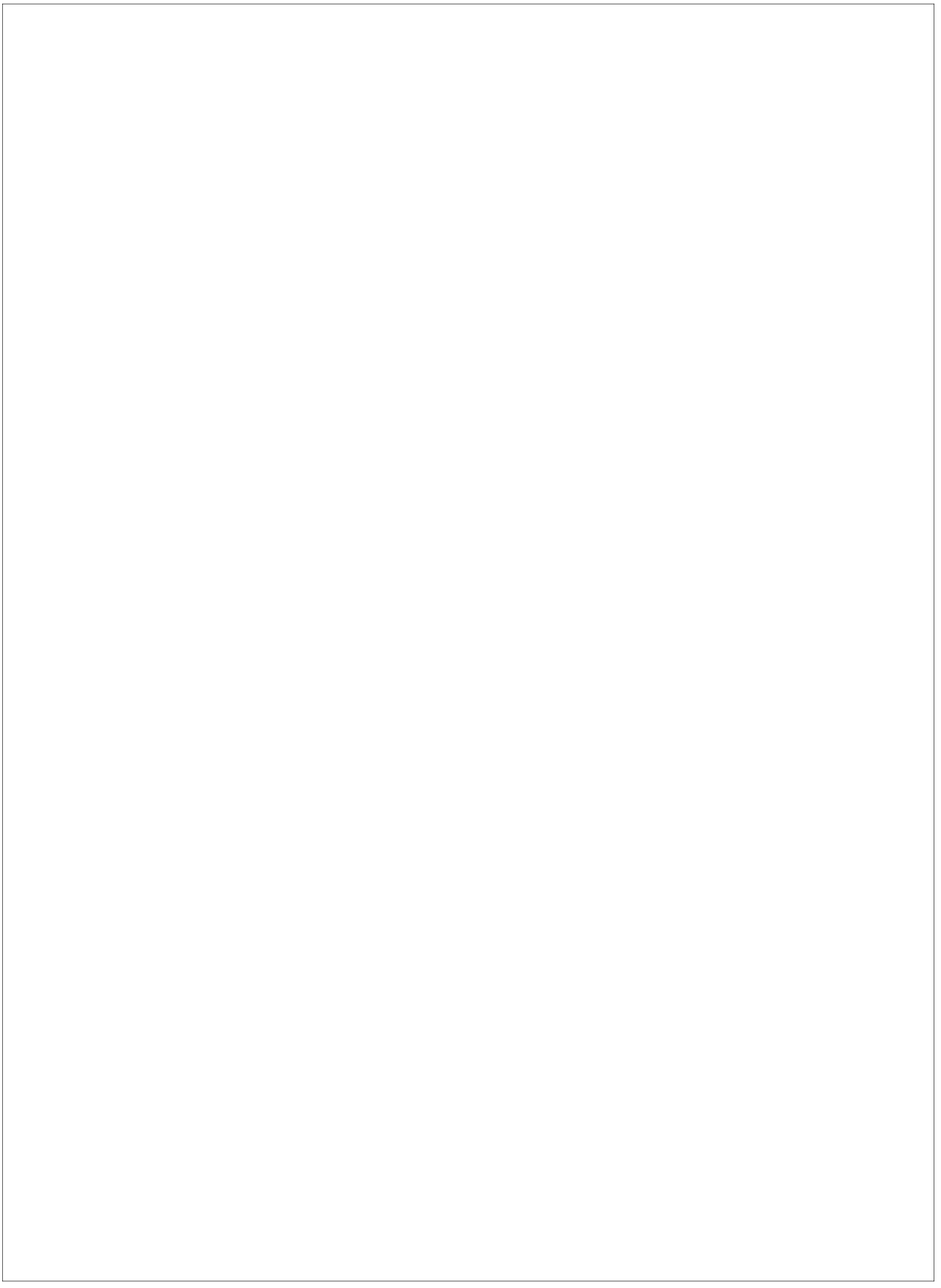
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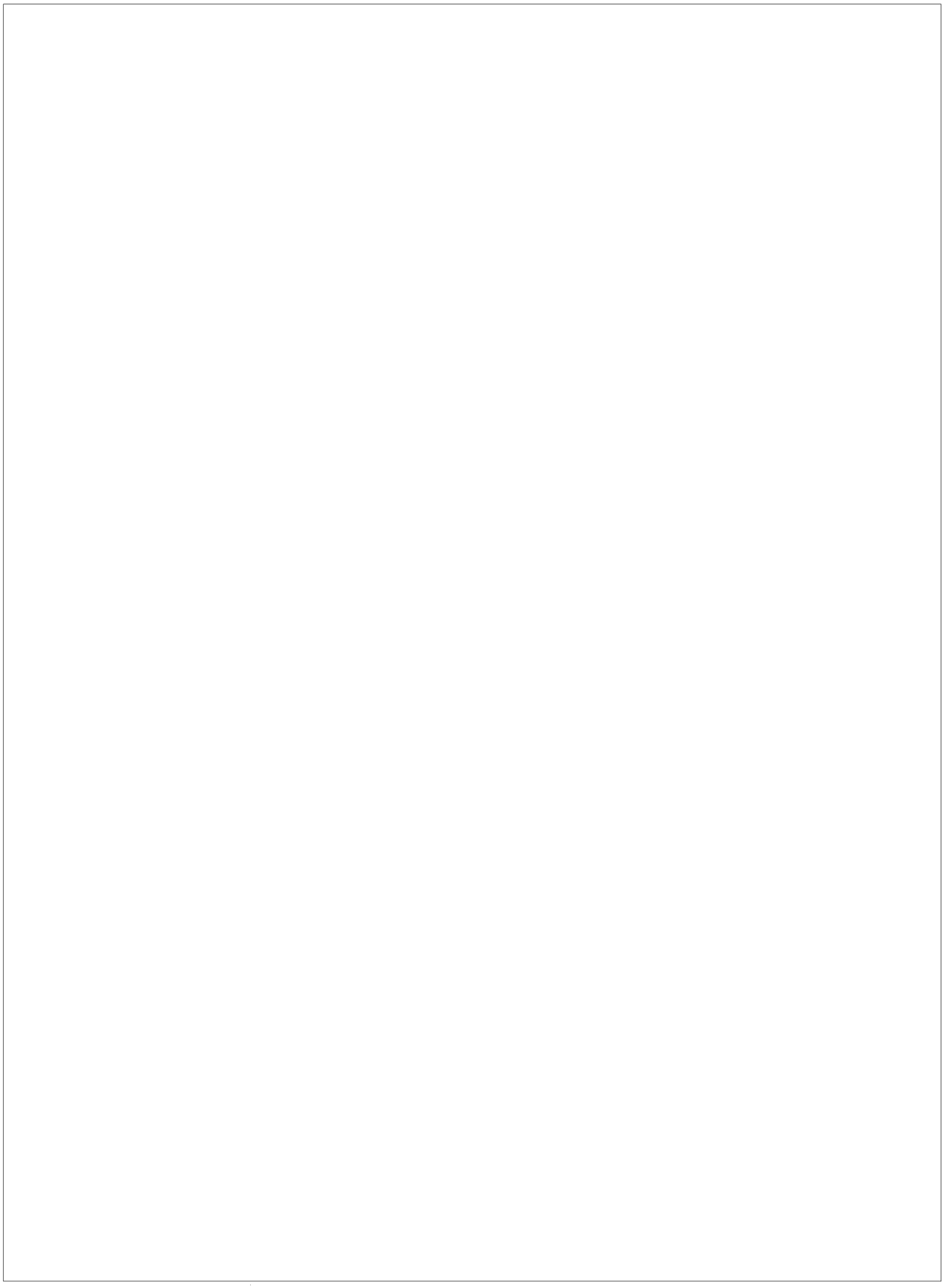
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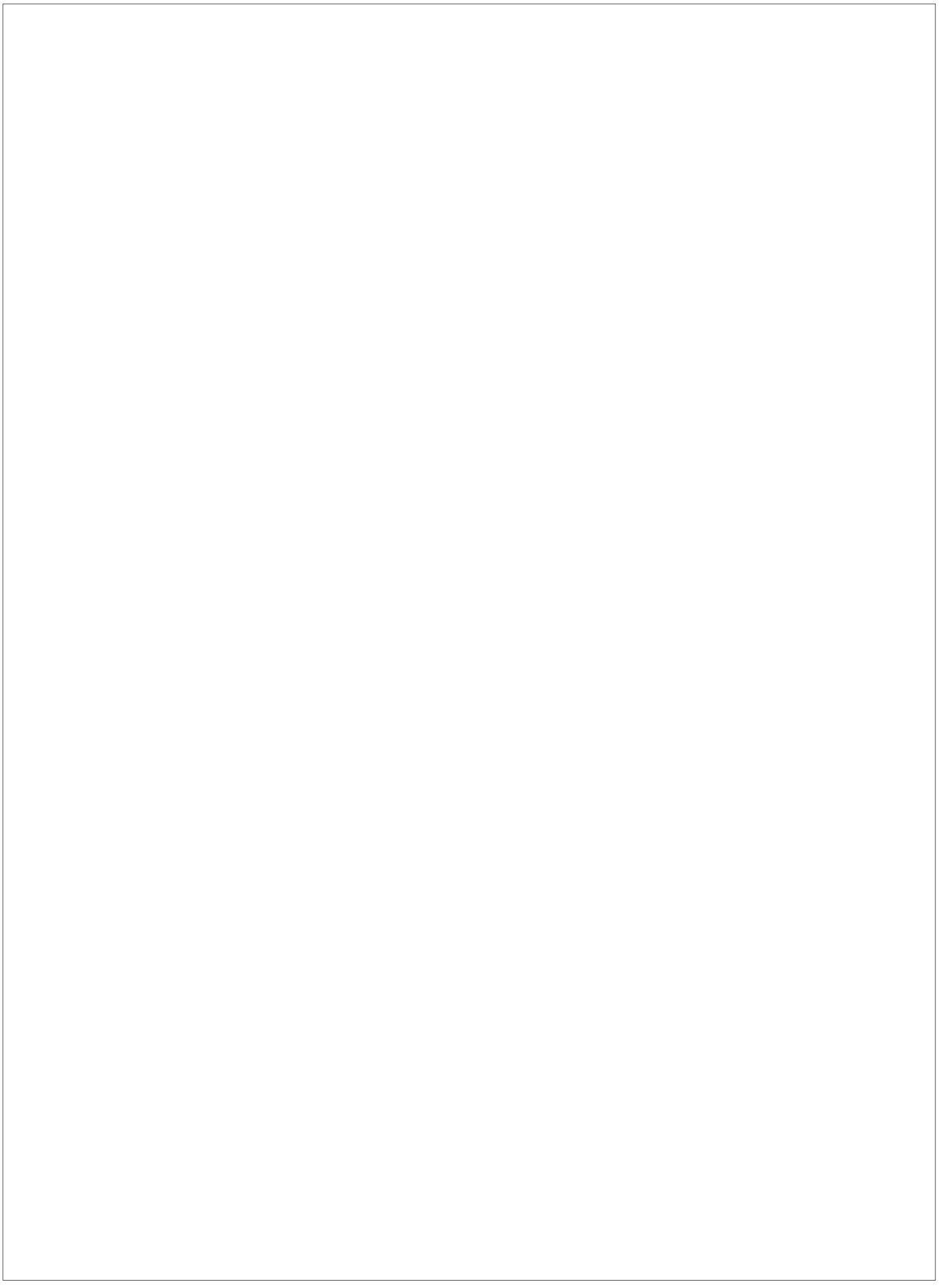
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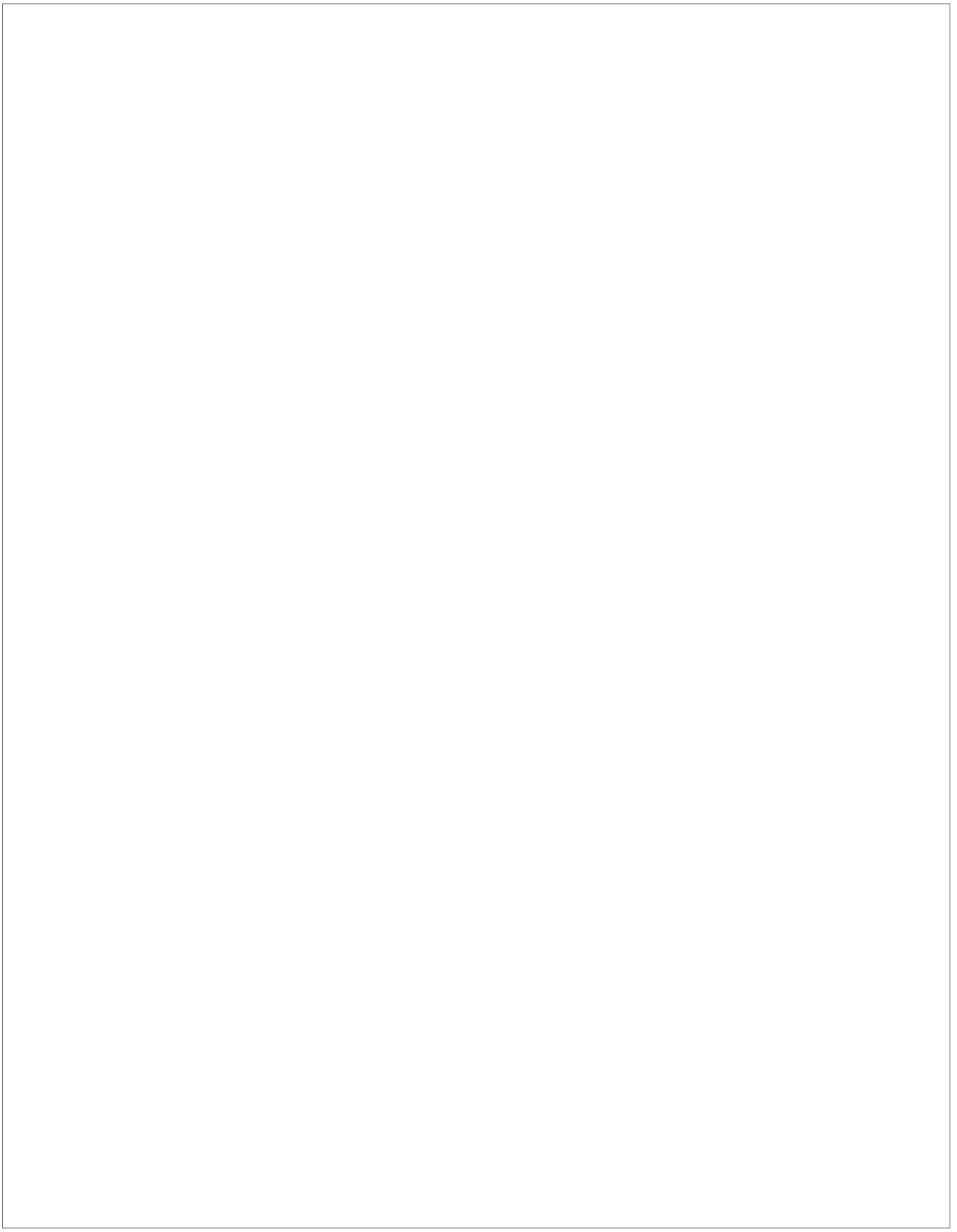
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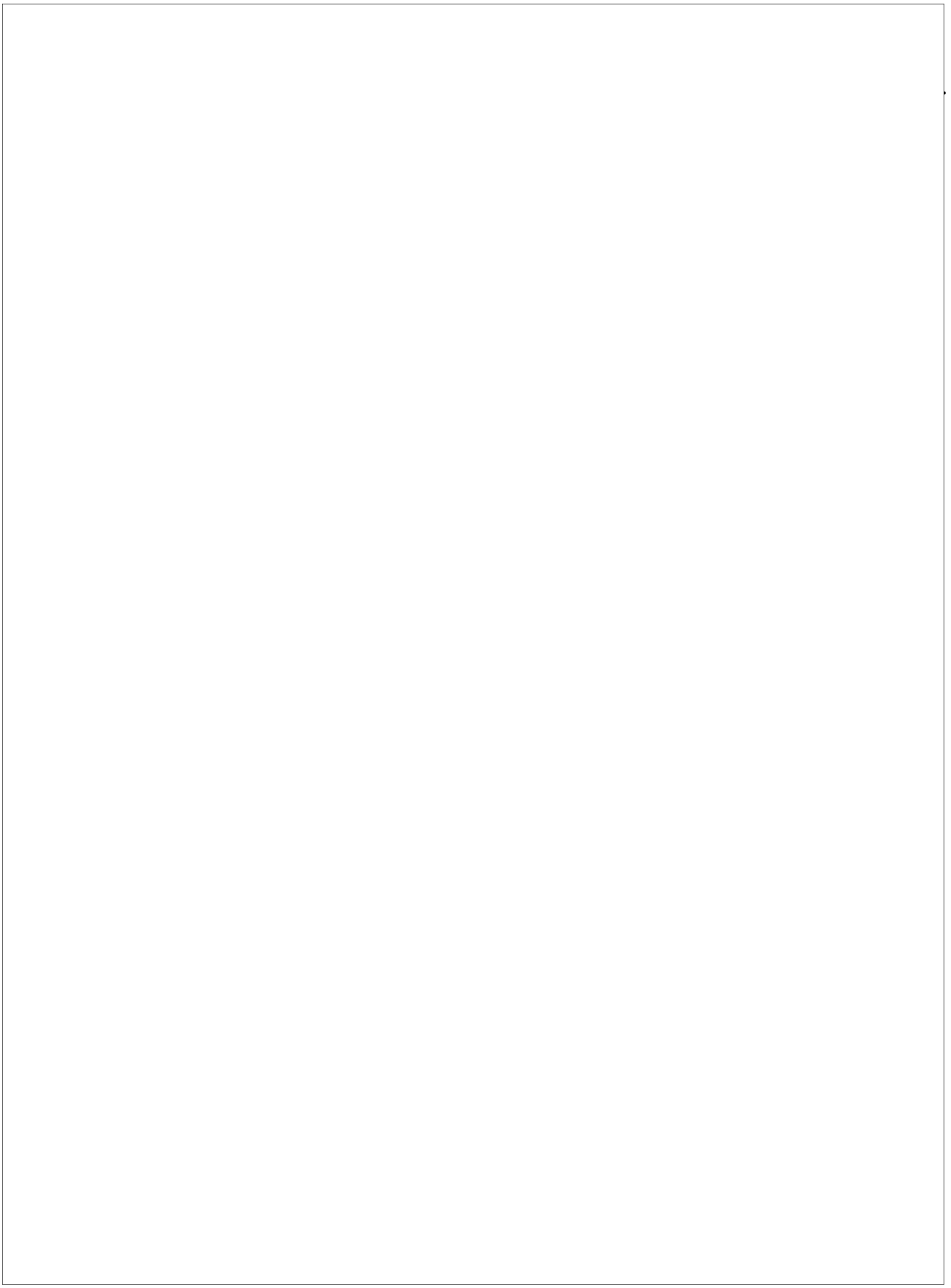
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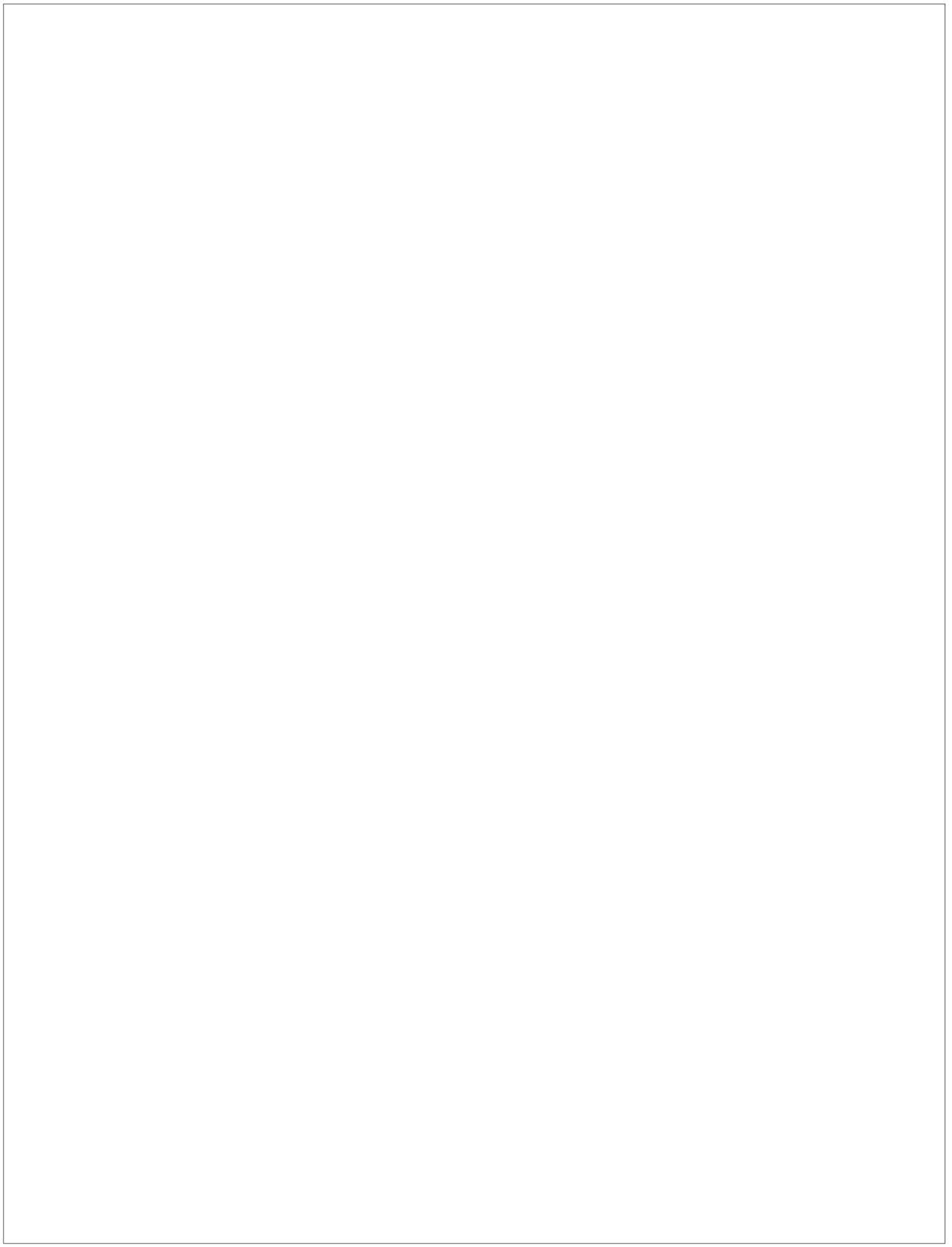
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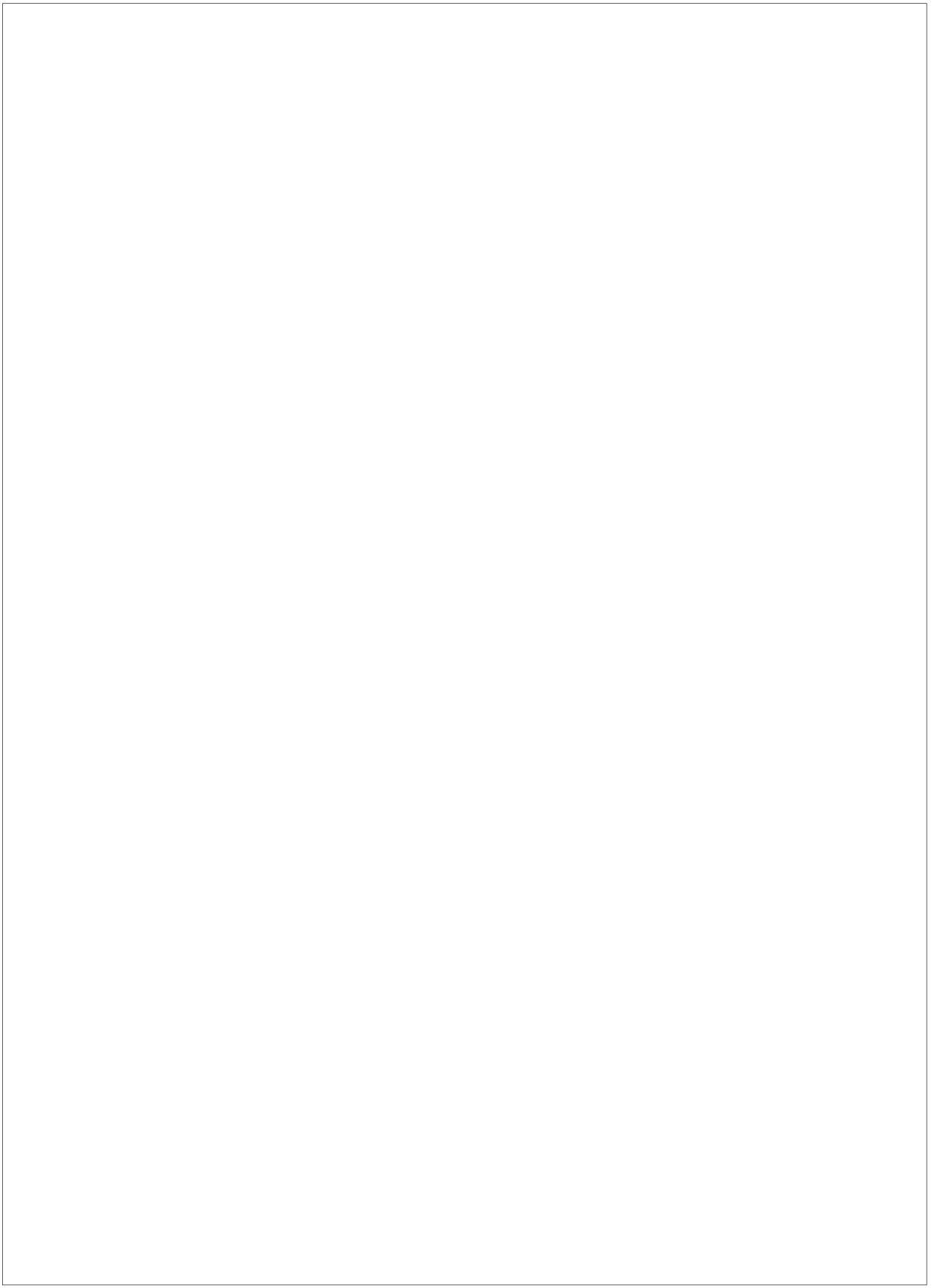
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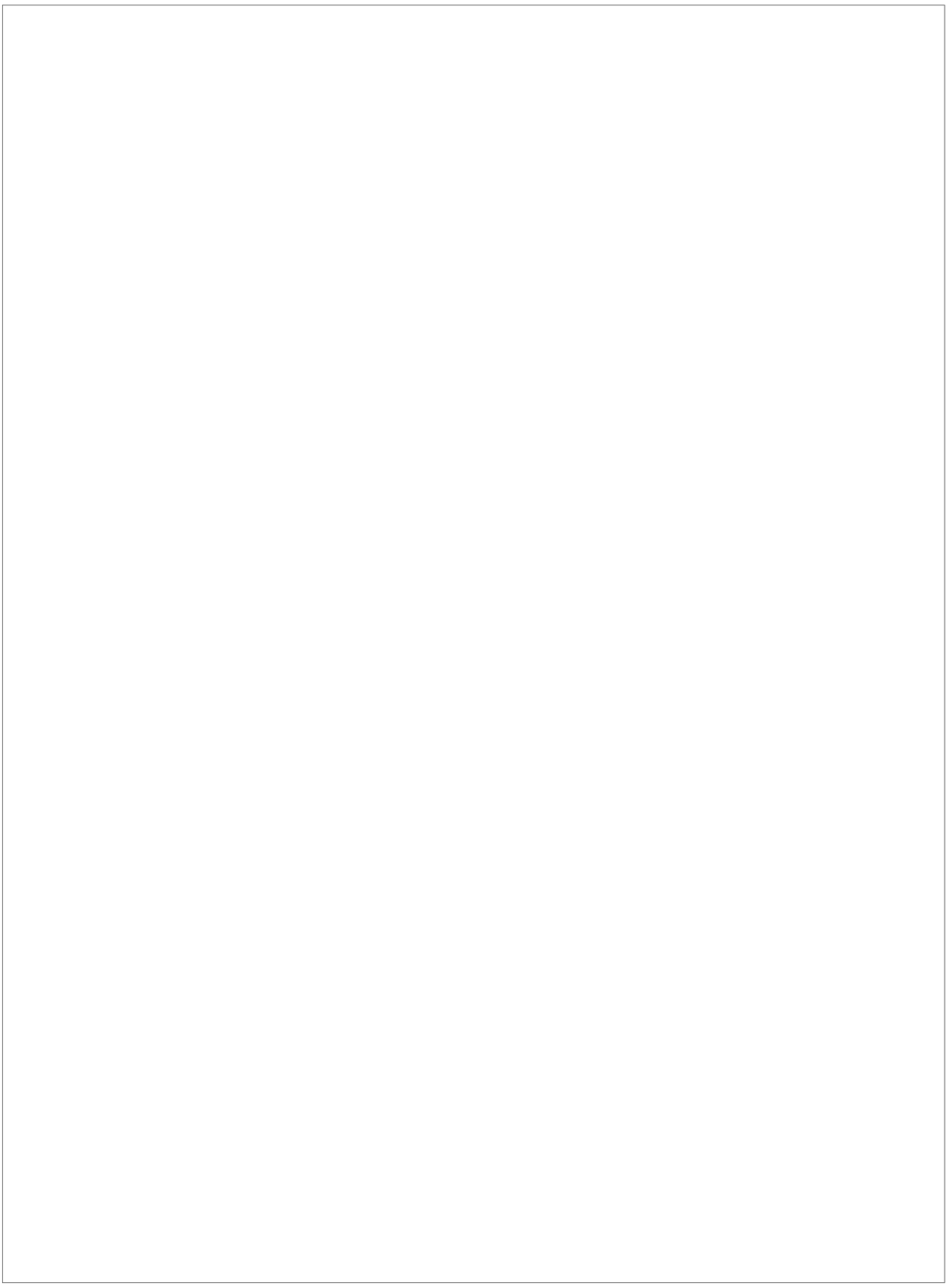
B5



B5



B5



B5



B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 10:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Guinea

I am on official travel until sometime on December 18. I will have periodic access to e-mails on this system.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766073 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**Office of Origin: S/SRGIA**

**Announcement Number:**

**Date of Announcement:**

---

**January 4, 2009**

# The Secretary Announces the Office of the Special Representative for Global Intergovernmental Affairs (S/SRGIA)

The Secretary announces the Office of the Special Representative for Global Intergovernmental Affairs. Special Representative Reta Jo Lewis (S/SRGIA) will serve the global needs of U.S. intergovernmental officials and the entities they represent. Special Representative Lewis will work to enhance relationships between state and local officials in the U.S. with intergovernmental officials around the world, to support local governance capacity building exchanges and programs to strengthen country-led processes, and to serve as a point of entry for the global needs and goals of U.S. intergovernmental officials.

Special Representative Reta Jo Lewis is located in Harry S. Truman Building, Room 1010. Special Representative Lewis can be reached at (202) 647-6252.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766073 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 10:46 AM
**To:** H; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Will happily do. The French Legal adviser Edwidge Belliard was very excited to meet you at lunch in DC a few months ago and I just saw her in the Hague on Wed. So Jeff--will stand by for your instructions Harold Harold Hongju Koh The Legal Adviser U.S. Department of State Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office
[redacted] B6
202 647 7096 fax

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:32:03 2009
Subject: Guinea

Jeff/Harold--

I spoke w Kouchener who will be meeting in Paris tomorrow night w Moroccan FM Faris-Firri. I told him we had offered ideas to help them out of their current standoff re returning the passport.

Jeff, can you call your French counterpart to explain and connect w Harold if we need L to contact the French legal advisor? Thanks-iand let me know what unfolds. Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Got it -- will follow up. Has Tom been in touch? Matt said he would be this morning.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:47:58 2009
Subject: Fw: Guinea

Jake--here's Harold's response. The work was done in NEA so we need to connect w the French today or early tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
To: H; Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:45:37 2009
Subject: Re: Guinea

Will happily do. The French Legal adviser Edwidge Belliard was very excited to meet you at lunch in DC a few months ago and I just saw her in the Hague on Wed. So Jeff--will stand by for your instructions Harold Harold Hongju Koh The Legal Adviser U.S. Department of State Suite 6421
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Yes will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:47:14 2009
Subject: Fw: Guinea

Can you be sure Jeff sees this since he's on travel? Also pass on to Ron Schlicher to work if Jeff not available.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'feltmanjd@state.gov' <feltmanjd@state.gov>; 'kohhh@state.gov' <kohhh@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:32:03 2009
Subject: Guinea

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:29 AM
**To:** H; Koh, Harold Hongju
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

I have left a message on the phone number of my French counterpart. I am sure he'll call me back, as he always does.

B5

Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:32:03 2009
Subject: Guinea

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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:56 AM
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Harold, we told the Moroccans they have a couple of options.

B5

Other ideas welcome!
Jeffrey Feltman

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From: Koh, Harold Hongju
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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 12:31 PM
**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; H
**Subject:** RE: Guinea

That sounds like a good menu. We are seeing if there are other options and will get back to you

-----Original Message-----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:56 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju; 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'
Subject: Re: Guinea

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766082 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

*Sensitive But Unclassified*

**To:** **The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State**

**Thru:** Cheryl Mills, Counselor and Chief of Staff

**From:** Reta Jo Lewis, Special Representative, Global Intergovernmental Affairs

**Date:** December 31, 2009

**Subject:** The Next Six Months - Work Plan

## I. Introduction

The next six months will be a critical time for establishing the Department's leadership in bridging relationships for U.S. intergovernmental officials and their foreign counterparts, defining the mission and role of the Office of the Special Representative for Global Intergovernmental Affairs ("S/SRGIA"), and outlining an agenda that serves the needs of the Department and these officials. Our approach will be strategic and integrated, working in collaboration with Department bureaus and USAID offices to strengthen and deliver on the Secretary's and Administration's priorities.

## II. Key Objectives

The Special Representative for Global Intergovernmental Affairs will serve the global needs of the U.S. intergovernmental officials and the entities they represent. The S/SRGIA will also connect U.S. state and local officials with intergovernmental officials around the world, promote local capacity building investments and programs to enhance country-led processes, and facilitate the needs and goals of intergovernmental officials here and abroad consistent with Department priorities.

## III. Next Steps

This work plan describes activities that the S/SRGIA plans to initiate, grow and implement in the next six months. To place the Work Plan in context, we describe below S/SRGIA's work-planning process.

### A. Establish S/SRGIA Mission and Role in the Department.

Currently, no one and no office in the State Department has accountability to serve the needs of intergovernmental officials, (e.g., Governors, Mayors, local elected leaders, the entities that represent them) with respect to their global affairs portfolios. State and local officials' concerns are typically routed on an individual basis through bureaus with the results reflecting the priority of the person in the bureau's estimation or the nature of the request. Priority activities will be as follows:



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766082 Date: 08/31/2015

- Confirm the Secretary's support to focus on priority issues and countries;
- Join Department's meetings and conversations with visiting foreign state and local representatives and dignitaries to establish S/SRGIA's role;
- Strengthen support on global intergovernmental affairs issues internally in the State Department, by explaining the value of these stakeholders;
- Track deployment of resources assisting intergovernmental officials and leverage the State Department's collective U.S. and global intergovernmental relationships;
- Follow and interpret international issues (e.g., food security, global health, climate change, trade and economic development, energy) of importance to state governments;
- Promote dialogue between the Department (e.g., USAID, EEB, ECA, Public Private Partnerships, Global Women's Issues, Consular Affairs, MCC and targeted Regional Bureaus) and external constituents (e.g., Governors, Mayors, local elected officials, and the entities that they represent) for more effective partnerships and relationships; and
- Collaborate with the Public Diplomacy and INR to create a survey of foreign intergovernmental affairs officials to determine their needs and engage U.S. intergovernmental officials to learn how the Department should help to further their global goals.

**B. Conduct Stakeholder Outreach: Obtain first-hand understanding of the needs of U.S. intergovernmental officials.**

State economies are increasingly globalized, and more and more U.S. companies are competing in international markets and against firms worldwide. As the principal stewards of their states' economic success, Governors recognize that the global marketplace presents both challenges and opportunities and that states must address both to ensure their continued competitiveness. Thus, S/SRGIA will develop its global intergovernmental affairs outreach activities in partnership with its participating US and other intergovernmental and international organizations. U.S. national organizations who serve governmental authorities include but are not limited to the following:

- National Governors Association;
- National Lt. Governors Association;
- U.S. Conference of Mayors;
- National League of Cities;
- National Association of Counties/Large Urban County Caucus;
- National Association of States Attorney Generals;
- National State Legislatures; and
- Councils of State Governments.

Outreach is essential to many aspects of the Department's activities. S/SRGIA's outreach objective is to promote and increase the general awareness of the benefits of the State Department efforts in global intergovernmental affairs, especially among decision makers and policy makers, educational entities, non-governmental organizations, public-interest groups and public agencies. S/SRGIA will provide international outreach services to state and local elected officials in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and all other inhabited U.S. territories. Specific objectives are to:

- Build state by state profiles, thus creating a set of priorities and identifying opportunities for collaboration with state and local officials on their global projects and Department priorities;
- Establish our target list of public officials to assist and nurture relationships with principals and the organizations that represent them and their global needs;
- Create dialogue with the Governors and Mayors in preparation for the NGA and Mayors Washington conferences in the fall;
- Travel to conferences and meetings within the United States and countries abroad required to implement the Department's global intergovernmental affairs agenda;
- Develop a network of leaders, to collaborate and create partnerships;
- Coordinate meetings between Department of State experts and state and local officials;
- Support targeted elected officials trade missions and other official trips abroad;
- Develop a strategy for deliverables such as multilateral pacts and Memorandum of Understandings on key State Department priorities that we will sign with responsible parties; and
- Collaboration with EEB, to partner with them to engage state and local government leaders in the bureaus enhanced commercial diplomacy efforts (e.g. the Administration's National Export Initiative and EEB/Consular Affairs Business Visa Facilitation initiative, etc.).

**C. Conduct Stakeholder Outreach: Obtain first-hand understanding of the needs of middle and senior foreign intergovernmental affairs officials.**

Currently, ECA conducts a significant number of exchanges with foreign and domestic government officials. None of ECA's programs target regions with the objective of enhancing another country's government systems because the bureau's authorities do not permit any type of training since everything must be done under the auspices of enhancing mutual understanding. The most visible ECA program is the International Visitor Leadership Program which in FY09 brought in 1,390 foreign government officials at the state, city and national levels to gain knowledge around the US political system and culture. To date, the bureau estimates the same number of government visitors in FY10.

Thus, S/SRGIA will develop its global intergovernmental affairs outreach activities in partnership with international organizations. International organizations who serve local governmental authorities include but are not limited to the following:

- United Cities and Local Governments;
- Metropolis;
- The World Urban Forum;
- UN-HABITAT;
- Latin American and Caribbean Ministers of Housing and Urbanization;
- UN Advisory Committee of Local Authorities;
- The World Mayors Council on Climate Change;

- Sister Cities International;
- Local Governments for Sustainability; and
- Municipal Development Partnerships which targets governments in Africa.

Priority activities will be as follows:

- S/SRGIA will collaborate with Public Diplomacy to conduct stakeholder outreach with strategic countries – e.g. Af, Pak, Iraq – and key emerging powers (Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Nigeria) and developing countries (Rwanda, Ethiopia, Kenya, etc.) to obtain first-hand understanding of the needs of middle and senior foreign intergovernmental affairs officials;
- Collaborate with INR to assist us in gaining a better understanding of what foreign intergovernmental affairs officials want to engage with their US counterparts ranging from engagement on a host of common policy concerns, opportunities, programs and connections.

**D. Provide Leadership for Department Intergovernmental Capacity Building.**

One of our largest challenges in most developing countries is the lack of capacity in the government below the President and Prime Minister level. As the Department seeks to implement development programs or conduct diplomacy, there is often limited local counterpart capacity to do so with or to empower. S/SRGIA will work with USAID and State bureaus and offices to provide connections and leadership development to build the capacity of intergovernmental officials in countries around the world. Currently, millions of dollars of USAID and ECA grants that support capacity building are typically carried out by contractors and have results that are not transparent in their reporting or impact. S/SRGIA will partner with existing offices to provide leadership for the investment in this space, accountability for the outcomes and programming, and foster relationships between intergovernmental officials here in the US with foreign partners to mentor and model what is needed.

S/SRGIA capacity building strategies will primarily be based on best practices derived from studying successful and less-successful approaches. Within the next six months, S/SRGIA will work in partnership with Department and USAID bureaus and resources. Priority activities will be as follows:

- Identify State Department investments, canvass additional State Department dedicated resources other than grant-making and assess the strength of the current environment needed to advance the S/SRGIA's Secretary capacity building agenda for state and local leaders; participate in QDDR process regarding this agenda;
- Develop an agenda for a high-level retreat on the formulation of a National Capacity Development Strategy to present achievements to date, lessons learned and proposals for institutional capacity development going forward;
- Work with the Chiefs of Missions and other diplomats in countries where capacity building is critical to the success of our diplomacy and development efforts;

- Amplify and sustain high quality and results driven support to institutional capacity development by assisting in advocating for increased funding and building public-private partnerships;
- Prioritize discrete initiatives to "fast track", based on importance, regional priorities (e.g., Asia, Africa and Latin America), assessment of readiness, impact and feasibility and translate priorities into actionable interventions;
- Develop a network of experts involved in existing capacity-building initiatives related to global intergovernmental affairs and build partnerships;
- Define a coordinated approach and institutional responsibilities for supporting the GIA capacity building initiative; and
- Identify opportunities for further collaboration with state and local officials on their projects and Department priorities.

## IV. Administrative Activities

- Standardize requests for assistance with projects related to policy, business, trade, consular affairs, etc.; and
- Link the Department website to states websites and trade and development office websites.

## V. Budget and Staffing

S/SRGIA will require a budget and staffing to fulfill its mission.

## VI. Assessment of Progress

The **short term** goal will be to engage U.S. intergovernmental officials about their global concerns. The S/SRGIA office will become a significant resource for high-level State Department engagement for U.S. state and local elected officials. The benefits of this new office will be immediate and grow over time as our engagement deepens. Assisting US states and local governments to expand their exports, promote locations for foreign investment and for participation in State Department priorities are some of the short term benefits we hope to achieve with respect to U.S. intergovernmental officials.

With respect to the global intergovernmental officials, in the **short term**, we expect to work with our Regional Bureaus and Offices, (e.g., USAID, ECA, EEB, etc.) to assess the current state of play and assist us with how we better target and leverage our assistance to this constituency.

In the **longer term**, institutionally, we need to sustain relationships with our embassies and missions overseas, so that they can assist state and local officials and their constituencies to expand their global business base. As related to our national capacity building strategy, in the long term, we seek to empower and educate and build relationships with state and local officials abroad. We also seek accountability for the outcomes of the programming and will provide leadership for future investments. Going forward, we will tailor these investments to address regional State Department priorities.

In addition, since there is a lack of USG harmonization of all of the relevant USG programs, having S/SRGIA be the designated coordinator will allow DOS to take the lead in synchronizing government wide programs that engage foreign government officials. This will be another **long term** goal for the office.

## VII. Potential Events

### A. Potential Events and Activities for S

1. Private Dinner or Luncheon with the Governors and Urban Mayors;
2. Roundtable or Speech at USCM/NGA Winter Meetings; and
3. Recommendations of Governors and Mayors for S to extend possible invitations for occasional international travel with S.

### B. Potential Events and Activities SRGIA

1. Host "Day with State" with U.S. intergovernmental officials and conduct joint meetings with various State Department Bureaus and Offices giving stakeholders the ability to connect and partner with State;
2. Focus Groups with Diplomats from key regions of interest representing Latin America, Africa, Asia in our development of our capacity building strategy;
3. Meetings with other elected officials and representative organizations;
4. Meetings with NGOs, thinktanks, etc.; and
5. Recommend US intergovernmental officials for appointments to US delegations to State Department international meetings and conferences.

## VIII. Possible Travel for SRGIA

### A. Domestic

1. TX, NY, VA, MD, PA, Delaware, D.C. Illinois, Florida, California, Ohio, NJ, Michigan. States are targeted based on foreign direct investment, export data and states of interest.

### B. International

1. Travel to targeted international meetings that focus on engaging state and local leaders; (e.g. World Urban Forum, Brazil; World Cities Summit 2010, Singapore; World Alliance of Cities Against Poverty, Rotterdam; 3rd Meeting of United Cities and Local Governments-ASPAC Congress 2010, Japan; Global Mayors Forum, Hong Kong and Shenzhen, China;
2. Emphasis and travel to Asia, Latin America and Africa countries where capacity building is critical to the success of our diplomacy and development effort.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766082 Date: 08/31/2015



## IX. Key Dates - 2010

1. Jan, 13 - 14, 2010, Western Hemisphere Economic Officers Conference, Puerto Rico
2. Jan. 20 – Jan. 22, USCM Winter Meeting and June 2010 Annual Meeting
3. Jan. 29 – Feb. 1, National Association of Secretaries of State
4. Jan. 30 – Jan. 31, National Conference of State Legislatures, Savannah, GA
5. Feb. 8 – Feb. 10, National Association of Attorneys General, Ft. Lauderdale, FL
6. Feb. 20 – Feb. 22, National Governors Association Winter Meeting and July 2010 Annual Meeting
7. Mar. 6 – Mar. 7, National Association of Counties
8. Mar. 10 – Mar. 12, National Lieutenant Governors Association
9. International Conference of Mayors Summits
10. Strategic and Economic Dialogue – Chaired by S and Treasury
11. 2010 - Gov. Linda Lingle, APEC Conference – Hawaii
12. World Conference of Mayors for Peace
13. United Nations Day
14. Mayors Hemisphere Forum



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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 1:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Thanks. I passed on to Ron as well and clarified it was to do with W Sahara.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 12 12:31:44 2009
Subject: Fw: Guinea

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
To: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>; H
Sent: Sat Dec 12 11:55:56 2009
Subject: Re: Guinea

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 1:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Editorial

See below. Todd also wrote a short while ago to say the following:

---

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat Dec 12 12:50:30 2009
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Editorial

By the way, see below. HRC should see. Thanks.

---

**From:** Ben Kobren [redacted] B6
**To:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC); Todd Stern < [redacted] Ogden, Peter R
**Sent:** Sat Dec 12 08:12:24 2009
**Subject:** NYT Editorial

Really good editorial here. Really worth reading.

This Week in Copenhagen
December 12, 2009
Editorial

We didn't expect much from the first week of the global warming conference in Copenhagen. Countries need to do a little posturing before getting down to the hard work, which is supposed to start on Monday. But the belligerent talk from China seemed to go well beyond the usual positioning.

The best hope is that the talks will produce an interim understanding under which industrialized countries would commit to fairly precise targets for reduced emissions, and others, like China, to broader but measurable goals. The industrial countries would be expected to help poorer countries shift to less-polluting forms of energy.

That would set the stage for a legally binding deal in 2010. But there is no chance of even an interim agreement without the enthusiastic participation of China, the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases. China's absence would give other developing countries — and the United States Senate — an excuse to do less than needed.

Beijing's recent pledge to slow the growth in emissions seemed like a positive shift in attitude. Then on Tuesday, in a surprising show of defensiveness, China's top negotiator, Su Wei, said the greatest burden rested with the industrialized countries and jumped on the United States, Japan and the European Union for not being aggressive enough. Another Chinese official urged Washington to do "some deep soul-searching" and improve its proposal.

Todd Stern, the chief American negotiator, responded correctly: With emissions in many industrialized countries peaking or declining, just about all of the growth in greenhouse gases is expected to come from the developing world between now and 2030, half from China. Rich nations must still reduce emissions sharply, Mr. Stern said, but "there is no way to solve this problem by giving the major developing countries a pass."

China has also been demanding that rich nations contribute hundreds of millions of dollars a year to help poor countries address the threat of climate change. Again Mr. Stern was blunt. Washington is prepared to help those who need it, but given China's huge reserves and revved-up economy, he said he could not envision "public funds, certainly not from the United States, going to China."

The most positive development has been a pledge by the European Union to contribute $10.5 billion over the next three years to help poorer countries deal with climate change. The United States has said that it will make a contribution but has not said how big it will be.

Transparency is another difficult issue that must be resolved, at least in principle, this week. There is no point in setting targets, or threatening penalties for noncompliance, unless countries are required to report emissions accurately. Transparency has never been one of Beijing's virtues, and emerging countries generally need aid to create sophisticated monitoring systems.

Copenhagen's broadest challenge is finding an equitable way to distribute the burden of confronting climate change. Despite some differences, the industrialized nations have pretty much agreed to trim their emissions by 15 percent to 20 percent from 2005 levels in the next 10 years, and by 80 percent by midcentury. And all seem to be willing to make expensive investments to get there. President Obama will need help from Congress, no sure thing.

A host of developing countries — including India, Brazil, Indonesia — have put broad goals on the table, though in some cases they seem more aspirational than real. But the bottom line is that the hope for a meaningful deal is vanishingly small if China doesn't sign on.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 1:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NYT Editorial

Whoops...to say:

HRC should come. Danes expect all day Thursday for discussions with and among leaders to resolve open issues. Discussed this with Danish leaders today. Think this very important. This is looking more and more difficult, so I'm certainly not promising success. But bad if we don't try full out. Thanks pal.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sat Dec 12 13:37:18 2009
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Editorial

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Beijing's recent pledge to slow the growth in emissions seemed like a positive shift in attitude. Then on Tuesday, in a surprising show of defensiveness, China's top negotiator, Su Wei, said the greatest burden rested with the industrialized countries and jumped on the United States, Japan and the European Union for not being aggressive enough. Another Chinese official urged Washington to do "some deep soul-searching" and improve its proposal.

Todd Stern, the chief American negotiator, responded correctly: With emissions in many industrialized countries peaking or declining, just about all of the growth in greenhouse gases is expected to come from the developing world between now and 2030, half from China. Rich nations must still reduce emissions sharply, Mr. Stern said, but "there is no way to solve this problem by giving the major developing countries a pass."

China has also been demanding that rich nations contribute hundreds of millions of dollars a year to help poor countries address the threat of climate change. Again Mr. Stern was blunt. Washington is prepared to help those who need it, but given China's huge reserves and revved-up economy, he said he could not envision "public funds, certainly not from the United States, going to China."

The most positive development has been a pledge by the European Union to contribute $10.5 billion over the next three years to help poorer countries deal with climate change. The United States has said that it will make a contribution but has not said how big it will be.

Transparency is another difficult issue that must be resolved, at least in principle, this week. There is no point in setting targets, or threatening penalties for noncompliance, unless countries are required to report emissions accurately. Transparency has never been one of Beijing's virtues, and emerging countries generally need aid to create sophisticated monitoring systems.

Copenhagen's broadest challenge is finding an equitable way to distribute the burden of confronting climate change. Despite some differences, the industrialized nations have pretty much agreed to trim their emissions by 15 percent to 20 percent from 2005 levels in the next 10 years, and by 80 percent by midcentury. And all seem to be willing to make expensive investments to get there. President Obama will need help from Congress, no sure thing.

A host of developing countries — including India, Brazil, Indonesia — have put broad goals on the table, though in some cases they seem more aspirational than real. But the bottom line is that the hope for a meaningful deal is vanishingly small if China doesn't sign on.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 2:02 PM
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; H
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

I just talked to the French NEA equivalent.

B5

Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Dec 12 12:31:14 2009
Subject: RE: Guinea

That sounds like a good menu. We are seeing if there are other options and will get back to you

-----Original Message-----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Saturday, December 12, 2009 11:56 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju; 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'
Subject: Re: Guinea

Harold, we told the Moroccans they have a couple of options.

Other ideas welcome!
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:45:37 2009
Subject: Re: Guinea

Will happily do. The French Legal adviser Edwidge Belliard was very excited to meet you at lunch in DC a few months ago and I just saw her in the Hague on Wed. So Jeff--will stand by for your instructions Harold Harold Hongju Koh The Legal Adviser U.S. Department of State Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421

202 647 9598 office

[redacted]

202 647 7096 fax

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Sat Dec 12 10:32:03 2009
Subject: Guinea

Jeff/Harold--

I spoke w Kouchener who will be meeting in Paris tomorrow night w Moroccan FM Faris-Firri. I told him we had offered ideas to help them out of their current standoff re returning the passport.

Jeff, can you call your French counterpart to explain and connect w Harold if we need L to contact the French legal advisor? Thanks-iand let me know what unfolds. Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Carson, Johnnie <CarsonJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Guinea

Madam Secretary: We are in total agreement with the French on this issue, are coordinating closely and being proactive in our own diplomacy.

B5

Johnnie

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Carson, Johnnie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 12 12:35:57 2009
Subject: Guinea

I spoke w French FM Kouchner

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 3:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: NYT Editorial

I've asked Todd to identify the specific areas where he thinks progress can be made through discussions on Thursday.

At a high level, I think leaders' conversations on Thursday will begin to narrow gaps on the big issues -- transparency, funding, inscribing commitments, etc -- IF (and it's a big if) those gaps are narrow-able. If they're not, then Thursday/Friday will be days of trying and failing ... but at least trying.

Todd's view is that there is not enough time Friday for top-level meetings to close the deal; that two days are required. You would be our head of delegation for the first, POTUS for the second.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 12, 2009 2:35 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: NYT Editorial

Do you think we could get anything done? If so, what?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 12 13:38:30 2009
Subject: Re: NYT Editorial

Whoops...to say:

HRC should come. Danes expect all day Thursday for discussions with and among leaders to resolve open issues. Discussed this with Danish leaders today. Think this very important. This is looking more and more difficult, so I'm certainly not promising success. But bad if we don't try full out. Thanks pal.

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Dec 12 13:37:18 2009
Subject: Fw: NYT Editorial

See below. Todd also wrote a short while ago to say the following:

---

From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 12 12:50:30 2009
Subject: Fw: NYT Editorial

By the way, see below. HRC should see. Thanks.

---

From: Ben Kobren [redacted] B6
To: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC); Todd Stern [redacted] Ogden, Peter R
Sent: Sat Dec 12 08:12:24 2009
Subject: NYT Editorial

Really good editorial here. Really worth reading.

This Week in Copenhagen
December 12, 2009
Editorial

We didn't expect much from the first week of the global warming conference in Copenhagen. Countries need to do a little posturing before getting down to the hard work, which is supposed to start on Monday. But the belligerent talk from China seemed to go well beyond the usual positioning.

The best hope is that the talks will produce an interim understanding under which industrialized countries would commit to fairly precise targets for reduced emissions, and others, like China, to broader but measurable goals. The industrial countries would be expected to help poorer countries shift to less-polluting forms of energy.

That would set the stage for a legally binding deal in 2010. But there is no chance of even an interim agreement without the enthusiastic participation of China, the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases. China's absence would give other developing countries — and the United States Senate — an excuse to do less than needed.

Beijing's recent pledge to slow the growth in emissions seemed like a positive shift in attitude. Then on Tuesday, in a surprising show of defensiveness, China's top negotiator, Su Wei, said the greatest burden rested with the industrialized countries and jumped on the United States, Japan and the European Union for not being aggressive enough. Another Chinese official urged Washington to do "some deep soul-searching" and improve its proposal.

Todd Stern, the chief American negotiator, responded correctly: With emissions in many industrialized countries peaking or declining, just about all of the growth in greenhouse gases is expected to come from the developing world between now and 2030, half from China. Rich nations must still reduce emissions sharply, Mr. Stern said, but "there is no way to solve this problem by giving the major developing countries a pass."

China has also been demanding that rich nations contribute hundreds of millions of dollars a year to help poor countries address the threat of climate change. Again Mr. Stern was blunt. Washington is prepared to help those who need it, but given China's huge reserves and revved-up economy, he said he could not envision "public funds, certainly not from the United States, going to China."

The most positive development has been a pledge by the European Union to contribute $10.5 billion over the next three years to help poorer countries deal with climate change. The United States has said that it will make a contribution but has not said how big it will be.

Transparency is another difficult issue that must be resolved, at least in principle, this week. There is no point in setting targets, or threatening penalties for noncompliance, unless countries are required to report emissions accurately. Transparency has never been one of Beijing's virtues, and emerging countries generally need aid to create sophisticated monitoring systems.

Copenhagen's broadest challenge is finding an equitable way to distribute the burden of confronting climate change. Despite some differences, the industrialized nations have pretty much agreed to trim their emissions by 15 percent to 20 percent from 2005 levels in the next 10 years, and by 80 percent by midcentury. And all seem to be willing to make expensive investments to get there. President Obama will need help from Congress, no sure thing.

A host of developing countries — including India, Brazil, Indonesia — have put broad goals on the table, though in some cases they seem more aspirational than real. But the bottom line is that the hope for a meaningful deal is vanishingly small if China doesn't sign on.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 12, 2009 3:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: NYT Editorial

Will get back to you on the specific process, but my understanding is that it will be a series of bilats and possibly some working sessions. You can meet with leaders; harder for Todd or Chu to do so.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 12, 2009 3:20 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: NYT Editorial

And also what would the process be--why would my parachuting in going to be determinative?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 12 15:15:53 2009
Subject: RE: NYT Editorial

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At a high level, I think leaders' conversations on Thursday will begin to narrow gaps on the big issues -- transparency, funding, inscribing commitments, etc -- IF (and it's a big if) those gaps are narrow-able. If they're not, then Thursday/Friday will be days of trying and failing ... but at least trying.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Connecting

I am meeting with Raj but should be done by 11am - can you talk then?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 9:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke called for you

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Daniel Baer [redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** muscatinel@state.gov; ValmoroLJ@state.gov; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Speech

I think Jake should be on the call.

Once the call is scheduled, I will get a version to you before the call that reflects the latest revisions I've received.

Dan

On Sun, Dec 13, 2009 at 7:56 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
The latest draft is getting closer. And I agree w Dan that we have to be careful not to topple the tree w too many ornaments. That said, I'd like to have a call w you (and anyone else who you think should be on) this afternoon or evening to raise a few points. I'm copying Lona and Huma so they can help schedule it. Thanks for all your good work.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 10:46 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Followup issues

Answers under each:

Will I receive a full notebook for approps hearings tonight?

Yes, and a draft of the testimony.

I'd like a call this afternoon or evening to go over the draft Af-Pak regional strategy. Who should be on call? It is quite good but lacks "milestones" and budgets for each section.

Sounds good. Huma and I will work to set it up. The budget issue is complicated -- we've had several discussions about it. It's hard to put down numbers with confidence.

Call should be with Jack, Piper, Rich, Paul Jones, and Sean Misko.

Re the required report for Kerry-Lugar, I want to be sure that the language in both our report and this one echo the same language.

Paul, Sean, and Rich are going back over to make sure of that. Our chief method is to use framing language from the strategy to frame the KLB report as well.

I never called Patricia Espinosa--should I?

Will check with WHA.

Also, have we rec'd a memo from Shaun Woodard for Robinson and McGuinness calls?

Huma should have this memo for you.

There will also be a PC on Af-Pak Tuesday and I want to be sure our report is ready.

Yes -- this is consistent with our timeline.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 10:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup issues

I've flagged again for Jack and team. We'll work on it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Dec 13 10:54:53 2009
Subject: Re: Followup issues

I think it is important at least to put in ranges of proposed budget #s. Is that possible?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Dec 13 10:46:02 2009
Subject: Followup issues

Answers under each:

Will I receive a full notebook for approps hearings tonight?

Yes, and a draft of the testimony.

I'd like a call this afternoon or evening to go over the draft Af-Pak regional strategy. Who should be on call? It is quite good but lacks "milestones" and budgets for each section.

Sounds good. Huma and I will work to set it up. The budget issue is complicated -- we've had several discussions about it. It's hard to put down numbers with confidence.

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Huma should have this memo for you.

There will also be a PC on Af-Pak Tuesday and I want to be sure our report is ready.

Yes -- this is consistent with our timeline.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Miliband

Hrc miliband called asking to talk today about climate change/copenhagen. Said he was calling many of his counterparts today. Below are points. Oscar also has and can print. Ops can connect.
The Secretary's Call with British FM David Miliband

Climate Change Points:

B5

COP15 Negotiation Update:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Daniel Baer <[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 2:23 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** muscatinel@state.gov; ValmoroLJ@state.gov; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Speech

Either works for me-- I am working through various sets of line edits right now. I can get a new draft out by 4pm-- depends on how much time you want to review before we talk.
Dan

On Sun, Dec 13, 2009 at 2:20 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Could we do at 4:30 or 6:45?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; daniel.baer[redacted]
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Dec 13 14:16:18 2009
Subject: Re: Speech

I agree with Dan about the ornament problem. The draft needs refinement not re-working. And a call is a great idea. I am just getting off a plane but could be available any time after 4 pm or so if that works for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; 'daniel.baer[redacted]
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <[redacted]
Sent: Sun Dec 13 07:56:59 2009
Subject: Speech

The latest draft is getting closer. And I agree w Dan that we have to be careful not to topple the tree w too many ornaments. That said, I'd like to have a call w you (and anyone else who you think should be on) this afternoon or evening to raise a few points. I'm copying Lona and Huma so they can help schedule it. Thanks for all your good work.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 2:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Hello/FYI/Invite

The Obama party is called for 7:00pm too. I will find out if that means cocktails first and then sitting down to dinner, which may mean you could do a quick drop by Tamera's on the front end.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 13, 2009 2:23 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Fw: Hello/FYI/Invite

What are the hours of the Obama party on the 21st? Can I make it to Tamera's too?

----- Original Message -----
From: Luzzatto
To: H
Sent: Sun Dec 13 14:16:07 2009
Subject: Re: Hello/FYI/Invite

B6

WONDERFUL (if you can and only if.....) Late 'cause of all those overly-hard working State-ites.... 7 to 9:30.

xoxo, T

In a message dated 12/13/2009 2:17:29 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, HDR22@clintonemail.com writes:

Thank you for doing the party again, and I am planning to come by before or after the Obamas' party. What are the hours for your party?

----- Original Message -----
From: Luzzatto
To: H
Cc: ValmoroLJ@state.gov <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Dec 11 11:13:10 2009
Subject: Hello/FYI/Invite

A big, warm hello and

As you may know, I signed up for hosting another holiday party with many Senate alum suggesting the idea as a way of having a reunion and, hey, a party. We invited staff covering most of our years, and looks like a great collection will come. It'll be pot-luck so not quite as elegant as before.

SO, just in case, and I'd imagine it's not possible, it'll be Monday night, 7:00 to 9:30, December 21.

No matter what, wanted you to know we are gathering yet again with our Senator Clinton bond.

love, T

---

From: info@mailva.evite.com
Reply-to: info@evite.com
To: luzzatto [redacted] B6
Sent: 12/8/2009 12:01:01 A.M. Eastern Standard Time
Subj: Thanks for sending your Evite invitation

Having trouble viewing this email? Go to invitation <http://www.evite.com/pages/invite/viewInvite.jsp?inviteId=LNIJCDSWAZCPNQTWUEHF&li=iq&src=email&trk=aei6> .
Add info@mailva.evite.com to your address book to ensure that you receive Evite emails in your inbox.
http://www.evite.com/ <http://www.evite.com/>
Clinton Senate Alum Holiday Party
Hi Tamera Luzzatto,

The Evite invitation for Clinton Senate Alum Holiday Party <http://www.evite.com/pages/invite/viewInvite.jsp?inviteId=LNIJCDSWAZCPNQTWUEHF&li=iq&src=email> on Mon. Dec 21 has been sent to your guests.

VIEW YOUR INVITATION
<http://www.evite.com/pages/invite/viewInvite.jsp?inviteId=LNIJCDSWAZCPNQTWUEHF&li=iq&src=email>

http://www.evite.com/pages/invite/viewInvite.jsp?event=FPWRSBEXLFZJRLUMLLVI&li=iq&src=email <http://www.evite.com/pages/invite/viewInvite.jsp?event=FPWRSBEXLFZJRLUMLLVI&li=iq&src=email>

Let Evite help you plan your event

http://blog.evite.com/ <http://blog.evite.com/> Party Blog: Find party ideas and advice for guests and hosts, served fresh daily. <http://blog.evite.com/>
http://www.evite.com/pages/party/partySupplies.jsp&src=email <http://www.evite.com/pages/party/partySupplies.jsp&src=email> Party Store: Skip a trip to the store — We have all the supplies you need for your party. <http://www.evite.com/pages/party/partySupplies.jsp&src=email>
http://www.evite.com/app/party/ideas.do <http://www.evite.com/app/party/ideas.do> Party Guides: Get tips for planning your food, decorations and more. <http://www.evite.com/app/party/ideas.do>
http://www.evite.com/app/party/calculator/view.do <http://www.evite.com/app/party/calculator/view.do> Budget Estimator: Get an idea of how much you'll need to spend on your party. <http://www.evite.com/app/party/calculator/view.do>

http://iacas.adbureau.net/adclick/host=1/category=winter_holidays/template=holidayparty/area=reminder/city_ps=washingtondc/source=evite/pageid=1615295710/zip_ps=20008/g=2/login=0/aamsz=300x250_email/site=evite.com/acc_random=2021081906 <http://iacas.adbureau.net/adclick/host=1/category=winter_holidays/template=holidayparty/area=reminder/city_ps=washingtondc/source=evite/pageid=1615295710/zip_ps=20008/g=2/login=0/aamsz=300x250_email/site=evite.com/acc_random=2021081906>

Need help? Contact us <http://evite2.custhelp.com/cgi-bin/evite2.cfg/php/enduser/ask.php?src=>
Evite respects your privacy. For more information, please review our Privacy Policy
<http://www.evite.com/pages/custservice/privacy.jsp> .

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 3:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Syrian presidents brother

You ok with this condolence cable for syrian president assad? He brother died after a long illness.

Dear Mr. President:

[redacted] B5

Sincerely yours,

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 3:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Syrian presidents brother

Yes taking shuttle with you
Was going to take train to usss party but with weather and luggage, will just meet u at lga. All shuttles delayed 30 minutes.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Dec 13 15:23:10 2009
Subject: Re: Syrian presidents brother

Ok. Are you going back tonight?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Dec 13 15:15:39 2009
Subject: Syrian presidents brother

You ok with this condolence cable for syrian president assad? He brother died after a long illness.

Dear Mr. President:

B5

Sincerely yours,

RELEASE IN PART B6

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**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 3:50 PM
**To:** H; 'muscatinel@state.gov'; 'daniel.baer
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Speech

B6

Can we do a 7pm speech call?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'muscatinel@state.gov' <muscatinel@state.gov>; 'daniel.baer
Cc: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Dec 13 07:56:59 2009
Subject: Speech

The latest draft is getting closer. And I agree w Dan that we have to be careful not to topple the tree w too many ornaments. That said, I'd like to have a call w you (and anyone else who you think should be on) this afternoon or evening to raise a few points. I'm copying Lona and Huma so they can help schedule it. Thanks for all your good work.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 4:41 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Open Skies

Bob, Jose, and in particular John Byerly in EEB. He did the heavy lifting on this. I'll check on who else might need a shoutout.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin <[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:29:20 2009
Subject: Open Skies

Who do I congratulate at weekly meeting Monday on securing agreement?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 4:43 PM
**To:** 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'; H
**Subject:** Re: Open Skies

Yes, all emails on this came from john byerly.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:41:22 2009
Subject: Re: Open Skies

Bob, Jose, and in particular John Byerly in EEB. He did the heavy lifting on this. I'll check on who else might need a shoutout.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin <
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:29:20 2009
Subject: Open Skies

Who do I congratulate at weekly meeting Monday on securing agreement?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 4:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Open Skies

Also -- Arturo and Craig say hold on Espinosa for now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:29:20 2009
Subject: Open Skies

Who do I congratulate at weekly meeting Monday on securing agreement?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Baer, Daniel B <BaerDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 5:44 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma; Oscar Flores
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa
**Subject:** New Draft
**Attachments:** 2009 12 13 Human Rights HRC edits 540pm.docx

This draft, for the 7pm call, reflects HRC edits.
Dan

Daniel Baer
202-687-1403 (o)

B6

12/13

RELEASE IN PART B5

5pm

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

# THE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

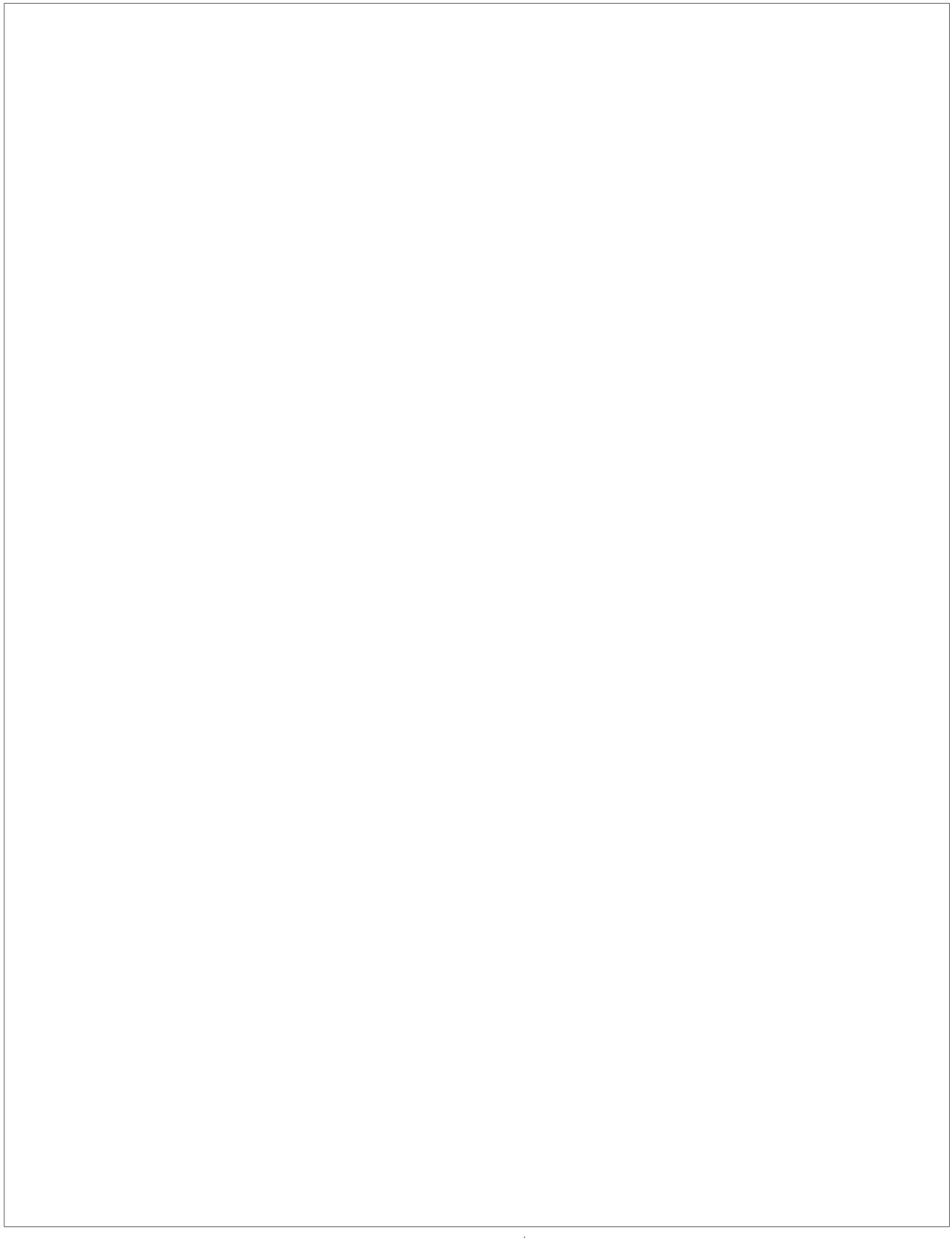
# GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

# WASHINGTON, DC

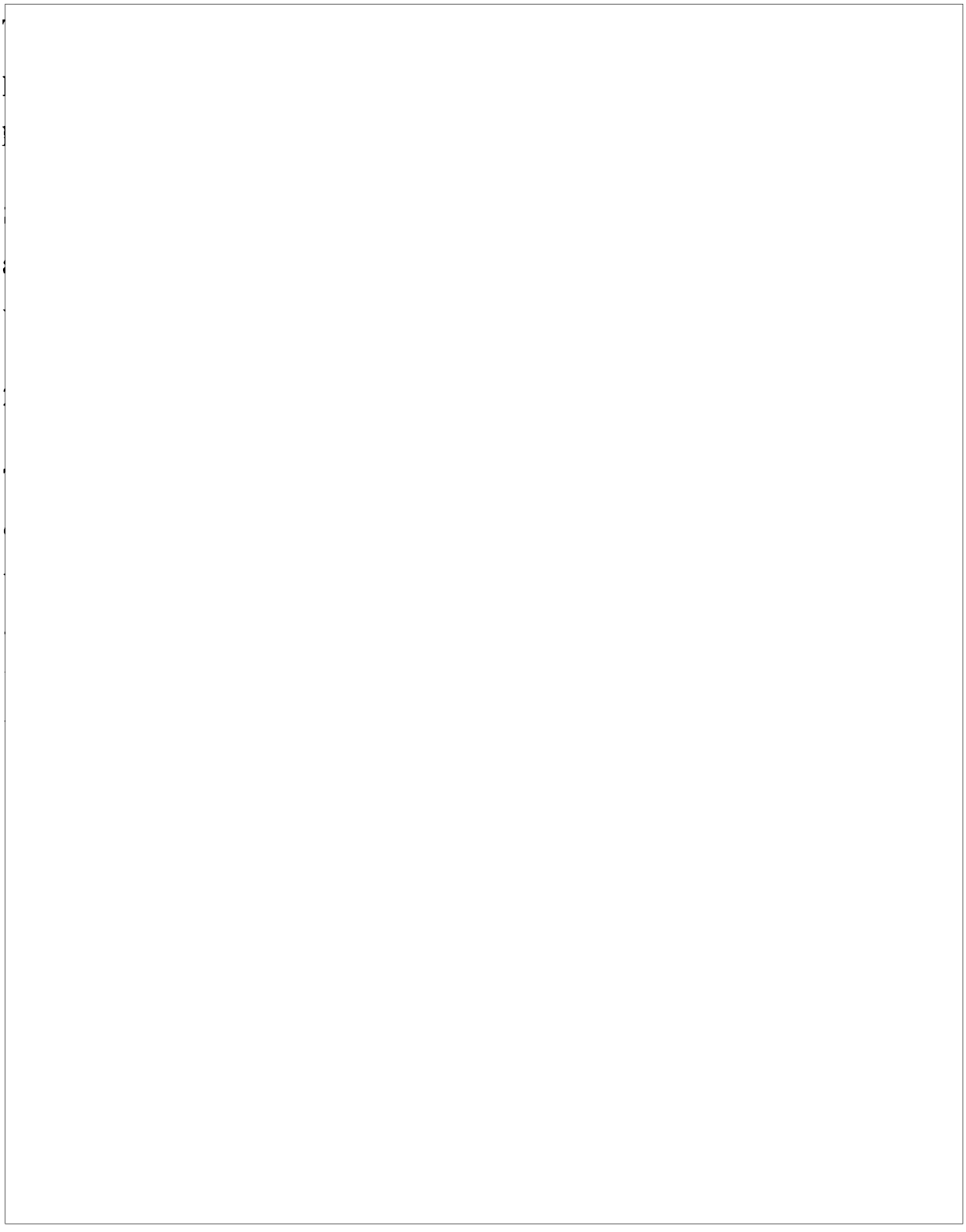
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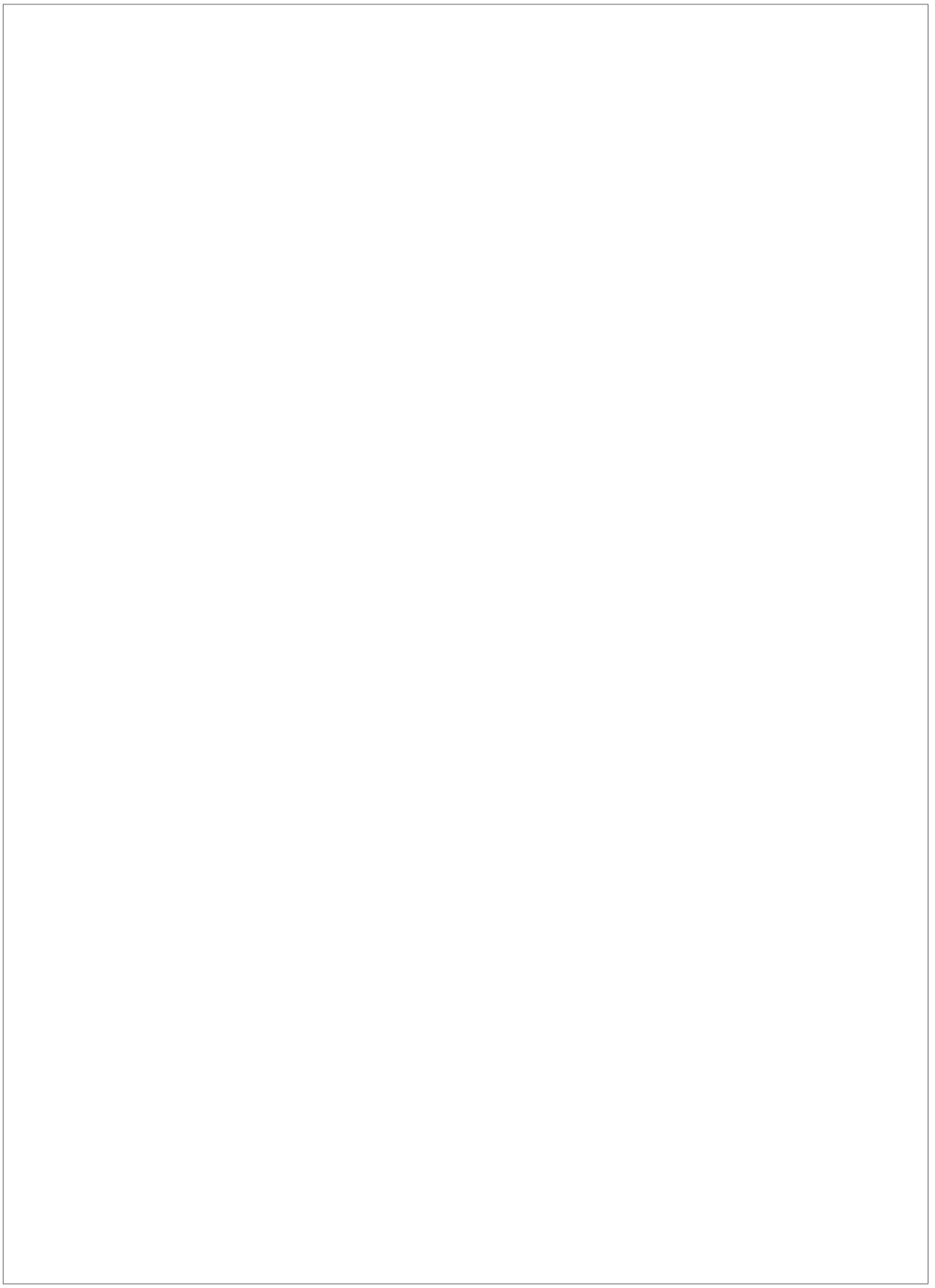


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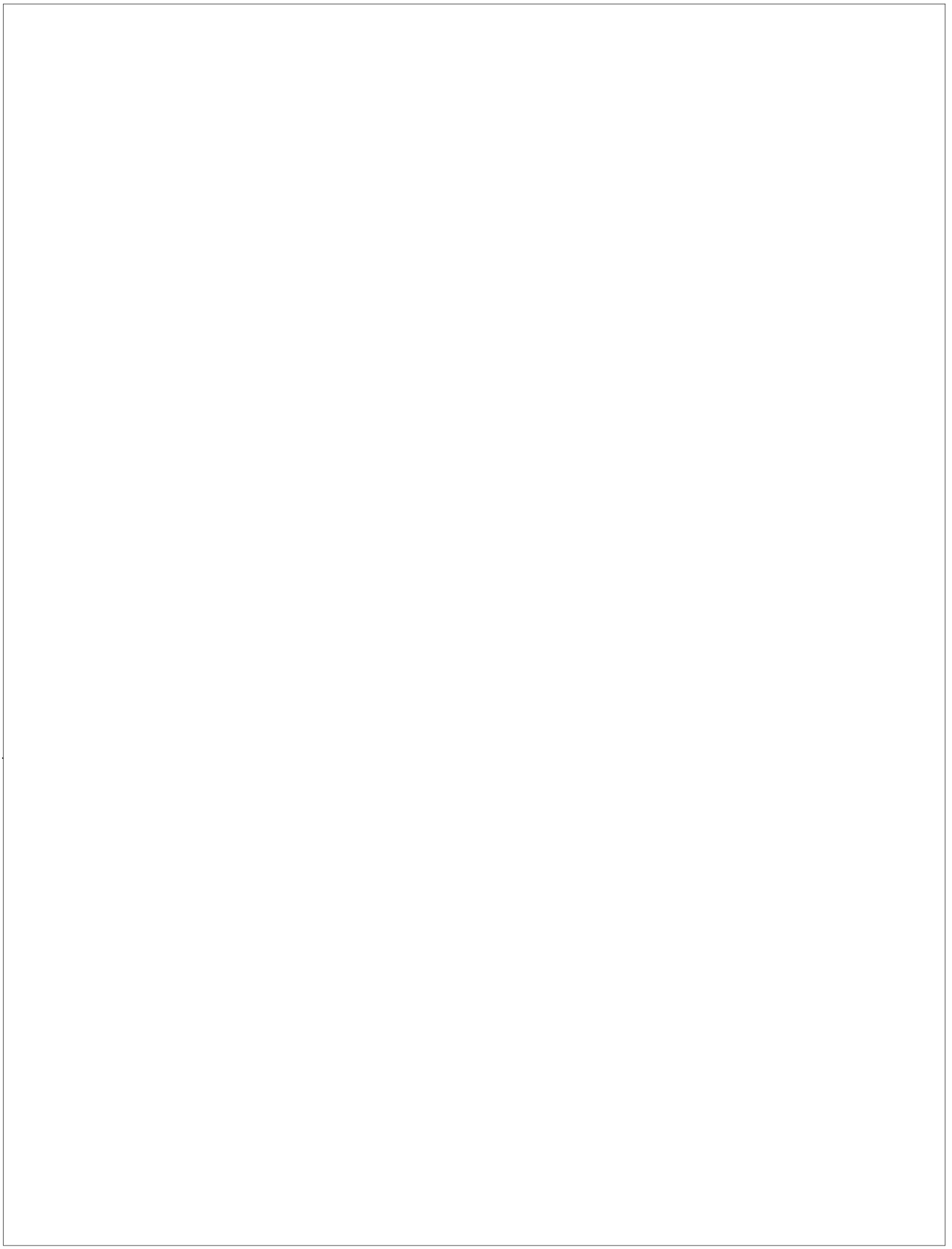


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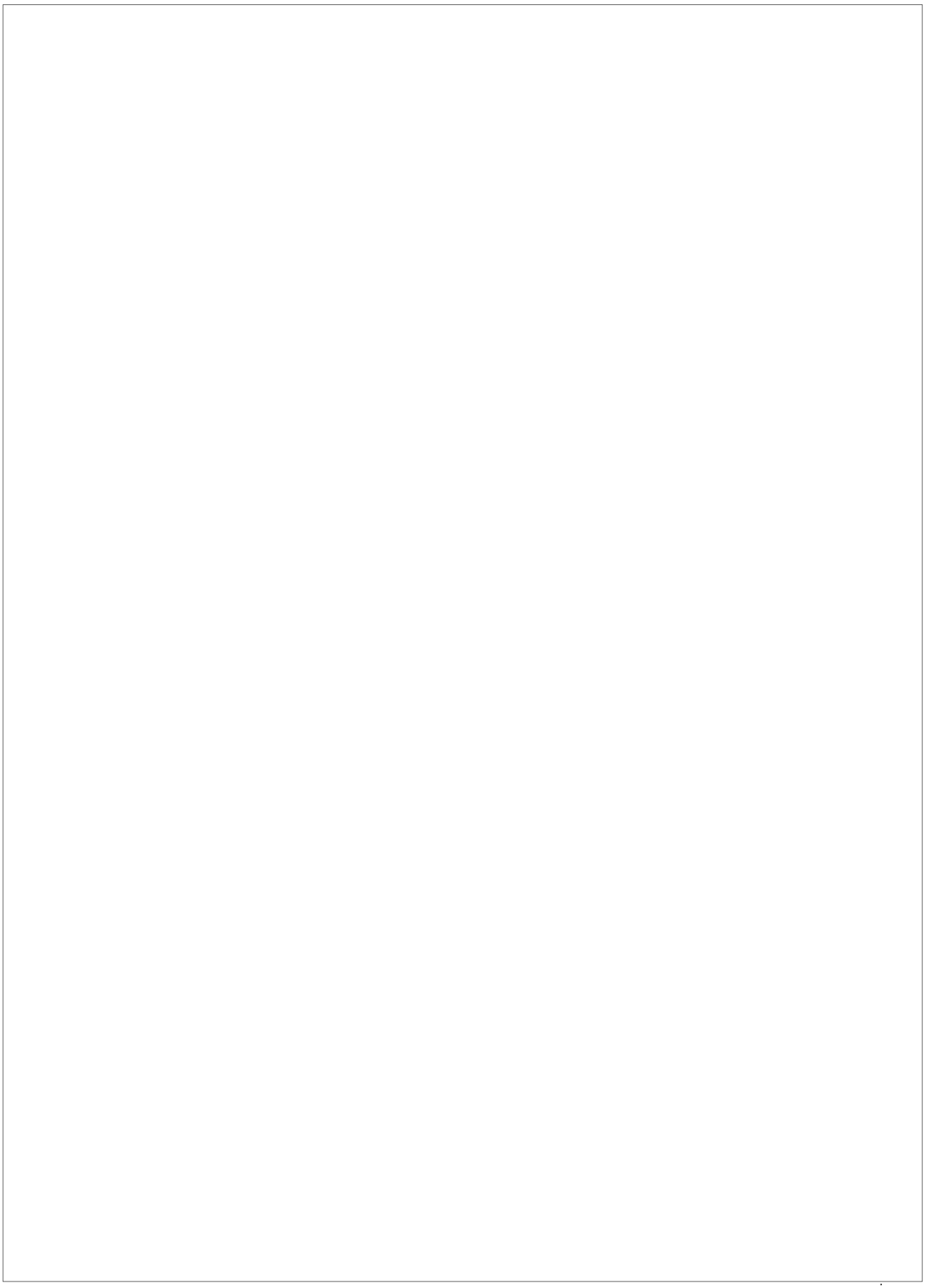
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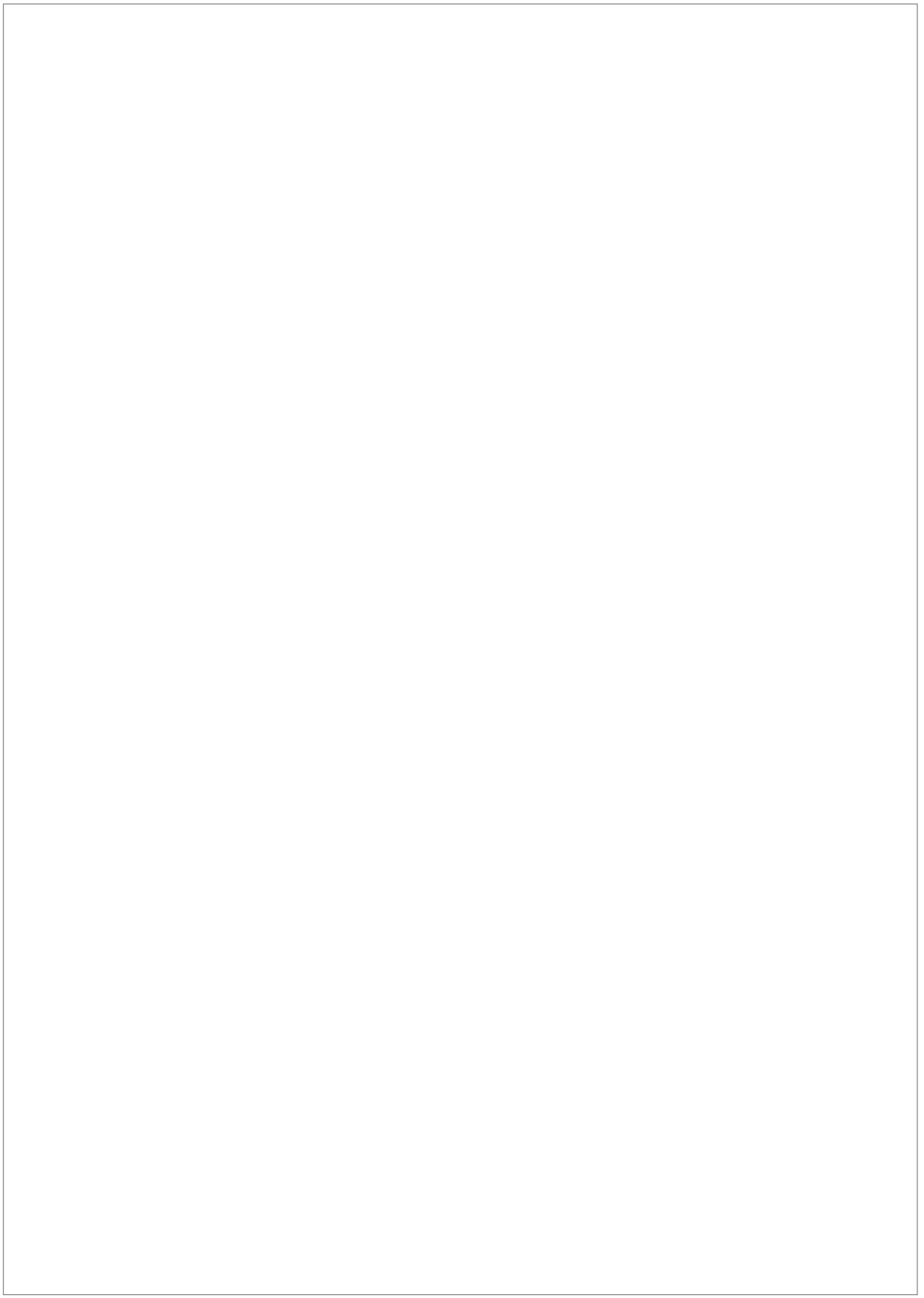
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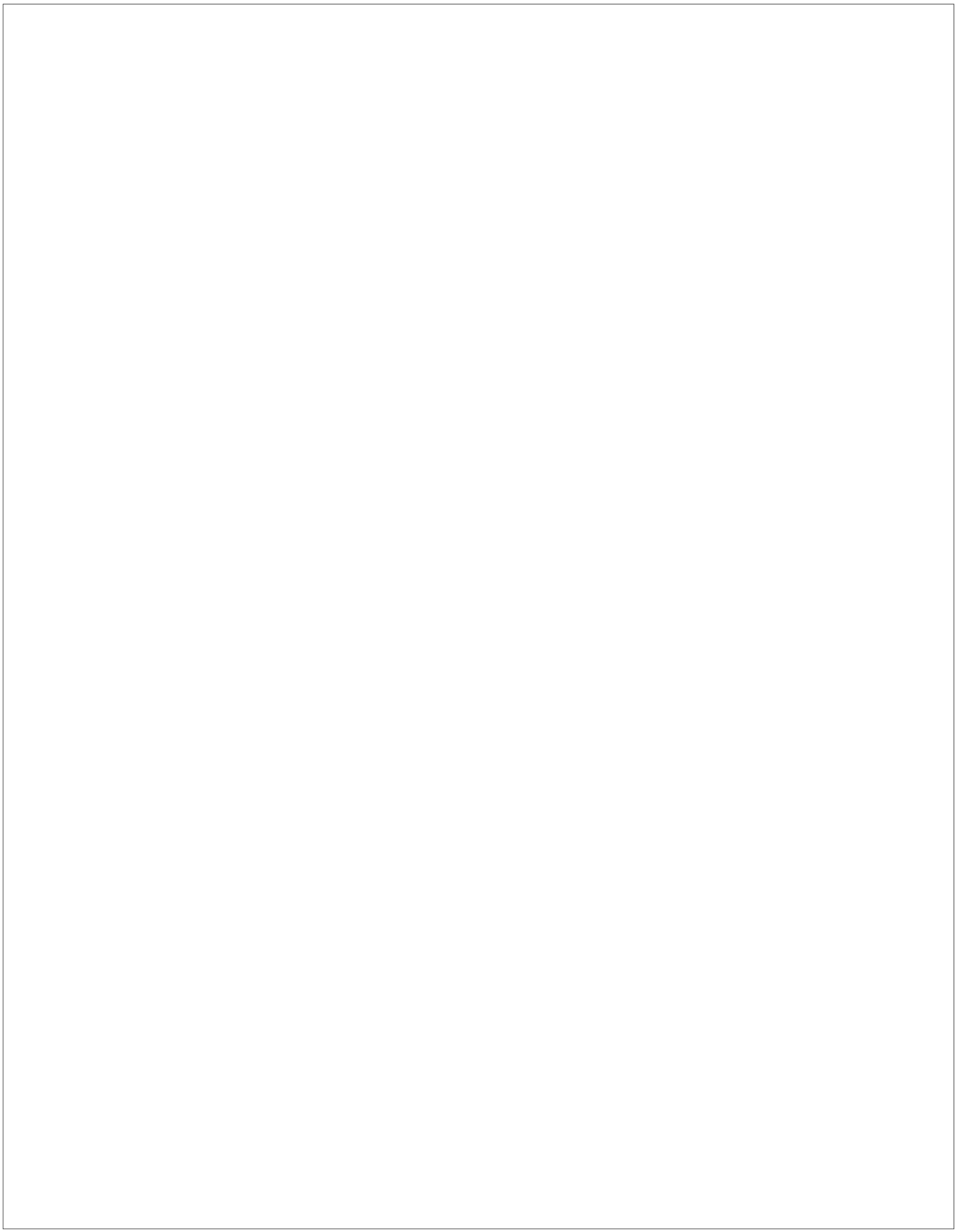
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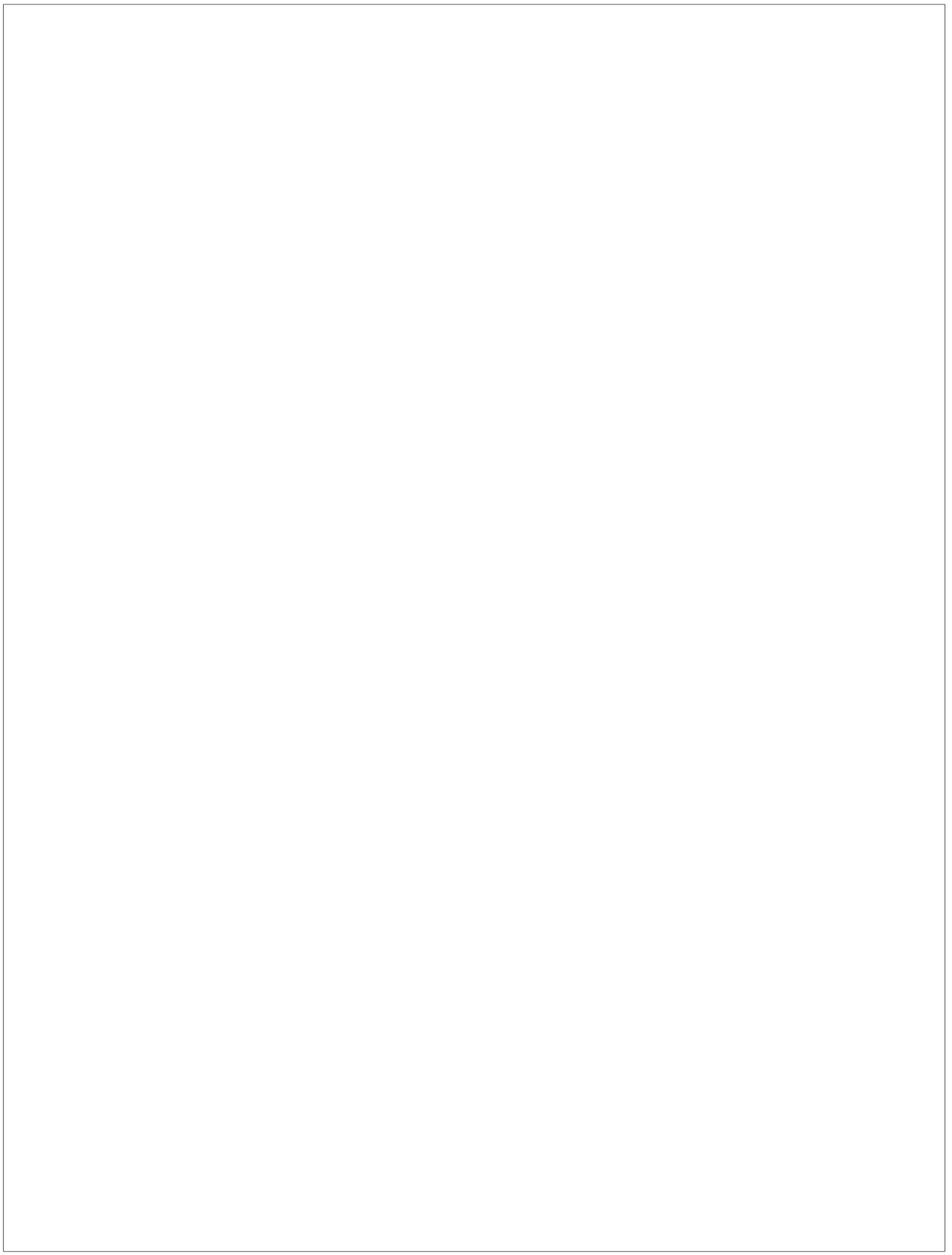
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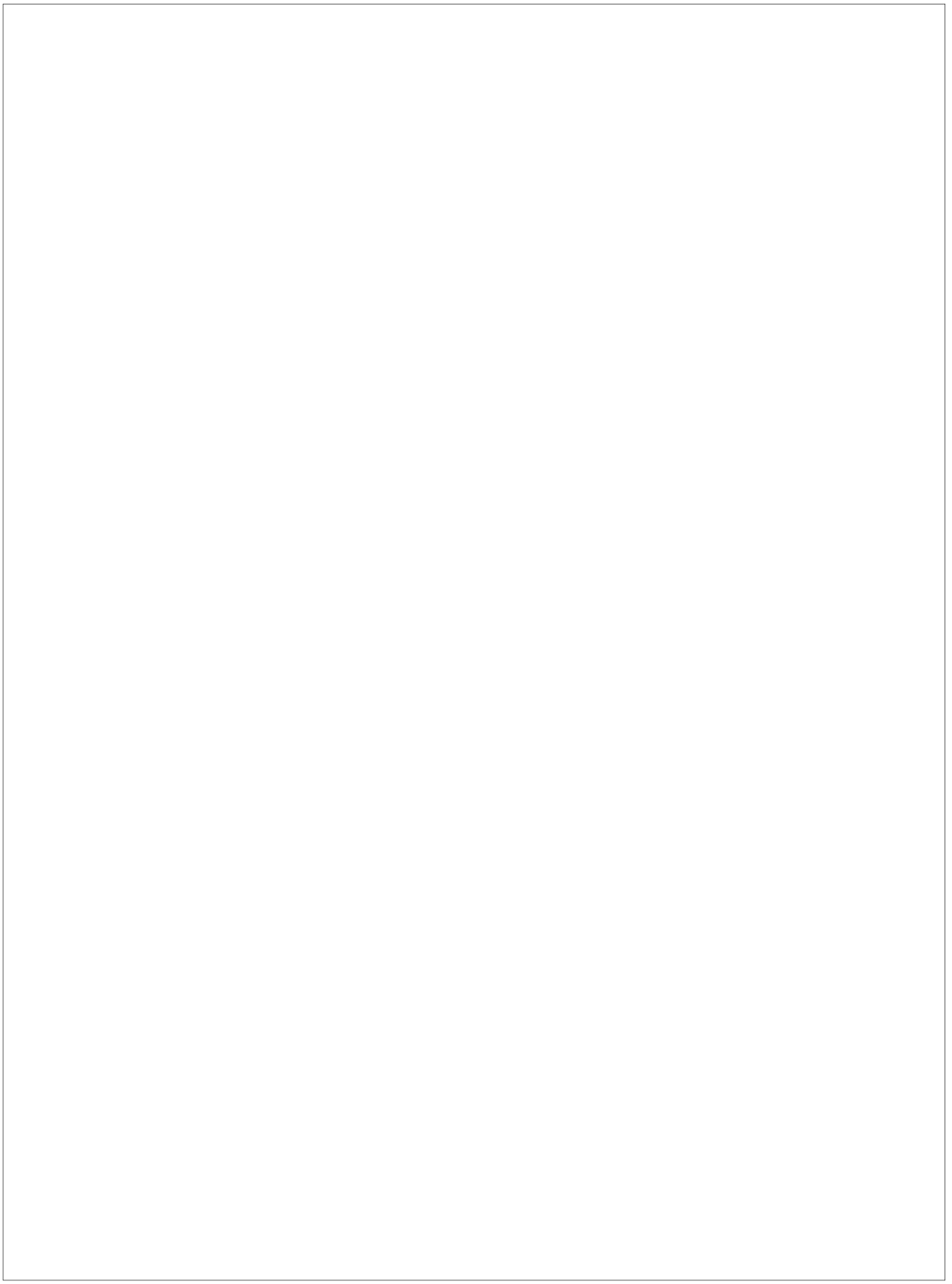
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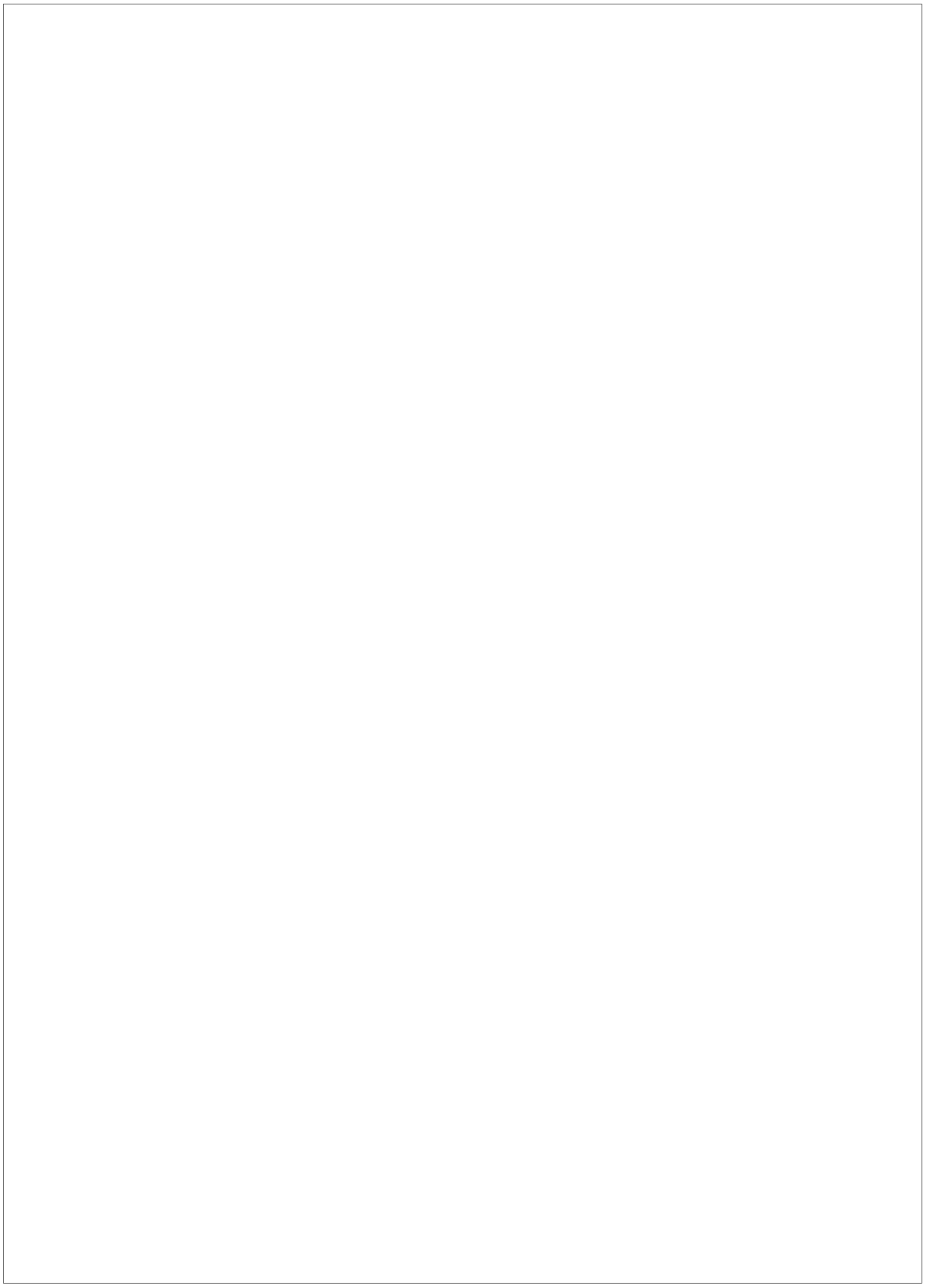
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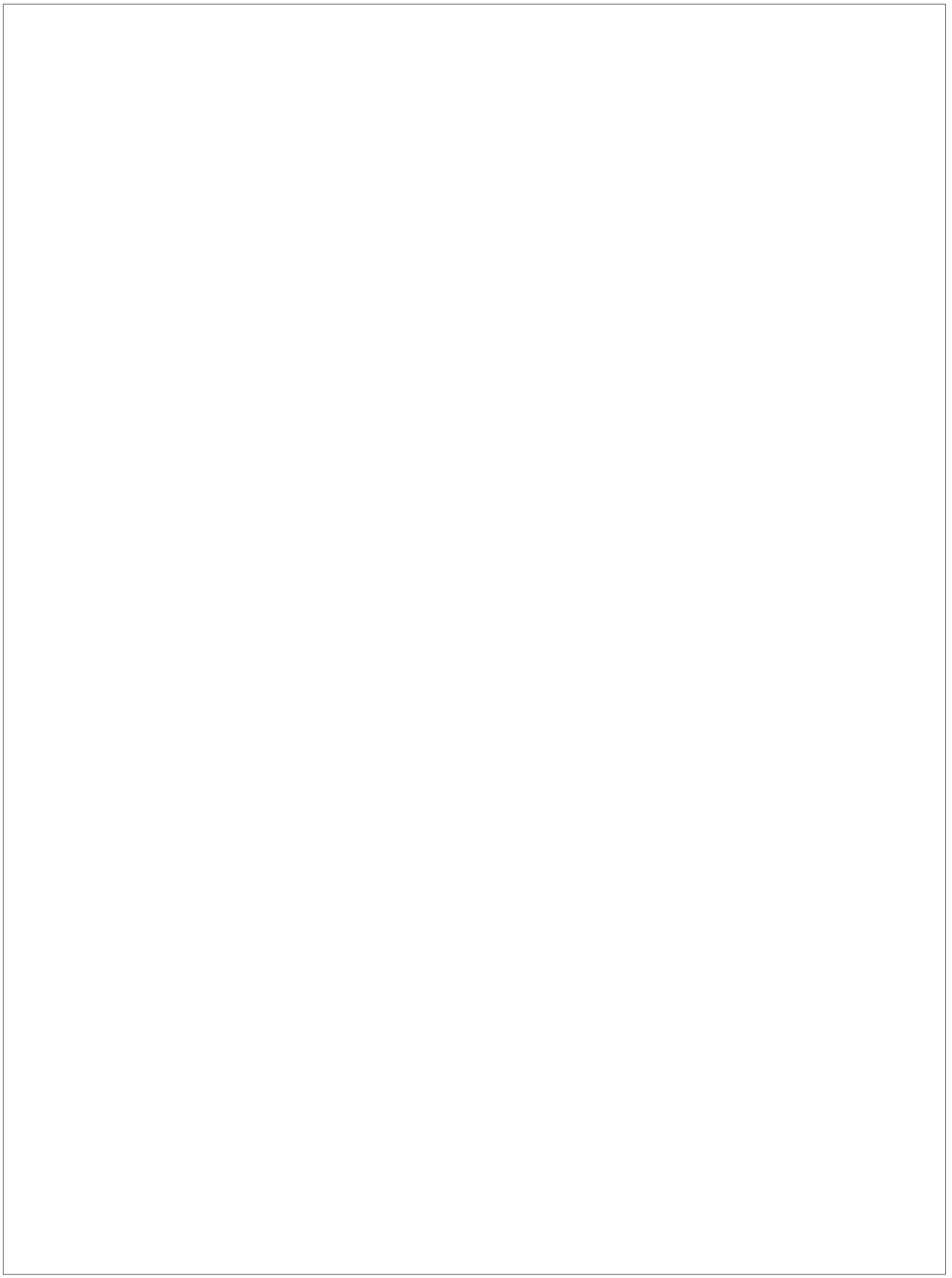
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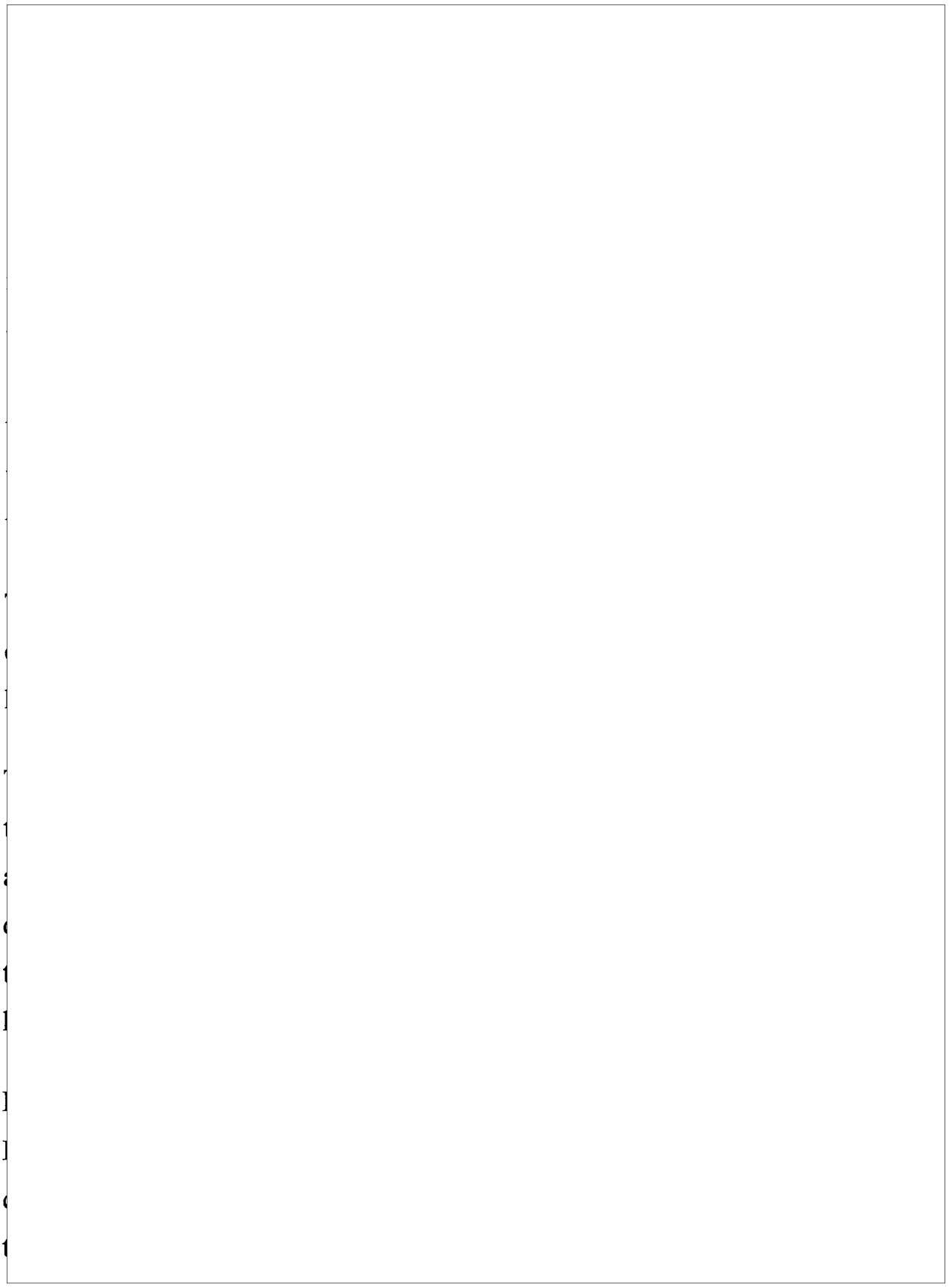
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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 7:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Open Skies

Also -- Arturo and Craig say hold on Espinosa for now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin < B6
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:29:20 2009
Subject: Open Skies

Who do I congratulate at weekly meeting Monday on securing agreement?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 2:16 PM
**To:** H; daniel.baer
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Speech

I agree with Dan about the ornament problem. The draft needs refinement not re-working. And a call is a great idea. I am just getting off a plane but could be available any time after 4 pm or so if that works for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; 'daniel.baer
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Dec 13 07:56:59 2009
Subject: Speech

B6

The latest draft is getting closer. And I agree w Dan that we have to be careful not to topple the tree w too many ornaments. That said, I'd like to have a call w you (and anyone else who you think should be on) this afternoon or evening to raise a few points. I'm copying Lona and Huma so they can help schedule it. Thanks for all your good work.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 2:49 PM
**To:** daniel.baer [redacted] H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Speech

Either time works for me.

**From:** Daniel Baer <[redacted]
**To:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa; Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <[redacted]
**Sent:** Sun Dec 13 14:23:25 2009
**Subject:** Re: Speech

Either works for me-- I am working through various sets of line edits right now. I can get a new draft out by 4pm-- depends on how much time you want to review before we talk.
Dan

On Sun, Dec 13, 2009 at 2:20 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Could we do at 4:30 or 6:45?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; daniel.baer [redacted]
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Dec 13 14:16:18 2009
Subject: Re: Speech

I agree with Dan about the ornament problem. The draft needs refinement not re-working. And a call is a great idea. I am just getting off a plane but could be available any time after 4 pm or so if that works for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; 'daniel.baer [redacted]
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Sun Dec 13 07:56:59 2009
Subject: Speech

The latest draft is getting closer. And I agree w Dan that we have to be careful not to topple the tree w too many ornaments. That said, I'd like to have a call w you (and anyone else who you think should be on) this afternoon or evening to raise a few points. I'm copying Lona and Huma so they can help schedule it. Thanks for all your good work.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 4:30 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok. Yes ray lahood is still on.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Dec 13 16:27:18 2009
Subject: Call list

Pls add former Amb Frank Wisner. And is Ray La Hood still on it--pls be sure he is. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 13, 2009 8:12 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Is [redacted] really being deferred? Does that mean she has a chance in the spring? He's going to be devastated. B6

I just came from Georgetown and talked to Jack et al. [redacted] applied for "early action" – that is to be guaranteed admittance without applying elsewhere. The decision on "early action" is based on grades and scores – the most empirical measures. It is EXTREMELY difficult to be accepted EARLY at Georgetown She was deferred until the spring – through the regular process when they will weigh all her strengths. There is never any guarantee but this is the situation for early action.

Everyone is excited about the speech tom'w. I wish I could go but have to be here for another event at State. I've gone back and forth with speechwriters. I know it will be terrific.

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

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**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2009 5:43 PM
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Subject:** Is [redacted] really being deferred? Does that mean she has a chance in the spring? He's going to be devastated.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Baer, Daniel B <BaerDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 2:32 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Muscatine, Lissa
**Subject:** New version (annotated)
**Attachments:** 2009 12 14 Human Rights annotated 215am.docx

I will fax a copy of this version to the house momentarily.

Comments / suggestions are in brackets as you requested.

FYI, a non-annotated version sent to D(S) and D(L), Burns, as well as to folks at NSC who had weighed in.

I will be back in office by 730.

Dan

12/14

RELEASE IN PART B5

130am

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

# THE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

# GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

# WASHINGTON, DC

# DECEMBER 14, 2009

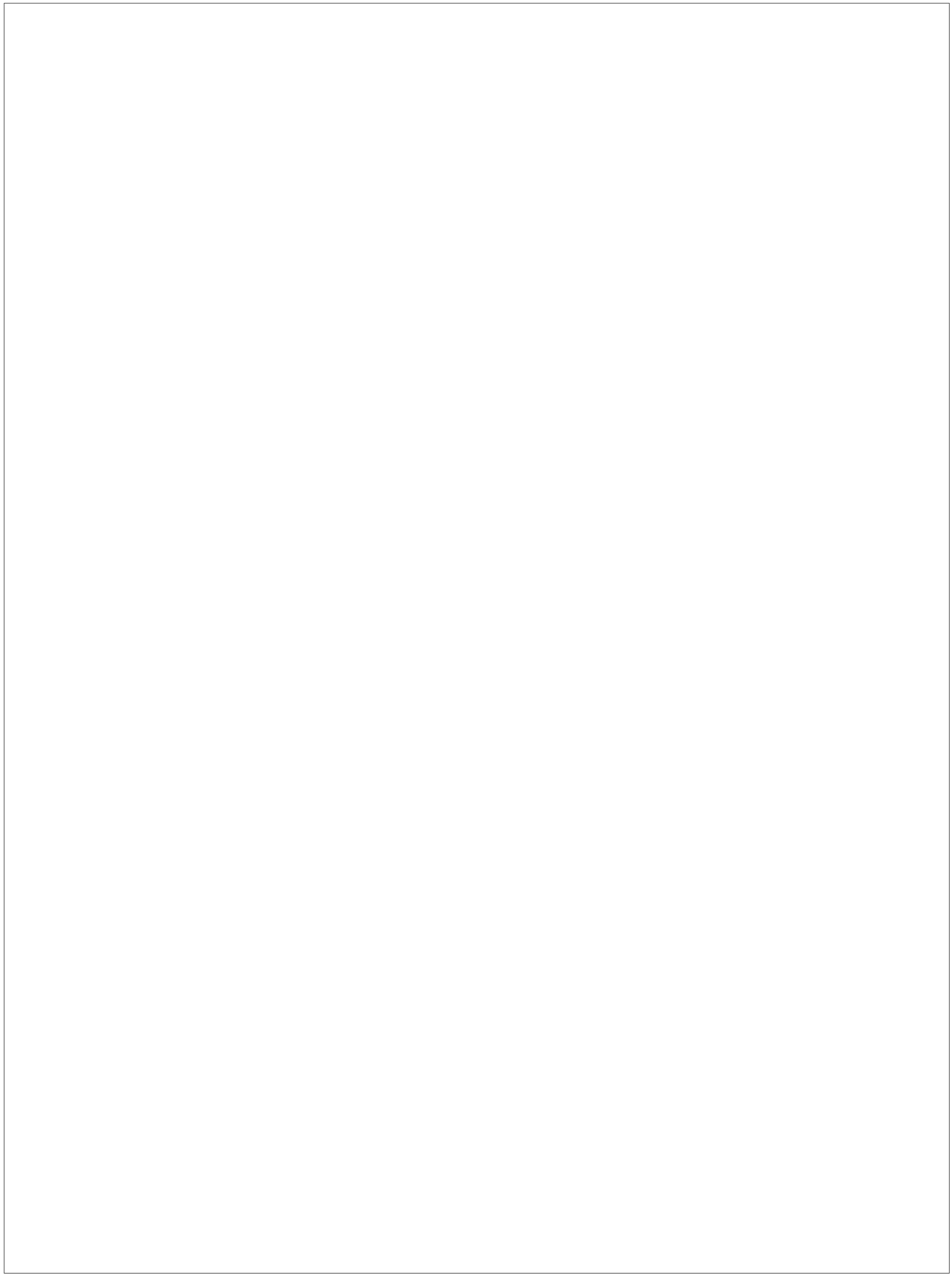
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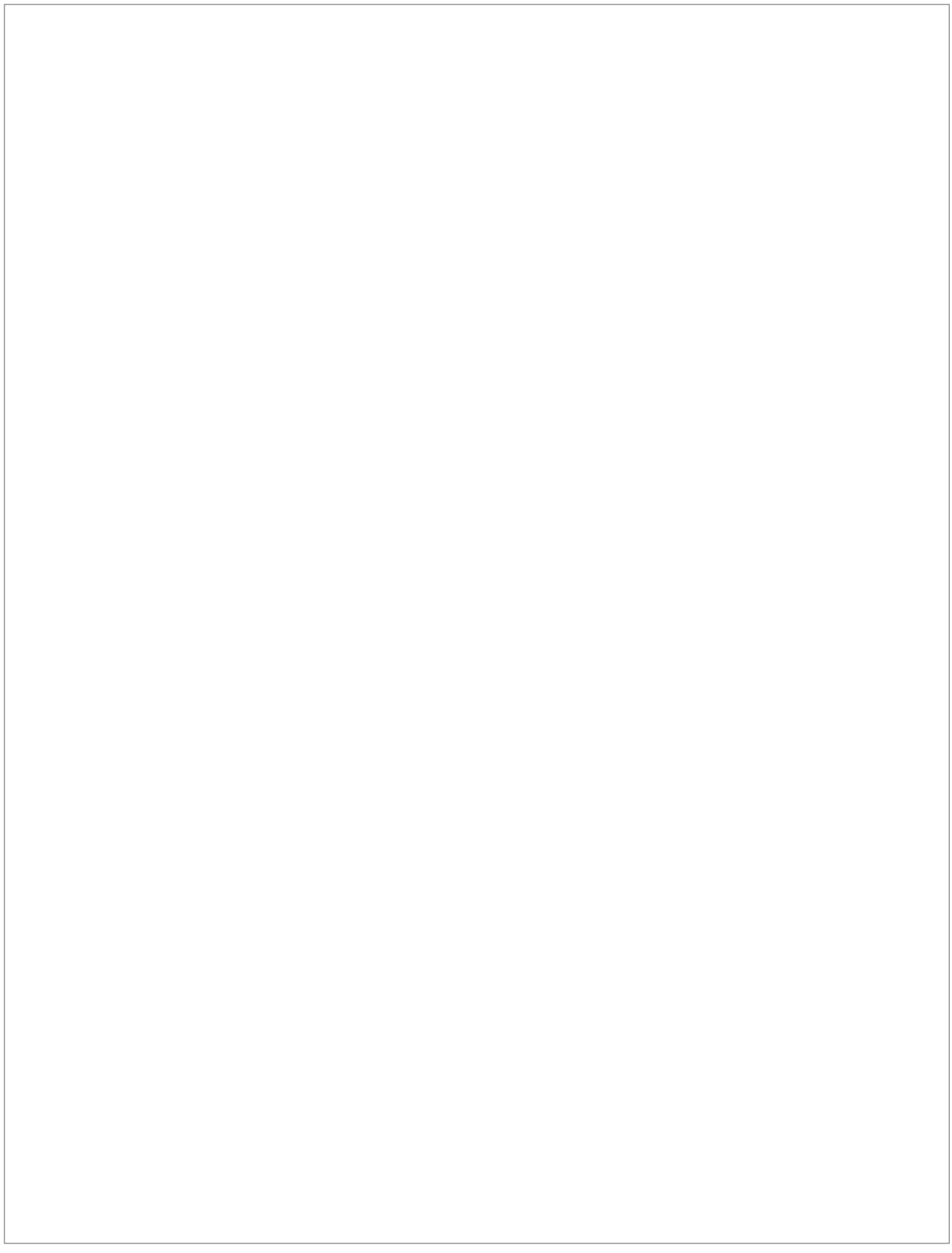


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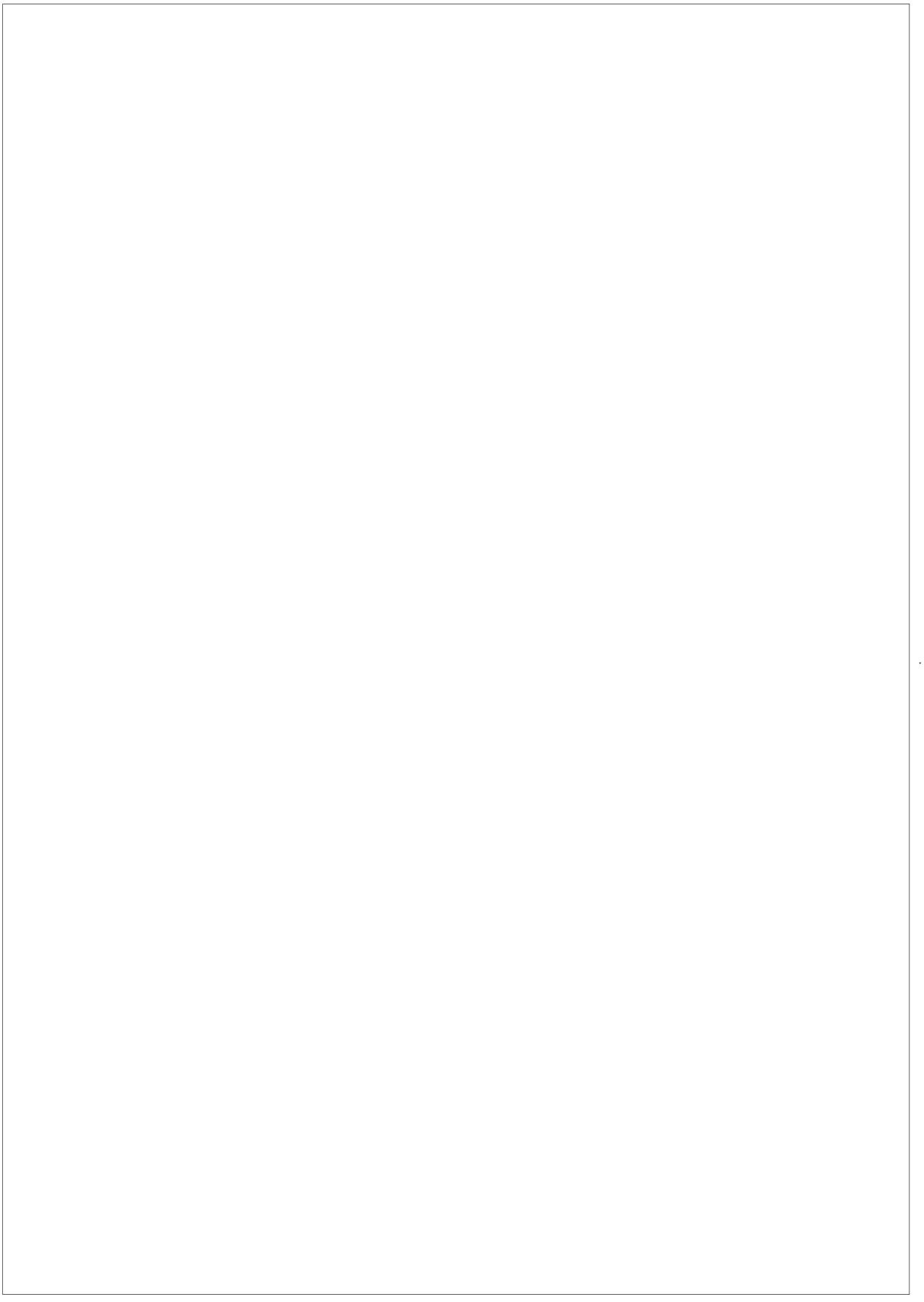
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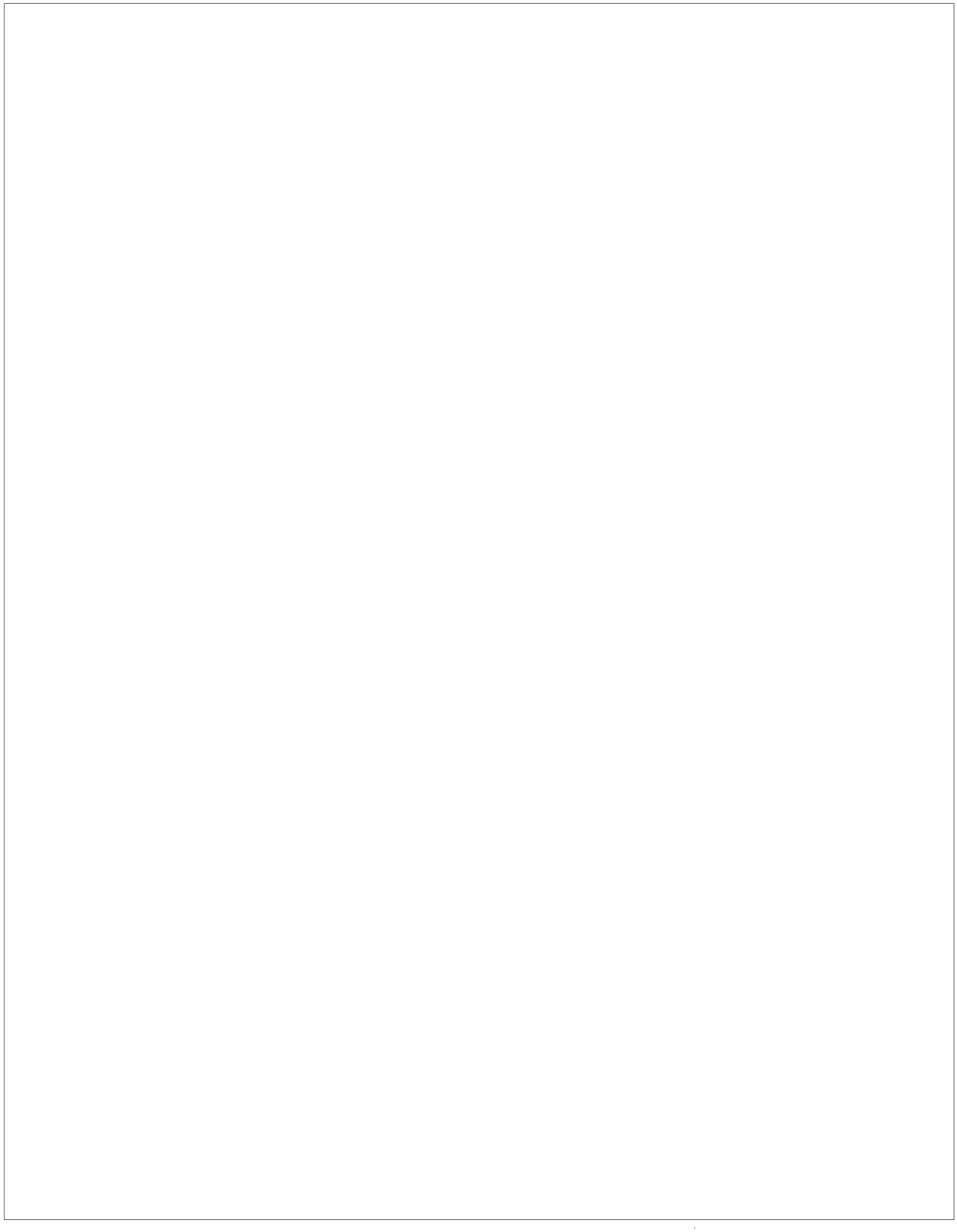


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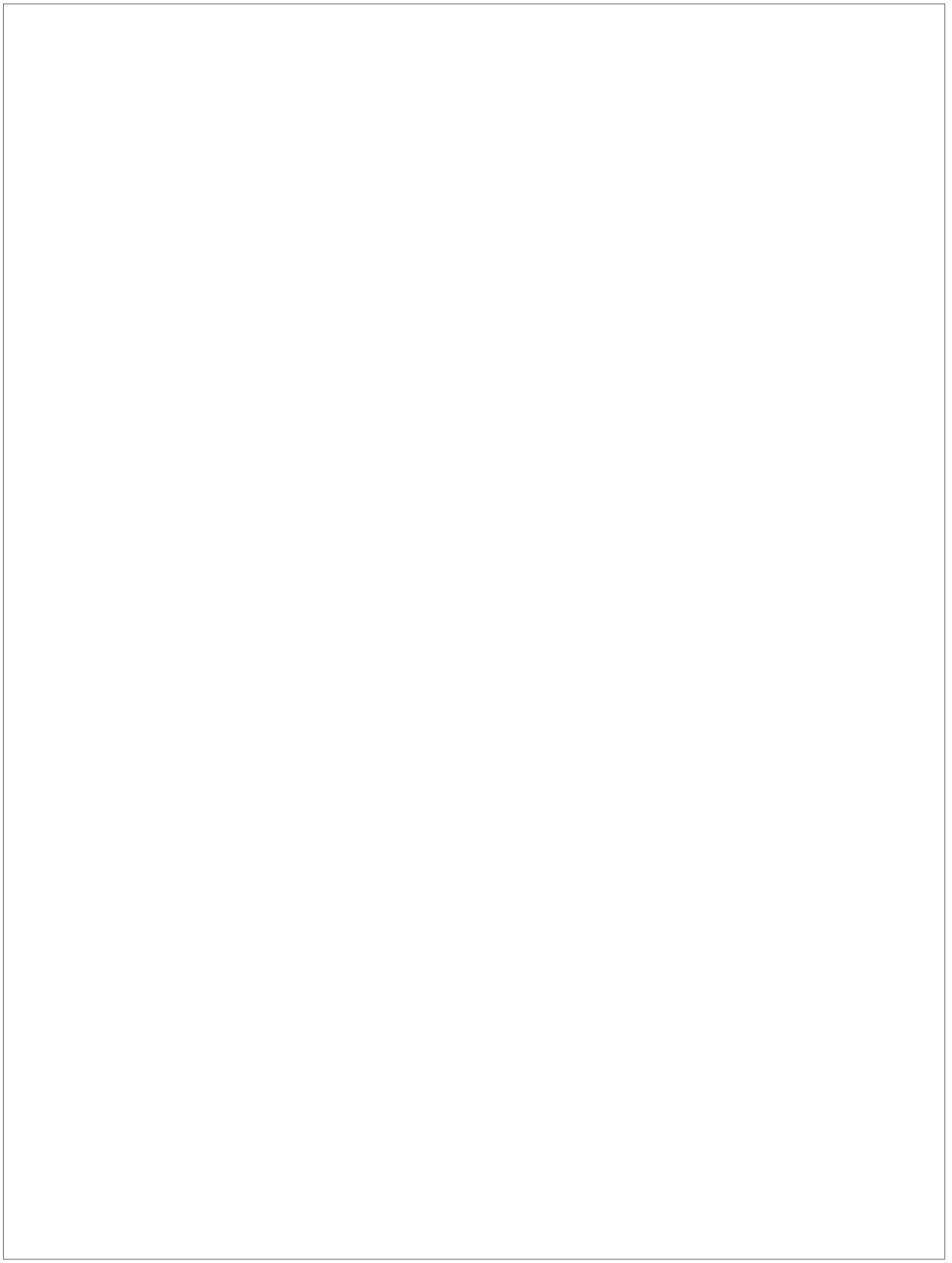
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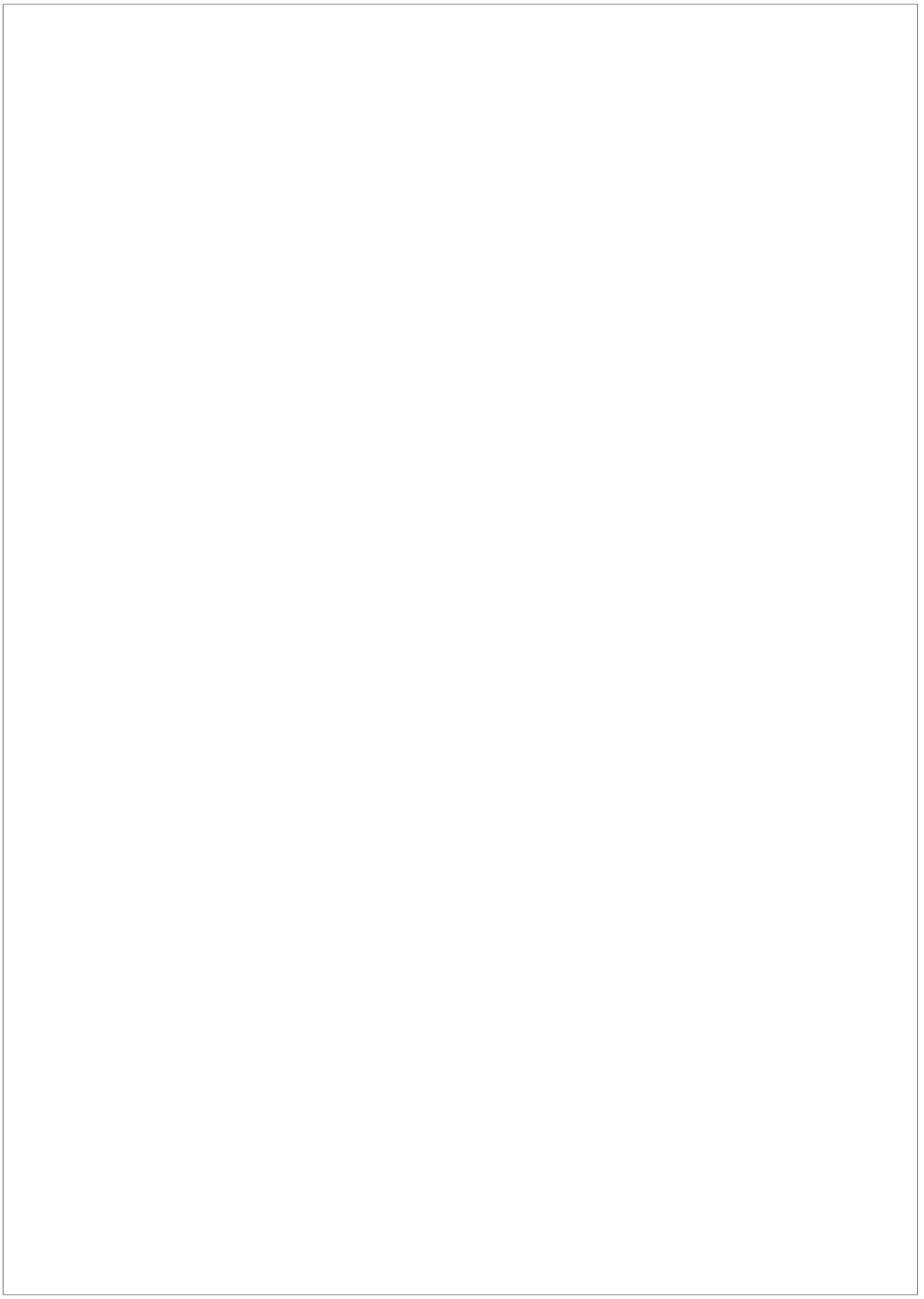
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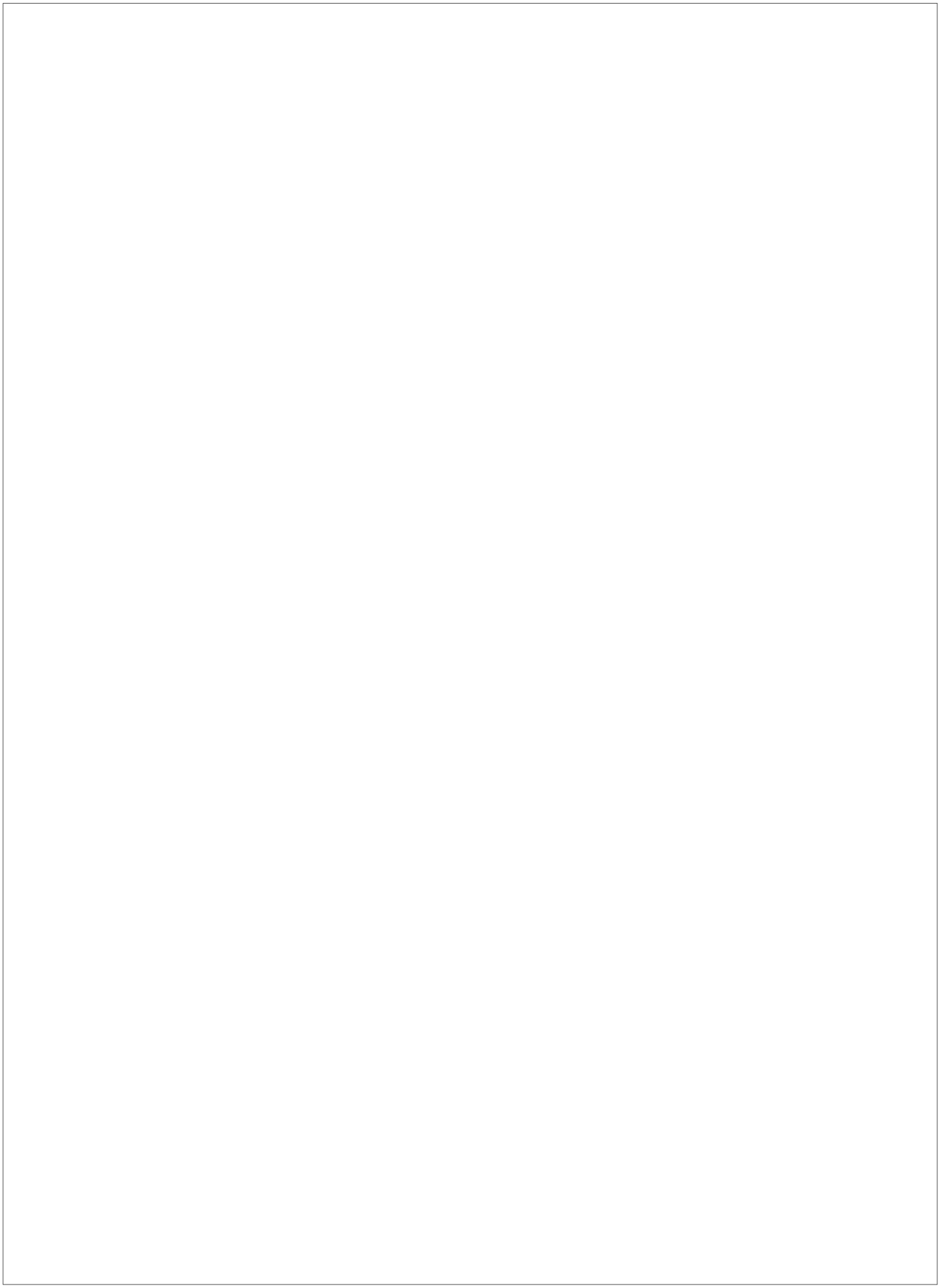


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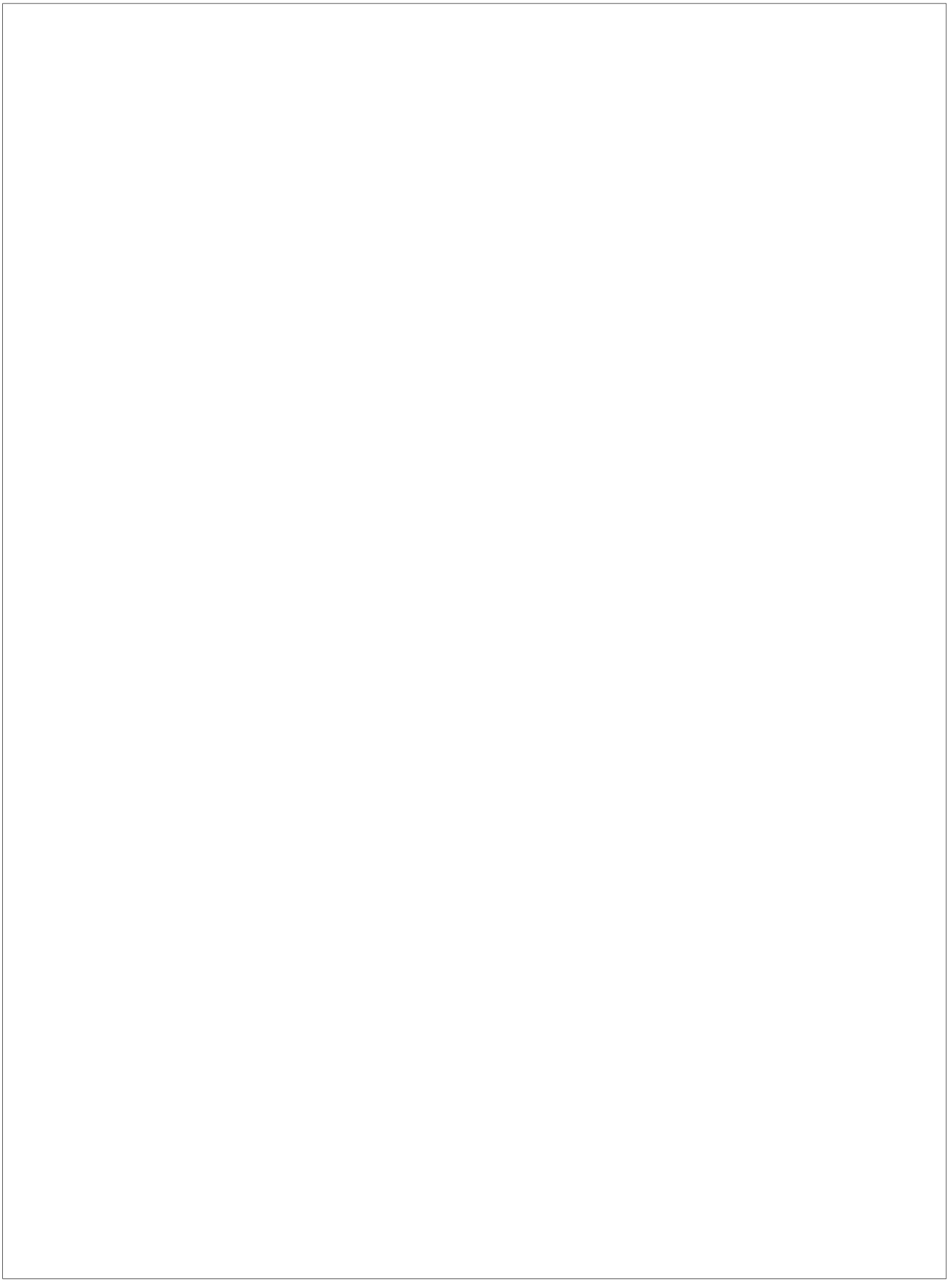
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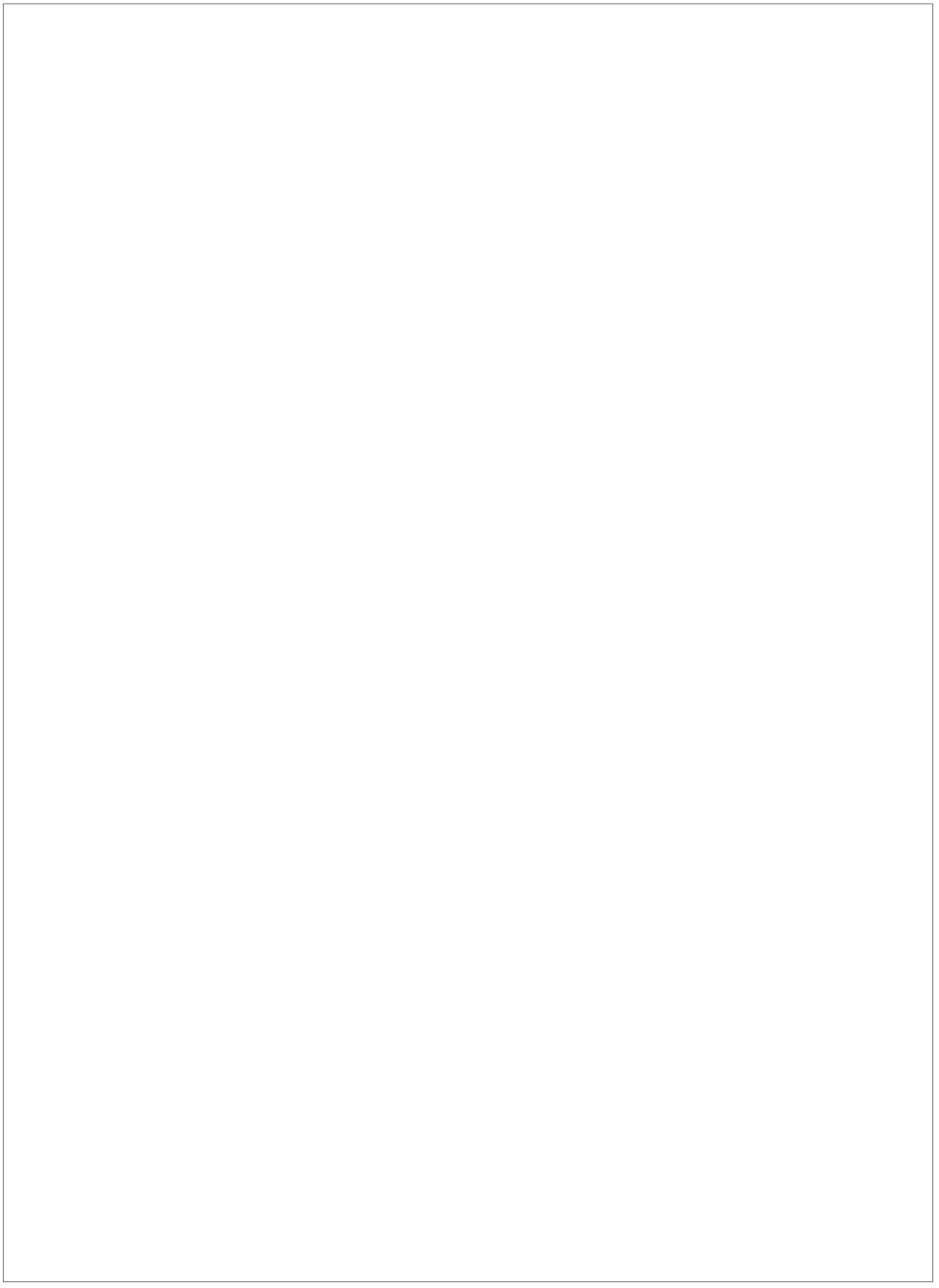
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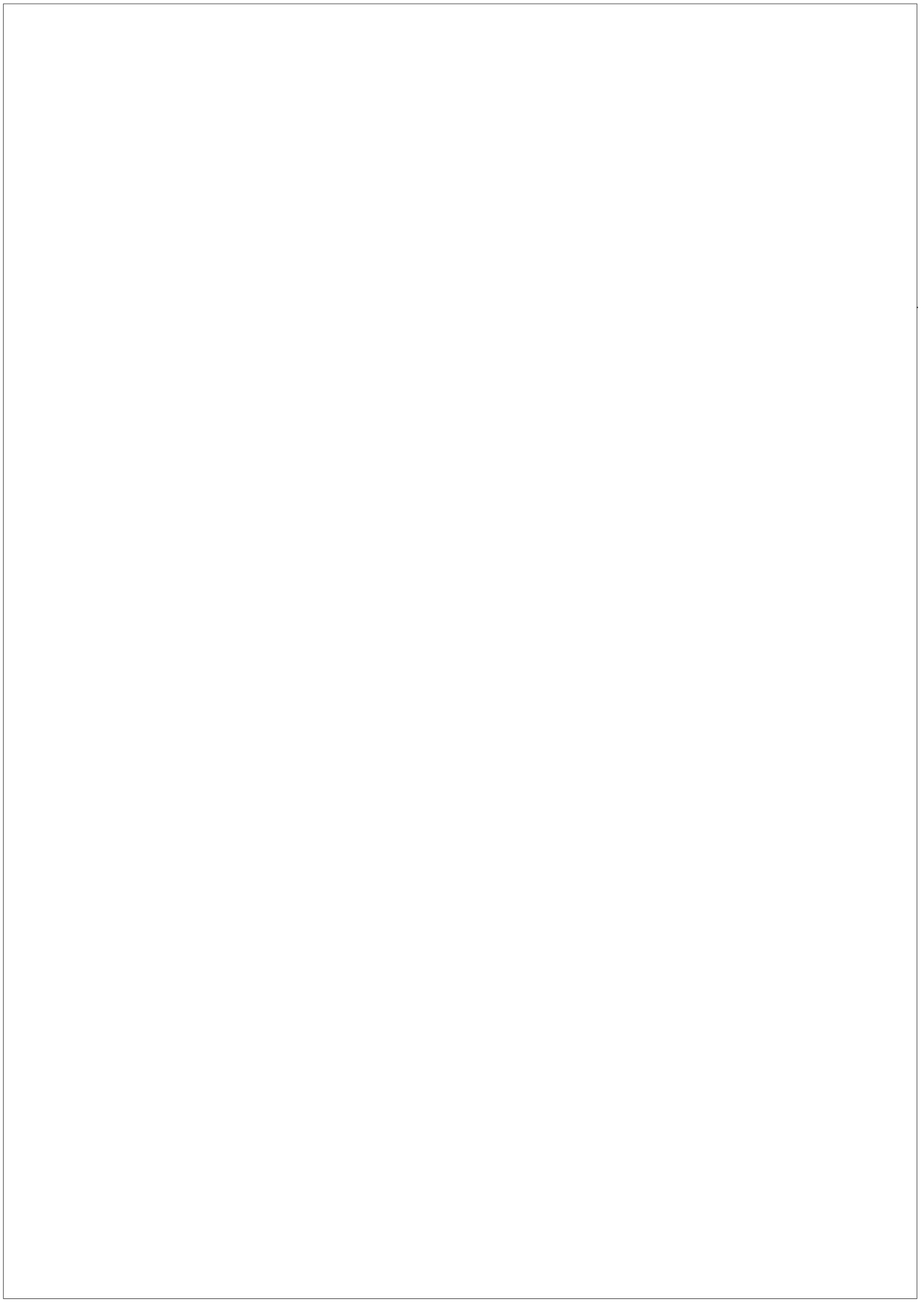
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RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills <
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 3:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Just a Thank You

fyi

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**From:** Cheryl Mills [mailto:
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 3:42 AM
**To:** 'Nancy Bekavac'; JPiercy
**Cc:** 'Carpenter, Margaret V.W.'
**Subject:** Just a Thank You

Jan and Nancy:

As we are winding down the first year for Hillary, I wanted to reach out and say a belated but sincere thank you for all the work you put in to get us off to a great start with staffing her team.

I am sure as you look across it you see a number of the faces you recommended, all of whom are doing yeomen's work given the challenges this administration faces in foreign policy.

A special thank you as well for Margaret. She has been the gift that keeps on giving (indeed she is focused now on ensuring USAID has the team it needs to assist Hillary both in revitalizing the agency and producing the development outcomes that will last for a lifetime).

I hope you have a great holiday season – I know there are many who will be giving thanks for you being among their blessings – I just wanted to add my voice.

best.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 1:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Gates is a definite no for all member briefing tomorrow

fyi

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 1:53 PM
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Gates is a definite no for all member briefing tomorrow

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 7:08 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** FW: Irish Times: North's leaders clash on devolution

See the story below. Consensus recommendation is that you call PR and MM tomorrow or Wednesday. Because we expect them both to go to the press after they speak with you, we believe it would be best for you to keep the calls at a very high level. Essentially:

- Two months have passed since your trip to Belfast and you're checking in;
- You're concerned about the news reports;
- You understand that there are substantive differences and frayed nerves, but you want to encourage all parties to take positive actions and avoid unhelpful ones;
- You remain prepared to assist in any way – you are personally invested in seeing them work through to the completion of this process;
- Declan is hard at work, but his efforts are hampered by the lack of progress and the public conflict

You would be mostly in listening mode and wouldn't engage substantively on the issues that are dividing them – parades (Sinn Fein doesn't want to concede anything on parades without a date for devolution) and a date (DUP doesn't want to set a date until they get progress on parades).

If you're amenable, we can move forward and schedule the calls.

Thanks,
Jake

---

**From:** Lakhdhir, Kamala S (Belfast)
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 2:36 PM
**To:** 'Declan Kelly'; Sullivan, Jacob J; Cormack, Maureen E; Dwyer, Stuart A; Hackworth, Jason K; Abbaszadeh, Nima; McNicholas, Daniel F (London); Quinville, Robin S (London); Berry, Gregory L (London)
**Cc:** Roland, Kevin S (Belfast); Nystrom, Dwight D; Huizinga, Todd M
**Subject:** Irish Times: North's leaders clash on devolution

FYI. Kamala

# North's leaders clash on devolution

The North's leaders Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness clashed in public today as the split at the heart of the power-sharing government deepened.

The clash came as Taoiseach Brian Cowen lead a team of Government ministers in a session of cross-Border talks with members of the Northern Ireland administration.

As the pair appeared before the cameras at a press conference their private disagreement over the devolution of policing and justice powers to the Stormont Assembly deepened when Mr McGuinness accused his counterpart of raising roadblocks to a deal.

As the men stood side-by-side in front of the media, a visibly angry Mr Robinson effectively reprimanded his opposite number accusing him of bringing private details into the public domain.

The temperature rose as Mr McGuinness continually shook his head in disagreement as Mr Robinson spoke.

The Sinn Féin deputy leader hit out at Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) calls for a scrapping of the Parades Commission, which rules on Orange Order parades, and said it could not be a pre-condition to a deal on the transfer of policing and justice powers.

Mr McGuinness: "I move forward against the backdrop of the agreements that I made with Peter Robinson 13 months ago where we agreed an over-30 step approach to the transfer of powers on policing and justice.

"I have to say at no stage in that process was the issue of issues being used as pre-conditions for the transfer of power for policing and justice mentioned."

In a reference to a DUP letter to the Prime Minister demanding 'confidence building' measures for unionists before a deal, Mr McGuinness added: "At no stage were people contemplating sending, on solo runs, letters to Prime Ministers which effectively I had not seen, was not made aware of and was completely surprised by."

Mr Robinson hit back by claiming republicans had already backed reform of parades, but had now opted to delay the measures as a tactic.

The First Minister, who glanced at his adviser and became visibly angry as Mr McGuinness spoke, added: "I regret the tone of the latter remarks.

"I don't think that it is helpful for us to be going into the finer details of these matters, but nobody is in any doubt that the issue of parades was moving forward and was held back."

The exchanges were seen as a public demonstration of the two leaders' long-running private dispute.

Mr McGuinness is already on record as having said that he has not been able to build an adequate relationship with Mr Robinson, despite having enjoyed a good working relationship with his predecessor as DUP leader, Ian Paisley.

The North-South Ministerial Council, first formed under the Belfast Agreement of 1998 is marking its tenth anniversary, but proceedings today were overshadowed by fears for the future of the Stormont Assembly.

Today's meeting in Limavady, Co Derry, brought together ministers from North and South, who announced progress on a series of cross-Border projects.

Deputy Consul General
U.S. Consulate General Belfast
Office: 02890 386177
Mobile [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 7:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: welcome back and thanks

FYI

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**From:** Posner, Michael H
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 4:15 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** welcome back and thanks

First – welcome back! I hope you had a good break. (if anyone deserves a break you certainly do)

Please convey my thanks to the Secretary for doing the speech . She was fantastic – delivering our message eloquently and effectively. I have gotten very positive feed-back from people in our community. This gives us an excellent platform for the future.

And thank you for being so supportive of this effort all along the way.

Best

Mike

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 7:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Clinton Speech Signals Greater Emphasis on Human Rights in U.S. Policy

FYI

---

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 6:50 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** FW: Clinton Speech Signals Greater Emphasis on Human Rights in U.S. Policy

Nice

---

**From:** Mary McGuire [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 5:30 PM
**To:** Mary McGuire
**Subject:** Clinton Speech Signals Greater Emphasis on Human Rights in U.S. Policy

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**
**CONTACT: Mary McGuire in Washington, +1-202-747-7035**

# Clinton Speech Signals Greater Emphasis on Human Rights in U.S. Policy

**Washington – December 14, 2009 –**

Freedom House applauds Secretary Hillary Clinton for her remarks at Georgetown University today on "A Human Rights Agenda for the 21st Century."

Secretary Clinton's remarks setting forth the U.S. Government's human rights agenda appear to reflect an enhanced emphasis by the Obama Administration on the importance of political democracy for the achievement to basic human rights and broader development goals, as well. She gave special attention to the importance of freedom of expression. The remarks build upon President Obama's Nobel acceptance speech on December 10, in which he said "peace is unstable where citizens are denied the right to speak freely or worship as they please; choose their own leaders or assemble without fear."

"The emphasis on universal human rights in Secretary Clinton's speech sends an important message of her personal commitment at a time when the world is witnessing continuing global declines in fundamental rights," said Jennifer Windsor, Executive Director of Freedom House. "We look forward to seeing this passion integrated into U.S. policy around the globe."

The speech stressed the necessity for a human rights policy that is fused with efforts to advance both development and democracy.

"Human rights, democracy and development are not three separate goals with three separate agendas," said Secretary Clinton. "To make a real and long term difference in people's lives we have to tackle all three simultaneously."

Clinton went on to refute the idea that national security policy need take priority over human rights issues and spoke of a "principled pragmatism" where the United States would address concerning human rights issues with countries like China or Russia while continuing to engage with them on strategic interests. "Freedom doesn't come in half measures," continued Clinton. "and partial remedies cannot redress the whole problem."

To watch Secretary Clinton's speech, click here.

For more information on human rights, visit:

Freedom in the World 2009

Freedom House, an independent nongovernmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom in the world, has been monitoring political rights and civil liberties since 1972.

***Freedom matters.***
***Freedom House makes a difference.***
**www.freedomhouse.org**

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 7:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Amnesty Int'l on Secretary Clinton's Speech
**Attachments:** Larry Cox statement on Clinton speech.docx

fyi

**From:** T. Kumar [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 6:18 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Amnesty Int'l on Secretary Clinton's Speech

**Amnesty International USA Statement on Secretary Clinton's speech**
**Monday, December 14, 2009**

Larry Cox, executive director, Amnesty International USA, on Monday welcomed Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's affirmation that protecting human rights is central to helping countries worldwide achieve the goal of reducing or eliminating poverty. Calling her speech "historic," Cox said Clinton's commitment to a broad spectrum of human rights offers new hope in solving the desperation caused by poverty.

"By advancing the idea that human rights, development and participatory and accountable governance, are goals that mutually reinforce one another, Secretary Clinton has charted a course of leadership recognizing the indivisibility of human rights that has been missing in our government's mission abroad and at home," said Cox. "Her statement today is an essential foundation for relieving the suffering of billions in poverty, especially now when millions upon millions more people worldwide are experiencing economic hardship."

"We welcome Secretary Clinton's affirmation that the "basics" of well being -- food, shelter, health and education --are not only human rights in and of themselves, but are also essential for the exercise of other human rights. Only by addressing both freedom from want and freedom from fear will it be possible to achieve genuine development for all."

Cox, who attended Secretary Clinton's speech on the administration's 21st century human rights agenda at Georgetown University, said he was especially grateful to hear Secretary Clinton outline her determination to make a real and long-term difference by tackling human rights and development as mutually reinforcing goals and affirm that the "United States must lead by example in this area."

Cox also welcomed Secretary Clinton's commitment to stand with human rights defenders worldwide by shining a spotlight on their work and the legitimacy of their efforts. In her speech Secretary Clinton highlighted the work of Women of Zimbabwe Arise, whose founders were recently honored at the White House, and noted the State Department had sent high-level diplomatic missions to meet with Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar. It is important that the administration continue to champion human rights defenders around the world, especially those in powerful countries like China and Russia.

Cox also praised the Secretary for raising the question of accountability abroad and at home. "Secretary Clinton rightly identifies accountability as the centerpiece of any successful human rights agenda for the United States. But if the administration means what it says, then it needs to appoint a bipartisan commission to investigate the abuses connected to counterterrorism policies since September 11, 2001, follow through on the executive orders it already has committed to, close the prison at Guantanamo and abide by international legal commitments to end torture."

"The administration can't insist that other countries adhere to human rights protections while continuing to detain people outside the rule of law at home," Cox continued. "Discussion of human rights can't be an empty rebranding exercise. The administration should promptly bring charges against the Guantanamo detainees who can be legitimately charged with a crime, and release the rest without further delay." To date, 116 individuals have already been cleared for release but remain unjustly detained in Guantanamo.

Noting that in his Nobel Prize speech in Oslo, President Obama stated that "no nation can insist that others follow the rules of the road if we are not willing to follow those rules ourselves," Cox Stated, "Amnesty International commends the administration for its commitment to engage closely on human rights. This is welcome change, but to make measurable progress we must prioritize accountability for torture, implementation of human rights treaties, a strong Executive Order on Human Rights, and the establishment of a national human rights commission."

Amnesty International is a Nobel Peace Prize-winning grassroots activist organization with more than 2.2 million supporters, activists and volunteers in more than 150 countries campaigning for human rights worldwide. The organization investigates and exposes abuses, educates and mobilizes the public, and works to protect people wherever justice, freedom, truth and dignity are denied.
Please visit www.amnestyusa.org for more information.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 14, 2009 10:02 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Murtha at Bethesda Naval Hosp w/gallbladder issue

John Murtha Hospitalized:

David Rogers December 14, 2009 12:03 PM EST

With the annual Pentagon budget bill due on the House floor this week, a familiar face may be missing.Rep. John Murtha, chairman of the House Appropriations defense panel, was hospitalized Sunday night because of abdominal pains. The 77-year-old Pennsylvania Democrat had been feeling ill with what he thought last week was swine flu but the hospitalization appears related to his gall bladder."He's currently resting and doing well," his office said. But a major committee hearing Murtha had planned for Tuesday on the growing U.S. military commitment in Afghanistan has been postponed

**Amnesty International USA Statement**
**Monday, December 14, 2009**

RELEASE IN FULL

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executive orders it already has committed to, close the prison at Guantanamo and abide by international legal commitments to end torture."

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Please visit www.amnestyusa.org for more information.

RELEASE IN PART B6

[redacted]

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 15, 2009 8:42 AM
**To:** H; capriciamarshall [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Don't laugh!!

Why not! Will call him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Marshall, Capricia P; [redacted]
Sent: Tue Dec 15 08:17:34 2009
Subject: Don't laugh!!

Can you contact your protocol friend in China and ask him if I could get photos of the carpets of the rooms I met in w POTUS during the recent trip? I loved their designs and the way they appeared carved. Any chance we can get this?

RELEASE IN PART B6 [redacted]

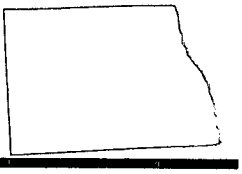
**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 15, 2009 9:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Don't laugh!!

Sorry which building was that? The hotel?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Marshall, Capricia P; ' [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue Dec 15 08:17:34 2009
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RELEASE IN PART B6



**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 15, 2009 1:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Don't laugh!!

Got it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 15, 2009 10:38 AM
To: Marshall, Capricia P
Subject: Re: Don't laugh!!

The Great Hall where we met w Hu.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 15 09:04:20 2009
Subject: Re: Don't laugh!!

Sorry which building was that? The hotel?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Marshall, Capricia P; [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue Dec 15 08:17:34 2009
Subject: Don't laugh!!

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Danish PM to become president of UN climate talks

---

**From**: Riggs, Susan J
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Climate
**Cc**: SES-O
**Sent**: Wed Dec 16 06:57:13 2009
**Subject**: Danish PM to become president of UN climate talks

COPENHAGEN (Reuters) - Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen will replace Danish minister Connie Hedegaard as president of the UN climate talks for a final summit session, the United Nations said. "With so many heads of state and government having arrived it's appropriate that the Prime Minister of Denmark presides," Hedegaard told the 193-nation meeting. "However, the Prime Minister has appointed me as his special representative and I will thus continue to negotiate the...outcome with my colleagues," she said. She said the move was procedural. Separately, Hedegaard has been criticized by African nations for favoring rich nations in the negotiations.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 9:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 5:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Sending per Cheryl: Poll: Clinton approval soars

**Politico**

**Poll: Clinton approval soars**
By: Eamon Javers
December 16, 2009 03:00 PM EST

A new poll of avid news watchers shows that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has a much higher approval rating than the man she once campaigned against and now works for, President Barack Obama.

In the poll of 800 registered voters who are self-identified "news watchers," Clinton had a 75 percent approval rating and a 21 percent disapproval rating overall. Obama, in contrast, had a 51 percent approval and a 45 percent disapproval rating.

The Secretary of State has conducted several well-received foreign trips in recent months and has not been as closely identified with the more contentious elements of the Administration's agenda, including the health care fight, the federal deficit and the Wall Street bailouts. And she has not been subjected to nearly the same media and partisan scrutiny as the president. Obama, meanwhile, has been on national television on a daily basis tackling a wide range of difficult issues.

The poll was conducted by the nonpartisan Clarus Research Group from December 7th to the 12th, and it asked for opinions of the top Cabinet secretaries and White House officials. Its finding on Obama and Clinton mirrors that of earlier polls – in October, for example, a Gallup poll found that Clinton had become more popular than the president.

Clarus president Ron Faucheux said one reason for Clinton's high poll numbers is her high approval among Republicans – numbers he said position her well to run for president again in the future, if she chooses. Clinton had 96 percent approval among Democrats, a healthy 57 percent approval among Republicans, and 65 percent approval among Independents. Obama was nearly as popular among Democrats – 93 percent – but his numbers among Republicans and Independents fell off dramatically, at 19 percent and 33 percent respectively.

Clinton's Republican numbers are striking, given how intensely disliked she has been in the past among GOP voters. In fact, part of Obama's appeal to Democratic primary voters in 2008 was that he was more likely to be able to bridge the partisan divide than Clinton, who was by then a well-known figure dating to her time as first lady in the 1990s.

"Republicans may see her as being more hawkish than other Democrats on foreign policy issues," said Faucheux. "It may be a way for them to bolster that position within the administration." Asked about any future Clinton presidential bid, he said, "She's in good shape now."

The next highest-rated cabinet secretary in the survey was Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who notched a 69 percent overall approval rate with a 78 percent approval among Democrats and 63

percent among both Republicans and independents.

"Both Clinton and Gates did well across the partisan board," said Faucheux. "Everybody else did well among Democrats but fell off among Republicans."

Another trend spotted by the pollsters: Approval ratings inside the Beltway were higher than in the rest of the country. "These results show that the 'Beltway echo chamber' does not reflect the rest of the country, even among news watchers," said Faucheux.

Among White House staffers and advisors, Press Secretary Robert Gibbs – who is often seen on television – had the highest overall rating at 50 percent. Economic advisor Larry Summers had the lowest approval, at 25 percent.

Summers and Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner – who are both closely associated with the economy – both posted higher disapproval numbers than approval. Summers' disapproval rating was 41 percent. Geithner's disapproval rating was 45 percent, one point higher than his approval rating.

The poll also found that White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel, who is often viewed as having sharp partisan elbows, scored much higher among Democrats, at 72 percent, than Republicans, at 13 percent.

Among other major administration officials, Vice President Joe Biden had a 50 percent approval and 41 percent disapproval rating; Attorney General Eric Holder and HHS Secretary Kathleen Sebelius both posted 41 percent approval and 35 percent disapproval; Presidential Adviser David Axelrod scored 38 percent approval and 36 percent disapproval; and National Security Adviser James Jones had a 30 percent approval and 23 percent disapproval rating.

Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 5:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: In case you haven't seen, but don't give yourself a grade if asked. Sid

# Poll: Clinton approval soars

By: Eamon Javers

December 16, 2009 03:00 PM EST

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 9:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Hold on Tom was lifted. Thanks for making the calls. Trying to get him thru as quickly as possible before another hold emerges.

---

**From**: Feehery, Kerry (LeMieux) <Kerry_Feehery@LeMieux.senate.gov>
**To**: Verma, Richard R
**Cc**: Moncrief, Benjamin (LeMieux) <Benjamin_Moncrief@LeMieux.senate.gov>
**Sent**: Wed Dec 16 18:45:49 2009
**Subject**: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

**Kerry Feehery**
**Chief of Staff**
**Senator George LeMieux (R-FL)**
**356 Russell Office Building**
**(202)228-4945**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 10:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Yes, I sold my soul to George Lemieux today. I am not proud of it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:00:49 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

What took them so long? Did you promise your first born?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 16 21:48:05 2009
Subject: Fw: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Hold on Tom was lifted. Thanks for making the calls. Trying to get him thru as quickly as possible before another hold emerges.

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From: Feehery, Kerry (LeMieux) <Kerry_Feehery@LeMieux.senate.gov>
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Moncrief, Benjamin (LeMieux) <Benjamin_Moncrief@LeMieux.senate.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 16 18:45:49 2009
Subject: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Kerry Feehery

Chief of Staff

Senator George LeMieux (R-FL)

356 Russell Office Building

(202)228-4945

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 10:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

I suspect they would prefer more $ for Little Havana.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:12:55 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Does this mean you have to go to Cuba and arrest Castro or just shovel more $ into Little Havana?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:05:46 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
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Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

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Chief of Staff

Senator George LeMieux (R-FL)

356 Russell Office Building

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 9:45 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Fyi

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**To**: Verma, Richard R
**Cc**: Moncrief, Benjamin (LeMieux) <Benjamin_Moncrief@LeMieux.senate.gov>
**Sent**: Wed Dec 16 18:45:49 2009
**Subject**: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

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**356 Russell Office Building**
**(202)228-4945**

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

They are out for the night. No one, in any department, has been confirmed in a couple of weeks. The environment is toxic right now. Lula Davis suggests all our noms (about 18 of them) will go on one of the last days they are in session which could be next week. [redacted] B5 [redacted] Will continue pressing tomorrow. Have even sought help from McConnell's staff and Dave Schiappa from the R floor staff. They are trying to be helpful.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:36:42 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

Can we get him confirmed tonight?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:26:42 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

I suspect they would prefer more $ for Little Havana.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:12:55 2009
Subject: Re: We have informed our cloakroom that we lift the hold on Shannon nomination

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Sent: Wed Dec 16 22:00:49 2009

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Kerry Feehery

Chief of Staff

Senator George LeMieux (R-FL)

356 Russell Office Building

(202)228-4945

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 10:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: thank you!

Nice feed back on Capricia's Diplomatic Women's Corp lunch with 160 women from around government (WH, agencies, Hill) and women ambassadors from other countries.

---

**From:** Satterfield, Lee
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 6:00 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** thank you!

Dear Cheryl,
You rock! Your participation today was fantastic. Engaging, funny and good take away advice for everyone. It's a honor to work here for Secretary Clinton and you. Thank you for supporting our efforts so heartily. What you said today about Capricia is spot on..she is an amazing mentor and guiding force.

When she came up with the idea for the lunch, she said she wanted everyone to walk away feeling like that was time well spent. She achieved that and more.

I'm thrilled to be a part of it all.
Thanks again!
Xo Lee

Lee Satterfield
*Deputy Chief of Protocol*
(202) 647-4120

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 16, 2009 11:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reuters piece

Sorry -- meant to send earlier:

China sees no chance of climate deal - source

Thu Dec 17, 2009

Print | Single Page

By Krittivas Mukherjee and Pete Harrison

COPENHAGEN (Reuters) - China has told participants in the U.N. climate change talks that it sees no possibility of achieving an operational accord this week, an official involved in the Copenhagen talks said on Thursday.

Dozens of heads of state are descending on the Danish capital to address the December 7-18 conference, and had hoped to sign on Friday a new pact to tackle global warming.

The official, who asked not to be identified, told Reuters the Chinese had instead suggested issuing "a short political declaration of some sort," but it was not clear what that would say.

The official said negotiations were continuing to try to reach a breakthrough that would still allow an operational agreement to be signed. The official said the sticking point for China appeared to be a process issue.

U.S. President Barack Obama has called for an "operational accord" -- essentially a political agreement with teeth that can get countries working to cut or curb their greenhouse gas emissions while a more formal and binding treaty is hammered out in 2010.

Some ministers warned that slow, often stalled talks during the summit meant it was staring at failure.

"We may not get there on the substance, it is quite possible we'll fail on the substance, but at least let's give it a try," said Britain's energy and climate minister Ed Miliband.

"At the moment the problem is we're not giving it a try."

Developed and developing nations are at odds over who should cut emissions, how deep the cuts should be, and how much funding should be provided to poor countries to help them shift to greener growth and adapt to a warmer world.

While the overall picture is bleak, there has been some progress in areas critical to reaching a deal.

Africa dramatically scaled back its expectations for climate aid from rich nations, and Japan pledged about $11 billion (6.8 billion pound) in public funds to 2012 to help poor countries adapt to a warmer world and cut their emissions.

Talks on a U.N.-backed system to pay poorer nations to curb deforestation have advanced, and the United States pledged $1 billion in short-term funds to conserve tropical forests.

A major sticking point between the world's top emitters, the United States and China, has been the question of how they will prove they are sticking to emission-curbing plans.

On Tuesday, China's climate change ambassador warned developed countries against using climate change as an excuse to set up trade barriers. Yu Qingtai said rich nations should not think that slapping carbon tariffs on imports from countries with different emissions control regimes would substitute for reaching a global deal to tackle warming.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 5:39 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Valmoro

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 7:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Lunch Yesterday

More on capricia's lunch yesterday with women from government and women ambassadors from the diplomatic corp

-----Original Message-----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Thursday, December 17, 2009 7:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Lunch Yesterday

Just wanted to let you know we're getting a lot of positive feedback from yesterday's lunch. It was a big hit.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 9:18 AM

http://tpmcafe.talkingpointsmemo.com/2009/12/16/obama_the_fallen_messiah_and_the_problem_with_secu/index.php

# Obama, The Fallen Messiah and The Problem With Secular Salvation Narratives

By Max Blumenthal - December 16, 2009, 8:10PM

In responding to my initial post, Sarah Posner, Todd Gitlin, and Fred Clarkson make some very important points about the appeal of the Christian right to ordinary Americans. I think their points dovetail with one another. Posner argues quite correctly that those who I described as giving up their individual freedom for the authoritarian structure of the right believe they are gaining new life in the Kingdom of God, along with a sense of community and belonging. She illustrates this trend in her excellent book on the rising trend of prosperity gospel theology in evangelical churches, God's Profits.

Clarkson adds that the salvation narrative the movement offers to trauma-wracked individuals is one of its key draws. This narrative often takes an explicitly political form, promising the replacement of a culturally decadent secular government with a theocratically-inspired authoritarian system (see Newt Gingrich's remarks at David Horowitz's Renaissance Weekend for a recent example of this appeal). Or, as Gitlin said, the salvation narrative may promise eternal life in Heaven -- after the enemies of God are slaughtered en masse in a display of pornographic violence, as portrayed in Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins' bestselling Left Behind Series.

During a time of economic decline, persistent cultural strife, deepening American involvement in far-off military conflicts, and rapid environmental deterioration, is there any wonder that some have turned to apocalyptic salvation narratives promising both a transcendent, everlasting future and violent retribution against perceived evildoers? A 2002 CNN poll found that 59% of Americans believe that the prophecies in the Book of Revelations will come true. The startling number reflected the still-fresh trauma of the 9/11 attacks, but I suspect that it has held steady, if not risen. Indeed, mainstream American culture is permeated by apocalypticism; the blockbuster movie hit 2012 is but one recent example.

I spend several chapters in my book following the Christian right's ascent to the mountain top with George W. Bush's re-election, detailing how the movement shrouded science and reason in the shadow of the cross, then observing as it swiftly imploded during the Terri Schiavo charade. Because I completed my book days after Barack Obama's inauguration, I was only able to foreshadow the right's plan to undermine the new president. Having watched the right attempt to delegitimize and literally overthrow Bill Clinton for eight years, I did not harbor any illusions about Obama transcending partisan division by becoming the "liberal Reagan who can reunite America," as many argued.

What I did not include in my book was any sense of where the Democratic left was going, or how this movement had developed its own salvation narrative during the Bush era. Only a presidency as destructive and radical as Bush's could have produced such deep levels of anxiety and desperation among progressives. When the Democratic primary began, some progressives seemed to ache for a secular messiah to descend from the political heavens, reverse Bush's disastrous legacy and save the country from itself.

In their quest for a savior, progressives discovered Barack Obama. "I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes project their own views," Obama proclaimed in his book, The Audacity of Hope. As Obama's primary battle against Hillary Clinton intensified, his rhetoric and the language of his supporters grew increasingly messianic. At a rally in South Carolina, Oprah Winfrey referred to Obama as "The One," a fusion of Jesus and Neo from The Matrix. When Obama defeated Clinton in Iowa, he quoted from a Hopi Indian End Times prophecy that had become popular among New Agers: "We are the ones we've been waiting for." Moved to the point of ecstasy by Obama's victory speech, Ezra Klein declared the candidate, "not the Word made flesh, but the triumph of the word over flesh... Obama is, at his best, able to call us back to our higher selves."

(Though he is not a progressive by even the wildest stretch of the imagination, it is worth noting that Louis Farrakhan, who had consistently ordered his followers to boycott elections and who attacked black politicians from Harold Washington to Jesse Jackson as tools of the white power structure, declared in no uncertain terms that Obama was the Messiah.)

Now that some of Obama's most zealous supporters are beginning to express grave doubts about his ability to deliver the transcendent change he promised, I think it is time for them to consider their role in contributing to the problems Obama faces with both his Democratic base and his opponents on the right. They embraced a secular salvation narrative that Obama cleverly channeled to excite them and distract from his lack of progressive accomplishments. In the end, Obama's

messianization created false expectations while establishing political space for the right to undermine and delegitimize him.

To be sure, Obama's salvation narrative was dramatically different than the dualistic, malignant version that prevails on the Christian right. Obama never, to my knowledge, played to his supporters' dark sides by promising them holy retribution against their perceived enemies. In fact, part of his appeal stemmed from his repudiation of partisan rancor -- there were no red states where people reject science, demonize gays and attack minority rights. Until he was inaugurated, Obama behaved like a secular Messiah in a world without a Devil.

In my book, I detail a series of experiments by a group of political psychologists seeking to provide evidence that the fear of death inspires extreme conservative beliefs -- including apocalypticism. Their study was inspired by a theory of cultural anthropologist Ernest Becker: "The idea of death, the fear of it, haunts the human animal like nothing else; it is a mainspring of human activity - designed largely to avoid the fatality of death, to overcome it by denying in some way that it is the final destiny of man." The professors discovered that time and again, their study subjects would register more conservative responses to questions if they were first reminded of their own deaths. (See John Judis' excellent article on the studies for more).

The use of mortality reminders came in to play as soon as Obama was inaugurated. Almost immediately, the right attempted to delegitimize him by reversing the phenomenon he relied on to win: While he attempted to serve as a blank screen for Americans to project their aspirations upon, they projected their most fearsome inner demons onto him. During the October McCain-Palin rallies, Sarah Palin and far-right surrogates like Joe the Plumber attacked Obama as an Other, a strange outsider who did not share mainstream American values. Their intention was to make him as unfamiliar and frightening as possible, and in doing so, to scare off wavering independent voters. By this time, it was too late in the campaign for the tactic to take effect, so it extended into this year and peaked during the Fall Teabagger rallies and town hall disruptions.

Teabagger activists transposed images of Stalin *and* Hitler onto Obama's face. (Their propaganda bore a disturbing resemblance to the signs waved by right-wing Jewish settlers during rallies against Yitzhak Rabin that depicted the soon to be assassinated Israeli PM in Nazi SS garb *and* as the collaborator Marshall Petain, two seemingly incongruous images). Obama was a Muslim; Obama was a commie; Obama was a cosmopolitan globalist; Obama was a black nationalist. It did not matter who Obama really was. The right simply wanted to convince America he was The Other. As cynical as their tactic is, it has damaged Obama in large part because he offered himself up as "a blank screen," defining himself as he thought different audiences wished to see him, and ultimately not establishing a very clear identity at all.

The right has complemented its anti-Obama propaganda with false rumors designed to inject the language of death into the healthcare debate. The single most damaging rumor, adopted from the cult of Lyndon LaRouche, refined by healthcare industry lobbyist Betsy McCaughey, and popularized by Sarah Palin, was that Obama's healthcare reform proposal included a plan to implement "death panels." While the president pleaded for compromise and reason, the right repeated the baseless charge over and over that he planned to pull the plug on grandma, euthanize the severely handicapped, and kill the sick. Obama has not yet recovered from the damage the right's mortality reminders did to his political standing.

Since Obama announced his plan to escalate the war in Afghanistan, and with the White House apparently poised to scrap the public option and Medicare buy-in proposals to mollify Sen. Joseph Lieberman, the progressive left is going into contortions. Turn on MSNBC or read any major progressive blog and you will see former Obama zealots proclaim, "Kill the bill!" while assailing the president as an empty suit.

The liberal left has become so disgruntled that a leading conservative talk radio host asked me recently if progressives were considering a primary challenge to Obama. I laughed and stated my belief that despite his troubles, Obama would win a second term. Whether or not that happens, those former Obama fanatics experiencing a crisis in faith should look in the mirror. They demanded a secular salvation narrative and participated in the near-deification of the politician who so eloquently delivered it to them. They now know that Obama is just a politician. What they have refused to acknowledge is that he would not have fallen so hard had they not lifted him so high.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 4:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Dec 17 14:54:18 2009
Subject: Re:

Don't want you to think I'm ignoring your email. Just waiting to get the latest.

The one piece of news is that Ben Nelson -- perhaps emboldened by all the press Lieberman has gotten the last 72 hours -- is now making noise that he is unhappy with how the bill is looking and may not support the final package.

I'll get you a proper update shortly.

Thanks and hope you're all having a good trip.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Thu Dec 17 13:39:59 2009
Subject:

Any updates on what happened in the senate today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 5:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Brazil Supreme Court action delays return of 9-year-old boy to his U.S. father.

---

**From:** Rodriguez, Hugo F
**To:** M_SpecialAssistants; SES_DutyDeputies; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Thu Dec 17 16:54:49 2009
**Subject:** (AP) Brazil Supreme Court action delays return of 9-year-old boy to his U.S. father.

Colleagues, for your information:

The AP reports Thursday's ruling by Justice Marco Aurelio Mello is the result of a petition by the boy's Brazilian family that he remain in Brazil until the court decides whether the boy's own testimony should be heard in the case. The ruling suspends a Wednesday judgment by a lower court ordering that David Goldman be given custody of his son, Sean. Because the Court goes into recess tomorrow, a ruling on whether the boy's testimony should be heard is not likely before February. Media report the boy is expected to remain in Brazil at least until then.

Regards, H.

Hugo Rodriguez
Senior Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 5:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Argentina

On it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 17 17:29:30 2009
Subject: Argentina

The FM just told me that Arturo had been there yesterday and had insulted their country. He was very upset and said I needed to do damage control. Can you figure out what he's talking about? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 5:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Argentina

Arturo made a comment publicly about the fact that he had heard from US business interests that the judicial system in Argentina had deteriorated.

Argentine press pounced -- this is apparently a sensitive issue.

Craig is sending me news summaries.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 17 17:33:41 2009
Subject: Re: Argentina

He's standing right inside the door here.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 17 17:31:10 2009
Subject: Re: Argentina

On it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 17 17:29:30 2009
Subject: Argentina

The FM just told me that Arturo had been there yesterday and had insulted their country. He was very upset and said I needed to do damage control. Can you figure out what he's talking about? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** More on AV

Here is the news summary:

A/S Valenzuela's Trip to South America: Valenzuela in Argentina Chile's El Mercurio reports that the visit of A/S Valenzuela resulted last night in another misunderstanding between Washington and Buenos Aires because of statements by the US official regarding the management of the Argentine economy. Controversy arose over statement by Valenzuela during a restricted meeting with the local press in which he echoes the concerns of American businessmen in that country regarding "judicial insecurity" and the management of the economy. Valenzuela, also indicated that has been noted "change" in the investment climate for US businesses and reminded those present that "in 1996 there was a great deal of enthusiasm regarding investment" in Argentina. The Argentine Foreign Ministry responded in a communiqué that the government "has not received complaints from US business with interests and investments in the country." Interior Minister Florencia Randazzo lamented that "some officials revert to old practices" when there is the expectation of a new period in US foreign policy." Argentina's Clarín carries the same story titled "Official Anger with Obama's Envoy Because He Spoke about Judicial Insecurity" with the Interior Minister's riposte "Argentina is living in a period of complete judicial and institutional guarantees" and the nation "has left behind the period in which an official of another country can tell ours what guarantees should exist to benefit its own interests." INFOBAE.com adds that Minister of Justice Julio Alak described Valenzuela's statements as "unprecedented and unjustified."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 6:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Statement from Senator Lemieux on Shannon Hold

Well, there's something.

---

**From:** Kelly, Craig A
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Dec 17 18:07:32 2009
**Subject:** FW: Statement from Senator Lemieux on Shannon Hold

**Subject:** Statement from Senator Lemieux on Shannon Hold

WASHINGTON – U.S. Senator George LeMieux (R-FL) today released the following statement regarding his decision to allow the nomination of Tom Shannon to move forward. Mr. Shannon is nominated to be the next U.S. ambassador to Brazil.

Senator LeMieux stated:

As a senator from Florida, the gateway to Latin America, it is incumbent upon me to focus on U.S. policy as it relates to the Western Hemisphere. It is my assessment that U.S. foreign policy in the hemisphere stands at a critical juncture. Our actions in the region signal to all countries where we stand on our commitment to respecting democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Our policy in Latin America cannot be transactional. We must insist on human rights and other democratic institutions including the rule of law. Fortifying democratic institutions and pursuing respect for human rights is the cornerstone of United States' foreign policy in Latin America.

It was because of these concerns that I placed a hold on the nomination of Tom Shannon. This allowed more time for me to evaluate Mr. Shannon's record and to ask specific questions of Mr. Shannon and State Department officials.

Two countries that represent the direction of the foreign policy commitments of the United States are Honduras and Cuba – Honduras, having just emerged from a constitutional process that resulted in the removal of its president and elections, and Cuba, where a dictatorial regime continues to oppress its people and violate their most basic human rights. In these two areas, the United States must be resolute – demonstrating through action our insistence on democracy and respect for the rule of law.

During this process I have discussed my concerns for the region with Secretary Clinton. I am grateful for her appreciation of the unique responsibility I have to the region as a Senator from Florida. I am confident Secretary Clinton shares my concern about a reverse of the progress of democracy and the rise of authoritarian strongmen in Latin America. I have received sufficient commitments from Secretary Clinton that the Administration's policy in Latin America, and specifically in Honduras and Cuba, will take a course that promotes democratic ideals and goals.

As a result of these discussions with Secretary Clinton and other State Department officials, I am pleased to report several concrete examples of this commitment.

In Honduras, the U.S. will continue to normalize relations with that country's government and President-elect Lobo. Counter-narcotics cooperation will resume, and visa procedures will be normalized.

In Cuba, the U.S. will reopen the process for non-profit organizations to apply for pro-democracy grants, the practice of including members of the Cuban pro-democracy movement in events at the U.S. Interests Section will be restored, Title IV of the Helms Burton Act will be enforced, and the awarding of Cuba Democracy Assistance grants will be done in a fair and transparent manner.

Ensuring our neighbors in the hemisphere recognize our commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law is fundamental. Leaders in nations that seek to destabilize the region are paying close attention to U.S. actions and the way in which we carry out our policies in Latin America. I look forward to a continuing dialogue on how we can strengthen U.S. relations with the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 18, 2009 5:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Morning Press Highlights 12/18/09 (U)

See first point on israel. Lieberman put a call into you early this am. Suspect it was about this.

---

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Fri Dec 18 05:00:19 2009
**Subject:** Morning Press Highlights 12/18/09 (U)

# S/ES-O Morning Press Highlights

**Friday, December 18, 2009**
**0500 EST, 1100 Copenhagen**

## MIDDLE EAST

**ISRAEL**
Foreign Minister Lieberman announced construction will restart in full force once a temporary 10-month moratorium on settlement activity ends. (*haaretz.com*)

**ISRAEL/EGYPT**
Egyptian intelligence chief Suleiman is scheduled to visit Israel to discuss the lack of progress in Israel and Palestinian Authority peace talks and update Israel on Egyptian efforts to prevent weapons smuggling into Gaza. *(jpost.com)*

## SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA

**INDIA**
Ajmal Kasab retracted his earlier statement regarding his involvement in the Mumbai attack and said he was tortured by Indian authorities into confessing. (*timesofindia.com*)

**AFGHANISTAN**
Former senior UN official Peter Galbraith rejected reports he drafted a plan for the White House to replace President Karzai. *(aljazeera.net)*

**NEPAL**
Nearly 3,000 child soldiers who fought as Maoist guerillas are to be released from camps where they have been confined for the past three years. *(timesonline.co.uk)*

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

**VENEZUELA**
Venezuela's economic minister approved the merger of four banks to create a public banking institution named Bicentenario. (*AFP*)

**COLOMBIA/VENEZUELA**
Colombia has asked Venezuelan authorities to arrest and handover 15 FARC leaders allegedly in Venezuelan territory. (*El Universal*)

## AFRICA

**SOMALIA**
The 57-member Organization of Islamic Conference announced plans to open a Mogadishu office in January to support reconstruction efforts in Somalia. (*arabnews.com*)

**SUDAN**
Election observers said they were gravely concerned about government crackdowns on opposition rallies that undermined "political rights and fundamental freedoms" ahead of polls in April. *(Reuters)*

## EUROPE

**POLAND**
Polish police say the infamous iron sign over the gate to Auschwitz with the phrase "Work Sets You Free" has been stolen. (*AP*)

**IRELAND**
Gross domestic product rose by 0.3% in the third quarter, indicating the country has pulled out of what was one of Europe's worst recessions. (*bbc.co.uk*)

## EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

**REPUBLIC OF KOREA**
Intelligence agencies said computer hackers who might be from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have gained access to a secret U.S.-South Korean plan to defend the peninsula in case of war. (*chosun.com*)

**ROK/DPRK**
The South Korean government is moving to review its plan on improving ties with the DPRK and include the principle of linking improvements in the DPRK's nuclear issues with economic cooperation between the two countries. *(xinhuanet.com)*

Drafted: MEPolley Approved: PTSlattery

****Morning Press Highlights alerts senior Department officials to breaking news items and is a synopsis of select media stories from around the world. It solely reflects the gist of the stories as presented in their original publications and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.****

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 18, 2009 11:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Changing Political Situation in Pakistan

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Silson, John H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Holbrooke, Richard; Nasr, S Vali R
Sent: Fri Dec 18 17:01:43 2009
Subject: Changing Political Situation in Pakistan

Jake

In the past 48 hours, the political situation in Pakistan has entered a new phase. The Supreme Court ruled the NRO illegal and paved the way for prosecution of several government officials, most notably Interior Minister Rehman Malik. Malik has been summoned before the Court and the Defense Minister (along with 247 other officials) was barred from traveling to China on an official visit. Vali Nasr has been following the fast-moving and still unclear developments closely.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] In addition, the Supreme Court has opened the door to new petitions to be filed, questioning Zardari's eligibility to have run for president in the first place. The Court could use those petitions to force Zardari from office in the near future. It is clear that Zardari's fate will be decided by the military, which has been gaining prominence and will be in an even stronger position after this shake-up.

[redacted]

[redacted] In the past two days Gilani has come to Zardari's defense, suggesting the two have reached an agreement over transfer of power from president to prime minister.

[redacted]

Richard

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills <
**Sent:** Saturday, December 19, 2009 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Can you talk after 12:30?

don't know yet - but checking.

I have from noon to 4pm so can talk after that - what works for you post 4pm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 19, 2009 10:56 AM
To: 'cheryl.mills
Subject: Can you talk after 12:30?

Did the call do any good?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Flights

Mario suggests we check in with him in the afternoon about 8pm flight. Basically he said flight may get canceled at last minute as has happened with shuttles this morning. He will check with crew who will give him best assesment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 10:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** kasit can talk right now. oscar should be printing call sheet right now. ok?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 10:22 AM
**To:** H; Oscar Flores
**Subject:** kasit call is coming through shortly, oscar has call sheet

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 11:58 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Attachments:** Points for [redacted] docx B5

Oscar, can you pls print this call sheet for hrc
Its for another call that will likely happen today
thanks

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 12:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke asking to talk

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 1:01 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** ValmoroLJ@state.gov
**Subject:** travel update

lona and i wanted to give you an update on travel both alonzo and mario are recommending against travel today reagan is still closed until this afternoon per alonzo.
mario is holding seats on 7am tomorrow.
as for trains, i talked to amtrak, they have trains running, some approx 1 hour behind schedule and a couple have canceled but they are running today.
lona will be hearing from melanne in the next few hours or so about whether event will be on or canceled tomorrow.
will keep you updated

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 2:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tony blair just called for you.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 3:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Japanese ambassador

Kurt campbell is asking if you would do a quick pull aside with Japanese Ambassador Fujisaki tomorrow. Kurt would do meeting, and would bring him by for a few minutes. Pls let me know what you think.
Points he sent:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Japanese ambassador

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Dec 20 15:03:40 2009
Subject: Re: Japanese ambassador

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Dec 20 15:02:18 2009
Subject: Japanese ambassador

Kurt campbell is asking if you would do a quick pull aside with Japanese Ambassador Fujisaki tomorrow. Kurt would do meeting, and would bring him by for a few minutes. Pls let me know what you think.
Points he sent:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills <
**Sent:** Sunday, December 20, 2009 11:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: fyi-ali rubin

FYI

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Caitlin Klevorick** <
Date: Sun, Dec 20, 2009 at 11:10 PM
Subject: fyi-ali rubin
To: Cheryl Mills <

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 21, 2009 4:02 PM
**To:** H; Burns, William J

Arlen Specter would like to speak to either of you regarding the possibility of the Syrians helping to free the three American hikers held by Iran. Thinks they can be helpful.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 21, 2009 4:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Arlen Specter called S office

FYI – Bill did talk to Senator Specter. It went fine. Specter was glad to hear we had approached the Syrians re: the hikers.

---

**From:** Burns, William J
**Sent:** Monday, December 21, 2009 4:38 PM
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Cc:** Jacobs, Janice L; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Macmanus, Joseph E; Fogarty, Daniel J
**Subject:** RE: Arlen Specter called S office

I talked to Sen Specter, and confirmed that we have approached Syrians (along with others) to ask their help on hikers. He was appreciative.

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Monday, December 21, 2009 4:29 PM
**To:** Burns, William J
**Cc:** Jacobs, Janice L; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Macmanus, Joseph E; Fogarty, Daniel J
**Subject:** FW: Arlen Specter called S office

Bill – the Secretary asked if you would be willing to call Specter back on her behalf....sorry to drag you into this. Jim Steinberg tells me we have also just sent (or will send) a dip note to Syria and others in the region on this same subject.

Rich

---

**From:** Fogarty, Daniel J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 10:27 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Schlicher, Ronald L; Jacobs, Janice L; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Rooney, Matthew M; Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants; CA-Staffers Mailbox
**Subject:** RE: Arlen Specter called S office

All:

For your review, I've attached Sen. Specter's letter to S about this issue. We just received this fax.

Thanks,

Dan

---

**From:** Fogarty, Daniel J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 17, 2009 9:28 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Cc:** Rooney, Matthew M; Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** Arlen Specter called S office

Sir,

Senator Specter just called for the Secretary to discuss the three Amcit hikers detained in Iran – Josh Fattal is a constituent from Elkins Park, PA. Since S is on travel, he passed his message to me.

Specter wants to know what/if anything the Department has done to enlist the assistance of Syria in obtaining the release of the Amcits detained in Iran. Specter said he recently spoke with the Syrian Ambassador to the U.S. Imad Moustapha, who mentioned that Syria helped the UK when five Brits were detained in Iran.

Specter has our information in the office and has made it clear that he would like an answer later this morning. He can be reached at 202-224-4254.

Sincerely,

Dan

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

I think this is a good idea – what do you think?

cdm

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**From:** Richard Socarides [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:50 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

There is a lot of appreciation for everything the Dept has done around this so far and I think you could really build on it by putting someone there in charge of international LGBT human rights issues.

# Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

Nico Colombant | Washington 21 December 2009

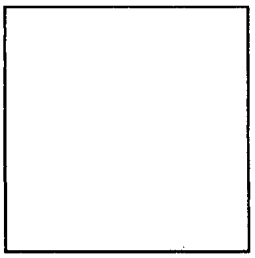


**Photo: AP**

Evangelical pastor Rick Warren, 23 Jun 2009

Anti-gay laws sweeping through East Africa have sparked a debate in the United States about the possible influence of American evangelical leaders and lawmakers with strong ties in that region. U.S. activists are also shedding new light on the risks that gays face in East Africa.

In his book called *The Family*, American journalist Jeff Sharlet criticizes a group of influential American Christian leaders and conservative lawmakers with close ties to politicians in East Africa.

He accuses them of treating some of the countries they deal with as social and political experiments.

"It has become sort of a Frankenstein's monster and is the family going to take responsibility for the empowerment they have given to some of these politicians?," asked Jeff Sharlet.

In his book, Sharlet specifically refers to politicians in Uganda proposing an anti-gay law that would criminalize homosexuality. The law, which could be passed within weeks despite international condemnation, includes possible punishment by death.

Anti-gay laws were recently passed in Burundi, are being discussed in Rwanda, and could soon be expanded in Kenya and Tanzania.

The American group Sharlet calls *The Family* is also known as The Fellowship. It organizes an annual National Prayer Breakfast with the U.S. president and foreign guests, but besides that activity shuns publicity and does not openly list its members.

But Sharlet says more American reporters are looking into the group and its alleged ties to Africa. These include helping African politicians with money so they can push socially conservative agendas.

"We see reporters in Iowa, in Pennsylvania, and in Oklahoma, going to their elected representatives who have a link to this whole thing and saying 'tell us about the link'," he said. "They are not accusing them of anything, they are saying, 'You have a relationship with the Ugandan government, what is the nature of that relationship? And, are you going to use that influence to oppose this legislation that seems to be supported by some of your allies?'"

Religious leaders like Rick Warren have also been under the microscope. He is the senior pastor of the California-based Saddleback church, which is active in both Uganda and Rwanda.

After being questioned about his role by U.S. media, Warren issued a video message on the Internet, denying his support for the law in Uganda.

"As an American pastor, it is not my role to interfere with the politics of other nations, but it is my role to speak out on moral issues and it is my role to shepherd other pastors who look to me for guidance, and it is my role to correct lies and errors and false reports when others associate my name with a law that I had nothing to do with, [and which] I completely oppose and I vigorously condemn," said Rick Warren. "I am referring to the pending law under consideration by the Ugandan parliament, known as the Anti-Homosexuality Bill."

Rwanda's parliament is also working to pass a law which would criminalize homosexuality but Warren has yet to address his church's role in that matter. In 2005, he called Rwanda a "purpose driven nation." Warren went with dozens of American evangelicals to hold meetings with government ministers, lawmakers and donate materials to churches across Rwanda.

Several American lawmakers who have been linked to the Fellowship, like Nevada Senator John Ensign have called the Ugandan law proposal "outrageous". But others like Kansas Senator Sam Brownback, who went to Uganda in 2004, have said they do not know enough about the bill to comment.

The executive director of the U.S.-based International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, Cary Alan Johnson, welcomes some of the questions now being asked.

"It is a debate that has to happen and we are glad it is happening," said Cary Alan Johnson. "Rwanda and Uganda are both countries with deeply spiritual people and as of late we have understood that some of the more conservative elements in the United States have been funding the most violent and homophobic discourses about homosexuality."

Johnson says those seeking to push an agenda should understand the consequences of their actions. He warns anti-gay laws could worsen already high HIV levels in east Africa.

"The impact of these laws on HIV prevention is extremely worrisome to us," he said. "Laws we are talking about in Uganda, Rwanda, will make it impossible for groups to do HIV education that targets men who have sex with men or that targets bisexual people and we know that there is a strong impact of HIV on this community and on society in general."

Lisa Laurel Weinberg, from the Massachusetts Lutheran Social Services Human Rights Protection Project, says the situation is already very difficult. In her other job as an asylum attorney, she recently helped a young Ugandan woman win asylum to the United States. The woman's apartment had been raided by police while she was inside with her girlfriend.

"The police broke in and brought them to the police station and raped them in what is called a corrective rape," said Lisa Laurel Weinberg. "It is when males of authority try and correct lesbianism through rape."

But Weinberg warns trying to fight the new laws from the outside is very complicated.

"I got an e-mail yesterday that said be really careful and check with Ugandans before you do any advocacy from the West, because us imposing our values, they are really sensitive to the whole colonialism history, so that the email cautioned be careful what you do and let it come from them," she said.

Some prominent politicians and journalists in East Africa have called homosexuality the "white man's disease." Pro-gay groups in the region, which are mostly underground, say they are becoming increasingly afraid to ask for help, and believe outside interference could worsen the persecution they face.

**Find this article at:**
http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/human-rights/Africas-Anti-Gay-Laws-Spark-Accusations-and-Denials-in-US-79853182.html

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Richard Socarides, Esq.
Brady Klein Weissman LLP
501 Fifth Avenue, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10017
w: 212.949.5800 m: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

I think I would want someone higher profile.

If she is doing this, it's likely as a response to incoming rather than as an affirmative agenda.

Not sure how I got to be the person pushing all things in this area -- think from the earlier efforts on family benefits but as general matter - we have a reactive mechanism right now (to others, to me sending emails re Uganda (and now Rwanda is doing same kind of anti-gay law)) etc.

This would be someone who's portfolio would be an affirmative agenda.
cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:54 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

Mira patel in sp told me she is already starting to do this. Do you want someone in drl. [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 22 07:50:48 2009
Subject: FW: voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

I think this is a good idea – what do you think?

cdm

From: Richard Socarides [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:50 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: voanews.com: Africa's Anti-Gay Laws Spark Accusations and Denials in US

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Nico Colombant | Washington 21 December 2009

Photo: AP

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--
Richard Socarides, Esq.
Brady Klein Weissman LLP
501 Fifth Avenue, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10017
w: 212.949.5800 m: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 8:07 AM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Is isabelle coming

She's not coming. She's out of town.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Dec 22 08:06:26 2009
Subject: Is isabelle coming

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 8:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Anti-Gay Laws

FYI

---

**From:** Goosby, Eric
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 8:32 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Anti-Gay Laws

Cheryl

It may be worth putting together a small group to think through the issue in some depth to decide whether there is a more proactive strategy that may be possible and/or worth engaging in one or more countries :

1. Define human rights challenges around gay communities in many of our partner countries

2. Define the social political context (ie: how does civil society and the political/legislative activity converge or not converge)

3. Potential role of Judicial response (eg: Adult Disability Act in US)

4. Role of multilateral and normative bodies

We are quietly doing this in PEPFAR over the next two months to assess whether we can work behind the politics to increase the "safe space" for our populations seeking and/or in care (increase identification, entry and retention).

Cheryl, I hope you have a wonderful holiday, heading back to SF now, back in Monday (28th)

Eric

---

This email was sent from a wireless Blackberry device.

This e-mail is unclassified based on the definitions provided in E.O. 12958

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Carson, Johnnie
**Cc**: Posner, Michael H; Patel, Mira D; Baer, Daniel B; Hyde, Dana; Goosby, Eric; Smith, Daniel B; Moy, Kin W
**Sent**: Tue Dec 22 08:18:24 2009
**Subject**: Anti-Gay Laws

Johnnie

What is the best way to have a systematic assessment of what countries in Africa have laws proceeding or on the books re: anti-gay measures similar to the Uganda bill?

I am particularly concerned as we begin to make determinations in budget process for significant investments in several countries for GHFSI, Pepfar, GHI, etc., that we not be surprised.

Can you advise how we can proceed or if we should do a call or seek a tasking for this information?

Thanks.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 8:54 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; CDM
**Subject:** Montreal Travelers

Half old half new faces on the plane today:

AP/Bob Burns
Reuters/Arshad
AFP/Christophe Schmidt
WP/Glenn Kessler (1st time since India)
NPR/Michele Kelleman

Ed Luce( Financial Times)
April Ryan (American Urban Radio
Ray Boone (Richmond Free Press)
Dewayne Wickham (USA Today)
Tom Jonud (Esquire Magazine)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 3:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Piece on Eikenberry Cables

Fyi

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Smith, Daniel B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Verma, Richard R; Mills, Cheryl D; Lew, Jacob J; Koh, Harold Hongju; Steinberg, James B; Boswell, Eric J
**Sent:** Tue Jan 26 03:54:57 2010
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Piece on Eikenberry Cables

The leaking of classified material is a breach not only of trust, it is I b/l also a breach of the law.

In either event, we should seek a full investigation and send a deterrent message to the community that this type of security breach is unacceptable and seriously jeopardizes our national interest.

Can you advise what have been steps taken in the past in these types of matters as I would like to ensure we take agressive action.

Cdm

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**From:** Syed, Zia S
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Mon Jan 25 22:41:13 2010
**Subject:** NYT Piece on Eikenberry Cables

FYI, there is a just released story on the front page of NYTimes.com that re-prints in full Amb. Eikenberry's November 2009 Cables (full story pasted below):

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/26/world/asia/26strategy.html?hp and
http://documents.nytimes.com/eikenberry-s-memos-on-the-strategy-in-afghanistan?hp#p=1

**January 26, 2010**

# U.S. Envoy's Cables Show Concerns on Afghan War Plans

**By ERIC SCHMITT**

WASHINGTON — The United States ambassador in Kabul warned his superiors here in November that President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan "is not an adequate strategic partner" and "continues to shun responsibility for any sovereign burden," according to a

classified cable that offers a much bleaker accounting of the risks of sending additional American troops to Afghanistan than was previously known.

The broad outlines of two cables from the ambassador, Karl W. Eikenberry, became public within days after he sent them, and they were portrayed as having been the source of significant discussion in the White House, heightening tensions between diplomats and senior military officers, who supported an increase of 30,000 American troops.

But the full cables, obtained by The New York Times, show for the first time just how strongly the current ambassador felt about the leadership of the Afghan government, the state of its military and the chances that a troop buildup would actually hurt the war effort by making the Karzai government too dependent on the United States.

The cables — one four pages, the other three — also represent a detailed rebuttal to the counterinsurgency strategy offered by Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, the top American and NATO commander in Afghanistan, who had argued that a rapid infusion of fresh troops was essential to avoid failure in the country.

They show that Mr. Eikenberry, a retired Army lieutenant general who once was the top American commander in Afghanistan, repeatedly cautioned that deploying sizable American reinforcements would result in "astronomical costs" — tens of billions of dollars — and would only deepen the dependence of the Afghan government on the United States.

"Sending additional forces will delay the day when Afghans will take over, and make it difficult, if not impossible, to bring our people home on a reasonable timetable," he wrote Nov. 6. "An increased U.S. and foreign role in security and governance will increase Afghan dependence, at least in the short-term."

Without offering details, Mr. Eikenberry has said in public hearings since then that his concerns have been dealt with, and that he supported the White House's troop increase plan.

But it is not clear what might have changed about his assessment of President Karzai as a reliable partner, and the strong language of the cables may increase tensions between the ambassador and the Karzai government, especially as world leaders meet in London on Thursday to discuss a much-debated Afghan plan to reintegrate Taliban fighters. It also coincides with a strong effort by the administration to mend ties with Mr. Karzai.

An American official provided a copy of the cables to The Times after a reporter requested them. The official said it was important for the historical record that Mr. Eikenberry's detailed assessments be made public, given that they were among the most important documents produced during the debate that led to the troop buildup.

On Nov. 6, Mr. Eikenberry wrote: "President Karzai is not an adequate strategic partner. The proposed counterinsurgency strategy assumes an Afghan political leadership that is both able to take responsibility and to exert sovereignty in the furtherance of our goal — a secure, peaceful, minimally self-sufficient Afghanistan hardened against transnational terrorist groups.

"Yet Karzai continues to shun responsibility for any sovereign burden, whether defense, governance or development. He and much of his circle do not want the U.S. to leave and are only too happy to see us invest further," Mr. Eikenberry wrote. "They assume we covet their territory for a never-ending 'war on terror' and for military bases to use against surrounding powers."

He continued, "Beyond Karzai himself, there is no political ruling class that provides an overarching national identity that transcends local affiliations and provides reliable partnership."

In a second cable, dated Nov. 9, he expressed new concerns: "In a PBS interview on November 7, Karzai sounded bizarrely cautionary notes about his willingness to address governance and corruption. This tracks with his record of inaction or grudging compliance in this area."

On Monday, Mr. Eikenberry declined through an embassy spokeswoman, Caitlin M. Hayden, to comment on the cables and his views on Mr. Karzai. She said by e-mail, "We stand by what we provided during the review process, which got us to the clear strategy we're now implementing, that the ambassador unequivocally supports."

In his memos, Mr. Eikenberry raised other concerns. He said he had serious doubts about the ability of the Afghan police and military forces to take over security duties in the country by 2013. "The Army's high attrition and low recruitment rates for Pashtuns in the south are crippling," he wrote. "Simply keeping the force at current levels requires tens of thousands of new recruits every year to replace attrition losses and battlefield casualties." The ambassador, who left the military last April to become Mr. Obama's emissary, also complained about an inadequate civilian counterpart organization to the NATO military command in Afghanistan. Nearly three months later, he is still expressing concerns about too few civilian experts in Afghanistan.
He also noted worries that the success of Mr. Obama's Afghanistan policy hinged on Pakistani forces' eliminating militants' havens in the mountainous region near the Afghan border.

"Pakistan will remain the single greatest source of Afghan instability so long as the border sanctuaries remain," he wrote. "Until this sanctuary problem is fully addressed, the gains from sending additional forces may be fleeting."

"As we contemplate greatly expanding our presence in Afghanistan, the better answer to our difficulties could well be to further ratchet up our engagement in Pakistan," he wrote without elaboration.

On Nov. 9, he repeatedly warned against rushing into a large deployment of more American forces without further study.
He urged that the White House appoint a bipartisan panel of "civilian and military experts to examine the Afghanistan-Pakistan strategy" and provide recommendations by the end of 2009. The recommendation, which would have extended a White House-led policy review of many months, was not accepted.

Mr. Eikenberry suggested sending a relatively small force to train Afghan security forces and protect some population centers, and to condition more troops on the Afghans' meeting objectives, like committing to taking full responsibility for national defense by a specific date.
And while General McChrystal warned of failure if additional troops were not deployed, Mr. Eikenberry concluded by cautioning of competing risks "that we will become more deeply engaged here with no way to extricate ourselves, short of allowing the country to descend again into lawlessness and chaos."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 6:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Northern Ireland

Gordon Brown called Lou Susman a short while ago. Brown believes you should make a call to McGuinness this morning around 830 am (Declan and I agree that if you call McG you also must call Robinson). Brown proposes to speak with you at 820 or so to bring you up to speed before those calls.

The current situation is that Brown and Cowen are in Belfast, and met with Robinson, McGuinness, and other parties until 330 in the morning Belfast time. They have now resumed today. The sticking point is parades. Robinson wants the current parades commission abolished because it gives Republicans too much say. McGuinness refuses to allow the parades issue to be tied to the devolution issue.

The key message to McGuinness is to keep working this thing through -- not to take any drastic action that would bring down the assembly or collapse the process.

Declan agrees that this is the moment to make calls.

If you agree we can have the ops center set up the Brown call as well as the other two.

We'll get you some more background before the calls, but talking points will be fluid and shaped in large measure by Brown's report.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 01/25/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B5, B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma (Clinton)
**Subject:** call sheet
**Attachments:** Call_Sheets jjs.docx

Attached and pasted below is material for the calls

## Calls to Brown and Northern Ireland Political Leaders

PM Brown has asked to brief you on ongoing negotiations convened by the UK and Irish governments yesterday with FM Peter Robinson and dFM Martin McGuinness and their respective teams, which lasted until 3:30 a.m. in the morning and resumed at 9:00 a.m. today. Sinn Fein and the DUP are apparently not yet meeting face to face at Hillsborough but using the two governments as go betweens. On-site observers have characterized the current atmosphere between the two parties as "poisonous."

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

were invited to Hillsborough yesterday night. However, these parties tell us that this was only an informational exercise and they have yet to be included in any substantive meetings.

**Outstanding Issues**: The obstacle to progress seems to be centered on the parades issue and setting of specific dates for devolution. Robinson and the DUP are insisting on the abolishing of the Parades Commission, an independent panel despised by the Orange Order as restricting their desire to parade through nationalist areas, and the adoption of a new process relying on local councils to refer potentially contentious parades to an OFM/dFM selected panel. Sinn Fein and SDLP are both concerned that this will politicize decision-making on parades and PSNI involvement.

In late December, the UK government renewed the Parades Commission's mandate until December 2010, so it is expected that any new process would not be implemented until after the summer 2010 parading season.

**Key points:**

B5

**Outcomes**: If McGuinness resigns (likely along with the other SF ministers) thereby collapsing the current Executive, the Northern Ireland Act provides for seven calendar days for a new Executive to be formed. Failing that, the Assembly cease to operation and Secretary of State Woodward is supposed to schedule new elections though he is not required to do so within a certain timeframe. (Technically, it would take at least five weeks to organize new Assembly elections.)

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 8:36 AM
**To:** doug[redacted]H B6
**Subject:** Re: Personal

Good morning Doug -

I think my response bounced back so I'm trying this again (apologies if you get two emails from me) Send me any points you would want to have made in the letter, as well as if it should be addressed to anyone in particular, and we'll get it done!

Thanks!

----- Original Message -----
From: doug[redacted] B6
To: Hillary Clinton <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Tue Jan 26 08:28:58 2010
Subject: Re: Personal

Thanks so much! I'll work with Rob on the letter.

FYI, I'm meeting with Judith McHale this week to talk about Pakistan, per our previous conversation. I've also been talking with NDI about being the interlocutor for the strategic communications program for the government and political parties.

I think it's best for USG and all involved that it go through a respected NGO. They're keen to help.

------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: Doug Hattaway
Cc: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Personal
Sent: Jan 26, 2010 8:17 AM

Of course. I will send a letter and welcome you,[redacted] to DC. The closer the better! B6

I'm copying Rob Russo so he can work w you to draft the letter.

This is very exciting.

----- Original Message -----
From: Doug Hattaway <[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 25 18:59:54 2010
Subject: Personal

Mme. Secretary:

B6

All the best, Doug

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** Edwards, Christopher (Jakarta/PRO)
**Cc:** Hume, Cameron; Marciel, Scot A
**Subject:** FW: Aceh paper

I just wanted to share how much the Secretary and the rest of us on the trip appreciated the paper you put together on ACEH. As we are examining how to be a good partner to Haiti, having the benefit of this insight is helpful.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 5:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** chris dodd returned your call 5:26 PM

I'll be sure Huma knows too.

**202-224-0343 w (Pat)**
[redacted] **c** B6

**Lauren**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 8:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: maggie

thoughts

---

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** maggie

Maggie is going to be down in DC on Thursday, February 18th and could do a "big think" dinner that evening – that date works well on HRC's calendar too.

Cheryl, if it's good on your end, should we run by HRC and move forward with invites?

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 4:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: maggie

K

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Jan 27 02:54:26 2010
Subject: Re: maggie

I want to do dinner but discuss invites w me first. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 26 20:39:34 2010
Subject: FW: maggie

thoughts

From: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Tuesday, January 26, 2010 9:30 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: maggie

Maggie is going to be down in DC on Thursday, February 18th and could do a "big think" dinner that evening – that date works well on HRC's calendar too.

Cheryl, if it's good on your end, should we run by HRC and move forward with invites?

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band
**Subject:** FW: Acting SRSG Mulet

See below - confidential.

Also for WJC.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lindwall, David E
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 10:30 AM
To: Anderson, Gerald C
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Trivelli, Paul A AMB USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L)
Subject: Acting SRSG Mulet

Gerry,

[redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

[redacted] Mulet has been the perfect person to step into this critical void and his departure will be a big loss. [redacted] B5 [redacted] Thanks, David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 01/26/2025

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Wanted you to see
**Attachments:** Haiti Pledge.docx

fyi

---

**From:** Mantz, Jonathan [mailto: [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Wanted you to see

I hope you're doing well and surviving. I wanted you and Secretary Clinton to know what Claudio and Amarilis Osorio are doing on behalf of Haiti reconstruction (attached). Hope you're well.

Jonathan Mantz
Managing Director
BGR Government Affairs, LLC
BGR | GROUP
The Homer Building, Eleventh Floor South
601 Thirteenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005
[redacted] /Fax: 202-833-9392 B6
www.bgrdc.com

# INNOVIDA - HAITI RELIEF EFFORT
# PLEDGE OF 1,000 HOMES

RELEASE IN FULL

**InnoVida** Holdings, LLC has pledged to donate 1,000 houses to Haiti. The Houses will be configured as 1Bed/1Bath and 2Bed/1Bath – with floor plans ranging from 155 sqft to 300 sqft respectively. Houses are wind and earthquake resistant (see specifications bellow).

InnoVida is currently in the process of partnering with different non-profit organizations that will assist us in this endeavor (Among them World Vision http://www.worldvision.org and Medishare http://projectmedishare.org )

We expect to have a first assessment of the situation by the beginning of February, including identifying possible locations and the short-term requirements for buildings and housing needs. To this effect a delegation from InnoVida will travel to Haiti on Saturday, Jan. 30th to meet with local authorities and NGO's local staff.

Our plans are to send the first structures during the course of the next three to four weeks. Presently, we believe that we will initially send structures for hospitals and/or shelters as well as schools.

**InnoVida** will follow the construction guidelines established by the Haiti Recovery Team that is now in formation. It is too early for us to have a design and a master plan of the exact type of house or where it would be built in the country.

**InnoVida** will be ready to start shipping the first batch of 150 houses 30 days after a design is approved.

For the last six months, **InnoVida** has been planning the installation of manufacturing plan in Haiti. After the earthquake, this plan has become a top priority, due to the housing needs in the country. This factory will also create a significant amount of new jobs. We are actively seeking to have the factory installed and running in the next 4 to 6 months.

**INNOVIDA: An Ideal Housing Solution for Haiti**

**InnoVida** is a U.S. company that manufactures building solutions which bridge the gap between energy efficiency, affordability and high quality. Using its proprietary technology we manufacture Fiber Composite Panels (FCPs), which are used to build houses, offices, schools, warehouses, medical centers, manufactured, modular, and mobile homes, etc. without the use of cement, steel or wood and with significant savings in cost to build, time to build and energy cost to operate.

**InnoVida**'s FCP is a load bearing insulating panel system with structural skins made of high-strength E-Glass fiber fabrics impregnated with a fire-resistant polymeric epoxy resin and a core made of a construction foam material. The end result of this combination is that FCP construction is a stronger and better way to build. The versatility of the material and the advanced technology applied allows the construction of a complete structure from foundation to roof. The building components include composite structural insulated panels that can be used to manufacture exterior walls, interior walls, beams, columns, profiles, and roofing. **InnoVida**'s FCPs' inherent characteristics make them a better building alternative.

**InnoVida** Structures are:

- **Built Fast** – Structures built with InnoVidaPanels can be built one third faster than conventional building construction. These structures do not require heavy equipment and nominal skilled labor is required
- **Earthquake Resistant** – FCPs have a high deflection capacity of 20% compared to the traditional 5% before they reach their breaking point. Also, due to the lightweight nature of the FCP, any structurally damage that may occur will be much less harmful to the occupant than with traditional materials.
- **Hurricane Resistant** – The Wall Panel and Roof Panel were tested and approved for wind speeds above 156 mph.
- **Waterproof** – Does not provide a food source for algae and mold.
- **Fire Resistant** – The Panel skins will not support combustion. Also, the chemicals released from fuel-fed fires held against the building surface are not poisonous to humans.
- **Low Maintenance** – Does not provide a living environment for termites or rodents and has a long life span.
- **Energy Efficient** – InnoVida's FCP has an R-value of 5.88 per inch with a total tested wall R-value of 14.6 for the 2.5 inch Panel and 23.7 for the 4 inch Panel. The insulative core significantly reduces the amount of energy needed to heat and/or cool and provides excellent noise reduction.
- **A Greener Alternative** – Our products and processes are much less detrimental to the environment than conventional construction by producing very little construction-site waste, air pollution, and natural resource consumption.
- **Limitless Architectural and Aesthetic Bounds** – FCPs can be curved into any shape and be finished with any desired option (stone, stucco, paint, wallpaper, etc.).

**InnoVida** is committed to the Haiti Relief Effort. With our donation of 1,000 homes and the installation of a local FCP manufacturing facility we hope to provide jobs as well as housing to thousands of Haitians with the greater hope of assisting in the full developing, rebuilding and modernizing of the country.

For more information, visit our website at www.InnoVida.com or call +1-786-837-7200

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 2:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00016-20100128-0252.jpg
**Attachments:** Device MemoryhomeuserpicturesIMG00016-20100128-0252.jpg

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 2:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00015-20100128-0251.jpg
**Attachments:** Device MemoryhomeuserpicturesIMG00015-20100128-0251.jpg

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 2:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pirs ny answer

Checked with philippe on plane and he said hes professionally 100% ok for following reasons.
1) We did it for Copenhagen.
2) Condi would be dropped in Crawford on way home from foreign trips.
3) They already know and don't care.
But let me know if you want to change to dc, and I can easily tell Lew.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 5:07 AM
**To:** H; Burns, William J; Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Daniel B; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

---

**From:** DiMartino, Kitty
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 10:13 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Plane reading: old boys network v Ashton

Below is from the Economist blogger re efforts w/I EU to discredit Ashton, particularly from the French. Wouldn't hurt to mention her positively with French interlocutors. See particularly this line: "There is, frankly, a whiff of old boy's network against Lady Ashton: she is not a lifetime member of the honourable guild of former foreign ministers, and she is surrounded by men in suits who think they know a lot more about foreign policy than she does. There is not much sympathy for her complicated family life, involving young children, and much commuting between Brussels and Britain."

A blog by the author of our column on the European Union

# Charlemagne's notebook

- **Why did Lady Ashton take the EU's foreign policy job?**
- Jan 26th 2010, 22:04

NOT yet February, and the briefing against Catherine Ashton, the newly appointed EU foreign policy chief, is getting nasty. Jean Quatremer, the Brussels blogger and well-connected EU correspondent of *Libération*, dropped another depth charge against the baroness tonight. His list of complaints against her is long, and I have a feeling some of them are a smidgeon exaggerated. I find it hard to believe it is literally impossible to reach Lady Ashton after eight o'clock in the evening as Mr Quatremer charges, because she allegedly has her mobile telephones diverted to the EU situation centre (a small intelligence analysis cell staffed by officers from national servicies) after that hour. I also have some doubts about the stress laid on the fact that she has not yet got round to having top secret security clearance yet, so cannot see any confidential papers. As a former British cabinet minister, and serving UK commissioner, something tells me the British at least may share just the odd secret with her.

A senior official I saw today also made the point that any holder of Lady Ashton's post would currently be struggling with teething problems and squabbling as the new foreign policy apparatus created by the Lisbon Treaty takes shape. There is, frankly, a whiff of old boy's network against Lady Ashton: she is not a lifetime member of the honourable guild of former foreign ministers, and she is surrounded by men in suits who think they know a lot more about foreign policy than she does. There is not much sympathy for her complicated family life, involving young children, and much commuting between Brussels and Britain.

Finally, at the risk of sounding too loyal to the British, I think Mr Quatremer is being unfair when he says that it suits the Foreign Office in London to have Lady Ashton "sabotage" the post. My impression is that the British government feels Lady Ashton needs a lot of support right now and worries she is not getting

enough support, but at the same time worries that if she receives too much help in the way of briefings and advice from British officials, she will be seen as a British stooge. That may be a self-serving sort of fear (because it allows the British to offer Lady Ashton lots of help) but it is real enough.

Other charges probably have something to them. They certainly chime with things I have been told by other people.

But most damaging, to my mind, is the intimate nature of some of the briefing: this stuff is coming from officials close to Lady Ashton, or who are senior enough to have significant contact with her. And I can confirm from my own conversations that people across the whole EU foreign policy machine are asking the same question: why did she take this huge job, when her instinct seems to be to make it as low key as possible? That is a dangerous question mark to have hanging over you.

RELEASE
IN PART
B6

**From:** Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call w Cheryl

She is headed downstairs to do a quick interview with Andrea Mitchell and then she's off to the PC. I'll try!!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:26 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Subject: Call w Cheryl

Nora--Pls tell Cheryl to call me back on my berry # which Ops has. Thx.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:54 PM
**To:** H

Cloture invoked on Bernake nomination 77-23. Final vote on nomination now.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call w Cheryl

Calling you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:34 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: Re: Call w Cheryl

Later is fine.

----- Original Message -----
From: Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 15:31:29 2010
Subject: RE: Call w Cheryl

She is headed downstairs to do a quick interview with Andrea Mitchell and then she's off to the PC. I'll try!!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:26 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
Subject: Call w Cheryl

Nora--Pls tell Cheryl to call me back on my berry # which Ops has. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** H; Toiv, Nora F
**Cc:** cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Call w Cheryl

Ops has not be able to reach you

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:26 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Subject: Call w Cheryl

Nora--Pls tell Cheryl to call me back on my berry # which Ops has. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 9:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Copenhagen accord was a "disaster", says Sweden

---

**From**: Polley, Mary E
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Tue Dec 22 09:39:57 2009
**Subject**: (Reuters) Copenhagen accord was a "disaster", says Sweden

BRUSSELS - Despite months of preparation and strenuous international diplomacy, the talks boiled down to an inability of the world's two largest emitters, the United States and China, to agree on headline fixed targets.
The 27 member states of the EU had gone into the talks with a unified position and with a plan for financing emissions cuts in the developing world, with a commitment to spend around 7 billion euros ($10.01 billion) over the next three years to aid poorer countries.
But those aims were largely sidelined as the talks failed to produce the breakthrough agreement many had hoped for.
"Europe never lost its aim, never, never came to splits or different positions, but of course this was mainly about other countries really (being) unwilling, and especially the United States and China," said Carlgren.
Britain on Monday blamed China and a handful of other countries of holding the world to ransom by blocking a legally binding treaty at Copenhagen, stepping up a blame game that has gathered momentum since the talks ended.
Prime Minister Gordon Brown described the summit as "at best flawed and at worst chaotic" and demanded an urgent reform of the process to try to reach a legal treaty when talks are expected to resume in Germany next June.
But Danish Climate Minister Connie Hedegaard, who quit as president of the Copenhagen talks midway through after being criticised by African countries for favouring wealthier nations in negotiations, said it was no time to get depressed about the process of tackling climate change.
"What we need to do is to secure the step that we took and turn it into a result," she told reporters as she arrived for the Brussels meeting on Tuesday. Asked whether Copenhagen had been a failure, she replied:
"It would have been a failure if we had achieved nothing. But we achieved something. A first step. It was the first time we held a process where all the countries were present, including the big emitters."
(Writing by Luke Baker; Editing by Jon Hemming)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) China says Britain sowing discord in climate politics

---

**From**: Polley, Mary E
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Tue Dec 22 10:01:10 2009
**Subject**: (Reuters) China says Britain sowing discord in climate politics

BEIJING - China condemned claims ascribed to Britain's climate change minister that it had "hijacked" negotiations in Copenhagen, saying on Tuesday the accusations were an attempt to sow discord among poor countries.

The sharp words from Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu were the latest baring of diplomatic bad blood after the talks in Copenhagen ended on Saturday with a broad, non-binding accord that fell short of hopes for a robust global agreement on how to curb greenhouse gas emissions.

Jiang was responding to a report in Britain's Guardian newspaper that said the Environment Minister Ed Miliband had accused China, Sudan, Bolivia and other left-wing Latin American nations of "hijacking" efforts to reach deeper agreement on how to fight global warming.

In a separate commentary for the paper, Miliband said China vetoed a widely supported proposal at the Copenhagen talks to aim to cut global greenhouse gas emissions by 50 percent by 2050.

"We cannot again allow negotiations on real points of substance to be hijacked," he also wrote, but without singling out China or any other country as a "hijacker."

Chinese spokeswoman Jiang did not chide Miliband by name, but Beijing's ire was clear.

"The statements from certain British politicians are plainly a political scheme," she said in a statement issued by the official Xinhua news agency.

"Their objective is to shirk responsibilities that should be assumed towards developing countries, and to provoke discord among developing countries. This scheme will come to nothing."

The flap is unlikely to seriously disrupt negotiations seeking to turn the Copenhagen accord into a legally binding treaty. But the sour exchange has underscored the distrust between China and rich countries that could frustrate efforts to agree on that treaty by late 2010.

"Everyone is raising the banner of protecting the planet, but in reality they are protecting their own interests," Wang Yi, a climate change policy researcher at the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing, told Reuters.

"The compromises (in Copenhagen) were very, very limited."

China is the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases from human activities and its biggest developing economy. Other governments have pressed it to do more to reduce its growing emissions and to submit its emissions goals to international checks as part of any new climate pact.

But China and other big developing countries have accused the rich economies of failing to offer big enough cuts to their emissions, and of not offering enough money and technological help to poor countries to cope with climate change.

Chinese experts have also said the goal of cutting global greenhouse gas emissions by 50 percent by 2050 is empty rhetoric without those commitments from rich nations.

"Currently, the most difficult issue to resolve is the scale and structure of each country's emissions reductions," said Li Zhiqing, an environmental policy professor at Fudan University in Shanghai, writing in the city's Wenhui Daily newspaper.

"Clearly, there will be no breakthrough on this in the near term and we can only maintain the status quo," wrote Li.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) <SternTD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Onward!

I will be on travel from 12/8 through 12/20 -- back in the office on the 21st..

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 5:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Senate confirms Bernanke for second term

---

**From**: Johnson, Andrew Kim
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Thu Jan 28 17:13:10 2010
**Subject**: Senate confirms Bernanke for second term

Media report the Senate voted 70-30 in favor of Ben Bernanke's second term as Federal Reserve Chair.

***Andrew Kim Johnson***
*Watch Officer*
*State Department Operations Center S/ES-O*
*202-647-1512*

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Thank you SO much! We will get the photo off widely.

Had a good meeting w Melinda Gates. They are ready to support our maternal and child health initiative. Your husband touched everyone here with his Haiti plea.
We're making good progress on women's issues.

----- Original Message -----
From: Breeden, Philip X
To: Ghori, Saba N; Modi, Anjana J; Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane; Kaiser, Sandra L; Palmer, Christopher G
Sent: Thu Jan 28 14:07:37 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

The secretary had her picture taken with the 4 women right before her press conference. She met them as she walked to the site, and then invited them to walk with her to the press conference. The four Afghan women sat together during the conference and the Secretary asked them to rise so she could acknowledge and applaud their courageous work promoting women's rights in Afghanistan. We will send some photos around. Cheers, P

**********
Philip Breeden
Press Counselor, US Embassy London
Tel: 44-(0) 20-7894-0672
Fax: 44-(0) 20-7491-2485
Cell: B6
Email: breedenpx@state.gov
**********

----- Original Message -----
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: Breeden, Philip X; Modi, Anjana J; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C; Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 09:51:22 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Thanks, please let us know if this works!

----- Original Message -----
From: Breeden, Philip X
To: Modi, Anjana J; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C
Cc: Ghori, Saba N; Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 09:36:58 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

I'm working this. We will see. P

**********

Philip Breeden
Press Counselor, US Embassy London
Tel: 44-(0) 20-7894-0672
Fax: 44-(0) 20-7491-2485
Cell: [redacted] B6
Email: breedenpx@state.gov
**********

----- Original Message -----
From: Modi, Anjana J
To: Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C
Cc: Breeden, Philip X; Ghori, Saba N; Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 08:43:15 2010
Subject: RE: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Caroline and Ashley:

Saba Ghori (from the State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues covering Afghanistan) can be reached at [redacted] B6
[redacted] She is in London and in contact with the 4 Afghan Civil Society Women representatives observing today's B6
conference, and understands here is a possibility of a photo/pull aside for the Afghan women with the Secretary.

Of the Afghan women, three are at the media center, and one is at the civil society conference. Saba doesn't have a way to access the media canter/Lancaster House. If the Secretary can do this photo opp/pull aside, someone would need to meet and escort the women. Two of the women have local cell numbers: [redacted] B6
[redacted] Hope you can help to coordinate with Saba and 4 Afghan women. B6

Thanks,
Anjana
-----Original Message-----
From: Goshko, Matt E
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 1:19 PM
To: Modi, Anjana J; Ghori, Saba N
Cc: Breeden, Philip X; Yehl, Ashley C; Adler, Caroline E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Subject: RE: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Saba and Modi,

I have included the Secretary's press team Ashley Yehl and Caroline Adler on this chain. They are best placed to coordinate with Huma and Philippe on this. Sarah Jane-Mayhew, our official photographer, will be at the media center at about 1530.

Please note that Embassy blackberries are very slow. (I have this message on my desk top but it has not yet reached my bb) If Phil needs to take quick action on this please send him a text message at [redacted] B6

Best,

Matt

Matt Goshko
Press Officer
U.S. Embassy London
GoshkoME@state.gov
office: 020 7894 0651
cell: [redacted] B6
(If calling from outside the UK dial + 44 and omit the first zero)

-----Original Message-----
From: Modi, Anjana J
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 1:10 PM
To: Goshko, Matt E
Subject: FW:

Matt,

This is the email chain regarding the a possibly opportunity for the 4 Afghan women civil society representatives to meet with the Secretary and take a photo. Three of the 4 are in the media center and Saba who has been travelling with them isPhil suggested she contact Huma. If you have other thoughts on who Saba can contact let me know and I'll pass that info along.

Saba is from the State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues covering Afghanistan for the U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues, Ambassador Melanne Verveer.

Thanks,
Anjana

-----Original Message-----
From: Modi, Anjana J
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 12:24 PM
To: Ghori, Saba N
Cc: 'mansury [redacted] 'koppell [redacted] B6
Subject: RE:

Saba,

Our press office says your best bet would be to work with Huma to see if this is possible. The logistics are a challenge.
Huma's number is [redacted] B6

-----Original Message-----
From: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 11:54 AM
To: 'mansury [redacted] 'koppell [redacted] Modi, Anjana J B6
Subject: Fw:

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted] B6
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:35:16 2010

Subject: Re:

Huma told me they will do a photo but that was befoire last night ------Original Message------
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 5:31 AM
Subject: Re:

I haven't been able to get in. I emailed huma and she hasn't responded.

The conference is going on right now.

If the women could even meet with the Secretary for a few minutes, that would be great! Can you ask huma?

I have the nos of the women who are in the conf

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted] B6
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:22:36 2010
Subject: Re:

Yes, huma told me about last night
What time is the conf?
Are you in? I asked her

------Original Message------
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 2:30 AM
Subject: Re:

Apparently, the women gave their recommendations to S and SRAP at a reception hosted by the prince of whales last night. They urged the two not to forget @ them

----- Original Message -----
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: 'pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Jan 28 02:27:05 2010
Subject: Re:

The conference is today (thurs).
I asked mary beth googman in SRAP if I cd go and was told it was very difficult S will take a photo with the women? Do you have access to a phone?

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted] B6
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 02:12:31 2010
Subject: Re:

I'm talking about the conference at which the women will be observers. Isn't that tomw?
S will take a hoti w women but you need to be with them ------Original Message------

From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 2:00 AM
Subject: Re:

I want to but I'm not accredited. I think I asked you @ this in the other email. Who could we ask to get me in? You have to get there super early, and its already 7 am here! Please advise

----- Original Message -----
From: Melanne Verveer [redacted] B6
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 01:39:53 2010

Just watched .ary and Wazhma on CNN
Are you going to the conf w them tomw?

_____
Melanne Verveer
[redacted] B6

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 8:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Lugar Remarks tonight

fyi

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 4:44 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Lugar Remarks tonight

Speech of Senator Lugar

# Foreign Assistance and Development in a New Era

Thursday, January 28, 2010

*U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar will deliver the following speech tonight at the Society for International Development's annual dinner.*

I thank the Society for International Development, its members and its leadership – Betsy Bassan and Joe Feuer – for the work they do on development issues around the world, and for organizing this annual gala. It is unfortunate that Chairman Kerry could not be with us tonight, but I know he shares my gratitude for your recognition.

I also want to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Shah for his remarks and to recognize the efforts of USAID and its new Administrator in responding to the tragic earthquake in Haiti. Dr. Shah has faced one of the most challenging crises imaginable only five days after being sworn in. The job ahead of him – in Haiti and around the globe – is monumental. I look forward to supporting his work and that of his agency in the coming years. I commend all of our responders from all government agencies for their courage, compassion, and skill as they continue their mission in Haiti, and I join all of you in extending our prayers to the people of that nation.

Tonight I would like to offer a few points about where we have come from and where we might be going with regard to U.S. investments in development.

The challenges of global poverty and hunger are growing at a time when worries about the sustainability of natural resources are increasing. Population growth and increased affluence in some parts of the globe will require that we more than double world food production by 2050 to keep pace. At the same time, to address environmental concerns, we will have to harvest that food from roughly the same amount of land that is in production today. The accessibility and availability of food deeply affects the health of populations. Childhood malnutrition has lifelong consequences for the productivity of individuals and nations. Poverty denies opportunity to the world's young people and breeds extremism and instability that spills over borders. It is not surprising that the CIA has long tracked and analyzed global food supplies as an indicator of potential conflict.

There is probably not a person in this room who would disagree that development is critical for U.S. national security and that the alleviation of poverty and hunger is a key component. This is a sentiment that is shared in most parts of our government, including the Department of Defense.

But even though the importance of advancing development goals is evident, constructing the most efficient, accountable, and transparent means for achieving those goals is complex and challenging. Differences of opinion exist with regard to who should be performing development functions and how these activities should be integrated into our broader foreign policy efforts. We have not reached a consensus within our government on who should be doing what, where, when and why.

As we debate these issues, we should keep in mind that diplomacy and development are two distinct disciplines. Although diplomacy and development often can be mutually reinforcing, at their core, they have different priorities, resource requirements, and time horizons. Most obviously, diplomacy is far more concerned with solving immediate problems, usually associated with countries of strategic interest. Although we hope that our development efforts will sometimes yield short-term strategic benefits, that is not their primary purpose. In a development context, we are willing to take a much longer view of the world and devote resources to countries of less, or even minimal, strategic significance. We are willing to allow the diplomatic and national security benefits of development work to accrue over time. And we are willing to engage in missions for purely altruistic reasons. These differences underscore why development must be an independent partner of diplomacy, not merely its servant.

**Reforming U.S. Foreign Assistance**

Reforming U.S. foreign assistance – in both substance and architecture – has been a priority for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary Clinton has stated: "I want USAID to be seen as the premier development agency in the world." I share that sentiment. One of the basic questions with respect to foreign aid reform is how we can best strengthen the capacity of USAID to run effective assistance programs. During the last two decades, decision-makers have not made it easy for the agency to perform its mission. Development resources declined precipitously in the 1990s and reorganization initiatives resulted in the agency's loss of evaluation, budget, and policy capacity. There is broad consensus among development experts that the loss of these functions at USAID is inhibiting the success of our development programs. Our development efforts will never be as effective as they should be if the agency that houses most of our development expertise is cut out of relevant policy and budget decisions.

Events since 2001 have spurred greater investments in foreign assistance. But many of these resources have been located outside of USAID. Roughly two dozen departments and agencies have taken over some aspects of foreign assistance, including the Department of Defense and the Department of Agriculture.

The President has advocated doubling foreign assistance over time, and has announced new initiatives on food security and health. Given the increased resources needed for these initiatives, it is crucial that the American people and Congress have confidence that these funds will be used efficiently.

USAID must have a central role in development policy decisions. If we are to avoid inefficient experimentation, it must have the capacity to evaluate programs and disseminate information about best practices and methods. That requires policy makers to continue augmenting the agency's staffing and expertise. These principals are reflected in legislation that Senator Kerry and I introduced last year, S. 1524, the Foreign Assistance Revitalization and Accountability Act.

The Administration has initiated two separate studies – the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the National Security Council's Presidential Study Directive on Development – in an attempt to make recommendations on how development programs can better support U.S. foreign policy objectives. The QDDR will not be completed until this fall and it is uncertain when, or if, we will know the outcomes of the PSD.

I am eager to review the Administration's ideas when they are ready. But in the meantime, Congress should be offering its own ideas on how to improve our government's development capacity. The Kerry-Lugar foreign assistance reform bill is the product of well over a year of research and analysis by Senators and their staffs. It has strong support in the aid community. And it is co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of 23 Senators, twelve of whom are members of the Foreign Relations Committee. This level of backing for a bill related to foreign assistance is extremely rare. It provides an opportunity to build something approaching a consensus on this issue. I am hopeful that the Executive Branch will recognize that a bill co-sponsored by a majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and nearly a quarter of the full Senate should be given substantial weight in its review process. A strong development agency that serves under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State, as envisioned in our bill, will best empower her to advance U.S. goals.

**A Development Policy Guided by Objectives**

Even as we reconsider our development architecture, it is vital that development policy is guided by objectives rather than by how we organize our government to deliver development assistance. We should focus on the big issues – food scarcity, poverty, disease, environmental degradation -- that prevent economic growth in a large swath of the world's countries. Those objectives require that strategies reflect the needs of the countries we are helping rather than the vagaries of our own budget process, which often allocates funds in response to lobbying pressures, media interest, or political favoritism. Country strategies based on broad objectives also give us the best chance to avoid dependence on arbitrary spending targets for specific sectors. For example, promoting food security requires investments not just in agricultural productivity, but in clean water, infrastructure, basic and higher education, and land titling, to name just a few factors.

The Global Food Security Act, which I authored with Senator Casey and which Senator Kerry has co-sponsored, reflects these principles. The food price crisis that occurred in 2008 resulted from a culmination of policy choices by

donor and recipient governments over a decades-long period. That crisis was a wakeup call for the development community, for international donors, and for policymakers worldwide. Because achieving food security must be a multi-sector endeavor that goes beyond simply raising crop yields, U.S. policy must seek to integrate a variety of approaches and actors. At the same time, we do not want to delegate responsibility for food security policy to multiple departments. That could further weaken our already fractured foreign assistance structure. That is why our bill designates USAID, which has the broad development experience necessary, as the lead agency to implement the strategy.

**"Whole-of-Government" in Perspective**

The term "whole-of-government" has come into vogue in policy circles. To the extent that the term underscores the complexity of development problems and the need to apply the talents of a diverse set of agencies to their solution, it is useful and descriptive. Our government must have the capacity to draw on expertise to achieve vital development missions without artificial barriers erected by agencies. Many agencies are working together successfully on development problems in many parts of the world.

But we should not mistake the term "whole-of-government" for an organizational strategy. Even if multiple agencies are making contributions, someone must be in charge, someone must coordinate the activities of all involved, and someone must take responsibility for inefficiencies and failures.

This is especially important in a development context because of our highly fragmented aid system. The risk is that the term "whole-of-government," will be used to justify that fragmentation or preserve roles for agencies where they are not justified. We also must be careful that the whole-of-government concept does not re-define development as a series of technical decisions – from where to dig wells to which seeds to plant in which soils. Such a redefinition would devalue the discipline of development, which many practitioners have spent a lifetime studying and testing. We know from long experience that technical expertise must be grounded in an understanding of development. For example, agricultural advancement depends as much or more on reaching women farmers, building agriculture education, and engaging civil society in support of rural development than it does on seed quality and planting decisions. An integrated strategy can only come from an agency that understands development is a separate discipline, as Dr. Shah has said.

I believe the starting point for any future design of our assistance programs should not be the status quo, but rather the period in which we had a well-functioning and well-resourced aid agency. Even if we emphasize the talents of multiple agencies, a strong aid agency that can design integrated country-specific strategies is a key to success.

**Unity of Purpose**

Instead of accepting whole-of-government, or any other organizational model, as the guiding narrative, I believe there is a more helpful way of viewing the development mission – that is "unity-of-purpose." We need to be unified around common purposes for which we can marshal the appropriate level of resources and variety of approaches. There will be situations that call for the involvement of multiple agencies under the direction of one government entity. But, the decision to involve other government actors should be driven by the purpose. Such is clearly the case now in Haiti. The U.S. government and international actors are unified for the purpose of disaster response. That response involves the coordination of hundreds of organizations to rescue people and to provide basic elements needed for survival. At some point soon, the mission will evolve from disaster response to reconstruction to development. We should be asking whether we will be able to maintain a unity-of-purpose even as that purpose changes.

The Lugar-Casey bill proposes that there be a unity-of-purpose around achieving global food security. Regardless of the situation, it is the unity-of-purpose that should guide how foreign assistance is designed. I applaud Secretary Clinton for adopting food security as a top priority. Her inter-agency team has been working diligently on its Global Food Security and Hunger Initiative, and Congress has been responsive in appropriating funding. Many operational decisions have yet to be made, particularly decisions relating to coordination, but I stand ready to work with the Administration to pass the Lugar-Casey bill as soon as possible. I look forward to achieving a unity-of-purpose between Congress and the Administration on food security.

These are not easy issues to solve. I applaud all of you here tonight for your dedication to development and your willingness to work with Congress and the Administration as we try to rebuild our assistance infrastructure. I would conclude with a quote from Dr. Norman Borlaug, the Nobel Laureate and Father of the Green Revolution, whose optimism never flagged. He believed that constant striving would eventually wear down all obstacles. He said, "I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that further progress depends on intelligent, integrated and persistent effort by government leaders, statesmen, tradesmen, scientists, educators and communication agencies." That is as true today as when he said it 39 years ago, and I invite everyone here to make their own contributions in that spirit.

###

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted](blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bing

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bing

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bing

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) US Congress Party Switch

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**From**: Polley, Mary E
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-H
**Sent**: Tue Dec 22 12:20:30 2009
**Subject**: (AP) US Congress Party Switch

WASHINGTON - Senior House aides say freshman Democratic lawmaker Parker Griffith of Alabama is switching to the Republican Party. Griffith was narrowly elected last year from a region of northern Alabama that includes Huntsville and Decatur. President Barack Obama lost the district badly to Republican John McCain. Griffith is a radiation oncologist. His switch comes as Congress is trying to pass a much-contested health care bill. Democrats will still control the House by a substantial margin.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) <SternTD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 3:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Onward!

Thanks so much. I think that, given what was possible, we got a very good result.

Thanks for all your unwavering support throughout the year and for the pivotal role you played in the final 48 hours. Your diplomacy Thursday was hugely important, starting to shift things in our direction, and then the President's intervention Friday put us over the top. An awesome 1-2 punch -- the best in the whole wide world. I'm honored every single day to work for you. Hope you get some rest over the holidays. Best, Todd

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:06 AM
To: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: Onward!

Todd--

I look forward to our next steps to deliver on our accord after we both get some sleep and a few days off. Thanks for all your great work, and my very best to you, Jen and the boys for the new year. Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 3:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Letter to Lautenberg

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Sent:** Tue Dec 22 15:33:57 2009
**Subject:** Letter to Lautenberg

Hi Huma – could you please show this to the Secretary? Senator Reid's staff and Senator Lautenberg would like the letter below sent to his office today. Upon receipt of the letter, we are told Senator Lautenberg will lift his hold on the GSP and ATPDA trade legislation. I know the Secretary would prefer to wait until there is a final decision in Brazil, but it is still unclear when that decision will come (may not even be today) and we have drafted the letter so that it still makes sense regardless of how and when the court rules. Thanks, and I'm at my desk if she wants to discuss it further. Rich

Dear Senator Lautenberg,

I appreciated the opportunity to speak with you this past weekend regarding the custody case of Sean Goldman, the young American boy wrongfully detained in Brazil for more than five years. As we discussed, the Administration has long maintained that Sean should be reunited with his father David in New Jersey. I have made a point of emphasizing this position with Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim during our many conversations, as have other U.S. Officials with their Brazilian counterparts.

We have worked closely with the Government of Brazil to ensure it upholds its obligations under the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. We were quite concerned by last week's decision suspending the order reuniting Sean with his father. We were encouraged, however, by the appeal filed last Friday by the Brazilian Solicitor General which challenges this suspension. Like you, we are eager to learn of the outcome of this appeal. We understand a decision could be announced shortly.

You can be assured that we will continue advocating for the reunification of Sean and his father and pressing the Government of Brazil to ensure swift consideration of the Goldman case so that this long legal process may reach a final conclusion without further delay. In the meantime, please be assured that the State Department as well as the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia has been and will continue to be a resource to the Goldman family during this trying time.

Sincerely,

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 5:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYT OpEd on economic opportunities in Haiti

He now works for us

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Thu Jan 28 23:03:44 2010
**Subject:** NYT OpEd on economic opportunities in Haiti

FYI – this has been in the pipeline for a while, but I understand that I am not allowed to write further articles under the terms of my USG hire.

Best wishes

Jean-Louis

**New York Times, January 29, 2010**
OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

# Building Haiti's Economy, One Mango at a Time

**By PAUL COLLIER and JEAN-LOUIS WARNHOLZ**

IN an astonishing outpouring of generosity, nearly half of American households have donated money to help Haiti recover from the recent earthquake. The United States government and other governments around the world, for their part, have sent thousands of relief workers and have pledged $1 billion so far. But Haitians need something more fundamental than relief from the present situation; they need jobs that they can count on for years ahead. For this, the private business sector is essential. Luckily, business leaders are meeting now in Davos, Switzerland, and Haiti is prominent on their agenda.

Haiti is by far the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, and yet it need not be so, because unexploited economic opportunities abound there. Some of the best mangoes in the world grow in Haiti — though too many of them rot, offshore from the world's largest market, for want of adequate roads and well-governed ports. Excellent coffee is grown in the Haitian mountains, but much of it is sold informally across the border to coffee producers in the Dominican Republic, who reap most of the profits.

Haiti also has many qualities attractive to tourists: a warm climate; magnificent white-sand beaches and turquoise water; Tortuga, the famous pirate island off the northern

coast; and the Citadel, a mountain fortress erected after Haiti's independence in the early 19th century to fend off colonial powers, now a World Heritage site. Still, it is one of the least visited places in the Caribbean.

The Hope II trade pact with the United States, signed in 2008, granted Haiti duty-free access to the American apparel market for the next decade. Already, as a result of the deal, many garment factories situated along Haiti's eastern border (so as to use Dominican electricity and ports) have become profitable and competitive with Chinese garment makers. But light manufacturing could be much bigger in Haiti — if the Haitian government and donors would credibly commit to providing functioning roads, electrical grids and ports, and if outside private capital would invest, patiently, in Haitian businesses.

Poverty and a history of coups and trade embargoes have pushed Haiti's reputation as a place to do business to near the bottom of the global pile, alongside countries like Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq. But Haiti is far safer and offers far more market opportunities than those conflict-ridden nations.

The obvious difficulty in Haiti is that its economic center, Port-au-Prince, is now in shambles. Private investors are naturally wary of jumping into a market too soon, before it is lively enough to provide certain kinds of support. After all, many businesses can be profitable only if other businesses exist alongside them. Ships don't sail directly from Haiti to Florida because there aren't enough goods to warrant dedicated routes. In the meantime, without reliable routes for direct export of goods, investment in production in Haiti is stymied.

Even within a single manufacturing sector, it helps to have many businesses operating together. Garment factories, for example, cluster together, because they share a common need for support services. In Haiti, the cluster of garment makers has been too small even to keep repair shops in business; it can take weeks to fly in a technician to fix a broken sewing machine. So, production costs are high because there are too few investors, and there are too few investors because costs are so high.

The way to address this chicken-and-egg problem is for individual private investors to coordinate with one another. This would not be a new strategy; in the 19th century, the American West was developed not as a process of gradual diffusion but in spasms of local investment booms, financed by enthusiastic outsiders. The earthquake could usher in such a boom in Haiti.

The World Economic Forum in Davos provides an opportunity for businesses that might invest in Haiti — international fashion brands, hotels and coffee chains, for example — to

coordinate with companies that provide logistics and markets, so that together they could make mutual commitments. The foundation for such coordination has already been laid — by Bill Clinton, who led 200 international investors to Haiti last October. As a result of this effort, international chains like Best Western and Choice Hotels started building new hotels in Haiti.

The earthquake has, of course, changed opportunities in Haiti, but it has not necessarily reduced them. The American construction industry is mired in deep recession and so has the excess capacity to meet Haiti's sudden need for low-cost housing, roads, bridges and other structures. If American construction firms can harness Haitian labor to reconstruct (safer) homes, then the challenge will be to lure other businesses in their wake so that temporary jobs in reconstruction are replaced by long-term jobs in manufacturing, agriculture and tourism.

In meeting this challenge, banks and private venture capital also have an important role to play. Haiti needs generous venture capital that encourages some firms to move in first. George Soros , the investor and philanthropist, has recognized this need by committing $25 million for smart investments that catalyze Haiti's competitive advantages. Many more such commitments are needed.

For now, even public sources of risk capital like the World Bank's International Finance Corporation and Britain's Commonwealth Development Corporation have no special provision for the kind of coordinated pump-priming investment that's required in Haiti. Most public capital goes to emerging market economies where private investment no longer needs to be encouraged. Haiti, with its genuine opportunities and immediate needs, provides a chance for public finance organizations to find new relevance. It is also a chance for private business to show it can take a major role in meeting the gravest human needs.

*Paul Collier , an economics professor at Oxford, was a special adviser on Haiti to the United Nations secretary general in 2009. Jean-Louis Warnholz, the managing director of a business consulting company, was an economic adviser to Haiti's prime minister in 2009.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 4:03 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Letter to Lautenberg

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 4:01 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

The letter is good to go w me. HRC.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:42:21 2009
Subject: Fw: Letter to Lautenberg

---

From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:33:57 2009
Subject: Letter to Lautenberg

Hi Huma – could you please show this to the Secretary? Senator Reid's staff and Senator Lautenberg would like the letter below sent to his office today. Upon receipt of the letter, we are told Senator Lautenberg will lift his hold on the GSP and ATPDA trade legislation. I know the Secretary would prefer to wait until there is a final decision in Brazil, but it is still unclear when that decision will come (may not even be today) and we have drafted the letter so that it still makes sense regardless of how and when the court rules. Thanks, and I'm at my desk if she wants to discuss it further. Rich

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We have worked closely with the Government of Brazil to ensure it upholds its obligations under the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. We were quite concerned by last week's decision suspending the order reuniting Sean with his father. We were encouraged, however, by the appeal filed last Friday by the Brazilian Solicitor General which

challenges this suspension. Like you, we are eager to learn of the outcome of this appeal. We understand a decision could be announced shortly.

You can be assured that we will continue advocating for the reunification of Sean and his father and pressing the Government of Brazil to ensure swift consideration of the Goldman case so that this long legal process may reach a final conclusion without further delay. In the meantime, please be assured that the State Department as well as the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia has been and will continue to be a resource to the Goldman family during this trying time.

Sincerely,

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 6:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Thx. Had a great conversation with Doug Hattaway. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will fill you in when I see you.

Also working with Amb Pascual on a new strategy for Mexicom

Finally working with Cheryl to help GoH with communication from g to p.

On my way to india and bangalesh.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Fri Jan 29 04:02:52 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mark Landler

I just sent talking points to Huma regarding your interview with Mark Landler on the Shanghai Expo

B6

Sorry I had to miss the Senate office festivities at Tamera's last night. Heard it was great.

Merry Christmas to you and Chelsea and the President. Your family has been wonderful to me and my family over the years. Thank you.

Kris

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ali [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 10:54 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** looking good

There is a very elegant picture of you on the front page of the IHT. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART B4

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Notes for S on Landler Chat

---

**From**: Balderston, Kris M
**To**: Reines, Philippe I
**Cc**: Bagley, Elizabeth F; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Tue Dec 22 17:36:13 2009
**Subject**: Notes for S on Landler Chat

Mark Landler spoke to Jose Villarreal (the Commissioner General), Elizabeth and me in the last two days. Mark seems to be going down the same road with all three of us. At first he knew very little about the actual Expo but now he seems focused on the Secretary's role in bringing the USA Pavilion back to life. We all agreed that he seems to be writing a favorable story.

He specifically wanted to know about her role and whether her "political" background helped her get there ( as opposed to a more traditional foreign affairs "career" Secretary). We thought that her political side helped her immediately recognize that she had a real problem with the Chinese that needed to be fixed immediately. As a problem-solving politico, she immediately went to work to fix it.

He also wanted to know if she used the WJC/HRC rolodex to raise money. We said no and noted that all of the money is being raised in the business community and not by individuals. She did not go to her political fund-raising base. We did not mention it but it is interesting that many of the early big sponsors were NY based companies like GE ( ), Pepsi ( ), Corning, Cummins, Deloitte, NYSE, and Pfizer. B4

He asked if S made individual calls to CEO's and we noted (as recd by L), the only general "asks" were done on conference calls or in large groups. We also noted that she never really "asked" for sponsorships, instead she stressed the importance of getting a formidable USA presence at the Shanghai Expo that is so important to the Chinese and will attract 70 million people. This could be the largest event in human history and will go from May 1 to October 31, 2010.

Talking Points

When S arrived at State, the USA and Andorra were the only two countries that did not sign a participation agreement with the Chinese. We had less than $250,000 in the bank.

In just ten months, S assigned the Global Partnership Initiative office to lead the project, sent a signal to the State Department bureaucracy that this was a priority and that we would participate, named a Commissioner General, signed the participation agreement, asked Secretary Locke to break ground, raised $54.3 M to build and operate it, and visited the actual construction site in November. The Pavilion is on target to be opened in mid-April.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:39 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Letter to Lautenberg

FYI -- we ended up not sending the letter this afternoon because Lautenberg's staff was being difficult and hedging. Now, we can update and send tomorrow (if it is still required) based on latest information from tonight's ruling, as you had intended from the start.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 4:01 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

The letter is good to go w me. HRC.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:42:21 2009
Subject: Fw: Letter to Lautenberg

---

From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:33:57 2009
Subject: Letter to Lautenberg

Hi Huma – could you please show this to the Secretary? Senator Reid's staff and Senator Lautenberg would like the letter below sent to his office today. Upon receipt of the letter, we are told Senator Lautenberg will lift his hold on the GSP and ATPDA trade legislation. I know the Secretary would prefer to wait until there is a final decision in Brazil, but it is still unclear when that decision will come (may not even be today) and we have drafted the letter so that it still makes sense regardless of how and when the court rules. Thanks, and I'm at my desk if she wants to discuss it further. Rich

Dear Senator Lautenberg,

I appreciated the opportunity to speak with you this past weekend regarding the custody case of Sean Goldman, the young American boy wrongfully detained in Brazil for more than five years. As we discussed, the Administration has long maintained that Sean should be reunited with his father David in New Jersey. I have made a point of emphasizing this position with Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim during our many conversations, as have other U.S. Officials with their Brazilian counterparts.

We have worked closely with the Government of Brazil to ensure it upholds its obligations under the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. We were quite concerned by last week's decision suspending the order reuniting Sean with his father. We were encouraged, however, by the appeal filed last Friday by the Brazilian Solicitor General which challenges this suspension. Like you, we are eager to learn of the outcome of this appeal. We understand a decision could be announced shortly.

You can be assured that we will continue advocating for the reunification of Sean and his father and pressing the Government of Brazil to ensure swift consideration of the Goldman case so that this long legal process may reach a final conclusion without further delay. In the meantime, please be assured that the State Department as well as the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia has been and will continue to be a resource to the Goldman family during this trying time.

Sincerely,

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti: More great work by Katie Stanton

See highlight

-----Original Message-----
From: Alec Ross [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, January 29, 2010 12:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: Re: Haiti: More great work by Katie Stanton

Here is text
Haiti's earthquake devastated not only lives, but whatever emergency services the barely functioning government had to offer. However, in less than seven days, a makeshift version of 911 sprung to life.

It's a striking story of how a few tech-savvy social entrepreneurs, receptive ears in the U.S. government and hundreds of Haitian Creole-speaking strangers crowdsourced from around the world were able to help people on the ground get food or medical attention.

Hours after the earthquake struck Port au Prince, 23-year-old Josh Nesbit (pictured right), who heads a non-profit delivering health care in Sub-Saharan Africa through mobile phones, thought that an SMS gateway would be critical in Haiti.

He sent a tweet out asking for help. A Cameroonian managing a startup incubator in Africa, Jean Francis Ahanda, responded mentioning that a contact, Jean-Marc Castera, was headed to the command center of the Caribbean's largest wireless carrier Digicel that day.

Within three days, they had co-opted a shortcode, 4636, that had been used for weather information in Haiti. They rushed to get several other partners like Ushahidi, which provides an open-source platform for tracking crisis communications, and Google on board. A non-profit that specializes in using technology for disaster relief, Instedd, built an emergency information system using the shortcode. On a very late Saturday night, a cobbled-together team of a half-dozen organizations or so launched '4636' as an emergency number.

They started publicizing it on the ground in Haiti through radio stations. Haitians could text the number with messages about injuries, people trapped under rubble or reports of missing people.

Some of them are desperate:

"My name is J___ ____ my brother is working in Unicef and I live in C__ 11 A___ I have 2 people that is still alive under the building still ! Send Help!"
Two San Francisco-based startups, Crowdflower and Samasource, came

on-board to help find volunteers to translate and categorize the messages. Both are in the "Mechanical Turk" space – they farm out simple, rote tasks that computing can't solve to thousands of people at a time. (Crowdflower is a venture-backed startup while Samasource is a non-profit that gives this work to refugees and people in the poorest parts of the world, including Haiti.)

Crowdflower and Samasource asked for people around the world fluent in Haitian-Creole to translate and prioritize emergency texts coming out of Haiti. So far, a few hundred have signed up. (See the map below.) Nesbit admits the privacy situation isn't perfect, but the project helps people in dire need.

Another contact, Katie Stanton, who was an early Google employee and is now the Director of Citizen Participation at the State Department, helped get emergency responders from the U.S. Coast Guard and Red Cross involved.

Now if a Haitian texts 4636, a stranger on the other side of the world will translate it and other volunteers (pictured right) will send it to the right responder whether it's an urgent medical need or a general request for more food and water. Volume has risen to about 2,500 messages a day since the Jan. 16 launch and messages are translated and forwarded usually in between 2 and 10 minutes. They've filtered through more than 20,000 texts so far.

In some cases, it's been life-saving. Earlier this week, a Haitian woman went into labor and started bleeding out. She texted 4636, calling for help. A translator and stranger pinpointed her location on a map, giving the U.S. Coast Guard her coordinates. They were able to reach her in time to help her deliver the baby.

The non-profits behind '4636' are now trying to scale it up as the number of messages rises 10 percent a day. They're also trying to make it more sustainable with larger pools of consistent volunteers.

"Honestly, this is rare to see groups like the State Department, Ushahidi and Instedd all working together," Nesbit said. "I hope it doesn't take another catastrophe to see this type of collaboration again. The bright spot in all of this is seeing the tech community take ownership."

True, but the more intriguing part of the story may be that this all started with a simple tweet. In fact, Nesbit never set foot in Haiti.

On Fri, Jan 29, 2010 at 12:52 PM, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:
> Can't open
>
>
>
> From: Alec Ross [mailto:
> Sent: Friday, January 29, 2010 10:29 AM
> To: Mills, Cheryl D
> Cc: Toiv, Nora F
> Subject: Haiti: More great work by Katie Stanton

B6

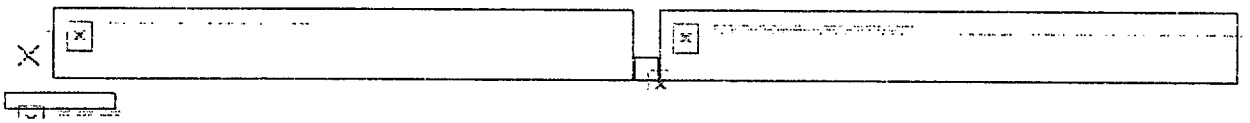
>
>
>
> Her very strong start continues:
>
> http://venturebeat.com/2010/01/28/team-4636/

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** any truth to this account? Sid

H: Is this account true? If so, significant, and the only account of its kind. And, if true, the USG has not told its story, at the least. Sid



# How do I know China wrecked the Copenhagen deal? I was in the room

As recriminations fly post-Copenhagen, one writer offers a fly-on-the-wall account of how talks failed

- Mark Lynas
- guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 22 December 2009 19.54 GMT

Copenhagen was a disaster. That much is agreed. But the truth about what actually happened is in danger of being lost amid the spin and inevitable mutual recriminations. The truth is this: China wrecked the talks, intentionally humiliated Barack Obama, and insisted on an awful "deal" so western leaders would walk away carrying the blame. How do I know this? Because I was in the room and saw it happen.

China's strategy was simple: block the open negotiations for two weeks, and then ensure that the closed-door deal made it look as if the west had failed the world's poor once again. And sure enough, the aid agencies, civil society movements and environmental groups all took the bait. The failure was "the inevitable result of rich countries refusing adequately and fairly to shoulder their overwhelming responsibility", said Christian Aid. "Rich countries have bullied developing nations," fumed Friends of the Earth International.

All very predictable, but the complete opposite of the truth. Even George Monbiot, writing in yesterday's Guardian, made the mistake of singly blaming Obama. But I saw Obama fighting desperately to salvage a deal, and the Chinese delegate saying "no", over and over again. Monbiot even approvingly quoted the Sudanese delegate Lumumba Di-Aping, who denounced the Copenhagen accord as "a suicide pact, an incineration pact, in order to maintain the economic dominance of a few countries".

Sudan behaves at the talks as a puppet of China; one of a number of countries that relieves the Chinese delegation of having to fight its battles in open sessions. It was a perfect stitch-up. China gutted the deal behind the scenes, and then left its proxies to savage it in public.

Here's what actually went on late last Friday night, as heads of state from two dozen countries met behind closed doors. Obama was at the table for several hours, sitting between Gordon Brown and the Ethiopian prime minister, Meles Zenawi. The Danish prime minister chaired, and on his right sat Ban Ki-moon, secretary-general of the UN. Probably only about 50 or 60 people, including the heads of state, were in the room. I was attached to one of the delegations, whose head of state was also present for most of the time.

What I saw was profoundly shocking. The Chinese premier, Wen Jinbao, did not deign to attend the meetings personally, instead sending a second-tier official in the country's foreign ministry to sit opposite Obama himself. The diplomatic snub

was obvious and brutal, as was the practical implication: several times during the session, the world's most powerful heads of state were forced to wait around as the Chinese delegate went off to make telephone calls to his "superiors".

**Shifting the blame**

To those who would blame Obama and rich countries in general, know this: it was China's representative who insisted that industrialised country targets, previously agreed as an 80% cut by 2050, be taken out of the deal. "Why can't we even mention our own targets?" demanded a furious Angela Merkel. Australia's prime minister, Kevin Rudd, was annoyed enough to bang his microphone. Brazil's representative too pointed out the illogicality of China's position. Why should rich countries not announce even this unilateral cut? The Chinese delegate said no, and I watched, aghast, as Merkel threw up her hands in despair and conceded the point. Now we know why – because China bet, correctly, that Obama would get the blame for the Copenhagen accord's lack of ambition.

China, backed at times by India, then proceeded to take out all the numbers that mattered. A 2020 peaking year in global emissions, essential to restrain temperatures to 2C, was removed and replaced by woolly language suggesting that emissions should peak "as soon as possible". The long-term target, of global 50% cuts by 2050, was also excised. No one else, perhaps with the exceptions of India and Saudi Arabia, wanted this to happen. I am certain that had the Chinese not been in the room, we would have left Copenhagen with a deal that had environmentalists popping champagne corks popping in every corner of the world.

**Strong position**

So how did China manage to pull off this coup? First, it was in an extremely strong negotiating position. China didn't need a deal. As one developing country foreign minister said to me: "The Athenians had nothing to offer to the Spartans." On the other hand, western leaders in particular – but also presidents Lula of Brazil, Zuma of South Africa, Calderón of Mexico and many others – were desperate for a positive outcome. Obama needed a strong deal perhaps more than anyone. The US had confirmed the offer of $100bn to developing countries for adaptation, put serious cuts on the table for the first time (17% below 2005 levels by 2020), and was obviously prepared to up its offer.

Above all, Obama needed to be able to demonstrate to the Senate that he could deliver China in any global climate regulation framework, so conservative senators could not argue that US carbon cuts would further advantage Chinese industry. With midterm elections looming, Obama and his staff also knew that Copenhagen would be probably their only opportunity to go to climate change talks with a strong mandate. This further strengthened China's negotiating hand, as did the complete lack of civil society political pressure on either China or India. Campaign groups never blame developing countries for failure; this is an iron rule that is never broken. The Indians, in particular, have become past masters at co-opting the language of equity ("equal rights to the atmosphere") in the service of planetary suicide – and leftish campaigners and commentators are hoist with their own petard.

With the deal gutted, the heads of state session concluded with a final battle as the Chinese delegate insisted on removing the 1.5C target so beloved of the small island states and low-lying nations who have most to lose from rising seas. President Nasheed of the Maldives, supported by Brown, fought valiantly to save this crucial number. "How can you ask my country to go extinct?" demanded Nasheed. The Chinese delegate feigned great offence – and the number stayed, but surrounded by language which makes it all but meaningless. The deed was done.

**China's game**

All this raises the question: what is China's game? Why did China, in the words of a UK-based analyst who also spent hours in heads of state meetings, "not only reject targets for itself, but also refuse to allow any other country to take on binding targets?" The analyst, who has attended climate conferences for more than 15 years, concludes that China wants to weaken the climate regulation regime now "in order to avoid the risk that it might be called on to be more ambitious in a few years' time".

This does not mean China is not serious about global warming. It is strong in both the wind and solar industries. But China's growth, and growing global political and economic dominance, is based largely on cheap coal. China knows it is becoming an uncontested superpower; indeed its newfound muscular confidence was on striking display in Copenhagen. Its coal-based economy doubles every decade, and its power increases commensurately. Its leadership will not alter this magic formula unless they absolutely have to.

Copenhagen was much worse than just another bad deal, because it illustrated a profound shift in global geopolitics. This is fast becoming China's century, yet its leadership has displayed that multilateral environmental governance is not only not a priority, but is viewed as a hindrance to the new superpower's freedom of action. I left Copenhagen more despondent than I have felt in a long time. After all the hope and all the hype, the mobilisation of thousands, a wave of optimism crashed against the rock of global power politics, fell back, and drained away.

[Go]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 1:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Will give some thought and pass along any names I can think of.
Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:42:56 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 31 08:29:39 2010
Subject: RE: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

I get back the morning of February 9 and will be in the office that afternoon. I'll email you and Lona a copy of my schedule. Walter Douglas and Dan Sreebney have been working with me on Haiti. Walter is in California for Victoria DeLongh's funeral and will be back in the office Tuesday. He has been working closely with Dan Smith on the Haiti initiative. Let me know if there is anything you need me to do from here.

jm
-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:54 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

When will you be back so we can catch up? Also who is your right hand on all of these initiatives? I'm copying Lona so she can work w your office for a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 29 06:46:50 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Thx. Had a great conversation with Doug Hattaway. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will fill you in when I see you.

Also working with Amb Pascual on a new strategy for Mexicom

Finally working with Cheryl to help GoH with communication from g to p.

On my way to india and bangalesh.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Fri Jan 29 04:02:52 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Congratulations

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/21/2024**

See below.

-----Original Message-----
From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 3:44 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Congratulations

B1
1.4(D)

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 21, 2009 10:45 AM
To: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: SV: Congratulations

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Dear Todd, thank you for this - and for our cooperation throughout. No, it has not been easy and I sense also a bit of the struggle you have been thorugh in your end. And it is not over yet. You will need to get your legislation done - and we shall have to transform a fragile Copenhagen Accord into a strong working instrument for global action on climate change. All to be accomplished before June.

I look forward to be part of this drive and to be cooperating with you and your team in this regard. May be useful to touch base early in January to assess way ahead.

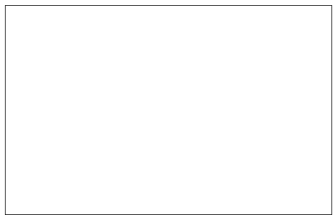
Meanwhile, I want to assure you how much also I have come to appreciate the way you have been going about all of this. In a world and through some intense months, weeks and days where not everybody has always played cards openly, I have felt you to be one relayable force with an integrety and credibility that I never had reason to question.

Next time, I shall bring a book - as a token of friedship!

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

All the best. Hope you get some rest over the Christmas

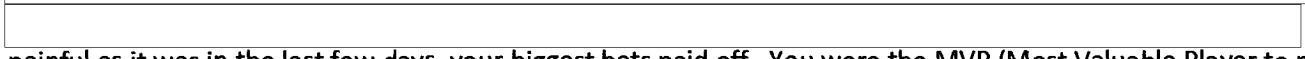
[redacted]



B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

-----Oprindelig meddelelse-----
Fra: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) [mailto:SternTD@state.gov]
Sendt: 20. december 2009 09:47





And painful as it was in the last few days, your biggest bets paid off. You were the MVP (Most Valuable Player to non American sports fans).

Beyond all that, it has been the greatest pleasure to get to know you and to work with you. I greatly value our friendship and hope we can keep it up. Thank you so much for all ypu have done for us and for your unfailing warm friendship to me.

Now please take some time off!

Warmest regards, Todd

p.s. I've just heard our flight cancelled. We're trying to make other arrangements now, but may end up stuck here all day. If so, I'll let you know in case you'd like to have a meal or coffee or take a walk. But I of course understand that you'll probably be ensconced with family and happy NOT to be dealing with climate negotiators!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 12:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: SYG Trip

FYI.

---

**From**: Brimmer, Esther D
**To**: Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Littlejohn, J.R.; Wells, Alice G; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Campbell, Piper
**Sent**: Fri Jan 29 19:40:58 2010
**Subject**: SYG Trip

Jim, Jack and Bill,
While in Addis Ababa this weekend, SYG Ban will announce a trip to North Korea.
Esther

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 8:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Letter to Lautenberg

He released his hold. No need for the call.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:25 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

Based on the Brazilian decision he should release the hold. Do I need to call him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 22 18:38:59 2009
Subject: RE: Letter to Lautenberg

FYI -- we ended up not sending the letter this afternoon because Lautenberg's staff was being difficult and hedging. Now, we can update and send tomorrow (if it is still required) based on latest information from tonight's ruling, as you had intended from the start.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 4:01 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

The letter is good to go w me. HRC.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:42:21 2009
Subject: Fw: Letter to Lautenberg

---

From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:33:57 2009
Subject: Letter to Lautenberg

Hi Huma – could you please show this to the Secretary? Senator Reid's staff and Senator Lautenberg would like the letter below sent to his office today. Upon receipt of the letter, we are told Senator Lautenberg will lift his hold on the GSP and ATPDA trade legislation. I know the Secretary would prefer to wait until there is a final decision in Brazil, but it is still unclear when that decision will come (may not even be today) and we have drafted the letter so that it still makes sense regardless of how and when the court rules. Thanks, and I'm at my desk if she wants to discuss it further. Rich

Dear Senator Lautenberg,

I appreciated the opportunity to speak with you this past weekend regarding the custody case of Sean Goldman, the young American boy wrongfully detained in Brazil for more than five years. As we discussed, the Administration has long maintained that Sean should be reunited with his father David in New Jersey. I have made a point of emphasizing this position with Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim during our many conversations, as have other U.S. Officials with their Brazilian counterparts.

We have worked closely with the Government of Brazil to ensure it upholds its obligations under the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. We were quite concerned by last week's decision suspending the order reuniting Sean with his father. We were encouraged, however, by the appeal filed last Friday by the Brazilian Solicitor General which challenges this suspension. Like you, we are eager to learn of the outcome of this appeal. We understand a decision could be announced shortly.

You can be assured that we will continue advocating for the reunification of Sean and his father and pressing the Government of Brazil to ensure swift consideration of the Goldman case so that this long legal process may reach a final conclusion without further delay. In the meantime, please be assured that the State Department as well as the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia has been and will continue to be a resource to the Goldman family during this trying time.

Sincerely,

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 5:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Contact Message from HR Ashton

B5

[redacted] - see b/l

Cdm

**From:** Steven.EVERTS[redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Beverley.Tempest[redacted]
**Sent:** Mon Feb 01 05:04:37 2010
**Subject:** Contact Message from HR Ashton

Dear Ms Mills,

My name is Steven Everts and I am responsible in the Private Office of HR/VP Ashton for EU-US relations (I was the one handlig the very successful meeting in Washington that the Secretary had with the HR/VP on 21 Jan).

I now have a more personal issue: apparently the Secretary and the HR/VP spoke briefly in London [redacted] B6
The HR asked me whether there is a more personal, direct email she could use for transmitting this type of messages?

From our side, the email to use would be [redacted]

I would be very grateful if you could send us an email which is similarly private.

Many thanks for your help.

Kind regards

Steven Everts

Private Office of HR/VP Catherine Ashton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank You

Nice

---

**From:** Syed, Zia S
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Dec 22 19:24:10 2009
**Subject:** Thank You

Cheryl, Thank you again for a wonderful lunch today. Along with the food (which was great!) I really appreciated the chance to sit down with everyone informally and just chat and eat. While we work with each person here on an individual basis, it is rare to have the opportunity for all of us to be in the same place at the same time with no formal agenda. You have assembled a great team -- which has both an abundance of smarts and personality – and I'm grateful that we had a chance to see each other one more time before we all dispersed for the holidays. Looking forward to 2010, Zia.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 3:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Clearance Request: draft op-ed on UN coordination role in Haiti

Remind me to discuss

---

**From**: Harrell, Peter E
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F
**Cc**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Fri Jan 29 23:58:58 2010
**Subject**: RE: Clearance Request: draft op-ed on UN coordination role in Haiti

Cheryl,

B5

Peter

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 8:57 PM
**To:** Harrell, Peter E; Toiv, Nora F
**Cc:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Clearance Request: draft op-ed on UN coordination role in Haiti

[redacted] B5

How should I address?

Cdm

---

**From**: Harrell, Peter E
**To**: Toiv, Nora F; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Fri Jan 29 16:28:13 2010
**Subject**: FW: Clearance Request: draft op-ed on UN coordination role in Haiti

Attached.

---

Peter E. Harrell
Secretary's Policy Planning Staff (S/P)
U.S. Department of State
202.647.0724 (o)

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 9:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Letter to Lautenberg

And after he lifted his hold, the trade preference legislation passed the senate tonight. You probably saw they are voting on final passage on the health reform bill and debt limit increase on Thursday morning beginning at 8 am. I would expect and hope for our nominees to move after that.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 7:25 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

Based on the Brazilian decision he should release the hold. Do I need to call him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 22 18:38:59 2009
Subject: RE: Letter to Lautenberg

FYI -- we ended up not sending the letter this afternoon because Lautenberg's staff was being difficult and hedging. Now, we can update and send tomorrow (if it is still required) based on latest information from tonight's ruling, as you had intended from the start.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 4:01 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Letter to Lautenberg

The letter is good to go w me. HRC.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:42:21 2009
Subject: Fw: Letter to Lautenberg

---

From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Tue Dec 22 15:33:57 2009
Subject: Letter to Lautenberg

Hi Huma – could you please show this to the Secretary? Senator Reid's staff and Senator Lautenberg would like the letter below sent to his office today. Upon receipt of the letter, we are told Senator Lautenberg will lift his hold on the GSP and ATPDA trade legislation. I know the Secretary would prefer to wait until there is a final decision in Brazil, but it is still unclear when that decision will come (may not even be today) and we have drafted the letter so that it still makes sense regardless of how and when the court rules. Thanks, and I'm at my desk if she wants to discuss it further. Rich

Dear Senator Lautenberg,

I appreciated the opportunity to speak with you this past weekend regarding the custody case of Sean Goldman, the young American boy wrongfully detained in Brazil for more than five years. As we discussed, the Administration has long maintained that Sean should be reunited with his father David in New Jersey. I have made a point of emphasizing this position with Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim during our many conversations, as have other U.S. Officials with their Brazilian counterparts.

We have worked closely with the Government of Brazil to ensure it upholds its obligations under the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction. We were quite concerned by last week's decision suspending the order reuniting Sean with his father. We were encouraged, however, by the appeal filed last Friday by the Brazilian Solicitor General which challenges this suspension. Like you, we are eager to learn of the outcome of this appeal. We understand a decision could be announced shortly.

You can be assured that we will continue advocating for the reunification of Sean and his father and pressing the Government of Brazil to ensure swift consideration of the Goldman case so that this long legal process may reach a final conclusion without further delay. In the meantime, please be assured that the State Department as well as the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia has been and will continue to be a resource to the Goldman family during this trying time.

Sincerely,

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 3:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti tents

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Jan 29 23:43:31 2010
Subject: Haiti tents

HRC will surely follow up but Kouchner raised again the need for 200k tents and said France only has 1k to send. Assume you're all over this, but fyi.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 7:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: SYG to announce trip

---

**From**: Macmanus, Joseph E
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Sat Jan 30 01:47:56 2010
**Subject**: SYG to announce trip

For HRC.

---

**From**: Brimmer, Esther D
**To**: Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Littlejohn, J.R.; Wells, Alice G; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Campbell, Piper
**Sent**: Sat Jan 30 00:32:33 2010
**Subject**: More - SYG to announce trip

Additional information: UN U/SYG Pascoe is expected to leave on the DPRK trip around Feb. 9. The SYG will announce it this weekend.

**From**: Brimmer, Esther D
**To**: Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Littlejohn, J.R.; Wells, Alice G; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Campbell, Piper
**Sent**: Fri Jan 29 19:40:58 2010
**Subject**: SYG Trip

Jim, Jack and Bill,
While in Addis Ababa this weekend, SYG Ban will announce a trip to North Korea.
Esther

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Subject:** Merry Christmas

We had a little fun at today's briefing. Our friends in the media have been bugging us regarding your holiday plans, so we announced your departure from Washington in the following way:

"...And finally, a few of you have asked about the schedule of the Secretary of State over the next few days. I can tell you this morning the Secretary departed Washington and she stopped at the North Pole for an important bilateral meeting with a well known international figure. During the meeting, in a formal demarche, sung to the tune of Twelve Days of Christmas, the Secretary outlined her aspirations for the new year. They include, and feel free to hum along: open and accountable governments, Middle East negotiations, more civilians in Afghanistan, empowerment of women, fewer nuclear weapons, respect for human rights, resolution of historic grievances, treaties through the United States Senate, Six-Party Talks, dialogue with Iran, enough food for people of the world to eat, climate change legislation, and lastly, a championship for the Boston Red Sox. Okay, that last one's not on her list, but Harold Koh and I thought it was important that we mention that here."

It is a privilege to be a part of your team. We wish you, the President and Chelsea all the best during the holiday season and look forward to great achievements in 2010, with one tiny exception.

PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) <SternTD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 1:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
**Subject:** Re: Question

Hi. Hope you've gotten some rest! We're at O'Hare on way back to DC [redacted] B6

[redacted] B5

Todd

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Jan 03 11:42:22 2010
Subject: Question

First, Happy New Year to Jen and Stern clan. Hope to talk soon about our way forward for 2010.

I received the following email from Jairem Ramesh over the holidays. I intend to respond in kind but wanted to run by you for advice.

Thx. HRC---

---

Dear Madam Secretary of State:

It was wonderful catching up with you in Copenhagen. The opportunity to interact with President Obama and you at the very last minute to salvage the Copenhagen Accord at the US-BASIC Summit Meeting was fantastic and unforgettable for me personally. I am still reeling from that historic 75 minutes!!

With greetings for Xmas and best wishes for the New Year,

With warmest regards,

Jairam Ramesh

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 4636 and state getting a lot of good press -- now in the Guardian

Fyi

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**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sat Jan 30 05:37:21 2010
**Subject:** Fw: 4636 and state getting a lot of good press -- now in the Guardian

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**From:** Katie Jacobs Stanton [redacted] B6
**To:** Dowd, Katie W; Ross, Alec J; Curtis, Meghann A; Adler, Caroline E; Forgerson, Luke A (PACE); Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Cc:** Stanton, Katie
**Sent:** Fri Jan 29 23:21:03 2010
**Subject:** 4636 and state getting a lot of good press -- now in the Guardian

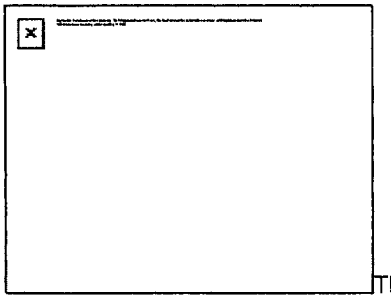
http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2010/jan/29/haiti-crowdsourcing

Even has a screen shot of dipnote!

# How to Friday: How to build a crisis reporting system

Developers, technologists and volunteers around the world came together to build a crisis reporting for Haiti. Here's how they did it

- Comments (1)
- Buzz up!
- Digg it



The Ushahidi crowdsourced crisis reporting in Haiti

Technologists around the world came together and rapidly built a system for Haitians to request help in the wake of devastating earthquake. Using the internet to organise themselves, developers, communications experts and humanitarian organisations created a system to gather emergency requests using text messages that won praise from emergency officials and support from the US State Department.

Hours after the quake, Josh Nesbit, who heads up a non-profit using mobile phones to help deliver medical care in Africa, heads sent this tweet:

> Reaching out to @FrontlineSMS users in #Haiti with hopes of establishing local SMS gateway for http://haiti.ushahidi.com

Ushahidi is a crowd-sourced crisis reporting platform that was developed in Kenya to gather reports of violence in the post-election unrest in 2008. Ushahidi, which means "testimony" in Swahili, has been used to gatherreports about the swine flu outbreak, monitor elections in India and Mexico and to collect crime reports in Atlanta.
The platform can handle reports from a number of sources, via email, the web or via SMS, making it flexible and very useful even in areas without internet access. Ushahidi worked with teams in Kenya, Uganda and teams in Boston and Washington DC in the United States.
Using Twitter, Josh got in contact with Jean-Marc Castera who was heading to the DigiCel command center, according to Erik Hersman at Ushahidi. Working with the US State Department they were able to get the 4636 SMS shortcode that had been used for weather information in Haiti. They launched the SMS-based emergency information system with the support of the Thomson Reuters Foundation and technology disaster relief organisation inSTEDD five days after the quake.



Ten radio stations still operating in Haiti helped spread the word about the emergency shortcode. They also quickly put up posters, and the US Department of State helped publicise it, announcing it via their official Twitter account and elsewhere.
They worked with 10,000 Haitian volunteers to help translate the messages and other volunteers helped to structure "mountains of data" coming into the system, Hersman wrote. The volunteers of Mission 4636 posted this on the Ushahidi blog:

> We are the volunteer translators of Mission 4636. We span six time zones and seven languages on any given night. We are students, medics, stay at home mothers, archivists, firefighters, and software developers. We are the quiet force behind Ushahidi Haiti & we give a voice to the lost.

San Francisco startups, Crowdflower and Samasource, which specialise in managing tasks for crowdsourcing, helped organise the volunteer efforts, according to Kim-Mai Cutler at VentureBeat. She also reported that Katie Stanton, an early Google employee who now works in the Office of Innovation at the State Department, "helped get emergency responders from the U.S. Coast Guard and Red Cross involved".
Since is started, Ushahidi has received nearly 100,000 reports concerning Haiti, and organisers are working to create a system, Swift River, to help filter those reports so that the most urgent ones get attention quickly.
One thing that is impressive about this effort is how distributed, collaborated and organised it is, and they have blogged about how theykept this volunteer project focused. CrisisCamps to help with these projects sprung up in cities around the world, including here in London.

**A decade of crowdsourced crisis projects**

Developers also created an application to help collect information on missing people in Haiti. After creating several applications, they came to a decision to focus their efforts on a single app hosted at Google.

The Haiti Earthquake people finding application is actually the evolution of similar projects that started appearing after the 11 September 2001 attacks in the US and rapidly developed after the Asian Tsunami in late 2004, Hurricane Katrina PeopleFinder project in 2005, the and the earthquake in Kashmir in 2005. The projects gave rise to an XML format called the People Finder Interchange Format.
Every time a disaster like this happens, the response has gotten more sophisticated and better organised. The response in Haiti by this volunteer army has been deeply impressive, and they have built up the expertise so that when the next disaster happens, they'll have new tools to help speed aid to victims in need.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** NI

Here's the update, pieced together from various sources:

Starting at around 3 pm Friday, Adams and McGuinness returned to Hillsborogh to meet with Robinson and Arlene Foster. The four talked privately for several hours and then asked for the draft papers to review. The discussion continued until around 1 am when the parties left Hillsborough. (Foster's presence is apparently very helpful. Her relationship with the SF leaders is much more positive and direct, treating them as equal colleagues.)

Woodward and Irish FM Martin will meet with Adams and Robinson separately this afternoon to assess where the talks are. The talks last night/early morning ended more positively and if that is still the case there may be a decision to push on today to see if agreement can be reached. It is equally possible that the two ministers and DUP/SF will decide to wind up today and resume on Monday.

Brown and Cowen have spoken this morning and will speak again late this afternoon.

The issue is still parades. Robinson needs some certainity of change on parades. It is important for him politically within the DUP, but also externally since this has become a symbol of whether he has achieved something or compromised too much. Adams and SF have moved very far from their original positions on parades, adding that Robinson has also moved.

The DUP linkage of the timeframes for devolution and parades is not Robinson's goal but DUP deputy party leader Nigal Dodds. Logistically, such a linkage would be impossible without delaying devolution given that the parades framework requires consultation, legislation, and implementation.

The role of Justice Minister and his/her relationship to the Executive has been agreed. Other issues, such as Irish language act, N-S bodies, etc, while symbolic and emotive for SF and the nationalists community can be dealt with.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

Happy New Year to you as well! It's been an honor to work for you. I'm excited -- and bracing -- for the work ahead.

As for business, I've sent along the outline for the year-end POTUS report and the first weekly Af-Pak report.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jan 03 12:00:17 2010
Subject: Happy New Year!

Jake--I hope you and the Sullivan clan had a glorious and joyous holiday and that you're revved up for 2010! Thanks for all you did to make this past year a successful launch. Now, the hard work starts as we try to deliver. But, it's no hyperbole to say you are a joy to work. Onward--and upward! H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:23 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Latest on Goldman Decision

**Subject:** Latest on Goldman Decision

Ops just passed us the following on latest developments in the Goldman case, courtesy of our Embassy in Brasilia:

-- David Goldman's Brazilian lawyer and the family's attorney are currently attempting to negotiate a "voluntary return."
--If those talks fail, Goldman will request the Brazilian police execute the involuntary return ordered yesterday by a Brazilian judge. This outcome would create a negative PR climate.
--Brazilian police "think" they know the boy's whereabouts.
--Return to US likely will occur on an NBC News-chartered aircraft, as Goldman has inked some sort of exclusive deal w/ NBC for the story.
--Post has been working with WHA and PD on a possible S statement.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:36 AM
**To:** H

Saw that you called directly so we assume you will call in for second call ? he is ready

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision - update as of 13:00 local time

**Importance:** High

fyi

---

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:25 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision - update as of 13:00 local time
**Importance:** High

Cheryl

Brazil is 3 hours ahead of DC
And the 1000 [our time] turnover has not yet taken place

H/W report from our first-rate senior consular officer in Brazil and then some interesting backup [in two parts]

==========

1300 Local Time [1000 EST] Report

I have just spoken with the Brazilian Central Authority regarding the orders imminently coming out of the office of the President of the 2nd Regional Federal Court. He is evidently interpreting the lifting of the stay imposed at STF to mean that the 48 hour period provided in the appellate court decision to the Brazilian family to turn over Sean to the Consulate has started ticking again – not *restarted* at the beginning, but *resumed* ticking. According to the Court, the deadline for turnover at the Consulate falls at 6am local time on Thursday morning, December 24. Because of the early hour, he will evidently order the family to turn over Sean at the consulate NO LATER than 9am on Thursday, December 24. However, he will also recommend, not order, that the family turn over Sean at the Consulate today/tonight in order to permit him to travel to the U.S. on an overnight flight and spend Christmas with the family in the U.S.

There is current debate ongoing regarding the timing of the turnover. Daniel Levy of the AGU office in Rio will evidently take the lead in negotiating that turnover, in conjunction with David's legal team.

Press contacts are stating that Sergio Tostes, the attorney for the Brazilian family, has called a press conference at 2pm local time (11am DC time) to announce voluntary turnover. No further details on that yet.

Will pass more information as soon as we have it. Planning for all contingencies.

==========

BACKGROUND

- Brazilian Central Authority reports that at 1am local time today, the attorney for the Brazilian family contacted Daniel Levy, the AGU attorney representing the Brazilian Govt in this case, to inform him that the Brazilian family is willing to arrange for voluntary turnover of Sean at the Consulate General in Rio. Daniel Levy reportedly replied that he would only facilitate these discussions on the condition that there were no further legal

machinations to delay implementation of the court order, and that the turnover happened today. We do not/not know what if any conditions the family will try to place on a voluntary handover, so planning for police execution of the court order continues.

- Interpol office in Brasilia has assured BCA and the Embassy LEGAT that they are fully aware of the status of the case and are ready to provide support if Sean is not turned over. They will have action if the family attempts to hide Sean.
- We have contacted WHA Press and CA Press separately to discuss timing to release statements if/when we are successful with wheels up.
- We have discussed detailed contingency plans should the police be called upon to go to the family residence to enforce the order if voluntary handover does not occur. Also have plans in place to supplement personnel in Rio should this extend past today.
- We have a general sense of the timing of potential events: We expect to have more clarity from the attorneys as to whether or not voluntary handover will occur around noon/1pm local time, which is 9/10 DC time. Should police enforcement be required, that will likely mean mid/late afternoon local time. We will advise asap if this timeline shifts (as it is likely to do, this being Brazil.)

---

Background Report from Tuesday evening / last nite

PART I

- Tomorrow morning between 8-9, David Goldman's Brazilian attorney will go to the court to obtain the warrant enforcing the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S. He will wait there pending coordination with relevant police and judicial authorities to ensure that everything is ready, and they will depart for the family compound to take custody of Sean.
- Consulate General Rio will have cars ready at 9am for transport, and the team will be ready at the airport to facilitate departure.
- David's attorney has spoken to judicial authorities and believes that the motions filed at STJ will not be accepted by the court, so will not interfere with the return. This does not preclude some last minute legal maneuvers, but he seems confident that the decision by STF will effectively cut off other avenues. We will advise asap if this changes.

PART II

- The Brazilian Central Authority confirms that the office of Regional Federal Court President Paulo Espirito Santo has received the decision of STF President Gilmar Mendes. It is Paulo E-S who will be responsible for enforcing the decision from Mendes, i.e. the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S.
- BCA has promised to reinforce for Interpol the urgent necessity of police in Rio monitoring the location of Sean Goldman. Embassy LEGAT office is double-tracking. We cannot, of course, ask them to enforce anything until the proper judicial authority has sent them instructions, but we strongly urge them to be prepared.
- BCA has turned over operational jurisdiction to Daniel Levy, from the AGU's office in Rio, to coordinate with David Goldman's attorney and with the court in Rio. I have asked David's attorney to try and get some understanding from Mr. Levy as to the timeline we can expect to see in this case.

What remains unclear:

- We do not know if the judge from the Regional Federal Court intends to issue an execution order from his home tonight at this late hour, or if he will wait until opening of business tomorrow morning. Note that OOB here generally means 10am for a court. This only underscores the need to ensure that there is sufficient monitoring of Sean's whereabouts.
- We do not know how Judge Paulo E-S will interpret an "immediate" return order – it could mean right this instant, or it could mean some brief period of time where the family is ordered/encouraged to turn Sean over at the Consulate or some other site.

- We are working to obtain some sense of whether this is likely to happen tonight, or if we are better served getting some rest now and starting first thing OOB which for us means 7-8am.
- We have not had confirmation regarding the resolution of the motions in STJ, but frankly, I don't foresee receiving an answer on that before mid-day Wednesday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 2:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NI

It's 745 pm -- they're still talking. British think it's reasonably positive.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 10:13:34 2010
Subject: Re: NI

Welcome news. Pls keep me updated w what you hear. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 10:09:06 2010
Subject: NI

Here's the update, pieced together from various sources:

Starting at around 3 pm Friday, Adams and McGuinness returned to Hillsborogh to meet with Robinson and Arlene Foster. The four talked privately for several hours and then asked for the draft papers to review. The discussion continued until around 1 am when the parties left Hillsborough. (Foster's presence is apparently very helpful. Her relationship with the SF leaders is much more positive and direct, treating them as equal colleagues.)

Woodward and Irish FM Martin will meet with Adams and Robinson separately this afternoon to assess where the talks are. The talks last night/early morning ended more positively and if that is still the case there may be a decision to push on today to see if agreement can be reached. It is equally possible that the two ministers and DUP/SF will decide to wind up today and resume on Monday.

Brown and Cowen have spoken this morning and will speak again late this afternoon.

The issue is still parades. Robinson needs some certainity of change on parades. It is important for him politically within the DUP, but also externally since this has become a symbol of whether he has achieved something or compromised too much. Adams and SF have moved very far from their original positions on parades, adding that Robinson has also moved.

The DUP linkage of the timeframes for devolution and parades is not Robinson's goal but DUP deputy party leader Nigal Dodds. Logistically, such a linkage would be impossible without delaying devolution given that the parades framework requires consultation, legislation, and implementation.

The role of Justice Minister and his/her relationship to the Executive has been agreed. Other issues, such as Irish language act, N-S bodies, etc, while symbolic and emotive for SF and the nationalists community can be dealt with.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Father Beirne

Sounds great. Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Wed Dec 23 10:52:54 2009
Subject: Father Beirne

When he comes in January let's have him for lunch w a small group including Mark Landler.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** cheryl.mills
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H; Cheryl Mills
**Subject:** Re: When do you want to talk today or tomorrow?

Sorry - been on calls all day re coordination for haiti

How about 8am or 830am sun?
------Original Message------
From: Hrc New
To: Cheryl Mills
To: Cheryl Mills
Sent: Jan 30, 2010 12:21 PM
Subject: When do you want to talk today or tomorrow?

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Xmas TYs

Thank you so much - it's a pleasure and an honor!

I'll get to work on these first thing tomorrow morning and I'll consult with Huma to fill in the blanks.

Have a safe trip back to DC!

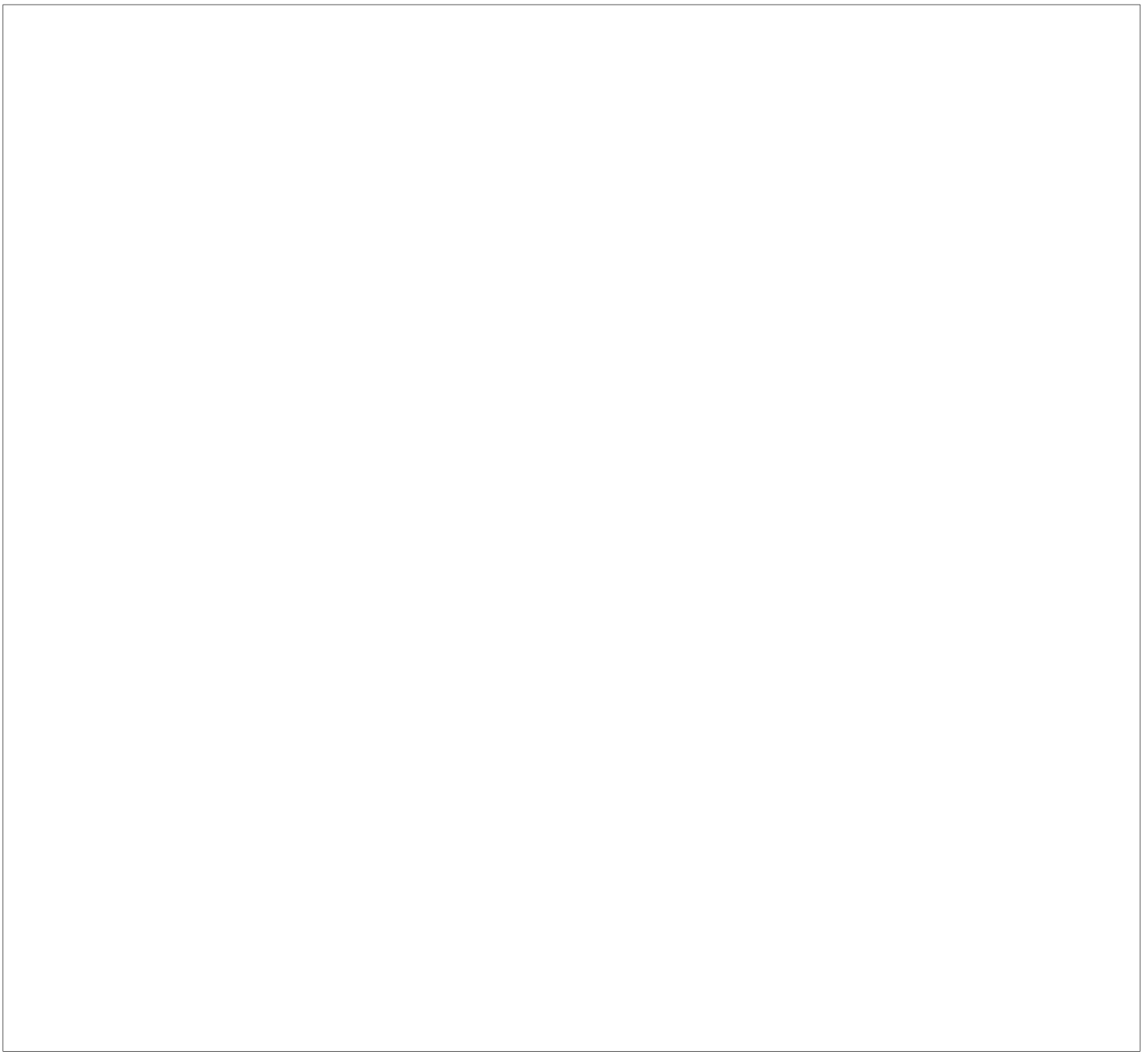
----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted]>; H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Jan 03 11:35:55 2010
Subject: Xmas TYs

Rob--

First, Happy New Year and thank you for all of your great work this past year. It is a treat having you on our team, and I'm looking forward to an even better 2010. Also, pls let me know if you have any ideas about how we could improve our processes and products. Thanks for everything.

B6

B6



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Northern Ireland

According to Woodward, the likely announcement as been delayed till 3 p.m. (Belfast time) due to the need for additional consultations – between SF and DUP and then DUP with its Assembly and MP caucus. Time of announcement may be further pushed back. Will keep you informed.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A) [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Pls don't forward my last email

Of course. I will not forward any of your emails and I appreciate your sending notes on issues you want to make sure we are tracking!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:28 PM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Subject: Pls don't forward my last email

Cheryl and Raj--I sent you emails [redacted] before removing their email info so pls do not forward to anyone and delete after reading. Thx. B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Iraq Timing

fyi

---

**From:** Powell, Nancy J
**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Browning, Steve A
**Subject:** Iraq Timing

I had a message from Jim Jeffrey asking about timing for Iraq. I saw that as a good sign. I told him that I assumed it was post-election/summer, but that I would check. Please advise if that is not accurate. Nancy

Nancy J. Powell
Director General of the Foreign Service
and Director of Human Resources
Room 6218
202-647-9898

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

You keep asking what she is doing there - I am not sure though I know I had her itinerary b/f she left - will try to find it

**From:** Jules A Martin <[redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sat Jan 30 16:09:46 2010

About to leave UAE. Arrived Dubai airport 11:40 p. we are awaiting departure Emirates Flight 203. [redacted] B6

Jules

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 10 AmCits arrested with 33 children, headed to DR. Now under arrest in Port au Prince
**Attachments:** nlcrhaitianorphanrescuemission.pdf

Heads up - will forward more as known

---

**From**: Bond, Michele T
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc**: Smith, Daniel B; Kirby, Michael D
**Sent**: Sat Jan 30 16:49:16 2010
**Subject**: 10 AmCits arrested with 33 children, headed to DR. Now under arrest in Port au Prince

I am seeking more information about this but want to let you know before the 5pm call that 10 Amcits were reportedly arrested by Haitian police near the DR border with 33 Haitian children whom they reportedly planned to take to an orphanage they are establishing in the DR. They are currently under arrest at a PAP police station or, according to one report, at "the Justice Building near the airport." The whereabouts of the children is unknown.

The group is called the New Life Children Refuge America Organization (NLCR). Bill Bistransky found the attached "Plan of Action"(POA) on their web site when he googled that name. As he notes, either today's arrest is their second run into Haiti to get children, or their original schedule is off.

B5

Michele

---

**From:** Haiti TaskForce1I-(CA) Consular Affairs
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** 'rmt_haitieq_ovc@ofda.gov'
**Cc:** TaskForce-1; Bernier-Toth, Michelle; PortauPrinceControlRoom; Cantrell, Paul M; xHaiti File Mail
**Subject:** 10 AmCits arrested with 33 orphans

Consular Affairs was notified by the Embassy duty officer in Santo Domingo of the arrest of 10 Amcits from Idaho by Haitian police. They were attempting to take 33 'orphans' to Santo Domingo for the stated purpose of establishing an orphanage to care for the children. The Americans are in the custody of the Haitian police. We have no information about the whereabouts of the 33 orphans.

Joleen Schweitzer

CA TF-1 Representative

RELEASE IN FULL

# New Life Children's Refuge (NLCR)

New Life Children's Refuge is a non-profit Christian ministry dedicated to rescuing, loving and caring for orphaned, abandoned and impoverished Haitian and Dominican children, demonstrating God's love and helping each child find healing, hope, joy and new life in Christ. We will strive to also equip each child with a solid education and vocational skills as well as opportunities for adoption into a loving Christian family.

NLCR is in the process of buying land and building an orphanage, school and church in Magante on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic. Given the urgent needs from this earthquake, God has laid upon our hearts the need to go now vs. waiting until the permanent facility is built. He has provided an interim solution in nearby Cabarete, where we will be leasing a 45 room hotel and converting it into an orphanage until the building is complete.

Future Buildings and Plans for NLCR in Magante

- ***Nueva Vida Refugio de Ninos:*** Provide a loving Christian home-like environment for up to 200 children, both boys and girls, initially focused on ages 0 - 10 years old, later expanding to include teens up to age 16.
- **Nueva Vida Escuela Cristiana:** Provide a solid education for children in the refuge as well as in the local community if have sufficient space/resources. Plan to begin with PreSchool/Kindergarten up to 6th grade, teaching English/Spanish, Reading, Math, Science, History, Geography, Health, Music/Art, as well as Christian values/truths. Plan to add higher grades and courses on vocational skills when needed.
- ***Nueva Vida en Christo Capilla***: On site Chapel for the children from the refuge and the community
- ***Sick Bay/Medical care:*** for incoming children that are in need minor medical care
- ***Greenhouse/Livestock:*** Provide for nutritional needs of the children by growing fruits and vegetables and raising cows/chickens for milk and eggs
- ***Seaside Villas at Playa Magante*:*** Villas for adopting parents to stay while fulfilling requirement for 60-90 day visit as well as Christian volunteers/vacationing families.
- Provide opportunities for adoption through partnership with ***New Life Adoption Foundation*** which works with adoption agencies in the U.S. to help facilitate adoptions and provide grants to subsidize the cost of adoption for loving Christian parents who would otherwise not be able to afford to adopt.
- ***Seaside Café at Playa Magante*:*** small beachfront restaurant serving the community and adopting parents

**Directors**: Laura Silsby and Charisa Coulter

**Interim D.R. Address**: Cabarete, DR **Permanent DR Address:** Playa Magante, DR
**U.S. Address**: 1577 N. Linder Rd Kuna, ID 83634

- For God to guide us to the children He wants us to bring to NLCR and for their physical, emotional and spiritual healing

**Donation Requests: Funds or Supplies as outlined below**

**Rescue Mission in Haiti**

- **RT Flights for the NLCR/CVBC team:** $400/each from Las Vegas to Santo Domingo, $220 from Boise to Las Vegas
- **Transportation of the Children:** $1800 to charter a bus in the DR to bring 100 children to safety in the DR
- **Food:** during transport of the children –protein bars, pediasure, formula,
- **Water:** will need to buy in Santo Domingo, DR before heading into Haiti

**Upon arrival to NLCR in DR**

- **Food/Water**: $/week dependent on number of children
- **Medical Supplies:** Deworming medication, Anti-Diarrhea meds, Antibiotic ointments, splints, bandages, antiseptic wipes, hand santizers, disposable gloves, children's tylenol
- **Hygiene:** disposable diapers, pull-ups, wipes, toothbrushes, toothpaste, shampoo, soap
- **Bedding:** lightweight blankets & sheets for 45 full size beds, and 90 twin size beds
- **Clothing & Shoes** for children ages 0-12years
- **Small stuffed animals, dolls, toys, coloring books**

Tax Deductible Donations can be made to New Life Children's Refuge through Central Valley Baptist Church or can deposit or wire directly into the NLCR Bank account at Wells Fargo.

Wells Fargo Bank Account: 7884311494
Routing # for Wires: 121000248
Not for Profit EIN #: 27-1394022

## Contact Information:

***New Life Children Refuge***:
**Laura Silsby**, Executive Director and Founder 208-861-7879 cell, laura.s317@yahoo.com
**Charisa Coulter**, VP and co-founder 208-340-8856 cell, charisacoulter@yahoo.com
Website under construction: **newlifechildrensrefuge.org**

***Central Valley Baptist Church***
**Carla Thompson**, Missions Coordinator 208-407-0269
**Pastor Clint Henry**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 1:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Latest NI bulletin. Sid

Shaun just called to say matters are held up because Robinson, who is completely committed to resolution, is dealing with his party, of which a majority but not all are behind him. Shaun wants this information conveyed only to you, kept outside the system, and he says he'll be in touch. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (AP) Haiti PM: U.S. Baptists knew removing kids was wrong

fyi

---

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 2010 4:44 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** Thompson, Hillary C
**Subject:** (AP) Haiti PM: U.S. Baptists knew removing kids was wrong

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AP) - Haiti's prime minister says it's clear to him that the 10 U.S. Baptists who tried to take 33 Haitian children out of the quake-ravaged country "knew what they were doing was wrong." Prime Minister Max Bellerive also tells The Associated Press his country is open to having the Americans tried in the United States. Bellerive says some of the children have parents who are alive. The government is attempting to locate them. He says a judicial system needs to determine whether the Americans were acting in good faith, as they claim, or are child traffickers. The Americans are mostly from Idaho. They have been held since being arrested January 29 trying to enter the Dominican Republic with the children.

Justin Deyo
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** want to talk later today re: conv with Dennis R

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 12:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Latest on Goldman Decision

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**From:** Smith, Daniel B
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:58 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Crowley, Philip J; Verma, Richard R; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Latest on Goldman Decision

fyi

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**From:** Slattery, Phillip T
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:54 AM
**To:** Macris, Gregory P; SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO-Only; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-I; Bitter, Rena; Sullivan, Stephanie S
**Subject:** RE: Latest on Goldman Decision

Dan –

I just spoke with Marie Damour, CG at Embassy Brasilia, who provided an update on the Goldman case.

A scheduled 1100 EST press conference by the attorney for the Brazilian family did not take place. Damour reports the attorneys from both sides are still negotiating the details of the handover, as is the attorney for the Government of Brasil. According to the 2nd Regional Federal Court, the deadline for the turnover at the Consulate falls at 0600 local on 12/24. However, there may be a push to turn Sean over to the consulate today in order to permit him to travel to the U.S. on an overnight flight.

Damour will continue to update as events progress.

-Phill

---

**From:** Macris, Gregory P
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 7:21 AM
**To:** SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO-Only; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-I; Bitter, Rena; Sullivan, Stephanie S
**Subject:** Latest on Goldman Decision

Dan,

I just got off the phone with Embassy Brasilia Charge Lisa Kubiske, who provided a recap of current developments in the Goldman child custody case. Summarizing:

-- David Goldman's Brazilian lawyer and the family's attorney are currently attempting to negotiate an "voluntary return."

--If those talks fail, Goldman will request the Brazilian police execute the involuntary return ordered yesterday by a Brazilian judge. This outcome would create a negative PR climate.
--Brazilian police "think" they know the boy's whereabouts.
--Return to US likely will occur on an NBC News-chartered aircraft, as Goldman has inked some sort of exclusive deal w/ NBC for the story.
--Post has been working with WHA and PD on a possible S statement.

Craig Kelly just called in for the latest developments, which I passed. gm

---

**From:** Macris, Gregory P
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 6:43 AM
**To:** Damour, Marie C
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO-Only
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 01:30 local time - NO RETURN TONIGHT

Ms. Damour,

Do you have any updated information to report? As you could imagine, there is significant high-level interest in the Department on the Goldman case, and I am hoping to brief the Executive Secretary with the latest developments at 0745 EST.

Thanks.

Gregory Macris
Senior Watch Officer

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**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:39 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen [redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T B6
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 01:30 local time - NO RETURN TONIGHT
**Importance:** High

I have just heard from the team in Rio that there will be no return enforcement this evening:

- Tomorrow morning between 8-9, David Goldman's Brazilian attorney will go to the court to obtain the warrant enforcing the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S. He will wait there pending coordination with relevant police and judicial authorities to ensure that everything is ready, and they will depart for the family compound to take custody of Sean.
- Consulate General Rio will have cars ready at 9am for transport, and the team will be ready at the airport to facilitate departure.
- David's attorney has spoken to judicial authorities and believes that the motions filed at STJ will not be accepted by the court, so will not interfere with the return. This does not preclude some last minute legal maneuvers, but he seems confident that the decision by STF will effectively cut off other avenues. We will advise asap if this changes.

Blackberry service does appear to be down, so if there are any questions tonight, please contact me directly on my cell at [redacted] as I am getting offline in approximately five mins. We are 3 hours ahead of DC time at the moment, but please do not hesitate to call.

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:03 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 00:45 local time

B6

Given the hour here, I am less optimistic that we will pull off a return tonight, but we are still working to that end.

- The Brazilian Central Authority confirms that the office of Regional Federal Court President Paulo Espirito Santo has received the decision of STF President Gilmar Mendes. It is Paulo E-S who will be responsible for enforcing the decision from Mendes, i.e. the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S.
- BCA has promised to reinforce for Interpol the urgent necessity of police in Rio monitoring the location of Sean Goldman. Embassy LEGAT office is double-tracking. We cannot, of course, ask them to enforce anything until the proper judicial authority has sent them instructions, but we strongly urge them to be prepared.
- BCA has turned over operational jurisdiction to Daniel Levy, from the AGU's office in Rio, to coordinate with David Goldman's attorney and with the court in Rio. I have asked David's attorney to try and get some understanding from Mr. Levy as to the timeline we can expect to see in this case.

What remains unclear:

- We do not know if the judge from the Regional Federal Court intends to issue an execution order from his home tonight at this late hour, or if he will wait until opening of business tomorrow morning. Note that OOB here generally means 10am for a court. This only underscores the need to ensure that there is sufficient monitoring of Sean's whereabouts.
- We do not know how Judge Paulo E-S will interpret an "immediate" return order – it could mean right this instant, or it could mean some brief period of time where the family is ordered/encouraged to turn Sean over at the Consulate or some other site.
- We are working to obtain some sense of whether this is likely to happen tonight, or if we are better served getting some rest now and starting first thing OOB which for us means 7-8am.
- We have not had confirmation regarding the resolution of the motions in STJ, but frankly, I don't foresee receiving an answer on that before mid-day Wednesday.

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:05 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R
**Subject:** Goldman Decision - update as of 22:50

PLEASE NOTE – I am aware of the intense interest back in DC about this case and will be passing information just as soon as I receive it. This means that in most cases, I will not be able to confirm the information. Will try to identify credible sources vice what rumor/press/others are saying.

Brazilian Central Authority (BCA) coordinating with David's attorney and the Federal attorneys in Rio to ensure that the President of the Regional Federal Court in Rio has a copy of the STF order and is submitting the official request to federal police to enforce. BCA says they still believe they can effect the turnover tonight and are at their office working to that end. If/when the Federal Police enforce, their stated preference is to go to the airport and effect the handover there. This is a scenario we've planned for.

BCA has mentioned the STJ motions filed by the Brazilian family as a potential obstacle, but thru their contacts in Mendes' office at STF, have heard that Mendes intends to reach out to the reporting judge at STJ to resolve that issue. As mentioned in an earlier update today, we have not had any confirmation that the STJ judge has accepted to hear the motions filed by the Brazilian family, and has the option to decline to hear them.

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:41 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision

B6

If the family sees the writing on the wall (frankly unlikely at this point) and agrees to abide by the order of immediate return, then in theory the handover would happen at the consulate and there is a plan in place for that.

Plans in motion to prevent them slipping away and Patricia Lamego is working with the police as we speak. Federal Police repeatedly assured us they were prepped and ready to move but could take no action absent an order. They know now there is one, so BCA will get them moving.

If the handover occurred tonight, I'm told we need 3 hours to get the plane off the ground, so overnight in the hotel.

---

**From:** Bond, Michele T
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:30 PM
**To:** Damour, Marie C; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision

Marie, if there is a handover tonight: that would be at the Consulate in Rio, right? Grandparents would bring Sean and he'd spend the night...in David's hotel or at the Consulate?

It seems very, very unlikely that will happen tonight.

But if handover is delayed until morning, the family may try to slip away tonight. Can we ask the police to prevent that?

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:53 PM
**To:** Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Bond, Michele T; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision
**Importance:** High

Here is what we know:

- STF Pres. Gilmar Mendes upheld the motion by the AGU and David's attorney requesting he overturn the stay imposed by Justice Marco Aurelio, based upon a motion filed by the maternal grandmother.
- The order at first read appears to require immediate return of Sean.
- The BCA is calling the Interpol director responsible for enforcing such actions to see if they will get set to move. HOWEVER, BCA does not/not yet have a copy of the order, and it is the judge in the lower court in Rio that would generally receive the order from STF and then contact DPF to enforce.
- Sergio Brito, the prosecutor who has assisted David's attorney on the Hague case is attempting to contact the judge in the court of first instance in an effort to move as quickly as possible. Note that the court of first

instance is on recess and the "duty court" judge will need to take action, but magistrates in Rio are keenly aware of the status of the case and may be prepared to move this evening.

- BCA is hoping to effect handover tonight, and will plan to send their psychologist to Rio if the handover must happen tomorrow morning.

What we don't know:

- No details yet on what else is contained in the order, which is likely to affect the next steps taken by the Brazilian family.
- No details as yet on what, if anything the Brazilian family has done in response to the news from STF.

Embassy staff are in the room with David's Brazilian attorney and will report just as soon as we have any details to offer. Please advise me if you have any specific questions we need to pose to the team.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 6:35 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Defense Trade Cooperation Treaties

FYI

**From:** Harris, Robert K
**Sent:** Monday, February 01, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Campbell, Piper; Wells, Alice G; Tucker, Maureen E; Shapiro, Andrew J
**Cc:** Donoghue, Joan E; Koh, Harold Hongju
**Subject:** Defense Trade Cooperation Treaties

Cheryl, Jake, Piper, Alice and Maureen,

B5

As State transmitted its QFRs to the Committee last week, we have now fulfilled our commitments to the Committee on these treaties.

Bob Harris

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Latest on Goldman Decision

Set for 12:30
You are calling redswitch from your black ste phone
202-647-5926

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 12:27 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Latest on Goldman Decision

When is Steinberg call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 12:18:11 2009
Subject: FW: Latest on Goldman Decision

From: Smith, Daniel B
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:58 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Crowley, Philip J; Verma, Richard R; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Latest on Goldman Decision

fyi

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Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 11:54 AM
To: Macris, Gregory P; SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: SES-O_SWO-Only; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-I; Bitter, Rena; Sullivan, Stephanie S
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Dan –

I just spoke with Marie Damour, CG at Embassy Brasilia, who provided an update on the Goldman case.

A scheduled 1100 EST press conference by the attorney for the Brazilian family did not take place. Damour reports the attorneys from both sides are still negotiating the details of the handover, as is the attorney for the Government of Brasil. According to the 2nd Regional Federal Court, the deadline for the turnover at the Consulate falls at 0600 local on 12/24. However, there may be a push to turn Sean over to the consulate today in order to permit him to travel to the U.S. on an overnight flight.

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Cc: SES-O_SWO-Only; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-I; Bitter, Rena; Sullivan, Stephanie S
Subject: Latest on Goldman Decision

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-- David Goldman's Brazilian lawyer and the family's attorney are currently attempting to negotiate an "voluntary return."

--If those talks fail, Goldman will request the Brazilian police execute the involuntary return ordered yesterday by a Brazilian judge. This outcome would create a negative PR climate.

--Brazilian police "think" they know the boy's whereabouts.

--Return to US likely will occur on an NBC News-chartered aircraft, as Goldman has inked some sort of exclusive deal w/ NBC for the story.

--Post has been working with WHA and PD on a possible S statement.

Craig Kelly just called in for the latest developments, which I passed. gm

From: Macris, Gregory P
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 6:43 AM
To: Damour, Marie C
Cc: SES-O_SWO-Only
Subject: RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 01:30 local time - NO RETURN TONIGHT

Ms. Damour,

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Thanks.

Gregory Macris

Senior Watch Officer

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Cc: Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
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Importance: High

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· Consulate General Rio will have cars ready at 9am for transport, and the team will be ready at the airport to facilitate departure.

· David's attorney has spoken to judicial authorities and believes that the motions filed at STJ will not be accepted by the court, so will not interfere with the return. This does not preclude some last minute legal maneuvers, but he seems confident that the decision by STF will effectively cut off other avenues. We will advise asap if this changes.

Blackberry service does appear to be down, so if there are any questions tonight, please contact me directly on my cell at [redacted] as I am getting offline in approximately five mins. We are 3 hours ahead of DC time at the moment, but please do not hesitate to call. B6

From: Damour, Marie C
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:03 AM
To: Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T
Cc: Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 00:45 local time

Given the hour here, I am less optimistic that we will pull off a return tonight, but we are still working to that end.

· The Brazilian Central Authority confirms that the office of Regional Federal Court President Paulo Espirito Santo has received the decision of STF President Gilmar Mendes. It is Paulo E-S who will be responsible for enforcing the decision from Mendes, i.e. the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S.

· BCA has promised to reinforce for Interpol the urgent necessity of police in Rio monitoring the location of Sean Goldman. Embassy LEGAT office is double-tracking. We cannot, of course, ask them to enforce anything until the proper judicial authority has sent them instructions, but we strongly urge them to be prepared.

· BCA has turned over operational jurisdiction to Daniel Levy, from the AGU's office in Rio, to coordinate with David Goldman's attorney and with the court in Rio. I have asked David's attorney to try and get some understanding from Mr. Levy as to the timeline we can expect to see in this case.

What remains unclear:

- We do not know if the judge from the Regional Federal Court intends to issue an execution order from his home tonight at this late hour, or if he will wait until opening of business tomorrow morning. Note that OOB here generally means 10am for a court. This only underscores the need to ensure that there is sufficient monitoring of Sean's whereabouts.

- We do not know how Judge Paulo E-S will interpret an "immediate" return order – it could mean right this instant, or it could mean some brief period of time where the family is ordered/encouraged to turn Sean over at the Consulate or some other site.

- We are working to obtain some sense of whether this is likely to happen tonight, or if we are better served getting some rest now and starting first thing OOB which for us means 7-8am.

- We have not had confirmation regarding the resolution of the motions in STJ, but frankly, I don't foresee receiving an answer on that before mid-day Wednesday.

From: Damour, Marie C
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:05 PM
To: Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O
Cc: Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R
Subject: Goldman Decision - update as of 22:50

B6

PLEASE NOTE – I am aware of the intense interest back in DC about this case and will be passing information just as soon as I receive it. This means that in most cases, I will not be able to confirm the information. Will try to identify credible sources vice what rumor/press/others are saying.

Brazilian Central Authority (BCA) coordinating with David's attorney and the Federal attorneys in Rio to ensure that the President of the Regional Federal Court in Rio has a copy of the STF order and is submitting the official request to federal police to enforce. BCA says they still believe they can effect the turnover tonight and are at their office working to that end. If/when the Federal Police enforce, their stated preference is to go to the airport and effect the handover there. This is a scenario we've planned for.

BCA has mentioned the STJ motions filed by the Brazilian family as a potential obstacle, but thru their contacts in Mendes' office at STF, have heard that Mendes intends to reach out to the reporting judge at STJ to resolve that issue. As mentioned in an earlier update today, we have not had any confirmation that the STJ judge has accepted to hear the motions filed by the Brazilian family, and has the option to decline to hear them.

From: Damour, Marie C

Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:41 PM
To: Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen [redacted]; Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O
Cc: Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press
Subject: RE: Goldman Decision

B6

If the family sees the writing on the wall (frankly unlikely at this point) and agrees to abide by the order of immediate return, then in theory the handover would happen at the consulate and there is a plan in place for that.

Plans in motion to prevent them slipping away and Patricia Lamego is working with the police as we speak. Federal Police repeatedly assured us they were prepped and ready to move but could take no action absent an order. They know now there is one, so BCA will get them moving.

If the handover occurred tonight, I'm told we need 3 hours to get the plane off the ground, so overnight in the hotel.

From: Bond, Michele T
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:30 PM
To: Damour, Marie C; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen [redacted]; Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K
Cc: SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
Subject: RE: Goldman Decision

Marie, if there is a handover tonight: that would be at the Consulate in Rio, right? Grandparents would bring Sean and he'd spend the night...in David's hotel or at the Consulate?

It seems very, very unlikely that will happen tonight.

But if handover is delayed until morning, the family may try to slip away tonight. Can we ask the police to prevent that?

From: Damour, Marie C
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:53 PM
To: Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen [redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Bond, Michele T; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K
Cc: SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
Subject: FW: Goldman Decision
Importance: High

Here is what we know:

- STF Pres. Gilmar Mendes upheld the motion by the AGU and David's attorney requesting he overturn the stay imposed by Justice Marco Aurelio, based upon a motion filed by the maternal grandmother.

- The order at first read appears to require immediate return of Sean.

- The BCA is calling the Interpol director responsible for enforcing such actions to see if they will get set to move. HOWEVER, BCA does not/not yet have a copy of the order, and it is the judge in the lower court in Rio that would generally receive the order from STF and then contact DPF to enforce.

- Sergio Brito, the prosecutor who has assisted David's attorney on the Hague case is attempting to contact the judge in the court of first instance in an effort to move as quickly as possible. Note that the court of first instance is on recess and the "duty court" judge will need to take action, but magistrates in Rio are keenly aware of the status of the case and may be prepared to move this evening.

- BCA is hoping to effect handover tonight, and will plan to send their psychologist to Rio if the handover must happen tomorrow morning.

What we don't know:

- No details yet on what else is contained in the order, which is likely to affect the next steps taken by the Brazilian family.

- No details as yet on what, if anything the Brazilian family has done in response to the news from STF.

Embassy staff are in the room with David's Brazilian attorney and will report just as soon as we have any details to offer. Please advise me if you have any specific questions we need to pose to the team.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Secure fax

Ill get back to you

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:59 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Secure fax

Ok. When will I call Okada? Kusa? Robinson and McGuinness? Kouchener?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 13:54:27 2009
Subject: Secure fax

In approx 5 minutes, there is a secure fax coming with the following:

1. Action memo that proposes a call to Gates
2. Memo from Sec. Napolitano
3. Note from Ellen Tauscher
4. Memo from both Consular Affairs and Holbrooke

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Secure fax

Yes line dropped
Rest is coming now

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:28 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Secure fax

Only Napolitano memo came thru.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 13:54:27 2009
Subject: Secure fax

In approx 5 minutes, there is a secure fax coming with the following:

1. Action memo that proposes a call to Gates
2. Memo from Sec. Napolitano
3. Note from Ellen Tauscher
4. Memo from both Consular Affairs and Holbrooke

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 2:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Water

Will do. Just returning from Africa AU meetings. Much to report.
Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:33:55 2010
Subject: Water

Former Dep Secretary of State John Whitehead has a private sector group working on water. Pls be sure he is contacted as part of our planning.

RELEASE
IN FULL

# New Life Children's Refuge

## *Haitian Orphan Rescue Mission*

***Purpose:*** Rescue Haitian orphans abandoned on the streets, makeshift hospitals or from collapsed orphanages in Port au Prince and surrounding areas, and bring them to New Life Children's Refuge in Cabarete, Dominican Republic.

***The Urgent Need:*** The number of Haitian orphans is estimated to have increased by 300% as a result of the catastrophic earthquake this past week. Thousands of children have lost their parents, and are injured, hungry, thirsty and alone with limited chance of survival without help.

***The Plan:***

**Rescue Orphans from Port au Prince, Haiti**

- Friday/Saturday, Jan 22nd : NLCR team fly to the DR
- Sun Jan 23rd: Drive bus from Santo Domingo into Port au Prince, Haiti and gather 100 orphans from the streets and collapsed orphanages, then return to the DR
- Mon Jan 24th: Bus arrives in Cabarete, DR at New Life Children Refuge
- Haiti Team: Laura Silsby, Charisa Coulter, Carla Thompson, Nicole & Corrinna Lankford Paul Thompsons Team from East Side Baptist Church, Twin Falls

**Provide love and care for the children**

- **Interim New Life Children Refuge Location:** NLCR is in the process of buying land and building an orphanage, school and church in Magante on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic. Given the urgent needs from this earthquake, God has laid upon our hearts the need to go now vs. waiting until the permanent facility is built. He has provided an interim solution in nearby Cabarete, where we will be leasing a 45 room hotel and converting it into an orphanage until the building of the NLCR is complete. This interim location will enable us to provide a loving environment for up to 150 children, from infants to 12 years old.
- **Team Needed:** NLCR is praying and seeking people who have a heart for God and a desire to share God's love with these precious children, helping them heal and find new life in Christ. Please prayerfully consider a 2 week or longer mission trip to help NLCR provide rotating staffing for the care of the children over the next 6 months.

**Prayer Requests**

- For discernment of God's will and direction throughout this trip and for Him to prepare the way before us
- For God to continue to grant favor with the Dominican Government in allowing us to bring as many orphans as we can into the DR

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:39 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Oscar Flores
**Subject:** can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: update on 10 arrestees

Second update

---

**From**: Bond, Michele T
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc**: Kirby, Michael D; Smith, Daniel B
**Sent**: Sat Jan 30 17:31:39 2010
**Subject**: FW: update on 10 arrestees

Here is info received from TF1, much of it not yet confirmed. TF1 is calling wife of arrestee in Idaho and NLCR rep [redacted] in Cabrete, DR. B6

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**From:** Haiti TaskForce1I-(CA) Consular Affairs
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:24 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Bernier-Toth, Michelle; Cantrell, Paul M
**Cc:** Bistransky, William J; xHaiti File Mail
**Subject:** FW: update on 10 arrestees

Resending as I got non-deliverable messages

CA TF-1 Representative

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**From:** Haiti TaskForce1I-(CA) Consular Affairs
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 4:57 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Cantrell, Paul M
**Cc:** Bistransky, William J; Bernier-Toth, Michelle; PortauPrinceControlRoom; xHaiti File Mail
**Subject:** update on 10 arrestees

TF5 rec'd a call from [redacted] reporting about 10 arrestees. Says they are currently in the justice building near the airport.

I called [redacted] He gave me these contact numbers:
Driver [redacted]
(wife of arrestee [redacted]

Group also called Haiti Sharing Jesus Ministry, Inc. Orphanage run by Haitian priest [redacted] Church from Meridien, Idaho already supported this orphanage. [redacted] contacted Idaho church and said that he could no longer care for the children. The group had already started construction of an orphanage in Cabrete(sp) in the DR. The plan was to take the children to Cabrete and house them in a hotel the group had rented until the orphanage was complete.

They were arrested at the border, waiting for permission for the DR consulate to take the children into the DR. It is not clear if they were seeking permission to remove the children form Haiti.

[redacted] states that the 10 have been "sentenced" for kidnapping. A asked if meant charged, but he said sentenced.

CA TF-1 Representative

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Yes but hang up one more time. So they can reestablish the line.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:39:39 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

I thought it was supposed to be off hook to work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:38:52 2009
Subject: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Just pick up phone and hang it up. And leave it hung up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:50:11 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

I did.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:43:02 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Yes but hang up one more time. So they can reestablish the line.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:39:39 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

I thought it was supposed to be off hook to work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:38:52 2009
Subject: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:50 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Have you received email from Bill w letter from Ban yet?

Just came - am sendng my comments to laura later tonight - want to compare it to architecture doc for un-us-goh that has been subject of multiple calls today

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] ; Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Sat Jan 30 17:48:35 2010
Subject: Have you received email from Bill w letter from Ban yet?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 3:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 15:13:34 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Still nothing. Call Oscar if they need help. I'll be out of pocket for an hour or so.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:53:30 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Just pick up phone and hang it up. And leave it hung up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:50:11 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

I did.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:43:02 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

Yes but hang up one more time. So they can reestablish the line.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:39:39 2009
Subject: Re: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

I thought it was supposed to be off hook to work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>

To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:38:52 2009
Subject: can you hang up the fax line, they will call again and try fax

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Secure fax

B6

Because of time difference, reaching all the embassies is challenging but I can type up something quickly and send somethig latter this afternoon so long as you know its all completely tentative.
Im doing a call in a few minutes with [redacted] and then have a call with phil Gordon to review EUR priorities cause we will be in Europe in less than a month, and it turns out that merkel is less flexible with dates than we thought.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:32 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Secure fax

When will you be ready to talk schedule?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 14:28:49 2009
Subject: RE: Secure fax

Yes line dropped
Rest is coming now

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 2:28 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Secure fax

Only Napolitano memo came thru.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 13:54:27 2009
Subject: Secure fax

In approx 5 minutes, there is a secure fax coming with the following:

1. Action memo that proposes a call to Gates

2. Memo from Sec. Napolitano

3. Note from Ellen Tauscher

4. Memo from both Consular Affairs and Holbrooke

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni breakthrough 013010.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 4:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Merry Christmas

Thank you. I will spend next week reviewing the recent IG report of my bureau. Gave us good marks on the technical side of what we do, but there is definitely work to be done on our organizational structure, some leadership issues in specific offices and how we interact and communicate across our various functions. On the planning side, thanks to the 2010 look ahead memos that the bureaus prepared for you, we will be more effective in creating media and outreach opportunities because our focus will be not just on this week, but looking ahead to the month and quarter as well. We have been briefing-centric in the past. We will be creating more channels to communicate our messages. I know Judith spoke with you on Monday about greater emphasis on international media. We will be restructuring part of my operation to be able to do that. Going through these issues, I'll either be well-rested or exhausted, but I am looking forward to 2010.

PJ

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 4:14 PM
To: Crowley, Philip J
Subject: Re: Merry Christmas

Ho, Ho, Ho! Don't forget the partridge in the pear tree!! Thx for a great year and here's to an even better 2010. I hope you enjoy the holidays and get rested up for another wild ride. All the best, Hillary

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 22 23:30:18 2009
Subject: Merry Christmas

We had a little fun at today's briefing. Our friends in the media have been bugging us regarding your holiday plans, so we announced your departure from Washington in the following way:

"...And finally, a few of you have asked about the schedule of the Secretary of State over the next few days. I can tell you this morning the Secretary departed Washington and she stopped at the North Pole for an important bilateral meeting with a well known international figure. During the meeting, in a formal demarche, sung to the tune of Twelve Days of Christmas, the Secretary outlined her aspirations for the new year. They include, and feel free to hum along: open and accountable governments, Middle East negotiations, more civilians in Afghanistan, empowerment of women, fewer nuclear weapons, respect for human rights, resolution of historic grievances, treaties through the United States Senate, Six-Party Talks, dialogue with Iran, enough food for people of the world to eat, climate change legislation, and lastly, a championship for the Boston Red Sox. Okay, that last one's not on her list, but Harold Koh and I thought it was important that we mention that here."

It is a privilege to be a part of your team. We wish you, the President and Chelsea all the best during the holiday season and look forward to great achievements in 2010, with one tiny exception.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 5:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply:

B6

I am currently out of the office and will be checking e-mail periodically. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9573.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Just tried emailing you but not sure it went through --

Missed Shaun, but talked to his COS a short while ago. She said there are still a few details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," though things are looking very good. Tomorrow will be a down day and they'll reconvene Monday to bang out last details and (hopefully) announce.

I'll be in touch with other people in the morning and give you there reports.

Will also check in with Declan!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:18:07 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Should I make a statement in briefing room on Monday? What about Sid's comment that Shaun would want to talk to me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:15:06 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:43:32 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Actually, I can also make it work before noon if he prefers by moving other calls around. Just let me know. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:33:51 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:18:07 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Should I make a statement in briefing room on Monday? What about Sid's comment that Shaun would want to talk to me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:15:06 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 5:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: MONUC extended

Fyi

---

**From**: Brimmer, Esther D
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent**: Wed Dec 23 16:19:36 2009
**Subject**: MONUC extended

Jake, Joe,
On Dec. 23, the UNSC extended the mandate of MONUC (in the DRC) unanimously. It included language on the protection of civilians, accountability, and stronger conditions on MONUC support for Congolese (FARC) military operations.
Esther

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Running a few min late

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 5:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Visa for India B6

Fyi in case [redacted] reached you directly She called me about visa issue for her son We just took care of it

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 5:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Visa for India

She just did. I'm just telling my son the good news. Cross your fingers that all goes as scheduled tomorrow and we'll be fine. Thanks so much - and happy holidays! Hope you get a break.
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

-----Original Message-----
From: "Abedin, Huma" <AbedinH@state.gov>
Date: Wed, 23 Dec 2009 17:51:55
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Visa for India

Adrienne should have called you
Looks like will be resolved soon

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 4:33 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Visa for India

Huma,
Thanks for trying. Silence may speak volumes in this case, but I appreciate the effort.
[redacted]
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

-----Original Message-----
From: "Abedin, Huma" <AbedinH@state.gov>
Date: Wed, 23 Dec 2009 16:23:47
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Visa for India

[redacted] - I have passed this on to the team Will let you know as soon as we have an update

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 22, 2009 9:24 PM
To: Abedin, Huma

B6

Subject: Visa for India

Dear Huma,

As I explained on the phone, we've hit a brick wall in trying to get a visa for my son, to travel to India. We are scheduled to leave on Saturday, December 26, but without a visa he of course cannot go and I will not go without him. My visa has been issued by Travisa Outsourcing, the company to which the Government of India has outsourced all visa processing. However, despite the fact that Travisa does all of India's visa processing, and ordinarily does it on a same-day basis, their office here in Washington, DC (located in Georgetown) refused to process my son's visa application because he is a California resident and they are organized so that their various offices (New York, Washington, San Francisco, Chicago, and
Houston) issue visas only for residents of the immediate vicinity of the particular office. Thus, for example, the Washington office issues visas for residents of Delaware, Washington, DC, Maryland, West Virginia, and the like, but will not process visas for residents beyond this area. The New York office, likewise, processes visas only for residents of New York, New Jersey, CT, and the like, but not Washington. My son of course has a valid US passport, but the visa requirements also require proof of residence, and because his driver's license is a California license (because that is his residence), Travisa Outsourcing said they could not process his visa application.
They insisted that he have proof of DC residence, even though he is my son and I am a DC resident. (If he were my minor child, or my spouse, they would have let him travel with me, but he is 30 years old and so they insist on evaluating his residency documents independently of mine even though we are traveling together.)

We went to the DC Motor Vehicle Department after leaving Travisa Outsourcing to see whether he could get a non-driver's photo ID issued by the District but that could only be done if he relinquished his California driver's license, which of course he was not prepared to do. (Even to find that out, we had to first go to the Social Security Administration to get proof of his SSN, which of course he has in California but not with him, and then we went back to the DMV only to learn that a non-driver's ID here was not a realistic option.)

We then went to the Embassy of India, at 2536 Mass. Ave., NW, which is the part of the embassy that deals with passports and consular affairs. They do not handle visas, of course, because that has been outsourced to Travisa. Nonetheless, I had hoped that we might get someone at the Embassy to agree to issue his visa here in Washington. Although two polite gentlemen did speak to us, they insisted that his
visa could be issued only in San Francisco. Given the imminence of
the Christmas holidays and the impossibility of doing this either in person (he is already in Washington for Christmas and thus he cannot get back to California to get his visa issued there and still get back to Washington for the holiday and our departure from Washington on Saturday, Decemberr 26th) or by FedEx because of holiday closings, we have no choice but to cancel our trip to India. This is a trip we planned together and I will not go without him, and the holidays mean that we cannot realistically rearrange his flights to follow mine because, by the time he had a visa, the trip would be half over.

I am not sure what can be done as I recognize that the decision is up to the Government of India but, as I mentioned, I thought it was worth asking whether there was any way in which you might assist us. Should that prove possible, his pertinent information (the information required by Travisa) is:

Type of visa requested - tourist Purpose of trip - vacation Places to be visited - Delhi, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Agra He has never been to India before and is not traveling on behalf of any company, nor is he holding a valid "no objection to return to India" endorsement (a question asked on Travisa's form)

B6

His reference in India is our travel agent, [redacted] India His reference in the US is [redacted]

Huma, I do realize that there may be nothing that can be done, but I very much appreciate your sending this along to the appropriate people who might be able to evaluate the situation. Tomorrow (Wednesday, 12/23) I will either be in my office or running a few errands but I am reachable on my cell phone or office phone, and both numbers are below. I am also reachable by email as I will have my BlackBerry with me.

Best regards,

[redacted]

--

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 6:12 PM
**To:** H B6
**Subject:** Re:

MS-

Lauren

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Dec 23 17:01:38 2009
Subject:

Lauren--

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 6:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jack lew is asking to do a budget call at 7pm. Does that work?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

I get back the morning of February 9 and will be in the office that afternoon. I'll email you and Lona a copy of my schedule. Walter Douglas and Dan Sreebney have been working with me on Haiti. Walter is in California for Victoria DeLongh's funeral and will be back in the office Tuesday. He has been working closely with Dan Smith on the Haiti initiative. Let me know if there is anything you need me to do from here.

jm
-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:54 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

When will you be back so we can catch up? Also who is your right hand on all of these initiatives? I'm copying Lona so she can work w your office for a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 29 06:46:50 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Thx. Had a great conversation with Doug Hattaway. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will fill you in when I see you.

Also working with Amb Pascual on a new strategy for Mexicom

Finally working with Cheryl to help GoH with communication from g to p.

On my way to india and bangalesh.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Fri Jan 29 04:02:52 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>

Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; H
**Subject:** FW: U/S McHale's Schedule 1/28/10 - 2/9/2010
**Attachments:** 2010-01-28 McHale Schedule FINAL (3).docx

FYI

Schedule so far.

jm

---

**From:** Kenna, Corley
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 6:28 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Golden, Jennifer R
**Subject:** U/S McHale's Schedule 1/28/10 - 2/9/2010

**SCHEDULE FOR THE VISIT OF**
**UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY & PUBLIC AFFAIRS**
**JUDITH A. McHALE**
**INDIA**
**JANUARY 28 – FEBRUARY 6, 2010**
**BANGLADESH**
**FEBRUARY 6 - FEBRUARY 9, 2010**

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 2010**

9:56 PM WHEELS UP Washington Dulles en route India via Frankfurt, Germany
United Flight #0932

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 2010**

11:40 AM WHEELS DOWN Frankfurt, Germany

1:30 PM WHEELS UP Frankfurt, Germany en route New Delhi, India
United Airlines Flight #8906 Operated by Lufthansa

1:15 AM WHEELS DOWN New Delhi, India
Met at baggage claim by PAO Michael Pelletier
Drive Time: 30 Minutes

1:30 AM DEPART airport en route ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel

2:00 AM ARRIVE hotel, check-in

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel

Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91) (11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
BB: [redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
BB: [redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
Cell: [redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
Cell: [redacted] B6
American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 2010**

9:00 AM DEPART hotel en route Agra
Drive time: 5-6 hours

Innova - DL 1 Y 5508
Chauffeur: Mr. Sukhwinder Singh
[redacted] B6

2:00 PM ARRIVE Agra

2:10 PM ARRIVE Oberoi Hotel
Reservation under Judith McHale, Reservation Number 47697002

RON Oberoi Hotel
Taj East Gate Road
Agra – 282001
Telephone: +91 562 223 1515

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 31, 2010**

#:## DEPART Hotel Oberoi

#:## DEPART Agra en route New Delhi

#:## ARRIVE New Delhi

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 2010**

AM OTR

3:00 PM DEPART hotel en route American Center
Drive time: 25 minutes
Met in Lobby by Michael Pelletier

3:25 PM ARRIVE American Center

3:30 PM Meet Senior FSNs and Tour American Center

| Travelling Party | Embassy Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | Anne Seshadri, Center Director |
| Corley Kenna | |

4:30 PM DVC with Branch PAO Staff- Chennai, Hyderabad & Kolkata American Center

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| | Anne Seshadri, Center Director |
| Joe Mellott | 10 FSOs from New Delhi |

| | |
|---|---|
| Corley Kenna | PAO Kolkata, PAO Chennai, PAO Hyderabad |
| | Senior local staff from New Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, and Hyderabad |

5:35 PM DVC and meeting concludes

5:40 PM DEPART American Center en route Ministry of Human Resources Development
Drive time: 15 minutes

5:55 PM ARRIVE Ministry of Human Resources Development

6:00 PM Meeting with the Secretary for Higher Education, Mrs. Puri Das
Re: Education Dialogue

| **USG** | **GOI** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Mrs. Puri Das |
| Michael Pelletier, PAO | Jt. Secretary Amit Khare |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Elizabeth Thornhill, DPAO | |

6:45 PM Meeting at Ministry of Human Resources Development concludes, DEPART MHRD for PAO Residence
Drive time: 15 minutes

7:00 PM ARRIVE PAO Residence
10 Amrita Shergill Marg

7:15 PM Drinks with PAS - American Staff & PD Coned officerss hosted by PAO Michael Pelletier

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy and Consulate Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Michael O'Halloran | Deputy Chief of Mission Steven White (TBC) |
| Kitty DiMartino | PAO Michael Pelletier |
| Joe Mellott | 14 American PAS Staff |
| Corley Kenna | 4-6 PD Coned officers |

8:30 PM Drinks conclude, DEPART PAO Residence en route Maurya Sheraton
Drive time: 15 minutes

8:45 PM OTR

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO

B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO

B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2010**

8:15 AM DEPART hotel en route US Embassy
Met in lobby by: PAO, Michael Pelletier
Drive time: 10 minutes

8:25 AM ARRIVE US Embassy

8:30 AM Courtesy Call with Ambassador Tim Roemer
CPAO Michael Pelletier to accompany

9:00 AM Courtesy Call with Amb. Roemer concludes, start country team briefing
Location: Ambassador's Conference Room

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Deputy Chief of Mission Steven J. White |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | Country Team representatives |
| Corley Kenna | |

9:45 AM DEPART Embassy for Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Drive time: 10 minutes

9:55 AM ARRIVE Maurya Sheraton Hotel

10:30 AM DEPART Maurya Sheraton Hotel ert Ministry of Human Resources Development
**Bring evening wrap for USIEF dinner***
Drive Time: 20 minutes

10:50 AM ARRIVE Ministry of Human Resources Development - Shastri Bhawan

11:00 AM Meeting with Minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal
Control Officer – Elizabeth Thornhill, DPAO

11:45 AM DEPART Ministry of Human Resource Development for CPAO Residence
Drive time: 15 minutes

12:00 PM Arrive CPAO Residence – 10 Amrita Shergill Marg

12:00 PM Interview with Anil Padmanabhan, Deputy Managing Editor of Mint, on education and public diplomacy priorities

12:30 PM Luncheon with Media Executives begins

| USG | Private Sector Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arindam Sengupta, Executive Editor, Times of India |
| Kitty DiMartino | G. Krishnan, CEO, TV Today Network Ltd. |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | K.S. Sachidananda Murthy – Resident Editor, The Week |
| Joe Mellott | Raj Chengappa, Managing Editor, India Today |
| Elizabeth Fitzsimmons, IO | V.S. Chandrasekhar, Executive Editor, Press Trust of India (PTI) |
| Unni Mennon, Country Media Advisor | Tarun Basu, Editor-in-Chief, Indo-Asian News Service (IANS) |
| | Smita Prakash, Executive Editor, Asian News International (ANI) |
| | Sanjaya Baru, Editor, Business Standard |
| | Alok Mehta, Chief Editor, Naidunia (Hindi) |
| | Navin Suri, Editor, Milap (Urdu) |
| | Vijay Chopra, Editor-in-Chief, Hindustan Samachar Group |
| | Rahul Johri, Senior Vice President, Discovery Network |
| | TBC: Shekhar Gupta, Editor-in-Chief, The Indian Express |
| | TBC: Rajdeep Sardesai, Editor-in-Chief, IBN18 Network |
| | TBC: Sanjoy Narayan, Editor-in-Chief, The Hindustan Times |

2:30 PM Luncheon concludes, DEPART for Times of India
Drive time: 25 minutes

2:55 PM ARRIVE Times of India

3:00 PM Meeting with key players in Aman ki Asha initiative from Times of India

| USG | Times of India |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arindam Sengupta |
| Kitty DiMartino | Aman-ki-Asha Key Players |
| Michael Pelletier, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Torrey Goad, AIO | |
| Raja Bhattacharya, Press Advisor | |

4:00 PM Meeting concludes, DEPART for Planning Commission (TBC)
Drive time: 30

4:30 PM ARRIVE Planning Commission for meeting with Deputy Planning Commissioner Montek Aluwalia (TBC)
Control Officer – Peter Eisenhauer

5:15 PM DEPART Planning Commission for Fulbright House
Drive time: 15 Minutes
NOTE: Dress warmly

5:30 PM ARRIVE Fulbright House for USIEF Anniversary Program and Reception
120 of guests expected

5:50-6:00 PM MC Arshiya Sethi (Fulbright alumna) invites VIPs for lamp lighting

Presentation of floral bouquets to VIPs on the dais by USIEF staff

MC invites Adam Grotsky to the podium

6:00-6:45 PM Welcome by Mr. Adam J. Grotsky

Adam Grotsky will introduce Ambassador Roemer

Opening remarks by Mr. Timothy J. Roemer, US Ambassador to India

Ambassador Roemer will introduce Under Secretary McHale

Remarks by Ms. Judith A. McHale, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

MC will introduce Chief Guest

Keynote address by Chief Guest, Mr. S.M. Krishna, Hon'able Minister of External Affairs, Government of India

Adam Grotsky will conclude and thank Minister Krishna and other speakers and invite them to take a seat on the couches below

MC to introduce Sharon Lowen who delivers brief explanation on the piece she will perform

6:45-7:00 PM Cultural performance by Fulbright alumna Ms. Sharon Lowen

MC to offer "Vote of Thanks" and to invite guests for dinner on back lawn

VIP Guests and USIEF Board members will proceed to the stage for group photo

Dinner reception on the back lawn of the Fulbright House

9:30 PM DEPART Fulbright House en route Hotel

RON ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2009**

7:00 AM DEPART hotel en route airport
Met in lobby by CPAO, Michael Pelletier
Drive time: 30 minutes

7:30 AM ARRIVE Indira Gandhi Domestic Terminal 1A

9:00 AM WHEELS UP New Delhi en route Mumbai
Indian Airlines IC-167

11:05 AM WHEELS DOWN Mumbai

11:10 AM Greeted by Consul General Paul Folmsbee and A/PAO Lynne Gadkowski

11:15 AM DEPART airport en route Grand Hyatt
Drive time: 15 minutes

12:00 PM No-host lunch and briefing with by Consul General Paul Folmsbee
Location: China House Restaurant, Grand Hyatt

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Consul General Paul Folmsbee |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, CPAO |
| Joe Mellott | Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO |
| Corley Kenna | |

1:15 PM Lunch concludes, DEPART hotel en route Access Center
Drive time: 40 Minutes

1:55 PM ARRIVE Access Center

2:00 PM Hand out Certificates and meet with Access students
OPEN PRESS

| USG | Mumbai and Access Center Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Nahma Kazi, Principal |
| Kitty DiMartino | Meena Shridharan, Teacher |
| Joe Mellott | Frida Lambay, Pratham Founder |
| Corley Kenna | Shubhangi Desai, Program Coordinator |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | President of Anjuman-I-Islam Trust (Name to be provided) |
| Lynne Gadkowski | 25 Access Students |

3:30 PM DEPART Access Center for American Center
Drive time: 30 minutes

4:00 PM ARRIVE American Center

4:05 PM Tour American Center and Meet with PAS Mumbai staff

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | PAO Lynne Gadkowski |
| Corley Kenna | |

5:05 PM Participate in DVC with Mumbai and Lahore Seeds of Peace

| **USG** | **Mumbai and Lahore Seeds of Peace Participants** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Feruzan Mehta, India Coordinator, Seeds of Peace |
| Kitty DiMartino | 20 Indian alumni |
| Joe Mellott | 15 Pakistani alumni (from Lahore via DVC) |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | |

6:00 PM DEPART American Center en route hotel

7:00 PM ARRIVE Grand Hyatt

7:15 PM OTR

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2010**

8:20 AM Meet Lynne Gadkowski in lobby, proceed to Celini Restaurant

8:30 AM Business in India Briefing with Fitch Ratings Director, Amit Tandon
Location: Celini Restaurant

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Amit Tandon, Fitch Ratings Director |
| Kitty DiMartino | Tushar Poddar, Chief Economist of Goldman Sachs |
| Joe Mellott | Shubada Rao, Economist |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | Sanjay Sachdev, Country Manager of Shinsei Bank |
| Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO will chair discussion | Alok Gupta, Managing Director of Cabor Corp |

9:30 AM Business in India Briefing with Fitch Ratings Director concludes

9:40 AM Discussion with Zubin Driver, Network 18 Creative Director and CEO of Cell 18
Location in Hyatt – Room TBD

10:25 AM Proceed to tea event

10:30 AM Tea with Media Executives
Grand Hyatt – Room TBD

| USG | Media Executives |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arnab Goswami, Senior Vice President & Editor-in-Chief of Times Now TV |
| Kitty DiMartino | Nitin Vaidya, COO of ZEE & Business Head-Zee TV |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | Prashant Panday, Executive Director & CEO of Radio Mirchi |
| Joe Mellott | Pratap G. Pawar, Managing Director and Managing Editor of Sakal Papers Ltd. |
| Robyn Remeika, IO | Raghavan Jagannathan, Executive Director of Daily News Analysis (DNA) |
| | Shailja Kejriwal, Executive Vice President for Content, NDTV Imagine |
| | Tarun Katiyal, CEO, Big FM |
| | Uday Shankar, CEO Star India (TBC) |

11:45 AM Tea with media executives concludes, DEPART hotel en route Taj Palace Hotel
Drive time: 45 minutes

12:30 PM ARRIVE Taj Palace Hotel

12:35 PM Lunch with American and Indian Fulbrighters and Exchange Alumni, hosted by Mumbai PAO

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remeika | |
| Sucharita Narayanan, USIEF Regional Director | |

2:30 PM DEPART Restaurant

2:35 PM Stop by Memorial to 26-11 Victims
Taj Lobby

2:35 PM DEPART Taj Palace Hotel

2:40 PM Cross street visit Gateway of India – Personal Visit

2:50 PM DEPART Taj Palace Hotel en route Consulate
Drive time: 40 Minutes

3:30 PM ARRIVE Consulate

3:30 PM Town Hall meeting with Consulate staff

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Consul General Paul Folmsbee |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, CPAO |
| Joe Mellott | 69 American officers |
| Corley Kenna | 241 Locally Engaged Staff |

4:00 PM DEPART Consulate en route Prerana Night Care Center
Drive time: 30 Minutes

4:30 PM Arrive Prerana Night Care Center

4:35 PM Tour and Meet with Prerana Night Care Center staff

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Praveen Patkar |
| Kitty DiMartino | Preethi Patkar |
| Joe Mellott | Approx 20 Children – Ages 14 to 16 |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remeika, IO | |

5:30 PM DEPART Prerana Night Care Center en route Consul General residence
Drive time: 30 Minutes

6:00 PM Arrive Consul General residence

6:00 PM Executive time

7:30 PM Dinner with Culture Figures

9:30 PM Dinner concludes, DEPART Consul General en route hotel
Drive time: 35 Minutes

10:05 PM Arrive hotel

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 2010**

9:15 AM DEPART hotel en route New Consulate
Met in lobby by:
Drive time: 15 minutes

9:30 AM ARRIVE New Consulate Complex for tour
Note: wear closed-toe shoes because this is an active construction site

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier |
| Kitty DiMartino | Paul Folmsbee, Consul General |
| Joe Mellott | Robb Browning, Project Director |
| Corley Kenna | Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO |

10:15 AM DEPART New Consulate Complex en route India Institute of Technology (IIT)
Drive time: 45 minutes

11:00 AM ARRIVE India Institute of Technology (IIT)
Greeted by Director

11:05 AM IIT Student Meeting: Innovation and Science in Action

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Debasish Chowdhury, Dean |
| Kitty DiMartino | Shyam Asolekar, Professor |
| Joe Mellott | 10-15 Students |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remelka, IO | |

12:00 PM DEPART IIT en route Whistling Woods
Drive time: 30 Minutes

12:30 PM ARRIVE Whistling Woods, tour campus

1:00 PM Lunch with Director, Dean and Faculty of Whistling Woods – Board Room

| USG | Whistling Woods Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ravi Gupta, Senior Executive Director |
| Kitty DiMartino | Mehna Ghai-Puri, President |
| Joe Mellott | Sugash Ghai, Chief Managing Director |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | John Lee, Dean (US Citizen) |
| Christine Dal Bello, IO | |

2:00 PM Whistling Woods Student Presentation
Auditorium

3:00 PM DEPART Whistling Woods en route to Juhu
Drive time: 45 Minutes

3:45 PM Anil Kapoor
Control Officer: Shenoa Simpson
Location: Residence of Mr. Kapoor, Juhu

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Anil Kapoor |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | |
| Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO | |
| Shenoa Simpson, POL/ECON OFF | |

5:00 PM Meeting with Mr. Kapoor concludes

5:00 PM DEPART Juhu

5:15 PM ARRIVE Grand Hyatt Mumbai

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2010**

5:45 AM DEPART hotel en route airport
Drive time:

6:00 AM ARRIVE airport

8:30 AM WHEELS UP Mumbai en route Dhaka, Bangladesh
Jet Airways 9W-276

12:00 PM WHEELS DOWN Dhaka
Met by Control Officer, Harvey Sernovitz

12:15 PM DEPART airport en route Westin Hotel
Drive time: ____

#:## PM ARRIVE Westin

#:## PM OTR

#:## PM DEPART for the DCMR
Drive time:

3:30 PM Meeting with Ambassador Moriarty
Is this a one-on-one?
Location: DCMR

4:00 PM Meeting with Ambassador Moriarty concludes, start Country Team meeting
Location: DCMR

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ambassador Moriarty |
| Kitty DiMartino | DCM |
| Joe Mellott | P/E |
| Corley Kenna | PAO |
| | USAID |
| | IST |
| | MGT |

4:45 PM Country Team Briefing concludes

5:00 PM Tea with VIP Exchange Program Alumni: Fulbright, Humphrey, IVs
Location: DCMR

| USG | Exchange Alumni |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Corley Kenna | |
| DCM | |
| PAO | |
| | |

6:00 PM Tea with Exchange Program Alumni concludes, depart for dinner
Drive time:

#: ## No host dinner with DCM and PA Officers
#:## DEPART dinner en route Westin
Drive time:

#:## Arrive Westin

RON Main Gulshan Avenue, Plot-01, Road 45, Gulshan-2
Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh
(0)2 989 1988

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2010**

#:## DEPART hotel en route American Center
Met in lobby for:
Drive time:

8:25 AM ARRIVE American Center

8:30 AM American Center Welcome Meeting and Meeting with the PAS staff

| Travelling Party | Embassy Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ambassador Moriarty |
| Kitty DiMartino | Lauran Lovelace, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | # of PAS Staff? |
| Corley Kenna | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

10:00 AM Meeting with PAS staff concludes, Meeting with Bangladesh Youth Leadership Center Program Alumni

| USG | Bangladesh Alumni |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |

| | |
|---|---|
| | |

10:55 AM Meeting with Bangladesh Youth Leadership Center Program Alumni concludes

11:00 AM DEPART for Foreign Ministry
Drive time: 40 minutes

11:40 AM ARRIVE Foreign Ministry

11:45 AM Meeting with Foreign Minister Dr. Dipu Moni

| **USG** | **GOB** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Notetaker? | |
| | |

12:30 PM Meeting with Foreign Minister Dr. Dipu Moni concludes, DEPART for lunch
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE lunch with women business and civic leaders

1:00 PM Lunch with women business and civic leaders begins

| **Travelling Party** | **GOB** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| USAID Mission Director | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |

2:00 PM Lunch concludes, DEPART lunch venue en route Dhaka University
Drive time: 25 minutes

2:25 PM ARRIVE Dhaka University

- 2:30 PM Courtesy Call with Dhaka University Vice Chancellor

| **USG** | **Dhaka University** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |
| | |

- 2:45 PM Courtesy Call ends, walk to venue

- 2:50 PM ARRIVE, VC makes welcoming remarks

  ## of people expected

  OPEN PRESS?

- 2:55 PM U/S begins her remarks
- 3:05 PM Remarks end, Q&A begins
- 3:35 PM Q&A ends, Thank You remarks delivered by ___
- 3:40 PM Proceed to Senate Hall for media availability
- 3:43 PM Media availability begins, IO introduces U/S McHale to media
- 3:44 PM U/S McHale releases statement to press
- 3:48 PM U/S takes Q&A from journalists
- 3:55 PM Q&A concludes
- 3:58 PM Walk to Kennedy tree for photo-op with ___

4:00 PM Photo-op concludes, DEPART for Prime Minister's office
Drive time: 25 minutes

4:25 PM ARRIVE Office of the Prime Minister

4:30 PM Meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina (TBD)
Room Location TBD

| **USG** | **GOB** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Notetaker? | |

5:00 PM Meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina concludes

5:05 PM DEPART Office of the Prime Minister en route Chief of Mission Residence
Drive time: 10 minutes

5:15 PM ARRIVE CMR for Reception hosted by the Ambassador

5:20 PM Pull-aside with members of academic, artistic, media, government, business, civil society communities

6:30 PM Reception with Ambassador with members of academic, artistic, media, government, business, civil society communities
- Includes brief cultural performance by a USG-supported traditional music group

8:30 PM Reception concludes, depart for hotel

RON Main Gulshan Avenue, Plot-01, Road 45, Gulshan-2
Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh
(0)2 989 1988

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2010**

#:## Meet in hotel lobby for baggage call

#:## DEPART hotel for Madrassa
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE Madrassa for meeting with students from the Access Program

#:## Meeting with students from the Access Program and teachers from Embassy Dhaka's English Language Training Program

| **USG** | **Access Program and teachers from Embassy Dhaka's English Language Training Program** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| CAO Catherine Hallock (PD-coned ELP) | |
| | |

#:## DEPART Madrassa en route US Embassy
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE US Embassy for briefing with Asia Foundation

#:## Briefing with Asia Foundation on the USG-funded Leaders of the Influence Program

#:## Briefing with Asia Foundation concludes

#:## No host lunch at Embassy
#:## Out-brief with Amb. Moriarty

1:10 PM DEPART Embassy for Relief International (RI) Bangladesh Office

Drive time: 15 minutes

1:25 PM ARRIVE Relief International (RI)

1:30 PM Briefing by Relief International about Bangladesh programs, focusing on Global Connections and Exchange (GCE) and ongoing public/private partnerships

| **USG** | **Relief International** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |
| | |

2:15 PM Briefing by Relief International concludes, webchat with GCE participants across Bangladesh begins

3:00 PM Webchat concludes, DEPART for airport
Drive time: ___

#:## ARRIVE airport

#:## WHEELS UP Dhaka en route Washington, DC via Dubai

#:## WHEELS DOWN Dubai
Layover:

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2010**

WHEELS UP Dubai en route IAD

WHEELS DOWN IAD

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 9:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Jack lew is asking to do a budget call at 7pm. Does that work?

Ok calling now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 23 20:12:54 2009
Subject: Re: Jack lew is asking to do a budget call at 7pm. Does that work?

I could do at 9:15 or 9:30 if that's ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 18:45:26 2009
Subject: Jack lew is asking to do a budget call at 7pm. Does that work?

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

RELEASE IN PART B6

**SCHEDULE FOR THE VISIT OF**
**UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY & PUBLIC AFFAIRS**
**JUDITH A. McHALE**
**INDIA**
**JANUARY 28 – FEBRUARY 6, 2010**
**BANGLADESH**
**FEBRUARY 6 - FEBRUARY 9, 2010**

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 2010

9:56 PM — WHEELS UP Washington Dulles en route India via Frankfurt, Germany
United Flight #0932

## FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 2010

11:40 AM — WHEELS DOWN Frankfurt, Germany

1:30 PM — WHEELS UP Frankfurt, Germany en route New Delhi, India
United Airlines Flight #8906 Operated by Lufthansa

1:15 AM — WHEELS DOWN New Delhi, India
Met at baggage claim by PAO Michael Pelletier
Drive Time: 30 Minutes

1:30 AM — DEPART airport en route ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel

2:00 AM — ARRIVE hotel, check-in

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91) (11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO [redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO [redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS [redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I [redacted] B6

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 2010**

9:00 AM DEPART hotel en route Agra
Drive time: 5-6 hours

Innova - DL 1 Y 5508
Chauffeur: Mr. Sukhwinder Singh
[redacted] B6

2:00 PM ARRIVE Agra

2:10 PM ARRIVE Oberoi Hotel
Reservation under Judith McHale, Reservation Number 47697002

RON Oberoi Hotel
Taj East Gate Road
Agra – 282001
Telephone: +91 562 223 1515

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
C[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 31, 2010**

#:## DEPART Hotel Oberoi

#:## DEPART Agra en route New Delhi

#:## ARRIVE New Delhi

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 2010**

AM OTR

3:00 PM DEPART hotel en route American Center
Drive time: 25 minutes
Met in Lobby by Michael Pelletier

3:25 PM ARRIVE American Center

3:30 PM Meet Senior FSNs and Tour American Center

| Travelling Party | Embassy Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | Anne Seshadri, Center Director |
| Corley Kenna | |

4:30 PM DVC with Branch PAO Staff- Chennai, Hyderabad & Kolkata American Center

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| | Anne Seshadri, Center Director |
| Joe Mellott | 10 FSOs from New Delhi |
| Corley Kenna | PAO Kolkata, PAO Chennai, PAO Hyderabad |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Senior local staff from New Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, and Hyderabad |

5:35 PM DVC and meeting concludes

5:40 PM DEPART American Center en route Ministry of Human Resources Development
Drive time: 15 minutes

5:55 PM ARRIVE Ministry of Human Resources Development

6:00 PM Meeting with the Secretary for Higher Education, Mrs. Puri Das
Re: Education Dialogue

| **USG** | **GOI** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Mrs. Puri Das |
| Michael Pelletier, PAO | Jt. Secretary Amit Khare |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Elizabeth Thornhill, DPAO | |

6:45 PM Meeting at Ministry of Human Resources Development concludes, DEPART MHRD for PAO Residence
Drive time: 15 minutes

7:00 PM ARRIVE PAO Residence
10 Amrita Shergill Marg

7:15 PM Drinks with PAS - American Staff & PD Coned officerss hosted by PAO Michael Pelletier

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy and Consulate Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Michael O'Halloran | Deputy Chief of Mission Steven White (TBC) |
| Kitty DiMartino | PAO Michael Pelletier |
| Joe Mellott | 14 American PAS Staff |
| Corley Kenna | 4-6 PD Coned officers |

8:30 PM Drinks conclude, DEPART PAO Residence en route Maurya Sheraton
Drive time: 15 minutes

8:45 PM OTR

RON: ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2010**

8:15 AM DEPART hotel en route US Embassy
Met in lobby by: PAO, Michael Pelletier
Drive time: 10 minutes

8:25 AM ARRIVE US Embassy

8:30 AM Courtesy Call with Ambassador Tim Roemer
CPAO Michael Pelletier to accompany

9:00 AM Courtesy Call with Amb. Roemer concludes, start country team briefing
Location: Ambassador's Conference Room

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Deputy Chief of Mission Steven J. White |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | Country Team representatives |
| Corley Kenna | |

9:45 AM DEPART Embassy for Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Drive time: 10 minutes

9:55 AM ARRIVE Maurya Sheraton Hotel

10:30 AM DEPART Maurya Sheraton Hotel ert Ministry of Human Resources Development
**Bring evening wrap for USIEF dinner***
Drive Time: 20 minutes

10:50 AM ARRIVE Ministry of Human Resources Development - Shastri Bhawan

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

11:00 AM Meeting with Minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal
Control Officer – Elizabeth Thornhill, DPAO

11:45 AM DEPART Ministry of Human Resource Development for CPAO Residence
Drive time: 15 minutes

12:00 PM Arrive CPAO Residence – 10 Amrita Shergill Marg

12:00 PM Interview with Anil Padmanabhan, Deputy Managing Editor of Mint, on education and public diplomacy priorities

12:30 PM Luncheon with Media Executives begins

| **USG** | **Private Sector Participants** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arindam Sengupta, Executive Editor, Times of India |
| Kitty DiMartino | G. Krishnan, CEO, TV Today Network Ltd. |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | K.S. Sachidananda Murthy – Resident Editor, The Week |
| Joe Mellott | Raj Chengappa, Managing Editor, India Today |
| Elizabeth Fitzsimmons, IO | V.S. Chandrasekhar, Executive Editor, Press Trust of India (PTI) |
| Unni Mennon, Country Media Advisor | Tarun Basu, Editor-in-Chief, Indo-Asian News Service (IANS) |
| | Smita Prakash, Executive Editor, Asian News International (ANI) |
| | Sanjaya Baru, Editor, Business Standard |
| | Alok Mehta, Chief Editor, Naidunia (Hindi) |
| | Navin Suri, Editor, Milap (Urdu) |
| | Vijay Chopra, Editor-in-Chief, Hindustan Samachar Group |
| | Rahul Johri, Senior Vice President, Discovery Network |
| | TBC: Shekhar Gupta, Editor-in-Chief, The Indian Express |
| | TBC: Rajdeep Sardesai, Editor-in-Chief, IBN18 Network |
| | TBC: Sanjoy Narayan, Editor-in-Chief, The Hindustan Times |

2:30 PM Luncheon concludes, DEPART for Times of India
Drive time: 25 minutes

2:55 PM ARRIVE Times of India

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

3:00 PM Meeting with key players in Aman ki Asha initiative from Times of India

| USG | Times of India |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arindam Sengupta |
| Kitty DiMartino | Aman-ki-Asha Key Players |
| Michael Pelletier, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Torrey Goad, AIO | |
| Raja Bhattacharya, Press Advisor | |

4:00 PM Meeting concludes, DEPART for Planning Commission (TBC)
Drive time: 30

4:30 PM ARRIVE Planning Commission for meeting with Deputy Planning Commissioner Montek Aluwalia (TBC)
Control Officer – Peter Eisenhauer

5:15 PM DEPART Planning Commission for Fulbright House
Drive time: 15 Minutes
NOTE: Dress warmly

5:30 PM ARRIVE Fulbright House for USIEF Anniversary Program and Reception
120 of guests expected

5:50-6:00 PM MC Arshiya Sethi (Fulbright alumna) invites VIPs for lamp lighting

Presentation of floral bouquets to VIPs on the dais by USIEF staff

MC invites Adam Grotsky to the podium

6:00-6:45 PM Welcome by Mr. Adam J. Grotsky

Adam Grotsky will introduce Ambassador Roemer

Opening remarks by Mr. Timothy J. Roemer, US Ambassador to India

Ambassador Roemer will introduce Under Secretary McHale

Remarks by Ms. Judith A. McHale, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

MC will introduce Chief Guest

Keynote address by Chief Guest, Mr. S.M. Krishna, Hon'able Minister of External Affairs, Government of India

Adam Grotsky will conclude and thank Minister Krishna and other speakers and invite them to take a seat on the couches below

MC to introduce Sharon Lowen who delivers brief explanation on the piece she will perform

6:45-7:00 PM Cultural performance by Fulbright alumna Ms. Sharon Lowen

MC to offer "Vote of Thanks" and to invite guests for dinner on back lawn

VIP Guests and USIEF Board members will proceed to the stage for group photo

Dinner reception on the back lawn of the Fulbright House

9:30 PM DEPART Fulbright House en route Hotel

RON ITC Maurya Sheraton Hotel
Diplomatic Enclave
Sadar Patel Marg
New Delhi, New Delhi 110 021
Phone: (91)(11) 26112233

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Elizabeth Thornhill, D/PAO
[redacted] B6

Katrina Hourani, OMS
[redacted] B6

Mridual Issar, RSO-FSN-I
[redacted] B6

American Embassy Switchboard
011-91-(11) 2419-8000

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2009**

7:00 AM DEPART hotel en route airport
Met in lobby by CPAO, Michael Pelletier
Drive time: 30 minutes

7:30 AM ARRIVE Indira Gandhi Domestic Terminal 1A

9:00 AM WHEELS UP New Delhi en route Mumbai
Indian Airlines IC-167

11:05 AM WHEELS DOWN Mumbai

11:10 AM Greeted by Consul General Paul Folmsbee and A/PAO Lynne Gadkowski

11:15 AM DEPART airport en route Grand Hyatt
Drive time: 15 minutes

12:00 PM No-host lunch and briefing with by Consul General Paul Folmsbee
Location: China House Restaurant, Grand Hyatt

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy and Consulate Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Consul General Paul Folmsbee |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, CPAO |
| Joe Mellott | Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO |
| Corley Kenna | |

1:15 PM Lunch concludes, DEPART hotel en route Access Center
Drive time: 40 Minutes

1:55 PM ARRIVE Access Center

2:00 PM Hand out Certificates and meet with Access students
OPEN PRESS

| **USG** | **Mumbai and Access Center Participants** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Nahma Kazi, Principal |
| Kitty DiMartino | Meena Shridharan, Teacher |
| Joe Mellott | Frida Lambay, Pratham Founder |
| Corley Kenna | Shubhangi Desai, Program Coordinator |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | President of Anjuman-I-Islam Trust (Name to be provided) |
| Lynne Gadkowski | 25 Access Students |

3:30 PM DEPART Access Center for American Center
Drive time: 30 minutes

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

4:00 PM ARRIVE American Center

4:05 PM Tour American Center and Meet with PAS Mumbai staff

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy and Consulate Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | PAO Lynne Gadkowski |
| Corley Kenna | |

5:05 PM Participate in DVC with Mumbai and Lahore Seeds of Peace

| **USG** | **Mumbai and Lahore Seeds of Peace Participants** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Feruzan Mehta, India Coordinator, Seeds of Peace |
| Kitty DiMartino | 20 Indian alumni |
| Joe Mellott | 15 Pakistani alumni (from Lahore via DVC) |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | |

6:00 PM DEPART American Center en route hotel

7:00 PM ARRIVE Grand Hyatt

7:15 PM OTR

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2010**

8:20 AM Meet Lynne Gadkowski in lobby, proceed to Celini Restaurant

8:30 AM Business in India Briefing with Fitch Ratings Director, Amit Tandon
Location: Celini Restaurant

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Amit Tandon, Fitch Ratings Director |
| Kitty DiMartino | Tushar Poddar, Chief Economist of Goldman Sachs |
| Joe Mellott | Shubada Rao, Economist |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | Sanjay Sachdev, Country Manager of Shinsei Bank |
| Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO will chair discussion | Alok Gupta, Managing Director of Cabor Corp |

9:30 AM Business in India Briefing with Fitch Ratings Director concludes

9:40 AM Discussion with Zubin Driver, Network 18 Creative Director and CEO of Cell 18
Location in Hyatt – Room TBD

10:25 AM Proceed to tea event

10:30 AM Tea with Media Executives
Grand Hyatt – Room TBD

| USG | Media Executives |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Arnab Goswami, Senior Vice President & Editor-in-Chief of Times Now TV |
| Kitty DiMartino | Nitin Vaidya, COO of ZEE & Business Head-Zee TV |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | Prashant Panday, Executive Director & CEO of Radio Mirchi |
| Joe Mellott | Pratap G. Pawar, Managing Director and Managing Editor of Sakal Papers Ltd. |
| Robyn Remeika, IO | Raghavan Jagannathan, Executive Director of Daily News Analysis (DNA) |
| | Shailja Kejriwal, Executive Vice President for Content, NDTV Imagine |
| | Tarun Katiyal, CEO, Big FM |
| | Uday Shankar, CEO Star India (TBC) |

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

11:45 AM Tea with media executives concludes, DEPART hotel en route Taj Palace Hotel
Drive time: 45 minutes

12:30 PM ARRIVE Taj Palace Hotel

12:35 PM Lunch with American and Indian Fulbrighters and Exchange Alumni, hosted by Mumbai PAO

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remelka | |
| Sucharita Narayanan, USIEF Regional Director | |

2:30 PM DEPART Restaurant

2:35 PM Stop by Memorial to 26-11 Victims
Taj Lobby

2:35 PM DEPART Taj Palace Hotel

2:40 PM Cross street visit Gateway of India – Personal Visit

2:50 PM DEPART Taj Palace Hotel en route Consulate
Drive time: 40 Minutes

3:30 PM ARRIVE Consulate

3:30 PM Town Hall meeting with Consulate staff

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Consul General Paul Folmsbee |
| Kitty DiMartino | Michael Pelletier, CPAO |
| Joe Mellott | 69 American officers |
| Corley Kenna | 241 Locally Engaged Staff |

4:00 PM DEPART Consulate en route Prerana Night Care Center
Drive time: 30 Minutes

4:30 PM Arrive Prerana Night Care Center

4:35 PM Tour and Meet with Prerana Night Care Center staff

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Praveen Patkar |

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

| | |
|---|---|
| Kitty DiMartino | Preethi Patkar |
| Joe Mellott | Approx 20 Children – Ages 14 to 16 |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remeika, IO | |

5:30 PM DEPART Prerana Night Care Center en route Consul General residence
Drive time: 30 Minutes

6:00 PM Arrive Consul General residence

6:00 PM Executive time

7:30 PM Dinner with Culture Figures

9:30 PM Dinner concludes, DEPART Consul General en route hotel
Drive time: 35 Minutes

10:05 PM Arrive hotel

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 2010**

9:15 AM DEPART hotel en route New Consulate
Met in lobby by:
Drive time: 15 minutes

9:30 AM ARRIVE New Consulate Complex for tour

Note: wear closed-toe shoes because this is an active construction site

| Travelling Party | Embassy and Consulate Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Michael Pelletier |
| Kitty DiMartino | Paul Folmsbee, Consul General |
| Joe Mellott | Robb Browning, Project Director |
| Corley Kenna | Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO |

10:15 AM DEPART New Consulate Complex en route India Institute of Technology (IIT)
Drive time: 45 minutes

11:00 AM ARRIVE India Institute of Technology (IIT)
Greeted by Director

11:05 AM IIT Student Meeting: Innovation and Science in Action

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Debasish Chowdhury, Dean |
| Kitty DiMartino | Shyam Asolekar, Professor |
| Joe Mellott | 10-15 Students |
| Michael Pelletier | |
| Robyn Remeika, IO | |

12:00 PM DEPART IIT en route Whistling Woods
Drive time: 30 Minutes

12:30 PM ARRIVE Whistling Woods, tour campus

1:00 PM Lunch with Director, Dean and Faculty of Whistling Woods – Board Room

| USG | Whistling Woods Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ravi Gupta, Senior Executive Director |
| Kitty DiMartino | Mehna Ghai-Puri, President |
| Joe Mellott | Sugash Ghai, Chief Managing Director |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | John Lee, Dean (US Citizen) |
| Christine Dal Bello, IO | |

2:00 PM Whistling Woods Student Presentation
Auditorium

3:00 PM DEPART Whistling Woods en route to Juhu
Drive time: 45 Minutes

3:45 PM One-on-One with Bollywood Actor Anil Kapoor
Control Officer: Shenoa Simpson
Location: Residence of Mr. Kapoor, Juhu

| USG | Other Participants |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Anil Kapoor |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Michael Pelletier, CPAO | |
| Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO | |
| Shenoa Simpson, POL/ECON OFF | |

5:00 PM Meeting with Mr. Kapoor concludes

5:00 PM DEPART Juhu

5:15 PM ARRIVE Grand Hyatt Mumbai

RON Grand Hyatt Mumbai
Off Western Express Highway, Santacruz (East),
Mumbai, India 400 055
Tel: +91 22 6676 1234 Fax: +91 22 6676 1235

Michael Pelletier, CPAO
[redacted] B6

Lynne Gadkowski, A/PAO - Mumbai
[redacted] B6

Christine Dal Bello, IO
[redacted] B6

Robyn Remeika
[redacted] B6

American Consulate
011-91-(22)-2363-3611

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2010**

5:45 AM DEPART hotel en route airport
Drive time:

6:00 AM ARRIVE airport

8:30 AM WHEELS UP Mumbai en route Dhaka, Bangladesh
Jet Airways 9W-276

12:00 PM WHEELS DOWN Dhaka

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

Met by Control Officer, Harvey Sernovitz

12:15 PM DEPART airport en route Westin Hotel
Drive time: ____

#:## PM ARRIVE Westin

#:## PM OTR

#:## PM DEPART for the DCMR
Drive time:

3:30 PM Meeting with Ambassador Moriarty
Is this a one-on-one?
Location: DCMR

4:00 PM Meeting with Ambassador Moriarty concludes, start Country Team meeting
Location: DCMR

| **Travelling Party** | **Embassy Staff** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ambassador Moriarty |
| Kitty DiMartino | DCM |
| Joe Mellott | P/E |
| Corley Kenna | PAO |
| | USAID |
| | IST |
| | MGT |

4:45 PM Country Team Briefing concludes

5:00 PM Tea with VIP Exchange Program Alumni: Fulbright, Humphrey, IVs
Location: DCMR

| **USG** | **Exchange Alumni** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Corley Kenna | |
| DCM | |
| PAO | |
| | |

6:00 PM Tea with Exchange Program Alumni concludes, depart for dinner
Drive time:

#: ## No host dinner with DCM and PA Officers
#:## DEPART dinner en route Westin
Drive time:

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

#:## Arrive Westin

RON Main Gulshan Avenue, Plot-01, Road 45, Gulshan-2
Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh
(0)2 989 1988

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2010**

#:## DEPART hotel en route American Center
Met in lobby for:
Drive time:

8:25 AM ARRIVE American Center

8:30 AM American Center Welcome Meeting and Meeting with the PAS staff

| Travelling Party | Embassy Staff |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | Ambassador Moriarty |
| Kitty DiMartino | Lauran Lovelace, PAO |
| Joe Mellott | # of PAS Staff? |
| Corley Kenna | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

10:00 AM Meeting with PAS staff concludes, Meeting with Bangladesh Youth Leadership Center Program Alumni

| USG | Bangladesh Alumni |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |
| | |

10:55 AM Meeting with Bangladesh Youth Leadership Center Program Alumni concludes

11:00 AM DEPART for Foreign Ministry
Drive time: 40 minutes

11:40 AM ARRIVE Foreign Ministry

11:45 AM Meeting with Foreign Minister Dr. Dipu Moni

| USG | GOB |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Notetaker? | |
| | |

12:30 PM Meeting with Foreign Minister Dr. Dipu Moni concludes, DEPART for lunch
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE lunch with women business and civic leaders

1:00 PM Lunch with women business and civic leaders begins

| **Travelling Party** | **GOB** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| USAID Mission Director | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |

2:00 PM Lunch concludes, DEPART lunch venue en route Dhaka University
Drive time: 25 minutes

2:25 PM ARRIVE Dhaka University

- 2:30 PM Courtesy Call with Dhaka University Vice Chancellor

| **USG** | **Dhaka University** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |
| | |

- 2:45 PM Courtesy Call ends, walk to venue

- 2:50 PM ARRIVE, VC makes welcoming remarks
## of people expected
OPEN PRESS?

- 2:55 PM U/S begins her remarks

- 3:05 PM Remarks end, Q&A begins
- 3:35 PM Q&A ends, Thank You remarks delivered by ___
- 3:40 PM Proceed to Senate Hall for media availability
- 3:43 PM Media availability begins, IO introduces U/S McHale to media
- 3:44 PM U/S McHale releases statement to press
- 3:48 PM U/S takes Q&A from journalists
- 3:55 PM Q&A concludes
- 3:58 PM Walk to Kennedy tree for photo-op with ___

4:00 PM Photo-op concludes, DEPART for Prime Minister's office
Drive time: 25 minutes

4:25 PM ARRIVE Office of the Prime Minister

4:30 PM Meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina (TBD)
Room Location TBD

| **USG** | **GOB** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| Notetaker? | |

5:00 PM Meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina concludes

5:05 PM DEPART Office of the Prime Minister en route Chief of Mission Residence
Drive time: 10 minutes

5:15 PM ARRIVE CMR for Reception hosted by the Ambassador

5:20 PM Pull-aside with members of academic, artistic, media, government, business, civil society communities

6:30 PM Reception with Ambassador with members of academic, artistic, media, government, business, civil society communities
- Includes brief cultural performance by a USG-supported traditional music group

8:30 PM Reception concludes, depart for hotel

RON Main Gulshan Avenue, Plot-01, Road 45, Gulshan-2
Dhaka 1212, Bangladesh
(0)2 989 1988

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2010**

#:## Meet in hotel lobby for baggage call

#:## DEPART hotel for Madrassa
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE Madrassa for meeting with students from the Access Program

#:## Meeting with students from the Access Program and teachers from Embassy Dhaka's English Language Training Program

| **USG** | **Access Program and teachers from Embassy Dhaka's English Language Training Program** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| CAO Catherine Hallock (PD-coned ELP) | |
| | |

#:## DEPART Madrassa en route US Embassy
Drive time:

#:## ARRIVE US Embassy for briefing with Asia Foundation

#:## Briefing with Asia Foundation on the USG-funded Leaders of the Influence Program

01-28-2010 as of 6:23 PM EST

#:## Briefing with Asia Foundation concludes

#:## No host lunch at Embassy
#:## Out-brief with Amb. Moriarty

1:10 PM DEPART Embassy for Relief International (RI) Bangladesh Office
Drive time: 15 minutes

1:25 PM ARRIVE Relief International (RI)

1:30 PM Briefing by Relief International about Bangladesh programs, focusing on Global Connections and Exchange (GCE) and ongoing public/private partnerships

| **USG** | **Relief International** |
|---|---|
| U/S Judith McHale | |
| Ambassador Moriarty | |
| Kitty DiMartino | |
| Lauran Lovelace, PAO | |
| Joe Mellott | |
| | |
| | |

2:15 PM Briefing by Relief International concludes, webchat with GCE participants across Bangladesh begins

3:00 PM Webchat concludes, DEPART for airport
Drive time: ___

#:## ARRIVE airport

#:## WHEELS UP Dhaka en route Washington, DC via Dubai

#:## WHEELS DOWN Dubai
Layover:

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2010**

WHEELS UP Dubai en route IAD

WHEELS DOWN IAD

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Talking Points on Budget

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Woodward

You're set to go to talk to Shaun at 11. Those we spoke with today confirm that a deal is close and likely. Low level work happening today; Robinson consulting w DUP tomorrow am.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 11:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: NSS invites

Thank you for your message. I am currently traveling and will be out of the office until Thursday 2/11/10.

If you need assistance with a scheduling matter please reach out to my Scheduler, Eric Woodard, at 202-647-1522.

For all other issues needing immediate attention please contact my Chief-of-Staff, Simon Limage, at 202-647-1749.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 11:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Declan

Interesting observations from Declan:

Foster was a critical component in the talks apparently. However there is already speculation that PR may use this moment to try to come back early and resume position of FM given that the other investigations have been delayed pending the outcome of the police investigation. He went to London with his family yesterday to visit his wife, who is in a clinic there apparently.

Empey still not on board apparently so the "community confidence" round may be used to put pressure on him to do so.

Our intervention on Thursday night/Friday morning was seen as a very important moment/catalyst. That, coupled with the jobs losses that day and the fact that the radio and tv phone-in lines and newspapers were full of commentary supporting what we said, seems to have made people realize, that they couldn't lose the moment.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: My depatrture

Sorry if sending twice

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** Carpenter, Margaret V.W.; 'cheryl.mills
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: My depatrture

B6

You have been so instrumental in all that the Secretary has been able to accomplish in creating her team that I cannot imagine we will live up to the std you have set - not to mention how enormously we will miss you.

Let's talk after the meeting and welcome any reommendations for who could begin to try to do what you do.

Best

Cdm

---

**From**: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills
**Sent**: Sat Jan 30 16:54:24 2010
**Subject**: My depatrture

Cheryl,

I've come to a point where I feel that I have to set a firm date for my departure from the State Department

I would like to wrap up everything in a responsible way at State and USAID, and I think I can do it by the end of February. I hope you and I can discuss this after the meeting that Cynthia and I have with you at 5:00 on Monday, but let me know if there's a better time early next week.

Thanks,
Margaret

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:29 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Attachments:** 122309 Kouchner Call Sheet.doc

Oscar, this is call sheet for FM Kouchner
Call is NOT confirmed yet but might be tomorrow morning
I am also faxing this

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 12:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Travel Schedule
**Attachments:** CANDIDATES WEEKEND - NEAR FINAL SCHEUDLE_012510.doc

Here was CVC's schedule:

B6

Page Denied

Page Denied

Page Denied

Page Denied

RELEASE IN PART
B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# The Secretary's Call Sheet for
# French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner
# TBD

**Purpose of Call:** In your December 12 call with Foreign Minister Kouchner, you agreed to speak again following the P5+1 political directors' discussion.

B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 12:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Declan

Got readout from ops -- will be prepared.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jan 31 12:13:00 2010
Subject: Re: Declan

Have you seen the memcon of my T/C w Shaun? Pls review so we can be prepared tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 11:56:43 2010
Subject: Declan

Interesting observations from Declan:

Foster was a critical component in the talks apparently. However there is already speculation that PR may use this moment to try to come back early and resume position of FM given that the other investigations have been delayed pending the outcome of the police investigation. He went to London with his family yesterday to visit his wife, who is in a clinic there apparently.

Empey still not on board apparently so the "community confidence" round may be used to put pressure on him to do so.

Our intervention on Thursday night/Friday morning was seen as a very important moment/catalyst. That, coupled with the jobs losses that day and the fact that the radio and tv phone-in lines and newspapers were full of commentary supporting what we said, seems to have made people realize, that they couldn't lose the moment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:30 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Attachments:** 121709 S-Okada call sheet 12-17-09 (4).doc

Oscar, this is final call sheet for FM Okada
Call is confirmed for 8:30am.
Also faxing

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 2:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Northern Ireland

Brown has asked to speak with you at 8 am tomorrow morning. B5

Also, I just spoke with Declan about the conference. There are challenges with the idea of a conference that I'd like to discuss with you in the morning. B5

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5,
B6

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/17/2019

# The Secretary's Call Sheet for
# Japanese Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada [KAHT-soo-yah oh-KAH-dah]
# TBD

**Purpose of Call:**

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

B5

**Background:**

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Call Notes:

P:\J\Memos\S\2009 12 17 Okada Call Sheet.doc

Drafted: EAP/J Christopher Green 647- 2914, Cell: [redacted] B6

Approved: EAP Kurt M. Campbell

Cleared:

| | |
|---|---|
| EAP/FO: Joseph Donovan | (ok) |
| EAP/J: Kevin Maher | (ok) |
| NSC: Danny Russel | (ok) |
| Emb: Ambassador Roos | (ok) |
| D (S): Pamela Park | (ok) |
| P: Laura Rosenberger | (ok) |
| S/P: James Green | (info) |

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 2:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Draft of Prayer Breakfast

I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback welcome, of course.

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Pfizer case (cvsg)

FYI below. Harold is proposing to send substantive views on the Pfizer case

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Jan 27 21:44:36 2010
Subject: Pfizer case (cvsg)

B5

B5

Please let us know if we can provide any further information.

Best,

Harold
Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office

B6

202 647 7096 fax

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Talking Points on Budget

B6

got them - spoke with Jack right b/f he you all spoke last night

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:25 PM
To: 'cheryl.mills
Subject: Fw: Talking Points on Budget

Here are Jack's tps if you decide to call Denis.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 23 22:22:56 2009
Subject: Talking Points on Budget

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 3:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: To rebuild Haiti, start with its young people

B5

To rebuild Haiti, start with its young people A 700,000-strong national civic service corps would harness untapped labor rapidly and instill national pride and confidence.
By Robert Muggah and Robert Maguire
January 31, 2010

Haiti will need big ideas to recover and rebuild in the aftermath of the devastating magnitude 7.0 earthquake this month. The reported death toll has topped 150,000, and the reconstruction needs are incalculable. How about starting with a 700,000-strong national civic service corps made up of Haitian youth? There are many reasons why such an entity makes a lot of sense.

Haiti is a young country. An estimated 70% of the population is under 30; the 15-to-29 segment alone makes up 50% of the population.
Demographers have long cautioned how excessively youthful populations can potentially exacerbate underdevelopment and accentuate political instability.

Although Haiti registers among the lowest levels of education in the Western Hemisphere, Haitian youth are a wellspring of creativity, talent and potential. You don't need to be a community-development specialist to know that they are stifled by a lack of meaningful opportunities.

Fortunately, Haiti has an enabling environment to set up a civic service corps. Article 52 of the Haitian Constitution commits citizens to national service, though it has never been activated. What is more, there are many Haitian and international organizations mobilized and ready to help the government get this going.

A civic service corps would get the young and able out of the tent cities in and around Port-au-Prince and into work. They could start with the once-iconic center of the capital, but also could begin planting trees, working the fields and providing services in Haiti's countryside.
At a minimum, this would reverse generations of unfair stigmatizing of the youth there.

This plan would also harness untapped labor rapidly. Before the Jan. 12 earthquake, 50% of youth in their 20s were out of work. Putting them in service toward rebuilding the capital and outlying areas would be a first step to restoring their and their country's pride and dignity.

A civic service corps would also multiply international efforts to promote recovery after the world moves on to the next crisis. Hundreds of humanitarian agencies, donor governments and nongovernmental organizations are facing monumental challenges in coordinating relief assistance. Although everyone involved is committed to rapid disbursement, transaction costs are monumental. A civic service corps would allow for a more rapid form of transferring capital.

Direct support to such a corps would inject serious liquidity into the Haitian economy and stimulate recovery from the bottom up. Rather than food-for-work schemes, international best practice recommends proposals that promote direct monetary transfers to beneficiaries. Haitian youth and their families have urgent needs and don't need paternalistic programs that curb their choices. With proper oversight and financial safeguards, a civic service corps would circumvent unnecessary administrative costs.

Further, a civic service corps would restore national pride and confidence in Haitian public institutions. During past decades, the state provided relatively few services to Haitians, particularly outside the capital. In some cases, state entities were downright predatory. As a result, nonstate providers, including gangs and shady middlemen, filled the gap. A civic service corps -- wearing the Haitian colors and acting as first responders or organizations demonstrating the government's presence on the ground -- would show that the government is serious about supporting citizens. It would be a symbolic first step toward renewing the social contract with the people.

A civic service corps also makes sense for long-term risk and emergency planning. Haiti is situated in the path of hurricanes and on a fault line, and can expect more disasters. Training 700,000 young people -- especially young women -- in the basics of first aid, emergency response, community policing and other skills would greatly mitigate the consequences of future calamities. With disciplined training and management, the corps could provide more intensive training in specialized areas -- engineering, telecommunications and public health.

An initial step to getting Haiti's youth to work could include the preparation of a road map for future meetings on Haiti, including the U.N. donor conference scheduled for March. Any final plan would need to draw on the invaluable experiences of ongoing efforts to mobilize youth in Haiti. These include the work of the Brazilian nongovernmental organization Viva Rio and its supporters. Before the earthquake, Viva Rio and Brazilian peacekeepers had recruited and trained hundreds of Haitian youth, including former gang members, to provide relief services in Haiti's slums. This program could be reactivated and scaled up quickly.

A civic service corps could draw on the lessons from such groups to target and recruit youths for, say, up to two years. The Haitian government would, of course, need to be the one to manage the undertaking, with direct oversight from the president's office and the Interior Ministry.

And there are many countries that could provide advice and support.
Nongovernmental groups and private donors could also play a key role in mobilizing support and transferring essential skills.

Haiti's youth are the future of the nation, and they are central to Haiti's recovery. A civic service corps is a large-scale way to quickly mobilize them to act as catalyst for long-term, progressive changes.

Robert Muggah, based at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, is a principal of the SecDev Group and is currently advising multilateral and bilateral organizations on Haiti's recovery. Robert Maguire is on the faculty of Trinity Washington University and chairs the Haiti Working Group of the United States Institute of Peace in Washington.

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-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 10:38 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; [redacted]
Subject: To rebuild Haiti, start with its young people

B6

This story was sent to you by: Bob Maguire

Here's my LA Times civic service op-ed. I am testifying in the Senate on Thursday.

---

To rebuild Haiti, start with its young people

---

A 700,000-strong national civic service corps would harness untapped labor rapidly and instill national pride and confidence.

By Robert Muggah and Robert Maguire

January 31 2010

Haiti will need big ideas to recover and rebuild in the aftermath of the devastating magnitude 7.0 earthquake this month. The reported death toll has topped 150,000, and the reconstruction needs are incalculable. How about starting with a 700,000-strong national civic service corps made up of Haitian youth? There are many reasons why such an entity makes a lot of sense.

The complete article can be viewed at:
http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-maguire31-2010jan31
,0,461198.story

Visit latimes.com at http://www.latimes.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:44 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add Billie Jean King and find out from Maura exactly what she is doing for ECA and wants to do. Tell Maura we should have an event for all of our cultural and sports envoys to acknowledge and thank them.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Bjk has also been in very close touch with nina bishop, who does great work in the sports united office (under ECA). Ill make sure she and maura also connect.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add Billie Jean King and find out from Maura exactly what she is doing for ECA and wants to do. Tell Maura we should have an event for all of our cultural and sports envoys to acknowledge and thank them.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Limage, Simon G
**Subject:** Re: NSS invites

I just landed in London and will work on it with Gary Samore first thing Monday and will get back to you asap Ellen.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jan 31 11:08:28 2010
Subject: NSS invites

B5

I'm very happy to discuss. Can we get a decision made?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 5:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

Sure. It should have been sent three hours ago. Will figure out what happened.

On Jan 31, 2010, at 5:13 PM, H wrote:

> I was out but upon return, did not find a faxed speech. Can you track
> down?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine
> To: H
> Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
> Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
> Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast
>
> I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You
> should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback
> welcome, of course.
>
>

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 8:45 local time

---

**From:** Fogarty, Daniel J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:13 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J; Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 8:45 local time

Colleagues:

The latest update is listed below.

Thanks,

Dan

**From:** Macris, Gregory P
**To:** SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants; Bernier-Toth, Michelle; CA-OCS-Duty-Principals; Kelly, Ian C; Kelly, Ian C (PACE)
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO-Only; SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Dec 24 06:02:37 2009
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 8:45 local time

Colleagues – for your situational awareness, Emb Brasilia reports the Goldmans could be ERT to the USA in as little as one hour. Details below.

Gregory Macris, Senior Watch Officer

---

**From:** Kubiske, Lisa
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 5:56 AM
**To:** Macris, Gregory P
**Cc:** Damour, Marie C; Kelly, Craig A
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 8:15 local time

Back to you as soon as I know. Maybe less than 1 hour from now for the departure from Consulate to the airport. Some time (2 hrs??) after that for wheels up?

Plane is being prepped now.

Per consulate:

[redacted] B6

There are transfer papers to sign.

[redacted] (after the legal part).

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

If Huma is with you, she has an electronic copy and apparently was going to print it for you rather than use a faxed version. FYI: It is not in speech font yet -- I just wanted you to see where this is going, but we can send one with bigger spacing and bigger type too in case you want to write your own thoughts on it.

On Jan 31, 2010, at 5:13 PM, H wrote:

> I was out but upon return, did not find a faxed speech. Can you track
> down?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine
> To: H
> Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
> Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
> Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast
>
> I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You
> should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback
> welcome, of course.
>
>

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: UNICEF chief Veneman won't seek second term

---

**From:** Polley, Mary E
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 7:57 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-IO
**Cc:** Banks, Dana
**Subject:** UNICEF chief Veneman won't seek second term

UNITED NATIONS - (AP) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon says UNICEF chief Ann Veneman will not seek a second term. Ban expressed "great regret" Veneman was stepping down and praised her "immense dedication ... and determination to improve children's health, education and well-being." Before being appointed to head UNICEF in 2005, Veneman was the first female U.S. secretary of agriculture in the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush. Her term ends April 30, 2010. In a letter to friends and colleagues, Veneman said she was stepping down with "a heavy heart," but gave no reason for her decision.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 6:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

Thx

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 31, 2010, at 5:45 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> I now have it. Thx
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Muscatine Lissa
> To: H
> Sent: Sun Jan 31 17:20:16 2010 B6
> Subject: Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast
>
> If Huma is with you, she has an electronic copy and apparently was
> going to print it for you rather than use a faxed version. FYI: It is
> not in speech font yet -- I just wanted you to see where this is
> going, but we can send one with bigger spacing and bigger type too in
> case you want to write your own thoughts on it.
>
> On Jan 31, 2010, at 5:13 PM, H wrote:
>
>> I was out but upon return, did not find a faxed speech. Can you
>> track down?
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine
>> To: H
>> Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
>> Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
>> Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast
>>
>> I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua.
>> You
>> should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback
>> welcome, of course.
>>
>>
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: One word

Kris balderston urging you to call bloomberg. We will have time tomorrow if you want to do it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Jan 31 18:19:10 2010
Subject: Re: One word

Thnx. We are still $10M short and have less than 90 days. We'll make it but we have to go full speed ahead.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 31 17:34:30 2010
Subject: Re: One word

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:07:50 2010
Subject: One word

Bloomberg if you can nudge.

I am in Shanghai.

Thnx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Gordon, Philip H <GordonPH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:22 PM
**To:** H; Tauscher, Ellen O
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: NSS invites

Phil

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 11:08 AM
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: NSS invites

B5

I'm very happy to discuss. Can we get a decision made?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

**Importance:** High

Fyi - we should do handwritten notes to them

---

**From:** Jacobs, Janice L
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Thu Dec 24 08:20:38 2009
**Subject:** FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I thought I would share this heartfelt message from Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares, the head of Brazil's Central Authority, the office responsible for Hague Convention abduction cases. You will see that in spite of our efforts to protect the son, the Brazilian family chose to make a spectacle outside the Consulate this morning by parading Sean through a crowd. Ms. Lamego recently visited the U.S. where she met with members of Congress and others to explain all that the Brazilian Central Authority was doing to reunite Sean and his father under the Hague Convention. The delays we saw in this case were largely the result of a wealthy, well connected family able to influence court decisions.

We are all relieved and thrilled to see this long overdue but very happy ending. I should also highlight the amazing work done by US Mission Brazil. The consular staff, Charge, Acting DCM (Marie Damour, the Consul General in Brasilia), LegATT, RSO, and a host of others all played a role in this successful return. My OCS DAS, Michele Bond, and her dedicated team also played a big role in communicating with David, his lawyers, Congress, and the press. We had Members of Congress, former Assistant Secretaries and US Ambassadors all pitching in. While there were disagreements at times over tactics, we all agreed that we were working towards the same goal: the safe return of Sean.

We particularly appreciate the strong support from the Secretary. Many people will try to take credit for today's happy reunion but it was the Secretary's continued concern and interest in this case that made the difference. We could not have provided a better gift to David Goldman during this season of giving. Janice

---

**From:** Bond, Michele T
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 7:56 AM
**To:** Jacobs, Janice L
**Subject:** FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
**Importance:** High

Here is the message from Patricia Lamego. Heartfelt.

B6

---

**From:** Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:56 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; Cardiel, Daisy; Damour, Marie C; Weinz, Joanna; Mazin, Tanya; 'peter.quilter@mail.house.gov'; 'janice.kaguyutan@mail.house.gov'; 'Noonan, Mary McDermott'; Hickey, Mary E; 'Ricardo Zamariola Junior'

**Cc:** Lalisa Froeder Dittrich; Stella Freitas Chamarelli; Juliana Paes De Castro; Laila Kesya Tavares De Lima
**Subject:** END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
**Importance:** High

Dear All,

The Goldman case finally came to an end, and despite the efforts of all involved the hand over of the child to the US Consulate in Rio was transformed into a deplorable display of the child walking in the streets with the maternal family, being exposed to the media and to the public that surrounded the consulate.

I´m sorry this had to happen but it seems that Mr. Sergio Tostes, the maternal family´s attorney, did not feel at all embarrased to use and expose the child, who was probably under severe stress, in order to gather support for his position. This most despicable man is not accepting the fact that, despite his life long relationships with influential authorities in Brazil, he was unable to win the case and Sean is finally being reunited with his only real father.

I just hope that David and the Goldman family find enough time to recover their lives and their relationship with Sean. They need time more than anything else and now it is up to the US government to guarantee that David Goldman will not have to face the maternal family once again in the US courts where, according to Mr. Tostes last declaration to the Brazilian press, he will "fight to defend the child".

Please allow David Goldman to live in peace with his son and have the life that he deserves after fighting so much for so many years.

In my name and in the name of all the staff of the Brazilian Central Authority I wish David, Sean, and their family all the best and a most happy life once they are finally back in the United States.

And to all of you who worked so much in support of this case, our deepest gratitude. We wish you all a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.

Best regards,

Patricia Lamego T. Soares
*Coordinator*
*Autoridade Central Administrativa Federal*
*Secretaria Especial dos Direitos Humanos - PR*
*Ministério da Justiça, Ed. Sede, Sala 212*
*Cep. 70064-900 Brasília -DF*
*Tel: (61) 2025-3481 / Fax: (61) 2025-3261*
*www.presidencia .gov.br/sedh*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: WHEELS UP on GOLDMAN

Assume you are getting these updates as well.

---

**From:** Kelly, Craig A
**To:** Valenzuela, Arturo A; [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Hormats, Robert D; McMullen, Christopher J
**Sent:** Thu Dec 24 08:53:55 2009
**Subject:** Fw: WHEELS UP on GOLDMAN

B6

It's 8 hours 45 minutes to Orlando.

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted]; Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'[redacted]; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S; White, Thomas J; Popp, William W; Meron, David M; Codispoti, Aaron M; Bischoff, James L
**Sent:** Thu Dec 24 08:50:54 2009
**Subject:** WHEELS UP on GOLDMAN

WHEELS UP for the Goldman plane.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:56 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted]Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S; White, Thomas J; Popp, William W; Meron, David M; Codispoti, Aaron M; Bischoff, James L
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 10:00 local time
**Importance:** High

Sean and David Goldman have left the consulate for the airport. Wheels up likely in one hour or less.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:29 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E B6
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S; White, Thomas J; Popp, William W; Meron, David M; Codispoti, Aaron M; Bischoff, James L
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - 12/24/2009 update as of 8:15 local time

Sean has not yet arrived at the consulate.

David Goldman, Rep Smith, David's attorneys and Mission personnel all safe at Consulate. Still set for 9am handover. Consulate will allow Sergio Tostes, attorney for the Brazilian family, into the building along with Sean and his grandmother, Silvana. We have arranged for the party to enter directly into the building via the garage. The grandmother announced to the press her intention to "park 3 blocks away, as the consulate would not allow her in" but press are quoting the Embassy spokesperson Orna Blum flatly contradicting that statement, emphasizing that for Sean's emotional well-being, and in sensitivity to Silvana and David, the reunion be safe, private, and calm.

Court officials and the attorney for the GOB, Daniel Levy Alvarenga will also be at at the consulate to assist in the turnover.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 6:27 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S; White, Thomas J; Popp, William W; Meron, David M; Codispoti, Aaron M; Bischoff, James L
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 18:15 local time
**Importance:** High

- It appears there will be no handover tonight. According to David's Brazilian attorney, the negotiators have broken up, having not been able to agree on the issue of the Grandmother accompanying Sean to the U.S. on the plane (clearly, the other side remains unaware of the source/nature of the charter flight that is pending a handover). We have rebuffed attempts by the Brazilian family's attorney to "get clarification from the Americans" as an obvious last-ditch ploy to once again present this as a U.S. vs Brazil issue. We have been clear to all parties that we the Mission have absolutely no role in any negotiation between the parties and will not/not undertake any contact with the family or their representatives.
- Deadline for handover established by the President of the 2nd Regional Federal Court in Rio remains 9am Thursday morning at the U.S. Consulate. Brazilian Central Authority confirms that the warrant authorizing enforcement of the order has been issued and should be in the possession of law enforcement should the family not comply. BCA has confirmed they will be in early tomorrow morning, ready to arrange enforcement should

that be necessary. However, David's attorney believes they will comply with the order and appear at the Consulate. We stand ready for multiple scenarios.

- In good news, the Brazilian Central Authority reported that the judge assigned to hear the two motions filed by attorneys for the Brazilian family in the Superior Tribunal de Justica (STJ) has denied both motions on the merits, not just refused to consider the motions. Links to the decisions for those who wish to read legal Portuguese are provided below.
- The frequently-announced press conference by the Brazilian family/their attorney never materialized. We await word on their next public relations foray.
- We will stand down support staff in Rio at an appropriate hour so they can get some well-earned rest, and be prepared to start again early tomorrow morning.

http://www.stj.jus.br/webstj/Processo/Justica/detalhe.asp?numreg=200902473093&pv=010000000000&tp=51
http://www.stj.jus.br/webstj/Processo/Justica/detalhe.asp?numreg=200902473108&pv=010000000000&tp=51

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:10 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E B6
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S; White, Thomas J; Popp, William W; Meron, David M; Codispoti, Aaron M; Bischoff, James L
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 13:00 local time
**Importance:** High

I have just spoken with the Brazilian Central Authority regarding the orders imminently coming out of the office of the President of the 2nd Regional Federal Court. He is evidently interpreting the lifting of the stay imposed at STF to mean that the 48 hour period provided in the appellate court decision to the Brazilian family to turn over Sean to the Consulate has started ticking again – not *restarted* at the beginning, but *resumed* ticking. According to the Court, the deadline for turnover at the Consulate falls at 6am local time on Thursday morning, December 24. Because of the early hour, he will evidently order the family to turn over Sean at the consulate NO LATER than 9am on Thursday, December 24. However, he will also recommend, not order, that the family turn over Sean at the Consulate today/tonight in order to permit him to travel to the U.S. on an overnight flight and spend Christmas with the family in the U.S.

There is current debate ongoing regarding the timing of the turnover. Daniel Levy of the AGU office in Rio will evidently take the lead in negotiating that turnover, in conjunction with David's legal team.

Press contacts are stating that Sergio Tostes, the attorney for the Brazilian family, has called a press conference at 2pm local time (11am DC time) to announce voluntary turnover. No further details on that yet.

Will pass more information as soon as we have it. Planning for all contingencies.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 10:56 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted]Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T; Ruppe, Adele E B6
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S; Olson, Michael J (RIO DE JANEIRO); MacWatters, Michael E; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** Goldman Decision - update as of 10:30 local time
**Importance:** High

Good news this morning:

- Brazilian Central Authority reports that at 1am local time today, the attorney for the Brazilian family contacted Daniel Levy, the AGU attorney representing the Brazilian Govt in this case, to inform him that the Brazilian family is willing to arrange for voluntary turnover of Sean at the Consulate General in Rio. Daniel Levy reportedly replied that he would only facilitate these discussions on the condition that there were no further legal machinations to delay implementation of the court order, and that the turnover happened today. We do not/not know what if any conditions the family will try to place on a voluntary handover, so planning for police execution of the court order continues.
- Interpol office in Brasilia has assured BCA and the Embassy LEGAT that they are fully aware of the status of the case and are ready to provide support if Sean is not turned over. They will have action if the family attempts to hide Sean.
- We have contacted WHA Press and CA Press separately to discuss timing to release statements if/when we are successful with wheels up.
- We have discussed detailed contingency plans should the police be called upon to go to the family residence to enforce the order if voluntary handover does not occur. Also have plans in place to supplement personnel in Rio should this extend past today.
- We have a general sense of the timing of potential events: We expect to have more clarity from the attorneys as to whether or not voluntary handover will occur around noon/1pm local time, which is 9/10 DC time. Should police enforcement be required, that will likely mean mid/late afternoon local time. We will advise asap if this timeline shifts (as it is likely to do, this being Brazil.)

We will try to send updates every 2 hours or so, even if nothing of note has occurred. As always, please advise if there are any specific questions or concerns.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:39 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted]Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 01:30 local time - NO RETURN TONIGHT
**Importance:** High

I have just heard from the team in Rio that there will be no return enforcement this evening:

- Tomorrow morning between 8-9, David Goldman's Brazilian attorney will go to the court to obtain the warrant enforcing the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S. He will wait there pending coordination with relevant police

and judicial authorities to ensure that everything is ready, and they will depart for the family compound to take custody of Sean.

- Consulate General Rio will have cars ready at 9am for transport, and the team will be ready at the airport to facilitate departure.
- David's attorney has spoken to judicial authorities and believes that the motions filed at STJ will not be accepted by the court, so will not interfere with the return. This does not preclude some last minute legal maneuvers, but he seems confident that the decision by STF will effectively cut off other avenues. We will advise asap if this changes.

Blackberry service does appear to be down, so if there are any questions tonight, please contact me directly on my cell at [redacted] as I am getting offline in approximately five mins. We are 3 hours ahead of DC time at the moment, but please do not hesitate to call.

B6

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**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 23, 2009 1:03 AM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O; Blum, Orna T
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R; 'RAMSAY, JAIME T'; Brassanini, David G; Garrard, Steven D; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision - update as of 00:45 local time

Given the hour here, I am less optimistic that we will pull off a return tonight, but we are still working to that end.

- The Brazilian Central Authority confirms that the office of Regional Federal Court President Paulo Espirito Santo has received the decision of STF President Gilmar Mendes. It is Paulo E-S who will be responsible for enforcing the decision from Mendes, i.e. the return of Sean Goldman to the U.S.
- BCA has promised to reinforce for Interpol the urgent necessity of police in Rio monitoring the location of Sean Goldman. Embassy LEGAT office is double-tracking. We cannot, of course, ask them to enforce anything until the proper judicial authority has sent them instructions, but we strongly urge them to be prepared.
- BCA has turned over operational jurisdiction to Daniel Levy, from the AGU's office in Rio, to coordinate with David Goldman's attorney and with the court in Rio. I have asked David's attorney to try and get some understanding from Mr. Levy as to the timeline we can expect to see in this case.

What remains unclear:

- We do not know if the judge from the Regional Federal Court intends to issue an execution order from his home tonight at this late hour, or if he will wait until opening of business tomorrow morning. Note that OOB here generally means 10am for a court. This only underscores the need to ensure that there is sufficient monitoring of Sean's whereabouts.
- We do not know how Judge Paulo E-S will interpret an "immediate" return order – it could mean right this instant, or it could mean some brief period of time where the family is ordered/encouraged to turn Sean over at the Consulate or some other site.
- We are working to obtain some sense of whether this is likely to happen tonight, or if we are better served getting some rest now and starting first thing OOB which for us means 7-8am.
- We have not had confirmation regarding the resolution of the motions in STJ, but frankly, I don't foresee receiving an answer on that before mid-day Wednesday.

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**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 11:05 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O

**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press; Johnson, James R
**Subject:** Goldman Decision - update as of 22:50

PLEASE NOTE – I am aware of the intense interest back in DC about this case and will be passing information just as soon as I receive it. This means that in most cases, I will not be able to confirm the information. Will try to identify credible sources vice what rumor/press/others are saying.

Brazilian Central Authority (BCA) coordinating with David's attorney and the Federal attorneys in Rio to ensure that the President of the Regional Federal Court in Rio has a copy of the STF order and is submitting the official request to federal police to enforce. BCA says they still believe they can effect the turnover tonight and are at their office working to that end. If/when the Federal Police enforce, their stated preference is to go to the airport and effect the handover there. This is a scenario we've planned for.

BCA has mentioned the STJ motions filed by the Brazilian family as a potential obstacle, but thru their contacts in Mendes' office at STF, have heard that Mendes intends to reach out to the reporting judge at STJ to resolve that issue. As mentioned in an earlier update today, we have not had any confirmation that the STJ judge has accepted to hear the motions filed by the Brazilian family, and has the option to decline to hear them.

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**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:41 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted]; Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K; SES-O
**Cc:** Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; CAPRESSREQUESTS; WHA-Press
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision

B6

If the family sees the writing on the wall (frankly unlikely at this point) and agrees to abide by the order of immediate return, then in theory the handover would happen at the consulate and there is a plan in place for that.

Plans in motion to prevent them slipping away and Patricia Lamego is working with the police as we speak. Federal Police repeatedly assured us they were prepped and ready to move but could take no action absent an order. They know now there is one, so BCA will get them moving.

If the handover occurred tonight, I'm told we need 3 hours to get the plane off the ground, so overnight in the hotel.

---

**From:** Bond, Michele T
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 10:30 PM
**To:** Damour, Marie C; Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
**Subject:** RE: Goldman Decision

Marie, if there is a handover tonight: that would be at the Consulate in Rio, right? Grandparents would bring Sean and he'd spend the night...in David's hotel or at the Consulate?

It seems very, very unlikely that will happen tonight.

But if handover is delayed until morning, the family may try to slip away tonight. Can we ask the police to prevent that?

---

**From:** Damour, Marie C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 22, 2009 6:53 PM
**To:** Pacheco, Martha A; 'gustafson_karen[redacted] Cardiel, Daisy; Bond, Michele T; Jacobs, Janice L; Hickey, Mary E; Regan, Michael B; Simpson, Mordica M; Posivak, Stephen; Drucker, Milton K

**Cc:** SES-O_SWO; Culver, Chris D; Blum, Orna T; Arola, Heidi R; Kubiske, Lisa; Loh, Anthony X
**Subject:** FW: Goldman Decision
**Importance:** High

Here is what we know:

- STF Pres. Gilmar Mendes upheld the motion by the AGU and David's attorney requesting he overturn the stay imposed by Justice Marco Aurelio, based upon a motion filed by the maternal grandmother.
- The order at first read appears to require immediate return of Sean.
- The BCA is calling the Interpol director responsible for enforcing such actions to see if they will get set to move. HOWEVER, BCA does not/not yet have a copy of the order, and it is the judge in the lower court in Rio that would generally receive the order from STF and then contact DPF to enforce.
- Sergio Brito, the prosecutor who has assisted David's attorney on the Hague case is attempting to contact the judge in the court of first instance in an effort to move as quickly as possible. Note that the court of first instance is on recess and the "duty court" judge will need to take action, but magistrates in Rio are keenly aware of the status of the case and may be prepared to move this evening.
- BCA is hoping to effect handover tonight, and will plan to send their psychologist to Rio if the handover must happen tomorrow morning.

What we don't know:

- No details yet on what else is contained in the order, which is likely to affect the next steps taken by the Brazilian family.
- No details as yet on what, if anything the Brazilian family has done in response to the news from STF.

Embassy staff are in the room with David's Brazilian attorney and will report just as soon as we have any details to offer. Please advise me if you have any specific questions we need to pose to the team.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pls call rich verma again.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: IG Report

---

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Dec 24 09:00:22 2009
**Subject:** FW: IG Report

fyi

---

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:41 AM
**To:** Feldman, Daniel F; Jones, Paul W
**Cc:** Campbell, Piper; Singh, Vikram J; McKean, Margaret B; Keays, Michael C; Misko, Sean A; Simon, Jessica L; Bommer, Ashley F; Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: IG Report

Copying PJ and Jake in case questions come to them. Thanks.

---

**From:** Feldman, Daniel F
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:39 AM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; Jones, Paul W
**Cc:** Campbell, Piper; Singh, Vikram J; McKean, Margaret B; Keays, Michael C; Misko, Sean A; Simon, Jessica L; Bommer, Ashley F
**Subject:** RE: IG Report

Jack –

Thanks for flagging this. We actually saw this last night, and Vikram and I had a conversation with Richard about it. The report was based on interviews conducted in May-June, before the new policy change was implemented, so much of the report is already OBE. OIG gave us the draft report in October, and SRAP/SCA/INL immediately sent a joint response to OIG (attached), highlighting that we were already working on many of the issues highlighted in the report.

Given the change in policy and our letter to them, we found it pretty egregious that the OIG didn't report on the changes underway or adjustments already made, as the report is being portrayed in the press as currently applicable. Michael Keays on the Afghan desk and Peggy, who both help to oversee CN issues, are already working on a letter to OIG expressing our strong concern about the report and the process which got us to this point, and Vikram and his team are ginning up press points which also note that we have already begun to robustly address many of these points (I've cc'ed them all on this).

If you'd like to talk further, I'm happy to come up to your office at some point this morning to discuss.

Dan

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:10 AM
**To:** Feldman, Daniel F; Jones, Paul W
**Cc:** Campbell, Piper
**Subject:** IG Report

Have you seen the IG report on the counternarcotics program (reported in NYT) this am? We should discuss response.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:11 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores; H
**Subject:** Fyi - press clips won't come today or tomorrow cause of holiday

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:15 AM
**To:** H; 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

yes we can
i will take care of it
and we will take care of signature

---

From: H
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:07 AM
To: 'millscd@state.gov'
Cc: 'Russorv@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I'm forwarding to Rob and Huma to see if we can get letters done this am--typed is fine.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 08:54:16 2009
Subject: Fw: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

Fyi - we should do handwritten notes to them

---

From: Jacobs, Janice L
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Thu Dec 24 08:20:38 2009
Subject: FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I thought I would share this heartfelt message from Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares, the head of Brazil's Central Authority, the office responsible for Hague Convention abduction cases. You will see that in spite of our efforts to protect the son, the Brazilian family chose to make a spectacle outside the Consulate this morning by parading Sean through a crowd. Ms. Lamego recently visited the U.S. where she met with members of Congress and others to explain all that the Brazilian Central Authority was doing to reunite Sean and his father under the Hague Convention. The delays we saw in this case were largely the result of a wealthy, well connected family able to influence court decisions.

We are all relieved and thrilled to see this long overdue but very happy ending. I should also highlight the amazing work done by US Mission Brazil. The consular staff, Charge, Acting DCM (Marie Damour, the Consul General in Brasilia), LegATT, RSO, and a host of others all played a role in this successful return. My OCS DAS, Michele Bond, and her dedicated team also played a big role in communicating with David, his lawyers, Congress, and the press. We had Members of Congress, former Assistant Secretaries and US Ambassadors all pitching in. While there were

disagreements at times over tactics, we all agreed that we were working towards the same goal: the safe return of Sean.

We particularly appreciate the strong support from the Secretary. Many people will try to take credit for today's happy reunion but it was the Secretary's continued concern and interest in this case that made the difference. We could not have provided a better gift to David Goldman during this season of giving. Janice

From: Bond, Michele T
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 7:56 AM
To: Jacobs, Janice L
Subject: FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
Importance: High

Here is the message from Patricia Lamego. Heartfelt.

B6

From: Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:56 AM
To: Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; Cardiel, Daisy; Damour, Marie C; Weinz, Joanna; Mazin, Tanya; 'peter.quilter@mail.house.gov'; 'janice.kaguyutan@mail.house.gov'; 'Noonan, Mary McDermott'; Hickey, Mary E; 'Ricardo Zamariola Junior'
Cc: Lalisa Froeder Dittrich; Stella Freitas Chamarelli; Juliana Paes De Castro; Laila Kesya Tavares De Lima
Subject: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
Importance: High

Dear All,

The Goldman case finally came to an end, and despite the efforts of all involved the hand over of the child to the US Consulate in Rio was transformed into a deplorable display of the child walking in the streets with the maternal family, being exposed to the media and to the public that surrounded the consulate.

I'm sorry this had to happen but it seems that Mr. Sergio Tostes, the maternal family's attorney, did not feel at all embarrased to use and expose the child, who was probably under severe stress, in order to gather support for his position. This most despicable man is not accepting the fact that, despite his life long relationships with influential authorities in Brazil, he was unable to win the case and Sean is finally being reunited with his only real father.

I just hope that David and the Goldman family find enough time to recover their lives and their relationship with Sean. They need time more than anything else and now it is up to the US government to guarantee that David Goldman will not have to face the maternal family once again in the US courts where, according to Mr. Tostes last declaration to the Brazilian press, he will "fight to defend the child".

Please allow David Goldman to live in peace with his son and have the life that he deserves after fighting so much for so many years.

In my name and in the name of all the staff of the Brazilian Central Authority I wish David, Sean, and their family all the best and a most happy life once they are finally back in the United States.

And to all of you who worked so much in support of this case, our deepest gratitude. We wish you all a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.

Best regards,

Patricia Lamego T. Soares

Coordinator

Autoridade Central Administrativa Federal

Secretaria Especial dos Direitos Humanos - PR

Ministério da Justiça, Ed. Sede, Sala 212

Cep. 70064-900 Brasília -DF

Tel: (61) 2025-3481 / Fax: (61) 2025-3261

www.presidencia .gov.br/sedh

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

You should call Kyl. I can't get to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: IG Report

They are doing points per b/l

---

**From**: Lew, Jacob J
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Thu Dec 24 09:00:38 2009
**Subject**: FW: IG Report

More fyi

---

**From:** Feldman, Daniel F
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:47 AM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: IG Report

Good point. Will do.

---

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:42 AM
**To:** Feldman, Daniel F
**Subject:** RE: IG Report

Given the prominent placement of the story you might get an info note to S who will probably have questions as well. Thx

---

**From:** Feldman, Daniel F
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:39 AM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; Jones, Paul W
**Cc:** Campbell, Piper; Singh, Vikram J; McKean, Margaret B; Keays, Michael C; Misko, Sean A; Simon, Jessica L; Bommer, Ashley F
**Subject:** RE: IG Report

Jack –

Thanks for flagging this. We actually saw this last night, and Vikram and I had a conversation with Richard about it. The report was based on interviews conducted in May-June, before the new policy change was implemented, so much of the report is already OBE. OIG gave us the draft report in October, and SRAP/SCA/INL immediately sent a joint response to OIG (attached), highlighting that we were already working on many of the issues highlighted in the report.

Given the change in policy and our letter to them, we found it pretty egregious that the OIG didn't report on the changes underway or adjustments already made, as the report is being portrayed in the press as currently applicable. Michael Keays on the Afghan desk and Peggy, who both help to oversee CN issues, are already working on a letter to OIG expressing our strong concern about the report and the process which got us to this point, and Vikram and his team are ginning up press points which also note that we have already begun to robustly address many of these points (I've cc'ed them all on this).

If you'd like to talk further, I'm happy to come up to your office at some point this morning to discuss.

Dan

---

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 8:10 AM
**To:** Feldman, Daniel F; Jones, Paul W
**Cc:** Campbell, Piper
**Subject:** IG Report

Have you seen the IG report on the counternarcotics program (reported in NYT) this am? We should discuss response.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

His cell is: [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:31:31 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

I'm trying but so far no luck. Will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:14:41 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

You should call Kyl. I can't get to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:40 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Try: [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:36:33 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Just tried it but got a request for my mailbox on the system. Is this right #?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

His cell is: [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:31:31 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

I'm trying but so far no luck. Will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:14:41 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

You should call Kyl. I can't get to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

And I have 3 letters in my possession that we are handing to Kyl's office now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:36:33 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Just tried it but got a request for my mailbox on the system. Is this right #?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

B6

His cell is:

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:31:31 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

I'm trying but so far no luck. Will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:14:41 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

You should call Kyl. I can't get to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Setting a time to speak
**Attachments:** ir2110.vcf

Your friend

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin Redlener, M.D.
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:28:08 2009
Subject: Re: Setting a time to speak

B6

Apparently won't be seeking second term at UNICEF. Is this something that should be considered? Should we run this by Hillary as a possible consideration?
Irwin

Mills, Cheryl D wrote:

>Terrific
>
>
>
>From: Irwin Redlener, M.D
>Sent: Wednesday, December 23, 2009 9:34 AM
>To: Mills, Cheryl D
>Cc: Laszczych, Joanne
>Subject: Re: Setting a time to speak
>
>
>
>Sounds good. I'll call you at 4 next Wednesday. Let me know if you need
>additional information. I'll be in western MA with lousy cell service;
>in case you need anything from me in interim, house # there is
or answering service will track me down
>Have a great Christmas.
>Irwin
>
>Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
>_____
>
>From: "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>
>
>Date: Wed, 23 Dec 2009 08:20:05 -0500
>
>To:
>

>Cc: Laszczych, Joanne<LaszczychJ@state.gov>
>
>Subject: Setting a time to speak
>
>
>
>Irwin
>
>
>
>I wanted to set a time now for us to follow-up on our discussion as
>well as the materials you have sent. I am going to be out until next
>weds, so wanted to see if you are available for a call next Wednesday
>and if so, does 4pm work?
>
>
>
>cdm
>
>
>
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:48:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

He told me that if the letters were delivered he would lift hold on Raj but not others. Can you verify?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:43:19 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

And I have 3 letters in my possession that we are handing to Kyl's office now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:36:33 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Just tried it but got a request for my mailbox on the system. Is this right #?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

B6

His cell is: [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:31:31 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

I'm trying but so far no luck. Will let you know.

----- Original Message -----

From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:14:41 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

You should call Kyl. I can't get to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Yes. Working it now

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:51:18 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Can we still get him confirmed today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:49:39 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:48:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>

To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

His cell is: [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:31:31 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:14:41 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

He is clear and will be confirmed. Thank you and sorry for the fire drill.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:51:18 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Can we still get him confirmed today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:49:39 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:48:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Sure will.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:57:37 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

Thank you! Will your team call people to tell them and explain to the Geneva folks what happened?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:56:18 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

He is clear and will be confirmed. Thank you and sorry for the fire drill.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:51:18 2009
Subject: Re: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

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From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
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Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:34:48 2009
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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:08:17 2009
Subject: Trying to call you--call me thru ops.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 10:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Shah

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Klevorick, Caitlin B; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 10:13:49 2009
Subject: Re: Shah

We need to throw Rich Verma a parade. Not sure folks can appreciate how close this came to not happening.

With the Secretary's help, we managed to resolve a last-minute Kyl hold on Raj.

----- Original Message -----
From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
To: Rodriguez, Miguel E; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 10:10:51 2009
Subject: Re: Shah

Yay!
(Of course I had no clue what cardin was saying)

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Klevorick, Caitlin B; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 10:07:16 2009
Subject: Shah

Was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hormats, Robert D <HormatsRD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Holidays

Dear Hillary,

Best wishes to you and your family for a wonderful holiday season.

It has been an honor and a pleasure working for you this year, and I am eagerly looking forward to the challenges of 2010.

Warm personal regards,

Bob Hormats

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: confirmations today

---

**From**: Verma, Richard R
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Lew, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Powell, Nancy J
**Sent**: Thu Dec 24 12:18:05 2009
**Subject**: confirmations today

The following nominees were confirmed by the Senate this morning:

315 – Shannon (Brazil)

429 – Solomont (Spain)

593 – Shah (US AID)

594 – Warlick (Serbia)

595 – Warlick (Bulgaria)

596 – Kounalakis (Hungary)

597 – Rowe (Mozambique)

598 – Fernandez (Equatorial Guinea)

599 – Willis (Seychelles/Mauritius)

600 – Slaughter Andrew (Costa Rica)

601 – Nelson (Uruguay)

And, the following did not make it through today, but we will keep working these and hope for swift confirmation in January:

602 - Betty King (UN Geneva)

603 --Laura Kennedy (US Rep Conf Disarmament)

604 -- Eileen Donahoe (UN HRC)

614 -- Phil Goldberg (INR)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: confirmations today

Pls see note from rich.

---

**From**: Verma, Richard R
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Verma, Richard R
**Sent**: Thu Dec 24 12:21:40 2009
**Subject**: FW: confirmations today

For the Secretary. Also, please let her know Iran sanctions failed to clear in the Senate. Reid/Dodd/Kerry floor statement indicating they are working with us and committed to passing in January.

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 12:18 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Lew, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Powell, Nancy J
**Subject:** confirmations today

The following nominees were confirmed by the Senate this morning:

315 – Shannon (Brazil)

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And, the following did not make it through today, but we will keep working these and hope for swift confirmation in January:

602 - Betty King (UN Geneva)

603 --Laura Kennedy (US Rep Conf Disarmament)

604 -- Eileen Donahoe (UN HRC)

614 -- Phil Goldberg (INR)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 1:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Xinhua) Pakistan to try 5 Americans over terrorism charges: official

---

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-CA; NEWS-Pakistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Thu Dec 24 12:54:55 2009
**Subject**: (Xinhua) Pakistan to try 5 Americans over terrorism charges: official

ISLAMABAD (Xinhua) -- Pakistan will try five American men arrested earlier this month over terrorism charges, a senior official said December 24. The five were believed to have gone missing from the Washington, D.C. area last month. Sargodha District Police Officer Dr. Usman told a news conference in the northeastern Pakistani city that interrogation of the suspects has been completed and they would be tried on terrorism charges. Usman said that all men will appear in an anti-terrorism court December 25.

---

Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 1:32 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I worked with Huma and the notes have been placed in the mail system at State. Merry Christmas!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Russo, Robert V; Huma Abedin < [redacted] > B6
Sent: Thu Dec 24 09:07:49 2009
Subject: Re: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I'm forwarding to Rob and Huma to see if we can get letters done this am--typed is fine.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 08:54:16 2009
Subject: Fw: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

Fyi - we should do handwritten notes to them

---

From: Jacobs, Janice L
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Thu Dec 24 08:20:38 2009
Subject: FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE

I thought I would share this heartfelt message from Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares, the head of Brazil's Central Authority, the office responsible for Hague Convention abduction cases. You will see that in spite of our efforts to protect the son, the Brazilian family chose to make a spectacle outside the Consulate this morning by parading Sean through a crowd. Ms. Lamego recently visited the U.S. where she met with members of Congress and others to explain all that the Brazilian Central Authority was doing to reunite Sean and his father under the Hague Convention. The delays we saw in this case were largely the result of a wealthy, well connected family able to influence court decisions.

We are all relieved and thrilled to see this long overdue but very happy ending. I should also highlight the amazing work done by US Mission Brazil. The consular staff, Charge, Acting DCM (Marie Damour, the Consul General in Brasilia), LegATT, RSO, and a host of others all played a role in this successful return. My OCS DAS, Michele Bond, and her dedicated team also played a big role in communicating with David, his lawyers, Congress, and the press. We had Members of Congress, former Assistant Secretaries and US Ambassadors all pitching in. While there were

disagreements at times over tactics, we all agreed that we were working towards the same goal: the safe return of Sean.

We particularly appreciate the strong support from the Secretary. Many people will try to take credit for today's happy reunion but it was the Secretary's continued concern and interest in this case that made the difference. We could not have provided a better gift to David Goldman during this season of giving. Janice

From: Bond, Michele T
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 7:56 AM
To: Jacobs, Janice L
Subject: FW: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
Importance: High

Here is the message from Patricia Lamego. Heartfelt.

B6

From: Patricia Lamego de Teixeira Soares
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 6:56 AM
To: Bond, Michele T; Pacheco, Martha A; Cardiel, Daisy; Damour, Marie C; Weinz, Joanna; Mazin, Tanya; 'peter.quilter@mail.house.gov'; 'janice.kaguyutan@mail.house.gov'; 'Noonan, Mary McDermott'; Hickey, Mary E; 'Ricardo Zamariola Junior'
Cc: Lalisa Froeder Dittrich; Stella Freitas Chamarelli; Juliana Paes De Castro; Laila Kesya Tavares De Lima
Subject: END OF THE GOLDMAN CASE
Importance: High

Dear All,

The Goldman case finally came to an end, and despite the efforts of all involved the hand over of the child to the US Consulate in Rio was transformed into a deplorable display of the child walking in the streets with the maternal family, being exposed to the media and to the public that surrounded the consulate.

I'm sorry this had to happen but it seems that Mr. Sergio Tostes, the maternal family's attorney, did not feel at all embarrased to use and expose the child, who was probably under severe stress, in order to gather support for his position. This most despicable man is not accepting the fact that, despite his life long relationships with influential authorities in Brazil, he was unable to win the case and Sean is finally being reunited with his only real father.

I just hope that David and the Goldman family find enough time to recover their lives and their relationship with Sean. They need time more than anything else and now it is up to the US government to guarantee that David Goldman will not have to face the maternal family once again in the US courts where, according to Mr. Tostes last declaration to the Brazilian press, he will "fight to defend the child".

Please allow David Goldman to live in peace with his son and have the life that he deserves after fighting so much for so many years.

In my name and in the name of all the staff of the Brazilian Central Authority I wish David, Sean, and their family all the best and a most happy life once they are finally back in the United States.

And to all of you who worked so much in support of this case, our deepest gratitude. We wish you all a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.

Best regards,

Patricia Lamego T. Soares

Coordinator

Autoridade Central Administrativa Federal

Secretaria Especial dos Direitos Humanos - PR

Ministério da Justiça, Ed. Sede, Sala 212

Cep. 70064-900 Brasília -DF

Tel: (61) 2025-3481 / Fax: (61) 2025-3261

www.presidencia .gov.br/sedh

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 2:27 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Oscar Flores
**Attachments:** Joint Statement on BPC Status 12 21 09.doc

**Importance:** High

Attached is the joint statement on the US-Russian Commission that just went out. Bill Burns and Jake cleared it but wanted it sent to you as an fyi as well.
Oscar can u print as well

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 9:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Email for S

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Ross, Alec J
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 20:51:17 2010
Subject: Email for S

Madame Secretary:

Per our earlier conversation and within the boundaries of unclassified email, there are three objectives we can achieve regarding the country we
discussed:

1) Enable broad communication between resistance organizers and participants without significantly increasing risk for individuals;

2) Circumventing government-imposed firewalls that expediently enable individuals to transmit text, image and video documentation of what is happening on the ground; and

3) Identify and make viral symbolic content that will move global opinion.

All of my and Jared's ideas which you saw reflected in the memo from last week are executable from anywhere between 24 hours to a couple months.
There are not any technological barriers to execution, but as I discussed with Jake, some take us well past the boundaries of what has been allowable to date in our current policy framework.
That said, we are ready and willing to take action as soon we have a "go" order. I am happy to review specific content from the memo with you or others offline.

Separately, I wanted to share some key activities following up on your Internet Freedom speech, which has reverberated globally. Here is what we are doing to maintain forward momentum:

1) With your blessing, we will build a new architecture of States who share our principles of Internet freedom and are committed to not just espousing those principles, but collaborating in measurably reducing the number of States that countervail the freedoms you outlined in your speech.

2) Jared and I met with Stanford President John Hennessy last week and we will work through Stanford to indirectly launch an innovation competition for the best apps and programs that provide tools for circumvention of politically motivated censorship.

3) Maria Otero and Bob Hormats will co-chair a session in which we are hauling in the major, relevant technology companies. There may be some squealing, but we want to ensure that the private sector understands our values and make more carefully considered decisions about the deals they cut with foreign governments. In these meetings, we will

also look for the private sector to contribute resources (financial, engineering, hardware, etc.) in support of your Internet Freedom objectives. Finally, we intend to build an industry-led coalition with a set of standards that have real teeth and accountability.

4) We will be deploying our Civil Society 2.0 team to work with local stakeholders in key environments on capacity building that will enhance their ability to address the key issues you articulated in your Internet freedom speech.

There are other activities which I can detail separately and will review with Cheryl and Jake.

My best,
Alec

RELEASE IN PART
B5



B5

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766860 Date: 08/31/2015



B5



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766860 Date: 08/31/2015

B5



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766860 Date: 08/31/2015



Drafted: EUR/RUS: Chad Wesen 647-7757

Cleared:
EUR/FO: Dan Russell (ok)
EUR/RUS: Kyle Scott (ok)
D(L): Maya Seiden (info)
D(S): Kate Szpila (ok)
S/P: William Burke-White(ok)
P: Tamir Waser (ok)
R: Joe Mellott (ok)
NSC: Howard Solomon (ok)
JCS: Scott Roenicke (ok)
DOE: U/S Poneman (ok)
DOE: Lana Ekimoff (ok)
ONDCP: Tom Crimmins (ok)
State/T: Jim Timbie (ok)
State/CT: Lonni Reasor (ok)
OSTP: Joan Rolf (ok)
State/OES: Ellen Shaw (ok)
NASA: Meredith McKay(ok)
DHS: Carole Cameron (ok)
Commerce: Jay Thompson (ok)
HHS: Mary Madell (ok)
USDA: Chris Riker (ok)
State/SRAP: Sean Misko (info)

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05766860 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: USA Today op-ed

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin Redlener [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Feb 10 20:53:03 2010
Subject: USA Today op-ed

This was in today's edition of USA Today. Please share with Hillary if she hasn't seen it.
Best,
Irwin

As Haiti recovers, give children special attention

*By Irwin Redlener*

Given the extraordinary destruction wrought by last month's earthquake in Haiti, few will be surprised if this catastrophe is recorded as one of the deadliest natural disasters in recent history. But what is not well appreciated is that this disaster could disproportionately impact children, not only those who perished in the initial shocks, but also those who will not survive what is likely to be a cruel aftermath.

*Photo gallery:*
<http://mediagallery.usatoday.com/A-long-journey-out-of-Haiti-/G1436> As Haiti struggled to pull itself together in the days immediately following the 7.0 earthquake that hit the island nation, one Iowa family was waiting to hear whether the child they had pledged to adopt three years ago was still alive.

Before the quake, many of the 380,000 children living in shelters <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2010-01-24-haiti-children_N.htm> were placed there out of economic desperation; families could not afford to care for them. Now, many more children displaced by the earthquake will literally have no surviving family members, further swelling demand on social service agencies throughout the country.

*Kids at risk*

As the U.S. and other countries make plans to help Haiti get back on its feet, emphasis should be on enhancing that nation's resiliency — and that will mean dealing with the needs of its children. The unusual extent of child casualties will be driven by several factors:

• About 50% of the Haitian population of 9 million is younger than 18 <http://www.unicef.org/emerg/haiti_52590.html>. Even more striking is the fact that children 14 years of age and less make up more than 38%.

• Everything about a natural disaster puts children at greater risk. A comparatively small chunk of dislodged ceiling would injure an adult, but it might well kill an infant or small child. Water deprivation will lead far more rapidly to dehydration and shock in an infant than it would in an adult.

• Some seriously injured children have survived the initial trauma because they were among the few to get surgical attention provided by international medical teams. But access to follow-up care could be an overwhelming challenge. Compounding concerns, the Ministry of Health at one point asked physicians not to provide medical care <http://www.usatoday.com/news/health/2010-01-27-1Acomfort27_CV_N.htm> that can't be sustained in Haiti.

*Long-term needs*

Between 1 million to 2 million Haitians will be "displaced" for the foreseeable future. This means a minimum of 400,000 to 800,000 children will be in temporary shelter for months or years. But the rainy season is coming in May, followed by hurricane season in June. Families in tents or other flimsy shelters will be at grave risk.

• What about the psychological impact? Grieving over loss and trauma carries the potential of long-term consequences for every Haitian, especially the countless children.

Then there are Haiti's chronic problems that must be addressed head-on. For decades, Haitians have experienced a seemingly intractable state of poverty, accompanied by malnutrition and high rates of acute and chronic illness. More than 50% of Haitians live on less than a dollar a day, and more than 60% of its young children have nutritional anemia.

Despite the efforts of international agencies and non-governmental organizations, chronic illness abounds and access to clean water, medical care and sanitation remains a significant challenge for Haitians, particularly children.

This is why the recovery and rebuilding of this fragile nation must begin and end with a central focus on the immediate and long-term needs of children. If there is to be a glimmer of hope for Haiti, it will be because the international community understands that the capacity to rise from the ashes of catastrophe is directly related to the health, well-being and potential of its youngest generation.

/Irwin Redlener is the director of the National Center for Disaster Preparedness, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, and president of the Children's Health Fund./

/(Getty Images.)/

Posted at 12:15 AM/ET, February 10, 2010 in Foreign Affairs - Latin America - Forum <http://blogs.usatoday.com/oped/foreign_affairs_latin_america_forum/>, Forum commentary <http://blogs.usatoday.com/oped/forum_commentary/> | Permalink <http://blogs.usatoday.com/oped/2010/02/column-as-haiti-recovers-give-children-special-attention-.html>

USA TODAY welcomes your views and encourages lively -- but civil -- discussions. Comments are unedited, but submissions reporte

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 2:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

B6

Excellent. Yesterday was a madhouse but got a lot accomplished.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 2:29 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re:

That's fine. How are you doing?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Thu Dec 24 14:27:16 2009
Subject:

Attached is the joint statement on the US-Russian Commission that just went out. Bill Burns and Jake cleared it but wanted it sent to you as an fyi as well.

Oscar can u print as well

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Berger, Samuel R. [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Wishing you

A very Merry Christmas and a rewarding new year.

It's been a hard but impressive year. Hope you are able to get a break to recharge for the next.

Best, Sandy
This is written from my BlackBerry.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2009 3:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

No just a night. Coming back tomorro

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Dec 24 15:16:57 2009
Subject: Re:

Wow--what a great getaway idea. Are you staying for a few days?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 24 14:52:09 2009
Subject: RE:

B6

Excellent. Yesterday was a madhouse but got a lot accomplished.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2009 2:29 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re:

That's fine. How are you doing?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Thu Dec 24 14:27:16 2009
Subject:

Attached is the joint statement on the US-Russian Commission that just went out. Bill Burns and Jake cleared it but wanted it sent to you as an fyi as well.

Oscar can u print as well

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 25, 2009 6:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Happy Holidays!

Fyi and happy christmas

----- Original Message -----
From: Michele Duvivier [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 19:38:14 2009
Subject: Happy Holidays!

Dear Cheryl,

[redacted]

I want you to know that last month a friend of mine convinced me to apply for a fellowship at Harvard/Institute of Politics, and I did. A few days ago, I got a call from the Program Director who informed me that I was accepted. I am very excited about it and think it will be a very good opportunity to share my experience [redacted] with students who are learning theories about democracy and development.

Cheryl, I am going to be bold and ask you if you would accept my invitation to come and speak to the students while I am there. I am asked and encouraged to invite important personalities who can talk of their experience in government and I thought of you. I would be thrilled if you accept. I will be there from end of January until the beginning of May next year. I have also invited President Moreno of IDB who accepted and I am waiting for an answer from Michaelle Jean, the General Governor of Canada.

I wish you the very best, to you and your family for Christmas and the New Year. I hope our roads cross again as we thrive to better the lives of so many people who deserve it. Please extend my wished to the Secretary of State. I admire her and her work.

Warm regards,

Michele

Michele Duvivier Pierre-Louis

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Friday, December 25, 2009 9:13 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D;
**Cc:** H2; H
**Subject:** RE: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Thanks, Huma. Albest. S.

**From:** Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
**Sent:** Friday, December 25, 2009 9:11 AM
**To:** Strobe Talbott; Mills, Cheryl D;
**Cc:** hr15@att.blackberry.net; hdr22@clintonemail.com
**Subject:** Re: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Yes of course
Passed on to her
Hope toy are well

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills ; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** HRC <hr15@att.blackberry.net>; HRC Blackberry <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Fri Dec 25 06:35:42 2009
**Subject:** FW: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Cheryl or Huma, this message bounced back from hr15@att.blackberry.net, which is the only email address I've got for HRC. Can you please make sure she gets it? Best wishes of the holiday to you both. Strobe

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Friday, December 25, 2009 6:31 AM
**To:** HRC
**Cc:** Cheryl Mills (State); 'Cheryl Mills'
**Subject:** message from India -- and from down the street.....

Hi, Hillary, and Merry Christmas. Hope you and the family are getting a bit of respite from it all. I'm sending you this message because—somewhat to my surprise—Jairam Ramesh has asked me to pass along a personal message, which is pasted below. I've known him since the 70s

Cheers, Strobe

Dear Madam Secretary of State:

It was wonderful catching up with you in Copenhagen. The opportunity to interact with President Obama and you at the very last minute to salvage the Copenhagen Accord at the US-BASIC Summit Meeting was fantastic and unforgettable for me personally. I am still reeling from that historic 75 minutes!!

With greetings for Xmas and best wishes for the New Year,

With warmest regards,

Jairam Ramesh
Minister of Environment and Forests
India

==========

Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200

B6

==========

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 5:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi... who's on first? Sid

**H: In case you haven't seen the Wash Post piece today, here is Pat Lang's brief commentary and then below that the piece itself. Sid**

## Men on Horseback

"The NSC's strategic guidance, a classified document that outlines the president's new approach, was described by the senior administration official as limiting military operations "in scale and scope to the minimum required to achieve two goals -- to prevent al-Qaeda safe havens and to prevent the Taliban from toppling the government." The use of resource-intensive counterinsurgency tactics -- employing U.S. forces to protect Afghan civilians from the Taliban -- is supposed to be restricted to key cities and towns in southern and eastern parts of the country, the official said.
"The strategy has fundamentally changed. This is not a COIN strategy," Vice President Biden said on MSNBC last week, using the military's shorthand for counterinsurgency. "This is not 'go out and occupy the whole country.' " " Washpost

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It appears that the Afghan policy war is not over. Chandrasekaran is a good reporter but not good enough to get this unaided. Scoo, someone(s) at the NSC briefed him so that the message would be delivered to the "other team" that their behavior is being watched closely and that the NSC team is prepared to use the public media as a weapon if need be. The reporter then went to the Defense Department where he was told their side of the story. Secretary Gates appears to have become the leader of the pentagon faction
Petraeus is interestingly absent from this nearly open struggle. He will wait to see what the outcome may be.
A major confrontation over policy and presidential authority is coming. The policy review scheduled for July 2010 may well precipitate it. pl
26 December 2009 in Afghanistan, government, Policy, Politics | Permalink

# Civilian, military planners have different views on new approach to Afghanistan

By Rajiv Chandrasekaran
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, December 26, 2009; A01
Two days before announcing the deployment of additional U.S. troops to Afghanistan, President Obama informed Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal that he was not granting McChrystal's request to double the size of the Afghan army and police. Cost was a factor, as were questions about whether the capacity exists to train 400,000 personnel. The president told McChrystal, the top commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, to focus for now on fielding a little more than half that number by next October.
Ten days after Obama's speech, the U.S. command responsible for training the Afghans circulated a chart detailing the combined personnel targets for the army and police. McChrystal's goal of 400,000 remained unchanged.
"It's an open issue," a senior Pentagon official said last week.
Nearly a month after Obama unveiled his revised Afghanistan strategy, military and civilian leaders have come away with differing views of several fundamental aspects of the president's new approach, according to more than a dozen senior administration and military officials involved in Afghanistan policy, all of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations.
Members of Obama's war cabinet disagree over the meaning of his pledge to begin drawing down forces in July 2011 and whether the mission has been narrowed from a proposal advanced by McChrystal in his August assessment of the war. The disagreements have opened a fault line between a desire for an early exit among several senior officials at the White House and a conviction among military commanders that victory is still achievable on their terms.

The differences are complicating implementation of the new strategy. Some officers have responded to the July 2011 date by seeking to accelerate the pace of operations, instead of narrowing them. At the White House, a senior administration official said, the National Security Council is discussing ways to increase monitoring of military and State Department activities in Afghanistan to prevent "overreaching."

The NSC's strategic guidance, a classified document that outlines the president's new approach, was described by the senior administration official as limiting military operations "in scale and scope to the minimum required to achieve two goals -- to prevent al-Qaeda safe havens and to prevent the Taliban from toppling the government." The use of resource-intensive counterinsurgency tactics -- employing U.S. forces to protect Afghan civilians from the Taliban -- is supposed to be restricted to key cities and towns in southern and eastern parts of the country, the official said.

"The strategy has fundamentally changed. This is not a COIN strategy," Vice President Biden said on MSNBC last week, using the military's shorthand for counterinsurgency. "This is not 'go out and occupy the whole country.' "

**Setting limits**

During a videoconference two days before the speech, Obama made it clear to McChrystal and U.S. Ambassador Karl W. Eikenberry that he did not want the additional troops to fuel a broader mission. Speaking to both men from the White House Situation Room, the president told them not to deploy the forces to areas they would not be able to transfer to Afghan security forces by July 2011, according to two senior officials with knowledge of the conversation.

Obama's essential instruction was, according to one of the officials, "Don't bite off more than you can chew."

White House officials said the president opposes using the forces he has authorized to duplicate an expansive, Iraq-style counterinsurgency operation -- in part because he questions whether it will be possible to achieve a similar outcome in Afghanistan, which is less developed, and because he wants to start reducing troops in 18 months. The White House's desired end state in Afghanistan, officials said, envisions more informal local security arrangements than in Iraq, a less-capable national government and a greater tolerance of insurgent violence.

Senior military officials still think they can achieve a better outcome than envisaged by civilian skeptics in the administration by using the new forces to mount more comprehensive counterinsurgency operations. Although Pentagon strategists and McChrystal's advisers in Kabul are looking at how they can fulfill the White House desire for a less extensive mission, military officials said they are reluctant to strip too much away and weaken an approach that has come to be revered within the ranks as the only way to suppress guerrilla movements.

Military officials contend that McChrystal does not harbor expansionist aims. They note that he has begun removing troops from remote mountain valleys and concentrating resources on a modest number of key population centers. But the approach in those areas will involve counterinsurgency tactics: Troops will focus on restoring normal patterns of life by trying to keep the Taliban at bay, helping the Afghan government provide basic services to the population and training local security forces.

McChrystal's plan, the senior Pentagon official said, "is still counterinsurgency, regardless of the various agendas people are trying to spin."

**Dissent over drawdown**

During strategy discussions at the White House, differences between the White House and the military came into sharp relief over Obama's decision to announce his intention to begin drawing down troops in July 2011.

McChrystal argued against it, according to three officials familiar with the process. The head of the U.S. Central Command, Gen. David H. Petraeus, also expressed concerns. Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates urged Obama to make the drawdown "conditions-based."

"There was a lot of pushback" from the Defense Department, one of the officials said.

The president received cover from one uniformed general at the table, James E. Cartwright, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Cartwright had adopted a more skeptical view of the mission than many of his military colleagues, one that resonated with Obama and Biden.

Cartwright effectively endorsed the July 2011 date, arguing that increasing forces and engaging in limited counterinsurgency made sense, the senior administration official said, "but given the risk factors -- Pakistan, the Karzai government, the whole notion of sub-national governance and our track record with the [Afghan security forces], which is not prestigious -- that it made sense to demonstrate that we could actually do this."

It also helped Obama that the principal troop-increase proposal being discussed at the time -- a recommendation that McChrystal receive 30,000 forces for 18 to 24 months -- had been developed by Gates. The Defense Department paperwork detailing the proposal identified the increase as starting in the summer of 2009, when the first troops deployed by the president this year began conducting operations in Afghanistan, but it did not specify an end date.

"Rather than leaving this indefinite and hypothetical, the president's intervention was to say, 'Okay, if we're starting in July of '09, then we're really talking about July of '11," said the senior administration official who described the NSC guidance.

Obama eventually told his war cabinet that he would announce the July 2011 deadline but that the pace of withdrawals would be determined, as Gates had sought, by conditions on the ground. Obama said he would conduct a thorough review of progress in a year's time. Although he did not endorse McChrystal's request to increase the Afghan security forces to 400,000, he said he would reevaluate the issue once the 2010 goal of training 230,000 forces is achieved.

The president avoided details in his Dec. 1 address, leaving it up to members of his Cabinet and to his advisers to explain the specifics. The result has been a wide divergence of expectations. Gates, appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press" the Sunday after the speech, said that perhaps only "some handful or some small number" would be withdrawn. Biden, during

his MSNBC appearance last week, said a chart showing an increase in U.S. deployments this year would be "coming down as rapidly over the next two years."

The ambiguity over the meaning of the July 2011 deadline has generated uncertainty over the president's intent. "Is the surge a way of helping us leave more quickly, or is the timeline a way to help win support for the surge?" asked a senior Democratic staff member in Congress. "Which is the strategy and which is the head-fake? Nobody knows."

One senior military officer in Afghanistan said he and his fellow soldiers "don't know if this is all over in 18 months, or whether this is just a progress report that leads to rninor changes."

"Until they tell us otherwise," the officer said, "we're operating as if the latter is the policy."

**A 'dramatic change'?**

Although senior-level civilians in the administration emerged from the review process thinking the mission had been circumscribed, senior military officials continue to have a different view. The result, as they see it, is that the White House has embraced McChrystal's original plan.

"We had already been pretty focused that we wouldn't try to clear and hold things more than we needed to," said a senior commander involved in the war. "It wasn't a dramatic change by any means."

White House officials have cited a meeting among NSC staff members and McChrystal in which the general displayed a slide stating that his mission was to "Defeat the Taliban," which some civilians deemed overly ambitious because it suggested that every last member of the Taliban would have to be killed or captured. The officials said the mission was redefined to avoid the term.

But to military officers, defeat "doesn't mean wipe everyone out," the commander said. "It means after Waterloo, Napoleon still had an army but he wasn't going to threaten Europe. We used that view when we worked defeat."

Even before the White House review had finished, the commander in charge of day-to-day operations, Lt. Gen. David M. Rodriguez, had developed a plan to concentrate U.S. and NATO efforts in 80 of the country's nearly 400 districts.

"They're taking credit for some of the things that McChrystal was already doing and calling it a narrowed focus," a senior military official said.

White House advisers rnaintain that the review process did refine the mission beyond what McChrystal had proposed over the summer.

"There was a real narrowing here," the senior administration official said. "Stan has a big leadership task to adapt his original concept to the new strategic guidance."

The official said NSC officials recognize it will take time for the new orders to filter through the ranks. "This doesn't turn around with a speech," the official said. "But I hope we don't see slides a month from now that continue to state that our goal is 400,000" Afghan security forces.

The challenge, said that official and another senior administration official, is to recalibrate military operations over the next 18 months in accordance with the new goal.

"The guidance they have is that we're not doing everything, and we're not doing it forever," the second official said. "The hardest intellectual exercise will be settling on how much is enough."

For now, however, top military officers speak more expansively than White House advisers.

"Winning means we hand off to a security force that can secure the country," the senior Pentagon official said. "We've separated the enemy, we've connected the people to the government, and we're helping them to rebuild their economy. It's at that point that we begin to transition it over to them."

Terms such as "winning" and "victory" have been eschewed by the White House. Obama did not use either in his Dec. 1 address, and he said in an interview earlier this year that he was uncomfortable using the term "victory" when fighting "a non-state actor, a shadowy operation like al-Qaeda."

But when Gates visited Kabul a week after Obama's speech, he made a point of telling military personnel there that "we are in this thing to win."

"From a moral perspective, when you ask soldiers and families to sacrifice, we do that to win," the Pentagon official said. "We need to be able to articulate winning."

=

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 5:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Email for S

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Ross, Alec J
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 20:51:17 2010
Subject: Email for S

Madame Secretary:

Per our earlier conversation and within the boundaries of unclassified email, there are three objectives we can achieve regarding the country we
discussed:

1) Enable broad communication between resistance organizers and participants without significantly increasing risk for individuals;

2) Circumventing government-imposed firewalls that expediently enable individuals to transmit text, image and video documentation of what is happening on the ground; and

3) Identify and make viral symbolic content that will move global opinion.

All of my and Jared's ideas which you saw reflected in the memo from last week are executable from anywhere between 24 hours to a couple months.
There are not any technological barriers to execution, but as I discussed with Jake, some take us well past the boundaries of what has been allowable to date in our current policy framework.
That said, we are ready and willing to take action as soon we have a "go" order. I am happy to review specific content from the memo with you or others offline.

Separately, I wanted to share some key activities following up on your Internet Freedom speech, which has reverberated globally. Here is what we are doing to maintain forward momentum:

1) With your blessing, we will build a new architecture of States who share our principles of Internet freedom and are committed to not just espousing those principles, but collaborating in measurably reducing the number of States that countervail the freedoms you outlined in your speech.

2) Jared and I met with Stanford President John Hennessy last week and we will work through Stanford to indirectly launch an innovation competition for the best apps and programs that provide tools for circumvention of politically motivated censorship.

3) Maria Otero and Bob Hormats will co-chair a session in which we are hauling in the major, relevant technology companies. There may be some squealing, but we want to ensure that the private sector understands our values and make more carefully considered decisions about the deals they cut with foreign governments. In these meetings, we will also look for the private sector to contribute resources (financial, engineering, hardware, etc.) in support of your

Internet Freedom objectives. Finally, we intend to build an industry-led coalition with a set of standards that have real teeth and accountability.

4) We will be deploying our Civil Society 2.0 team to work with local stakeholders in key environments on capacity building that will enhance their ability to address the key issues you articulated in your Internet freedom speech.

There are other activities which I can detail separately and will review with Cheryl and Jake.

My best,
Alec

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 25, 2009 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy Holidays!

B6

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 25 06:44:44 2009
Subject: Re: Happy Holidays!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 25 06:27:36 2009
Subject: Fw: Happy Holidays!

Fyi and happy christmas

----- Original Message -----
From: Michele Duvivier
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 19:38:14 2009
Subject: Happy Holidays!

Dear Cheryl,

I want you to know that last month a friend of mine convinced me to apply for a fellowship at Harvard/Institute of Politics, and I did. A few days ago, I got a call from the Program Director who informed me that I was accepted. I am very excited about it and think it will be a very good opportunity to share my experience [redacted] with students who are learning theories about democracy and development. B6

Cheryl, I am going to be bold and ask you if you would accept my invitation to come and speak to the students while I am there. I am asked and encouraged to invite important personalities who can talk of their experience in government and I thought of you. I would be thrilled if you accept. I will be there from end of January until the beginning of May next year. I have also invited President Moreno of IDB who accepted and I am waiting for an answer from Michaelle Jean, the General Governor of Canada.

I wish you the very best, to you and your family for Christmas and the New Year. I hope our roads cross again as we thrive to better the lives of so many people who deserve it. Please extend my wished to the Secretary of State. I admire her and her work.

Warm regards,

Michele

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 8:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Happy Holidays!

Yes - calling now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 26, 2009 8:05 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Happy Holidays!

Are you calling me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 25 22:41:06 2009
Subject: Re: Happy Holidays!

B6

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 25 06:44:44 2009
Subject: Re: Happy Holidays!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 25 06:27:36 2009
Subject: Fw: Happy Holidays!

Fyi and happy christmas

----- Original Message -----
From: Michele Duvivier [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 24 19:38:14 2009
Subject: Happy Holidays!

Dear Cheryl,

[redacted]

I want you to know that last month a friend of mine convinced me to apply for a fellowship at Harvard/Institute of Politics, and I did. A few days ago, I got a call from the Program Director who informed me that I was accepted. I am very excited about it and think it will be a very good opportunity to share my experience [redacted] with students who are learning theories about democracy and development.

Cheryl, I am going to be bold and ask you if you would accept my invitation to come and speak to the students while I am there. I am asked and encouraged to invite important personalities who can talk of their experience in government and I thought of you. I would be thrilled if you accept. I will be there from end of January until the beginning of May next year. I have also invited President Moreno of IDB who accepted and I am waiting for an answer from Michaelle Jean, the General Governor of Canada.

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Warm regards,

Michele

Michele Duvivier Pierre-Louis

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 10:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: what is timelineon [redacted] moving to language school B6

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Saturday, December 26, 2009 10:41 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: what is timelineon [redacted] moving to language school

Cheryl

[redacted] left PA permanently on the 18th and is on leave thru the end of the year

He reports to language trainong right after the first of the year

Regards

Pat

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Sat Dec 26 08:53:01 2009
Subject: what is timelineon [redacted] moving to language school

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 1:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

---

**From**: Packer, Adam D
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-CA; NEWS-SCT; NEWS-Pakistan
**Sent**: Sat Dec 26 12:46:51 2009
**Subject**: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Taliban insurgents had planned to use five Americans, now detained in Pakistan, who had contacted the militants via the Internet, to carry out attacks in the U.S.-allied country, a police official said. Usman Anwar, police chief in Sargodha, where the men were arrested this month, said emails had revealed plans for the young men from Virginia to travel to a Pakistani nuclear power plant. "We believe that they were supposed to be used inside Pakistan," Anwar told Reuters by telephone. "In their last email to the Taliban, we found they mentioned the Chashma Nuclear Plant and that's why they were going to Mianwali (district)."

Best regards,

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 2:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Dec 26 13:15:59 2009
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 26 13:14:17 2009
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

---

From: Packer, Adam D
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Cc: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-CA; NEWS-SCT; NEWS-Pakistan
Sent: Sat Dec 26 12:46:51 2009
Subject: (Reuters) Taliban Planned to Use Americans In Pakistan Attacks

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Taliban insurgents had planned to use five Americans, now detained in Pakistan, who had contacted the militants via the Internet, to carry out attacks in the U.S.-allied country, a police official said. Usman Anwar, police chief in Sargodha, where the men were arrested this month, said emails had revealed plans for the young men from Virginia to travel to a Pakistani nuclear power plant. "We believe that they were supposed to be used inside Pakistan," Anwar told Reuters by telephone. "In their last email to the Taliban, we found they mentioned the Chashma Nuclear Plant and that's why they were going to Mianwali (district)."

Best regards,

Adam Packer

Watch Officer

State Department Operations Center

(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 27, 2009 7:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Eikenberry telcon

Fyi for you - jack and I discussed approach.

Cdm

**From**: Lew, Jacob J
**To**: Ricciardone, Francis J; Campbell, Piper
**Cc**: Wayne, E Anthony; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Sun Dec 27 07:22:29 2009
**Subject**: Re: Eikenberry telcon

Frank

Happy to take the call when convenient for Karl -- Ops can find me in NY on Sunday or back in DC on Monday. Happy new year.

Jack

**From**: Ricciardone, Francis J
**To**: Lew, Jacob J; Campbell, Piper
**Cc**: Wayne, E Anthony
**Sent**: Sun Dec 27 06:20:40 2009
**Subject**: Eikenberry telcon

Jack,

Karl, Tony, and I have been in touch by phone + email while Karl is on leave in South Africa, regarding our draft budget message (and much else of course), which you have already seen and to which you have responded via Tony.

B5

Karl has accepted my recommendation that he try to speak directly with you on Monday, and I hope you will be able to take his call. I judge that you and he need a meeting of the minds before we send in any message that may not give you exactly the ammunition you need.

Meanwhile, happy new year... see you next month.

Frank

Francis J. Ricciardone
Deputy Ambassador
American Embassy
Kabul, Afghanistan
office tel: +93 700 198 475
mobile: [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini schedule 2/2/10 Tuesday

8:10 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:15 am **WORKING BREAKFAST FOR INVITED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**
9:15 am James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

9:15 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
9:25 am Secretary's Office

9:30 am **PHOTOS w/AMBASSADORIAL SEMINAR**
9:45 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

9:50 am **DROP BY w/DS STEINBERG AND GREEK ALTERNATE F.M.**
10:00 am **DIMITRIOS DROUTSAS** Secy's Office *Official photo in anteroom preceding.

10:10 am **DEPART** State Department *En route Virginia

10:30 am **ARRIVE** Virginia

10:30 am **PRIVATE MEETING**
12:30 pm Location: Virginia

12:35 pm **DEPART** Virginia

12:55 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

1:00pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:00pm Secretary's Office

2:00pm **SECURE CALL w/ISRAELI PM BINYAMIN NETANYAHU**
2:15pm Secretary's Office

2:30pm **PHONE CALL w/ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER EHUD BARAK**
2:45pm Secretary's Office

2:45 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:30 pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **BILATERAL w/IRAQI VP DR. TARIQ Al-HASHIMI**
4:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

4:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:45 pm Secretary's Office

4:45 pm **THANK YOU TO TEAM COPENHAGEN**
5:05 pm Treaty Room

5:15 pm **MEETING w/JIM STEINBERG AND PHIL GORDON**
5:45 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 26, 2009 9:08 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Note for the Secretary
**Attachments:** HRC 12.25.09.docx

Per request b/l

---

**From:** Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Campbell, Piper; Cue, Lourdes C
**Sent:** Sat Dec 26 20:01:50 2009
**Subject:** FW: Note for the Secretary

Dear Cheryl,

I hope that you have been able to find a bit of time during the holidays to catch your breath and get ready for next year. I have attached a note to the Secretary that reviews our agenda in Mexico at the end of 2009, and key challenges for the coming year. Could you pass this to her for me? Many thanks,

Carlos

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 10:56 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Murtha...

# Murtha back in the hospital

By: David Rogers
February 2, 2010 10:43 AM EST

Pennsylvania Rep. John Murtha was back in the hospital Tuesday after undergoing gall bladder surgery last week.

The Virginia Hospital Center in Arlington said that the 77-year-old Democrat was a patient in its intensive care unit but referred all questions about his condition to his family.

Murtha's congressional office confirmed that he underwent scheduled laparoscopic surgery to remove his gallbladder at Bethesda Naval Hospital last week. But the congressman's spokesman refused comment on the seriousness of his condition or any complication that required hospitalization.

A powerhouse in the House Appropriations Committee and close friend of Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), Murtha was hospitalized for a period in December as well when he suffered an infection in his gall bladder.
The doctors then decided that it should be removed once the infection had been tempered, and that set up the surgery last week at Bethesda.

In the interim, Murtha has been back in the Capitol, and in his style, came back from the hospital—with IV bandages still on him— to oversee passage of his defense appropriations bill.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: WHA Early Alert today

FYI.

---

**From:** Kelly, Craig A
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 02, 2010 6:02 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: WHA Early Alert today

Argentina's *La Nacion* comments that the greatest lesson of events in Honduras "has been the worldwide reaction in the name of respect for constitutional order." The paper says the military acted badly but was reacting to Zelaya's own unconstitutional behavior, and notes that "the US was among the first to understand the complexity of the Honduran case and the difficulties in treating it as a derivation of a classic military coup. It was also the US that was the first to announce that it was ready to work with the Lobo government to strengthen Honduran democracy..."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:58 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

We did

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 29 10:57:13 2009
Subject: Fw: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Did we regret this?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 29 10:42:56 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Duffy, Terry [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 02 08:14:56 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Madam Secretary,
That would be more than fine. I appreciate you even looking to see if this may work.
On another note I wanted to send congratulations to you on the announcement of your daughters engagement. I know you are proud of her and rightfully so.
Also I had dinner last night with a mutual friend of ours, Sen Lindsay Graham. Lindsay always talks how much he likes you and said if I were to be in contact with you to say hi from him.
Stay well and I look forward to hearing and seeing you soon.
All my best,
Terry
---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Duffy, Terry
Sent: Wed Dec 02 05:14:23 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Terry--

So sorry I haven't responded before but I've been hip deep in the rollout of the Afghanistan strategy. I am trying hard to accept this invite but haven't been able to nail down. We will let you know one way or the other by end of next week. Is that ok?

I hope you, your family and the futures markets are all well! My very best wishes, Hillary

----- Original Message -----
From: Duffy, Terry
To: H2; H
Sent: Fri Nov 27 10:02:38 2009
Subject: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

B6

Madam Secretary-

I hope you, the President and Chelsea had a great Thanksgiving. Hopefully things will wind down and you'll be able to spend some time with your family. As you know, I'm being honored by the American Friends of the Hebrew University on Thursday, March 11, 2010. I'd be so honored if you would consider being the keynote speaker. I've had some correspondence with Lona in your office and she indicated you may have a better idea of your 2010 calendar in early November. It would mean the world to me if you could do it, but if not I completely understand.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

All my best,
Terry

Terrence A. Duffy
Executive Chairman
CME Group
20 S. Wacker Drive
Chicago, IL 60606
P: 312-930-2000
F: 312-930-2040

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 9:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Revised Prayer Bfast Draft

Just faxed it to you. Let me know if you didn't get it. Thanks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** H

Revised draft of prayer breakfast remarks coming in 15 min by fax.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Posner, Michael H <PosnerMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 11:31 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills daniel.baer ; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J; preines
**Subject:** RE: WPost editorial

B6

B5

We will draft a response and get it to you. We are also compiling other commentary -- most of which has been very favorable. In a series of meetings we have had with the democracy and human rights groups, the response has been overwhelmingly positive.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 28, 2009 10:59 AM
To: 'cheryl.mills Posner, Michael H; 'daniel.baer ; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Crowley, Philip J; 'preines
Subject: WPost editorial

B6

I thought the argument they made yesterday about the human rights speech was either deliberately obtuse or clueless. Either way, we need to respond and refute. Can you have a response drafted and sent to me? Also, I'd like to see a summary of points made by other commentary. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 5:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement
**Attachments:** Statement - International FY11 Budget.doc

**From:** Rubiner, Laurie
**To:** jenklein.dc pverveer Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I B6
**Sent:** Tue Feb 02 17:35:11 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

You guys are totally great. Please thank Secy Clinton for us - we know it wouldn't have happened without her and all of you. We are also posting a video from Cecile on our website about this. Best, Laurie

**From:** Jordan, Brannon
**To:** Natl Communications Division; McHugh, Lorrie; Rubiner, Laurie; Meer, Jeff; Chaney, Joi; Taylor, Amy
**Sent:** Tue Feb 02 16:05:36 2010
**Subject:** Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement
Statement below and attached just sent to reporters.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 2, 2010

CONTACT: PPFA Media Relations 202-973-4882

## STATEMENT FROM CECILE RICHARDS ON INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING IN THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION BUDGET

**WASHINGTON, DC** —The women of the world have true friends in Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Obama administration. After years of inadequate funding during the previous administration, yesterday's Fiscal Year 2011 budget request for an increase in international family planning is a critical step forward in demonstrating our nation's renewed commitment to ensuring that women worldwide have access to safe and effective reproductive health care.

The Obama administration has sent a strong signal that the status quo is unacceptable. Every year more than half a million women — nearly all of whom live in developing countries — die of pregnancy-related causes. Moreover, one in three deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth could be avoided if women who wanted effective contraception had access to it.

To strengthen our working relationships with partners around the world, as well as our image, the United States must increase access to family planning. By ensuring that women have increased access to the family planning they need, our nation is working to make good on its commitment to promote the health of all women and their families.

An investment in family planning is an investment that reaps significant dividends. By providing education, counseling and contraceptives to women and couples, we are working to strengthen families worldwide. We also will help achieve major reductions in infant and maternal mortality, HIV infections and global poverty. As Secretary Clinton has said, "There's a direct connection between a woman's ability to plan her family, space her pregnancies, and give birth safely, and her ability to get an education, work outside the home, support her family, and participate fully in the life of her community."

Planned Parenthood works with partners across the globe to eliminate barriers to basic reproductive health care that is essential to the health and well-being of women, men and children everywhere. Limited access to health care, lack of political will, legal and regulatory restrictions, cultural taboos, and harsh gender inequality all put women at risk of unintended pregnancy, unsafe abortion and childbirth, and HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. The commitment of Secretary Clinton and the Obama administration to international family planning will further the efforts of Planned Parenthood and others to help women overcome barriers to accessing needed reproductive health care.

As the Fiscal Year 2011 budget and appropriations process moves forward, we look forward to working with Congress to build on this request so that we may adequately address the global health challenges facing women worldwide.

###

*Planned Parenthood Federation of America is the nation's leading sexual and reproductive health care provider and advocate. We believe that everyone has the right to choose when or whether to have a child, and that every child should be wanted and loved. Planned Parenthood affiliates operate more than 840 health centers nationwide, providing medical services and sexuality education for millions of women, men, and teenagers each year. We also work with allies worldwide to ensure that all women and men have the right and the means to meet their sexual and reproductive health care needs.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 12:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Karzai call?

RCH came to agree with Frank R. over the weekend that we should hold off on a call by you. I am sitting down with Paul in a bit and will provide a further update.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 28, 2009 12:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Karzai call?

What, if anything, was decided about whether I should call him? The email traffic I read has Holbrooke saying "yes" and Frank R disagreeing. Can you update pls.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 2:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Karzai call?

B5

Just talked to Holbrooke on the slopes of Telluride.

Karzai is preparing to announce his intention to proceed with the election on schedule. He has lined up Qanooni in support.

SRAP is preparing a memo of potential options for how to move forward on this. When we have the memo I will be sure to get it to you pronto.

If Paul has anything to add/amend, I will be sure to let you know.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 28, 2009 12:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Karzai call?

What, if anything, was decided about whether I should call him? The email traffic I read has Holbrooke saying "yes" and Frank R disagreeing. Can you update pls.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 4:44 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW:

B6

**From:** AmbEFBagley
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 4:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN FULL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 2, 2010

CONTACT: PPFA Media Relations 202-973-4882

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 5:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Will call at six - still doing email

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:33:44 2010
Subject: Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Can I call you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:25:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

---

From: Rubiner, Laurie
To: jenklein.dc <jenklein.dc ; pverveer <pverveer ; Mills, Cheryl D; B6
Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tue Feb 02 17:35:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

You guys are totally great. Please thank Secy Clinton for us - we know it wouldn't have happened without her and all of you. We are also posting a video from Cecile on our website about this. Best, Laurie

---

From: Jordan, Brannon
To: Natl Communications Division; McHugh, Lorrie; Rubiner, Laurie; Meer, Jeff; Chaney, Joi; Taylor, Amy
Sent: Tue Feb 02 16:05:36 2010
Subject: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Statement below and attached just sent to reporters.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: PPFA Media Relations 202-973-4882

February 2, 2010

Statement from Cecile Richards on International

Family Planning in the Obama Administration Budget

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 4:50 PM
**To:** Posner, Michael H; H; cheryl.mills daniel.baer Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Cc:** preines Schwerin, Daniel B
**Subject:** Re: WPost editorial

Dan Schwerin can help with the drafting if you put together some building blocks. PJ

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Posner, Michael H
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; 'cheryl.mills <cheryl.mills 'daniel.baer B6
<daniel.baer ; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Crowley, Philip J; 'preines
Sent: Mon Dec 28 11:30:59 2009
Subject: RE: WPost editorial

B5

We will draft a response and get it to you. We are also compiling other commentary -- most of which has been very favorable. In a series of meetings we have had with the democracy and human rights groups, the response has been overwhelmingly positive.

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Sent: Monday, December 28, 2009 10:59 AM
To: 'cheryl.mills Posner, Michael H; 'daniel.baer ; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Cc: Crowley, Philip J; 'preines
Subject: WPost editorial

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 5:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Obama's Foreign-Policy Team Bests Economy Stars

I am sure you saw but can't resist sending . . . .

Yellow highlights are mine

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

# Obama's Foreign-Policy Team Bests Economy Stars: Albert Hunt

***BLOOMBERG***

Albert R. Hunt

Print This Story

Dec. 28 (Bloomberg) -- A year ago, the expectation was that President-elect Barack Obama's economic team would be a smooth- functioning machine, and the outlook was for turbulence in the national-security arena.

Timothy Geithner, the Treasury-secretary designate, and Lawrence Summers, chosen to head the White House National Economic Council, were unusually able veterans of Washington and financial crises. They were joined by a star-studded cast of economic advisers starting with former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, perhaps the most respected financial figure in the world, and prominent academic economists.

By contrast, the national-security advisers featured Senator Hillary Clinton of New York, who Obama upset to win the nomination and was still surrounded by aides who thought the wrong person won; Defense Secretary Robert Gates, a holdover from President George W. Bush's administration, and national- security adviser and former North Atlantic Treaty Organization commander Jim Jones, who barely knew his new boss.

Twelve months later, this conventional wisdom has turned upside down. The foreign-policy team, despite a few glitches, wins high marks and is beset by less rivalry and rancor than most any administration in memory. The vaunted economic team is faulted for poor coordination, drawing even the president's ire, and an inability to convey an overarching policy.

Deficit vs. Jobs

Two recent anecdotes illustrate this problem. On Dec. 2, as Obama prepared to give a major economic speech at the Brookings Institution on Dec. 8 (and a day after his Afghanistan speech at West Point) he met with policy makers. He heard a familiar reprise of the previous several meetings with budget director Peter Orszag arguing for more emphasis on reducing the deficit and Council of Economic Advisers chief Christina Romer leading the contingent espousing a greater short-term stress on jobs.

The president, by his standards, exploded. "Why are we having this meeting again, the same discussion," participants quoted him as saying.

Several administration insiders, prominent outside Democratic economic advisers and a few Congressional heavyweights, all worry this is symptomatic of a process that isn't working well. Summers, they argue, is brilliant on policy and ill-suited for a high-level staff job, which is what the head of the National Economic Council is.

"If you came up with 10 words to describe Larry, coordination and collaboration would not be two," says one person requesting anonymity who has worked with Summers extensively and admires his intellectual force.

'Top-Flight Players'

David Axelrod, Obama's top adviser, cautions not to read too much into one meeting. "When you bring in top-flight players, strong personalities, there's going to be issues of mediation," he says. "The president wants strong players, he synthesizes their best thinking, and the product is working."

Still, others say Summers too often is dismissive of fellow economic advisers, other than Geithner, although he gets a bum rap for supposedly freezing Volcker out of major decisions. The 82-year-old Volcker wants a freewheeling advisory role. But advisers acknowledge Summers rarely reaches out to include him. Volcker takes a much tougher line than Summers or Geithner toward Wall Street.

The other problem, an inability to effectively communicate an economic policy, was typified in a Dec. 4 interview with Geithner, who was asked what is the "clear, coherent economic message" of the administration.

'High-Class Education'

He proceeded to talk about "high-class education" for children, affordable health care, better incentives for energy and infrastructure, public-private arrangements and the like.

There are 15.4 million unemployed Americans and another 11.5 million "underemployed," either having given up looking and thus not counted in the jobless numbers or involuntarily relegated to part-time work. A laundry list of the Democrats' agenda is unlikely to prove comforting.

Geithner, who wins praise from Obama and others for his substantive performance after a shaky start and some more recent cheap political shots, acknowledges that public communications isn't his forte. It isn't Summers' either. And those who are more effective, including Roemer and fellow Council of Economic Advisers member Austan Goolsbee, sometimes are cut out of the action.

Loss of Confidence

The result: On the economy, Americans are losing confidence in the president, who gets little credit for policies that avoided an economic calamity and are starting to tum things around. In a survey by pollster Ann Selzer a few weeks ago for Bloomberg News, voters by 50 percent to 45 percent disapprove of Obama's performance on the economy; the numbers were worse on handling the budget deficit and dealing with Wall Street.

The best numbers were in foreign policy, including Afghanistan. The national-security apparatus isn't without problems. There has been periodic sniping at Jones, and top deputies have different perspectives. The deputy director, Tom Donilon, a well-regarded political operative, is seen as an extension of White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel; and top aide Denis McDonough, is the keeper of the Obama campaign flame.

Still, on the big stuff, especially the decision to escalate the war in Afghanistan, Obama has been well-served by his national-security team.

Biden's Role

Clinton has been a loyal and effective secretary of state and Gates has earned great respect from his commander in chief. There's almost none of the bitter infighting like that between Secretary of State Colin Powell and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in the Bush administration, or George Shultz and Caspar Weinberger in the Reagan years, or the incompetence that marked President Bill Clinton's first term. These tensions have been eased in the Obama administration by the constructive role played by Vice President Joseph Biden on foreign affairs.

If the war in Afghanistan goes south this could change. But the framework for handling tough situations has been set.

That isn't true with the economy. Inexplicably, Emanuel, a man with little tolerance for disarray, seems to have stayed on the sidelines here.

In an election year, with the dueling dilemmas of huge deficits and high unemployment, the president can't regain credibility if saddled with a decision-making process that doesn't work effectively and a message that lacks coherence and clarity.

(Albert R. Hunt is the executive editor for Washington at Bloomberg News. The opinions expressed are his own.)

To contact the writer of this column: Albert R. Hunt in Washington at ahunt1@bloomberg.net.

Andrew Mayock
Executive Secretary
US Treasury Department
O: 202-622-6096

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores; Doug Band; Justin Cooper; H; Hannah Richert
**Subject:** RE: Oscar/Navy

Good to know
thanks

-----Original Message----- B6
From: Oscar Flores
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2010 8:17 AM
To: Doug Band; Abedin, Huma; Justin Cooper; H; Hannah Richert
Subject: Oscar/Navy

**FYI**
I will not be around Feb 10-14
Have to drill in Syracuse four days cause I did not drill in Jan.

In March I'm scheduled for my 2 week AT (annual training) in Norfolk
I'm away March 22-April 5th

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 5:15 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; H
**Subject:** Re:

B6

Thx

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Mon Dec 28 16:44:17 2009
**Subject:** FW:

**From:** AmbEFBagley
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 4:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 5:15 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H
**Subject:** RE:

B6

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 5:15 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
**Subject:** Re:

Thx

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Mon Dec 28 16:44:17 2009
**Subject:** FW:

---

**From:** AmbEFBagley
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 4:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Brazil-EU meeting to discuss Haiti reconstruction: official

-----Original Message-----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2010 5:23 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J
Subject: FW: Brazil-EU meeting to discuss Haiti reconstruction: official

-----Original Message-----
From: membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com
[mailto:membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2010 10:54 AM
To: southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com
Subject: Brazil-EU meeting to discuss Haiti reconstruction: official

Brazil-EU meeting to discuss Haiti reconstruction: official

BRASILIA, February 3, 2010 (AFP) - A foreign ministers' meeting between Brazil and the European Union in Madrid later this month is to discuss reconstruction of quake-devastated Haiti, Iran and Middle East peace, Brazil foreign ministry said Wednesday.

The February 15 gathering in Madrid, held under Spain's presidency of the European Union, will be attended by Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim, the ministry said.

Negotiations on a deal between the South American trade bloc Mercosur and the European Union will also be discussed, along with climate change and the next EU-Latin America summit to be held in Madrid in May.

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D=4FCFA8DC-5746-4B17-A06E-2CB73F975E1D

=
0

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 28, 2009 5:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: happy christmas - we all got our wish - that you be confirmed. xo cdm

fyi
-----Original Message-----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
Sent: Monday, December 28, 2009 4:54 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: happy christmas - we all got our wish - that you be confirmed. xo cdm

Cheryl:

Thank you very much for your note. I am enormously grateful for the tremendous support that you and the Secretary offered me during this confirmation gauntlet. Without that support I have no doubt that I would still be stuck in confirmation limbo.

I am now looking forward to getting to Brasilia and getting to work.

I hope you and your family had a great Christmas. I am wishing you a happy and prosperous new year.

Tom

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Shannon, Thomas A
Sent: Sat Dec 26 08:38:02 2009
Subject: happy christmas - we all got our wish - that you be confirmed. xo cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 6:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: State.gov and Redesign Results

FYI

---

**From:** Dowd, Katie W
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 03, 2010 5:41 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Crowley, Philip J; McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Ross, Alec J; DiMartino, Kitty; Chitre, Nanda S; Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** State.gov and Redesign Results

Cheryl, Judith and PJ,

Wanted to give you a brief update on the initial results of the redesign. Please let me know if you have questions about the attached and below memo. I hope this can highlight for you the positive direction we are headed in, the increase in audiences we are engaging and more importantly, that this is only a continuation of the positive reaction we are having to our digital engagement efforts. Best, Katie

Re: Redesign of State.gov Accomplishments and Changes

---

On Thursday, December 17, 2009 the Department launched a new homepage design and altered navigation functionality for www.state.gov, the public facing site of the State Department.

The site aimed to meet the following goals:

- Better highlight the Department's priorities
- Proactively engage visitors
- Develop more Search-friendly features
- Provide easy access to vital citizen services, e.g. passport and visa information

The launch brought a series of positive press as noted in the below clips:

**"..it embraces social networking and other Web 2.0 tools in an exercise it called "21st Century statecraft." – AFP Global**

**"Gone are the old pro forma website verticals like press information, career postings, and resources for kids and other young one. Now, State.gov's site navigation draws attention to the ambitious policy thrusts that Secretary Clinton would like to make the centerpieces of her tenure at the department." – TechPresident**

**"The State Department hopes to use the site to engage people in an ongoing dialogue on foreign policy" -- Federal Computer Week**

**"The U.S. Department of State today unveiled a redesign of its official website, incorporating improved functionality and an updated design. With significant increases in traffic and expanding needs among users, the new, simplified design of www.state.gov aims to: present the Department of State more transparently, effectively communicate the**

**overarching mission of the Department of State, and increasingly engage audiences in an ongoing dialogue with Secretary Clinton and others in the Department on the foreign policy issues facing the country." – Enews Channel**

**Results:**

Overall the site has received positive praise from inside and outside the building on the new simplified design. The increased focus on major foreign policy objectives and on social networking have altered traffic and increased our networks. The new design allows us to better educate visiting audiences on the priorities of the Department and better engage in a daily conversation.

All metrics are trending up for visiting audiences to state.gov, Dipnote the blog, and social networking.

**Top Line Statistics:**

State.gov: 37% increase in traffic

Dipnote Blog: 30% increase to traffic

Facebook: 20% increase to number of fans

Twitter: 23% increase to number of followers

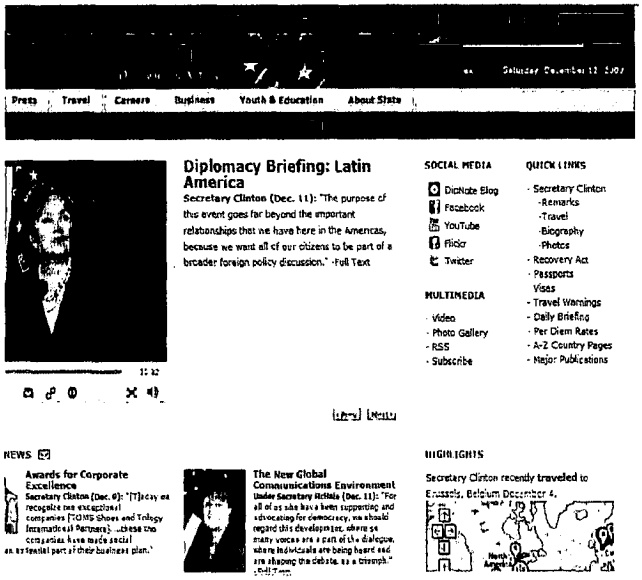
Search: -3% indicating that users perhaps are better at finding information and have less of a need for search function. We will continue to monitor.

**Going forward:**

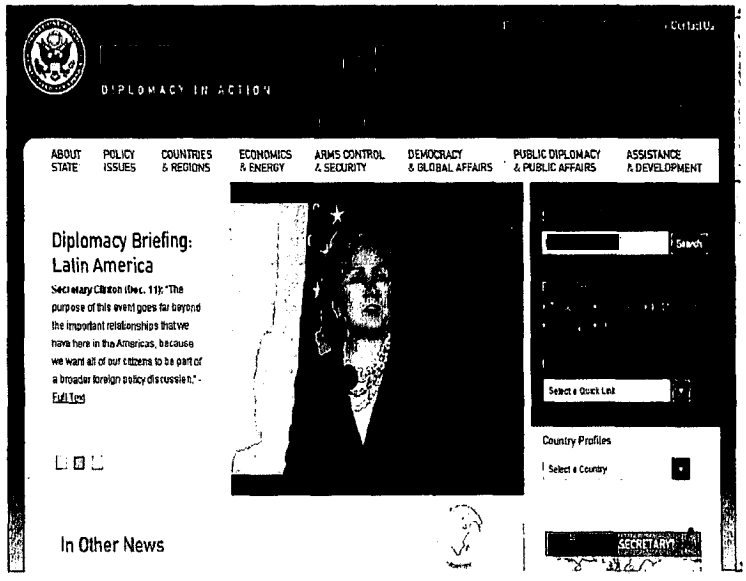
We will continue to monitor all our metrics to ensure we are expanding our reach and engagement. We will look in the coming year to continue refining the website to build upon initial successes to ensure information is easy to find, understandable and useable. We will also look to build more language support into State.gov, and increase the number of social networking tools we are using to engage visiting audiences.

Also given the increased importance on interagency priorities like Global Health and Food Security, we will seek ways that we can work together across agencies to promote our agenda and educate each of our visiting audiences on priorities through www.state.gov.

**Pre-redesign:**




**Redesign:**



RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 11:00 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Yes, I sent Terry an email and he said he understood the regret, all is good.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:57 AM
To: Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Fw: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Did we regret this?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 29 10:42:56 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Duffy, Terry
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 02 08:14:56 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Madam Secretary,
That would be more than fine. I appreciate you even looking to see if this may work.
On another note I wanted to send congratulations to you on the announcement of your daughters engagement. I know you are proud of her and rightfully so.
Also I had dinner last night with a mutual friend of ours, Sen Lindsay Graham. Lindsay always talks how much he likes you and said if I were to be in contact with you to say hi from him.
Stay well and I look forward to hearing and seeing you soon.
All my best,
Terry
---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Duffy, Terry
Sent: Wed Dec 02 05:14:23 2009
Subject: Re: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Terry--

So sorry I haven't responded before but I've been hip deep in the rollout of the Afghanistan strategy. I am trying hard to accept this invite but haven't been able to nail down. We will let you know one way or the other by end of next week. Is that ok?

I hope you, your family and the futures markets are all well! My very best wishes, Hillary

----- Original Message -----
From: Duffy, Terry [redacted] B6
To: H2; H
Sent: Fri Nov 27 10:02:38 2009
Subject: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

Madam Secretary-

I hope you, the President and Chelsea had a great Thanksgiving. Hopefully things will wind down and you'll be able to spend some time with your family. As you know, I'm being honored by the American Friends of the Hebrew University on Thursday, March 11, 2010. I'd be so honored if you would consider being the keynote speaker. I've had some correspondence with Lona in your office and she indicated you may have a better idea of your 2010 calendar in early November. It would mean the world to me if you could do it, but if not I completely understand.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

All my best,
Terry

Terrence A. Duffy
Executive Chairman
CME Group
20 S. Wacker Drive
Chicago, IL 60606
P: 312-930-2000
F: 312-930-2040
[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 7:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cdm trying to reach you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 11:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call list

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:58 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call list

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Dec 29 10:42:29 2009
Subject: RE: Call list

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:39 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Revise as follows:

I spoke w the following so remove--

Snowe
Yang
McConnell
Baugh
LaHood
Webb

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Issues I cover

Will do. Thanks

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:33:06 2010
Subject: Re: Issues I cover

Thx Mike. I'd like to meet w you this week. Pls get a time from Lona.

----- Original Message -----
From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 10 11:17:32 2010
Subject: Issues I cover

Madam Secretary,

Attached and below, please find a list of the issues I cover.

Thanks,

Mike

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Clinton

FROM: Mike

CC: Cheryl, Jake

SUBJECT: Issues I Cover

In addition to the day-to-day projects and follow-up items I work on with Jake, I cover the following issues:

Long-Range Policy

- Helping Cheryl and Jake plan for, and follow-up on, the bi-monthly policy meetings
- Working with bureaus on end-of-year reports follow-up
- Keeping up to speed on issues discussed at Deputies meetings for weekly memos
- Helping shepherd speech ideas and providing feedback on drafts

Substantive Issue Areas

- Human rights/democracy
- Sudan
- Mexico
- Cookstoves
- Yemen-related issues
- Export controls
- Cybersecurity
- Terrorist finance issues
- Military families issues
- Climate change
- Dialogues and partnerships with Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Indonesia, Brazil

State Department Reform

- Report reform: Working with Rich Verma and his team on reforming state's system for producing annual reports to Congress
- QDDR-related assistance

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 11:21 AM
**To:** H

Robinson can talk at 4pm today
Do u want to confirm?
Ill get you revised paper

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

See final b/l - [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:45:46 2010

JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF
THE GOVERNMENTS OF HAITI AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ISSUED AT PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI JANUARY 17, 2010

President René Préval of Haiti and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States of America met in Port-au-Prince in the wake of the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010 and its tragic aftermath, and issued the following joint communiqué:

Recognizing:

the long history of friendship between the people of Haiti and the people of the United States and their mutual respect for each other's sovereignty;

the grievous suffering of the people of Haiti, including the massive loss of life, widespread injuries, and extensive damage to public infrastructure and private property;

the urgent need for an immediate response to the requests by the Government of Haiti and the paramount importance of safe, swift and effective implementation of rescue, relief, recovery, and reconstruction efforts;

the current, unprecedented challenges facing the Haitian Government; and

the January 15, 2010 conversation between President Obama and President Préval underscoring the urgency of the needs of Haiti and its people, President Obama's pledge of the full support of the American people for the Government and people of Haiti in relation to both the immediate recovery effort and the long-term rebuilding effort, and the two Presidents' commitment to coordinate assistance among the various parties, including the Haitian Government, the United Nations, the United States and the many international partners and organizations on the ground;

President Préval, on behalf of the Government and people of Haiti, welcomes as essential the efforts in Haiti by the Government and people of the United States to support the immediate recovery, stability and long-term rebuilding of Haiti and requests the United States to assist as needed in augmenting security in support of the Government and people of Haiti and the United Nations, international partners and organizations on the ground;

Secretary Clinton, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, reaffirms the intention of the United States, through its assistance, to stand by the Haitian people in this time of great tragedy; and

President Préval and Secretary Clinton jointly reaffirm that the Governments of Haiti and the United States will continue to cooperate under this shared understanding to promote the most safe and effective rescue, relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts possible.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 1:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Year end report

Yep. I can't warrant the quality of the outline but I've reserved time this week to plug away on it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 12:16 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Year end report

I feel a little guilty asking about the report but could we get an outline by the weekend?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 6:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Posner response to Washington Post editorial

Philippe and Jake asked me to send along this response to the Washington Post editorial:

By Michael Posner

The Post's Dec. 27 editorial ("Redefining Human Rights") on the Obama Administration's human rights and democracy policies, and Secretary Clinton's recent speech at Georgetown in particular, misses the critical point: human rights, democracy, and development are mutually reinforcing, not competing goals. They complement each other in the task of making human rights a human reality.

President Roosevelt understood the fundamental link between liberty, prosperity and security, tying together freedom of speech and worship with freedom from want and freedom from fear in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. At Georgetown, Secretary Clinton articulated a 21st century vision grounded in this wisdom.

To accuse Secretary Clinton of embracing a Soviet-bloc approach to human rights because she includes development in a discussion of democracy not only strains the bonds of credulity and common sense, it also walls off a crucial avenue for ensuring that people can actually exercise the rights that are naturally theirs - including the rights to freedom of religion, association, and speech-in their daily lives.

As Secretary Clinton made clear, policies that address development alone are not adequate: "Freedom doesn't come in half measures, and partial remedies will not solve the whole problem," she said. But experience shows us that where broad-based development occurs, people are more likely to demand a say in securing their futures, and governments are more likely to have the resources to maintain the strong institutions, including reliable police and fair courts, that help ensure the consistent protection of rights. Where people are given the right to speak freely, to participate in their nation's political process and have access to basic information about government, sustainable development is more likely to occur. At the same time, democracies without development do not last. These are mutually reinforcing tracks, and the Obama Administration is committed to pursuing both simultaneously.

As President Obama said in his Nobel lecture, "engagement with repressive regimes lacks the satisfying purity of indignation." But the Post's overheated outrage ignores the lessons learned by generations of men and women who worked to advance human rights around the world.

To suggest that Secretary Clinton somehow provided excuses to rights-abusing dictators in a speech in which she forcefully criticized specific abuses across the world, is simply not credible. Far from being an excuse for any regime, this is an approach that pushes governments to do more to advance civil and political rights and to ensure that democracy actually delivers a measure of prosperity and opportunity for all. That is the right approach for the Obama Administration and for the 21st century.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 6:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Posner response to Washington Post editorial

Great. We're reaching out to them now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Tue Dec 29 18:21:05 2009
Subject: Re: Posner response to Washington Post editorial

That's fine. Will it be printed in next day or so?

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 29 18:08:30 2009
Subject: Posner response to Washington Post editorial

Philippe and Jake asked me to send along this response to the Washington Post editorial:

By Michael Posner

The Post's Dec. 27 editorial ("Redefining Human Rights") on the Obama Administration's human rights and democracy policies, and Secretary Clinton's recent speech at Georgetown in particular, misses the critical point: human rights, democracy, and development are mutually reinforcing, not competing goals. They complement each other in the task of making human rights a human reality.

President Roosevelt understood the fundamental link between liberty, prosperity and security, tying together freedom of speech and worship with freedom from want and freedom from fear in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. At Georgetown, Secretary Clinton articulated a 21st century vision grounded in this wisdom.

To accuse Secretary Clinton of embracing a Soviet-bloc approach to human rights because she includes development in a discussion of democracy not only strains the bonds of credulity and common sense, it also walls off a crucial avenue for ensuring that people can actually exercise the rights that are naturally theirs - including the rights to freedom of religion, association, and speech-in their daily lives.

As Secretary Clinton made clear, policies that address development alone are not adequate: "Freedom doesn't come in half measures, and partial remedies will not solve the whole problem," she said. But experience shows us that where broad-based development occurs, people are more likely to demand a say in securing their futures, and governments are more likely to have the resources to maintain the strong institutions, including reliable police and fair courts, that help ensure the consistent protection of rights. Where people are given the right to speak freely, to participate in their nation's political process and have access to basic information about government, sustainable development is more likely to occur. At the same time, democracies without development do not last. These are mutually reinforcing tracks, and the Obama Administration is committed to pursuing both simultaneously.

As President Obama said in his Nobel lecture, "engagement with repressive regimes lacks the satisfying purity of indignation." But the Post's overheated outrage ignores the lessons learned by generations of men and women who worked to advance human rights around the world.

To suggest that Secretary Clinton somehow provided excuses to rights-abusing dictators in a speech in which she forcefully criticized specific abuses across the world, is simply not credible. Far from being an excuse for any regime, this is an approach that pushes governments to do more to advance civil and political rights and to ensure that democracy actually delivers a measure of prosperity and opportunity for all. That is the right approach for the Obama Administration and for the 21st century.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 9:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Response in posner's name

This is the close to final that will go in Posner's rather than your name.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 5:23 PM
To: Baer, Daniel B; Posner, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Schwerin, Daniel B
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Fw: Response in posner's name

My edits in caps below.

The Post's Dec 27 editorial ("Redefining Human Rights") on the Obama Administration's human rights and democracy policies, and Secretary Clinton's recent speech at Georgetown in particular, misses THE CRITICAL POINT: human rights, democracy, and development are mutually reinforcing, not competing goals. They complement each other in the [DELETE: practical] task of making human rights a human reality.

President Roosevelt understood the fundamental link between liberty, prosperity and security, tying together freedom of speech and worship with freedom from want and freedom from fear in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. At Georgetown, Secretary Clinton articulated a 21st century vision grounded in this [DELETE: old] wisdom.

To accuse Secretary Clinton of embracing a Soviet-bloc approach to human rights because she includes development in a discussion of democracy not only strains the bonds of credulity and common sense, it also walls off a crucial avenue for ensuring that people can actually exercise the rights that are naturally theirs - including the rights to freedom of religion, association, and speech-in their daily lives.

AS SECRETARY CLINTON MADE CLEAR, policies that address development alone are not adequate: "Freedom doesn't come in half measures, and partial remedies will not solve the whole problem," she said. But experience shows us that where broad-based development occurs, people are more likely to demand a say in securing their futures, and governments are more likely to have the resources to maintain the strong institutions, including reliable police and fair courts, that help ensure the consistent protection of rights. Where people are given the right to speak freely, to participate in their nation's political process and have access to basic information about government, sustainable development is [DELETE: much] more likely to occur. At the same time, democracies without development do not last. These are mutually reinforcing tracks, and the Obama Administration is committed to pursuing both simultaneously.

As President Obama said in his Nobel lecure, "engagement with repressive regimes lacks the satisfying purity of indignation." But the Post's overheated outrage ignores the [DELETE: practical] lessons learned by generations of men and women who worked to advance human rights around the world.

[DELETE: And t]To suggest that Secretary Clinton somehow provided excuses to rights-abusing dictators in a speech in which she forcefully critized specific abuses across the world, is simply not credible. Far from being an excuse for any

regime, this is an approach that pushes governments to do more to advance civil and political rights and to ensure that democracy actually delivers a measure of prosperity and opportunity for all. It's the right approach for 21st century.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 9:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Response in posner's name

B6

Call me on

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 9:54 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Response in posner's name

Ok w me. Can you talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 29 21:20:16 2009
Subject: FW: Response in posner's name

This is the close to final that will go in Posner's rather than your name.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 5:23 PM
To: Baer, Daniel B; Posner, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Schwerin, Daniel B
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Fw: Response in posner's name

My edits in caps below.

The Post's Dec 27 editorial ("Redefining Human Rights") on the Obama Administration's human rights and democracy policies, and Secretary Clinton's recent speech at Georgetown in particular, misses THE CRITICAL . POINT: human rights, democracy, and development are mutually reinforcing, not competing goals. They complement each other in the [DELETE: practical] task of making human rights a human reality.

President Roosevelt understood the fundamental link between liberty, prosperity and security, tying together freedom of speech and worship with freedom from want and freedom from fear in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech. At Georgetown, Secretary Clinton articulated a 21st century vision grounded in this [DELETE: old] wisdom.

To accuse Secretary Clinton of embracing a Soviet-bloc approach to human

rights because she includes development in a discussion of democracy not only strains the bonds of credulity and common sense, it also walls off a crucial avenue for ensuring that people can actually exercise the rights that are naturally theirs - including the rights to freedom of religion, association, and speech-in their daily lives.

AS SECRETARY CLINTON MADE CLEAR, policies that address development alone are not adequate: "Freedom doesn't come in half measures, and partial remedies will not solve the whole problem," she said. But experience shows us that where broad-based development occurs, people are more likely to demand a say in securing their futures, and governments are more likely to have the resources to maintain the strong institutions, including reliable police and fair courts, that help ensure the consistent protection of rights. Where people are given the right to speak freely, to participate in their nation's political process and have access to basic information about government, sustainable development is [DELETE: much] more likely to occur. At the same time, democracies without development do not last. These are mutually reinforcing tracks, and the Obama Administration is committed to pursuing both simultaneously.

As President Obama said in his Nobel lecure, "engagement with repressive regimes lacks the satisfying purity of indignation." But the Post's overheated outrage ignores the [DELETE: practical] lessons learned by generations of men and women who worked to advance human rights around the world.

[DELETE: And t]To suggest that Secretary Clinton somehow provided excuses to rights-abusing dictators in a speech in which she forcefully critized specific abuses across the world, is simply not credible. Far from being an excuse for any regime, this is an approach that pushes governments to do more to advance civil and political rights and to ensure that democracy actually delivers a measure of prosperity and opportunity for all. It's the right approach for 21st century.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:42 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Call list

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:39 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Revise as follows:

I spoke w the following so remove--

Snowe
Yang
McConnell
Baugh
LaHood
Webb

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Y

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Jan 17 22:28:22 2010
Subject: Re:

Ok. Has it gone out yet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 22:19:45 2010
Subject: Fw:

See final b/l - B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:45:46 2010

JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF
THE GOVERNMENTS OF HAITI AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ISSUED AT PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI JANUARY 17, 2010

President René Préval of Haiti and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States of America met in Port-au-Prince in the wake of the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010 and its tragic aftermath, and issued the following joint communiqué:

Recognizing:

the long history of friendship between the people of Haiti and the people of the United States and their mutual respect for each other's sovereignty;

the grievous suffering of the people of Haiti, including the massive loss of life, widespread injuries, and extensive damage to public infrastructure and private property;

the urgent need for an immediate response to the requests by the Government of Haiti and the paramount importance of safe, swift and effective implementation of rescue, relief, recovery, and reconstruction efforts;

the current, unprecedented challenges facing the Haitian Government; and

the January 15, 2010 conversation between President Obama and President Préval underscoring the urgency of the needs of Haiti and its people, President Obama's pledge of the full support of the American people for the Government and people of Haiti in relation to both the immediate recovery effort and the long-term rebuilding effort, and the two Presidents' commitment to coordinate assistance among the various parties, including the Haitian Government, the United Nations, the United States and the many international partners and organizations on the ground;

President Préval, on behalf of the Government and people of Haiti, welcomes as essential the efforts in Haiti by the Government and people of the United States to support the immediate recovery, stability and long-term rebuilding of Haiti and requests the United States to assist as needed in augmenting security in support of the Government and people of Haiti and the United Nations, international partners and organizations on the ground;

Secretary Clinton, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, reaffirms the intention of the United States, through its assistance, to stand by the Haitian people in this time of great tragedy; and

President Préval and Secretary Clinton jointly reaffirm that the Governments of Haiti and the United States will continue to cooperate under this shared understanding to promote the most safe and effective rescue, relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts possible.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech
**Attachments:** 2009-12-21 Internet Freedom Speech - TT7 - 2009 12 21 (2).docx

HRC:

This is an early preview of the speech (which is still in progress).

Let me know what you think conceptually after you read.

Cdm

# SPEECH COVER PAGE

## INFORMATION FREEDOM SPEECH

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann
Phone: 7-9842 / [redacted]
Email: tillemannts@state.gov

B6

## VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE _____

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ADDRESS ON INTERNET FREEDOM
THE NEWSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC
JANUARY 6, 2009

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

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B5

B5

B5

---

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S
**Sent:** Monday, December 21, 2009 2:33 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Ross, Alec J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H; Crowley, Philip J
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa; S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** Fw: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Folks,

I've attached the latest draft of the internet freedom speech. It should be ready for the Secretary. This version addresses issues raised in the last draft with three exceptions:

B5

Please let me know if any of you have further questions or comments.

Thanks,
Tomicah

B6

**From:** Tomicah Tillemann
**To:** Tillemann, Tomicah S
**Sent:** Mon Dec 21 14:17:45 2009
**Subject:** 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

# SPEECH COVER PAGE

## INFORMATION FREEDOM SPEECH

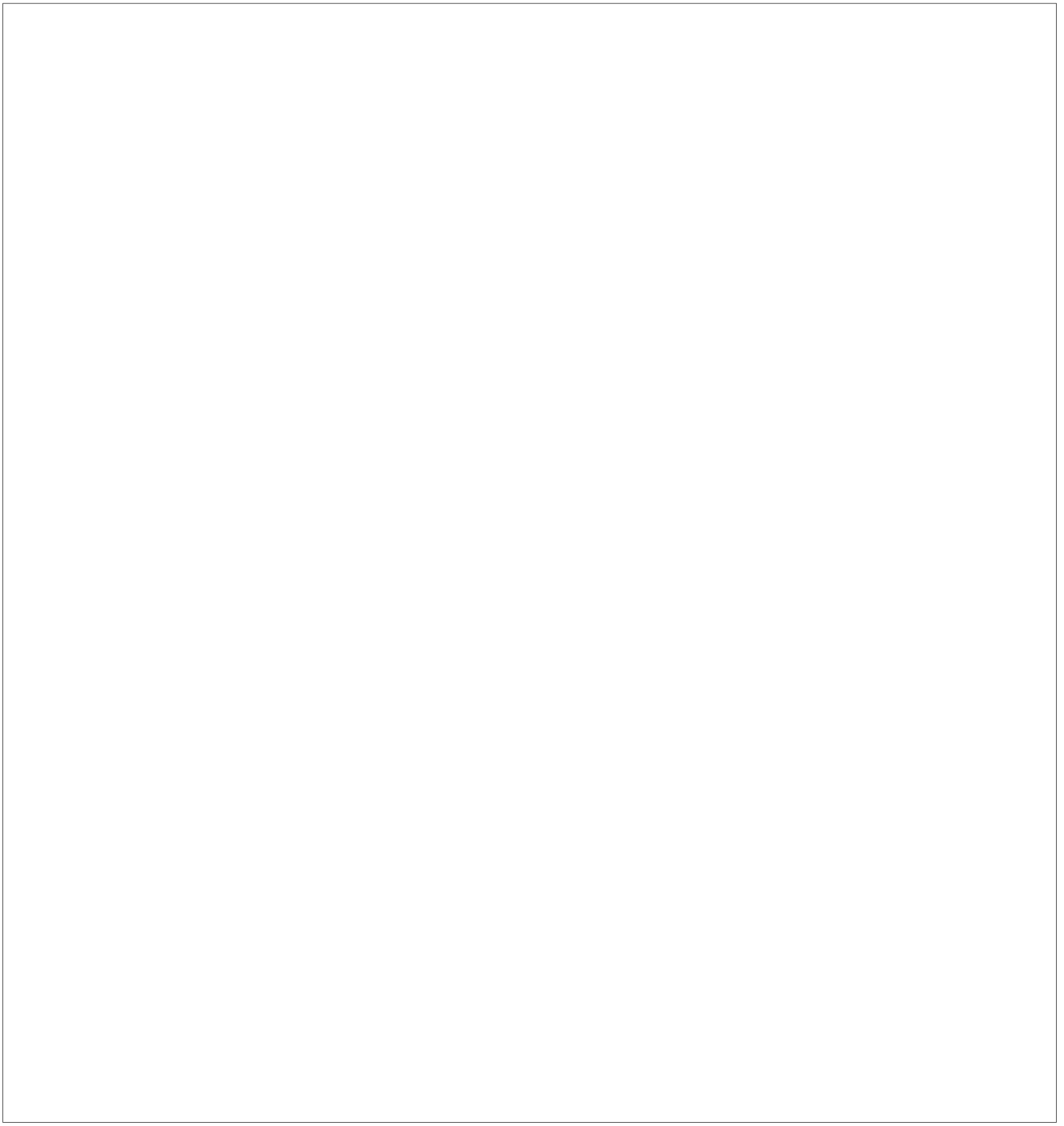
Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann
Phone: 7-9842 / [redacted] B6
Email: tillemannts@state.gov

## VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE _____

Information Freedom Speech
TT – V7
12.21.09 4 AM

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
# ADDRESS ON INTERNET FREEDOM
# THE NEWSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC
# JANUARY 6, 2009

B5



Information Freedom Speech
TT – V7
12.21.09 4 AM

B5

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B5

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767011 Date: 08/31/2015

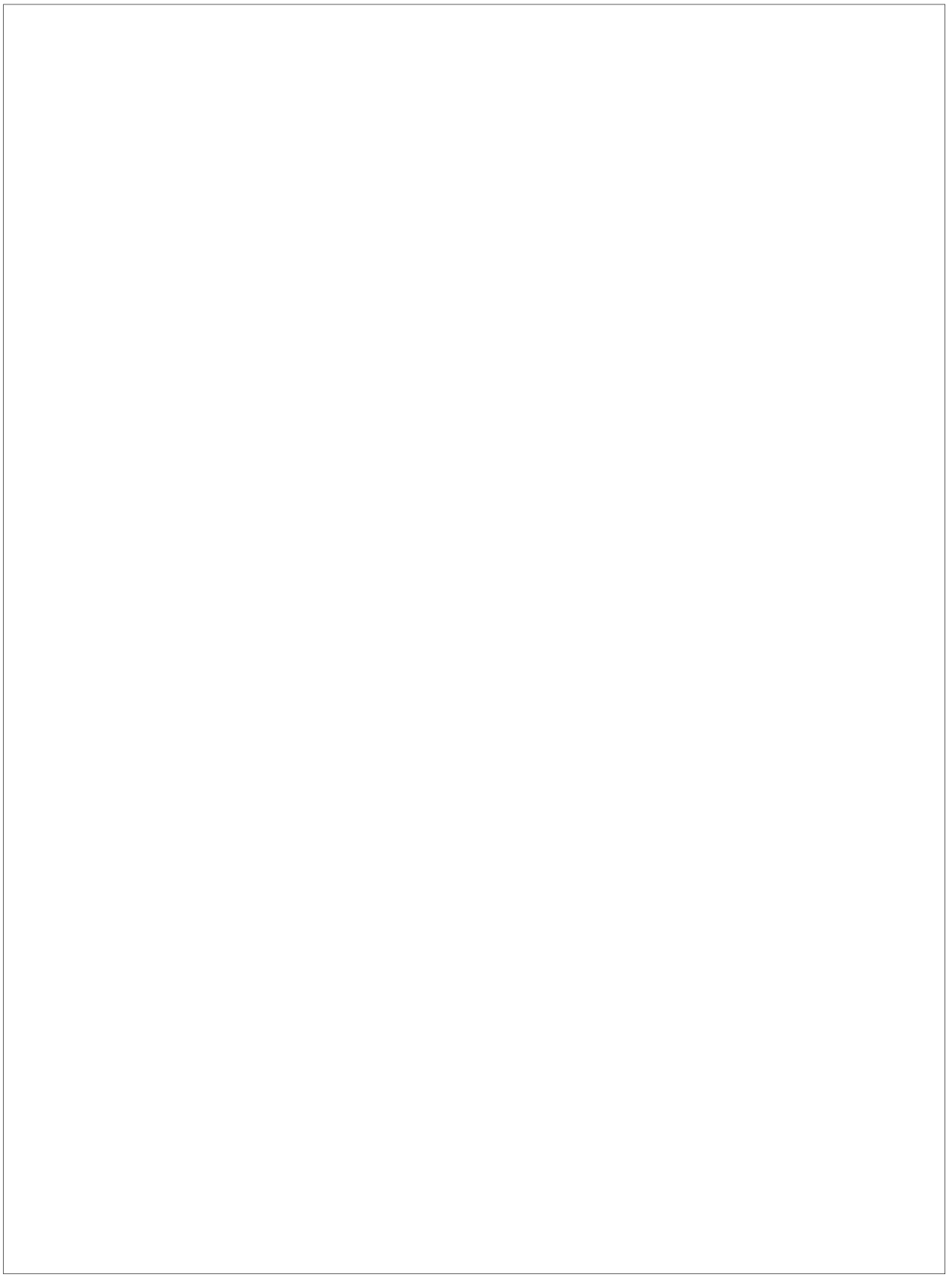


B5



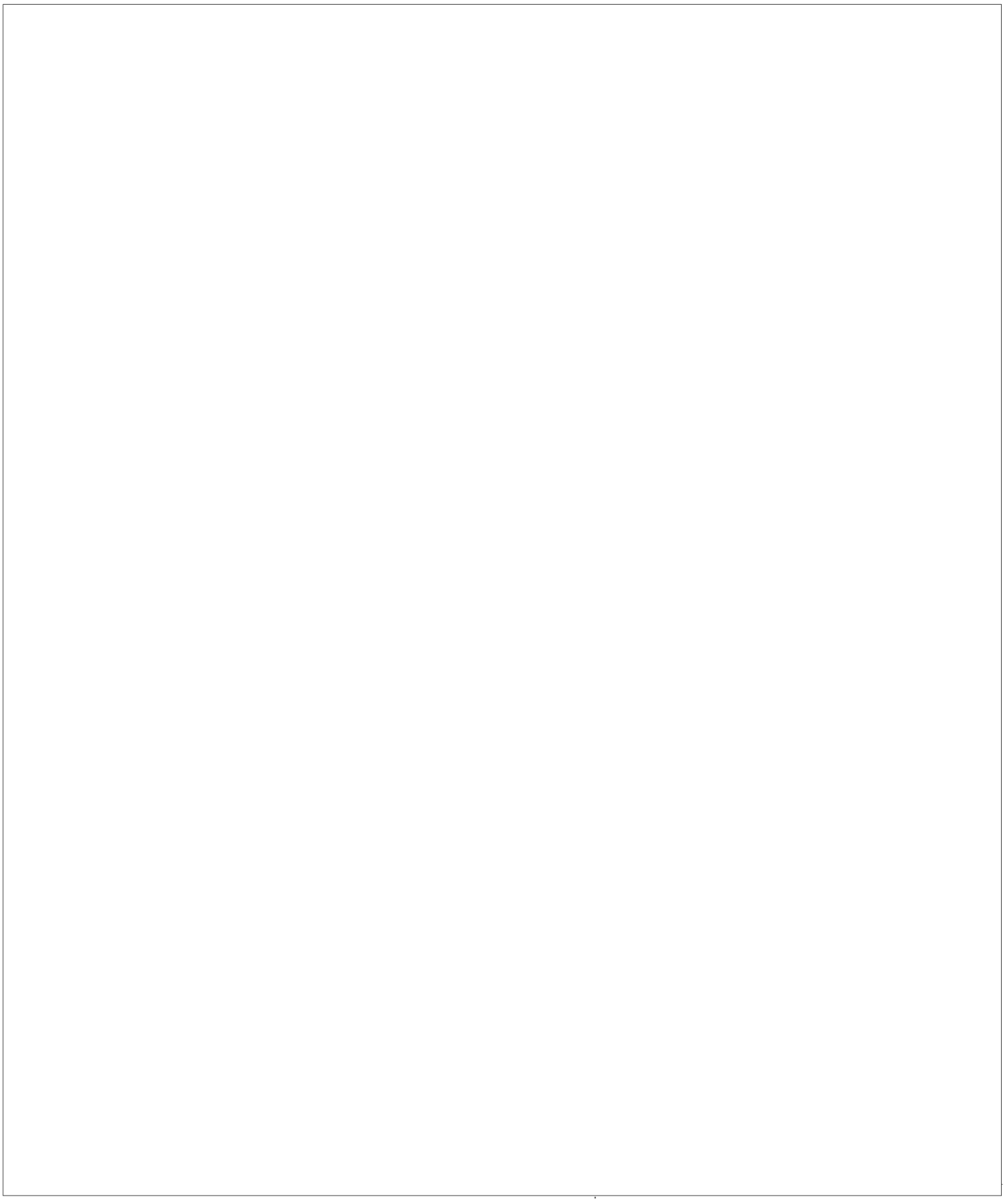
UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767011 Date: 08/31/2015

B5



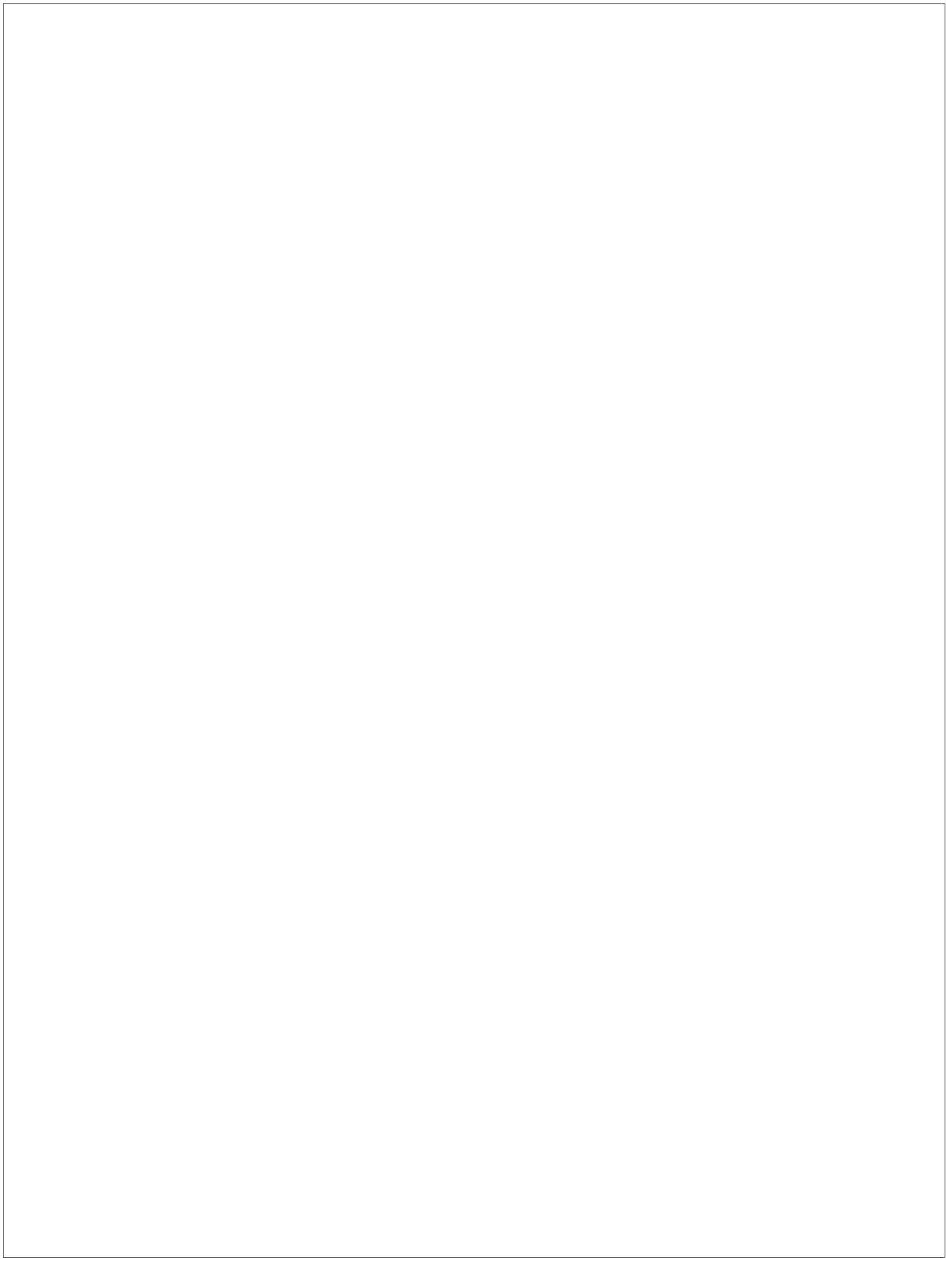
B5

B5



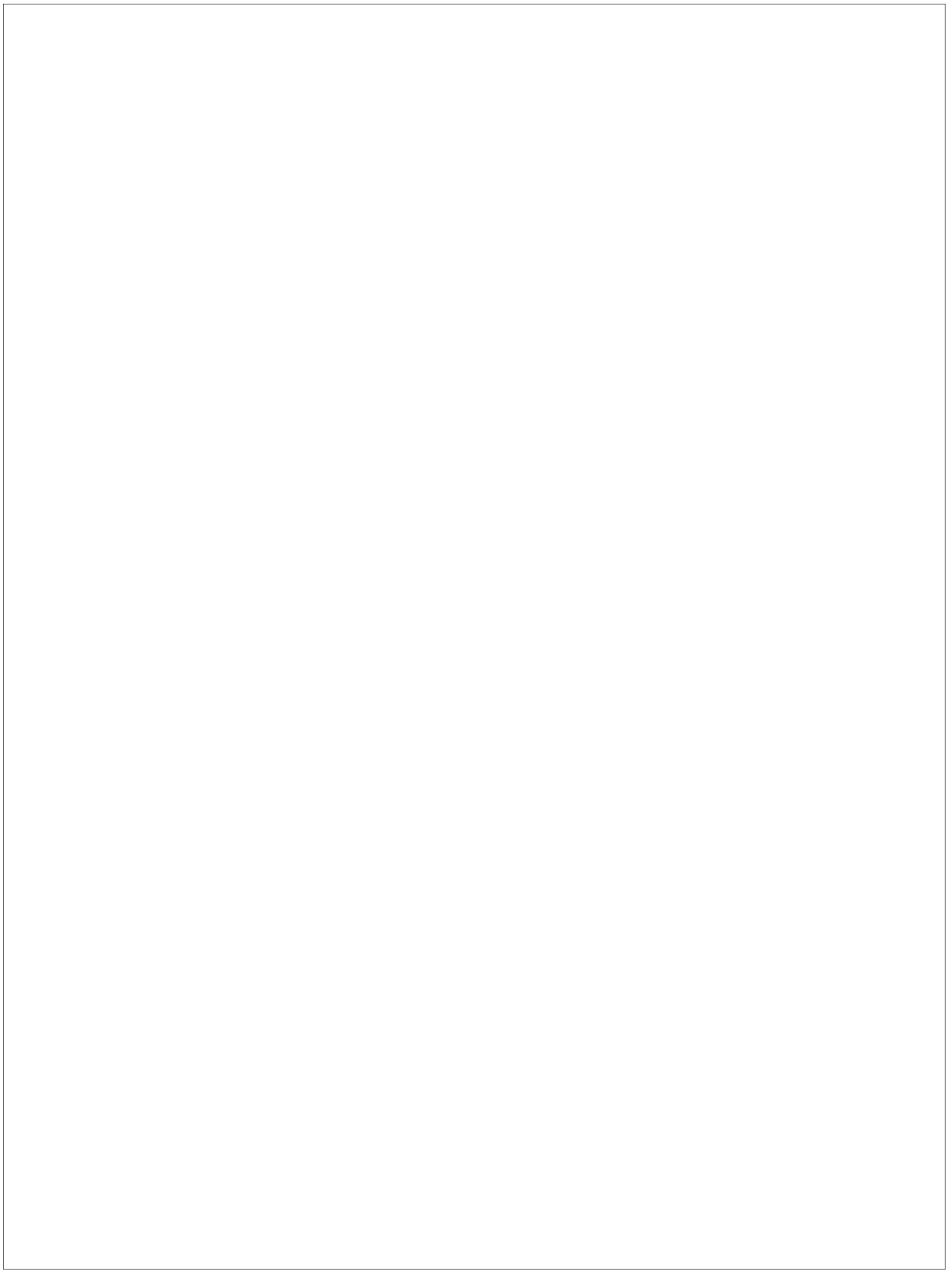
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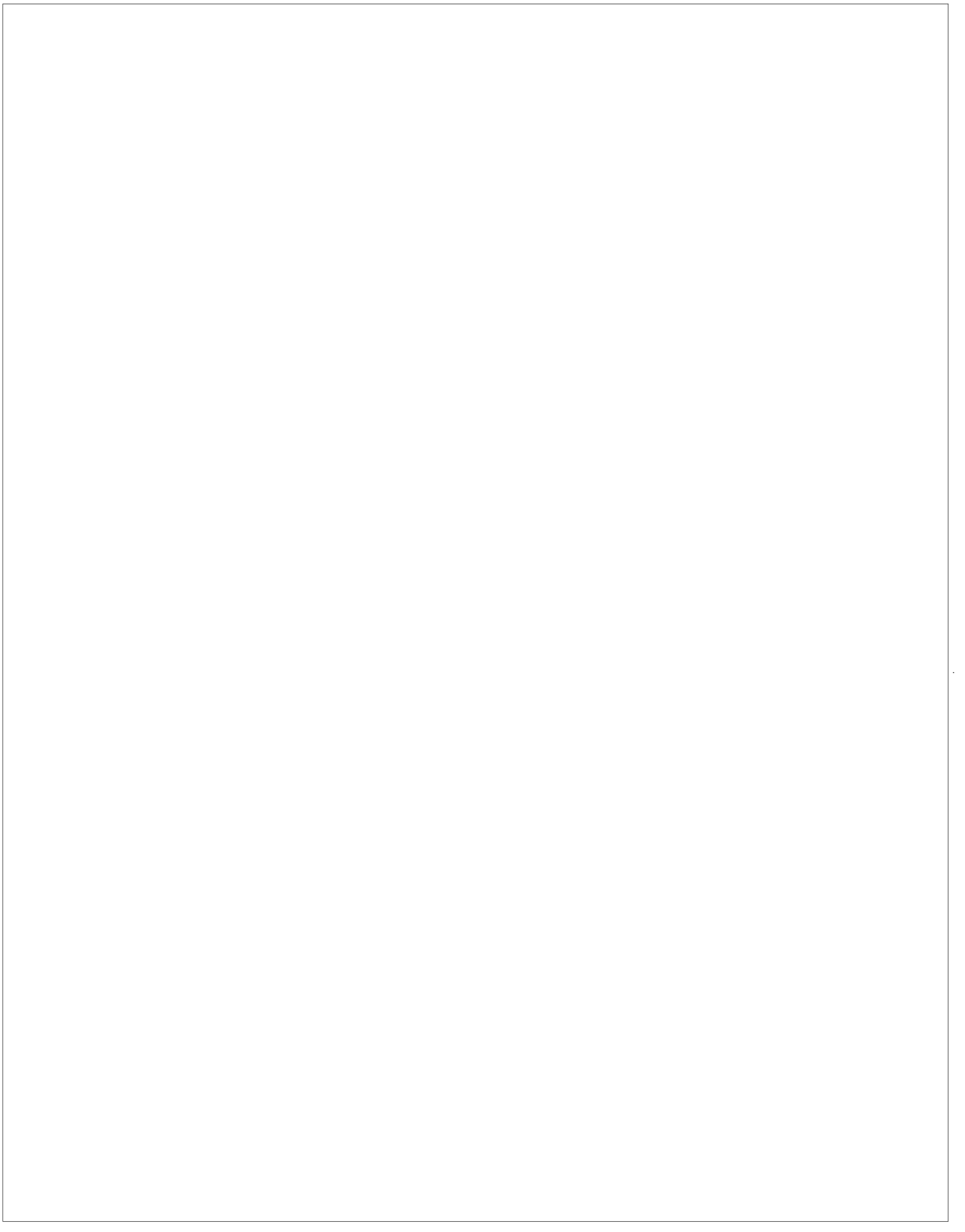


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B5



B5



Information Freedom Speech
TT – V7
12.21.09 4 AM

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:51 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Revised Concept paper on tech dinner
**Attachments:** Dinner on Tech.docx

HRC:

Attached and below is the concept for a technology dinner that would lead up to speech.

## Concept Paper for Dinner on Connection Technologies

B5

B5

**Potential Invitees:**

1) Padmasree Warrior, CISCO

2) Carol Bartz, Yahoo!

3) John Thompson, Symantec

4) Pierre Omidayr, Ebay and Omidyar Networks

5) Anthony Jiminez, MicroTech

6) Luis Ubinas, Ford Foundation

7) Julius Genachowski, Chairman FCC

8) Craig Mundie or Steve Ballmer, Microsoft

9) Steve Jobs, Apple

10) Michael Joseph, Safaricom and M-Pesa

11) Ory Okolloh, Ushahidi

12) Jack Dorsey, Twitter/Square

13) Eric Schmidt, Google

14) James Eberhard, Mobile Accord

15) Jason Liebman, Howcast

16) Carlos Slim, MexTel or Mo Ibrahim, former CelTel and now Mo Ibrahim Foundation

17) Clay Shirky, NYU

18) Andrew Rasiej, TechPresident

19) Jonathan Zittrain, Harvard

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FINAL COMMUNIQUE
**Attachments:** Final Communique Spanish.docx; Final Communique ENGLISH.docx; Final Communique French.docx; Final Communique Portuguese.docx; FinalCommuniqueCreole_Revision.docx

Fyi

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sun Jan 17 22:33:15 2010
**Subject:** Fw: FINAL COMMUNIQUE

Attached is the final communique. It will be released publicly at 10:45 pm.

**From:** Piechowski, Jon E
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Smith, Daniel B; Thompson, Dean R; Mesquita, Mario M; Schwerin, Daniel B
**Sent:** Sun Jan 17 22:28:41 2010
**Subject:** FW: FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The creole translator had some tweaks so I have subbed in a new creole communiqué. We are now final in our five languages.

---

**From:** Piechowski, Jon E
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 8:59 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Schwerin, Daniel B; Smith, Daniel B; Thompson, Dean R; Mesquita, Mario M
**Subject:** FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The final version of the joint communiqué and its translations.

Should I forward to the same people in Port-au-Prince as last night?

Jon

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Good - you good for us to sign off on giving a speech on 21 jan at newseum?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:56 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

This looks fine and makes me sound like a techie (which is good, albeit a stretch).

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 29 22:28:38 2009
Subject: FW: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

HRC:

This is an early preview of the speech (which is still in progress).

Let me know what you think conceptually after you read.

Cdm

SPEECH COVER PAGE

INFORMATION FREEDOM SPEECH

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann

B6

Phone: 7-9842 /

Email: tillemannts@state.gov

VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE _____

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON ADDRESS ON INTERNET FREEDOM THE NEWSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC JANUARY 6, 2009

B5

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B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

From: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Sent: Monday, December 21, 2009 2:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Ross, Alec J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H; Crowley, Philip J
Cc: Muscatine, Lissa; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Fw: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Folks,

I've attached the latest draft of the internet freedom speech. It should be ready for the Secretary. This version addresses issues raised in the last draft with three exceptions:

B5

Please let me know if any of you have further questions or comments.

Thanks,
Tomicah

---

B6

From: Tomicah Tillemann
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Sent: Mon Dec 21 14:17:45 2009
Subject: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 11:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Apparently - will find out what.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:59 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Is there something magic about that date?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 29 22:58:09 2009
Subject: RE: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Good - you good for us to sign off on giving a speech on 21 jan at newseum?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 10:56 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

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----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 29 22:28:38 2009
Subject: FW: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

HRC:

This is an early preview of the speech (which is still in progress).

Let me know what you think conceptually after you read.

Cdm

SPEECH COVER PAGE

INFORMATION FREEDOM SPEECH

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann

Phone: 7-9842 / [redacted] B6

Email: tillemannts@state.gov

VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE _____

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON ADDRESS ON INTERNET FREEDOM THE NEWSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC JANUARY 6, 2009

[redacted] B5

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B5

From: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Sent: Monday, December 21, 2009 2:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Ross, Alec J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H; Crowley, Philip J
Cc: Muscatine, Lissa; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Fw: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

Folks,

I've attached the latest draft of the internet freedom speech. It should be ready for the Secretary. This version addresses issues raised in the last draft with three exceptions:

B5

Please let me know if any of you have further questions or comments.

Thanks,
Tomicah

B6

---

From: Tomicah Tillemann
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Sent: Mon Dec 21 14:17:45 2009
Subject: 12/21 Revisions to Internet Freedom Speech

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 11:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Asian architecture speech

I am on travel and will not return to the office until Monday, January 4, 2010. I will be reviewing e-mail intermittently. If you need immediate assistance contact Marisa McAuliffe by phone at 202-647-2972 or email at mcauliffems@state.gov.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Kerry: "No plans" to go to Iran

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 12:45 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Kerry: "No plans" to go to Iran

# Kerry: "No plans" to go to Iran

Yesterday, Iranian media reported comments from the Iranian foreign ministry spokesman that the Iranian parliament was considering an alleged request filed by Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) to travel to Iran.

Today, Fred Jones, spokesman for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told POLITICO that "John Kerry has no plans to visit Iran."

Jones added that "We never discuss the Senator's private or diplomatic conversations."

Asked if that implied that Kerry was exploring the possibility of meeting Iranian officials elsewhere in a third country, Jones said. no. "There are no plans to meet with any Iranian officials abroad."

Interestingly, for the past week, Kerry's office has used variations of "unaware of plans" or "no plans" to discuss these Iran meetings rumors -- rather than "no."

And at face value, Jones' statement today does not seem to be the kind of flat denial that Kerry had filed such a request, but doesn't seem to indicate such a meeting is imminent. It also does not seem to close the door that such plans have been or are being or will be explored.

Has occurred to me that having a non administration lawmaker showing willingness to keep a channel open with Tehran could serve several purposes, in that it's not the administration offering to send an envoy. It could also distract a lot of attention away as a kind of decoy from other conversations that might or might not be going on.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 3:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: CNN piece on what's happening now in tech space in Tehran

FYI – for you in your new tech role.

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 11:09 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** CNN piece on what's happening now in tech space in Tehran

**http://edition.cnn.com/2009/TECH/12/30/iran.social.media/**
**(CNN)** -- It was called the "Twitter Revolution" -- the mass street protests following Iran's questionable June elections that were beamed to the world via social media and other online tools despite the government's media blackout.

This week, a loose, multi-national network of protesters, bloggers, Web developers and everyday Internet users has ramped up again in the wake of renewed anti-government street demonstrations that tumed deadly Sunday on Ashura, a Shiite Muslim holy day commemorating the death of 7th Century cleric Imam Hussein.
This time, Internet analysists and online activists involved in the movement have told CNN that a government initially caught flat-footed at how easily information flowed out of the country was ready to fight back.
"It's clear the government has been definitely restricting the Internet in a much more controlled way," said Cyrus Farivar, an Iranian-American freelance journalist who writes about technology issues. "They're definitely paying attention and, at the very least, trying to intimidate people."

And retaliation has been brutal -- both for those taking to the streets and those spreading the word online.
One of the most compelling videos to emerge from the recent unrest showed what the people who posted it said was an Iranian government vehicle plowing into a crowd of protesters, apparently running over and, they say, killing a woman.

Abbas Jafari Dolatabadi, Tehran's chief prosecutor, said Tuesday that seven people were killed in the Ashura riots. The demonstrations were the deadliest since June. Those left at least eight dead, according to Iran's Supreme National Security Council -- although dissidents and observers have said there were many more.
The world was able to learn about those protests through first-person accounts online after a disputed election that returned hard-line President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to office despite serious questions about polling results.
As protests swelled, Iran's government began kicking out some reporters from some traditional Western media outlets, arresting others and restricting the movements of those who remained.

In their place sprung citizen journalists who posted videos, photos and firsthand accounts on Twitter feeds, Facebook groups and sites like Flickr and YouTube. They kept images of the protests -- and the sometimes bloody response of government backers -- in front of the world.

As early as election day, both opposition political leaders and anti-government protesters said cell-phone signals were being jammed. They consistently reported networking Web sites in Iran being blocked, phone lines disconnected and protest sites allegedly infiltrated by government spies who spread misinformation and sought the identities of those speaking against the regime.

That experience, observers say, had the government primed for the most recent explosion of information.
"The spike at the beginning, right after the election, was pretty chaotic,"said Austin Heap, a San Francisco-based Web developer who has helped Iranian dissidents report from within their country. "Not even their government knew what they were going to do and how they were going to handle things.

"I think right now what you're seeing is a much more coordinated and organized response from them."
Tech experts say the Iranian government has become more adept at using a type of Internet filtering called deep-packet inspection to track information sent from one Internet user to another and hunt down the sender.
The government has also begun using the protest's own techniques against it. As early as June, online activists said they suspected government agents of posing as protesters in an attempt to pry information out of people within the movement. Some Twitter feeds of protesters suddenly and inexplicably began posting pro-government messages or asking for details about where and when protests would be held.

Earlier this month, videos that appeared to show protesters burning an image of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei circulated the Internet. Opposition leaders denied the burnings ever happened and said they were a hoax carried out by the government to discredit them and tum the Iranian public against their cause.
"Fake clips, usually made to provoke and split the opposition, are becoming a staple of the Iranian Internet," Evgeny Morozov, who writes about the Internet for Foreign Policy magazine, wrote in a commentary for CNN.
Austin Heap has helped set up and verify reliable proxies by which Iranians can post news to the Web without giving away their locations. He's also helping develop a program called Haystack designed to help Iranians anonymously elude government filters.

"We definitely have been working on overload for the past three days," he said Tuesday. "I woke up two days ago to 60 e-mails and 12 missed phone calls -- all people that, all of a sudden, needed an immediate response."
The continued media blackout in Iran had made it difficult for traditional media to immediately verify Sunday's accounts of the weekend's violence. But videos that surfaced depicted bloodied and, in some cases, apparently dead protesters.

A range of Web sites have either emerged or seen renewed interest in light of the recent protests. They run the gamut from YouTube accounts dedicated to images from street protests to blogs mocking the Iranian regime.
At the blog Watch Me Confess, opponents of Iran's government post faux apologies for what they call ridiculous claims the government has made about the protesters.

At Neda Net -- named for the young woman whose shooting death in June became a rallying cry for protesters -- people who call themselves a network of hackers offer tips on how to help Iranians use the Internet freely
"There's this kind of global attention being paid across different countries and cultures and languages," said Farivar, who noted the emergence of a Twitter hashtag -- #CN4Iran -- THAT appears to have been started by Chinese supporters of the Iranian protesters.

Despite their best efforts and good intentions, supporters outside the country won't decide the outcome of the most recent round of protests, Farivar said. The actions of Iranians on the ground will.

"I think it's naive to think that just because you're changing your location to Tehran [on a Twitter profile] that you're confusing the Iranian authorities," he said. "That would make them seem less intelligent than they are."
But Heap said the steady flow of information will be important as a government that prefers secrecy continues a violent crackdown on its citizens.

"They can't hide any more," he said. "The government has done everything they can to shut people up, and every time they do this they're just making more and more activists -- more and more citizen journalists."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 3:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Clinton edges Palin for most admired

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 11:58 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Clinton edges Palin for most admired

POLITICO

## Clinton edges Palin for most admired

By: Andy Barr

December 30, 2009 08:48 AM EST

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is the most admired woman in America, barely edging out former Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin, according to a Gallup poll out Wednesday.

When Gallup asked 1,025 adults nationwide to name the woman they admire most, 16 percent picked Clinton. Palin was the only other woman to be mentioned by at least 10 percent, being selected by 15 percent of those surveyed.

Daytime talk show host Oprah Winfrey came in third with 8 percent, edging out first lady Michelle Obama who got 7 percent.

Rounding out the top 10 were former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Queen Elizabeth II, who both received 2 percent, along with former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, poet Maya Angelou, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Elin Nordegren Woods, wife of golfer Tiger Woods — all of whom received 1 percent.

Clinton has been named most admired woman by the poll 14 times, going back to her time as first lady. Only then-first lady Laura Bush in 2001 and Mother Teresa in 1995 and 1996 have been able to knock Clinton from her perch, though Palin came close.

President Barack Obama ran away with the competition for most admired man, receiving the endorsement of 30 percent of those polled.

Former President George W. Bush came in second with 4 percent, topping former South African President Nelson Mandela's 3 percent.

Fox News host Glenn Beck, Pope Benedict XVI, the Rev. Billy Graham and Microsoft founder Bill Gates all received 2 percent. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), former President George H.W. Bush, former President Bill Clinton and Tiger Woods received support from 1 percent of those polled. Clinton and Woods tied for 10th place.

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Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 2:03 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** [redacted] B6

FYI

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 2:01 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: update on development speech venue

[redacted]

....

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc**: Toiv, Nora F
**Sent**: Thu Dec 31 13:16:21 2009
**Subject**: RE: update on development speech venue

[redacted]

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**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 1:05 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** Re: update on development speech venue

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** postmaster@state.gov
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Undeliverable: Happy New year! And some questions
**Attachments:** details.txt; Happy New year! And some questions (1.61 KB)

## Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

mhcaleja@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

**Diagnostic information for administrators:**

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu

mhcaleja@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

```
Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.238]) by
 MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959);         Sun, 3
 Jan 2010 18:36:58 -0500
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
        by vance2.state.gov  with ESMTP id o03NBEEh019168
        for <mhcaleja@state.gov>; Sun, 3 Jan 2010 18:11:14 -0500
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
 CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sun, 3
 Jan 2010 18:36:56 -0500
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'mhcaleja@state.gov'" <mhcaleja@state.gov>
Date: Sun, 3 Jan 2010 18:36:55 -0500
Subject: Happy New year! And some questions
Thread-Topic: Happy New year! And some questions
Thread-Index: AcqMzaK5JZr82YqZThOvt/20iKdYmQ==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044880360B6E00F@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 03 Jan 2010 23:36:58.0539 (UTC) FILETIME=[A44107B0:01CA8CCD]
```

X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4125-6.000.1038-17102.005
X-TM-AS-Result: Yes-8.890100-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:47 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

First we are hearing of uruguay, just checked the year end requests from travel and its not in there. We will find out. As for communities of democracies, building and bureau very much aware you committed to going. We just need to work with them through dates etc.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 03 18:20:36 2010
Subject: Schedule

There will be an inauguration in Uruguay in Feb or March. Pls find out exact date.

Also I told FM Sikorsky I would attend Community of Democracies mtg in Poland this summer. He said we could pick date. Do you have any more info?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 6:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Amb Eikenberry

Fyi

---

**From**: Jones, Paul W
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Ensher, Henry S; Campbell, Piper
**Sent**: Wed Dec 30 18:23:55 2009
**Subject**: Amb Eikenberry

B6

Cheryl, Jake,

Best, Paul

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 7:05 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Inauguration for president mujica of uruguay is March 1st.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 03 18:20:36 2010
Subject: Schedule

There will be an inauguration in Uruguay in Feb or March. Pls find out exact date.

Also I told FM Sikorsky I would attend Community of Democracies mtg in Poland this summer. He said we could pick date. Do you have any more info?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 9:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Today

10:30 Lithuanian FM Azubalis (you will have call sheet soon)
10:45 Secretary Gates
11am Tony Blair
11:30 Conference Call on doha speech (also sending paper for you to see before that call)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 9:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Can you call me thru ops?

Will call in 10 mins -- getting into work.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 11 09:27:47 2010
Subject: Can you call me thru ops?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I never heard the earlier part of this debate [redacted] B5

We shd not use our meeting w/ the DL to beat them up, but treat it like we would treat a meeting with a Coptic leader from Egypt or a Bahai leader from Iran, etc. We have nothing to hide. Let the Chinese make a big issue out of it if they want to; we will just do what we have always done.
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 10:04 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** One more thought on OAS

One last thought I had is whether it would be worth [redacted] B5

[redacted]

AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Status of Yemen 1206

I just asked Ops if we might be able to talk for a minute before your 10:45 call with Sec Gates. The call is on a different subject, but the Yemen 1206 package may come up and I wanted to brief you where things stand as of this morning. It was on his desk for signature yesterday and I asked that it be pulled back so we could work through some last issues today. I was planning to touch base with you before signing off. Thanks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 10:59 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

Yes, we have the video on the list to do by early March.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 11, 2010 10:57 AM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

The Lithuanian FM just told me the Community of Democracies is July 9-11 in Cracow, Poland. I have to go since I promised the Polish FM but had hoped they would schedule July 2-4. Can you check w EUR and DRL to see if dates can be moved? If not I can only go for the 9th since [redacted] Let's see if there is any give. I would also go to other places first during that week in Europe, including Warsaw for a bilateral meeting. B6

Also, am I doing a video to congratulate Lithuania on the 20th anniversary of their Independence on March 11?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 3:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Newseum

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Ross, Alec J
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Chitre, Nanda S; Dowd, Katie W
Sent: Wed Dec 30 19:02:56 2009
Subject: Newseum

I spoke w Chairman of the Newseum and there will be no cost for S speech on 21st. They're honored to host. The Chair is the CEO of the Knight Foundation and if the event requires sponsorship for it to be free they will sponsor. Whatever our legal regs are, Newseum and/or Knight will accommodate.

RELEASE IN FULL

Comunicado conjunto de los gobiernos de Haití y Estados Unidos

A continuación una traducción del comunicado conjunto de los gobiernos de Haití y Estados Unidos, emitido el 17 de enero:

(comienza el texto)

COMUNICADO CONJUNTO DE
LOS GOBIERNOS DE HAITÍ Y LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NORTEAMÉRICA
EMITIDO EN PUERTO PRÍNCIPE, HAITÍ
17 DE ENERO DE 2010

El presidente René Préval de Haití, y la secretaria de Estado Hillary Rodham Clinton de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica se reunieron en Puerto Príncipe luego del catastrófico terremoto del 12 de enero de 2010 y sus trágicas consecuencias, y emitieron el siguiente comunicado conjunto:

Reconociendo:

la larga historia de amistad entre el pueblo de Haití y el pueblo de Estados Unidos y su respeto mutuo uno por la soberanía uno del otro;

el grave sufrimiento del pueblo de Haití, inclusive la pérdida masiva de vidas, las extensas heridas y el amplio daño a la infraestructura pública y la propiedad privada;

la necesidad urgente de una respuesta inmediata a las peticiones del Gobierno de Haití y la enorme importancia de la aplicación segura, rápida y efectiva de los esfuerzos de rescate, alivio, recuperación, y reconstrucción;

los actuales desafíos sin precedente que enfrenta el gobierno haitiano; y

la conversación del 15 de enero de 2010 entre el presidente Obama y el presidente Préval, que subraya la urgencia de las necesidades de Haití y su pueblo, la promesa del presidente Obama del pleno apoyo del pueblo estadounidense para el gobierno y el pueblo de Haití en relación con el esfuerzo inmediato de recuperación y la reconstrucción de largo plazo, y el compromiso de los dos presidentes de coordinar la ayuda entre las varias partes, como son el gobierno haitiano, las Naciones Unidas, Estados Unidos y los muchos socios y organizaciones internacionales en el terreno;

El presidente Préval, en nombre del gobierno y el pueblo de Haití, acoge como esenciales los esfuerzos en Haití por el gobierno y el pueblo de Estados Unidos para apoyar la recuperación, estabilización y reconstrucción a largo plazo de Haití y solicita que Estados Unidos ayude como sea necesario a aumentar la seguridad en apoyo del gobierno y el pueblo de Haití y las Naciones Unidas, socios y organizaciones internacionales en el terreno;

La secretaria Clinton, en nombre del gobierno y el pueblo de Estados Unidos, reafirma la intención de Estados Unidos, mediante su ayuda, de apoyar al pueblo haitiano en estos momentos de gran tragedia; y

el Presidente Préval y la secretaria Clinton reafirman conjuntamente que los gobiernos de Haití y de Estados Unidos continuarán cooperando bajo este entendimiento compartido para promover los esfuerzos más seguros y efectivos posibles de recate, alivio, recuperación y reconstrucción.

(termina el texto)

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Yes on lithuania video
We will try on moving dates but we have been aware they are set for the 9-11th Will start working on it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Feb 11 10:57:00 2010
Subject: Schedule

The Lithuanian FM just told me the Community of Democracies is July 9-11 in Cracow, Poland. I have to go since I promised the Polish FM but had hoped they would schedule July 2-4. Can you check w EUR and DRL to see if dates can be moved? If not I can only go for the 9th since [redacted] Let's see if there is any give. I would also go to other places first during that week in Europe, including Warsaw for a bilateral meeting. B6

Also, am I doing a video to congratulate Lithuania on the 20th anniversary of their Independence on March 11?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 8:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) UN to move some staff out of Pakistan for safety

---

**From**: Krayman, Igor
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Thu Dec 31 08:00:53 2009
**Subject**: (AP) UN to move some staff out of Pakistan for safety

ISLAMABAD - The United Nations says it plans to temporarily relocate some of its international staff outside of Pakistan for security reasons. U.N. spokeswoman Ishrat Rizvi says 20 percent of the organization's expatriate workers will either leave the country for six months or be relocated to safer areas within Pakistan.

Igor Krayman
Operations Specialist
Department of State Operations Center
202-647-1512

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767091 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF HAITI AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ISSUED AT PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI JANUARY 17, 2010

**President René Préval of Haiti and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States of America met in Port-au-Prince in the wake of the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010 and its tragic aftermath, and issued the following joint communiqué:**

Recognizing:

the long history of friendship between the people of Haiti and the people of the United States and their mutual respect for each other's sovereignty;

the grievous suffering of the people of Haiti, including the massive loss of life, widespread injuries, and extensive damage to public infrastructure and private property;

the urgent need for an immediate response to the requests by the Government of Haiti and the paramount importance of safe, swift and effective implementation of rescue, relief, recovery, and reconstruction efforts;

the current, unprecedented challenges facing the Haitian Government; and

the January 15, 2010 conversation between President Obama and President Préval underscoring the urgency of the needs of Haiti and its people, President Obama's pledge of the full support of the American people for the Government and people of Haiti in relation to both the immediate recovery effort and the long-term rebuilding effort, and the two Presidents' commitment to coordinate assistance among the various parties, including the Haitian Government, the United Nations, the United States and the many international partners and organizations on the ground;

President Préval, on behalf of the Government and people of Haiti, welcomes as essential the efforts in Haiti by the Government and people of the United States to support the immediate recovery, stability and long-term rebuilding of Haiti and requests the United States to assist as needed in augmenting security in support of the Government and people of Haiti and the United Nations, international partners and organizations on the ground;

Secretary Clinton, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, reaffirms the intention of the United States, through its assistance, to stand by the Haitian people in this time of great tragedy; and

President Préval and Secretary Clinton jointly reaffirm that the Governments of Haiti and the United States will continue to cooperate under this shared understanding to promote the most safe and effective rescue, relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts possible.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767091 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I see I'm not the only person who does email while on the phone! ;-)

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:44 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: Re: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I agree and will act accordingly.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Feb 11 09:41:35 2010
Subject: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I never heard the earlier part of this debate [redacted] B5

We shd not use our meeting w/ the DL to beat them up, but treat it like we would treat a meeting with a Coptic leader from Egypt or a Bahai leader from Iran, etc. We have nothing to hide. Let the Chinese make a big issue out of it if they want to; we will just do what we have always done.
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Amcits in Haiti

fyi

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 12:49 PM
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M
**Subject:** RE: Amcits in Haiti

Thank you.

---

B5

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 12:09 PM
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M
**Subject:** Amcits in Haiti

Privileged/Attorney-Client Privilege/Attorney Work Product/Deliberative/SBU

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 9:02 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** FW: Easy reading for S that will make her smile
**Attachments:** End of Year SP FINAL Dec 2009.docx

For printing for HRC.

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 9:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Easy reading for S that will make her smile

Cheryl -- I note that lots of offices write up weekly reports, which we don't do. But given that a lot of the people in S/P do a lot of great work that S may not know about, I had this memo written up (and believe it or not boiled down many times). We'll send it up the line, but if u wd send it to her before Monday she can skim it quickly and feel good about all the things she has made happen. AM

**From**: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Wed Dec 30 20:43:37 2009
**Subject**: end of year accomplishments

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767099 Date: 08/31/2015

FRENCH - JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ

RELEASE IN FULL

**COMMUNIQUÉ COMMUN**
**DES GOUVERNEMENTS D'HAÏTI ET DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE**
**DIFFUSÉ À PORT-AU-PRINCE LE 17 JANVIER 2010**

Le Président de la République d'Haïti, M. René Préval, et la Secrétaire d'État des États-Unis d'Amérique, Mme Hillary Rodham Clinton, se sont entretenus à Port-au-Prince, à la suite du séisme catastrophique du 12 janvier 2010 et de ses conséquences tragiques, et ont rendu public le communiqué commun suivant :

Reconnaissant :

- la longue histoire d'amitié qui lie le peuple d'Haïti et le peuple des États-Unis et le respect mutuel qu'ils professent pour leur souveraineté respective ;

- les graves souffrances du peuple d'Haïti, notamment la perte immense de vies, la quantité massive de blessés et les dommages étendus causés à l'infrastructure publique et à la propriété privée ;

- la nécessité urgente d'une réponse immédiate aux demandes du Gouvernement d'Haïti et l'importance primordiale de l'exécution sûre, rapide et efficace des opérations de sauvetage, de secours, de rétablissement et de reconstruction ;

- les défis actuels sans précédent auxquels doit faire face le Gouvernement d'Haïti ; et

- l'entretien du 15 janvier entre le Président Obama et le Président Préval soulignant l'urgence des besoins de l'État et du peuple haïtiens, l'engagement du Président Obama relatif au soutien total du peuple des États-Unis en faveur du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti en ce qui concerne aussi bien l'effort immédiat de rétablissement que l'effort à long terme de reconstruction, et l'engagement des deux Présidents à coordonner l'aide entre les diverses parties, notamment le Gouvernement d'Haïti, les Nations Unies, les États-Unis et les nombreux partenaires et organisations internationaux sur le terrain ;

Le Président Préval, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti, salue comme essentiels les efforts que déploient en Haïti le Gouvernement et le peuple des États-Unis en faveur du rétablissement immédiat et de la reconstruction à long terme d'Haïti, et prie les États-Unis d'apporter leur assistance en tant que de besoin en vue d'accroître la sécurité, à l'appui du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti ainsi que des Nations unies et des partenaires et des organisations internationaux sur le terrain ;

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767099 Date: 08/31/2015

La Secrétaire d'État Clinton, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple des États-Unis, réaffirme l'intention des États-Unis, par leur assistance, de se tenir aux côtés du peuple haïtien en ce moment de grande tragédie ; et

Le Président Préval et la Secrétaire d'État Clinton réaffirment ensemble que les Gouvernements d'Haïti et des États-Unis continueront de coopérer en vertu du présent accord commun afin d'assurer les opérations les plus sûres et efficaces possibles de sauvetage, de secours, de rétablissement et de reconstruction.

####

RELEASE IN FULL

FRENCH - JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ

**COMMUNIQUÉ COMMUN**
**DES GOUVERNEMENTS D'HAÏTI ET DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE**
**DIFFUSÉ À PORT-AU-PRINCE LE 17 JANVIER 2010**

Le Président de la République d'Haïti, M. René Préval, et la Secrétaire d'État des États-Unis d'Amérique, Mme Hillary Rodham Clinton, se sont entretenus à Port-au-Prince, à la suite du séisme catastrophique du 12 janvier 2010 et de ses conséquences tragiques, et ont rendu public le communiqué commun suivant :

Reconnaissant :

- la longue histoire d'amitié qui lie le peuple d'Haïti et le peuple des États-Unis et le respect mutuel qu'ils professent pour leur souveraineté respective ;

- les graves souffrances du peuple d'Haïti, notamment la perte immense de vies, la quantité massive de blessés et les dommages étendus causés à l'infrastructure publique et à la propriété privée ;

- la nécessité urgente d'une réponse immédiate aux demandes du Gouvernement d'Haïti et l'importance primordiale de l'exécution sûre, rapide et efficace des opérations de sauvetage, de secours, de rétablissement et de reconstruction ;

- les défis actuels sans précédent auxquels doit faire face le Gouvernement d'Haïti ; et

- l'entretien du 15 janvier entre le Président Obama et le Président Préval soulignant l'urgence des besoins de l'État et du peuple haïtiens, l'engagement du Président Obama relatif au soutien total du peuple des États-Unis en faveur du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti en ce qui concerne aussi bien l'effort immédiat de rétablissement que l'effort à long terme de reconstruction, et l'engagement des deux Présidents à coordonner l'aide entre les diverses parties, notamment le Gouvernement d'Haïti, les Nations Unies, les États-Unis et les nombreux partenaires et organisations internationaux sur le terrain ;

Le Président Préval, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti, salue comme essentiels les efforts que déploient en Haïti le Gouvernement et le peuple des États-Unis en faveur du rétablissement immédiat et de la reconstruction à long terme d'Haïti, et prie les États-Unis d'apporter leur assistance en tant que de besoin en vue d'accroître la sécurité, à l'appui du Gouvernement et du peuple d'Haïti ainsi que des Nations unies et des partenaires et des organisations internationaux sur le terrain ;

La Secrétaire d'État Clinton, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple des États-Unis, réaffirme l'intention des États-Unis, par leur assistance, de se tenir aux côtés du peuple haïtien en ce moment de grande tragédie ; et

Le Président Préval et la Secrétaire d'État Clinton réaffirment ensemble que les Gouvernements d'Haïti et des États-Unis continueront de coopérer en vertu du présent accord commun afin d'assurer les opérations les plus sûres et efficaces possibles de sauvetage, de secours, de rétablissement et de reconstruction.

####

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 1:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Blair statement

Blair's guy said you ok'ed releasing today. If so, we'll pull the trigger. It is pasted below:

Statement by the Secretary

[redacted] B5

This Administration has, from the beginning, worked to bring about comprehensive peace in the Middle East, including a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On that issue our approach has been three-fold: (1) to help build the economy and capacity to govern of a Palestinian state; (2) to renew political negotiations to enable the earliest possible establishment of that state; and (3) to achieve these in a manner that ensures the security of Israel and of the Palestinians.

Consistent with Prime Minister Fayyad's plan for a future Palestinian state, Tony Blair, as the Quartet representative, will intensify his partnership with Senator Mitchell in support of the political negotiations. In his role as Quartet Representative Tony Blair will continue, with full support by and coordination with Senator Mitchell, to mobilize the efforts of the international community: (1) to build support for the institutional capacity and governance of a future Palestinian State, including on the rule of law; (2) to improve freedom of movement and access for Palestinians; (3) to encourage further private sector investment; and (4) to bring change in the living conditions of the people in Gaza.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 3:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Info for tomorrow's travel with CODEL Pelosi
**Attachments:** 2010-02-12 CODEL - Draft Schedule v4.docx

**Importance:** High

In case cdm didn't share already

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**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
**Sent:** Thu Feb 11 13:49:28 2010
**Subject:** FW: Info for tomorrow's travel with CODEL Pelosi

As a reminder, the CODEL to Haiti will take place tomorrow. Speaker Pelosi will lead the trip. Schedule and list of members attached. Will give you a read-out tomorrow evening.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 9:31 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Easy reading for S that will make her smile

Got it

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thu Dec 31 09:02:24 2009
**Subject:** FW: Easy reading for S that will make her smile

For printing for HRC.

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 30, 2009 9:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Easy reading for S that will make her smile

Cheryl -- I note that lots of offices write up weekly reports, which we don't do. But given that a lot of the people in S/P do a lot of great work that S may not know about, I had this memo written up (and believe it or not boiled down many times). We'll send it up the line, but if u wd send it to her before Monday she can skim it quickly and feel good about all the things she has made happen. AM

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wed Dec 30 20:43:37 2009
**Subject:** end of year accomplishments

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 4:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti judge rules for release of U.S. missionaries

Fyi

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**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Merten, Kenneth H; Coley, Theodore R
**Cc:** 'Cheryl Mills' [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thu Feb 11 16:21:05 2010
**Subject:** RE: Haiti judge rules for release of U.S. missionaries

Ted and I just spoke with to Reginald Brown

He said they are waiting for the judge to sign the paper with the stipulation that someone remains in country to answer questions. Their understanding is that that person can be the atty.

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**From:** Wykle, Chadwick J
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Merten, Kenneth H; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Coley, Theodore R
**Subject:** Haiti judge rules for release of U.S. missionaries

By Joseph Guyler Delva

PORT-AU-PRINCE (Reuters) - A Haitian judge said Thursday he had ruled in favor of the release of 10 U.S. missionaries accused of kidnapping 33 children and trying to take them out of the earthquake-stricken country.

"I just signed the request for the release of the 10 Americans submitted by the lawyers and I have sent it to the prosecutor's office," Judge Bernard Sainvil said.

He earlier told Reuters that once the prosecutor had given his opinion, he could formally issue a release order for the Americans, who have been jailed since they were stopped at Haiti's border with the Dominican Republic on Jan. 29.

Once the release order was issued, "they can go directly to the airport if they want and leave, but they should provide a guarantee of representation if further questions need to be asked," Sainvil said.

Under Haitian law, the prosecutor can formally comment on the judge's decision but he cannot overrule it.

A judicial source told Reuters Wednesday that Sainvil had decided to free the U.S. missionaries because there had been no evidence demonstrating "criminal intentions" on their part to support charges of child kidnap and criminal association leveled against them.

The missionaries, most of whom belong to an Idaho-based Baptist church, were arrested trying to take the children across the border to the Dominican Republic 17 days after a magnitude 7 earthquake that killed more than 200,000 people in the impoverished Caribbean nation.

PLEAS FOR RELEASE FROM PARENTS

The five men and five women have denied any intentional wrongdoing and said they were only trying to help orphans left destitute by the quake, which shattered the Haitian capital and left more than 1 million homeless. But evidence showed that most of the children still had living parents.

During hearings in the case, Sainvil heard from 10 parents of children handed over to the Americans. They

said they had turned them over because they had no food or water to give them, and believed they would have a better life with the missionaries elsewhere.

These parents had pleaded for the Americans' release.

The case has been a distraction to the Haitian government as it tries to cope with the aftermath of the earthquake and was diplomatically sensitive for the United States as it heads a massive international effort to feed and shelter Haitian quake survivors.

The U.S. government had said it was providing the Americans with consular access and monitoring their case, but made clear it did not want to interfere.

Haiti's beleaguered government had warned that traffickers could try to take advantage of the chaos that followed the quake by taking away vulnerable children, and it tightened adoption procedures.

(Editing by Pascal Fletcher and Xavier Briand)

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 11:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Police to seek terror charges against Americans

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**From:** Krayman, Igor
**To:** NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Dec 31 10:55:48 2009
**Subject:** (AP) Police to seek terror charges against Americans

ISLAMABAD - Pakistani police say they plan to ask a court to charge five Americans arrested in early December with terrorism, and will seek life imprisonment sentences against them. A senior police investigator in Sargodha said the men would appear in an anti-terrorist court on Jan. 4. He said police had almost concluded their investigation and that they were "certain that these five Americans wanted to carry out attacks in Pakistan." Gujar didn't say what authorities believe the men intended to target.

Igor Krayman
Operations Specialist
Department of State Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 31, 2009 12:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) CIA base chief killed in attack

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**From:** Krayman, Igor
**To:** NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Thu Dec 31 12:16:44 2009
**Subject:** (AP) CIA base chief killed in attack

WASHINGTON - The Associated Press has learned that the chief of the CIA's base in the Khost province of Afghanistan was among those killed by a suicide bomber along the Afghan-Pakistan frontier.

Igor Krayman
Operations Specialist
Department of State Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 6:32 PM
**To:** H

Please know that you and WJC are in my prayers.

I spoke to Ellen tonight, who is preparing a memo and will have it Monday.

Pasted below is a draft letter that our Ambassador plus French and Russians will be working on tomorrow in Vienna, ideally to deliver to Amano, B5

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 2:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Message for the Secretary

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Thu Feb 11 22:01:40 2010
Subject: Message for the Secretary

Cheryl -

Could I ask you to pass this message to the Secretary?

I was just with Patricia Espinosa. [redacted] She said she had sent a personal note. B6
She asked that I pass on her concerns as well.

She also asked me to remind the Secretary of their conversation in Montreal and that she would love to host the Secretary for a private visit if she could spare any time before their March 23 High Level Group meeting.

Cheryl - The Mexicans have a cabinet meeting on Friday [redacted] 1.4(D) B1
We'll let you know.

Thank you.

Carlos

---
This message has been sent via BlackBerry
---

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/12/2020

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 12:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Iran Update

This relates to the letter from yesterday. FYI prior to call with Kouchner.

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**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 11:13 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Iran Update

Hi Jake,

I just wanted to let you know that the French, Russian and US governments agreed to the attached text on the TRR a short while ago and our Ambassadors to the IAEA are delivering it to DG Amano at this moment. [redacted] B5

[redacted] I discussed with Bill, who believes we'd get better bang out good points that the Secretary will be able to deploy in the region during any press appearances she has in the upcoming trip. I'll take a look at the points and update accordingly.

If you'd like to talk further , I'm available at your convenience to drop by or talk by phone – just let me know.
Steve

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 12:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pinera-Insulza

See the report below: Pinera has announced his support.

I had a long conversation with Craig a little while ago. He spoke with a number of people in Chile, including his close friend, [redacted] B6

According to Craig, Pinera had made the calculation that it would be politically untenable to dump Insulza. Apparently there is a coalition leadership in the lower house, and Insulza's party, Concertacion, controls the upper house. So he had no choice.

That said, Craig believes that his clear message had an impact on what Pinera told Insulza. He apparently gave his support with two conditions: (1) don't interfere in Chilean politics, and (2) take the democratization agenda seriously and don't carry the ALBA countries' water.

Craig also said that Arturo had been effective in making clear that the jury was out on Insulza in Washington -- that had an impact on the Pinera government and reinforced their second message to him.

Bottom line: Craig said we couldn't have talked Pinera off of this, but we helped drive a stronger set of conditions on Pinera's support.

[redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Friday, February 12, 2010 12:51 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Restrepo, Daniel A.; Lomellin, Carmen
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; Jacobson, Roberta S; Reynoso, Julissa; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Piñera anuncia apoyo a reelección de Insulza en la OEA | POLÍTICA | latercera.com

To All: La Tercera in Chile just reported that Piñera has announced his support for Insulza's re-election, after meeting with Insulza in Santiago. ck

-----Original Message-----
From: goni [redacted] [mailto:goni [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, February 12, 2010 12:42 PM
To: Kelly, Craig A
Subject: Piñera anuncia apoyo a reelección de Insulza en la OEA | POLÍTICA | latercera.com

http://www.latercera.com/contenido/674_225506_9.shtml
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 1:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Roman Holiday!

I will be traveling today, February 11, returning late Sunday, February 14, with intermittent access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv, Toivnf@state.gov, 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, 202-647-5548.

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: memo on Saudi/Chas Freeman. Glad Bill is well. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo saudi 021210.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 12, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Saudi Arabia

I have been in contact with Chas Freeman, former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and he has sent me his most recent public speech on the subject. He says the policy part is toward the end, and that King Abdullah's new university (KAUST) is an important initiative. He also relates that the atmosphere is near toxic because of Obama's failure to follow up his Cairo speech and the rebuff from Netanyahu. Cynicism, at best, is pervasive among the Saudi elite.

**Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change**
Remarks to the Sarasota Institute for Lifetime Learning

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.)
Sarasota, Florida, February 11, 2010

I have been asked to speak to you about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is a topic I have never before addressed to an American audience. Why bother?

We Americans reserve the right to have strong opinions on the basis of little or no knowledge. There are few countries that better exemplify our assertive ignorance of foreign geography, history, and culture than Saudi Arabia. Most of us are convinced that Saudis are Muslim zealots, control the world's oil prices, and are absurdly rich, anti-feminist, and undemocratic. They hate our values and want to destroy us. Talk radio confirms this. What more needs to be said?

On reflection, a lot does. Neither caricature nor a priori reasoning is a sound basis for policy. A distorted view of foreign realities precludes success at dealing with them. There is much at stake in our relationship with Saudi Arabia. We can ill afford to get it wrong.

That country is, of course, the heartland of Islam and the custodian of the world's largest oil reserves. It lies athwart transport routes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is at the center of a growing concentration of global capital. Under any circumstances, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia would be important. It is all the more so in an era when we Americans are at war with ever more peoples in the Islamic world, depend on ever greater amounts of imported energy, and need ever larger foreign loans to run our government and sustain our life style.

Yet Saudi Arabia is little known. It is the only society on the planet not to have been penetrated by Western colonialism. No European armies breached its borders; no missionaries; no merchants. Its capital, Riyadh, was long off limits to infidels; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina remain so today. When Westerners finally came to Saudi Arabia, we came not as the vindicators of our presumed cultural superiority, but as hired help. As a result, some say that Saudis secretly see the world's peoples as divided into two basic categories: (1) fellow Saudis; and (2) potential employees. Be that as it may, foreigners, Western, Asian, or Arab, who have lived in Saudi Arabia all see it as a very strange place – one that is not easy to understand and that remains at odds with many of the values non-Saudis profess.

The Kingdom has long stood apart from global norms. Its system of government draws on tribal and Islamic traditions rather than Western models. Its king presides rather than rules over the royal family and Saudi society. His responsibility is less to make decisions than to shape and proclaim consensus, while assuring a share of the national wealth to all, especially the least privileged. Saudi Arabia levies no taxes on its citizens, other than the religious tithe known as "zakat" – a two-and-a-half percent annual donation of private capital to charity and other public purposes. All Saudis enjoy free education and medical care from birth to death and can pursue these services at home or abroad, as they wish. The Kingdom has no parliament, though it does have elaborate informal mechanisms for consultation with its citizens on policy matters. Saudi Arabia reverses and thereby affirms a basic principle of American political philosophy. "No representation without taxation."

Unlike some other countries in the Arab Gulf, Saudi Arabia has invested its oil wealth at home, not abroad, though it has long been generous with foreign aid. (At one point it was donating six percent of GDP to other, mostly Muslim, nations.) The desperate poverty of the pre-oil period is now, at most, a dim memory. Over the lifetime of elderly Saudis, the Kingdom's per capita income has risen about one hundred fold. Sparsely populated mud-walled villages have grown into huge air-conditioned cities with 21st Century architecture. Today, Saudis are not just literate; many have university degrees. There are more U.S. Ph.D.'s in the Saudi Cabinet than in our Cabinet and Congress put together.

Despite rapid development, the strong family structure that characterized traditional Saudi society has remained largely intact. It is truly moving to see how lovingly children and grandchildren care for their elders in the Kingdom. Saudi Arabia's unique social stability is reflected in the fact that almost none of its citizens emigrate, though many have second homes abroad, and a few, like Osama Binladin, have been exiled for deviant behavior.

For a long time it was easier for journalists and academics to get a visa to Tibet than to Saudi Arabia. Perhaps this accounts for the near total lack of institutions and scholars that study the place. In the United States, 9/11 was followed by an avalanche of polemical tracts, but there are still very few books about the Kingdom that reflect its realities rather than the authors' biases or propagandistic agendas. Lack of personal familiarity with the Kingdom helps explain the repeated prediction by pundits that the Saudi monarchy is in jeopardy. Generations of such pundits have passed away. The Kingdom has not. When I was ambassador to Riyadh, I was so struck by the apparent social stasis that I briefly thought the national motto should be

"progress without change." But in fact change is a constant in Saudi Arabia. Most of it comes from the top down.

Not all Saudis are happy with the status quo. Some are angry about the extent to which the Kingdom is opening up and reforming. Others are impatient to get on with reform. The ranks of the latter clearly include King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Sa'ud, the current ruler. Now in his late eighties and on the throne only since 2005, he has surprised everyone with the vigor of his efforts to modernize Saudi society and to reshape its relationships with the world beyond its borders. Saudi Arabia has plenty of problems to keep the king engaged.

A lot of issues derive from the peculiar religious heritage of the Saudi state. The current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (now over a century old) is the third political structure to ally the House of Sa'ud with the family of the eighteenth century religious reformer Shaykh al Islam Mohammed ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Al-Tamimi. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's writings form the doctrinal basis of so-called Wahhabism, a notoriously intolerant and socially conservative form of Islam that is often confused with other reactionary religious traditions like that of the Taliban. Saudi history has involved a sustained effort by the Kingdom's rulers to persuade its religious scholars and their puritanical followers to embrace change and to open up to the outside world. This struggle has mainly been peaceful and virtually invisible to outsiders. Sometimes, however, it has engendered violence. In 1975, for example, the late King Faisal paid with his life for instituting public education for girls and for introducing television to his nation.

Both as regent (from 1996 to 2005) and more recently as ruler, King Abdullah has been so careful to avoid drama in his promotion of change that it is truly startling to review the cumulative results of his leadership. Take women's issues, for example. In 2002, responsibility for girls' education was transferred from the religious authorities to the ministry of education. Women now make up 58 percent of the enrollment in Saudi universities. The new Princess Noura bint Abdulrahman University for Women, currently under construction in Riyadh, will enroll 40,000 students this fall.

Female participation in the labor force is rising rapidly. Twenty-nine percent of women now work outside the home. (That is a low figure compared to our own but represents a remarkable advance for the Kingdom.) One-third of civil service positions have been reserved for women. The first woman took her seat in the Council of Ministers last year. After a bit of a kerfuffle, the Kingdom's religious scholars finally endorsed coeducation at the new King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. That was big blow to the legitimacy of gender apartheid. A Saudi friend and I are betting that it will not be long before women in the Kingdom can drive. We plan to clean up by building the separate road system this may require. (That's a joke, I hope.)

A word about the vision embodied in the King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. Founded by the king last September with an initial endowment of ten billion dollars, KAUST is an international, graduate-level research university. It sits in a two-billion-dollar campus on the Red Sea about seventy-five miles northwest of Mecca. On one level, it is the leading element in an effort to prepare the Kingdom for a knowledge-based economy that can complement and eventually supercede the current reliance on energy exports. But on another level, it is a powerful answer to the religious zealotry that terrorist movements like al Qa'ida espouse. Let me explain.

There is a broad consensus among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims that the modern age is ethically corrupt and that religious faith needs reinvigoration and renewal. Much like early Christian Protestants, many believe that the way to achieve this is to rediscover and reaffirm the values of their religion's earliest times. When he inaugurated KAUST, King Abdullah explained that he envisaged it as a reborn Bayt al-Hikma or "House of Wisdom." The original "House of Wisdom" was founded in Baghdad around 760 C.E., in the second century of the Muslim era. It was where the Arabs incorporated Greek, Indian and other foreign knowledge into Islam and conceived much of modern mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, zoology, and geography. It made Islamic civilization the global leader in science and technology. The "House of Wisdom" prospered in an age of tolerance, when Jews and Christians served alongside Muslims as ministers of government. Though

destroyed by the Mongols in 1258, the knowledge it preserved and developed eventually found its way to Europe, where it sparked the Renaissance.

Today, like mainstream Muslims, the extremists of al Qa'ida and related movements argue that Islam must return to its roots. But they portray early Islam as puritanical, xenophobic, intolerant, and oppressive of women. KAUST is a living rebuttal of this historical fallacy and the ideology of hatred derived from it. It was conceived as a new "House of Wisdom." It stands for the principle that Islam was founded as and can only be reborn as the religious guide to a society open to ideas from other traditions. It represents a call for return to an Islam tolerant of foreign ways, respectful of women, dedicated to the scientific study of God's handiwork, and committed to the development of new technologies to better the human condition. KAUST is as much an instrument of religious renaissance and an answer to extremism as it is an academic institution.

This brings me to the issue of religious tolerance. In 2003, King Abdullah inaugurated what he called a "national forum for intellectual dialogue." This ongoing national dialogue is an unprecedented acceptance of religious diversity in the Kingdom. It marks an end to longstanding official discrimination against its Shiite minority. In 2007, King Abdullah made an historic call on the Pope in the Vatican, the first time a Muslim leader of his stature had done so. In 2008 he organized two unprecedented international interfaith conferences between Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and others at Madrid and New York. He intends this dialogue, too, to be a continuing process.

There are other major domestic reform initiatives in progress, like a complete revamping of the Saudi educational system and curriculum, experiments with elections at lower levels of government and civil society, efforts to shift the Kingdom toward reliance on alternative sources of energy, the development of a huge new petrochemical industry to complement the production of energy in its primary form. Time will not permit me to describe these developments. My point is simply that there is a great deal more going on in Saudi Arabia than our press and pundits seem to realize.

That said, everything is, of course, relative. Sadly, to many Saudis, the history of their nation suggests that the more religiously uptight they are, the more oil comes out of the ground. The Kingdom continues in many ways to belie God's admonition in the Holy Quran that "there can be no compulsion in religion." The open practice of religions other than Islam remains banned. The status and role of women in Saudi society is controversial and far from settled. Despite efforts at "Saudiization," foreign workers continue to dominate the employment market, while demanding a premium to compensate for the discomfort and stress that Saudi Arabia's religiously sanctioned mores impose on them. Methods of political consultation that worked in a more cohesive and less populous Saudi Arabia can no longer produce consensus. The fiscal basis of the state continues to be oil exports, and oil is a commodity whose price fluctuates unpredictably. There is, in other words, a very long list of problems for Saudis to work out in coming years.

Let me turn briefly to Saudi Arabia's foreign relations before reviewing the state of our country's interaction with it.

In foreign even more than domestic affairs, King Abdullah's impact has been little short of revolutionary. He has overseen the negotiated settlement of the Kingdom's long-disputed borders with all of its neighbors. He brought Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization, ensuring that its trade and investment activities for the first time follow internationally agreed rules. In 1982, at Beirut, he led the Arab League in an historic reversal of policy toward the Israel-Palestine issue. Saudi Arabia had long insisted that it would be the last state in the region to recognize and establish relations with Israel. At Beirut, King Abdullah committed to be the first to normalize relations with Israel upon its achievement of a mutually acceptable arrangement for coexistence with the Palestinians. He persuaded all other Arab countries to promise they would do the same. To his great frustration, Israel did not respond. Since then, hope for a two-state solution that could gain acceptance for Israel in the region has dimmed.

Many of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy challenges stem from recent American policies in the region. These policies have had the effect of liberating Israel from all constraints on its settlement activities and belligerent intervention in its Arab neighbors, installing Iran as the dominant political influence in both Iraq and Lebanon, consolidating rather than eroding the Syrian-Iranian alliance, pushing Hamas into the arms of the Iranians, and raising regional tensions over Tehran's nuclear program while doing nothing effective about it. Then there is Afghanistan, where the United States now seems to be engaged in a crusade against militant Islam – one that many in the region now fear may soon extend to Yemen. Saudi counter-terrorism specialists, who have a well-deserved international reputation for effectiveness, are convinced that the most efficient way to radicalize Muslim populations and encourage terrorism against the United States and its foreign policy partners is to invade, occupy, and humiliate them. They believe that the panicked militarism of the U.S. response to 9/11 was exactly what groups like al Qa'ida hoped for. They see no sign that the United States is about to abandon actions and policies that metastasize extremism and stimulate terrorist reprisal against Americans and our foreign friends.

No longer willing to be publicly associated with U.S. policies in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere that radicalize the region and menace the Kingdom's own security, Saudi Arabia is actively attempting to reduce its historic dependence on America. To this end, it is building new relationships with countries like China, India, and Russia, while strengthening cooperation with longstanding partners in Europe and Asia like Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and south Korea. It is not that the Kingdom has given up on the United States. As the king's scholarship program for Saudi students in this country evidences, Saudi Arabia continues to reach out and seek improved relations with America. But Saudis no longer trust us to take their interests into account or to protect them from their enemies.

In December 2002, as the U.S. prepared to invade Iraq against the forcefully expressed advice of then Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Aramco (the world's largest oil company) quietly abandoned a decades-old subsidy for the cost of shipping oil to the North American market. Within months, China replaced the United States as the Kingdom's biggest overseas market for oil. U.S. exports have remained relatively constant as the Saudi Arabian economy has boomed, dramatically reducing our market share in our largest Middle Eastern market. Ironically, the best element of the US-Saudi relationship is now cooperation against terrorists. This is a task in which the Saudis have perforce learned to excel. American policies ensure an endless supply of angry young Muslim men in the region, including in Saudi Arabia.

The United States is now said to have entered a "long war." The last time we did so, in 1947 with Soviet Communism, the enemy was obvious, George Kennan gave us a strategy, and skillful American diplomacy gave us the allies we needed to pursue it. Kennan's "long telegram" from Moscow outlined a comprehensive approach to the political, economic, cultural, and military containment of the threat to our survival and our values posed by the Soviet Union. We followed his outline. Forty years later, as Kennan forecast, without our having to go to war with the USSR, our Soviet enemy collapsed of its own infirmities.

This time, our "long war" is with various Islamic extremists, tribes, sects, and societies. We're not quite sure who our enemy is. No Kennan has emerged to give us a strategy for winning without fighting or, indeed, any "strategy" at all. Instead, we are flailing about with our superbly lethal military in response to events. Lacking a strategy, we have been unable to recruit foreign partners to support one. We are now alone in Iraq. We are isolated internationally on the Israel-Palestine issue. Our NATO allies are with us in Afghanistan out of consideration for NATO, not because they think we know what we are doing. Many of them have already announced their intention to withdraw. Pakistan is with us only because all its alternatives are worse.

Saudi Arabia and America head al Qa'ida's enemies list. The Kingdom has, however, been successfully vilified in the eyes of the American elite and public. To deal effectively with Islamic extremism, we need Muslim allies. There is none more potent that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Yet we have made no effort to seek its advice about how to address the challenges of Islamic extremism. We have not sought its help to legitimize an

effective political, informational, cultural, and economic strategy for productive engagement with the Islamic world.

Meanwhile, however, many things now happening in the Kingdom – like the implicit message of the king's vision for KAUST – suggest that such a partnership with Saudi Arabia and Arab nations of like mind is possible. Such a partnership could be the basis for a strategy to bring victory in this latest "long war." The common interests on which to forge an alliance are clearly there. Last June in Cairo, President Obama brilliantly articulated a credible basis for sound relations with the Islamic world. His vision was persuasive, but it remains a mirage, not a reality. It is past time to implement it. An intensive effort to reset the relationship with Saudi Arabia and to craft a common antiterrorist strategy with its king would be a good place to start.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767141 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 12, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Saudi Arabia

I have been in contact with Chas Freeman, former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and he has sent me his most recent public speech on the subject. He says the policy part is toward the end, and that King Abdullah's new university (KAUST) is an important initiative. He also relates that the atmosphere is near toxic because of Obama's failure to follow up his Cairo speech and the rebuff from Netanyahu. Cynicism, at best, is pervasive among the Saudi elite.

**Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change**
Remarks to the Sarasota Institute for Lifetime Learning

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.)
Sarasota, Florida, February 11, 2010

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On reflection, a lot does. Neither caricature nor a priori reasoning is a sound basis for policy. A distorted view of foreign realities precludes success at dealing with them. There is much at stake in our relationship with Saudi Arabia. We can ill afford to get it wrong.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767141 Date: 08/31/2015

That country is, of course, the heartland of Islam and the custodian of the world's largest oil reserves. It lies athwart transport routes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is at the center of a growing concentration of global capital. Under any circumstances, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia would be important. It is all the more so in an era when we Americans are at war with ever more peoples in the Islamic world, depend on ever greater amounts of imported energy, and need ever larger foreign loans to run our government and sustain our life style.

Yet Saudi Arabia is little known. It is the only society on the planet not to have been penetrated by Western colonialism. No European armies breached its borders; no missionaries; no merchants. Its capital, Riyadh, was long off limits to infidels; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina remain so today. When Westerners finally came to Saudi Arabia, we came not as the vindicators of our presumed cultural superiority, but as hired help. As a result, some say that Saudis secretly see the world's peoples as divided into two basic categories: (1) fellow Saudis; and (2) potential employees. Be that as it may, foreigners, Western, Asian, or Arab, who have lived in Saudi Arabia all see it as a very strange place – one that is not easy to understand and that remains at odds with many of the values non-Saudis profess.

The Kingdom has long stood apart from global norms. Its system of government draws on tribal and Islamic traditions rather than Western models. Its king presides rather than rules over the royal family and Saudi society. His responsibility is less to make decisions than to shape and proclaim consensus, while assuring a share of the national wealth to all, especially the least privileged. Saudi Arabia levies no taxes on its citizens, other than the religious tithe known as "zakat" – a two-and-a-half percent annual donation of private capital to charity and other public purposes. All Saudis enjoy free education and medical care from birth to death and can pursue these services at home or abroad, as they wish. The Kingdom has no parliament, though it does have elaborate informal mechanisms for consultation with its citizens on policy matters. Saudi Arabia reverses and thereby affirms a basic principle of American political philosophy. "No representation without taxation."

Unlike some other countries in the Arab Gulf, Saudi Arabia has invested its oil wealth at home, not abroad, though it has long been generous with foreign aid. (At one point it was donating six percent of GDP to other, mostly Muslim, nations.) The desperate poverty of the pre-oil period is now, at most, a dim memory. Over the lifetime of elderly Saudis, the Kingdom's per capita income has risen about one hundred fold. Sparsely populated mud-walled villages have grown into huge air-conditioned cities with 21st Century architecture. Today, Saudis are not just literate; many have university degrees. There are more U.S. Ph.D.'s in the Saudi Cabinet than in our Cabinet and Congress put together.

Despite rapid development, the strong family structure that characterized traditional Saudi society has remained largely intact. It is truly moving to see how lovingly children and grandchildren care for their elders in the Kingdom. Saudi Arabia's unique social stability is reflected in the fact that almost none of its citizens emigrate, though many have second homes abroad, and a few, like Osama Binladin, have been exiled for deviant behavior.

For a long time it was easier for journalists and academics to get a visa to Tibet than to Saudi Arabia. Perhaps this accounts for the near total lack of institutions and scholars that study the

place. In the United States, 9/11 was followed by an avalanche of polemical tracts, but there are still very few books about the Kingdom that reflect its realities rather than the authors' biases or propagandistic agendas. Lack of personal familiarity with the Kingdom helps explain the repeated prediction by pundits that the Saudi monarchy is in jeopardy. Generations of such pundits have passed away. The Kingdom has not. When I was ambassador to Riyadh, I was so struck by the apparent social stasis that I briefly thought the national motto should be "progress without change." But in fact change is a constant in Saudi Arabia. Most of it comes from the top down.

Not all Saudis are happy with the status quo. Some are angry about the extent to which the Kingdom is opening up and reforming. Others are impatient to get on with reform. The ranks of the latter clearly include King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Sa`ud, the current ruler. Now in his late eighties and on the throne only since 2005, he has surprised everyone with the vigor of his efforts to modernize Saudi society and to reshape its relationships with the world beyond its borders. Saudi Arabia has plenty of problems to keep the king engaged.

A lot of issues derive from the peculiar religious heritage of the Saudi state. The current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (now over a century old) is the third political structure to ally the House of Sa`ud with the family of the eighteenth century religious reformer Shaykh al Islam Mohammed ibn `Abd al-Wahhab Al-Tamimi. Ibn `Abd al-Wahhab's writings form the doctrinal basis of so-called Wahhabism, a notoriously intolerant and socially conservative form of Islam that is often confused with other reactionary religious traditions like that of the Taliban. Saudi history has involved a sustained effort by the Kingdom's rulers to persuade its religious scholars and their puritanical followers to embrace change and to open up to the outside world. This struggle has mainly been peaceful and virtually invisible to outsiders. Sometimes, however, it has engendered violence. In 1975, for example, the late King Faisal paid with his life for instituting public education for girls and for introducing television to his nation.

Both as regent (from 1996 to 2005) and more recently as ruler, King Abdullah has been so careful to avoid drama in his promotion of change that it is truly startling to review the cumulative results of his leadership. Take women's issues, for example. In 2002, responsibility for girls' education was transferred from the religious authorities to the ministry of education. Women now make up 58 percent of the enrollment in Saudi universities. The new Princess Noura bint Abdulrahman University for Women, currently under construction in Riyadh, will enroll 40,000 students this fall.

Female participation in the labor force is rising rapidly. Twenty-nine percent of women now work outside the home. (That is a low figure compared to our own but represents a remarkable advance for the Kingdom.) One-third of civil service positions have been reserved for women. The first woman took her seat in the Council of Ministers last year. After a bit of a kerfuffle, the Kingdom's religious scholars finally endorsed coeducation at the new King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. That was big blow to the legitimacy of gender apartheid. A Saudi friend and I are betting that it will not be long before women in the Kingdom can drive. We plan to clean up by building the separate road system this may require. (That's a joke, I hope.)

A word about the vision embodied in the King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. Founded by the king last September with an initial endowment of ten billion dollars, KAUST is an international, graduate-level research university. It sits in a two-billion-dollar campus on the Red Sea about seventy-five miles northwest of Mecca. On one level, it is the leading element in an effort to prepare the Kingdom for a knowledge-based economy that can complement and eventually supercede the current reliance on energy exports. But on another level, it is a powerful answer to the religious zealotry that terrorist movements like al Qa`ida espouse. Let me explain.

There is a broad consensus among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims that the modern age is ethically corrupt and that religious faith needs reinvigoration and renewal. Much like early Christian Protestants, many believe that the way to achieve this is to rediscover and reaffirm the values of their religion's earliest times. When he inaugurated KAUST, King Abdullah explained that he envisaged it as a reborn Bayt al-Hikma or "House of Wisdom." The original "House of Wisdom" was founded in Baghdad around 760 C.E., in the second century of the Muslim era. It was where the Arabs incorporated Greek, Indian and other foreign knowledge into Islam and conceived much of modern mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, zoology, and geography. It made Islamic civilization the global leader in science and technology. The "House of Wisdom" prospered in an age of tolerance, when Jews and Christians served alongside Muslims as ministers of government. Though destroyed by the Mongols in 1258, the knowledge it preserved and developed eventually found its way to Europe, where it sparked the Renaissance.

Today, like mainstream Muslims, the extremists of al Qa`ida and related movements argue that Islam must return to its roots. But they portray early Islam as puritanical, xenophobic, intolerant, and oppressive of women. KAUST is a living rebuttal of this historical fallacy and the ideology of hatred derived from it. It was conceived as a new "House of Wisdom." It stands for the principle that Islam was founded as and can only be reborn as the religious guide to a society open to ideas from other traditions. It represents a call for return to an Islam tolerant of foreign ways, respectful of women, dedicated to the scientific study of God's handiwork, and committed to the development of new technologies to better the human condition. KAUST is as much an instrument of religious renaissance and an answer to extremism as it is an academic institution.

This brings me to the issue of religious tolerance. In 2003, King Abdullah inaugurated what he called a "national forum for intellectual dialogue." This ongoing national dialogue is an unprecedented acceptance of religious diversity in the Kingdom. It marks an end to longstanding official discrimination against its Shiite minority. In 2007, King Abdullah made an historic call on the Pope in the Vatican, the first time a Muslim leader of his stature had done so. In 2008 he organized two unprecedented international interfaith conferences between Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and others at Madrid and New York. He intends this dialogue, too, to be a continuing process.

There are other major domestic reform initiatives in progress, like a complete revamping of the Saudi educational system and curriculum, experiments with elections at lower levels of government and civil society, efforts to shift the Kingdom toward reliance on alternative sources of energy, the development of a huge new petrochemical industry to complement the production

of energy in its primary form. Time will not permit me to describe these developments. My point is simply that there is a great deal more going on in Saudi Arabia than our press and pundits seem to realize.

That said, everything is, of course, relative. Sadly, to many Saudis, the history of their nation suggests that the more religiously uptight they are, the more oil comes out of the ground. The Kingdom continues in many ways to belie God's admonition in the Holy Quran that "there can be no compulsion in religion." The open practice of religions other than Islam remains banned. The status and role of women in Saudi society is controversial and far from settled. Despite efforts at "Saudiization," foreign workers continue to dominate the employment market, while demanding a premium to compensate for the discomfort and stress that Saudi Arabia's religiously sanctioned mores impose on them. Methods of political consultation that worked in a more cohesive and less populous Saudi Arabia can no longer produce consensus. The fiscal basis of the state continues to be oil exports, and oil is a commodity whose price fluctuates unpredictably. There is, in other words, a very long list of problems for Saudis to work out in coming years.

Let me turn briefly to Saudi Arabia's foreign relations before reviewing the state of our country's interaction with it.

In foreign even more than domestic affairs, King Abdullah's impact has been little short of revolutionary. He has overseen the negotiated settlement of the Kingdom's long-disputed borders with all of its neighbors. He brought Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization, ensuring that its trade and investment activities for the first time follow internationally agreed rules. In 1982, at Beirut, he led the Arab League in an historic reversal of policy toward the Israel-Palestine issue. Saudi Arabia had long insisted that it would be the last state in the region to recognize and establish relations with Israel. At Beirut, King Abdullah committed to be the first to normalize relations with Israel upon its achievement of a mutually acceptable arrangement for coexistence with the Palestinians. He persuaded all other Arab countries to promise they would do the same. To his great frustration, Israel did not respond. Since then, hope for a two-state solution that could gain acceptance for Israel in the region has dimmed.

Many of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy challenges stem from recent American policies in the region. These policies have had the effect of liberating Israel from all constraints on its settlement activities and belligerent intervention in its Arab neighbors, installing Iran as the dominant political influence in both Iraq and Lebanon, consolidating rather than eroding the Syrian-Iranian alliance, pushing Hamas into the arms of the Iranians, and raising regional tensions over Tehran's nuclear program while doing nothing effective about it. Then there is Afghanistan, where the United States now seems to be engaged in a crusade against militant Islam – one that many in the region now fear may soon extend to Yemen. Saudi counter-terrorism specialists, who have a well-deserved international reputation for effectiveness, are convinced that the most efficient way to radicalize Muslim populations and encourage terrorism against the United States and its foreign policy partners is to invade, occupy, and humiliate them. They believe that the panicked militarism of the U.S. response to 9/11 was exactly what groups like al Qa`ida hoped for. They see no sign that the United States is about to abandon

actions and policies that metastasize extremism and stimulate terrorist reprisal against Americans and our foreign friends.

No longer willing to be publicly associated with U.S. policies in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere that radicalize the region and menace the Kingdom's own security, Saudi Arabia is actively attempting to reduce its historic dependence on America. To this end, it is building new relationships with countries like China, India, and Russia, while strengthening cooperation with longstanding partners in Europe and Asia like Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and south Korea. It is not that the Kingdom has given up on the United States. As the king's scholarship program for Saudi students in this country evidences, Saudi Arabia continues to reach out and seek improved relations with America. But Saudis no longer trust us to take their interests into account or to protect them from their enemies.

In December 2002, as the U.S. prepared to invade Iraq against the forcefully expressed advice of then Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Aramco (the world's largest oil company) quietly abandoned a decades-old subsidy for the cost of shipping oil to the North American market. Within months, China replaced the United States as the Kingdom's biggest overseas market for oil. U.S. exports have remained relatively constant as the Saudi Arabian economy has boomed, dramatically reducing our market share in our largest Middle Eastern market. Ironically, the best element of the US-Saudi relationship is now cooperation against terrorists. This is a task in which the Saudis have perforce learned to excel. American policies ensure an endless supply of angry young Muslim men in the region, including in Saudi Arabia.

The United States is now said to have entered a "long war." The last time we did so, in 1947 with Soviet Communism, the enemy was obvious, George Kennan gave us a strategy, and skillful American diplomacy gave us the allies we needed to pursue it. Kennan's "long telegram" from Moscow outlined a comprehensive approach to the political, economic, cultural, and military containment of the threat to our survival and our values posed by the Soviet Union. We followed his outline. Forty years later, as Kennan forecast, without our having to go to war with the USSR, our Soviet enemy collapsed of its own infirmities.

This time, our "long war" is with various Islamic extremists, tribes, sects, and societies. We're not quite sure who our enemy is. No Kennan has emerged to give us a strategy for winning without fighting or, indeed, any "strategy" at all. Instead, we are flailing about with our superbly lethal military in response to events. Lacking a strategy, we have been unable to recruit foreign partners to support one. We are now alone in Iraq. We are isolated internationally on the Israel-Palestine issue. Our NATO allies are with us in Afghanistan out of consideration for NATO, not because they think we know what we are doing. Many of them have already announced their intention to withdraw. Pakistan is with us only because all its alternatives are worse.

Saudi Arabia and America head al Qa`ida's enemies list. The Kingdom has, however, been successfully vilified in the eyes of the American elite and public. To deal effectively with Islamic extremism, we need Muslim allies. There is none more potent that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Yet we have made no effort to seek its advice about how to address the challenges of Islamic extremism. We have not sought its help to legitimize an effective political,

informational, cultural, and economic strategy for productive engagement with the Islamic world.

Meanwhile, however, many things now happening in the Kingdom – like the implicit message of the king's vision for KAUST – suggest that such a partnership with Saudi Arabia and Arab nations of like mind is possible. Such a partnership could be the basis for a strategy to bring victory in this latest "long war." The common interests on which to forge an alliance are clearly there. Last June in Cairo, President Obama brilliantly articulated a credible basis for sound relations with the Islamic world. His vision was persuasive, but it remains a mirage, not a reality. It is past time to implement it. An intensive effort to reset the relationship with Saudi Arabia and to craft a common antiterrorist strategy with its king would be a good place to start.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** Justin Cooper
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: latest draft of Doha
**Attachments:** doha speech draft 02-12-10 4pm.docx

J - can u print for hrc? Latest version of doha speech. I'm sure others will have edits but wanted her to have copy now.

---

**From:** Rooney, Megan
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Fri Feb 12 15:56:47 2010
**Subject:** latest draft of Doha

Hi Huma – I hope everything is going OK in NYC.

Attached is the latest version of Doha. As you can imagine, I'm getting edits from about 20 people, so this document will surely change in small ways between now and tomorrow morning. There are also placeholders where people are still getting me info, and I still working on the conclusion.

But beyond those minor additions and some changes around the margins, this is unlikely to change much (unless the Secretary wants it to, of course). I'm available all day and night for any edits from her or you. Please feel free to call.

Thanks Huma,
Megan

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5

February 12, 2010 4pm
Rooney (x7-7203, 202-431-6498)
Word count: 4,419 (31 minutes)

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**
**REMARKS AT THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM**
**DOHA, QATAR**

B5

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 5:25 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Roman Holiday!

I have been working harrd - ertharin has been running my ass around. We starting our meetings at 930am after landing at 830am and we are now just getting down with her dinner party for 40 for Haiti (with ag minister and haiti ambo).

Wouldn't you know it - it snowed for the first time in decades in Rome.

Conf went well - am now hoping tomorrow to shop!

Thank you for the well wishes.

Safe travels.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 12 13:23:08 2010
Subject: Roman Holiday!

Now I know--[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 7:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reassurance on QDDR

Jake just downloaded with me from your conversation w/ him yesterday re the Interim Report. I just want to reassure you that I get it completely; you saw a much earlier draft than I would have liked. I'll be working on it all weekend and we'll make you proud. Have a good trip -- I used to be on the board of thr US-Islamic World Forum and went a couple of times. AM

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 9:19 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Calls

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin < [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Feb 12 21:15:54 2010
Subject: Calls

Pls add to List:

Bill Galston
Evan Bayh
Warren Buffet
Judith McHale

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 11:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

That's great news! See you tomorrow. I will have a long list to share...

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 12 22:46:35 2010
Subject: Re:

[redacted] See you tomorrow. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 18:32:01 2010
Subject:

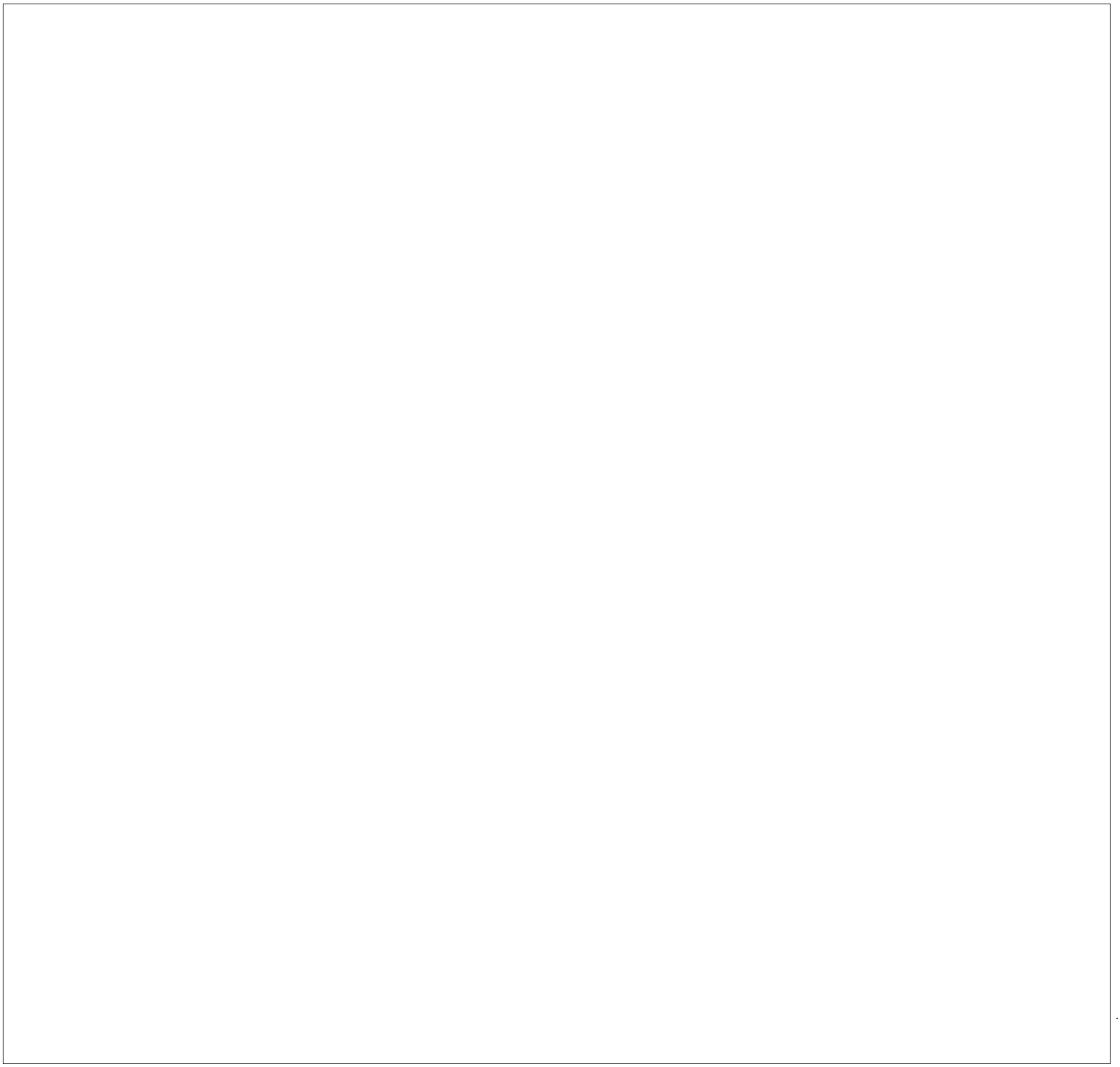
[redacted]

I spoke to Ellen tonight, who is preparing a memo and will have it Monday.

Pasted below is a draft letter that our Ambassador plus French and Russians will be working on tomorrow in Vienna, ideally to deliver to Amano, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

B5



RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 3:03 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti
**Attachments:** Haiti_Examples of Successfully Engaging Global Media.docx

I'm sorry I was not able to join last week's meeting on Haiti but I have calls into Anne Marie and Arturo to get an update. Once I get a better understanding of how we plan to move forward on a regional basis we will work on putting together a comprehensive PD strategy to support our efforts. B5

If you like the idea I can begin to trial balloon it with media execs in US and LA that I know personally to gauge their reaction.

Of course we can't rely on a psa campaign alone to sustain the effort so we will develop other PD strategies for engagement throughout the region which I will forward as they evolve.

Let me know what you think. In the meantime I thought you might be interested in the report below (copy attached as well) which outlines the results to date of our global media outreach initiative.

## Successfully Engaging Global Media

## About the U.S. Role and International Cooperation in Haiti

## Examples of Post Efforts to Date

## EUROPE

- Reinforcing the Secretary's message, U.S. Ambassador to **France** Rivkin engaged directly with over 100 journalists in an event streamed live on-line by CNN, where he highlighted U.S. assistance to Haiti and the cooperation of the US with France, the UN and the international community. Embassy Paris also reached out to senior officials in the Elysee, MFA, French media and civil society at all levels to underscore the message of positive coordination with our French partners and to set the record straight on the work of the USG in Haiti. As a result, leading French officials dismissed rumors of rising diplomatic tensions between the two countries. Leading officials consistently praised the work of the Obama administration in Haiti and the need for a strong US role in the emergency response.

- Embassy **London**'s media blitz featured Ambassador Susman, who underlined the U.S. commitment to Haiti at an Embassy Martin Luther King Jr. holiday event with actor James Earl Jones; the event was covered by BBC World News (audience 270 million worldwide) and various U.K. papers. The Ambassador and the IO also spoke about Haiti on January 20-22 on BBC TV 2's "Daily Politics Show," BBC Radio, the BBC TV Evening News, and other media and helped embed an ITV journalist on the USNS Comfort to help balance ITV's previously negative reporting and reached out personally to BBC producers to call attention to inaccurate reporting alleging that the U.S. military prevented Medicins Sans Frontiers from delivering aid and supplies to the airport in Port Au Prince.

- With media coverage growing more critical, U.S. Ambassador to **Greece** Speckhard gave an interview to *Ta Nea* newspaper and DCM Deborah McCarthy, who previously served in Haiti, was interviewed by *Real Sunday* newspaper, resulting in positive stories about U.S. assistance to Haiti. Meanwhile, the PAO spoke with the Director of *Elefterotypia*, whose paper has run some of the most misdirected coverage of Haiti, and received a commitment to run an Embassy-produced story to counteract the misinformation.

## AFRICA

- Four African posts – **Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania** – organized highly successful outreach programs based on the diversion of the USS Gunston Hall to Haiti. The ship, with African officers aboard, was headed to western Africa under AFRICOM's African Partnership Station maritime security training program when it was diverted to provide relief to Haiti. With African officers working alongside U.S. military officers to deliver assistance to Haitians, PAOs at those posts connected local reporters with the ship to conduct live interviews of the Africans for their home media, resulting in excellent media placement in all four countries.

- On January 20 U.S. Ambassador to **South Africa** Gips gave a 10-minute live interview on Haiti with 5FM, a leading youth station with listenership of approx 800,000. The Ambassador highlighted the depth and breadth of US support and congratulated South Africa for sending emergency teams. The radio hosts told the Embassy afterward that e-mails and SMS messages were pouring into the station in support of U.S. efforts. Ambassador Gips reached out to additional audiences via broadcast media on January 21 and recorded a program via the **Africa Regional Media Hub** with SABC-International TV's "Rendezvous Africa" program (broadcast across the continent) and live interviews with drive-time radio programs on two national stations.

- As a result of a press conference hosted by the Embassy on January 22, all major **Angolan** media gave positive coverage to U.S. efforts in Haiti, including Radio Nacional de Angola and the *Jornal de Angola* newspaper, which ran an editorial January 23 that stated: "We need to believe and let those on the ground do their work because the old tactics of criticizing who is doing something for the Haitian People just for the sake of criticizing at a moment like this is not acceptable. . . Just see the numbers of daily flights that arrive in Haiti to have an idea and quickly come to the conclusion that the possible failures and omissions do not supersede the positive and timely work done by the entities undertaking the relief efforts in Haiti."

## EAST ASIA-PACIFIC

- The U.S. Ambassador to **Indonesia**'s January 21 byliner on Haiti ran as the lead item on the editorial page of *Seputar Indonesia* daily, and it was subsequently picked up by *Antara,* the Indonesian national news agency, and subsequently appeared in most Indonesian media.

- **South Korea:** Looking to help Korean audiences connect with the situation in Haiti, PA Seoul arranged a Digital Video Conference with the U.S. Consul in Nagoya, Japan, who had previously served as Information Officer in Port-au-Prince and was a fluent Korean speaker. CG Kwak underlined the long tradition of US humanitarian assistance to Haiti as well as the massive US response to the current crisis and noted Korea's own active involvement in the relief work. The U.S. Ambassador's blog on January 22, dedicated to the

earthquake and those affected by it, received more than 1,500 hits in three days, with almost all comments supporting U.S. concerns.

The **EAP Regional Media Hub** in Tokyo hosted a journalists' roundtable with Gordon Duguid in Haiti on January 25 that included journalists from Hong Kong's *Ming Pao* newspaper, Malaysia's *New Straits Times* newspaper, *BERNAMA* (Malaysian National News Agency), and Australia's *Canberra Times* newspaper and Radio 6PR (Perth), and resulted in favorable stories appearing over the next few days in all participating media.

## NEAR EAST

- **Lebanon:** Television station *Al-Jadid* is not Hezbollah-affiliated, with most of its funding coming from the Gulf and Libya. Their coverage is also routinely sensationalistic and mirrored *Al-Manar's* coverage. PAS Beirut clarified aspects of USG assistance in Haiti to *Al-Jadid* on January 20. On Saturday January 23, *Al-Jadid* hosted the PAO for 30 minutes on morning news talk-show *al-Hadath* to discuss American relief efforts in Haiti. The PAO was able to address many of the accusations carried in the *Al-Manar* report, including the myriad "weapons testing" myths being propagated by Russian and Venezuelan media outlets. *[Post cannot engage directly with Hezbollah television station Al-Manar as it was designated as a Special Designated Global Terrorist organization in 2006 under E.O. 13224]*

- **Morocco:** On 1/28/10 the nationalist French-language daily *L'Opinion* published an op-ed entitled, "Haiti: After terror, the dread..." The paper is generally considered to be fairly hostile to the USG, however, on 1/29/10, PAO Rabat and an FSN went to *L'Opinion* to discuss the op-ed. Post was amazed to find the staff, including the writer himself, accommodating and even apologetic during the meeting. The editor-in-chief immediately agreed that the piece had been unfair, and the writer somewhat sheepishly explained himself by saying that public opinion had not quite recovered from "the Bush years," but readily acknowledged as well that the article was not balanced. PAO gave the writer a dossier of Washington File articles and some information from Infocentral's regular updates, which he promised to use in writing a counterpoint article. On 2/1/10, *L'Opinion* published an article entitled, "The massive humanitarian action of the United States," based on the articles provided by Post. The excellent article underscored the scope of American assistance, both government and private sector, to aide Haiti's earthquake victims.

- **Syria:** Syrian state-run media coverage of the USG role in Haiti relief efforts has been largely negative and inaccurate, portraying the U.S. military as occupying Haiti. Examples include the Ba'ath party's *Al-Baath* newspaper publishing three critical articles (1/21/01) under the headlines: "US Crimes in Haiti," "US Military Forces Tighten Grip on Haiti," and "US Forces Stop Humanitarian Planes from Landing." On 1/25/10, government-owned *Tishreen* published an op-ed claiming that the superpowers were rushing towards a military conquest of Haiti in order to profit from reconstruction operations, which is the new method of colonialism. On 1/28/10, DAS Maura Connelly met with Syrian Ambassador Mustafa, who promised to work to halt the negative coverage coming from some Syrian outlets. To encourage more balanced coverage, Embassy Damascus will host a roundtable 2/3/10 with

journalists from government-owned and independent Syrian media. Post also extended a personal invitation to an advisor of the Minister of Information.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767158 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# Successfully Engaging Global Media About the U.S. Role and International Cooperation in Haiti

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767158 Date: 08/31/2015

## AFRICA

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The **EAP Regional Media Hub** in Tokyo hosted a journalists' roundtable with Gordon Duguid in Haiti on January 25 that included journalists from Hong Kong's *Ming Pao* newspaper, Malaysia's *New Straits Times* newspaper, *BERNAMA* (Malaysian National News Agency), and Australia's *Canberra Times* newspaper and Radio 6PR (Perth), and resulted in favorable stories appearing over the next few days in all participating media.

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that public opinion had not quite recovered from "the Bush years," but readily acknowledged as well that the article was not balanced. PAO gave the writer a dossier of Washington File articles and some information from Infocentral's regular updates, which he promised to use in writing a counterpoint article. On 2/1/10, *L'Opinion* published an article entitled, "The massive humanitarian action of the United States," based on the articles provided by Post. The excellent article underscored the scope of American assistance, both government and private sector, to aide Haiti's earthquake victims.

- **Syria:** Syrian state-run media coverage of the USG role in Haiti relief efforts has been largely negative and inaccurate, portraying the U.S. military as occupying Haiti. Examples include the Ba'ath party's *Al-Baath* newspaper publishing three critical articles (1/21/01) under the headlines: "US Crimes in Haiti," "US Military Forces Tighten Grip on Haiti," and "US Forces Stop Humanitarian Planes from Landing." On 1/25/10, government-owned *Tishreen* published an op-ed claiming that the superpowers were rushing towards a military conquest of Haiti in order to profit from reconstruction operations, which is the new method of colonialism. On 1/28/10, DAS Maura Connelly met with Syrian Ambassador Mustafa, who promised to work to halt the negative coverage coming from some Syrian outlets. To encourage more balanced coverage, Embassy Damascus will host a roundtable 2/3/10 with journalists from government-owned and independent Syrian media. Post also extended a personal invitation to an advisor of the Minister of Information.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 3:23 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Joseph Nye/The New Public Diplomacy

Thought you might be interested in this piece by Joe Nye which I believe validates the new approach we are trying to implement. We have begun to roll-out the new plan and so far the reaction has been reasonably positive. We have organized a set of working groups around key initiatives --- women's empowerment; cve; expanded English language training; cultural programming; youth; climate change; etc so that we can incorporate new proposals into FY2012 budget and re-direct FY 2010 and 2011 funds wherever possible and appropriate. The working groups are being chaired by senior level officers from the regional bureaus --- Bob Blake; Craig Kelly, etc. --- and are being asked to report back within 4 to 6 weeks. I'll continue to keep you posted as things move forward.

jm

# The New Public Diplomacy

## Joseph S. Nye

2010-02-10

CAMBRIDGE – The world of traditional power politics was typically about whose military or economy would win. In today's information age, politics is also about whose "story" wins.

National narratives are, indeed, a type of currency. Governments compete with each other and with other organizations to enhance their own credibility and weaken that of their opponents. Witness the contest between the government and protesters after the Iranian elections in June 2009, in which the Internet and Twitter played crucial roles, or the recent controversy between Google and China.

Reputation has always mattered in world politics, but credibility has become crucial because of a "paradox of plenty." When information is plentiful, the scarce resource is attention. Under the new conditions, a soft sell may, more than ever, prove more effective than a hard sell.

For example, the relative independence of the BBC, sometimes a source of consternation to British governments, has paid rich dividends in credibility, as illustrated by this account of Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete's day: "he rises at dawn, listens to the BBC World Service, then scans the Tanzanian press."

Skeptics who treat the term "public diplomacy" as a mere euphemism for propaganda miss the point. Simple propaganda is counterproductive as public diplomacy. Nor is public diplomacy merely a public-relations campaign. Public diplomacy also involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies.

The contribution of direct government information to long-term cultural relationships varies with three dimensions or stages of public diplomacy, and all three are important. The first and most immediate dimension is daily communications, which involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign-policy decisions. This dimension also involves preparation for dealing with crises. If there is a vacuum in information after an event, others will rush in to fill it.

The second dimension is strategic communication, which develops a set of simple themes, much as a political or advertising campaign does. While the first dimension is measured in hours and days, the second occurs over weeks, months, and even years.

The third dimension of public diplomacy is the development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years or even decades, through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels. These programs develop what the American journalist Edward R. Murrow once called the crucial "last three feet" – face-to-face communications, with the enhanced credibility that reciprocity creates.

But even the best advertising cannot sell an unpopular product. A communications strategy cannot work if it cuts against the grain of policy. Actions speak louder than words. All too often, policymakers treat public diplomacy as a bandage that can be applied after damage is done by other instruments. For example, China tried to enhance its soft power by successfully staging the 2008 Olympics, but its domestic simultaneous crackdown in Tibet – and subsequent repression in Xinxiang and arrests of human rights lawyers – undercut its gains.

Great powers try to use culture and narrative to create soft power that promotes their advantage, but they do not always understand how to do it. Critics in the United States complain that the over-militarization of foreign policy undercuts its credibility. Instead, they advocate diplomacy "on steroids," staffed by diplomats trained in new media, cross-cultural communications, granular local knowledge, and networks of contacts with under-represented groups.

The centralized mass-media approach to public diplomacy still plays an important role. Governments need to correct daily misrepresentations of their policies, as well as to try to convey a longer-term strategic message. The main strength of the mass-media approach is its audience reach and ability to generate public awareness and set the agenda. But its weakness is its inability to influence how the message is perceived in different cultural settings. The sender knows what she says, but not always what the targets hear. Cultural barriers are apt to distort what is heard.

Networked communications, on the other hand, can take advantage of two-way communications and peer-to-peer relations to overcome cultural differences. This type of decentralization and flexibility is difficult for governments to accomplish, given their central accountability structures.

The greater flexibility of non-governmental organizations in using networks has given rise to what some call "the new public diplomacy," which is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental contacts with foreign publics serving foreign-policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with civil-society actors in other countries and facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad.

In this approach to public diplomacy, government policy is aimed at promoting and participating in, rather than controlling, such cross-border networks. Indeed, too much government control, or even the appearance of it, can undercut the credibility that such networks are designed to engender. The evolution of public diplomacy from one-way communications to a two-way dialogue treats publics as co-creators of meaning and communication.

Power in a global information age, more than ever, will include a soft dimension of attraction as well as the hard dimensions of coercion and payment. Combining these dimensions effectively is called "smart power." For

example, the current struggle against transnational terrorism is a struggle over winning hearts and minds, and over-reliance on hard power alone is not the path to success.

Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of credibility, self-criticism, and the role of civil society in generating soft power. If it degenerates into propaganda, public diplomacy not only fails to convince, but can undercut soft power. Instead, it must remain a two-way process, because soft power depends, first and foremost, upon understanding the minds of others.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti

Yes. I am in all next week. I'll work with Lona to set up a time to meet.

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:36 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: Re: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti

Will you be in next week? I hope we can catch up.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 03:03:22 2010
Subject: FW: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti

I'm sorry I was not able to join last week's meeting on Haiti but I have calls into Anne Marie and Arturo to get an update. Once I get a better understanding of how we plan to move forward on a regional basis we will work on putting together a comprehensive PD strategy to support our efforts. B5

[redacted] If you like the idea I can begin to trial balloon it with media execs in US and LA that I know personally to gauge their reaction. B5

Of course we can't rely on a psa campaign alone to sustain the effort so we will develop other PD strategies for engagement throughout the region which I will forward as they evolve.

Let me know what you think. In the meantime I thought you might be interested in the report below (copy attached as well) which outlines the results to date of our global media outreach initiative.

Successfully Engaging Global Media

About the U.S. Role and International Cooperation in Haiti

Examples of Post Efforts to Date

EUROPE

· Reinforcing the Secretary's message, U.S. Ambassador to France Rivkin engaged directly with over 100 journalists in an event streamed live on-line by CNN, where he highlighted U.S. assistance to Haiti and the cooperation of the US with France, the UN and the international community. Embassy Paris also reached out to senior officials in the Elysee, MFA, French media and civil society at all levels to underscore the message of positive coordination with our French partners and to set the record straight on the work of the USG in Haiti. As a result, leading French officials dismissed rumors of rising diplomatic tensions between the two countries. Leading officials consistently praised the work of the Obama administration in Haiti and the need for a strong US role in the emergency response.

· Embassy London's media blitz featured Ambassador Susman, who underlined the U.S. commitment to Haiti at an Embassy Martin Luther King Jr. holiday event with actor James Earl Jones; the event was covered by BBC World News (audience 270 million worldwide) and various U.K. papers. The Ambassador and the IO also spoke about Haiti on January 20-22 on BBC TV 2's "Daily Politics Show," BBC Radio, the BBC TV Evening News, and other media and helped embed an ITV journalist on the USNS Comfort to help balance ITV's previously negative reporting and reached out personally to BBC producers to call attention to inaccurate reporting alleging that the U.S. military prevented Medicins Sans Frontiers from delivering aid and supplies to the airport in Port Au Prince.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Thinking

B6

You are desparately needed-----
$$raisers---- did you know I've hired mandy as my media person--- yes up for re elect. I'm going to go again. Like so many of this want to make this presidency and our country work again.

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski)
Sent: Fri Feb 12 22:52:01 2010
Subject: Re: Thinking

----- Original Message -----
From: Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 18:38:05 2010
Subject: Thinking

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Doha speech

I am on official travel until mid-day on 2/19. I will check messages by Blackberry as frequently as possible.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

H: FYI. This story headlined the Huffington Post, has more hits and comments than any other piece, and is the number one story on blogs across the web right now. Paul is a researcher at the Sunlight Foundation. Politico, Wash Post and NYT have belatedly followed up on Paul's story but lack a lot of his reporting. Sid

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.htmlou[redacted]r request

## Paul Blumenthal

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.html

Posted: February 12, 2010 01:28 PM
BIO

# The Legacy of Billy Tauzin: The White House-PhRMA Deal

*For more research like this, visit the Sunlight Foundation's blog.*

More than a million spectators gathered before the Capitol on a frosty January afternoon to witness the inauguration of Barack Obama, who promised in his campaign to change Washington's mercenary culture of lobbyists, special interest influence and backroom deals. But within a few months of being sworn in, the President and his top aides were sitting down with leaders from the pharmaceutical industry to hash out a deal that they thought would make health care reform possible.

Over the following months, pharmaceutical industry lobbyists and executives met with top White House aides dozens of times to hammer out a deal that would secure industry support for the administration's health care reform agenda in exchange for the White House abandoning key elements of the president's promises to reform the pharmaceutical industry. They flooded Congress with campaign contributions, and hired dozens of former Capitol Hill insiders to push their case. How they did it--pieced together from news accounts, disclosure forms including lobbying reports and Federal Election Commission records, White House visitor logs and the schedule Sen. Max Baucus releases voluntarily--is a testament to how ingrained the grip of special interests remains in Washington.

In the 2008 campaign, Obama declared his intention to include all stakeholders as he sought to reform the nation's health care system, but also supported key Democratic health reform policies. Among these were several that targeted the pharmaceutical industry: Allowing re-importation of drugs from first world countries with lower drug prices and providing Medicare with negotiating authority over prescription drug prices in the recently enacted Part D program. These weren't just promises, Obama had already voted for both of them as a senator in 2007. (Roll Call Vote 132 and Roll Call Vote 150.)

Set to carry out this agenda were two Capitol Hill veterans, schooled in the monied Washington culture, chief of staff Rahm Emanuel and deputy chief of staff Jim Messina. Emanuel was a former fundraiser, Clinton administration official, investment banker and member of the Democratic leadership in Congress. Messina was the former campaign manager

and chief of staff to the powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus. Both were known for their unparalleled legislative abilities.

Because of Obama's decision to develop a plan operating through the legislative process, members of Congress also played key roles. Early on, the pharmaceutical companies were told to deal directly with Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus. Baucus would be the vehicle for the deal worked out behind the scenes by the White House and PhRMA.

Central to this effort was PhRMA president, CEO and top lobbyist Billy Tauzin, a longtime Democratic member of Congress who switched party affiliations after Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994. By switching parties Tauzin was able to maintain his influence and even rose to be Chairman of the House Committee on Energy & Commerce. Tauzin became the poster child of Washington's mercenary culture. He crafted a bill to provide prescription drug access to Medicare recipients, one that provided major concessions to the pharmaceutical industry. Medicare would not be able to negotiate for lower prescription drug costs and reimportation of drugs from first world countries would not be allowed. A few months after the bill passed, Tauzin announced that he was retiring from Congress and would be taking a job helming PhRMA for a salary of $2 million.

Tauzin's job change became fodder for a campaign ad that then presidential candidate Barack Obama ran in the spring of 2008 simply titled "Billy." It featured the candidate, sleeves rolled up, talking to a salon of gasping Americans about the ways of Washington. "The pharmaceutical industry wrote into the prescription drug plan that Medicare could not negotiate with drug companies. And you know what, the chairman of the committee, who pushed the law through, went to work for the pharmaceutical industry making $2 million a year." The screen fades to black to inform the viewer that, "Barack Obama is the only candidate who refuses Washington lobbyist money," while the candidate continues his lecture, "Imagine that. That's an example of the same old game playing in Washington. You know, I don't want to learn how to play the game better, I want to put an end to the game playing."

Aiding PhRMA in their outreach to Congress would be a squadron of lobbyists to push their health care reform priorities. Over the course of 2009, the drug industry trade group spent over $28 million on in house and hired lobbyists. Aside from PhRMA's massive in-house lobbying operation, the trade group hired 48 outside lobbying firms. The total number of lobbyists working for PhRMA in 2009 reached 165. Some 137 of those 165 lobbyists representing PhRMA were former employees of either the legislative or executive branches. Of these dozens were former congressional staffers including two former chiefs of staff to Max Baucus.

According to data compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics, drug makers contributed huge sums to congressional campaign committees during the same period--from January to the end of October (4th quarter numbers are still being totaled), industry political action committees, employees and their family members flooded lawmakers with over $8 million. Those contributions tilted heavily to Democrats over Republicans by a 57 to 42 percent margin--the first time in any election cycle going back to 1990, the first year that the Center for Responsive Politics began tracking industry giving, that Democrats were so favored. Given their majorities on Capitol Hill, and the new President's intention to reform America's health care system, the new tilt was perhaps not surprising.

***

On March 5, the White House held a meeting with major health care industry leaders to try to bring them to the table and see what could be done to gain their support. In attendance were Billy Tauzin, president, CEO and top lobbyist for PhRMA, Pfizer CEO Jeff Kindler, America's Health Care Plans (AHIP) Chairman Karen Ignani, Tom Donohue of the Chamber of Commerce and Robert Wood Johnson Foundations' Risa Lavizzomourey. A day before the White House meeting Tauzin appeared on CNBC touting health care reform and promising to work closely with the Obama administration. In the interview he touted it as an "optimistic plan", acknowledging that the industry did have a few problems but was glad to have a chance to discuss these. Some were caught dumb-founded by this apparent change of heart on behalf of an industry long adverse to health care reforms.

On April 15, Jim Messina and Jon Selib, chief of staff to Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus, convened a meeting at the headquarters of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) with leaders of organized labor and health care groups, including PhRMA. At the meeting, the groups decided to form two nonprofit entities to promote reform efforts, Healthy Economy Now and Americans for Stable Quality Care, that would be almost entirely funded by PhRMA. The two groups spent $24 million on their advertising campaigns; the contract to produce and place ads went to White House Senior Advisor David Axelrod's former firm, AKPD, which owed Axelrod $2 million.

In the next month, CEO's from pharmaceutical companies would meet with Baucus and administration officials at least four times. These talks preceded a major public event at the White House, one critical to its strategy to promote health care reform. On May 11, PhRMA and other trade industry groups pledged cost cutting measures to the White House that would save, they claimed, upwards of $2 trillion over the next decade. President Obama announced the deal in the State Dining Room, flanked by leaders of the various trade groups; the administration followed up with a media blitz in the press and on the White House Web site.

The next day, Healthy Economy Now's PhRMA funded ad campaign ran their first advertisement in support of the health care reform process calling for the government to finally "fix" the nation's health care cost problems. While many elements of the $2 trillion cost cutting pledge fell apart, the drug industry remained committed to the process in the hopes that they could ultimately win out and defeat the provisions they most feared in closed-door meetings with the White House.

The first occurred on June 2. White House visitor logs show PhRMA's top executives, including Tauzin, and industry CEOs met with Sarah Fenn from the White House Office of Health Care Reform. On the same day, the publicly available

schedule of Senator Max Baucus shows Tauzin and the same industry CEOs met the Senate Finance Committee chairman. What ultimately resulted from these coordinated meetings would be revealed by Baucus on June 20.

In a press release featuring a statement by Tauzin, Baucus revealed that the pharmaceutical industry had accepted $80 billion in cost cutting measures to be included in the Senate Finance Committee version of the bill. According to news reports, Baucus initially proposed $100 billion in cost cutting measures, but the executives and lobbyists meeting on June 2 were able to win the lower figure.

The terms of the initial cost-cutting deal included $30 billion go directly towards closing the "donut hole" in Medicare prescription drug coverage. The "donut hole" is a term for the gap in coverage that occurs within the Medicare prescription drug coverage. For those purchasing prescription drugs through the Medicare program coverage cuts off at $2,700 spent and does not pick back up again until $6,154 is spent by the participant. The amount proposed in the deal; 50 percent coverage for drugs within the coverage gap, however, would not completely close the "donut hole."

In Baucus' press release, Tauzin is quoted as saying, "This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and, working together, we can make this hope for a better tomorrow a reality today." This "once-in-a-lifetime" opportunity also extended to the pharmaceutical industry's ability to blunt the long-term Democratic agenda of lowering prescription drug prices through Medicare negotiations, re-importation and quicker release of generics onto the market. After making such a grand statement of support through cost cutting proposals it was time for the pharmaceutical industry to finally force the White House and Democrats to take certain chips off the table.

Baucus proceeded with a plan to convene a bicartisan group in an effort to craft the bill desired by the White House. These participants included Democrats Kent Conrad and Jeff Bingaman and Republicans Chuck Grassley, Mike Enzi and Olympia Snowe. Baucus' decision and the need to solidify deals with groups like the pharmaceutical industry - which were reliant on Baucus producing a bill - slowed down the legislative process making it impossible for Congress to meet the White House's announced August recess deadline for passing health care reform.

Soon after, PhRMA's big guns and industry lobbyists paid the White House another visit on July 7 and this time met with Rahm Emanuel and Jim Messina (Baucus' chief of staff Jon Selib is also listed in White House visitor logs for this meeting). In August, The Huffington Post's Ryan Grim reported on an internal memo that was drafted at that meeting that outlined the policies that would not be allowed into any final version of health care reform. These included Medicare prescription drug negotiations, drug re-importation, and the lowering of prices for drugs available through Medicare Part D and Part B. The deal would be $80 billion in cost cutting and absolutely no more.

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Nelson claimed that his amendment would generate $106 billion in revenue, or from PhRMA's perspective increase their cost-cutting to $186 billion. That would be unacceptable to PhRMA, to Baucus, to the White House and to the pharmaceutical industry who had made the deal. Other Senate Democrats, Tom Carper and Robert Menendez voted with Republicans and Baucus on the committee to defeat the amendment. It is little surprise the Carper's Delaware is home to

AstraZeneca and Menendez' New Jersey is home to Merck and Bristol-Myers-Squibb, all of which lobbied for the $80 billion cap.

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In the end, the pharmaceutical industry's support for health care reform would be left up in the air . After spending $100 million in advertising in support of legislation that Tauzin and key executives hoped would be a windfall for the pharmaceutical industry, the legislative process had flat-lined. In February, the board of PhRMA, split over the deal cut by Tauzin, pushed Tauzin to resign his post.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** also...

H: Steve Clemons called me last night to talk about this, which he's just posted on his website. Ed Luce of the FT of course told him. Also, Clemons had dinner this week with Petraeus, who freely talked about running for president. Sid

***John Podesta on Obama team.*** I am hearing that *Financial Times* Washington Bureau Chief Edward Luce has a pretty significant interview with Center for American Progress President and former White House Chief of Staff John Podesta coming out on Monday. Luce recently did a video interview with Senator John McCain. One source tells me that Podesta "goes farther" in his critique of the Obama team than his already pretty direct comments in Luce's recent survey of the Obama White House's inner workings.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** Cherie Blair
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Get well soon

I AM SO GLAD. If you get a chance remind Sheikha Mosa of me as I am wanting her to support my woman's foundation so every little reminder helps!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 13 February 2010 14:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: Get well soon

Thanks for your concern. , I'm on the way to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. I will see the Sheikha in Doha and learn more about her work. I hope to see you soon for a catchup visit. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: Clinton, Bill
Cc: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 15:34:07 2010
Subject: Get well soon

Cherie Blair

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

His father learned about the piece only after its publication, another point of pride.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Feb 13, 2010 10:27 am
Subject: Re: H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

Good for Paul! I look forward to reading it.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:19:18 2010

Subject: H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

H: FYI. This story headlined the Huffington Post, has more hits and comments than any other piece, and is the number one story on blogs across the web right now. Paul is a researcher at the Sunlight Foundation. Politico, Wash Post and NYT have belatedly followed up on Paul's story but lack a lot of his reporting.
Sid

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.htmlou

<file:///C:/Users/Owner/AppData/Local/Temp/moz-screenshot.png> r request

Paul Blumenthal <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal>

Paul Blumenthal <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal>

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.html

Posted: February 12, 2010 01:28 PM

BIO <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/#blogger_bio>

# The Legacy of Billy Tauzin: The White House-PhRMA Deal

<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.html>

For more research like this, visit the Sunlight Foundation's blog <http://blog.sunlightfoundation.com/> .

More than a million spectators gathered before the Capitol on a frosty January afternoon to witness the inauguration of Barack Obama, who promised in his campaign to change Washington's mercenary culture of lobbyists, special interest influence and backroom deals. But within a few months of being sworn in, the President and his top aides were sitting down with leaders from the pharmaceutical industry to hash out a deal that they thought would make health care reform possible.

Over the following months, pharmaceutical industry lobbyists and executives met with top White House aides dozens of times to hammer out a deal that would secure industry support for the administration's health care reform agenda in exchange for the White House abandoning key elements of the president's promises to reform the pharmaceutical industry. They flooded Congress with campaign contributions, and hired dozens of former Capitol Hill insiders to push their case. How they did it--pieced together from news accounts, disclosure forms including lobbying reports and Federal Election Commission records, White House

visitor logs and the schedule Sen. Max Baucus releases voluntarily <http://wiki.opencongress.org/wiki/Max_Baucus/Schedule> --is a testament to how ingrained the grip of special interests remains in Washington.

In the 2008 campaign, Obama declared his intention to include all stakeholders as he sought to reform the nation's health care system, but also supported key Democratic health reform policies <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/06/16/obama_says_drug_plan_could_sav.php> . Among these were several that targeted the pharmaceutical industry: Allowing re-importation of drugs from first world countries with lower drug prices and providing Medicare with negotiating authority over prescription drug prices in the recently enacted Part D program. These weren't just promises, Obama had already voted for both of them as a senator in 2007. (Roll Call Vote 132 <http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00132> and Roll Call Vote 150 <http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00150> .)

Set to carry out this agenda were two Capitol Hill veterans, schooled in the monied Washington culture, chief of staff Rahm Emanuel <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/us/politics/16emanuel.html?_r=1> and deputy chief of staff Jim Messina <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/02/20/AR2009022003353.html> . Emanuel was a former fundraiser, Clinton administration official, investment banker and member of the Democratic leadership in Congress. Messina was the former campaign manager and chief of staff to the powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus. Both were known for their unparalleled legislative abilities.

Because of Obama's decision to develop a plan operating through the legislative process, members of Congress also played key roles. Early on, the pharmaceutical companies were told to deal directly with Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/health/policy/06insure.html> . Baucus would be the vehicle for the deal worked out behind the scenes by the White

House and PhRMA.

Central to this effort was PhRMA president, CEO and top lobbyist Billy Tauzin, a longtime Democratic member of Congress who switched party affiliations after Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994. By switching parties Tauzin was able to maintain his influence and even rose to be Chairman of the House Committee on Energy & Commerce. Tauzin became the poster child of Washington's mercenary culture. He crafted a bill to provide prescription drug access to Medicare recipients, one that provided major concessions to the pharmaceutical industry. Medicare would not be able to negotiate for lower prescription drug costs and reimportation of drugs from first world countries would not be allowed. A few months after the bill passed, Tauzin announced that he was retiring from Congress and would be taking a job helming PhRMA for a salary of $2 million.

Tauzin's job change became fodder for a campaign ad that then presidential candidate Barack Obama ran in the spring of 2008 simply titled "Billy <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NCRO0g9CfAw> ." It featured the candidate, sleeves rolled up, talking to a salon of gasping Americans about the ways of Washington. "The pharmaceutical industry wrote into the prescription drug plan that Medicare could not negotiate with drug companies. And you know what, the chairman of the committee, who pushed the law through, went to work for the pharmaceutical industry making $2 million a year." The screen fades to black to inform the viewer that, "Barack Obama is the only candidate who refuses Washington lobbyist money," while the candidate continues his lecture, "Imagine that. That's an example of the same old game playing in Washington. You know, I don't want to learn how to play the game better, I want to put an end to the game playing."

Aiding PhRMA in their outreach to Congress would be a squadron of lobbyists to push their health care reform priorities. Over the course of 2009, the drug industry trade group spent over $28 million <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/clientsum.php?lname=Pharmaceutical+Rsrch+%26+Mfrs+of+America&year=2009>

on in house and hired lobbyists. Aside from PhRMA's massive in-house lobbying

operation, the trade group hired 48 outside lobbying firms. The total number of lobbyists working for PhRMA in 2009 reached 165. Some 137 of those 165 lobbyists representing PhRMA were former employees of either the legislative or executive branches. Of these dozens were former congressional staffers including two former chiefs of staff to Max Baucus.

According to data compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics, drug makers contributed huge sums to congressional campaign committees <http://www.opensecrets.org/industries/indus.php?ind=H04> during the same period--from January to the end of October (4th quarter numbers are still being totaled), industry political action committees, employees and their family members flooded lawmakers with over $8 million. Those contributions tilted heavily to Democrats over Republicans by a 57 to 42 percent margin--the first time in any election cycle going back to 1990, the first year that the Center for Responsive Politics began tracking industry giving, that Democrats were so favored. Given their majorities on Capitol Hill, and the new President's intention to reform America's health care system, the new tilt was perhaps not surprising.

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On March 5, the White House held a meeting with major health care industry leaders <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/health/jan-june09/healthcare_03-05.html> to try to bring them to the table and see what could be done to gain their support. In attendance were Billy Tauzin, president, CEO and top lobbyist for PhRMA, Pfizer CEO Jeff Kindler, America's Health Care Plans (AHIP) Chairman Karen Ignani, Tom Donohue of the Chamber of Commerce and Robert Wood Johnson Foundations' Risa Lavizzomourey. A day before the White House meeting Tauzin appeared on CNBC <http://business.theatlantic.com/2009/03/big_pharmas_top_lobbyist_said_what.php> touting health care reform and promising to work closely with the Obama administration. In the interview he touted it as an "optimistic plan", acknowledging that the industry did have a few problems but was glad to have a chance to discuss these. Some were <http://business.theatlantic.com/2009/03/big_pharmas_top_lobbyist_said_what.php> caught dumb-founded <http://corner.nationalreview.com/post/?q=NjQxZjZhYTc0ZjM2MDAxMjQ1NDY4NzNhZWEzNjg3YmM=htt

p://corner.nationalreview.com/post/?q=NjQxZjZhYTc0ZjM2MDAxMjQ1NDY4NzNhZWEzNjg3YmM=>

by this apparent change of heart on behalf of an industry long adverse to health care reforms.

On April 15, Jim Messina and Jon Selib, chief of staff to Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus, convened a meeting at the headquarters of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) with leaders of organized labor and health care groups, including PhRMA. At the meeting, the groups decided to form two nonprofit entities to promote reform efforts, Healthy Economy Now and Americans for Stable Quality Care, that would be almost entirely funded by PhRMA <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/1009/28362.html> . The two groups spent $24 million on their advertising campaigns; the contract to produce and place ads went to White House Senior Advisor David Axelrod's former firm <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0809/26240.html> , AKPD, which owed Axelrod $2 million.

In the next month, CEO's from pharmaceutical companies would meet with Baucus and administration officials at least four times. These talks preceded a major public event at the White House, one critical to its strategy to promote health care reform. On May 11, PhRMA and other trade industry groups pledged cost cutting measures <http://cnnmoney.printthis.clickability.com/pt/cpt?action=cpt&title=Health-care+groups+propose+$2+trillion+in+cost+controls+-+May.+11,+2009&expire=-1&urlID=40300781&fb=Y&url=http://money.cnn.com/2009/05/11/news/economy/healthcare_reform_proposals/index.htm&partnerID=2200>

to the White House that would save, they claimed, upwards of $2 trillion over the next decade. President Obama announced the deal in the State Dining Room, flanked by leaders of the various trade groups; the administration followed up with a media blitz in the press and on the White House Web site <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/Coming-Together-Bringing-Down-Costs/> .

The next day, Healthy Economy Now's PhRMA funded ad campaign ran their first advertisement <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n0KuoAV6yt0> in support of the health care reform process calling for the government to finally "fix" the nation's health care cost problems. While many elements of the $2 trillion cost cutting pledge fell apart, the drug industry remained committed to the process

in the hopes that they could ultimately win out and defeat the provisions they most feared in closed-door meetings with the White House.

The first occurred on June 2. White House visitor logs show PhRMA's top executives, including Tauzin, and industry CEOs met with Sarah Fenn from the White House Office of Health Care Reform. On the same day, the publicly available schedule of Senator Max Baucus shows Tauzin and the same industry CEOs met the Senate Finance Committee chairman. What ultimately resulted from these coordinated meetings would be revealed by Baucus on June 20.

In a press release <http://finance.senate.gov/press/Bpress/2009press/prb062009.pdf> featuring a statement by Tauzin, Baucus revealed that the pharmaceutical industry had accepted $80 billion in cost cutting measures to be included in the Senate Finance Committee version of the bill. According to news reports <http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=BD18F267-18FB-70B2-A8F5960026D227DF> , Baucus initially proposed $100 billion in cost cutting measures, but the executives and lobbyists meeting on June 2 were able to win the lower figure.

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-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 13 February 2010 15:31
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: Get well soon

Who is and doing what?

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:30:33 2010
Subject: RE: Get well soon

We are all in Oman!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 13 February 2010 14:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: Get well soon

Thanks for your concern. I'm on the way to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. I will see the Sheikha in Doha and learn more about her work. I hope to see you soon for a catchup visit. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: Clinton, Bill
Cc: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 15:34:07 2010
Subject: Get well soon

Cherie Blair

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: also...

Clemons posted this piece on his dinner with Petraeus, (it's replete with a lot of punditry), but he told me more detail about his attitude and interest. Among other things, Petraeus recounted a joke about Gates' speech at the Alfalfa Club dinner that Petraeus couldn't be there because he was in Iowa. Petraeus didn't tell that story to disdain the possibility. He smiled and watched closely for reaction from others. S

February 13, 2010

Steve Clemons

Publisher of "The Washington Note"

# Pondering David Petraeus' Future: Running for VP?

[redacted] I recently had the opportunity to participate in a small dinner with CENTCOM Commander General David Petraeus and his wife Holly. These sorts of discussions are nearly always off the record -- but the fact that they happened is not off limits.

Petraeus was not in uniform but rather wore what looked to me to be a brand new, perfectly tailored dark suit. I joked to him that if I Twittered that out of two dozen or so times I had seen Petraeus that this was the first time I'd seen him out of uniform, an ice cold shudder of fear would spread quickly through some political circles in DC.

In August of 2007, I wrote a piece stating that folks should keep an eye out for the possibility that General Petraeus might run for President in 2012. In April 2008, Steven Lee Myers wrote a solid *New York Times* follow up titled "The Political General" referencing my earlier take.

Recently, legendary newsman Arnaud de Borchgrave resuscitated the topic of an Eisenhoweresque future for the counterinsurgency guru in his piece, "President Petraeus?"

Petraeus was recently named as one of *Foreign Policy* magazine's top 100 global thinkers, and as *U.S. News & World Report*'s "Washington Whispers" notes, he is going to be speaking in May 2010 at the annual American Enterprise Institute dinner receiving the Irving Kristol Award.

In January 2010, Public Policy Polling revealed that while Obama held a ten point lead over a potential wild card race against Petraeus, the General had some strengths. But the pollsters also noted that many in the American public just didn't know enough yet about Petraeus to form an opinion:

> Finally our blog readers voted for David Petraeus as our wild card Republican this month and his numbers come out as a mixed bag. He has the largest deficit against Obama, trailing 44-34. But at +13 his net favorability is better than the President or any of the other Republicans we tested. The problem for

him is that the numbers break down 25/12- 63% of voters in the country don't know enough about him to have formed an opinion. Who knows if Petraeus would actually have any interest in going into politics, but if he did he would be introducing himself to many voters for the first time.

President Obama himself, according to what some of his aides have reported to me, is quite taken with David Petraeus and respects his approach and thinking.

Petraeus has also been respectful of the President -- although when pushed at a recent forum about how he might react to a Presidential decision on Afghanistan that the General might not have liked, Petraeus offered a cryptic rather than clear response. *(see above video)*

At the "First Draft of History" meeting sponsored by the *Atlantic Monthly*/Atlantic Media Group, the Newseum, and the Aspen Institute, Petraeus when asked if he would support the President no matter what the result of the strategic review on Afghanistan responded that he "would continue to give the President the best professional military advice he could." Contrast that with Defense Secretary Robert Gates responding to the same question, "We will salute and execute [the President's] decisions faithfully and to the best of our ability."

But after spending an evening with General Petraeus and watching him closely for a number of years, there is no way that this intelligent leader -- with whom I have some disagreements but respect -- could be comfortable with the Tea Party takeover of the Republican political machine.

There is always the possibility that a core of reasonable Republicans like Michael Bloomberg, James Baker, Olympia Snowe, Chuck Hagel, Alan Simpson, John Whitehead, Peter Peterson, Rita Hauser and others will try to rekindle classic Republican sensibilities by fighting to re-hijack their party back in an Eisenhower-like campaign with Petraeus at the lead. Remember that Eisenhower clinched the Republican nomination by promising to be the President who though he knew war would end the Korean War. Petraeus knows Afghanistan and Iraq -- and though it seems hard to envision today could be the kind of leader promising to end those wars if Obama proves unable to do so.

But there is another option that intrigues me and seems more realistic than imagining the iconic David Petraeus running for President -- and that is his running for Vice President.

I think Vice President Joe Biden has done an outstanding job and of all the big guns in the Obama White House, Biden has done the best job of outperforming expectations. He had given President Obama much needed counsel, not always taken regrettably, but counsel that Obama needed to show the American public he was getting. Biden has been the key agent behind the scenes in moving Iraq's elections forward. He has scored a lot of wins -- not reported -- in the nuclear/WMD controls arena. Biden has worked with Gates in stabilizing an awkward and complex relationship with Russia -- and his counterpoints on the Afghanistan surge, in my view, remain compelling.

But Biden is going to have to find a way to hold his spot in 2012 because others are going to be gunning for it.

As I look at it now, Hillary Clinton who has now said that she will not do more than one term as Secretary of State would be a natural candidate for the Obama VP slot. Her franchise is not completely in the control of the Obama team yet, but moving Hillary closer to the White House (although her private home on Whitehaven Street is actually a couple of hundred feet closer to the White House than the VP residence at the Naval Observatory) would finalize Obama's takeover of all the key political franchises in the Democratic Party -- starting with Daley's machine, Daschle's machine, Kennedy's machine, Edwards' machine, and then the Clintons'.

But General David Petraeus, in his business suit, lurks out there. Obama seems to be concerned about looking like he is weak on national security. The Republicans -- at Cheney's constant goading (and now Sarah Palin's) -- seem to want to continue to play politics through fear-mongering.

Obama could neutralize the possibility that he faces a Republican party challenge by David Petraeus by inviting the General on to the 2012 ticket as a Democrat.

Crazy? Perhaps.

But inviting potential rivals into his tent is becoming a standard Obama trademark -- much as he did by appointing Republican Governor of Utah and former G.W. Bush administration Deputy US Trade Representative Jon Huntsman, Jr. to serve as US Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

And get this, we have just learned that David Petraeus has not voted since 2002 -- not because he doesn't care to vote -- but reportedly because he wants to keep his eventual political options and political loyalties open.

This is a soldier for whom all options are on the table and who is keeping his powder dry.

My hunch is that whether Obama sticks with Vice President Biden or pivots to someone else, Petraeus will be on the short list of those considered.

-- *Steve Clemons publishes the popular political blog,* The Washington Note.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop( ) <sbwhoeop( )
Sent: Sat, Feb 13, 2010 10:29 am
Subject: Re: also...

B6

Pls be sure you send me the next article about Podesta from Clemons. And will he write about Petraeus?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]> B6

To: H

Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:24:53 2010

Subject: also...

H: Steve Clemons called me last night to talk about this, which he's just posted on his website. Ed Luce of the FT of course told him. Also, Clemons had dinner this week with Petraeus, who freely talked about running for president. Sid

John Podesta on Obama team. I am hearing that Financial Times Washington Bureau Chief Edward Luce <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Luce> has a pretty significant interview with Center for American Progress President and former White House Chief of Staff John Podesta <http://www.americanprogress.org/experts/PodestaJohn.html> coming out on Monday. Luce recently did a video interview with Senator John McCain <http://www.ft.com/cms/1644d08e-f450-11dc-aaad-0000779fd2ac.html?_i_referralObject=14346013&fromSearch=n> . One source tells me that Podesta "goes farther" in his critique of the Obama team than his already pretty direct comments in Luce's recent survey <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b6b4700a-10fb-11df-9a9e-00144feab49a.html?nclick_check=1> of the Obama White House's inner workings.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: also...

yes, Luce will publish on Monday. Clemons runs the foreign policy program at New America Foundation, a character around town, very busy, gossipy, gay, friend of Laurie Rubiner (from her NAF days), former moderate Republican, funded in part by Bernard Schwartz, foreign policy realist, and who began his career as a walker of Hollywood wives.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop(
Sent: Sat, Feb 13, 2010 10:30 am
Subject: Re: also...

Will Luce write up his Podesta interview in FT? And who is Clemons?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop

To: H

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H

Greg Craig had confided in Clemons his version of what happened to him. I'll tell you when you return from your trip.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan
**Subject:** RE: Doha speech

Madam Secretary, Tamara Wittes and Alex Djerassi from NEA have been working with Megan this morning on what we in NEA, at least (and obviously we defer to you!), see as the real opportunity of the speech: to lay out a simple theme about Cairo that has somehow gotten lost -- B5

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:57 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Doha speech

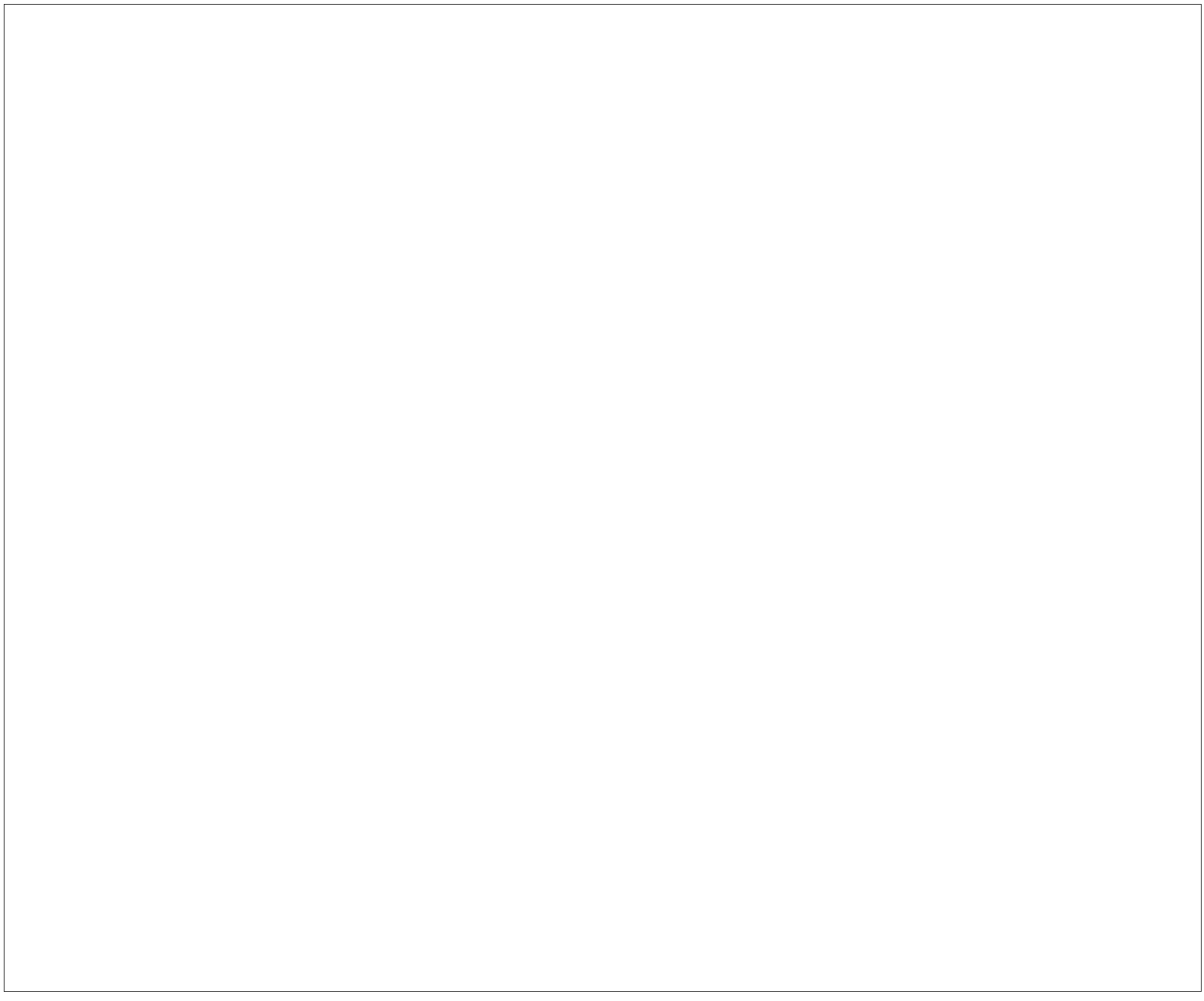
I will have more to say when I see you on the plane, but I wanted to share some thoughts from Judith McHale, that are not in reaction to the speech which I doubt she's seen, but which more generally address the question of communicating w Muslim audiences.

Judith mentions a recent piece by Joe Nye which is also worth reading that I will forward to you. Thx.

Muslim engagement

B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Doha speech

B5

Megan had a long, and I think productive, conversation with Judith about the speech this morning. You are absolutely right on the tone, and Judith helped Megan work through adjustments .

I just spoke with Megan, who is now taking another turn through it.

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Muslim engagement

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Doha speech

Yes -- in the draft they received, violent extremism came first [redacted] They also gave comments on how to frame the Middle East portion -- Megan is working that. And they had a number of specific edits on phraseology and the like. B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:44 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Doha speech

Thx. There's a lot of good stuff in there but needed work. Did you get any advice from the team in Virginia?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 12:41:42 2010
Subject: FW: Doha speech

[redacted]

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[redacted]

B5

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
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202-647-7209

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Muslim engagement

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Language re arab peace initiative in doha speech

In keeping w/ email I sent you re my conversation w/ robert wexler and danny abraham, this speech is doing exactly what is needed on our side. To encourage KSA and others to respond, however, [redacted] B5

[redacted] AM

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sat Feb 13 12:38:59 2010
**Subject:** m e peace language

The 2002 Arab Peace Initiative was an encouraging[AMS1] step; it is time to renew that spirit today[AMS2] in support of negotiations.

Important and encouraging step; it is time to renew that spirit today and move to specifics.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Doha speech

Funny you mention it -- nearly everyone who has given comments on the speech has tried their hand at "improving" that paragraph (usually reflecting their own notions of what the endstate should look like), not recognizing that it is sacred language. We're protecting it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:57 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Doha speech

This is a good experiment.
Also don't forget I have to include the para stating our Middle East policy. So we can't lose that.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 12:47:33 2010
Subject: RE: Doha speech

Yes -- in the draft they received, violent extremism came first. [redacted] They also gave comments on how to frame the Middle East portion -- Megan is working that. And they had a number of specific edits on phraseology and the like. B5

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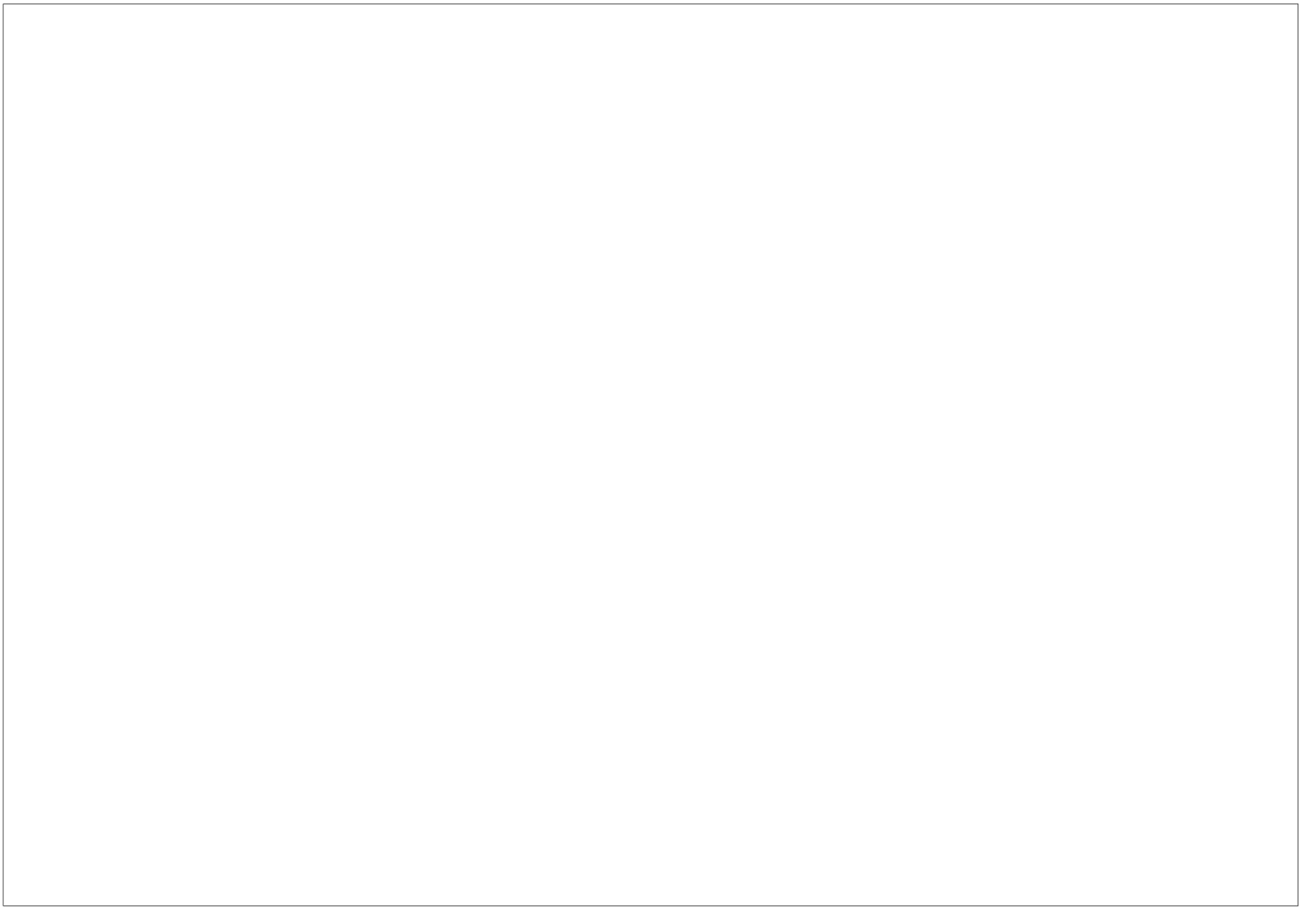
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Muslim engagement



B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 1:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Yes
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Feb 13, 2010 1:16 PM
Subject: Re:

Are you at home?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:51:34 2010
Subject:

Greg Craig had confided in Clemons his version of what happened to him. I'll tell you when you return from your trip.

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:28 PM
**To:** [redacted] Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Re: hi huma/[redacted]

B6

About to land in shannon. Will call soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Abedin, Huma; H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 21:22:05 2010
Subject: hi huma/[redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 14, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Reforma Article
**Attachments:** Reforma.pdf; Reforma - translated article.docx

I think I mentioned to you that Carols Pascual has asked me to work with him on a public awareness campaign targeting the Mexican public and designed to maintain support for the campaign against the drug cartels. The attached article, which he wrote, addresses this issue. I have approached Keith Reinhard at Business for Diplomatic Action to work with us on this matter. Keith thinks he can organize a US/Mexican creative coalition to work on it. Might be an interesting model for Haiti if it works here.

Hope the trip is going well.

JM

---

**From:** Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Feeley, John D (Mexico City)
**Subject:** Reforma Article

Judith,

Thank you again for your time and your willingness to work with us on the public communications challenge. Attached is a copy of the article I mentioned.

Best regards,
Carlos

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

# Translation of January 25, 2010 *Reforma* Article

U.S. Ambassador dismisses possibility that fight against crime lets up during the 2012 elections.

**U.S. Trusts Anti Drug Fight Will Continue**
Diplomat points out that it is difficult to explain the success of the fight against drug trafficking with the rising death toll.
Jose Diaz Briseno.

Washington.- U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Carlos Pascual dismissed the risk that the current fight against drug trafficking in Mexico lets up during the 2012 presidential election, noting there is a consensus [in Mexico] that the fight must continue.

During a visit to Washington to participate in the meeting of U.S. ambassadors in the hemisphere, Pascual assured Mexican media that he does expect a normal debate about the different components of the antidrug strategy.

"I don't see the risk that some have pointed out about the possibility that perhaps with the 2012 [presidential] elections the fight against drug trafficking will become lax," said the diplomat who presented his credentials in October.
Pascual, former vice president of the Brookings Institution before he went to Mexico, highlighted his discussions with representatives of the PAN, PRI and PRD.
"I have spoken with representatives of the three main political parties and all have reaffirmed that this fight against drug traffickers must continue," said the U.S. ambassador in the meeting with the Mexican media.

"We will see political debates about tactics and ways to design the [antidrug] strategy and that is fair. Anywhere you go there must be a political debate about the most effective ways to lead public policy," he said referring to what is expected to happen in 2012.

Asked whether he believed that drug trafficking could directly influence the presidential election, Pascual stated that the three parties acknowledge that such threat is present in the municipal level.

"It's the same whether you talk to the PAN, the PRI, or the PRD, I think there is a widespread acknowledgement that what organized crime aims for is to take control at the municipal level to keep their 'black businesses' that will never bring about anything good," he said.

According to Pascual, politicians in Mexico who propose to negotiate with drug traffickers are a minority, but he warned that negotiating would only lead to more infiltration of authorities by criminals.

"Obviously we have heard from time to time people suggesting that the best thing to do is to strike a deal with [drug traffickers] and compromise. But those are exceptions," Pascual pointed out during the meeting that was conducted in Spanish.

In June 2009, the press scooped an audio file where the then candidate and current mayor of San Pedro Garza Garcia Mauricio Fernandez allegedly said he was willing to negotiate with the Beltran Leyva cartel.

"If we compromise we will see more infiltration and that is not a path we can follow," said Pascual about the possibility of negotiating.

The U.S. envoy, born in Cuba in 1961, recognized that in Mexico, one of the paradoxes most difficult to explain is saying the antidrug policy is successful when violence is still raging.

"One of the hardest things is explaining in Mexico how the [antidrug] policy is going forward and being successful when violence is increasing." Pascual admitted, "And it is a superficial contradiction that is hard for everyone to understand."

However, the American diplomat noted that even if the Mexican government stopped targeting drug trafficking organizations, violence would continue because cartels would still fight among them, and therefore there is no other option but to push forward.

With the initiative for the FY2011 budget around the corner, Pascual avoided commenting on the amount the U.S. will offer Mexico for antidrug support in the

second phase of the Merida Plan [sic] after the $1,351 million in the past three years.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 14, 2010 1:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reporters...

...Are asking about what the mounting evidence is that Iran is building toward a bomb. They are taking it as a little different from previous formulations.

We're saying Qom, 20 pct enrichment, refusal on TRR, etc.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, February 14, 2010 3:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

**Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson**, known both for his segregationist political activities in the 1950s and dabbling in the political campaign against Bill Clinton during his presidency, died yesterday.

A Faulkner County sheriff's office spokesman, Lt. Matt Rice, said Johnson was found dead in his home about 10 a.m. Saturday with an **apparently self-inflicted chest wound from a .30-30 rifle. Johnson had been beset by medical problems,** he said. Roller-McNutt Funeral Home in Conway will be handling arrangements.

He was 85. Here's a standard biographical history. This will end his prolific and pointed letters to the editor (unless some are still in the pipeline), delivered on stationery marked with his name for his Conway home, "White Haven."

Justice Jim was a courtly man and lively company, gracious in social interaction with friend and political foe. But Mark Anthony's words in Julius Caesar about men's deeds come, unavoidably, to mind. As recently as 1990, he worked in an effort to preserve state Amendment 44, the states rights amendment aimed at curbing integration that was his brainchild. It had long been declared unconstitutional by federal courts and was barely repealed by voters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 2:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Lowey codel

Cole
Lee
Chandler
Stearns
Hastings
Whitfield
Ryan
Edwards

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 2:17 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

What a sad ending to the tale.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]<sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 14 15:20:07 2010
Subject: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson, known both for his segregationist political activities in the 1950s and dabbling in the political campaign against Bill Clinton during his presidency, died yesterday.

A Faulkner County sheriff's office spokesman, Lt. Matt Rice, said Johnson was found dead in his home about 10 a.m. Saturday with an apparently self-inflicted chest wound from a .30-30 rifle. Johnson had been beset by medical problems, he said. Roller-McNutt Funeral Home in Conway will be handling arrangements.

He was 85. Here's a standard biographical history <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_D._Johnson> . This will end his prolific and pointed letters to the editor (unless some are still in the pipeline), delivered on stationery marked with his name for his Conway home, "White Haven."

Justice Jim was a courtly man and lively company, gracious in social interaction with friend and political foe. But Mark Anthony's words in Julius Caesar about men's deeds come, unavoidably, to mind. As recently as 1990, he worked in an effort to preserve state Amendment 44, the states rights amendment aimed at curbing integration that was his brainchild. It had long been declared unconstitutional by federal courts and was barely repealed by voters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 7:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sunday

I was holding the 4pm but all flights look good as of this afternoon.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Wed Feb 03 19:30:12 2010
Subject: Sunday

When am I scheduled to fly back?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

I thought your designation of Iran as a near military government was very good. Gary Sick has been arguing that it is in fact a military government. Of course this is predicate for targeted sanctions. There is a consistent thread in the challenges we face from a host of authoritarian (and totalitarian) military governments, sometimes loosely allied on an ad hoc basis--Iran, China, Myanmar, Venezuela, Cuba. This is nothing like the Cold War, but it's an idea worth exploring, not publicly discussing, but thinking about.

On Justice Jim, a couple of thoughts: I wish his tragic end were as politically conclusive as that of Edmund Ruffin, the Southern fire-eater and secessionist who was given the honor of firing the first shot at Fort Sumter and upon hearing of Appomattox carefully sat himself down in his grand Charleston house and blew his brains out with a shotgun. Unfortunately, the evil Justice Jim did lives on--in the wild bigotry against Obama and even through the Supreme Court decision in the case of Citizens United, a group he helped galvanize to circulate the Whitewater hoax.

Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Sent: Mon, Feb 15, 2010 2:16 pm
Subject: Re: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

What a sad ending to the tale.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sun Feb 14 15:20:07 2010

Subject: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson, known both for his segregationist political activities in the 1950s and dabbling in the political campaign against Bill Clinton during his presidency, died yesterday.

A Faulkner County sheriff's office spokesman, Lt. Matt Rice, said Johnson was

found dead in his home about 10 a.m. Saturday with an apparently self-inflicted chest wound from a .30-30 rifle. Johnson had been beset by medical problems, he said. Roller-McNutt Funeral Home in Conway will be handling arrangements.

He was 85. Here's a standard biographical history <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_D._Johnson>

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=

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 6:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: What happened?

You still up?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin <[redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Feb 15 18:26:25 2010
Subject: What happened?

Let me know what the outcome is---this is very unfortunate so hope we get it fixed.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 6:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Podesta

# Podesta: W.H. 'lost' health narrative

By: Andy Barr
February 15, 2010 03:03 PM EST

John Podesta, the president of the Center for American Progress who led Barack Obama's presidential transition, acknowledges the White House has been unable to successfully drive the debate on health care reform.

"They lost the narrative," Podesta told the Financial Times. "They lost the perspective of how all of the activity they were engaged in was knit together."

In a video interview posted on the newspaper's website Monday, Podesta also bemoaned the present political climate in Washington and expressed frustration with inability of the White House and Congress to advance the president's agenda.

"Change is hard in America. We've all learned that over the last year," said the former White House chief of staff under Bill Clinton. "There is real frustration amongst independent voters, and anger amongst independent voters."

Voters have become discouraged, Podesta said, by seeing "no spirit in which people were having a

reasonable conversation" during the health care debate and from "the last twist and turns on health care, the special deals that had to be made in the Senate to get the 60 votes."

Asked how he would rate the health of the American political system, he responded simply: "Sucks."

"It feels like a very frustrated country, a country frustrated with the inability of Washington to do anything to get the economy going again, to get jobs going again," he said. "And I think that there is tremendous anger [and] frustration about the inability to improve people's lives."

Republicans also have shown little ability to raise the level of debate, Podesta suggested.

Obama's "not dealing with the party of Lincoln. He's dealing with the party of Palin," Podesta said, referring to Sarah Palin, the former Alaska governor who was the 2008 GOP vice presidential nominee.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 7:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Game back on track NI. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo game back on ni 020310.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 3, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Game back on, NI

Shaun just called, 7:50 pm EST, to relate the latest sequence and to tell you that after near breakdown of negotiations on Monday they are back on track (maybe). Robinson went into his assembly on Monday thinking he could pull off the deal, but was shocked to discover the degree of opposition, centering partly on Reg Empey (UUP). (Cameron has tried to forge an alliance of UUP, elements of DUP and the Tories, on the agenda at the secret country house meeting last week.) But tonight, Wednesday, Shaun has got Robinson and McGuiness to agree to all points, pushing past the previous sticking point on the Minister of Justice and relation to the Executive. The matter now rests with Robinson and his ability to sell it tomorrow. He has told Shaun and Gordon he believes he can do it. He needs 75 percent of his party. So, the perils of peace continue.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767201 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 3, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Game back on, NI

Shaun just called, 7:50 pm EST, to relate the latest sequence and to tell you that after near breakdown of negotiations on Monday they are back on track (maybe). Robinson went into his assembly on Monday thinking he could pull off the deal, but was shocked to discover the degree of opposition, centering partly on Reg Empey (UUP). (Cameron has tried to forge an alliance of UUP, elements of DUP and the Tories, on the agenda at the secret country house meeting last week.) But tonight, Wednesday, Shaun has got Robinson and McGuiness to agree to all points, pushing past the previous sticking point on the Minister of Justice and relation to the Executive. The matter now rests with Robinson and his ability to sell it tomorrow. He has told Shaun and Gordon he believes he can do it. He needs 75 percent of his party. So, the perils of peace continue.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767201 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2010 8:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI: Les Gelb. S

Replace Rahm
by Leslie H. Gelb
February 15, 2010 | 10:48pm
[redacted]Kristoffer Tripplaar / SIPA **President Obama desperately needs a sweeping staff shakeup to save his presidency. Leslie H. Gelb on why he must reassign Rahm, dump Larry Summers, and get rid of National Security adviser Jim Jones.**

The negative, even dismissive, talk about the Obama White House has reached a critical point. The president must change key personnel now. Unless he speedily sets up a new team, he will be reduced to a speechmaker. It's mostly a matter of relocating the Chicago and campaign crowd who surround the Oval Office and inserting people with proven records of getting things done in Washington and the world.

To be fair, it's not clear whether the bad judgments on priorities, practicalities, and steadiness come from Mr. Obama or his White House team. Maybe he overpowers them in discussions, or maybe he gives them a role in policymaking far beyond their experience in that realm. Unless you're there, you don't know. But Mr. Obama is the president, and except for the right-wing crazies, most Americans still recognize his great talents and promise. It is he who's got to be helped. So it is they who've got to go.

It is he who's got to be helped. So it is they who've got to go.

One may quarrel with my sense of urgency here. But it's hard to have a conversation with opinion leaders anywhere—and especially in Washington—that doesn't descend into ripping Obama's White House team. The refrain of complaints is always the same:

• Obama is forever taking strong stances only to backfill and trim. Most recently, he said he did not "begrudge" Wall Streeters their big earnings because that was part of the market system. This, in the face of his saying only a couple of weeks ago that such big bonuses were "shameful."

• Obama doesn't know what's really going on. Regarding the Middle East, he recently said that "I think it is absolutely true that what we did this year didn't produce the kind of breakthrough that we wanted, and if we had anticipated some of these political problems on both sides earlier, we might not have raised expectations as high." He had to be totally out of it not to realize that the Palestinians and Israelis were nowhere close to sitting down with each other and dealing.

• Obama wants to get along with everyone so badly he doesn't recognize real opposition when he sees it—let alone know how to deal with it. He emerges from a meeting with congressional Republican leaders on health-care reform and says he is "an eternal optimist"—when those very same Republican leaders just told the press that they don't see any common ground and believe the administration has to "scrap the bill and start over."

• It's even hard to follow his latest Afghan policy. He calls Afghanistan a "war of necessity" and orders more than 30,000 new troops there, coupled with an announcement that he'll begin withdrawing some of them in a year plus, only to see some of his advisers say he will start withdrawals and some say he won't.

I've scribbled similar points in recent months in The Daily Beast. And last week in The Financial Times, Edward Luce provided a thunderclap on Washington's negative consensus about the incompetence of Obama's Chicago-laden team. Luce named names in the White House, and a number of journalists and bloggers strikingly failed to link to the Luce story. They were said to fear the wrath of the Chicagoans. Steve Clemons, author of The Washington Note, essentially endorsed the Luce finding and slapped his fellow bloggers' wrists for hiding from this issue. The situation is as serious as it was during the Carter administration. There, two very capable political campaigners—Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell—moved into critical White House positions without knowing very much about doing business in Washington. And they were, quite naturally, too busy to learn. They also added to the "them" versus "us" (Washington insiders and bureaucrats versus the regular guys from Georgia) mentality that plagues most administrations.

The Chicagoans and others "guarding" the president create their own "us versus them" world. It's hard to imagine a policy conversation between the president and the Chicago crowd, since none of them, except Rahm Emanuel, has Washington or policy experience. And there isn't much evidence that they bring in strong-minded outsiders to challenge the president on a regular basis either. The result is an inexperienced president advised by an inexperienced team.

Here are the personnel changes being bruited about in political and policy circles: First, remove Rahm Emanuel as chief of staff and move him to a senior political adviser slot. No one I've talked to believes he has the management skills and discipline to run the White House. But he is a terrific political mind and a fighter and should be given the new job and the

time to do his thing. Proven pros who could step right in include the following: Erskine Bowles, president of the University of North Carolina and former Clinton chief of staff; Leon Panetta, now CIA director and formerly White House chief as well under Clinton; Sylvia Mathews, a former deputy chief of staff also under Clinton; and John Podesta, another former Clinton chief who now heads the Center for American Progress. All four are tough and know how to manage.

Replace Lawrence Summers, director of the White House's National Economic Council, with Paul Volcker, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve. Summers is brilliant and highly controversial; he's been beaten up and is said to want out anyway. Volcker has unmatched stature, practical experience, and the courage of a lion. He is the only one now in a position to get down to step-by-step brass tacks on the economy and stop Mr. Obama's weekly gyrations. Others with proven track records who can help as inside or outside advisers are: Stephen Robert, formerly head of Oppenheimer, Vincent Mai, former leader of AEA Investors, and Tom Hill of Blackstone. There are also two economic stars in Washington who'd improve both policymaking and public combat: Sheila Bair, chairwoman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and Elizabeth Warren, chair of the Congressional Oversight Panel. One outside adviser above all would help the president see the economic hard choices ahead: Peter G. Peterson, accomplished businessman and policy head.

David Axelrod, the senior political adviser to the president, needs to concentrate on the next presidential campaign, wherein his expertise lies, and not on domestic and foreign policy, where he is just another smart unknowledgeable voice. Good replacements who do know the politics of Washington would be the aforementioned Podesta; and Tom Daschle, the former Democratic Senate Majority Leader. As for David Plouffe, another senior campaign aide, now in unofficial residence at the White House, he should be lodged in the nearby Executive Office Building. Senior adviser and Chicago buddy Valerie Jarrett is too much a part of the inner circle to move, but she should be given a more limited role in making policy.

Mr. Obama's crowd appears to think that getting things done means his giving another speech. It's nice, but not nearly enough.

Robert Gibbs needs a rest from being press secretary. Let's put it this way: He wasn't born for daily jousts with pithy Republicans. His job calls for memorable and pointed phrases and attacks, not circle-the-wagon circumlocutions. Possible successors? Try Doyle McManus of the L.A. Times, Jake Tapper of ABC News, or Helene Cooper of The New York Times.

Last but not least, James Jones, the National Security Adviser, has to move on. The career Marine was greatly admired and respected as Commandant of the Corps and as NATO's military chief. He handled those duties with great skill. But by wide acclamation inside and outside the White House, he has not emerged as a strategist—perhaps the key requirement of this key position. The person in that job has to pull everything together—laying out achievable objectives and precise plans to dispense carefully packaged carrots and sticks. One Democrat who could step in now, despite his age, is Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's national-security adviser. He has a first-rate strategic mind—a rare quality—and knows how to deliver results. Obama will need to iron out Zbig's lack of sympathy toward Israel and Russia.

Also available are a boatload of first-class retired diplomats with the judgment and background needed to perform the National Security Council job effectively. They would be greeted with applause both at home and abroad. Try former ambassadors Thomas Pickering, Morton Abramowitz, Frank Wisner, Reginald Bartholomew, and Winston Lord. They have it all. At a minimum, they and others like them should form the core of a group that meets regularly with Obama on strategy.

Yes, many of the pros suggested above have reached their golden years. But 70 and even 80 are the new 60. They all possess the necessary energy, experience and rare skill in delivering results. They are also shovel-ready. As a critical bonus, they could and would mentor the next generation down, a very talented one indeed, to succeed them in two or three years. To lead America and the world, Obama has to grow far beyond his present propensity to treat problems as intellectual puzzles—to collect facts and hear the arguments. The great tasks of governing demand proven intuition in sensing what's achievable, which buttons to push when, how to buy the time for power to take hold, how to make adjustments without flagrantly foolish rhetoric, how to avoid failures that only diminish power, and how to succeed in small as well as large ways. With a team versed in such arts and skills, President Obama and America would succeed.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of Power Rules. How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

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For inquiries, please contact The Daily Beast at editorial@thedailybeast.com.

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-02-15/replace-rahm/p/

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 8:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Game back on track NI. Sid

I confess that I will never understand how Shaun decides when to call me, Declan, Lou Susman, or Sid with breaking news. So many channels!

We've been hearing all day that Peter would take a back-me-or-sack-me public vote of his party. Hopefully tomorrow will be the day -- and hopefully he'll be successful.

In an interesting show of strength, he has announced he'll resume as First Minister.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 03 20:12:16 2010
Subject: Fw: H: Game back on track NI. Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 19:58:30 2010
Subject: H: Game back on track NI. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 3, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Game back on, NI

Shaun just called, 7:50 pm EST, to relate the latest sequence and to tell you that after near breakdown of negotiations on Monday they are back on track (maybe). Robinson went into his assembly on Monday thinking he could pull off the deal, but was shocked to discover the degree of opposition, centering partly on Reg Empey (UUP). (Cameron has tried to

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 8:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Prayer breakfast remarks will be faxed to house in 15 minutes

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:12 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Economist

Pse see the Economist article below -- for their analysis not just of the human rights situation but also how to deal w/ the Chinese. AM

---

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Graze, Deborah E; Baer, Daniel B; Cleveland, Sarah H; Otero, Maria
**Sent:** Wed Feb 17 07:45:12 2010
**Subject:** FW: Economist

B5

Thanks

**US foreign policy**

# Speaking too softly

Feb 15th 2010 | NEW YORK
From Economist.com

**Relations between America and China may chill over a meeting with the Dalai Lama**

AP

IT IS bound to be a controversial meeting. The Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader, goes to Washington, DC, this week and will sit down with President Barack Obama for the first time on Thursday February 18th. American presidents have long been happy to meet the Tibetan leader and to tolerate subsequent angry huffing from China, not least as a means of responding to public concern over human rights without doing anything serious to jeopardise trade or other ties with Beijing.

But in Mr Obama's case, with China increasingly assertive internationally and the American president perceived in many quarters as cautious, even timid, in foreign policy, the encounter with the Dalai Lama has assumed extra significance. Mr Obama will be studied closely. Human-rights activists will listen with care to the language that the American president uses, straining to hear whether he goes further than merely suggesting more dialogue between Tibetans and the Chinese leadership. Might the president dare to deliver real criticism of repression and human-rights abuses in Tibet?

Kenneth Roth, the head of Human Rights Watch, an activist group in New York, offers a mixed assessment of Mr Obama's foreign policy so far in its treatment of human rights. He suggests that no other recent American leader has taken such care with his rhetoric, judging how it is received by the rest of the world. But substantial steps too rarely follow Mr Obama's fine words. The president's speeches—as in Cairo last year—have helped to set a conciliatory tone for American foreign policy, and to reassure Muslims and others that America is not determined to seek confrontation for the sake of it. Thoughtful comments to

African leaders, urging the continent to develop strong and democratic institutions, have also been well received. But Mr Roth sees little evidence of a leader who is prepared then to press reluctant regimes, as for example did Ronald Reagan (and before him, Jimmy Carter) in pushing the Soviet Union to sign up to an international commitment, the Helsinki Final Act, which promoted individual rights.

Mr Obama's foreign-policy approach of seeking engagement with opponents such as Iran, in an effort to establish dialogue and more effective diplomatic channels, has made it harder for him to beat the human-rights drum loudly. But by failing to speak up about repression, the American leader risks being perceived as weak. His muted reaction to the rigged presidential elections in Iran and the violent repression that followed (and continues) has seemed deferential. His eagerness to "reset" relations with Russia, for example by scrapping a planned anti-missile defence shield in eastern Europe, has coincided with near total silence over the murders of journalists and the clamping down on democracy in that country. It is unclear, in either case, that biting his tongue has brought any gains from the respective regimes.

Particularly troubling has been America's attitude to China and human rights. After Hillary Clinton's first visit to China as secretary of state, in February 2009, she announced that concern over human rights should not "interfere" with getting co-operation on other issues such as climate change and the global economy. Human-rights defenders were deflated. Mr Obama then avoided meeting the Dalai Lama when he visited America in September and postponed a scheduled meeting in October, to avoid upsetting the government in China ahead of a presidential visit. During Mr Obama's subsequent visit to China, he made few and limited comments on human rights. The Chinese government responded by becoming more assertive. It helped to scupper a deal at the Copenhagen summit on climate change in December and snubbed the American president by sending a deputy minister to a crucial meeting. China has generally proven to be increasingly unwilling to co-operate with America, for example over United Nations sanctions against Iran.

The administration, however, may now be toughening up. American rhetoric over Iran has become firmer. On Monday Mrs Clinton warned that a military dictatorship was emerging in Tehran. Relations with China, too, have become frostier, for example over a long-planned (and routine) decision by the American government to sell weapons to Taiwan. Mrs Clinton has also spoken up more forcefully about the need for internet freedom in China, in the wake of sophisticated cyber-attacks on Google that many believe had Chinese government fingerprints on them. This week's meeting with the Dalai Lama is thus a moment to demonstrate that Mr Obama is ready both to signal his concern for human rights and that his foreign-policy is becoming more assertive.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 8:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Prayer breakfast remarks will be faxed to house in 15 minutes

Actually binder almost ready so speech is coming in binder

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wed Feb 03 20:23:47 2010
Subject: Prayer breakfast remarks will be faxed to house in 15 minutes

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Iran. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo iran 021710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Iran, Saudi

Had dinner last night (Tuesday, February 16) with Joschka Fischer. We had an interesting conversation on Iran and Saudi Arabia, among other things. (As you know Fischer is now director of the Nabucco pipeline project.) On Iran, harsh, targeted sanctions are absolutely necessary, but are most effective diplomatically when always coupled with an offer to negotiate. The iron fist in the velvet glove approach achieves several objectives: According to Fischer's intelligence, Ahmanijehad wished some negotiated settlement but was blocked. The regime has splits at the top. Perhaps true, perhaps not. But constantly pushing negotiations alongside sanctions puts additional pressure on internal divisions, whatever they are. Extending an open hand while brandishing a stick closes diplomatic and political room to maneuver for Iran. Its refusal to accept the open hand justifies application of the stick. Even when sanctions are enforced it always remains useful to say another way is open. The damage done to Iran is therefore the result of its own choice. This approach also aids the opposition. A purely condign sanctions strategy can contribute to the regime's will to punish and tighten repression. Talking of regime change, of course, undermines the cause of regime change. It is a gift to the regime. The opposition is a new factor in the Iran equation that must be taken into account on the political and moral level. Pushed to the wall, the regime may feel compelled to repress, which might involve thousands or tens of thousands of political killings. On Saudi Arabia, Fischer points out that if Iran develops nuclear weaponry the Saudis already have their own bomb. The Saudis invested in Pakistan's nuclear weaponry partly for this eventuality; that's their bomb in reserve.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 9:15 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year and onto 2010!

Thanks for the new years wish. You can give Senator Gillibrand my name, but I will also ask Miguel to call her Leg Director in the morning. And I will work with Jake to track down Aga Khan's roadmap to stability.

See you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jan 03 18:19:31 2010
Subject: Happy New Year and onto 2010!

Rich---Thanks for all you did to make the past year a successful one, I hope you and your family will have a happy and healthy new year. I'm looking forward to 2010!

Here's some questions and I'm copying Jake so he can help w the followup--

Right before I left, Kirsten Gillibrand called to discuss her cybersecurity bill. She wants to draft it so it favors State. I told her we would connect her up w the right person who would call her to discuss in the new year. Who should that be in your shop or elsewhere? Pls let me know so I can call and tell her.

When I was in Kabul, the Aga Khan told me he had given a "roadmap" to stability in Afghanistan and wanted me to see it. That's all I know; can you track it down?

**From:** Cheryl Mills <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 9:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'Sullivan, Jacob J'
**Subject:** FW: Iran reports: Majlis likely to reject Kerry Iran visa

FYI

---

**From:** McDonough, Denis R. [mailto[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, January 03, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** cheryl.mills[redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Iran reports: Majlis likely to reject Kerry Iran visa

Not asked to go and not even going. His guys say - and he says to Tom D. I gather - that these reports are all BS.

Will call early Tuesday. We get home early afternoon tmrw.

D

---

**From:** Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>
**To:** McDonough, Denis R.
**Sent:** Sun Jan 03 20:34:57 2010
**Subject:** FW: Iran reports: Majlis likely to reject Kerry Iran visa

Hey dear:

Welcome back.

What is the backstory on this – has Kerry been asked to go to Iran?

cdm

---

**From:** Nora Toiv [mailto:[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, January 03, 2010 7:05 PM
**To:** Cheryl Mills
**Subject:** Iran reports: Majlis likely to reject Kerry Iran visa

# Iran reports: Majlis likely to reject Kerry Iran visa

After John Kerry's staff last week told us that Kerry has no plans to meet Iranian officials in Iran or abroad, Tehran Times is reporting that the Iranian parliament will decide this week on whether to grant Kerry a visa.

"The Majlis Foreign Relations Committee is scheduled to discuss the issue on Tuesday morning and then the Majlis National Security and Foreign Policy Committee will make a decision on Tuesday afternoon," the

English language Iranian paper cited MP Hossen Ebrahimi Sunday.

"However, [Ebrahimi] said he believes it is unlikely that the Majlis will approve the visit since it is not in the country's interests at the present time."

Via The Hill blog, Fars news agency says Kerry's visa request has been denied.

"They could have very well taken a vote, I have not been informed of any such vote directly," Senate Foreign Relations Committee spokesman Fred Jones told POLITICO Sunday. "Once again, I reiterate that John Kerry has no plans to travel to Iran."

Last week, Jones told POLITICO that Iranian reports that Kerry was planning to go to Iran were not accurate. Asked if Kerry was exploring the possibility of meeting Iranian officials elsewhere in a third country, Jones said no. "There are no plans to meet with any Iranian officials abroad."

Over the weekend, diplomatic and Hill sources said that internal disputes have emerged over whether a European Parliament delegation should proceed with its planned visit to Iran this month. Iran's Press TV reported yesterday that the European MP delegation plans to come.

Posted by Laura Rozen 04:13 PM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** General Petraeus

MS,
General Petraeus just logged a call to you from his liaison office in the Pentagon. He will be there until 4:00 PM today. [redacted] I will add to your grid. B6

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: General Petraeus

His office just called back again to offer another number that they prefer we use. I've made a note of it here.
[redacted]

B6

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** 'H'
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** General Petraeus

MS,
General Petraeus just logged a call to you from his liaison office in the Pentagon. He will be there until 4:00 PM today.[redacted] I will add to your grid.

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 4:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** George Mitchell Cell [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6



**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

B6

Happy New Year to you, too! I'm sorry for the delay in getting back to you.

On menu: As a start, I can make a list of the lunches that he's made so far. Jason is given money advances. I'm not positive of the total for last year since I came in April but I can have that answer for you by morning. I have skim milk for you.

On the Human Rights Watch Report: I found it online and will print. It is 96 pages so I can put this in a binder if you'd like.

Parks and Recreation: NBC Thursdays at 8:30pm The Good Wife: CBS Tuesdays at 10pm

And it is a huge honor to work for you. I learn so much every day and I am so grateful for this unforgettable experience. Thank you!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Sun Jan 03 18:20:14 2010
Subject: Happy New Year!

Monica--I hope you had a wonderful holiday season and thank you for all of your help this past year. You've been a life saver. I'm looking forward to 2010 being even better.

Here are a few things as we start the year--

I'd like to work w you to prepare a menu for Jason. Also does he give me a monthly bill for the food he buys and prepares for me?
Could you or he buy skim milk for me to have for my tea? Also, pls remind me to bring more tea cups from home.

Also, pls try to get me a copy of the Human Rights Watch report titled "We Have the Promises of the World: Women's Rights in Afghanistan."

Can you give me times for two TV shows: Parks and Recreation and The Good Wife?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 5:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Senator mitchell looking to talk non-secure

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Isabelle confirmed for 7:30am.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 10:45 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills
**Subject:** Re: Smith Bagley's funeral

B6

We have it
Already working on schedule
------Original Message------
From: Hrc
To: Lona
To: Huma Abedin
To: Cheryl Mills n
Sent: Jan 3, 2010 10:44 PM
Subject: Smith Bagley's funeral

It's at 10:30 on Thursday at Holy Trinity on G'town.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 10:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Prince, Jonathan M (PACE); Burns, William J; Mitchell, George J
**Subject:** Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Madam Secretary, good evening. I just received a question [redacted] B5

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 5:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jose Fernandez Swearing-in

The first woman professor tenured at Darmouth, who I know, described you as "radiant" at this event. Cheers!

*Under Secretary of State*
*for Democracy and Global Affairs*
*Department of State*
*2201 C St. NW Room 7261*
*Washington DC 20520*
*202 - 647-6240*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 4, 2010 7:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Two al-Qaida militants killed in Yemen

---

**From**: McNeil, Matthew C
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent**: Mon Jan 04 06:36:32 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Two al-Qaida militants killed in Yemen

SANAA (AP) - Security officials say Yemeni forces have killed two suspected al-Qaida militants in a raid outside the capital. The officials say security forces attacked a group of militants, which included Nazeeh al-Hanaq, a senior figure on Yemen's most wanted list. The clash took place on Monday as the militants were moving through the mountainous area of Arhab. They say al-Hanaq escaped but two fighters with him were killed in the clashes. The officials spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to talk to the press.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Reines, Philippe I; Toner, Mark C
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Feb 17 19:50:10 2010
**Subject:** Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

All-

Below is the statement for spox to release for **after** the flight goes wheels up. I will let you know when that happens. We anticipate around 8:30pm. CA has reached out to HHS who will be receiving the plane and they will help keep media away from the AmCits and facilitate entry. Once they arrive in Miami it is up to them to get to their destination.

[redacted] B5

Thanks,
Caitlin

Today, the Haitian judge released eight of the ten American citizens and they have departed Haiti for the United States. Two members of the group are being detained in Haiti to answer further questions, as the investigation is ongoing. The United State Government respects the sovereign right of the Government of Haiti to conduct its own judicial processes. The United States Embassy in Port au Prince has been providing the detained Americans with consular visits and assistance to ensure that they are safe and receiving necessary care. Haitian authorities have been cooperative in ensuring the individuals' safety and welfare since their arrest and we have every expectation this will continue.

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted](blackberry) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 11:21 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** preines [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Subject:** RE: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Will do. PJ

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2010 11:17 PM
To: Crowley, Philip J
Cc: 'preines [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

P.J.---Thanks for the headsup about [redacted] question. I was not saying anything new and believe I have said this before and am copying both Philippe and Jake so all three of you can help me remember when, where and whether. Also, I believe the POTUS has also said this. Let's discuss tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Prince, Jonathan M (PACE) <PrinceJM@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mitchell, George J <MitchellG@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 03 22:49:58 2010
Subject: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Madam Secretary, good evening. I just received a question [redacted] B5

PJ

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Financial Times interview with Podesta

Madam Secretary,

Jake mentioned that you would like to see a copy of John Podesta's recent interview with the Financial Times. A transcript of the interview has not been posted yet, but I have included here the Financial Times article about the interview. Please just let me know if you would like any further information on this.

Best,
Mike

**Former aide urges Obama to regain 'political narrative'**
**By Edward Luce in Washington**

Published: February 15 2010

Barack Obama, US president, has lost control of the political narrative and needs to make more use of his cabinet in order to regain it, says John Podesta, the man who headed the president's transition team.

"My friends in the White House would agree with this, that they lost the narrative," Mr Podesta said in an interview for View from DC, the Financial Times' video series from Washington. "Clearly that needs not one speech once in a while: it needs, I think, to be constantly reinforced. And not just by the president, but by his entire team . . . He's got a terrific cabinet. Use it. Get out into the country and use it."

Mr Podesta, who was also a chief of staff to Bill Clinton, drew parallels with the former president's difficulties in his first two years, which culminated in the 1994 Republican takeover of Congress following the failure of healthcare reform.

When asked whether the failure of this latest attempt at healthcare reform would result in a similar electoral "massacre" for the Democratic party at the mid-term elections in November, he said: "I subscribe to that view."

Mr Podesta founded the Centre for American Progress, Washington's largest liberal think-tank, which was often described as a "government-in-exile" during the years George W. Bush was in the White House. He said Mr Obama had three options with healthcare reform. First, try to enact the whole thing by using the budget reconciliation process, which would enable it to pass with 51 votes. The Democrats lost their controlling 60-seat super-majority last month in a election defeat in Massachusetts.

The second would be to pass a watered down bill with Republican support. The third would be to abandon the attempt, as Mr Clinton did in 1993.

Mr Podesta, whom Mr Obama still regularly consults, said there was still a better than 50:50 chance of getting reform through. "The worst option among the three is doing nothing, and so they're going to have to figure out which track is viable," he said. "It may mean doing it with only Democratic votes. But if that is such, then so be it."

He painted a fairly bleak view of the overall health of US politics. "It sucks," he said. Pointing to a strategy of obstructionism by Republican lawmakers, he said: "I think the president is trying to re-engage with Republicans, but, quite frankly, he's not dealing with the party of [Abraham] Lincoln. He's dealing with the party of [Sarah] Palin."

The growth of partisanship and the increasing difficulty in getting any big reforms through the Senate were threatening to turn the US into, "in essence, a parliamentary system without majority rule", where the opposition automatically opposes any serious initiatives.

The political stasis in California provided the writing on the wall for the US as a whole, he said. Since the 1978 passage of Proposition 13 in the state, all budget changes had required a two-thirds majority. "And so nothing gets done."

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted] (cell)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 4, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 1/4/10 Monday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:40 am Secretary's Office

8:40 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY MEETING OF SENIOR STAFF**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:00 am Secretary's Office

11:00 am **BILATERAL w/QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER**
11:45 am **SHEIKH HAMAD BIN JASSIM JABR AL-THANI** Secretary's Conference Room
*Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:45 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
11:50 am Secretary's Office

11:50 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND**
12:00 pm **FOREIGN MINISTER SHEIKH HAMAD BIN JASSIM JABR AL-THANI**
Treaty Room

12:10 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Blair House

12:15 pm **ARRIVE** Blair House

12:15 pm **WORKING LUNCH FOR QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND**
1:15 pm **FOREIGN MINISTER HAMAD BIN JASSIM JABR AL-THANI**
Lee Dining Room, Blair House

1:20 pm **DEPART** Blair House *En route State Department

1:25 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

1:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **MEETING w/JOHN BEYRLE, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA**
2:30 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

Fyi

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Feb 17 20:29:47 2010
**Subject:** RE: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

It is being reported that she (Coulter) was in Haiti before with Silsby:
(From AFP: Judge Bernard Saint-vil, who is handling the case, allowed them to leave the country without bail, according to their lawyer Aviol Fleurant. But Saint-vil wants to question two other missionaries -- group leader Laura Silsby and her confidante Charisa Coulter -- "because they were in Haiti before the earthquake," Fleurant added.)

Also note: [redacted] B6

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:23 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** RE: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

Media is reporting that she was Silsby's nanny and was involved in organizing the trip. Unclear at moment if they think she was down there before with Silsby.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:22 PM
**To:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** Re: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

What is purported role of this other individ such that he/she was not released?

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Feb 17 20:16:37 2010
**Subject:** RE: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

Charisa Coulter

Per CA: It was unclear if they still faced charges of child abduction and criminal conspiracy, which can carry prison terms of up to 15 years.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** Re: Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

Who besides laura is being held back?

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Reines, Philippe I; Toner, Mark C
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Feb 17 19:50:10 2010
**Subject:** Statement for *after* flight goes wheels up

All-

Below is the statement for spox to release for **after** the flight goes wheels up. I will let you know when that happens. We anticipate around 8:30pm. CA has reached out to HHS who will be receiving the plane and they will help keep media away from the AmCits and facilitate entry. Once they arrive in Miami it is up to them to get to their destination.

B5

Thanks,
Caitlin

Today, the Haitian judge released eight of the ten American citizens and they have departed Haiti for the United States. Two members of the group are being detained in Haiti to answer further questions, as the investigation is ongoing. The United State Government respects the sovereign right of the Government of Haiti to conduct its own judicial processes. The United States Embassy in Port au Prince has been providing the detained Americans with consular visits and assistance to ensure that they are safe and receiving necessary care. Haitian authorities have been cooperative in ensuring the individuals' safety and welfare since their arrest and we have every expectation this will continue.

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
(blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 5:33 AM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; H
**Cc:** preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

PJ -- let's connect first thing. This was not new policy. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'preines [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Wed Feb 03 23:20:55 2010
Subject: RE: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Will do. PJ

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2010 11:17 PM
To: Crowley, Philip J
Cc: 'preines [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

P.J.---Thanks for the headsup about [redacted] question. I was not saying anything new and believe I have said this before and am copying both Philippe and Jake so all three of you can help me remember when, where and whether. Also, I believe the POTUS has also said this. Let's discuss tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Prince, Jonathan M (PACE) <PrinceJM@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mitchell, George J <MitchellG@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 03 22:49:58 2010
Subject: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Madam Secretary, good evening. I just received a question [redacted] B5

B5

PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 4:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank You

See traffic b/l

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Moore, Donald L; Coley, Theodore R; Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Cc:** Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Jacobs, Janice L; Lew, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Feb 18 04:40:04 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Thank You

Appreciation for all your work.

See b/l.

Many thanks.

Cdm

---

**From:** Brown, Reginald [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Gorelick, Jamie [redacted]; O'Connor, Jennifer [redacted];
Powell, Benjamin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thu Feb 18 04:28:35 2010
**Subject:** Thank You

Cheryl,

I'm sure we'll never know all that you and Secretary Clinton (and probably President Clinton too) did behind the scenes to secure the release of Jim Allen and seven other Americans who were detained in Haiti for 20 days, but we wanted to thank you nevertheless. We appreciated the promptness with which you assigned a first rate liaison to communicate with us - Ted Coley - and we appreciate the accomodations State made in the form of information delivery to Jim and assistance with his return to the United States. Jim is resting in Fort Lauderdale now and will return to Amarillo by private plane later in the morning. His wife Lisa is with him in Fort Lauderdale. The country is fortunate to have first rate diplomats and crisis responders like you in positions of public responsibility, and we appreciated your willingness to look carefully at the facts, including the distinctions between the roles played by each of the Americans who went to Haiti as volunteers.

Again, thank you on our behalf, and on behalf of the Allen family, and best wishes with continuing relief and recovery efforts.

Reg Brown

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Of course, will book today.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:39:59 2010
Subject: Shuttle

Can I take the 8pm Friday and the 8pm Sunday?

I hope we can talk about the long term schedule today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 5:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: National Prayer Breakfast

See b/l - perhaps [redacted] was prescient - see b/l B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:38:03 2010
Subject: National Prayer Breakfast

Just heard NPR report criticizing President for attending NPB sponsored by same group that promoted anti-homosexuality law in Uganda. Have not seen her remarks, but do we take it head on and criticize that action in her remarks? Would seem like obvious solution. PJ

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Yes we can do that this afternoon.
------Original Message------
From: Hrc
To: Lona
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Feb 18, 2010 7:39 AM
Subject: Shuttle

Can I take the 8pm Friday and the 8pm Sunday?

I hope we can talk about the long term schedule today.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 4, 2010 6:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Talking points for S, Jim and Jack in pushing for a G20 foreign affairs sous-sherpa process
**Attachments:** G 20 Talking Points FINAL.docx

FYI – we're getting a copy to your house as well.

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Monday, January 04, 2010 6:27 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Hormats, Robert D
**Subject:** Talking points for S, Jim and Jack in pushing for a G20 foreign affairs sous-sherpa process

**Here are talking points for why State should have a Foreign Affairs Sous-Sherpa (FASS) track in preparation for the G20, as we did with the G8.**

B5

Below and attached are slightly expanded talking points (1 page)

## Expanded Talking Points

B5

[redacted]

**From:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Sent:** Monday, January 04, 2010 6:22 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Wright, Janey F; Burke-White, William
**Subject:** G 20 Talking Points w AMS revisions FINAL

Reflecting your second batch of revisions. Best, Jen

B5



RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: National Prayer Breakfast

I didn't know that to be the case.

Not sure if we can get the research b/f you speak but will try

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:46:44 2010
Subject: Re: National Prayer Breakfast

What is evidence that this group sponsored it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:42:26 2010
Subject: Fw: National Prayer Breakfast

See b/l - perhaps [redacted] was prescient - see b/l B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:38:03 2010
Subject: National Prayer Breakfast

Just heard NPR report criticizing President for attending NPB sponsored by same group that promoted anti-homosexuality law in Uganda. Have not seen her remarks, but do we take it head on and criticize that action in her remarks? Would seem like obvious solution. PJ

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin < [redacted] Toiv, Nora F B6
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:54:04 2010
Subject: Schedule

Pls try to set up a mtg for me and Cheryl w Tony Lake.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

I haven't forgotten. While we were in the Gulf I asked Phil and Liz and the DCM-note-taker to send everything they had. I will find time to compile today.

Will be a fun project!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:51:14 2010
Subject: Followup

Don't forget the consolidated report of the Sarkozy mtg. One of the all-time best!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Meeting Notes

I will add Goldwyn and double check on Boswell.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:52:13 2010
Subject: Meeting Notes

In the next printing pls add David Goldwyn to Envoys & Others. He is International Energy Coordinator.

Also I thought Eric Boswell not Jeffrey ? Was head of DS. Pls let me know. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Meeting Notes

You are correct - Eric Boswell is A/S for Diplomatic Security. Jeff Culver is the Director of DS. I apologize for the mistake.

I have added Goldwyn and corrected Boswell. It takes about a week to have a notebook printed. Would you like me to go ahead and place an order or wait for more changes/until you use the current stock?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:52 AM
To: Russo, Robert V
Subject: Meeting Notes

In the next printing pls add David Goldwyn to Envoys & Others. He is International Energy Coordinator.

Also I thought Eric Boswell not Jeffrey ? Was head of DS. Pls let me know. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:51 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Praise from DFID

I thought you both should hear the words of Andrew Stear, DG of policy at DFID, who told me yesterday that "throughout the development community around the world there is great relief that the US is back, and leading particularly in health and food security/agriculture. He said that we were once again the acknowledge "go to people" in both these areas. He also had lots to say that will b v useful in QDDR re relationship b/w development and diplomacy.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** CODEL List

House Members (8): Clyburn (Majority Whip/House delegation leader), Conyers, Rangel, Thompson, Barbara Lee, Connie Mack, Mary Bono Mack, Donna Christensen.

House Staff (2): Stacee Bako (Speaker Pelosi), Dave Grimaldi (Clyburn)

Senators (7 – add'l House Member likely to get 8th slot): Durbin (Majority Whip/Senate delegation leader), Bingaman, Bill Nelson, Klobuchar, Lemieux, Barasso and 1 other senator TBD.

Senate Staff (2): TBD

Still a chance the trip doesn't go tomorrow depending on the snow storm. Will make a go/no go decision by cob today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: U.N. Rejects 'Militarization' of Afghan Aid (NYT, Nordland)

FYI

-----Original Message-----

From: Simon, Jessica L

Sent: Thursday, February 18, 2010 8:27 AM

To: SSRAP_Expanded; Deutsch, Christopher M

Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A; Pelofsky, Eric J

Subject: U.N. Rejects 'Militarization' of Afghan Aid (NYT, Nordland)

By ROD NORDLAND

Published: February 18, 2010 KABUL, Afghanistan - Senior United Nations officials in Afghanistan on Wednesday criticized NATO forces for what one referred to as "the militarization of humanitarian aid," and said United Nations agencies would not participate in the military's reconstruction strategy in Marja as part of its current offensive there. "We are not part of that process, we do not want to be part of it," said Robert Watkins, the deputy special representative of the secretary general, at a news conference attended by other officials to announce the United Nations' Humanitarian Action Plan for 2010. "We will not be part of that military strategy." The American commander in Afghanistan, Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, has made the rapid delivery of governmental services, including education, health care and job programs, a central part of his strategy in Marja, referring to plans to rapidly deploy what he has referred to as "a government in a box" once Marja is pacified. Mr. Watkins did not specifically criticize the Marja offensive, saying, "It is not the military that will be delivering the services, they will be clearing the area so the government can deliver those services." However, the United Nations would not be participating, he said. Wael Haj-Ibrahim, head of the United Nations' Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs here, said the military should not be involved in providing health care or schools. "If that aid is being delivered as part of a military strategy, the counterstrategy is to destroy that aid," Mr. Haj-Ibrahim said. "Allowing the military to do it is not the best use of resources." Instead, he said, the military should confine itself to clearing an area of security threats and providing security for humanitarian organizations to deliver services. "The distribution of aid by the military gives a very difficult impression to the communities and puts the lives of humanitarian workers at risk," Mr. Watkins said. Last month, eight leading humanitarian organizations working in

Afghanistan, including Oxfam and ActionAid, issued a joint report that was highly critical of the International Security Assistance Force, as the American-led NATO force is known, because of "the international militaries' use of aid as a 'nonlethal' weapon of war." They maintained that this violated an agreement between international forces and the United Nations that the military's primary role should be to provide security and, only when there is no other alternative, to provide limited developmental and humanitarian assistance. The agencies maintain they are able to work in conflict areas of Afghanistan when local residents see them as independent and not connected with the military, and this approach puts that at risk. "Military-led humanitarian and development activities are driven by donors' political interests and short-term security objectives and are often ineffective, wasteful and potentially harmful to Afghans," a statement by Oxfam said. The United Nations officials expressed the same concern, though more diplomatically, and one official, who did not want to be quoted by name because of the political sensitivity of the issue, said the United Nations had repeatedly raised those concerns with the international forces without success. The American military refers to its strategy, first enunciated in Iraq in 2006, as "clear, hold and build." Previously there were insufficient foreign and Afghan troops in Afghanistan to pursue that strategy systematically because they were unable to hold large areas for long periods of time. The offensive in Marja is intended as a showcase where the strategy can work, and the coalition says it has adequate forces now to do that. "Clear, hold and build, it's short-sighted for two reasons," the United Nations official said. "Territory changes hands in a conflict, and if the services are associated with a particular group, it will be destroyed." That has happened often with projects like schools and clinics around the country. The officials were particularly critical of NATO's planned "civilian surge," bringing in more government-financed aid workers involved in projects like the country's provincial reconstruction teams, which are located in each province and designed to provide fast-track development and aid services in their areas. These reconstruction teams are NATO groups run by various allied countries, including Canada in Kandahar, and Britain in Lashkar Gah, and they primarily disburse development and aid money locally in each province.Many of the reconstruction teams, the official said, see their role as providing services in exchange for intelligence-gathering and political activity directed against the insurgents. He declined to identify any that operate under that premise, although he added that not all did so. In many parts of the country, only nongovernmental organizations are able to operate safely because of the security situation, and they fill the gap in governmental services. Because the reconstruction teams are run by foreigners and are associated with their countries' militaries, they need to go out with heavy security, and aid groups worry that locals begin to associate all aid workers with the military. Oxfam said the military "was going way beyond its remit" in Afghanistan, citing an American Army counterinsurgency manual that defines humanitarian aid as a "nonlethal weapon."A statement issued Wednesday by the international forces emphasized the military's new, population-centered approach to fighting the insurgents. "The conduct of Operation Moshtarak is visibly demonstrating that the force has changed the way it operates and that it is working with and for the people of Afghanistan," the statement said, referring to the Marja offensive. It also suggested the military phase of the operation could be protracted. "The insurgents are tactically adept, have resilience and are cunning, so continued tactical patience on the part of the combined force is important. Mining is significant in areas, and the combined

force must be very deliberate in its movement in order to minimize local Afghan and combined force casualties." The United Nations' Humanitarian Action Plan has a proposed budget of $870.5 million, a substantial increase over previous years, because the increased level of NATO military activity has led to increased needs for services in many parts of the country, according the United Nations.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 5:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 18, 2010

I get these reports every morning. They are somewhat painful to read since, as you know, in Pakistan, the media can be particularly outrageous. However, we can't ignore the fact that these talk shows are the most watched programming in prime time.. The report below is fairly typical. The host sets up the discussion in fairly provocative way and the guests, who come from across the political spectrum, respond. As you can see, the first commentator is strongly anti US. However, what I have observed since our media offensive began last Fall is that there is usually a more moderate guest as well, who will argue along the lines that it is only natural for the US to protect its interests and GOP should do a better job of protecting Pakistan. Believe it or not there have even been instances where we get credit for some of the things we do. Also on occasion where there have been particularly egregious attacks on US policy, the host will read a statement from our Embassy in the following programming. We try to get airtime on these programs whenever possible but it is hard. It 's a hard slog getting this right but we are making progress.

jm

---

**From:** Baber, Suhail **On Behalf Of** Islamabad, Information Section
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 4:37 AM
**To:** Snelsire, Richard W
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Gill, Muazzam; Wade, Joseph W (Peshawar)
**Subject:** TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 18, 2010

# TV Talk Shows' Summary

## February 18, 2010

Program: "Center Stage" Express TV (02/18)

Host: Fahad Hussain

Participants: Munawwar Hassan (Ameer Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan); Shahid Amin (Analyst)

Topic: U.S. Agenda In The Region

*Host:* Pakistan has rendered countless sacrifices in the war against terrorism but it seems that the United States is not ready to trust us. Washington's policy towards Islamabad is ambiguous. On the one hand, the U.S. has assigned Pakistan the role of a frontline state in the war against terrorism while, on the other, it has signed nuclear deal with our worst enemy, India. What, in your opinion, is the real U.S. agenda in our region?

*Munawwar Hassan:* The U.S. wants to make India the mini-superpower in this region. This American policy prompted the Indian army chief to boast that his country can fight against China and Pakistan simultaneously. The U.S. needs our cooperation against Iran and China. It also wants our help to occupy the resources of the Central Asian states. The current wave of extremism in the region is the reaction of imperialistic policies of Washington. Despite our recognition of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Pakistan treated their ambassador in Islamabad in a very humiliating manner. In fact, our rulers have becomes the slaves of the United States. But Pakistan will get nothing by befriending the U.S. and helping Americans in their conspiracies against our neighbors. The history tells us that Washington's enmity is dangerous, and its friendship is fatal.

*Shahid Amin:* Every country devises its policies to safeguard its national interests and same is true for the United States. However, it is the responsibility of our governments to protect Pakistan's interests while dealing with Americans. Today, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda constitute the biggest threat to the U.S. security. But these terrorist organizations also pose a potential threat to the security and integrity of Pakistan. Hence, like America, their elimination is also in our own national interest.

---

***The following programs were monitored, but as they dealt with domestic issues, therefore, were not summarized:***

Program: "Kal Tak" Express TV (02/18)

Host: Javed Chaudhry

Participants: Abid Sher Ali (PML-N); Asma Arbab Alamgir (PPP); Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)

Topic: Government-Opposition Relationship

---

Program: "Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath" Geo TV (02/18)

Host: Kamran Khan

Participants: Dr. Ejaz Shafi (Chairman Gallop Pakistan); Muhammad Sohail (Economist); Rahimullah Yousufzai (Resident Editor The News)

Topic: Performance of PPP Government

---

Program: "Capital Talk" Geo TV (02/18)

Host: Hamid Mir

Participants: Hameedullah Jan Afridi (Minister for Environment); Dr Muhammad Omer (Health Expert); Senator Tariq Azeem

Topic: Lack Of Clean Drinking Water

---

Program: "Islamabad Tonight" Aaj TV (02/18)

Host: Nadeem Malik

Participants: Shazia Marri (PPP); Pervaiz Rasheed (PML-N); Aasia Riaz (PILDAT)

Topic: Democracy In Pakistan and Failure Of Political Leadership

---

Program: "Off The Record" ARY TV (02/18)

Host: Kashif Abbasi

Participants: Farzana Raja (PPP); Raza Hayat (PML-Q); Khawaja Saad Rafique (PML-N)

Topic: What Is Good Governance?

---

Program: "Late Edition" ARY TV (02/18)

Host: Asma Sherazi

Participants: Marvi Memon (PML-Q); Khurram Dastgir (PML-N); Asma Arbab Alamgir (PPP); Zahid Hussain (Analyst)

Topic: Two Years Of Democratic Setup

---

Program: "Dunya Today" Dunya TV (02/18)

Host: Moeed Pirzada

Participants: Fauzia Wahab (PPP); Ali Ahmed Kurd (Senior Lawyer); Abid Sher Ali (PML-N)

Topic: Consequences of Government's U-Turn On Judges Issue

---

Program: "Live With Talat" (02/18)

Host: Talat Hussain

Participants: Fauzia Wahab (PPP); Haroon Rasheed (Analyst); Ayaz Amir (PML-N)

Topic: Government's Failure To Honor Its Promises

---

**Monitored by Info Office**

Public Affairs Section

U.S. Embassy Islamabad

Pakistan

http://islamabad.usembassy.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 6:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Marty Torrey

I am in touch with Simon directly, we are trying to lock in a March date. Will finalize today.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Feb 19 00:03:25 2010
Subject: Marty Torrey

What is status of his appt request for Simon Stringer?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 5:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Development Speech

Dear Secretary:

I was pleased to learn about your development speech this week, and offered the insights below to Anne-Marie earlier today. Overall, it's a very good speech, and I look forward to hearing you deliver it tomorrow.

B5

4. Mike, through Dan Baer, and I provided language to ensure consistency with the Human Rights Speech.

Thank you,
Maria

*Under Secretary of State*
*for Democracy and Global Affairs*
*Department of State*
*2201 C St. NW Room 7261*
*Washington DC 20520*
*202 - 647-6240*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 7:11 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Dorgan Retiring

You may have already heard this, but wanted to alert you that Senator Dorgan this evening announced that he would not seek reelection and is retiring.

He would have been up for reelection in November but his numbers were solid and he wasn't facing a particularly strong field.

Below is a copy of his statement:

"Over this holiday season, I have come to the conclusion, with the support of my family, that I will not be seeking another term in the U.S. Senate in 2010. It is a hard decision to make after thirty years in the Congress, but I believe it is the right time for me to pursue these other interests. Let me be clear that this decision does not relate to any dissatisfaction that I have about serving in the Senate. Yes, I wish there was less rancor and more bipartisanship in the U.S. Senate these days. But still, it is a great privilege to serve and I have the utmost respect for all of the men and women with whom I serve."

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Follow-up

FYI

**From:** Gabriel Verret [mailto:
**Sent:** Thursday, February 04, 2010 5:56 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Follow-up

B6

Cheryl:

B5

Question 1: When do you arrive tomorrow?

President Clinton's proposed program is 11:00 am --> 1:30 pm at DCPJ, after which he goes on site visits. Is it then that you'd propose staying on to go over more USG-GOH issues?

GV,
--- On **Sun, 1/31/10, Mills, Cheryl D <*MillsCD@state.gov*>** wrote:

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Subject: Follow-up
To: "Gabriel Verret" [redacted] B6
Date: Sunday, January 31, 2010, 1:29 PM

Gabriel:

I am following up on a couple of matters in anticipate of visiting this week.

[redacted] B5

Looking forward to connecting.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 11:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** to make you smile

Just thought you should know that I met w/ [redacted] today and he said that at the London meeting you were "fabulous on gender issues – all the Arab leaders didn't know what hit them." Raising the issue matters. AM

1.4(D)
B1

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/19/2030

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/19/2030

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti Conference Call.

FYI

We are including them as a representative of the EU and asking them to [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

[redacted]

cdm

---

**From**: FERNANDEZ-SHAW TODA, Félix <[redacted] B6
**To**: Siemer, Marguerite E
**Cc**: [redacted]
**Sent**: Fri Feb 19 07:13:46 2010
**Subject**: Haiti Conference Call.

Dear Margo,

I am writing you on behalf of Cristina Barrios, the Spanish Special Ambassador for the Reconstruction of Haiti. She participated yesterday in the Conference Call on behalf of Spain.

We were told to send you Ms. Barrios contact details so that we can be included in the distribution lists for the Conference call and the other preparations, and then be able to receive the different documents, plans, templates, etc. that are being distributed to all the participants. In particular, the WB MDTF-related documentation as well as templates for the different outreach meetings and whatever items everybody else is receiving. These are her contact details:

**Ms. Cristina Barrios,**
**Special Ambassador for the Reconstruction of Haiti**
**Spain**
[redacted] B6
[redacted]

We look forward to receiving the Agenda for Feb. 25th at 1600 (European time) and any related documents to be distributed.

Félix Fernández-Shaw
CODEV-REPER UE- España
[redacted] B6
[redacted]

**From:** Siemer, Marguerite E [mailto:SiemerME@state.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 7:41 PM
**To:** Alex Bugailiskis; Antonio Simoes; Bob Orr; Ciro de Falco; Corinne Delechat; David Harland; Dora Currea; Franz Baumann; Gilbert Terrier; Goncalo Mourao; Hardin Lang; HOLM-PEDERSEN Helene (CAB-ASHTON); Jordan Ryan; Katherine Gilbert; Nicolas Eyzaguirre; Pamela Cox; Pierre Duquesne; Rubens Gama; MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV); EVERTS

Steven (CAB-ASHTON); Tanaz Khambatta; Yvonne Tsikata
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Brimmer, Esther D; Reynoso, Julissa; DeMarcellus, Roland F
**Subject:** Haiti Conference Call

The next conference call to continue preparing for the Haiti Donors' Conference is Thursday, February 18, at 10 a.m. EST. Please find a draft agenda attached with dial-in information, also copied below. Please confirm your participation and send any comments on the agenda to me at siemerme@state.gov.

**Haiti Teleconference**

B6

1. Conference preparations
   a. Technical meeting
   b. Outreach meetings
2. Update on PDNA
3. Update on Multi-Donor Trust Fund Discussions
4. Other Issues/Next Steps

Best regards,
Margo

Margo Siemer
Office of Development Finance
Bureau of Economic, Energy and Business Affairs
Department of State
202-647-5640

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re:

She's sorta right. We post as much video as we can, and bat 1.000 on domestic events. Tougher on overseas events since we don't have the resources abroad with us that we have here at home. We held a meeting with the web & broadcasting folks today to talk about this, and came up with a few ways to bolster our road video.

But generally speaking, it's a huge priority for us all to post video whenever possible.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw:
Sent: Feb 19, 2010 12:12 AM

Can you check on this for us? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Tue Feb 16 16:40:01 2010
Subject:

[redacted] - i have a complaint about the website! i cant see video of your talks or q&a sessions - only the text! i think there should be links to the news' versions if there is not state-created footage. [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Morning Press Highlights 02/04/10 (U)

B5

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Thu Feb 04 05:01:26 2010
**Subject:** Morning Press Highlights 02/04/10 (U)

# S/ES-O Morning Press Highlights

**Thursday, February 4, 2010**
**0500 EST**

## MIDDLE EAST

**PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY/ISRAEL**
Chief PA negotiator Erekat called for an "alternative to the two-state solution," asking Palestinians to consider declaring the Oslo Accords "null and void" if the peace process does not move forward. *(jpost.com)*

**SAUDI ARABIA/AFGHANISTAN**
President Karzai appealed to King Abdullah to mediate negotiations with Taliban commanders after he flew to Riyadh seeking support for peace talks. *(telegraph.co.uk)*

## EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

**CHINA**
The government will send 5,000 elite police officers to Xijiang to prevent further unrest. Security Minister Meng vowed a more "tenacious" approach in the region after violence between Uighers and Han erupted there in July 2009. *(bangkokpost.com)*

**ROK**
The chief of South Korea's ruling party joined growing calls for the review of a 2007 agreement that would transfer wartime operational control of South Korea's military from Washington to Seoul in 2012. He cited a possible security vacuum due to the region's current military landscape. *(english.yonhapnews.co.kr)*

## EUROPE

**UKRAINE**
Presidential candidate Tymoshenko appealed to the G-8 for support to block last-minute electoral law changes she said will pave the way for vote-rigging by opponent Yanukovich. *(ft.com)*

**UNITED KINGDOM**
More than 350 MPs were ordered to repay over $1.6 million following an inquiry into their expense claims over the past five years. *(telegraph.co.uk)*

## SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA

**KAZAKHSTAN**

A court ordered the press not to criticize President Nazarbayev's son-in-law in a financial scandal, raising new doubts about press freedoms in the country. *(AFP)*

**PAKISTAN**
The Muttahida Qaumi Movement ended its boycott of the Sindh assembly and will attend its February 4 session. *(dawn.com)*

**SRI LANKA/BELARUS/SCO**
Sri Lanka and Belarus will become observer states at the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's summit slated for June 2010, the group's secretary general announced. *(home.kyodo.co.jp)*

## AFRICA

**NIGERIA**
Defense Minister Abbe denied an amnesty program for former rebels was failing even though the main militant group ended a three-month ceasefire January 30 and threatened an "all-out assault" on the energy industry. Scores of gunmen surrendered their weapons in 2009 under amnesty offered by President Yar'Adua. *(news24.com)*

**ZIMBABWE/UNITED KINDGOM**
Senior UK MP Bruce said his country will not bow to pressure by President Mugabe to lift sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe, adding Mugabe must stop using sanctions as an excuse to block progress in the country. *(postzambia.com)*

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

**VENEZUELA/CUBA**
President Chavez asked Cuba for help with his country's energy crisis during a visit of Cuban VP Valdes to Caracas, drawing criticism and bewildering Venezuelans as both countries cope with electricity problems. *(chron.com)*

**ARGENTINA**
President Fernandez named Mercedes Marco del Pont, an economist with close links to the government, as the new head of the central bank after a political battle to remove former chief Redrado. *(ft.com)*

Drafted: JADeyo Approved: HCThompson

****Morning Press Highlights alerts senior Department officials to breaking news items and is a synopsis of select media stories from around the world. It solely reflects the gist of the stories as presented in their original publications and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.****

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 7:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: preliminary report - UPDATE

I will be traveling today, February 19, with intermittent access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv, Toivnf@state.gov, 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, 202-647-5548.

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 11:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: many thanks

fyi

---

**From:** Michael Guest [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, February 04, 2010 11:14 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** many thanks

the secretary's speech was warm, heartfelt and very much appreciated by a lot of us who are fighting the ugandan law. please let her know she touched a current of hope and energy. cheers,

Michael Guest

---

Hotmail: Trusted email with powerful SPAM protection. Sign up now.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 4:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: D(S)

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Thursday, February 04, 2010 3:25 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: D(S)

See below from Sheba

---

**From:** Crocker, Bathsheba N
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Toner, Mark C; Chitre, Nanda S
**Sent:** Thu Feb 04 14:20:47 2010
**Subject:** RE: D(S)

Phillippe, Jim has just been in touch with PJ on this.

Jim sent Rogin three emails flat out denying the entire story but Rogin apparently chose to run it anyway. According to Jim's correspondence with Rogin, there is no truth to this – he has not talked to anyone at Georgetown or the School of Foreign Service or the search committee and has not expressed interest in the position.

Sheba

Sheba Crocker
Chief of Staff, Deputy Secretary Steinberg
[redacted]

B6

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Thursday, February 04, 2010 1:29 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Toner, Mark C; Chitre, Nanda S
**Cc:** Crocker, Bathsheba N
**Subject:** D(S)

If PJ hasn't started yet, he should see this. Copying Sheba in case she has any guidance to share

http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/02/04/exclusive_is_state_dept_2_steinberg_on_his_way_out

**Exclusive: Is State Dept. #2 Steinberg On His Way Out?**

**Posted By Josh Rogin Thursday, February 4, 2010 - 6:12 PM**

Deputy Secretary of State **James Steinberg** is being considered for the job of dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, multiple sources close to the process told *The Cable*.

Steinberg, the number-two official at the State Department, is widely regarded as a top-tier academic and most recently served as dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin, but has faced some turbulence since landing in Foggy Bottom.

Reportedly disappointed after initially angling for a higher position, Steinberg has taken on a broad portfolio at State, both as Secretary **Hillary Clinton**'s deputy and focusing on Asia as his personal policy domain. But some State Department bureaucrats privately gripe about what they see as Steinberg's sometimes intrusive style, and some of his policy proposals have been seen as poorly coordinated with the other parts of the policy community. "He's a brilliant guy, but just not a great fit for that job," said one administration source.

According to two sources familiar with the process, Steinberg has met with the Georgetown search committee and expressed an interest in applying for the job. The search committee has also met with individuals close to Steinberg, to hear their recommendations for him. Sources said the search committee is still narrowing the candidate list and conducting interviews, before making any recommendations to the university president.

When asked if he was a candidate for the job by *The Cable,* Steinberg said by email, "It would be news to me."

The leading contender, according to insiders, is the current acting Dean **Carol Lancaster**. A graduate of the School of Foreign Service herself, Lancaster was once deputy administrator of USAID and is a tenured professor there now. Other potential candidates, according to sources, include former Undersecretary of State **Nicholas Burns**, Princeton University professor **Tom Christensen**, and former State Department official **Marc Grossman**. Grossman told *The Cable* he was contacted about the job, but he is not a candidate. The others did not respond to requests for comment.

"Carol has brilliantly checked boxes," said **Robert Gallucci**, the immediate past dean, who now heads the MacArthur Foundation after stepping down from the School of Foreign Service after 13 years. Gallucci worked with Lancaster on the State Department's policy planning staff under Anthony Lake, another Georgetown professor.

Gallucci is not part of the search committee, but talked with *The Cable* about the process and what the school might be looking for.

"It's a wonderful, challenging job with great opportunity to impact young people who will be in positions of leadership in the international sphere," Gallucci said, adding, "Somebody who had success in the policy world, more likely in government service, could bring something special to the shaping of these minds and the atmosphere of this school."

Kim Min-Hee-pool/Getty Images

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 10:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Chelsea Clinton photos
**Attachments:** CClinton1.JPG; CClinton.JPG

fyi

**From:** Dickson, John S
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 9:46 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty
**Cc:** Sreebny, Daniel
**Subject:** Chelsea Clinton photos

A couple of photos of Chelsea who was here today.

Full rights - US Navy

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 8:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Chelsea Clinton photos
**Attachments:** CClintonGKeen.JPG; CCLintonMerten.JPG

More photos. Hope you're having a lovely weekend. Hudson River is particularly exquisite today.

JM

**From:** Dickson, John S
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 7:44 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; Sreebny, Daniel; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** Chelsea Clinton photos

Last two, with Amb Merten and SouthCom Deputy Commander General Keen

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Daily Star Op-Ed: McHale sees positive side of Islam in Bangladesh

As we discussed yesterday

----- Original Message -----
From: Sernovitz, Harvey W
To: Moriarty, James F; Danilowicz, Jon F; Variava, Heather C; Hallock, Catherine A; Lovelace, Lauren H; Schumacher, Adam (USAID/Dhaka/DG); Mellott, Joseph; Kenna, Corley
Sent: Fri Feb 19 23:49:51 2010
Subject: Daily Star Op-Ed: McHale sees positive side of Islam in Bangladesh

This is the first commentary I've seen on U/S McHale's visit. This couple with Sec. Clinton's Int'l Mother Language Day message that is in all the papers has given us great coverage on both the secular and religious fronts in the paper today.

Harvey

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Harvey Sernovitz
To: Sernovitz, Harvey W
Sent: Sat Feb 20 10:13:32 2010
Subject: Daily Star Op-Ed: McHale sees positive side of Islam in Bangladesh

McHale sees positive side of Islam in Bangladesh

http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=127047

M. Serajul Islam

MS. Judith A McHale, US Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs, who was recently in Dhaka, is the senior most ranking US Government official to visit Bangladesh since President Obama took office in USA and Sheikh Hasina in Bangladesh. During her public engagements, she made some remarks that are very encouraging for Bangladesh. In Dhaka University she said that US would take 20,000 students every year from Bangladesh where at the moment, the intake is far fewer.

The Under Secretary made more encouraging remarks when she addressed Madrassah students of Uttar Badda Islamia Kamil Madrassah. When a student informed her that Madrassah educated students are seldom given US visa for education, she said categorically that US doors are open to Madrassah educated students of Banagladesh. She also said that the US Embassy is providing teachers for teaching English in Madrassahs and her Government "is proud to be working with the Madrassah." She also said that religious leadership is a key to the success of socio-economic development efforts. Her most positive remark was her belief that Bangladesh could assist the US to bridge its gap with the Muslim world.

The Under Secretary however did not say how many Madrassah students who would be given visa annually as she did for the general students.

This notwithstanding, the fact that a senior Obama administration official has publicly made positive remarks for the Madrassah educated students and role of Islam in society is very significant. Her statement came on the back of a number of other initiatives that the US Government has taken in Bangladesh to work with the Madrasahs. The US Government is working with a number of NGOs to sensitize Madrassah students on democracy, information and communication technology, etc.

This is a significant change in US stance on Bangladesh. Not very long ago, the US Ambassador to Bangladesh Harry Thomas was crying hoarse about religious fundamentalism in Bangladesh; that was dismissed by the BNP Government. The Awami League went overboard to spread the news that Bangladesh was seething with religious fundamentalism, even labeling the BNP Government as "Taliban". Early in 2006, the US Assistant Secretary for South Asia, Ms. Christina Rocco, on an official visit to Bangladesh, strongly advised the Government that it had no choice but to rein in the religious fundamentalists, that later led to the arrests of Bangla Bhai and the JMB terrorists. The BNP Government arrested religious terrorists in a make believe manner that was a far cry from the dangerous portrayal about them in the media and by the opposition, when they were at the height of their criminal activities.

The meekness of their surrender and their execution under the Caretaker Government without any repercussion from their cadres who were supposed to on the verge of capturing power by force left no doubt that the case of religious extremists in Bangladesh was over politicised and overstated. They raised their ugly face in no uncertain terms because the BNP Government indulged and encouraged them. The national elections in December 2008, in which over 20 million first time voters entered the election process further sealed the nation's contempt for political parties in Bangladesh that use religion for achieving their ends. In fact, even the BNP found the religion based parties a political liability in the last elections when the biggest of the religion based parties in Bangladesh, the Jamat-e-Islami could manage just 2 seats.

Although the parties that have used religion for politics have been historically rejected by voters in Bangladesh, interestingly Islam as a religion has made significant inroads into the lives of the overwhelming majority of its people since independence. There are many reasons for this that is outside the scope of this writing. This spread of Islam, unlike in many other countries, is still tampered by liberal traditions embedded in the history of the religion in this part of the world where Sufism has played a major role. Nevertheless, the resurgence of Islam in Bangladesh also faces the dangers of evolving in the opposition direction. It is an issue that must be dealt with the utmost caution to deter Bangladesh from following Algeria or Afghanistan.

Soon after the Awami League came to power early last year, a vested group was busy spreading distorted information to create public opinion against the Qoami Madrasahs (QM) and calling for restoration of secularism by removing Islam from public life. A World Bank Report later trashed the propaganda against QM, one that suggested that under BNP Government 35% soldiers recruited were from QM. There was a period of lull in the campaign of this group against Islam based political parties and the Madrasahs after the WB report, although the report may not have been alone responsible for the lull. . The annulment of the fifth amendment of the constitution, the war trial criminals that would involve mostly the Jamat; and the recent activities of Jamat's student cadre in the universities have re-activated the move. A section is claiming the restoration of the 1972 constitution to ban the Jamat.

Ms Judith McHale's visit is very significant in the present context of Bangladesh's politics. Unlike Ms Christina Rocco's visit in early 2006, she did not sound any alarm bells for Bangladesh on the issue of religious fundamentalism. To the contrary, her visit to the Madrassah, together with the initiatives of her Government to work with the Madrasahs of Bangladesh by providing them with modern educational tools are positive signs that US is not worried about 'religious fundamentalism' in Bangladesh and that it even visualises a role for Bangladesh to help it reach out more towards the Muslim world. Some months ago, the US Government dropped the name of Bangladesh from the watch list of countries where religious freedom is at stake. This is another indication that religious fundamentalism in Bangladesh is on the decline in US perception

The author is a former Ambassador to Japan and Director, Centre for Foreign Affairs Studies

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

He was scheduled to talk to Ryabkov this am to talk through resolution elements and to check in on missile defense, etc. I will follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Feb 20 09:32:29 2010
Subject: Followup

I'd like to know about Bill Burns's call w Russians today about both Iran and Start. Where are we on these?

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/20/2025**

Below is a barebones readout he typed out on his blackberry and sent to Alice, his exec asst, this morning. 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Quick bberry readout of 40 min call Sat am from Frankfurt airport. B1

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Feb 20 09:32:29 2010
Subject: Followup

I'd like to know about Bill Burns's call w Russians today about both Iran and Start. Where are we on these?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Congratulating Gen Petraeus

I thought you shd know that Gen Petraeus is receiving the James Madison medal today at Princeton's alumni day as the graduate alumnus who best exemplifies princeton's motto of princeton in the nation's service and the service of all nations. He is enormously proud, as he shd be, to get this award. I think it would be great if you sent him an email congratulating him. AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 3:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: request

Fyi

---

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Feb 20 13:12:58 2010
**Subject:** Fw: request

Huma - pls see the note below from Mort Halperin. David Ramage, former President of the New World Foundation who worked with the Secretary when she was on the Board of the Foundation, passed away, and his family wanted the Secretary to be informed. Would it be possible for you to notify the Secretary?

---

**From:** Morton H. Halperin [redacted] B6
**To:** Fuchs, Michael H
**Sent:** Sat Feb 20 12:24:03 2010
**Subject:** request

Mike, I write to ask a personal favor. An old friend of mine named David Ramage died earlier this week [redacted] David was for many years the president of the New World Foundation. During that period the Secretary served on the board of the foundation and worked with David. His family would like the Secretary to be informed of David's death. Incidentally when I worked at the NSC I walked David over to the White House for a private meeting with the First Lady which was just the two of them. I can provide additional details on the memorial service if she were interested but the family's concern was only that she be informed. Mort

Morton H. Halperin
Senior Advisor
Open Society Institute
Open Society Policy Center
1120 19th ST NW
Washington DC 20036
phone 202.721.5602
[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 4:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: request

Ok

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**To:** 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sat Feb 20 15:00:40 2010
**Subject:** Fw: request

Fyi

---

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Feb 20 13:12:58 2010
**Subject:** Fw: request

Huma - pls see the note below from Mort Halperin. David Ramage, former President of the New World Foundation who worked with the Secretary when she was on the Board of the Foundation, passed away, and his family wanted the Secretary to be informed. Would it be possible for you to notify the Secretary?

B6

**From:** Morton H. Halperin
**To:** Fuchs, Michael H
**Sent:** Sat Feb 20 12:24:03 2010
**Subject:** request

Mike, I write to ask a personal favor. An old friend of mine named David Ramage died earlier this week David was for many years the president of the New World Foundation. During that period the Secretary served on the board of the foundation and worked with David. His family would like the Secretary to be informed of David's death. Incidentally when I worked at the NSC I walked David over to the White House for a private meeting with the First Lady which was just the two of them. I can provide additional details on the memorial service if she were interested but the family's concern was only that she be informed. Mort

Morton H. Halperin
Senior Advisor
Open Society Institute
Open Society Policy Center
1120 19th ST NW
Washington DC 20036
phone 202.721.5602

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 9:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

Yes - will be in offc for part of afternoon so will send you time while you are in church.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Feb 21 09:40:16 2010
Subject: Re: We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

Bill wants to go to church at 10:15 so can we do btw 12 and 7 ?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 09:37:35 2010
Subject: We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:**

B6

Asked me to call back with details. Any direction?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** call at 3:15pm? will that work?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: call at 3:15pm? will that work?

great

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 21, 2010 12:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: call at 3:15pm? will that work?

Yes--and Bill wanted to talk w you too. Can he do that after we finish?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 11:53:12 2010
Subject: call at 3:15pm? will that work?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:39 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

Sounds good. I have the Latin America message meeting slated for Tuesday and will follow up on Andrew, Hormats/Otero request.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:36 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

When I'm in NY at UN I'd like to have mtg w Margot Wallstrom, the new Special Rep on sexual violence. Melanne knows her.

I'd like to do a mtg early in week about message for Latin Am trip

I need to see Andrew this week w Jack Lew.

Am I scheduled to re-launch the NetFreedom Taskforce per a memo I rec'd from Hormats and Otero?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H; Tillemann, Tomicah S
**Subject:** Re: NATO speech redux

It's a good point. We'll get with Phil et al and sort this through.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Feb 21 15:44:11 2010
Subject: NATO speech redux

Foe example, the statement that the debate about out-of-area operations being over doesn't look so clear post Dutch decision.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NATO speech redux

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Feb 21 15:44:11 2010
Subject: NATO speech redux

Foe example, the statement that the debate about out-of-area operations being over doesn't look so clear post Dutch decision.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 5:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

---

**From:** Rosenthal, Hannah S
**Sent:** Thursday, February 04, 2010 1:35 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:**

Just wanted to let you and the Secretary know that I just read her speech to the prayer breakfast and thought it was absolutely beautiful. And profound. Please thank her for me.
Best, Hannah

Hannah Rosenthal
Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor
U.S. Department of State
Room 7802
(202) 647-2013 office
RosenthalHS@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me when it's over. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 7:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

w/o presuming on the content of the call, you might want to remember that Bildt wrote a very good op-ed after your internet freedom speech suggesting U.S.-EU cooperation in that area; the Swedish ambassador came to see me last week to follow up and to say that the Bildt would like to host a meeting in Stockholm on the subject that Alec would presumably go to. If you need a sweetener of any kind, emphasizing our enthusiasm for following up on this would be good. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** DUP

DUP has gone behind closed doors at Stormont and the smart money is on them emerging at some point supporting the deal.

There was movement today on the ancillary issue of government support for the Presbyterian Mutual Society, a savings and loan that lost a lot of money and whose investors didn't get the same financial crisis protections as those in other institutions. DUP members are pointing to that as enough of a carrot to change their posture on the policing and justice deal.

Brown and Cowen are poised to go to NI tomorrow. Will keep you posted.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 7:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Shaun

H: Just talked to Shaun. He wants to know if, given your schedule, and in addition to your meeting with him, you can have dinner with the two of us either Tuesday or Wednesday. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me when it's over. Sid

will do as soon as I hear

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Thu, Feb 4, 2010 6:14 pm
Subject: Re: H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me when it's over. Sid

Let me know. Thx.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Thu Feb 04 17:58:26 2010

Subject: H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me

when it's over. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**
**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2010**

**FINAL**

**WASHINGTON, DC**

**SPECIAL ASSISTANT:** **LONA VALMORO**
**OFFICE (202) 647-9071**
**CELL** [redacted] B6

**STAFF ASSISTANT:** **LINDA DEWAN**
**OFFICE (202) 647-5733**
**CELL** [redacted]

**PREV RON** Washington, DC

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department
[drive time: 10 minutes]

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:30 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:35 am Secretary's Office

8:35 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:40 am Secretary's Office
Participants: Cheryl, Huma, Jake, Joe, and Lona

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room
Participants: Cheryl Mills, Jack Lew, Pat Kennedy, P.J. Crowley, Dan Smith, Harold Koh, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Rich Verma, Ian Kelly and Joe Macmanus

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:05 am **OPENING REMARKS AT BLACK HISTORY MONTH CELEBRATION**
10:20 am George C. Marshall Conference Center
Contact: S/OCR Daniella Gayapersad-Chan x78966
Staff: Lauren
Call Time: 10:00am
**OPEN PRESS**

Note: Approximately 250 Department and other agencies' employees, and students from Bowie State University.

- S/OCR Director John Robinson to escort HRC to Conference Center and onto Stage.

- HRC introduced by Director Robinson.

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**
**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2010**

- HRC makes remarks (8-10 minutes) and departs.

- Event with Guest Speaker Debra Lee, President and Chief Operating Officer of Black Entertainment Television, continues until 11:00 a.m.

10:30 am **HOLD FOR EUR PHONE CALLS (T)**
11:00 am Secretary's Office

Note: Two phone calls, likely with the Foreign Ministers of Sweden and Norway.

11:00 am **DEVELOPMENT TEAM MEETING**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **MEETING ON WATER ISSUES**
12:45 pm Secretary's Office

1:00pm **HOLD FOR EUR PHONE CALLS (T)**
2:00pm Secretary's Office

Note: Four phone calls, likely with the Foreign Ministers of Spain, Denmark, Greece, and Portugal.

2:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:45 pm Secretary's Office

4:55 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route White House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

5:00 pm **ARRIVE** White House

5:00 pm **PRIVATE MEETING**
5:45 pm White House Situation Room

5:50 pm **DEPART** White House
En route Ritz Carlton Hotel
[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:00 pm **ARRIVE** Ritz Carlton Hotel

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**
**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2010**

Greeters: Senator Chuck Hagel and Former Secretary of State Madeline Albright

6:00 pm **REMARKS TO NATO STRATEGIC CONFERENCE SEMINAR**
6:45 pm Room Tbd
Ritz Carlton Hotel, West End on 22nd Street
Contact: Line Advance Laura Lucas x78879
**OPEN PRESS**

- HRC introduced by Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State.
- HRC makes remarks (approximately 20 minutes in length).
- Q&As to follow as time permits.

6:50 pm **DEPART** Ritz Carlton Hotel
En route Hay Adams Hotel
[drive time: 10 minutes]

7:00 pm **ARRIVE** Hay Adams Hotel

7:00 pm **PRIVATE DINNER HOSTED BY SECRETARY GATES FOR NATO**
8:30 pm (t) **SECRETARY GENERAL ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN**
Lafayette Private Dining Room
Hay Adams Hotel
16th and H Streets, NW
Contacts: DOD Jessica Lightburn, EUR Chad Wilton x73405, 703-517-2787
Staff: Lauren
**CLOSED PRESS**

| | |
|---|---|
| US Guests: | HRC<br>Defense Secretary Gates<br>US Ambassador Ivo Daalder<br>EUR Assistant Secretary Phil Gordon<br>NSC General Jim Jones<br>Elizabeth Sherwood Randall |
| NATO Guests: | Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen<br>Jesper Vahr, Head of Private Office |

8:30 pm (t) **DEPART** Hay Adams Hotel
En route Private Residence
[drive time: 15 minutes]

8:45 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**
**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2010**

**HRC RON** Washington, DC
**WJC RON** Chappaqua, NY

Weather:
Washington, DC: Rain, 44/39.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

Tues good. Fahrenheit restaurant at Ritz in Georgetown very quiet and fine. People don't know about it. so just let me know.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:45 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

I'd like to do and probably better on Tuesday. I'll confirm tomorrow. Where do you want to go? I prefer quiet and private around 6:30-7 if that's ok for you both.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:41:39 2010
Subject: Shaun

H: Just talked to Shaun. He wants to know if, given your schedule, and in addition to your meeting with him, you can have dinner with the two of us either Tuesday or Wednesday. Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

Yes 7 pm ok or do you want another time?
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:57 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

That sounds good. Will you make reservations for us?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:54:37 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

Tues good. Fahrenheit restaurant at Ritz in Georgetown very quiet and fine. People don't know about it. so just let me know.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:45 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

I'd like to do and probably better on Tuesday. I'll confirm tomorrow. Where do you want to go? I prefer quiet and private around 6:30-7 if that's ok for you both.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:41:39 2010
Subject: Shaun

H: Just talked to Shaun. He wants to know if, given your schedule, and in addition to your meeting with him, you can have dinner with the two of us either Tuesday or Wednesday. Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

We have remarks for you. I recommend calls to PR and MM before you do the press.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:06:24 2010
Subject: Fw: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Fyi. So I need to do press early starting by 9.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

B6

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Mexico-Caricom Summit calls for Haiti rebirth

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com <membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com>
To: southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com
<southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com>
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:08:18 2010
Subject: Mexico-Caricom Summit calls for Haiti rebirth

Mexico-Caricom Summit calls for Haiti rebirth

PLAYA DEL CARMEN, Mexico, Feb. 21 (Xinhua) -- Heads of state or government from the Caribbean region on Sunday called for the earthquake disaster in Haiti to be a spur for the rebirth of the nation, during the opening session of the first Mexico-Caricom Summit in Playa del Carmen, a resort city on Mexico's Caribbean coast.

"First on our agenda is Haiti," said Roosevelt Skerrit, the prime minister of Dominica and leader of the Caricom (the Caribbean Community) until July. "We want to ensure reconstruction goes beyond immediate efforts. We have an opportunity to bring about the renaissance of Haiti, not just to return to where we were before the disaster struck."

On Jan. 12, Haiti was struck by an earthquake measuring 7.3 on the Richter scale, which killed at least 200,000 people and destroyed numerous homes, workplaces, infrastructure and government buildings.

Mexican President Felipe Calderon, who formally opened the summit on Sunday afternoon, said Haiti would be a top priority, adding that the summit would also discuss boosting trade and growth across the Caribbean region, protecting and developing tourism, boosting regional security, and tackling climate change. He said that Mexico was committed to the region.

"Mexico is a nation that is Caribbean nation, powerfully Caribbean," Calderon said. "As such Mexico takes on its responsibility of participating actively in the region's development."

During his speech, Haitian President Rene Preval said that as many as 300,000 people may have died in the devastating quake last month.

"More than 200,000 bodies have been recovered from the streets, (and) with those under the rubble that figure could reach 300,000, " he said. Preval also thanked the host Mexico for all the aid it had provided for Haiti's earthquake victims.

"Haiti's friends realize that Haiti's true development cannot be built on aid, but must be based on investment," Preval said, adding that the nation needs "not rebuilding but refounding."

"We need a more just nation that is not focused on Port-au- Prince where the political and economic elite live," he stressed.

He also urged all those present to help the 1.5 million Haitians who he estimated were sleeping in the streets because their homes were wrecked on Jan. 12. "The first rains that have begun to fall have already made all dignified living impossible," he said, also warning that worse is to come when Haiti's rainy season begins in April.

The Mexico-Caricom Summit held on Sunday will be followed on Monday by a two-day Group of Rio Summit. Haiti is both a Rio and Caricom member. During the Rio meeting, Mexico is set to propose that the Group be expanded into a broader organization that brings together the 24-nation Group of Rio and 15-nation Caricom. Six of Caricom's members are also Group of Rio members.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 9:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

Ok
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 9:14 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

Ok w 7.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 20:05:34 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

Yes 7 pm ok or do you want another time?
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:57 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

That sounds good. Will you make reservations for us?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:54:37 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

Tues good. Fahrenheit restaurant at Ritz in Georgetown very quiet and fine. People don't know about it. so just let me know.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:45 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

I'd like to do and probably better on Tuesday. I'll confirm tomorrow. Where do you want to go? I prefer quiet and private around 6:30-7 if that's ok for you both.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H

Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:41:39 2010
Subject: Shaun

H: Just talked to Shaun. He wants to know if, given your schedule, and in addition to your meeting with him, you can have dinner with the two of us either Tuesday or Wednesday. Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) N. Ireland's DUP agrees to devolution deal

---

**From:** Johnson, Andrew Kim
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu Feb 04 19:18:10 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) N. Ireland's DUP agrees to devolution deal

BELFAST (Reuters) - Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party agreed to a deal on devolution of policing and justice powers, party leader Peter Robinson said, ending a row that threatened to topple the power-sharing government.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

PM and Taoeiseach will announce deal around 9.30 gmt tomorrow after a plenary of all the parties. I recommend you do a treaty room statement early tomorrow our time. Will send proposed remarks in a few minutes.

Also recommend you call Shaun tonight if you're available.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:06:24 2010
Subject: Fw: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Fyi. So I need to do press early starting by 9.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

And to you too
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Feb 4, 2010 7:09 PM
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

That is wonderful! Kudos to Gordon and Shaun.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

You should prepare a statement for tomorrow, noting the relevance for other places ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 4, 2010 7:09 PM
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

That is wonderful! Kudos to Gordon and Shaun.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:00 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Statement

This will be cleaned up a bit, but here you go:

[redacted] B5

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 4:59 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** tamera luzzatto just returned your call

B6

She is on her cell. [redacted]
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

Barbara haig – Alexander Haig's daughter / Called to say thank you for the statement that you made. Her father really respected you . He would been so happy and humbled about what you said. Barbara works for the Nat'l Endowment for Democracy and says she is grateful for what a help you have been to them, too.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:38 PM B6
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

To long standing conflicts that may appear far from resolution, ethnic and social divisions, peace is possible, and the US will never give up and always play constructive role ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Cc: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Sent: Feb 4, 2010 8:22 PM
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

How would you frame the relevance? I'm copying Jake Sullivan who works w me on this.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:55:26 2010
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

You should prepare a statement for tomorrow, noting the relevance for other places ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 4, 2010 7:09 PM
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

That is wonderful! Kudos to Gordon and Shaun.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Just fyi. What's going around...Les Gelb... Sid

Rumbling Over Rahm
by Leslie H. Gelb
February 22, 2010 | 3:26pm
[redacted]Alex Brandon / AP Photo **Leslie H. Gelb's call for White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel to be reassigned spurred a circle-the-wagons reaction from pro- (or perhaps even anti-) Rahm forces. Gelb sifts the fallout for clues.**

When you write that the president of the United States should replace his chief of staff, someone will fire back. So it was that Rahm Emanuel *apparently* struck back at my piece last week on the Daily Beast through a column in Sunday's Washington Post. Only this time, the return fire had a rare twist, one that could produce Washington convulsions. It was seemingly aimed at me (and others who published suggestions of Emanuel's limitations as chief). But whether it was intentional or not, the volley actually struck the president himself.

Here is the story, a very Washington tale of stretching permissible criticism of power holders, of pungent media leaks, of labyrinthine speculation as to who is doing what to whom.

Maybe the leaker thought the way to get rid of Rahm completely was to brand him as a "traitor" to the boss.

With a headline "Replace Rahm," I wrote last Tuesday that Emanuel lacked the managerial skills, discipline, and strategic ability to get things done as chief of staff. I argued he should be moved over to a political adviser slot, where his considerable, can-do talents would better serve his boss. I targeted others as well, mostly in Mr. Obama's Chicago crowd. Several writers also blasted this crowd, mostly with unsigned bullets, but never crossed the red line calling for their removal. I wrote the piece because it essentially reflected the waves of anti-White House staff critiques breaking over Washington, but rarely heard outside its drawing rooms. I did it because I believed the president was running out of chances to succeed and needed better and tougher staffers. I did it because if he failed, the nation failed.

Then came the inevitable blast back, a devastating leak, in a piece by Dana Milbank, a respected Washington journalist. Interesting that the leaker selected Milbank. He's sort of a half-reporter, half-columnist who roams the entire capital city, not just the White House. The leaker must have felt safe because Milbank has so many sources all over town, making the leakers harder to trace.

The Milbank headline read: "Why Obama needs Rahm at the top." It began: "Let us now praise Rahm Emanuel. No, seriously." Then, he lists me and a couple others who also criticized Rahm. "But," he continued, "sacking Emanuel is the last thing the president should do."

Then, Milbank (and presumably the leaker) delivered the surprise and wounding blow – to the president himself. "Obama's first year fell apart in large part because he didn't follow his chief of staff's advice on crucial matters. Arguably, Emanuel is the only person keeping Obama from becoming Jimmy Carter."

Then, Milbank (and the leaker) took his first shot, not at me, but at congressional liberals and everyone in the Chicago crowd except Rahm. "Obama's problem," Milbank continued, "is that his other confidants—particularly Valerie Jarrett and Robert Gibbs, and, to a lesser extent, David Axelrod—are part of the Cult of Obama. In love with the president, they believe he is a transformational figure who needn't dirty his hands in politics."

So, it was "their" fault—until you see the real blow landed beyond them and on the President himself. "The president would have been better off heeding Emanuel's counsel," but instead "overruled" him on several key Rahm recommendations: not rushing to close Guantanamo and bringing terrorists to U.S. prisons, not trying Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in New York, and going for a smaller health care bill focused on popular items with Republican support. "The result was," Milbank wrote, "as the world now knows, disastrous." In other words, Mr. Obama could have thrived and saved himself on key issues had he only listened to Rahm.

It sure looks like Rahm (or someone near and dear to him) trying to save himself at the president's expense. This is an incredibly unusual leak, seemingly a chief of staff undermining his own boss, the president. Worse, it details specific advice Rahm personally gave Mr. Obama in the absolute privacy of the Oval Office. Presidents go crazy at such breaches of confidence.

Which is why another possibility has to be considered: that Rahm was not the leaker. The leak was so egregious, so anti-Chicago crowd minus Rahm, so devastating to the president, that Emanuel couldn't have been stupid enough to leak a story where he was the sole, surviving hero. Remember, too, that my piece did not recommend kicking Rahm out of the White House, just sliding him over into a political adviser job where he could practice small-bite pragmatism. Maybe

someone didn't want Rahm around the White House at all, in any position. Maybe the leaker thought the way to get rid of Rahm completely was to brand him as a "traitor" to the boss. Maybe the leaker belonged to that contingent of self-mutilating liberal Democrats who have always viewed Rahm as too centrist and pragmatic.

Of course, I don't know what's afoot. And of course, Milbank put his own views into his own article. But someone gave him the specifics, the precious ammunition about Rahm's private advice to Mr. Obama. The story is not over.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of* Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy *(HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-02-22/rumbling-over-rahm/p/



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

Will aim for robinson and Mccue for 745 one after the other. Ok?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Feb 04 20:43:43 2010
Subject: Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

They did.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 20:36:52 2010
Subject: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 11:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: couple of things pre-Shaun: bomb in NI and latest UK poll, Labour moving. Sid

# Car bomb explodes in Northern Ireland

Republican dissidents suspected after blast outside courthouse in Newry as evacuation was taking place

- Buzz up!
- Digg it

- Mark Tran
- guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 23 February 2010
- Article history

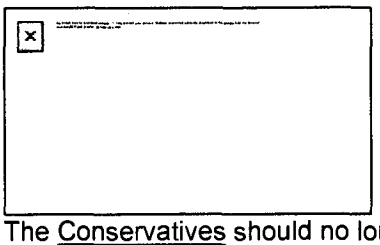
A car bomb exploded last night outside the courthouse in Newry, Northern Ireland, police said. There were no initial reports of any injuries in the blast.
Police said the vehicle was abandoned at the front of the building in the Co Down town at around 10pm. Officers were in the process of evacuating the area when the car exploded.
Suspicion is bound to fall on republican dissidents opposed to the peace process. The incident comes only days after a mortar bomb failed to detonate outside a police station in the nearby Co Armagh village of Keady.
The chairman of the nationalist SDLP in Newry, Gary McKeown, condemned those responsible. "Lives could have been lost as a result of this bombing," he said. "It serves absolutely no purpose and does nothing for the community, or the cause of a united Ireland. If people want to advance their beliefs, they should enter the democratic process and debate with their political opponents, rather than resorting to violence. Planting bombs outside courthouses will achieve nothing."
Earlier this month, police on both sides of the Irish border launched separate operations against dissident republicans. Police in Northern Ireland arrested two men and a woman in connection with the murder of Constable Stephen Carroll, the first PSNI officer killed by terrorists in the province.
The Continuity IRA shot the 48-year-old policeman dead on a housing estate in Craigavon, County Armagh, on 9 March last year. His murder came just 48 hours after the Real IRA killed two British soldiers outside the Massereene barracks in Antrim. In September police discovered a massive 600lb bomb in the south Armagh village of Forkhill.
On Sunday, Republican Sinn Féin, political allies of the Continuity IRA, claimed masked undercover soldiers carried out surveillance on two housing estates in Lurgan, Co Armagh, in recent weeks. They claimed the men were scouting the areas in white civilian vans. Republican Sinn Féin said the soldiers belonged to the Special Reconnaissance Regiment.
The alleged presence of SRR soldiers – formerly known as the 14th Intelligence Unit – is controversial because British troops are meant to have been pulled off the streets, especially in nationalist areas.

# Britain heading for hung parliament – Guardian/ICM poll

Tories might not win election outright, suggests new survey

- Comments (259)
- Buzz up!
- Digg it

- Julian Glover
- guardian.co.uk, Monday 22 February 2010 18.30 GMT
- Article history



The Conservatives should no longer count on winning the election outright, according to a Guardian/ICM poll published today.

The new survey suggests Britain is on course for a hung parliament amid faltering public support for David Cameron's party.

The opposition have also lost ground on key policy issues, including the economy, and in particular may be losing their campaign against Labour's so-called "death tax". Labour leads the Tories by eight points as the party with the best policy on care for the elderly.

The two parties are neck and neck on their ability to sort out the economic crisis, against a nine-point Tory lead when the question was last asked in August 2009.

With no more than three months to go until polling day, the Conservatives have fallen to 37%, down three on last month's Guardian/ICM poll and down two on another ICM poll earlier this month.

The party has not fallen so low in an ICM poll since the tail end of the banking crisis, last falling to 37% in February 2008. As recently as last October the Tories hit 45% in an ICM poll and the party will be alarmed by this latest evidence that the race is tightening, which confirms the findings of some other recent polls.

Meanwhile Labour's support, at 30%, is eight points up on its absolute ICM bottom last May, and slightly above its average for the second part of last year. However, there is no sign of either a boost for the party following Gordon Brown's Piers Morgan interview or a fall after this weekend's reports about Brown bullying his staff.

Labour's support is up one point on the last Guardian/ICM poll and unchanged from the most recent ICM poll. Research began last Friday and most was carried out before the serialisation of Andrew Rawnsley's book in yesterday's Observer, which may have affected Labour support. Around a fifth of responses were collected on Sunday.

Nick Clegg's hopes of a powerful place in a hung parliament are also boosted by today's poll, which puts the Liberal Democrats on 20%, unchanged from the most recent ICM and down one on last month's Guardian poll.

All this suggests that Labour and the Lib Dems are holding steady while the Conservatives lose some ground to smaller parties, which are on a total of 13%. Nationalists are on 5%, Ukip and the Greens on 3% each and the BNP on 2%.

Estimates of what these shares would mean for the parties on polling day vary, but a 7% lead is at the margins of what the Tories think they need to win a majority. One academic calculation suggests the result would leave Labour only 25 seats behind the Tories in a hung parliament, although any improved Tory performance in marginal seats would offset that.

• *ICM Research interviewed a random sample of 1,004 adults by telephone on 19-21 February 2010. Interviews were conducted across the country and the results have been weighted to the profile of all adults. ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

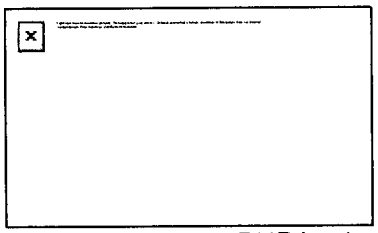
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 6:58 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** MillsCD@state.gov; SullivanJJ@state.gov
**Subject:** Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

# Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

- Henry McDonald
- guardian.co.uk, Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
-



Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.
Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) was a foundation for lasting peace.
The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.
It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.
Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".
The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.
A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.
Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."
Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".
The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.
The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".
Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal.
But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.
A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.
The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.
The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it. Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.
Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal. "We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.
"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."
However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.
"The deal hasn't changed, only the snowmen of the DUP, who melted once the heat came on," Allister said.
The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 7:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

FYI. Seeking info.

---

**From**: Johnson, Andrew Kim
**To**: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Mon Feb 22 19:28:48 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

BELFAST (Reuters) - A car bomb exploded outside a courthouse in the Northern Ireland border town of Newry on Monday, police said, in the latest of increasingly frequent attacks in the province. Police were in the process of evacuating people from the area when there was a large explosion in a car which left the vehicle ablaze close to the courthouse gates, a spokeswoman for the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) said.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Rio Group-Haiti

Assume you know about this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Sent: Monday, February 22, 2010 9:33 PM
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

Julissa/Cheryl -- Per Foreign Minister Fernandez,

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A; Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Sent: Mon Feb 22 23:03:06 2010
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Including Tom Shannon and Paul Simons who know more.

The position is not clearly defined.

B1
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Sent: Mon Feb 22 20:40:54 2010
Subject: RE: Rio Group-Haiti

What is the position? To whom does it report? What is the function?

cdm

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/22/2020**

-----Original Message-----
From: Reynoso, Julissa

Sent: Monday, February 22, 2010 7:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Subject: Rio Group-Haiti

Julissa

1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

It has been prepared- ready for your signature tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Feb 22 22:17:40 2010
Subject: Re: Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

Have I written the family a condolence letter?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Feb 22 17:12:32 2010
Subject: Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

Barbara haig – Alexander Haig's daughter / Called to say thank you for the statement that you made. Her father really respected you . He would been so happy and humbled about what you said. Barbara works for the Nat'l Endowment for Democracy and says she is grateful for what a help you have been to them, too.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 11:02 PM
**To:** H; markjpenn[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Shanghai Expo

Mark

Thnx for the offer to help on Expo. I can send you the full list tomorrow. Would be happy to download in the am.

Dell, Intel, Microsoft (and about 20 others) all in but HP is not and Ford despite our best efforts keeps turning us down - they are the only major global auto company not represented in Shanghai (Blanchard and Gephardt going back at them yet again this week). Oracle, ATT, ADM, Monsanto, and financial and insurance companies among the other logical companies not in yet.

Will call you in the am

Kris

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'markjpenn[redacted]
Cc: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Mon Feb 22 22:17:03 2010
Subject: Re: Shanghai Expo

Mark--thanks for the offer of help. I'd appreciate anything you can to do assist w the completion of the American Pavilion. I am copying Kris Balderston, who is working on the Expo project for me, and asking him to contact you to follow up. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark J. Penn[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 17:21:09 2010
Subject: Shanghai Expo

Wondering why no one called me since I have probably 20 clients from Ford, Microsoft, Intel, HP, Dell all very interested in Shanghai Expo as well as 100 people in China.

Kind of late but happy to help if someone still needs anything.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 11:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

Not yet. Will keep tabs.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Feb 22 21:28:46 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

Did anyone claim responsibility?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 19:35:37 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

FYI. Seeking info.

---

From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany
Sent: Mon Feb 22 19:28:48 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Will find out. Why not invite uk and irish ambassadors to State to brief press with you today?
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

I will be doing a press event at 8:30. Do you know if Gordon mentioned me? Can you find out? Is Shaun still coming Monday? If so, I want to take you both out to dinner!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/northernireland> 's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.
Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/sinn-fein> and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/dup> was a foundation for lasting peace.

The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.

It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.

Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".

The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.

A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.

Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".

The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.

The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 <http://www.nio.gov.uk/the-agreement> when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".

Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal.

But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.

A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.

The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.

The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it.

Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.

Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal.

"We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.

"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."

However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.

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The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Take credit and announce Kelly taking next step, etc Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

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Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 6:52 AM
**To:** H; Reines, Philippe I; Holbrooke, Richard C
**Subject:** FW: TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 21-22, 2010

Interesting. Slight change of tone.

---

**From:** Baber, Suhail **On Behalf Of** Islamabad, Information Section
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 6:23 AM
**To:** Snelsire, Richard W
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Gill, Muazzam; Wade, Joseph W (Peshawar)
**Subject:** TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 21-22, 2010

# TV Talk Shows' Summary

## February 21-22, 2010

Program: "Policy Matters" Dunya TV (01/22)

Host: Nasim Zehra

Participants: Hussain Haqqani (Pakistani Ambassador To United States)

Topic: Future Of Pak-U.S. Relations

*Host:* It is a common perception that you had advised the American authorities to include some clauses in the Kerry-Lugar Bill which were deemed against the armed forces of Pakistan. Did your recent meetings with Army Chief General Kayani and DG Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Lt. General Ahmed Shuja Pasha, improved your strained relations with these military leaders?

*Hussain Haqqani:* I have never had bad relations with the military. I had played no role in the draft of the Kerry-Lugar Bill. It was the Pakistani media which spread such rumors.

*Host:* In your recent book, you had suggested the U.S. government to link the financial assistance with the civilian control over the Pakistan Army.

*Hussain Haqqani:* I had written it in the perspective of Pakistan's situation in 2005. I argued that if the U.S. wanted to maintain its influence in Pakistan, it should use its aid to stabilize the democratic institutions in the country rather than supporting the Musharraf regime.

*Host:* But you had also alleged that the ISI was providing support and protection to the Taliban.

*Hussain Haqqani:* You need to understand that everything has some specific perspective. The ISI is playing a very important role in the national security of Pakistan, but a policy changes with a change in the circumstances under which it was formulated. At that time, the Taliban were being considered as friends of

Pakistan but later they became a potential threat to our national security. Hence, we were left with no other option but to abandon them.

*Host:* What was wrong with the Kerry-Lugar Bill? Why was it so vehemently opposed by the Pakistani masses and the armed forces? As the Ambassador of Pakistan, had you expressed any reservations and concerns during the preparation of this legislation?

*Hussain Haqqani:* During the drafting of the Kerry-Lugar Bill, I sent as many as 35 telegrams to the Foreign Office and other concerned institutions including the armed forces. I was against attaching even a single string to this aid package, and urged that all the assistance for Pakistan should be unconditional. Americans wanted us to hand Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan over to them for investigation but we made it clear that it would never be possible for us, and that this chapter had been closed. Similarly, we rejected the U.S. demand to link the aid with the performance of our institutions.

*Host:* But at that time, you said that the Pakistanis had failed to understand the benefits of Kerry-Lugar Bill because they do not know English language.

*Hussain Haqqani:* It was just a joke. However, I want to make it clear that the Kerry-Lugar Bill is a U.S. legislation. It is not an agreement between the two countries and, therefore, is not binding upon us.

*Host:* Do you think that a donor country has the right to monitor the performance of the national institutions of the recipient country?

*Hussain Haqqani:* During the visit of Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi, the explanatory note by the U.S. Congress diluted this condition.

*Host:* According to some reports, you have issued visas to the Blackwater personnel and some other Americans who pose a threat to our national security while the Pakistani intelligence agencies had expressed reservations in this regard.

*Hussain Haqqani:* It is a grave misunderstanding. Everyone knows that the issuance of visas is not the prerogative of an ambassador. The interior ministry gives approval for working visas which also consults the military authorities on certain issues relating to the security of the country. So far, I have never interfered in any visa case. I utilize all my energies to lobby for Pakistan. The DynaCorp was allowed to work in Pakistan, and its owner is a close friend of former President Pervez Musharraf.

*Host:* Presently, how many U.S. security agencies are operating in Pakistan?

*Hussain Haqqani:* I think that that DynaCorp and Wakenhut are working in the country but there is no evidence regarding the presence of other companies.

*Host:* Will the U.S. give us drone technology?

*Hussain Haqqani:* Currently, they are offering drone technology for surveillance purposes.

*Host:* The drone attacks in Pakistan kill innocent people including women and children. Do the American masses protest these attacks?

*Hussain Haqqani:* Yes, they also protest over these attacks. We want there should not be anti-Pakistan elements in the future Afghan government and the U.S. understands our point of view.

*Host:* What is the latest situation of Dr. Aafia case?

Hussain Haqqani: We have done our level best, and are still doing, on the diplomatic and legal fronts for the early release of Dr. Aafia Siddiqui. No doubt, we had to suffer a setback on the legal grounds but we are still working on other option which cannot be made public at this time.

---

Program: "Meray Mutabiq" Geo TV (01/21)

Host: Dr. Shahid Masood

Participants: Mushahid Hussain Syed (PML-Q); Lt. Gen Hameed Gul (Former Head ISI)

Topic: Americans Increase Frequency Of Their Visits To Pakistan; Why?

*Host:* At a time when the PPP government is facing gigantic problems and crises at home, what are the real motives of Americans' visits to Pakistan? These U.S. dignitaries also go the GHQ in Rawalpindi and meet with high-ranking military officials. Which institution is the actual policy-maker in Pakistan?

*Mushahid Hussain:* I think the regional geopolitical situation has changed, and still changing, in Pakistan's favor. The U.S. economy and Afghanistan are the two cornerstones of President Barack Obama's strategy. For the former, he needs china's help, and for the latter he depends upon Pakistan. Now, instead of G-7, the G-2, China and the United States, has become the focus of international economic discussion. It means that, for the first time, Washington has recognized Beijing as an equal partner, at least in the economic sector. China is our time-tested friend, in other words, the regional situation is changing in our favor. The present Pakistani government is incompetent and has no strategy to skillfully use this opportunity. Hence, I do not think that the Americans will support it.

*Host:* The U.S. has been entangled in the Afghan quagmire. There are reports that the U.S. negotiating with the Taliban. Has the U.S. taken Saudi Arabia and Pakistan on board, or it is directly talking to the Taliban?

*Hameed Gul:* At present, no dialogue is underway between Taliban and the U.S., neither directly nor indirectly, because Washington has refused to give the deadline for withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. In fact, India is exerting pressure on the U.S. to avoid withdrawing its troops because New Delhi has invested sums in Afghanistan. Besides, it has also strategic interests there. But Americans can no longer afford to continue their military presence in this country therefore India fear that it would be the prime loser in case the foreign forces withdraw from Afghanistan. The U.S. military defeat at the hands of the Taliban has provided Pakistan a golden opportunity. To face the Indian threat, we are in dire need of a safe and peaceful border in our west.

*Mushahid Hussain:* We need to be very careful at this moment. Our blind support for the Afghan Taliban may alienate Iran, Turkey and China, all our best friends, who fear that the establishment of a extremist religious regime will have serious repercussions for their own security. To avoid such an eventuality, these countries may opt to join the Indian camp. Hence, we will have to take all the stakeholders on board while formulating our future strategy regarding the post-war Afghanistan.

---

Program: "Jawab Deyh" Geo TV (02/21)

Host: Iftikhar Ahmed

Participants: Lt. Gen (R) Nishat Ahmed (Defense Analyst); Dr Hassan Askari (Analyst)

Topic: U.S. Role In Pak-India Dialogue

*Host:* It seems that India has offered to resume peace negotiations with Pakistan under the U.S. pressure. Is it reality? Do you have any evidence in this regard?

*Dr Hassan Askari:* Washington and London have been working to convince Pakistan and India to resume talks in order to remove their mutual misunderstandings. At present, the U.S. enjoys cordial relations with both India and Pakistan. Particularly, since 2005, Washington is in better position to give advice to New Delhi on regional and global issues. I think that the fast-changing geopolitical situation in Afghanistan has prompted India to reduce tension in its relations with Pakistan through dialogue. Moreover, the U.S. thinks that Pakistan cannot fully concentrate on its border with Afghanistan, which is vital to win the war against terrorism, unless its eastern borders are not secured. Hence, the perception, that the U.S. is behind the Indian offer of dialogue, holds water and cannot be dismissed as mere a speculation.

*Host:* Do you think that the U.S. understands our concerns regarding the Indian threat on our eastern border?

*Lt. Gen (R) Nishat Ahmed:* Washington and its allies want that Pakistan should deploy its full military power on its western border in order to deal with the menace of terrorism. I think that the government as well as the military leadership of Pakistan have succeeded in convincing the U.S. that our country faces serious and potential threat from its eastern neighbor, India. Hence, it would be impossible for us to fully concentrate on the war against terrorism as long as the Indian threat on our eastern border is not eliminated, or at least not reduced. The entire world knows that Pakistan has always been attacked from its eastern border while India even played pivotal role in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. Hence, I think that the U.S. and its allies convinced New Delhi that it would be in its own interest to hold dialogue with Islamabad.

---

***The following programs were also monitored, but as they dealt with domestic issues, therefore, were not summarized:***

Program: "Crisis Cell" Geo TV (01/22)

Host: Sana Buchcha

Participants: Khawaja Asif (PML-N); Yasir Hashmi (Psychologist); Musharraf Zaidi (Analyst)

Topic: Growing Confrontation Between PPP & PML-N

---

Program: "Front Line" Express TV (02/21)

Host: Kamran Shahid

Participants: Shakeel Awan (PML-N); Sheikh Rasheed (AML); Dr. Kamal (Jamaat-i-Islami)

Topic: By-Elections In Rawalpindi

---

Program: "Meray Mutabiq" Geo TV (02/21)

Host: Dr. Shahid Masood

Participants: Faisal Raza Abidi (PPP); Insar Abbasi (Investigative Reporter The News)

Topic: Swiss Cases And Immunity To President Asif Zardari

---

Program: "In Session" Dunya TV (02/21)

Host: Asma Chaudhry

Participants: Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q); Asma Arbab Alamgir (PPP); Khurram Dastgir (PML-N)

Topic: An Overview Of Government's Performance

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**Monitored by Info Office**

Public Affairs Section

U.S. Embassy Islamabad

Pakistan

http://islamabad.usembassy.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Rio Group-Haiti

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/23/2020**

Fyi below

-----Original Message-----
From: Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Sent: Tuesday, February 23, 2010 6:08 AM
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

Reinforcing my note yesterday on the high side,

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Sent: Mon Feb 22 23:32:44 2010
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Julissa/Cheryl -- Per Foreign Minister Fernandez,

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A; Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Sent: Mon Feb 22 23:03:06 2010
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

1.4(D)
B1

Including Tom Shannon and Paul Simons who know more.

The position is not clearly defined.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Sent: Mon Feb 22 20:40:54 2010
Subject: RE: Rio Group-Haiti

What is the position? To whom does it report? What is the function?

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Monday, February 22, 2010 7:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Subject: Rio Group-Haiti

1.4(D)
B1

[redacted]

Julissa

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:17 AM
**To:** H; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Witten statement now?

Yes, will connect with Jake now on remarks as prepared

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Witten statement now?
Sent: Feb 5, 2010 7:15 AM

I'd like to be first w statement on behalf of USG. Can we do asap and then repeat on camera?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 7:50 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Today

I am checking on Bill Burns right now -- Huma has the best update on the WH tonight. Sid knows we may need to push dinner a bit too.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Feb 23 07:25:35 2010
Subject: Today

Is the UAE FM is meeting w Bill Burns before my lunch w him? If so when and where?

What happened to the idea of my going by dinner at WH? Any other way I could see the CEOs who will be here?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Today

UAE with Bill -- 11:15am-11:45am in Bill's office. You could join after you finish up with Shaun Woodward at 11:30am. Lunch with UAE starts at 12pm.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Feb 23 07:25:35 2010
Subject: Today

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Pretty good stuff!

Robinson and McG have confirmed to speak with you.

In his remarks, Brown indicated that you would host an investment conference this spring. Declan believes this is much too soon. We might try to steer it to you meeting with Robinson and McG this spring -- ie in a few weeks time -- with an eye toward an investment conference once it is well prepared.

I think we are okay waiting an hour to do the statement, but we'll work to get excerpts out. Kamala announced that you are speaking at 830.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:12:32 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Reaction?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:10:49 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Will find out. Why not invite uk and irish ambassadors to State to brief press with you today?
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

I will be doing a press event at 8:30. Do you know if Gordon mentioned me? Can you find out? Is Shaun still coming Monday? If so, I want to take you both out to dinner!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/northernireland> 's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.

Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/sinn-fein> and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/dup> was a foundation for lasting peace.

The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.

It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.

Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".

The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.

A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.

Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".

The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.

The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 <http://www.nio.gov.uk/the-agreement> when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".

Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal.

But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.

A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.
The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.
The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it.
Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.
Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal.
"We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.
"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."
However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.
"The deal hasn't changed, only the snowmen of the DUP, who melted once the heat came on," Allister said.
The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Coleman, Claire L
**Subject:** RE: Baghdad staffing thoughts (PERSONNEL SENSITIVE)

Sure. In touch with Claire about timing.

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:18 AM
**To:** H; preines [redacted] Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Re: Witten statement now?

I have a good story for you on this. Your 830 statement will be first react. But I will have them release excerpts of your statement now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines [redacted]; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:15:07 2010
Subject: Witten statement now?

I'd like to be first w statement on behalf of USG. Can we do asap and then repeat on camera?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Ambos at event would praise your role
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

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* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*
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Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

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It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.

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The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.

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Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

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The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Brown mentioned you and your role. Kamala was there at their invitation representing you. She told everyone that you would speak at 830.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

This did not occur to me. I'm not sure it's a good idea -- there has been a heavy emphasis on how this deal was made in NI. Calling Declan for his take.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:05 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
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<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Declan thinks bad idea because sends wrong message to NI and because this is your moment.
Philippe thinks practically impossible to do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Ambos at event would praise your role
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop([redacted]
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 2:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Postscript to Meeting
**Attachments:** ole0.bmp

Fyi

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Feb 23 23:26:18 2010
**Subject:** Postscript to Meeting

Cheryl;

As a postscript to what you mentioned about Haiti efforts being the prime example of a new form of shared responsibility in the region and how Haiti reconstruction going forward can serve as the basis for this organizing principle, I want to share some additional thoughts to support your point with the hope that Haiti becomes a major theme of S's trip. To my knowledge, all the countries in the region (from richest to poorest) have contributed in some form or another to the relief efforts. This is unprecedented in this region. And given that this effort relates to Haiti in particular, it is even more remarkable. As you know, Haiti since its independence in 1804 has often been seen by the rest of the region as a second class nation. As the Spanish-speaking nations of South America gained independence in the 1820s, they excluded Haiti from their designs for regional union – mostly out of fear by the Latins of slave revolts and uprisings by their own black and indigenous populations. (Of course, we have had our own complex and unfortunate relationship with Haiti.) As has been demonstrated by the recent UNASUR and Grupo Rio sessions, the same cannot be said of the region today. And of the countries S is visiting, Chile is the richest and Guatemala is by the far the poorest but each of these countries – and all in between - has been contributing in its own way to Haiti's recovery: Chile with significant MINUSTAH forces, a portable hospital, supplies, and monetary pledge; Guatemala with food, a rescue unit and a MINUSTAH pledge (and the fact that UN ASG Edmond Mulet is Guatemalan!). In the context of the relief response, each country in the region has given, more or less, relative to their means. Through this process of cooperation in Haiti's recovery, we as a region can collectively turn around Haiti's history of isolation. This is a very significant historic moment and we need to run with it.

Sorry about the long email but wanted to share these thoughts – as one who has a particular relationship with the island of Hispaniola. In this context, I want to share a 1994 *Washington Post* below which, although covering a different type of crisis, is demonstrative of how times have changed.

Thanks. Julissa

The Washington Post

# Haiti's History of Isolation Makes U.S. Task Harder

Article from:

The Washington Post

Article date:

July 25, 1994

Author:

Roberto Suro

More results for:

haiti history of isolation

The United States finds itself virtually alone struggling with the Haitian crisis.

A handful of tiny Caribbean nations have agreed to shelter a few thousand refugees. But not one major political ally or trading partner in the Western Hemisphere has stepped up to help. In a joint statement yesterday, three of six Central American countries said they might take in Haitians. The other three said they would not.

Slippery promises are all that President Clinton gets when he seeks recruits for a peacekeeping force; none seems willing to join an invasion to oust the military leaders who seized power in 1991.

Panama's president-elect, Ernesto Perez Balladares, explained the lack of support in a recent interview: "It is for the very simple reason that in Latin America Haiti is not recognized as a Latin American country. Haitians speak a different language. They have different ethnic roots, a different culture. They are very different altogether."

Overwhelmingly black, speaking Creole French, practicing voodoo, a nation of liberated slaves long locked in deep poverty, Haiti has a history of isolation within the hemisphere. It doesn't fit with the big countries of South America. It is not part of Central America. It has no real kinship with the other island-nations of the Caribbean.

"Haitians are strangers even among the other black nations of the Caribbean," said Jocelyn McCalla, executive director of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, a New York-based advocacy group. Haitians are "just as strange to someone from Grenada or Jamaica as they would be to someone from Iowa or Montana."

When Suriname agreed to take in 2,000 Haitian boat people, neighboring French Guiana announced it would tighten border security in case any Haitians escaped.

In recent years, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations have worked to compel elections in Haiti, to put sanctions on its military regime and to monitor human rights abuses. Now, Clinton is asking for much more as he tries to create a network of refugee camps around the region and to assemble multinational backing for the forcible removal of Haiti's military regime.

Finding partners for either sheltering refugees or invading would be a challenge no matter what country was involved. Petitioning on behalf of Haiti makes it much harder.

"Unsympathetic perceptions of Haiti as a hopeless case work against the kind of cooperation that the administration is seeking, and those perceptions are deeply ingrained," said Wayne Smith, a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy.

Haiti's isolation goes back to its 1804 independence. "Here was a nation born of a slave revolt. It raised fears of another slave revolt in many other nations which then simply shunned Haiti for decades to come," Smith said.

As the Spanish-speaking nations of South America gained independence in the 1820s, they excluded Haiti from their designs for regional union. U.S. recognition did not come until 1862, when the Civil War made it politically expedient.

Haiti's chronic poverty, its chaotic succession of despots and its conflicts with the Dominican Republic have deepened its isolation.

Is racism a factor in the shunning of Haiti? Perhaps not: Black and mixed-race nations have sometimes demonstrated biases against Haiti.

But allegations of racism have often beset U.S. policy toward Haiti and are a major factor in the evolution of the current crisis.

The U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1915 produced a 19-year occupation that included the imposition of racial segregation and the use of forced labor.

Randall Robinson, head of the TransAfrica lobbying organization, said, "For almost 200 years U.S. policies have treated **Haiti** differently than other nations with the painful consequences always visited on Haitians who happen to be black."

This **history**, Robinson said, combined with the fact that the slave revolt earned **Haiti** "a place of pride for people in the African diaspora," has made U.S. policy toward **Haiti** a logical target for U.S. blacks. The activism has focused on what Robinson called "the despicable practice of repatriation."

Since 1991 the United States has tried to intercept Haitian boat people fleeing the military regime before they could reach U.S. shores; most have been taken back to **Haiti**. No other nationality has suffered that form of rejection.

As Robinson went into the 27th day of a hunger strike on May 8, Clinton announced he would end the repatriation policy and begin more aggressive efforts to remove the Haitian military regime.

But **Haiti's isolation** has contributed to Clinton's setbacks trying to deal with the intertwined problems of the generals and the refugees fleeing them.

On July 7, Panama backed out of an agreement to accept 10,000 Haitians, citing technicalities in the Panama Canal Treaty. Balladares, who has promised to consider a more limited safe haven for Haitians after he takes office Sept. 1, said the decision had nothing to do with the 1978 treaty and everything to do with the way ordinary Panamanians view Haitians.

"People were very afraid of having the Haitians in the country and justifiably so," he said. "They were afraid of competing for scarce resources, afraid of people whose culture is different in many ways, afraid of the AIDS problem. That is why the government backed out and everything else is excuses."

Piero Gleijeses, a professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, said: "Even if the Latin Americans felt some kinship to the Haitians, they would not be anxious to take in refugees under these circumstances. They see the big, rich United States, a traditional nation of resettlement, turning away the Haitians and they ask why they should have to take up the burden."

Nearly all nations of the hemisphere have rallied around the idea of restoring democracy to **Haiti**, but they are as reluctant to pursue that goal with force as they are to shelter Haitian refugees. Both fundamental trends and the peculiarities of the Haitian case are at work.

Among Latin American governments the traditional distaste for U.S. military intervention has been growing more explicit in recent years. For example, an OAS resolution censuring the United States for the 1989 invasion of Panama marked the first time since the founding of the organization 42 years earlier that it had formally criticized the United States.

In addition, the absence of a functioning political infrastructure and the prospects for lingering violence in **Haiti** have made many Latin American countries leery of joining a peacekeeping force.

Chile, which in early July said it would support the restoration of democracy through a multinational effort, has since insisted that it would offer "technical assistance" only after a democratic government was operating in **Haiti** and could specifically request such help.

Summing up the attitudes across the region, Balladares said, "Everyone just wishes that this problem would go away."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 5:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haitian Judge says American missionaries will be freed this week (U)

Fyi

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**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Tue Feb 23 17:37:48 2010
**Subject:** FW: Haitian Judge says American missionaries will be freed this week (U)

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**From:** Bond, Michele T
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 4:42 PM
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Jacobs, Janice L
**Subject:** FW: Haitian Judge says American missionaries will be freed this week (U)

According to post this info has not been confirmed. They report: "The judge said he's made a decision but that he will not announce it until after he receives some paperwork. The next session is tomorrow and he may announce then."

Post is working to coordinate departure arrangements in case a decision to allow the two women to depart occurs tomorrow.

Michele

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Here is what Brown said:

Let me thank the American Government for their unstinting support -- especially Secretary of State Clinton, her efforts over these last few weeks. And Presidents Obama, Bush and Clinton. And we particularly welcome Secretary of State Clinton's initiative today that she will host a Northern Ireland Investment Conference this spring.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 6:48 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Testimony

Sure. I am available.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 24 06:36:35 2010
Subject: Testimony

Could we do conf call at 7am to go over some questions?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 6:55 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Testimony

Same here.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 24 06:47:55 2010
Subject: Re: Testimony

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 24 06:36:35 2010
Subject: Testimony

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 2/24/10 Wednesday

7:55 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:00 am **COFFEE w/JEFF IMMELT AND INDRA NOOYI**
8:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

8:30 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Conference Room

8:45 am **MEETING ON THE SHANGHAI EXPO**
9:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

9:30 am **PRIVATE DROP-BY w/ "WILL-I-AM"**
9:40 am Secretary's Outer Office

9:45 am **PHOTO OP**
9:50 am Treaty Room

9:55 am **DEPART** State Department *En route Dirksen Senate Office Building

10:10 am **ARRIVE** Dirksen Senate Office Building

10:15 am **PULL-ASIDE MEETING w/SENATORS LEAHY AND GREGG**
10:25 am 105 Dirksen Senate Office Building

10:30 am **TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE**
12:30 pm (t) **ON STATE AND FOREIGN OPERATIONS**
192 Dirksen Senate Office Building

12:35 pm (t) **DEPART** Dirksen Senate Office Building
En route Russell Senate Office Building

12:40 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Russell Senate Office Building

12:40 pm **RIBBON-CUTTING CEREMONY FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S**
12:50 pm **SENATE LIAISON OFFICE** 189 Russell Senate Office Building

12:50 pm **DEPART** Russell Senate Office Building *En route Capitol Building

12:55 pm **ARRIVE** Capitol Building

1:00 pm **LUNCH w/SENATOR BARBARA MIKULSKI**
2:00 pm Senator's Dining Room

2:05 pm **DEPART** Capitol Building *En route Dirksen Senate Building

2:10 pm **ARRIVE** Dirksen Senate Building

2:30 pm **TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE**
4:30 pm (t) 419 Dirksen Senate Office Building

4:35 pm (t) **DEPART** Dirksen Senate Office Building *En route State Department

4:50 pm (t) **ARRIVE** State Department

4:55 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:40 pm Secretary's Office

5:40 pm **MEETING w/RICH, JACK AND JAKE**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:15 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Bibiana Restaurant

6:30 pm **ARRIVE** Bibiana Restaurant

6:30 pm **PRIVATE DINNER w/MADELEINE ALBRIGHT** Bibiana Restaurant

8:00 pm (t) **DEPART** Bibiana Restaurant *En route Private Residence

8:15 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thanks from Senator Klobuchar

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Bond, Michele T
Sent: Wednesday, February 24, 2010 8:21 AM
To: 'Klobuchar, Amy (Klobuchar)'
Subject: RE: Thanks from Senator Klobuchar

Dear Sen. Klobuchar,

Thank you for taking the time to send this message; you can be sure it will be read by many people. We know that we touch lives in the course of our work, sometimes during moments of unimaginable anguish, nearly always at a time of tremendous stress and worry. It is a privilege to be in a position to help. We never forget that the spirit and heart with which we respond to citizens in trouble matter as much as the actions we take.

We are all celebrating the safe travel to the U.S. of these six little children, and the hundreds of others we've been able to assist under the orphan humanitarian parole program. Thank you very much for your great work and for the valuable information you kept sending us throughout the past few days.

Sincerely, Michele Bond

-----Original Message-----
From: Klobuchar, Amy (Klobuchar) [mailto:AJK60@klobuchar.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, February 24, 2010 7:45 AM
To: Bond, Michele T
Subject: Thanks from Senator Klobuchar

Ambassador, Counsel General Moore, Deputy Secretary Bond and embassy staff

Thanks again for all your great work on allowing the six adopted kids to leave haiti to go to their adopting families. Please forward this to all involved. I was very impressed by how all of you handled such a difficult situation. I got a little sense of what you were facing as the moms would call me on the hour! I know these six children are such a small part of the challenges everyone working in haiti faces each day, but the fact that people cared so much to help gives me such faith in our efforts and State Department staff. I will write all of this in a letter to Secretary Clinton, but please know that there are six little children that may never meet all of you who helped, who may be too young to remeber your work as they grow up in our country, but it is your good work that has given them their new lives. Thank you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 1:46 PM
**To:** Bond, Michele T
**Cc:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Lew, Jacob J; Jacobs, Janice L
**Subject:** RE: Thanks from Senator Klobuchar

So nice - congrats to you and thanks for all the work you are doing.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Bond, Michele T
Sent: Wednesday, February 24, 2010 8:21 AM
To: 'Klobuchar, Amy (Klobuchar)'
Subject: RE: Thanks from Senator Klobuchar

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 6:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Your Meeting Tomorrow with Holbrooke

Hillary:

I met with Holbrooke today on water. Pakistani military called it their third most important strategic issue. Great worries about India/Pakistan tension over 1960 agreement that regulates Indus River. We agreed our teams will work together, most likely through the World Bank supporting the Abu Dhabi Dialogue, which brings together representatives from the seven countries that share the Indus River Basin. This is the best forum we know of where India and Pakistan can meet to discuss water issues. In the context of the shared waters memo and chart I gave you last week, this ranks as potentially one of the most conflict prone, and one where the US should engage to get the parties to work together.

We are advancing well in developing a policy/action plan for you to announce on World Water Day on March 22.

Safe travels to Latin America, so glad you are going.
Maria

*Under Secretary of State*
*for Democracy and Global Affairs*
*Department of State*
*2201 C St. NW Room 7261*
*Washington DC 20520*
*202 - 647-6240*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 12:05 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Gates on Armenian Genocide Resolution

"Our view is that the negotiations that have been taking place between Turkey and Armenia offer a positive path for the future. Anything that would impede the success of those discussions and negotiations I think is objectionable and I would just leave it there."

--Secretary Gates, News Conference, Ankara Turkey, 2/9/10 (Response to question: Do you think it will be helpful to US-Turkish relations if the Armenian Genocide Resolution passes?)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 8:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Sorry -- just seeing. Ryabkov called for Ellen this morning and they are set to talk at 1030. Plan is for her to deliver same message and go to Geneva this evening.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 25 07:40:47 2010
Subject: Fw:

I assume he's avoiding the call. I hope Ellen is going anyway and that she will chase Antonov to Moscow if necessary. What more can we do?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 25 07:23:13 2010
Subject:

Lavrov cannot do call this morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 8:34 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 2/25/10 Thursday

9:00 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route Rayburn House Office Building

9:00 am **CONFERENCE CALL w/PREP TEAM**
En route Rayburn House Office Building

9:20 am **ARRIVE** Rayburn House Office Building

9:30 am **TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**
12:15 pm 2172 Rayburn House Office Building

12:20 pm **DROP-BY w/CONGRESSWOMAN DIANE WATSON**
12:30 pm 2358A Rayburn House Office Building

12:30 pm **HOLD/LUNCH**
12:55 pm 2358A Raybum House Office Building

1:00 pm **TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE**
3:00 pm **FOR STATE, FOREIGN OPERATIONS AND RELATED AGENCIES**
2359 Rayburn House Office Building

3:05 pm **DEPART** Raybum House Office Building
En route State Department

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **MEETING w/ RICHARD HOLBROOKE**
5:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

5:30 pm **MEETING w/ADMIRAL MIKE MULLEN, CHAIRMAN JOINT CHIEFS**
6:00 pm **OF STAFF** Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **MEETING w/DENNIS ROSS (T)**
6:30 pm Secretary's Office

6:30 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

6:40 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 9:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WSJ: Obama Advisers to Aid Tories' Election TV Battle

- EUROPE NEWS
- FEBRUARY 25, 2010

# Obama Advisers to Aid Tories' Election TV Battle

## By IAIN MARTIN

Advisers close to U.S. President Barack Obama have been drafted by David Cameron to help the Conservatives in their election campaign against Gordon Brown and Labour.

The Tories have signed a contract with Squier, Knapp, Dunn Communications—a Washington-based Democrat-leaning political consultancy— to help them prepare for the first-ever television debates between leaders during a British election campaign.

David Cameron

The firm also is expected to offer some advice more broadly to the Tory leader on the Conservative campaign in the lead-up to voting, likely to take place on May 6.

Opinion polls have suggested a narrowing of the gap between the two main parties—with the Conservative lead cut to six to seven points in the two most recent polls earlier this week.

A Conservative spokesman confirmed Wednesday night that Squier, Knapp, Dunn will act as consultants for the television debates.

Anita Dunn, one of the firm's senior partners, was hired by Mr. Obama in 2006 ahead of his run for president and was the communications director at the White House until November. Bill Knapp, another senior partner and veteran of the successful Obama campaign, is a close adviser to the mayor of New York City, Michael Bloomberg.

Tory campaign insiders say they have been talking to the firm for several months after a recommendation from Mayor Bloomberg, who retains close links with the British Tory leadership.

He was a lifelong Democrat who switched to the Republicans when he first ran for mayor.

The British general election is taking on a particularly American flavor, with the prime minister also understood to be seeking advice from a consultant based in the U.S. The Times of London reported that Joel Benenson, a polling and strategy adviser who worked on the team that readied Mr. Obama for the American TV debates, is helping Mr. Brown.

None of the British parties has experience of leaders' debates and as a consequence are looking outside for help.

However, it is the decision of the Tories to reach out across the traditional ideological divide to senior Democrats that is surprising. Their party usually has looked to Republican strategists for advice, with Labour and the Democrats retaining close links.

Ms. Dunn is a veteran of Democrat politics, beginning her career in Jimmy Carter's administration and subsequently working as a consultant on many election campaigns. She returned to the White House with President Obama but left late

last year when her husband, Robert Bauer, the president's personal attorney, was unveiled as the incoming White House counsel.

Mr. Knapp made television ads for the Obama campaign, has worked on five presidential campaigns and played a leading role in Mayor Bloomberg's three election wins.

The pre-election atmosphere in the U.K. has become increasingly fraught, with the parties trading blows on allegations of bullying inside No. 10 Downing Street made in a new book on the Labour government by journalist Andrew Rawnsley.

In the latest developments, the prime minister Wednesday in a GMTV breakfast television interview denied that he had known about briefings by some of his aides against Alistair Darling, his chancellor of the exchequer.

In a remarkably frank interview Tuesday with Jeff Randall of Sky News, Mr. Darling said that when he remarked in the summer of 2008 that the worst global recession in 60 years was underway, No. 10 had "unleashed the forces of hell."

Mr Brown said on GMTV: "I was never part of anything to do with this. Look, this was the most amazing time...and lots of things were happening in this time. But I would never instruct anybody to do anything other than support my chancellor, and I think Alistair will confirm that."

At a rowdy Prime Minister's Questions in the House of Commons Wednesday, Mr. Cameron questioned Mr. Brown on the row.

**Write to** Iain Martin at iain.martin@wsj.com

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Margaret's last day extended

She is staying a few more weeks b/c it lets her retire.

Lona already has been at work per an earlier email from me I forgot on a party for her and picked a date that works for you and her.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:44 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

And your statement is out

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:41:36 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Here is what Brown said:

Let me thank the American Government for their unstinting support -- especially Secretary of State Clinton, her efforts over these last few weeks. And Presidents Obama, Bush and Clinton. And we particularly welcome Secretary of State Clinton's initiative today that she will host a Northern Ireland Investment Conference this spring.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Ambos at event would praise your role
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

I will be doing a press event at 8:30. Do you know if Gordon mentioned me? Can you find out? Is Shaun still coming Monday? If so, I want to take you both out to dinner!

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/northernireland> 's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.
Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/sinn-fein> and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/dup> was a foundation for lasting peace.
The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.
It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.
Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".
The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.
A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.
Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."
Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".
The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.
The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 <http://www.nio.gov.uk/the-agreement> when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".

Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal. But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.

A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.

The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.

The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it.

Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.

Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal.

"We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.

"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."

However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.

"The deal hasn't changed, only the snowmen of the DUP, who melted once the heat came on," Allister said.

The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 1:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 2/25/10 Senior Staff and Regional Bureaus Meetings

fyi

---

**From:** Smith, Daniel B
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 12:30 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** 2/25/10 Senior Staff and Regional Bureaus Meetings

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSFIED

HAITI

- Jack reported briefly on his conversations with Lowey and Oberstar on Haiti. Lowey raised two concerns: first, that we don't care about education in Haiti and, second, that we don't care about education in general. Jack pushed back on both fronts. He noted that Lowey also emphasized the need for accountability in what we are spending. Oberstar identified the type of trees that need to be planted for reforestation in Haiti, and said that the shift to propane gas won't work; we need instead to focus on providing the right sort of charcoal.

- H reported Friday's CODEL to Haiti has been cancelled.

Iraq

- Jack noted that we will set up monthly meetings on Iraq transition with the team here in Washington and the team in Baghdad. He also reported on a meeting with a two-star General and our DCM yesterday, in which the two-star complained about allegedly inadequate funding in our budget for transition issues in 2011. Jack said that the budget had been agreed interagency and DoD had endorsed it.

Middle East

- [redacted] B5

Northern Mexico

- Pat voiced concern over the uptick in violence in northern Mexico and possible threats to our employees, noting we were doing everything possible to keep our people safe.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

- PJ said his description of recent Israeli designation of new heritage sites in the West Bank as "provocative" had attracted some attention.

- PA will put out a statement expressing concern over the Italian court decision against Google.

LEGAL AFFAIRS

- L, AF and others will send the Secretary a memo on the implications of the coup in Niger. [redacted] B5

- Harold believes we are close to an understanding with the Canadian on the return of Khadr, if we can return him under the right terms.

- SecDef Gates has still not signed off on Article 75 of the First Additional Geneva Protocol. It may require another intervention by the Secretary.

- Harold suggested, if possible, that the Secretary make an appearance at the American Society of International Law in late March.

REGIONAL BUREAUS MEETING

IO

- There will be a vote in the General Assembly tomorrow on a resolution on the Goldstone Report. The text is relatively moderate, but U.S. and Israel will likely be alone in opposing it. (Our friends in the Pacific have lost their votes for the time being because of non-payment of dues.)

- Human Rights Council begins Monday and runs for four weeks. Maria Otero will be there for the opening.

EUR

- Inauguration in Ukraine went without incident, though Tymoshenko boycotted the ceremony. Yanukovich has said he wants to visit Washington early on to focus on bilateral relations and meet with IMF officials.

EAP

- Jim Steinberg will travel to China next week. Chinese have made an official invitation. Will be no public announcement for the time being.

- Kurt Campbell will meet with Tom Donilon to discuss the President's Indonesia trip, preparations for which are not going well. The changing political climate in Indonesia has made them extremely cautious.

AF

- Yar'Adua's return to Nigeria has unsettled the political situation and sparked rumors of possible military intervention. WH is considering a letter from the President to Nigeria's political elite urging restraint and cooperation.

- On the good news front, the rapprochement between Chad and Sudan and the signing of a ceasefire agreement with the JEM represent real progress.

- Situation in Somalia remains poor, with reports of a likely TFG offensive in Mogadishu and a build-up of forces on both sides.

SCA

- SCA will send the Secretary a memo on the first official India-Pakistan talks in capitals since the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

- Kazakhs have provided us with a draft over flight agreement.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Declan urges that you be somewhat vague w invites to PR and MM and steer clear of inv conference

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:40:27 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Agreed.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:38:57 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Declan thinks bad idea because sends wrong message to NI and because this is your moment.
Philippe thinks practically impossible to do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

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Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

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Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".
The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.
A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.
Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."
Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".

The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.

The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 <http://www.nio.gov.uk/the-agreement> when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".

Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal. But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.

A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.

The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.

The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it.

Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.

Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal. "We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.

"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."

However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.

"The deal hasn't changed, only the snowmen of the DUP, who melted once the heat came on," Allister said.

The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Have you left yet?

I am traveling outside of the country, with intermittent access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv, Toivnf@state.gov, 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, 202-647-5548.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Have you left yet?

What is mullen's first name?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Feb 26 07:30:39 2010
Subject: Have you left yet?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Afghanistan media coverage

**Importance:** High

See email chain below about media coverage of Afghanistan. I will work with SRAP to be sure we have a Haiti-like plan in place for Afghanistan.

jmis

**From:** Kaiser, Sandra L
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 9:07 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Perez, Lea; Singh, Vikram J; Crowley, Philip J; Breeden, Philip X; LeBaron, Richard B
**Subject:** RE: Afghanistan media coverage
**Importance:** High

Hi Judith—I am due to speak momentarily to Times editor James Harding on the cartoon. It's disgusting and completely unfair.

On overall Afghanistan coverage, Embassy London is also concerned. We engage every day on this topic, either through briefings, interviews with policy makers coming through (recent highlight was a brilliant interview by Newsnight's Paxman with Holbrooke), facilitating media enbeds and reporting on the ground, making and pushing out speeches, discussions with journalists. We work closely with colleagues in Kabul, NATO and elsewhere. We get decent support from Washington and other field elements, although sometimes we struggle to get basic information from our colleagues, such as total number of troops involved in Operation Moshtarak.

One challenge for us is that we are tightly bound here in the public mind to HMG on this issue. And in the run-up to the UK election, some media outlets see criticism of the effort in Afghanistan as an effective way to campaign against Gordon Brown. Sometimes they ricochet a shot off of us in order to hit the main target. The Murdoch outlets, of which the Times is one, have a headline goal of getting Cameron elected, which is what [redacted] B6 told me outright earlier this week. This cartoon was possibly one of those ricochet shots, but that sure doesn't excuse it. Thanks for your note—I really appreciate you thinking of us. We will continue to fight hard and we'll rely on your support.

Ambassador Susman and I will discuss the Times and other News Corporation coverage of the war with James Murdoch, whom we will see on March 15.

Sandy

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 1:19 PM
**To:** Kaiser, Sandra L
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Perez, Lea; Singh, Vikram J; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Afghanistan media coverage

Sandy:
I am increasingly concerned about the tone of the media coverage about Afghanistan. Note the reference to the Times cartoon below. As you know we waged a very successful campaign against the negative stories concerning our involvement in Haiti. Can you let me know what our strategy is with regard to Afghanistan and if you need any additional help/support from us. Any thoughts about the cartoon ?

jm

# EUR Early Alert

Ankara, Berlin, Tri-missions Brussels, London, Madrid, Moscow, Paris, Rome, Warsaw

**February 26, 2010 – AFGHANISTAN // HEALTH CARE REFORM // TURKEY // FALKLANDS**

**AFGHANISTAN**

**This morning, media note the latest "Suicide attack on Afghan capital" (*BBC* on-line).**
*La Stampa* on-line says the "Safi Hotel, where foreigners stay, was targeted.... The attack [comes] as India-Pakistan negotiations resume." *France 24* TV comments, "What needs to be understood is that this is a nine-level hotel in which all the windows exploded, up to the very top of the hotel, which proves how powerful the explosion was. Afghan policemen are very nervous." Meanwhile, print media report the "Afghan government hoists flag over Taliban stronghold Marjah" (Dutch daily *Trouw*). *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna* notes that locals "testify that most of the Taliban withdrew from Marja without fighting, and they will try to return when the U.S. forces leave the area." *The Independent* says that "despite victories in the Marjah offensive, Afghans worry that militants have lived to fight another day." Other coverage notes civilian casualties. A day after leading with the story that "NATO admits that deaths of 8 boys were a mistake," *The Times* runs a large editorial cartoon showing U.S. soldiers in the pose of the Iwo Jima memorial, hoisting the Afghan flag into the bloody body of an Afghan civilian.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi - lyn sweet saying desiree will quit

http://www.suntimes.com/2072121,desiree-rogers-quits-022610.article

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 8:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

There may be hope . . . See traffic

----- Original Message -----
From: williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 05 08:02:54 2010
Subject: Fw:

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 13:00:43
To: Ricki Seidman [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Don't call her today. She is in Haiti but early next week will be fine I amsure. Would you mind if I gave her a home phone number? M ------Original Message------
From: Ricki Seidman
To: Maggie Williams
Subject: RE:
Sent: Feb 5, 2010 7:57 AM

It's my bad. Something was wrong with my cellphone voicemail and I just heard the messages at 11:00 last night. I will call her as soon as I get to the office this morning.

Best, r

-----Original Message-----
From: williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, February 05, 2010 7:55 AM
To: Ricki Seidman
Subject:

Hi

I know Cheryl has been trying to connect to you. Can I help make that happen in any way. M Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Good coverage in Brit press. Sid

http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-police-powers-agreement

# Brown hails 'new chapter' in Northern Ireland as end to years of violence

Promise of US investment follows 'momentous' agreement that seals power-sharing framework

- Henry McDonald, Ireland correspondent
- guardian.co.uk, Friday 5 February 2010 19.11 GMT
-

British and Irish PMs endorse power-sharing deal Link to this video

Northern Ireland's leaders have been rewarded with the promise of a new US investment programme after securing a historic deal today which saved power sharing.

Gordon Brown and his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, flew into Northern Ireland to put their seal of approval on the deal, which will create a Department of Justice, gives unionists concessions on the issue of Protestant parades and saves the power-sharing executive from collapse.

Brown said the achievements over the longest period of unbroken negotiations since the peace process began 16 years ago were inspirational.

"This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

Tonight the White House said Barack Obama saw the deal as "an important step to greater peace and prosperity for all communities on the island."

Obama would also meet Cowen, the DUP leader and first minister Peter Robinson and the deputy first minister, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness, in Washington on St Patrick's Day next month.

Earlier, Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state, said the agreement between the DUP and Sinn Féin was a "shining example to other parts of the world locked in religious and ethnic conflicts".

As a result of the deal, she said: "The people of Northern Ireland are poised to build a thriving society on this stronger foundation.

Our economic envoy, Declan Kelly, will continue to help Northern Ireland reap the dividends of peace, including economic growth, international investment and new opportunities.

In the near future, Declan and I will host first minister Robinson and deputy first minister McGuinness in Washington."

The Irish prime minister said the agreement reached "presents a real opportunity to renew the partnership which is the life blood of the devolved institutions. The people of Northern Ireland yearn for this constructive partnership to deliver tangible outcomes that improve their lives."

Referring back to the Belfast agreement of 1998, Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, described today's agreement as "yet another good Friday." After reaching an agreement just before midnight on Thursday, the parties in the Northern Ireland assembly must now vote to put the compromise package in place. They will vote on 9 March to devolve policing and justice powers, which will then create a justice ministry on 12 April – a key Sinn Féin demand throughout these negotiations.

Under the agreement, a six-member working group, appointed by Robinson and McGuinness, will formulate a framework for handling contentious marches and the phasing out of the Parades Commission.

The new body will encourage local people to find solutions to parading problems, with the rights of marchers and residents taken into account. It will complete its work within three weeks, when the Northern Ireland executive will transfer responsibilities for parading legislation from Westminster and table a new bill based on the group's proposals.

An executive working group will be set up, in the hands of the SDLP and Ulster Unionists, to improve the way the power-sharing cabinet is run. Robinson and McGuinness will address issues still outstanding from the 2006 St Andrews agreement that led to the DUP-Sinn Féin deals. These include legislative measures to protect the rights of Irish language speakers.

Ian Paisley Jr, the North Antrim assembly member and son of the DUP's founder, described the agreement as a "win for unionism".

Paisley said his party had negotiated the end of the Parades Commission, which most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists. He added that unionist critics of the deal had "no alternative except the imposition of joint authority from London and Dublin".

Mindful of attacks on the DUP by the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice, Robinson said: "There are some who will play politics with this agreement, but the real focus in the months to come must be on building an administration at Stormont that our whole community identifies with and supports."

Jim Allister, the TUV leader and a former DUP MEP, said he was "relishing the prospect" of a general election contest with his former party. Allister will stand for the TUV in Ian Paisley Sr's North Antrim constituency.

"In football terms I see this result as a five to one win for Sinn Féin. They get their date for policing and justice. Secondly, their veto can be exercised over the justice ministry. They now have working party on Irish language. North/South bodies are strengthened. And finally there is a stronger north-south parliamentary forum. The DUP only get a view of parading issues.

"Sinn Féin are laughing all the way to the next staging post," he said.

Shaun Woodward, the Northern Ireland secretary, said the deal was bad news for republican dissidents determined to destabilise the power-sharing government.

He said a powerful message was being sent out to the dissidents that there are now "two groups of people who were once terrible rivals [who] have found a way through a very big challenge".

But the Real IRA, Continuity IRA and Óglaigh na hÉireann are unlikely to be moved by the accord at Hillsborough. In the past seven days the republican dissidents have carried out three gun and bomb attacks on police stations across Northern Ireland.

Republican sources have told the Guardian that the groups are likely to intensify their armed campaigns when policing and justice powers are transferred to Belfast.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Confirmations Update

# FYI --
# Reid: Shelby Has Hold On All Nominees

***Friday, Feb. 5, 2010***

Sen. **Richard Shelby**, R-Ala., has placed a blanket hold on all executive nominations on the Senate calendar in an effort to win concessions from the Obama administration and Pentagon on a variety of fronts affecting his home state, according to aides to **Senate Majority Leader Reid**.

Reid spokeswoman Regan Lachapelle said Shelby is blocking more than 70 pending nominations. Reid can force a vote on any nomination by filing cloture.

Because of the time required to vote on multiple nominations, the Senate processes most nominations by unanimous consent. Any one senator can block any of those nominations by objecting to a unanimous consent request to take it up. The nominations will remain stalled unless Reid files cloture.

While holds are frequent, Senate aides said a blanket hold represents a far more aggressive use of the power than is normal.

"He should not be holding up 70-plus nominees for a parochial issue," a Democratic aide said. "They're qualified and they should be moving forward."

Disclosure of the blanket hold came after two days in which top Democrats voiced mounting frustration with Republican holds on executive nominees.

"We've got a huge backlog of folks who are unanimously viewed as well qualified -- nobody has a specific objection to them -- but end up having a hold on them because of some completely unrelated piece of business," President Obama said Wednesday in a televised meeting with Senate Democrats.

On the Senate floor Thursday, Reid, **Senate Majority Whip Durbin**, Senate Judiciary Chairman **Patrick Leahy** and Senate Armed Services Chairman **Carl Levin** ripped Republicans for holds on national security nominees and judges.

Reid, who kept the Senate in *pro forma* session over recent holidays to prevent former President George W. Bush from making recess appointments, said he has grown so frustrated he might advocate such appointments, which the president can make when the Senate is out of session.

"What alternatives do we have?" Reid said on the floor Thursday. "What alternative do we have?"

Earlier in the day, a spokesman for Shelby said the senator has placed holds on "several pending nominees due to unaddressed national security concerns," including frustrations with the Air Force's handling of the competition for an aerial refueling tanker. The spokesman did not respond to later requests for comment about the blanket hold.

Northrop Grumman Corp. and EADS, the European consortium behind Airbus, and Boeing Co. are vying for the high-stakes contract, potentially worth $40 billion. The Northrop/EADS team would build the planes in Mobile, Ala., but has threatened to pull out of the competition unless the Air Force makes changes to a draft request for proposals.

"Nearly 10 years after the U.S. Air Force announced plans to replace the aging tanker fleet, we still do not have a transparent and fair acquisition process to move forward," the spokesman said. "The Department of Defense must recognize that the draft request for proposal needs to be significantly and substantively changed."

Defense Secretary Gates Wednesday told House lawmakers the Pentagon plans to issue the final request for proposals soon, and will proceed with the program whether or not there is a competition.

"Obviously we would like to have a competition for it, and we hope that both companies will agree to participate, but we will move forward," Gates said. "We have to have new tankers."

In addition to the tanker issue, Shelby's spokesman said he is frustrated that the Obama administration won't build an Alabama-based FBI center to analyze improvised explosive devices.

Shelby secured a $45 million earmark in the FY08 omnibus appropriations bill for a Terrorist Explosive Device Analytical Center to be set up at the Army's Redstone Arsenal.

"Sen. Shelby will continue to work with the FBI to give them the capability to coordinate intelligence as well as forensic and technical exploitation related to IEDs, but this administration's coddling of terrorists makes this an uphill effort," the spokesman said. "He has made the administration aware of these concerns and is willing to discuss them at any time."

Also Thursday, Vice President Biden said he was so frustrated by Republican foot-dragging that he was considering whether Senate rules should be changed.

"There's a little disappointment in that it seems like the only way to do business up here anymore is with a supermajority on almost everything," Biden said moments after swearing in Sen. **Scott Brown**, R-Mass., who gives Republicans 41 votes, enough to filibuster on any issue.

"What I have been doing is spending a lot of time having my staff go back and scrub this, you know, the use of the filibuster and how it's worked," Biden said. "This is not a constitutional requirement."

Biden defended the 60-vote requirement, calling it "a useful tool. It's legitimate, but from my perspective having served here, having been elected seven times, I've never seen a time when it's become sort of standard operating procedure. ... Requiring a supermajority is just not a good way to do business."

*by Dan Friedman and Megan Scully*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Geithner

They may seek Geithner's co-signature on the letter, if they can get him while he's in Canada snow-boarding. You can't make this stuff up.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 3:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Good meeting

I just spent an extra hour explaining the architecture of the IHRC/HDA.

They had misconstrued it to be something that wjc now could not do b/c of his new un role.

We can discuss.

Will fill wjc in on the plane.

I hear it's snowing - won't likely make it back to dc until sun or mon

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Good meeting

You are sooo lucky!!!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:08:25 2010
Subject: Re: Good meeting

Are you getting ready to leave? [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:02:32 2010
Subject: Good meeting

I just spent an extra hour explaining the architecture of the IHRC/HDA.

They had misconstrued it to be something that wjc now could not do b/c of his new un role.

We can discuss.

Will fill wjc in on the plane.

I hear it's snowing - won't likely make it back to dc until sun or mon

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 12:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Wjc wanted you to see this article.

Soaring cost of healthcare sets a record By Noam N. Levey February 4, 2010 Los Angeles Times

Spending was 17.3% of the economy last year. The share paid by the U.S. will soon exceed 50%, a study says.

In a stark reminder of growing costs, the government has released a new estimate that healthcare spending grew to a record 17.3% of the U.S. economy last year, marking the largest one-year jump in its share of the economy since the government started keeping such records half a century ago.

The almost $2.5 trillion spent in 2009 was $134 billion more than the previous year, when healthcare consumed 16.2% of the gross domestic product, according to an annual report by independent actuaries at the federal Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, or CMS, scheduled for release Thursday.

The nonpartisan accounting agency also projected that as early as next year, the country could mark another milestone as government picks up more than half of the nation's total healthcare tab for the first time.

The rise in current costs, driven in part by surging spending in Medicare and Medicaid, and the bleak projections for the future do not take into account changes that may come if Democrats revive their healthcare overhaul legislation.

The report appears likely to fuel further debate about the health bills now stalled in Congress.

In the absence of change, the report raises a grim prospect for the country -- a healthcare system consuming an ever greater and potentially unsustainable share of the economy even as private health coverage lags.

Last year, CMS estimated that government spending on healthcare would not overtake private spending until 2016, compared with 2011 or 2012 in the current report.

"The health system is hurting, and we are seeing that in these numbers," said Karen Davis, president of the Commonwealth Fund, a leading authority on healthcare policy.

The report also points up the financial cost of the so-called Great Recession and the growing pressure it is putting on state and local governments.
Federal and state spending on Medicaid, the nation's primary health insurance program for low-income Americans, jumped nearly 10% in 2009, according to the report. Medicare spending, meanwhile, shot up just over 8%.

Obama and many healthcare experts have argued that reshaping the healthcare system will ultimately make it more efficient, even if overall health spending continues to increase -- a claim Republicans dispute.

Fueled by new technology, an aging population, rising incomes and other changes, spending on medical care has been consuming a larger and larger share of the nation's economy for years, jumping from about 5% of the gross domestic product in 1960 to nearly 14% in 2000.

But the recession that began in 2007 accelerated that trend, as the economy contracted while healthcare spending continued to increase, according to CMS.

Even now, with the economy slowly recovering, the government expects that the growth of healthcare spending will outpace the expansion of the economy. By 2020, 1 of every 5 dollars spent in the U.S. is expected to go to healthcare.

Some economists believe that this is not necessarily a problem, as the healthcare industry can provide good jobs and improve both health and productivity.

But there is growing concern that as much as a third of the medical care delivered in this country does not help patients.

"Are we getting value for the dollar? That is the question," said Len Nichols, health policy director at the centrist New America Foundation. "If you believe that so much medical care is unnecessary, as I do, then it is criminal that we are spending so much."

Stuart Butler, vice president for domestic and economic policy at the conservative Heritage Foundation, said that the numbers underscore the need for more aggressive action to curb spending.

"The only way to do this is to simply spend less," Butler said, warning that the health bills being pushed on Capitol Hill do the opposite.

CMS officials noted that healthcare spending has been increasing even as the number of Americans without health insurance is growing, another sign of problems with the system.

"With higher unemployment, people lose their jobs [and] many of them lose their healthcare coverage in the process. And under current law, they don't have much to fall back on," said Richard S. Foster, chief actuary.

Foster said that the report by his office indicated that two of the main trends driving calls for a health overhaul -- rising costs and shrinking numbers of people with health coverage -- are essentially the same as they were when the healthcare debate began last year.

"Nothing much has changed in that regard," he said.

Inefficiency is becoming a particularly acute problem for state and federal governments, which the report shows are increasingly supporting the nation's healthcare system.

Half a century ago, government accounted for just a quarter of all healthcare spending. Now, as the cost of caring for elderly and poor Americans swells, government's share of the total bill is fast becoming greater than that of the private sector.

The trend accelerated in the recession, as Washington spent billions of dollars to help states prop up Medicaid programs being strained by the growing ranks of the unemployed and uninsured.

The healthcare legislation being debated on Capitol Hill could increase the government commitment to healthcare as the federal government boosts the Medicaid program and provides billions of dollars of subsidies to low- and moderate-income Americans to help them buy insurance.

But in a separate report a month ago, CMS actuaries estimated that the Senate healthcare bill would boost total healthcare spending by less than 1% over the next decade, in large part because the legislation includes initiatives to make Medicare more efficient.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Angola

ANGOLANS TO VOTE IN 2012, PRESIDENT MAY EXTEND TERM(SBU) Constitutional revisions signed by President dos Santos abolish direct presidential elections and would allow dos Santos to remain in power until 2022, according to press. The Angola desk comments the move is a step backwards for democratic reform, and adds the changes shuffle the government, keeping Foreign Minister dos Anjos in office but removing Defense Minister Paihama. (Ops/Angola desk telcon, Reuters

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 7:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Actually he called back and took the earlier time of 9:30. So strobe, lobo, patino, mubarak. Then u can decide on johnnie and alec ross.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:08:37 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Ok at 10:30.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 07:25:26 2010
Subject: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Coming over secure fax at 9am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:09:01 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Is there a call sheet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 07:25:26 2010
Subject: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767486 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# COMUNICADO CONJUNTO DOS GOVERNOS DO HAITI E DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DA AMÉRICA DIVULGADO EM PORTO PRÍNCIPE, HAITI 17 DE JANEIRO DE 2010

**O Presidente René Préval do Haiti e a Secretária de Estado Hillary Rodham Clinton dos Estados Unidos da América reuniram-se em Porto Príncipe, após o catastrófico terremoto de 12 de janeiro de 2010 e suas trágicas consequências, e divulgaram o seguinte comunicado conjunto:**

Reconhecendo:

a longa história de amizade entre os povos do Haiti e dos Estados Unidos e seu respeito mútuo pela respectiva soberania;

o terrível sofrimento do povo do Haiti, com a perda de vidas em grande escala, lesões físicas generalizadas e danos amplos à infra-estrutura pública e propriedade privada;

a necessidade urgente de uma resposta imediata aos pedidos do Governo do Haiti e a importância primordial de implementação de trabalhos de resgate, assistência, recuperação e reconstrução com segurança, rapidez e eficácia;

os desafios correntes e sem precedentes que o Governo do Haiti enfrenta; e

a conversa entre o Presidente Obama e o Presidente Preval, ocorrida em 15 de janeiro de 2010, que salientou as necessidades urgentes do Haiti e sua população, a promessa feita pelo Presidente Obama, de dar o apoio total do povo norte-americano para o Governo e povo do Haiti, tanto no trabalho imediato de recuperação como na iniciativa de reconstrução a longo prazo, e o compromisso assumido por ambos os Presidentes, de coordenar a assistência oferecida pelas várias partes, inclusive o Governo do Haiti, a Organização das Nações Unidas, os Estados Unidos e os vários parceiros e organizações internacionais presentes no terreno;

O Presidente Préval, em nome do Governo e povo do Haiti, acolhe as iniciativas essenciais empreendidas pelo Governo e povo dos Estados Unidos no Haiti, em apoio à recuperação e à estabilidade imediatas e à reconstrução do Haiti a longo prazo, e solicita dos Estados Unidos a assistência necessária para reforçar a segurança em apoio ao Governo e povo do Haiti e à Organização das Nações Unidas e aos parceiros e organizações internacionais presentes no terreno;

A Secretária Clinton, em nome do Governo e povo dos Estados Unidos, reafirma a intenção dos Estados Unidos, por meio de sua assistência, de dar apoio ao povo do Haiti neste momento de grande tragédia; e

O Presidente Préval e a Secretária Clinton conjuntamente reafirmam que os Governos do Haiti e dos Estados Unidos darão continuidade à cooperação nos termos deste entendimento

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767486 Date: 08/31/2015

mútuo, com o objetivo de promover os trabalhos de resgate, assistência, recuperação e reconstrução com o máximo de segurança e eficácia possível.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:43 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Mubarak Call Sheet
**Attachments:** 020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc

Oscar, can u print this asap for hrc. Its for her 9:30am call. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:25:57 2010
Subject: Mubarak Call Sheet

<<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> <<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> Hi Huma,

Per our conversation earlier this morning, here's the call sheet for President Mubarak. We are standing by to begin the secure fax as well.

Best regards,

Andrew Kim Johnson
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

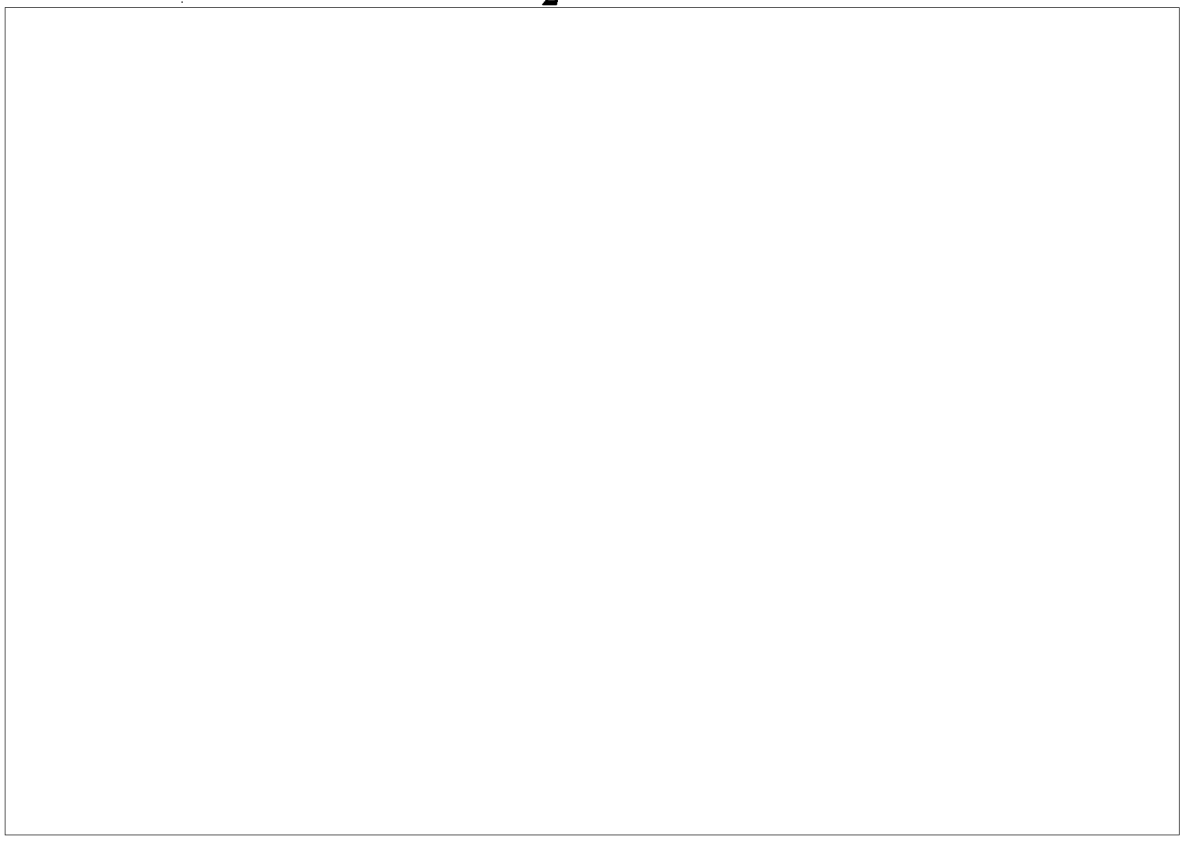
## The Secretary's Possible Phone Call with Egyptian President Mubarak
## TBD

Background: S/E Mitchell met with Foreign Minister Aboul Gheit and EGIS Chief Omar Solimon on January 24 in Cairo. While Solimon responded positively to S/E Mitchell's request that Egypt encourage Palestinian President Abbas to agree to proximity talks, Aboul Gheit asserted that the Palestinians should not agree to any form of negotiations until Israel has taken action on the "five steps" requested by the Palestinians. Aboul Gheit then hosted a meeting on February 3 with Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat and Jordanian FM Nasser Judeh, which Solimon attended in part. Egypt and Jordan agreed to support the Palestinians entry into proximity talks, but the three sides also agreed that Abbas would seek U.S. views on two questions: 1) The terms of reference for the proximity talks and 2) Whether the U.S. would present its own bridging proposals on final status issues or simply serve as a conduit for the parties' positions. Deputy Envoy David Hale met with Abbas on February 5, during which Abbas indicated flexibility on both the terms of reference (he would accept a general formula based on language from the Roadmap) and on the U.S. role. **You should emphasize that it is critical that Abbas agree to begin proximity talks immediately to lay the foundation for negotiations that will realize Palestinian aspirations for an independent and viable state.**

- [redacted] B5
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- 

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

B5

- 

Approved: NEA: MRudman

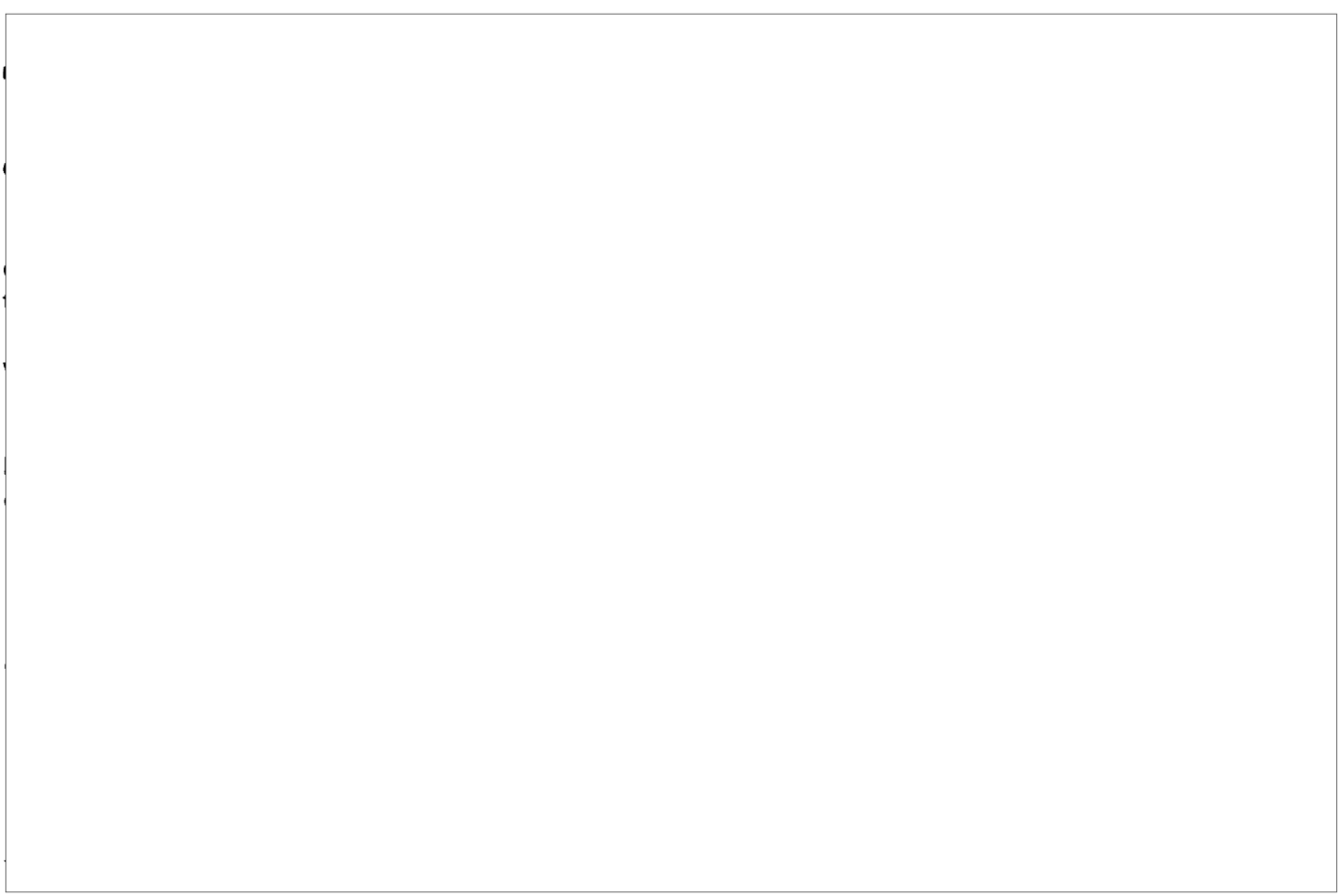
Drafted: NEA/IPA: Payton Knopf, ext. 7-1481

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mubarak points

The Secretary's Phone Call with Egyptian President Mubarak

Background: S/E Mitchell met with Foreign Minister Aboul Gheit and EGIS Chief Omar Solimon on January 24 in Cairo. While Solimon responded positively to S/E Mitchell's request that Egypt encourage Palestinian President Abbas to agree to proximity talks, Aboul Gheit asserted that the Palestinians should not agree to any form of negotiations until Israel has taken action on the "five steps" requested by the Palestinians. Aboul Gheit then hosted a meeting on February 3 with Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat and Jordanian FM Nasser Judeh, which Solimon attended in part. Egypt and Jordan agreed to support the Palestinians entry into proximity talks, but the three sides also agreed that Abbas would seek U.S. views on two questions: 1) The terms of reference for the proximity talks and 2) Whether the U.S. would present its own bridging proposals on final status issues or simply serve as a conduit for the parties' positions. Deputy Envoy David Hale met with Abbas on February 5, during which Abbas indicated flexibility on both the terms of reference (he would accept a general formula based on language from the Roadmap) and on the U.S. role. You should emphasize that it is critical that Abbas agree to begin proximity talks immediately to lay the foundation for negotiations that will realize Palestinian aspirations for an independent and viable state.



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok great! We'll do ecuador now cause otherwise we lose him.
So pinato, mubarak, lobo.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok I'm done w Strobe. Also let's go on our trip. I think it's worth it. And we can always add Israel as we did before!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Oscar Flores
Cc: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:42:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Mubarak Call Sheet

Oscar, can u print this asap for hrc. Its for her 9:30am call. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:25:57 2010
Subject: Mubarak Call Sheet

<<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> <<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> Hi Huma,

Per our conversation earlier this morning, here's the call sheet for President Mubarak. We are standing by to begin the secure fax as well.

Best regards,

Andrew Kim Johnson
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:13 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Secure fax coming now followed by pdb

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

So qatar and saudi?
Yes or no to bahrain?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

You are congratulating him on becoming foreign minister, and purpose is to establish a personal relationship with him.
Trying to get u call sheet, its classified....
Lobo call not happening today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:23:13 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Pls send me call sheet for Equadoran--i don't have a clue!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:14:04 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

So qatar and saudi?
Yes or no to bahrain?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Sorry I mean pinato.
He's not available
Heard u got lobo.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:27:39 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

You are congratulating him on becoming foreign minister, and purpose is to establish a personal relationship with him.
Trying to get u call sheet, its classified....
Lobo call not happening today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:23:13 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:14:04 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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Yes or no to bahrain?

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Cc: H
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202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

We'd have to come up with something. Which we can.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:22:20 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

If we can stop in Bahrain, I'd like to but what would schedule be?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:14:04 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

So qatar and saudi?
Yes or no to bahrain?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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----- Original Message -----
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To: Oscar Flores
Cc: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:42:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Mubarak Call Sheet

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----- Original Message -----
From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:25:57 2010
Subject: Mubarak Call Sheet

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Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**KOMINIKE AN TÈT-ANSANM**
**GOUVÈNMAN AYITI AK GOUVÈNMAN ETAZINI**
**SA FÈT NAN PÒTOPRENS, AYITI**
**17 JANVYE 2010**

**Prezidan ayisyen an, René Préval, ak Sekretè Deta ameriken an, Hillary Rodham Clinton, te rankontre nan Pòtoprens apre gwo tranblemandtè ki te pase nan dat 12 janvye 2010 la, ak konsekans trajik sa genyen an, e yo mete tèt yo ansanm pou yo pibliye mesaj sa a:**

Lè nou rekonèt:

Istwa zanmitay ki egziste ant pèp ayisyen an ak pèp ameriken an depi byen lontan deja, epi respè yo chak genyen pou lòt e pou souverènte yo;

gwo soufrans pèp ayisyen an, san bliye gwo kantite moun ki pèdi lavi yo, blese moun sibi toupatou ak gwo dega biwo leta yo ak pwopriyete prive yo sibi;

bezwen ijan pou gen yon repons rapid pou demann gouvènman Ayiti a fè, plis enpòtans kapital efò kap fèt pou tabli sèvis sovtaj, sekou, rechèch, ak efò pou rekonstriksyon ki dwe dewoule an tout sekirite, rapidman e efikasman;

gwo defi san parèy ki devan gouvènman ayisyen an jounen jodiya; epi

konvèsasyon Prezidan Obama ak Prezidan Préval te genyen nan dat 15 janvye 2010 la, kote yo te ensiste sou bezwen ijan Ayiti ak pèp ayisyen an, pwomès Prezidan Obama fè pou pèp ameriken an pote yon sipò total-kapital bay gouvènman e pèp ayisyen an, konsènan ni efò kap fèt imedyatman pou remete peyi a sou pye l, ni efò alontèm pou rekonstwi li, ak angajman toulede Prezidan yo pran pou yo kowòdone asistans ant diferan pati konsène yo, san bliye gouvènman ayisyen an, Nasyonzini, Etazini ak plizyè patnè ak òganizasyon entènasyonal ki sou teren an;

Nan non gouvènman ak pèp ayisyen an, Prezidan Préval byen akeyi efò gouvènman ak pèp ameriken an ap fè ann Ayiti --efò ki esansyèl, daprè li, e kap apiye travay pou Ayiti rekanpe sou pye li imediyatman, pou l gen estabilite, avèk travay alontèm pou rekonstwi peyi a, e li mande Etazini pou li pote èd ki va nesesè pou ranfòse sekirite a nan kad sipò Etazini ap bay gouvènman ak pèp ayisyen an, ansanm ak Nasyonzini, patnè e òganizasyon entènasyonal ki sou plas yo;

Nan non gouvènman ameriken an ak pèp ameriken an, Sekretè Deta Clinton reyafime entansyon Etazini genyen pou l sèvi ak asistans li, pou l kanpe bò kote pèp ayisyen an nan moman lap fè fas ak yon gwo kokenn trajedi; epi

Prezidan Préval ak Sekretè Deta Clinton mete tèt yo ansanm pou yo reyafime pwen sa a: Gouvènman ayisyen an ak gouvènman ameriken an pral kontinye travay ansanm pandan yo toulede byen konprann nesesite pou yo ankouraje efò sovtaj, sekou, rechèch ak rekonstriksyon ki ofri maksimòm sekirite ak efikasite posib la.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:54 AM
**To:** H

Aboul gheit just called to follow up on mubarak call. Do you want to take it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Call sheets should have been in your call sheet folder. Not sure what happened.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:17:46 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

I don't have call sheets for Lobo or Equadoran. Can you send on my email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:12:10 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok great! We'll do ecuador now cause otherwise we lose him.
So pinato, mubarak, lobo.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok I'm done w Strobe. Also let's go on our trip. I think it's worth it. And we can always add Israel as we did before!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Oscar Flores
Cc: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:42:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Mubarak Call Sheet

Oscar, can u print this asap for hrc. Its for her 9:30am call. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:25:57 2010
Subject: Mubarak Call Sheet

<<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> <<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> Hi Huma,

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Best regards,

Andrew Kim Johnson
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Yes

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:59:57 2010
Subject: Re:

Ok. Can we do now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:54:28 2010
Subject:

Aboul gheit just called to follow up on mubarak call. Do you want to take it?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 7:50 PM
**To:** H; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** RE: Development Speech

Thanks. I think we're getting her points all covered.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 7:23 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: Fw: Development Speech

AMS mentioned Maria's edits. Here's email from her w specifics.

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 17:56:59 2010
Subject: Development Speech

Dear Secretary:

I was pleased to learn about your development speech this week, and offered the insights below to Anne-Marie earlier today. Overall, it's a very good speech, and I look forward to hearing you deliver it tomorrow.

B5

4. Mike, through Dan Baer, and I provided language to ensure consistency with the Human Rights Speech.

Thank you,

Maria

Under Secretary of State

for Democracy and Global Affairs

Department of State

2201 C St. NW Room 7261

Washington DC 20520

202 - 647-6240

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Distant early warning. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo DEW 020610.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Distant early warning signs

You should read this. This piece is prominently featured today in the Telegraph. It is a Tory paper. But it reflects more or less the current conventional wisdom in the UK. Of course, it's much worse in France. Sarkozy's unleashed id is the barometer. You are still perceived as separate and even increasingly as compensatory. The more coverage of your NI role, the better, if it can be done. (Let me discuss with Shaun on a strategy on how to brief.) The China/Google stand was critical. What can be done in Middle East, esp Syria, push back against Avigdor Lieberman's recent unpleasant noises, with new US ambo going? Just a thought. And: the attitude that the president's cancellation of attendance at US-EU summit is simply a merited position is self-defeating. First, the Europeans learned from the press, not through diplomatic channels beforehand, treated as second class. Second, of course the EU is what it is, esp after the new nonentities named at its head at Merkel and Sarko's behest. But to dismiss the EU because of that is smug and complacent. If the EU has no agenda, it's really up to the US, as it was for 50 years before. It's up to the US to organize around a new agenda on the crisis of global economy, including a common approach to China's mercantilism and climate change, etc, nuclear proliferation, etc. Otherwise, petty trade wars will begin to dominate US-EU relations.

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/7174195/Barack-Obama-stumbling-towards-isolationism.html

# Barack Obama: stumbling towards isolationism

## One of the ironies of Barack Obama's presidency is that he is increasingly distant from the world he promised to embrace, writes Toby Harnden in Washington

Toby Harnden's American Way
Published: 2:00PM GMT 06 Feb 2010
Europeans cheered Barack Obama every step of the way to the White House.

They swooned when the candidate took his stump skills to Berlin, where he spoke of "the burdens of global citizenship" and promised to "remake the world".

He had lived in Indonesia as a boy, travelled to Pakistan and Africa in his youth and came from a family that looked, as he liked to quip, "like the United Nations". Then, in his first year in office, he made 10 trips abroad to 21 countries, making him the most travelled of all United States presidents in their first 12 months.

So it came as a rude shock to Europeans last week when Obama decided not to bother with the European Union knees up Madrid in May - particularly miffing Prime Minister Jose Luis Zapatero of Spain, who, like the American president, campaigned on his opposition to the Iraq war.

American officials intimated that they were unimpressed by European bickering over who would sit next to the Obamas at the summit dinner and even over who would be the first leader to shake the hand of the person that Oprah Winfrey anointed as "the One" in Iowa back in 2008.

Perhaps Obama himself was a touch irritated by Nicolas Sarkozy's new habit of mocking him. "Obama has been in power for a year, and he has already lost three special elections," the French president said last week. "Me, I have won two legislative elections and the EU election. What can one say I've lost?"

The discomfort of Europe's elites indicates growing a realisation that perhaps he's just not that into them. The fact that Hillary Clinton, Obama's Secretary of State, felt the need to point out that "European security remains an anchor of US foreign and security policy" spoke volumes.

There is little sign that Obama feels the kind of instinctive belief in transatlantic alliances that, for instance, President George W Bush felt. In Washington, the much-ballyhooed "special relationship" - a phrase that Team Obama views as betraying a British inferiority complex and cloying neediness - has never felt less special.

That's partly because Gordon Brown is viewed as so toxic by the Obama administration that dealings with Downing Street are in a state of virtual suspended animation. But there are no indications yet that a Prime Minister David Cameron will have the red carpet rolled out for him.

One of Obama's conceits was that he would be the "Pacific president", looking west from his native Hawaii to China, India and Japan rather than east to America's traditional allies. It's as if Obama has embraced Donald Rumsfeld's much-maligned concept of "old Europe" - and broadened it.

The Czech Republic and Poland were told in late-night phone calls that planned missile defence sites on their territory were being abandoned.

Mid-level American officials often produce plans and papers about Helmand that overlook the fact that British troops have been fighting and dying there since 2006.

Obama's foreign policy sometimes seems like it does not go much further than the concept of "*le monde, c'est moi*". The limits of his transcendental personality in terms of results are becoming as apparent abroad as they are at home.

Relations with China sunk to a new low last week after the Obama decided to sell $6.4 billion in arms to Taiwan and to meet the Dalai Lama. After kowtowing to China by avoiding discussion of human rights in a humiliatingly ineffectual trip last November and failing to see the Tibetan monk, Obama's decided to get tough - though to what end is unclear.

Having offered an "unclenched fist" to Iran, Obama has been almost casually rebuffed. As Sarkozy put it: "What have these proposals for dialogue produced for the international community? Nothing but more enriched uranium and more centrifuges."

In the Middle East, Obama's popularity is sliding among both Israelis and Arabs and the prospects of meaningful peace talks are dire. Requests to Nato for more troops to train Afghan security forces have fallen largely on deaf ears. Suddenly, the US no longer feels like the indispensable nation.

For all his talk of reaching out to the world and his apologies on behalf of America, there is little that Obama has achieved. He is liked but not respected - and there are growing doubts about whether he has the backbone or the domestic political capital to deliver.

Obama is finding that foreign policy is about more than just talk and turning up to take a bow. For its part, the world is realising that the man it championed as one of its own is stumbling towards isolationism.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: NEW developments NI. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo NEW NI developments 020610.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New developments on NI

Shaun regrets he cannot come here tomorrow. Here's the problem and the plan: Cameron is still quietly giving encouragement to the Ulster Unionists, which, led by Reg Empey, are trying to scuttle the agreement somehow. So the plan is for Shaunn to announce he will deliver a speech on Monday in the House of Commons presenting the agreement—except that at the last second Gordon will step in on the floor for Shaun, requiring Cameron to respond, theoretically forcing him to support the agreement. In his speech, Gordon will explicitly cite your role and support of the US—among other things further cornering Cameron (and Empey). Shaun would like to speak with you soon depending on how things are working out there, perhaps tomorrow (Sunday) or perhaps Monday (perhaps after Commons). Dinner will be on a rain-check.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Daniel Yohannes

fyi B6

**From:** Steve Radelet
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 05, 2010 6:32 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** Daniel Yohannes

Just a heads up -- can someone let the Secretary know that Daniel Yohannes will be there tomorrow at the speech, so she may want to recognize him (presumably along with Raj) in her opening comments.

Thanks,
Steve

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767523 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Distant early warning signs

You should read this. This piece is prominently featured today in the Telegraph. It is a Tory paper. But it reflects more or less the current conventional wisdom in the UK. Of course, it's much worse in France. Sarkozy's unleashed id is the barometer. You are still perceived as separate and even increasingly as compensatory. The more coverage of your NI role, the better, if it can be done. (Let me discuss with Shaun on a strategy on how to brief.) The China/Google stand was critical. What can be done in Middle East, esp Syria, push back against Avigdor Lieberman's recent unpleasant noises, with new US ambo going? Just a thought. And: the attitude that the president's cancellation of attendance at US-EU summit is simply a merited position is self-defeating. First, the Europeans learned from the press, not through diplomatic channels beforehand, treated as second class. Second, of course the EU is what it is, esp after the new nonentities named at its head at Merkel and Sarko's behest. But to dismiss the EU because of that is smug and complacent. If the EU has no agenda, it's really up to the US, as it was for 50 years before. It's up to the US to organize around a new agenda on the crisis of global economy, including a common approach to China's mercantilism and climate change, etc, nuclear proliferation, etc. Otherwise, petty trade wars will begin to dominate US-EU relations.

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/7174195/Barack-Obama-stumbling-towards-isolationism.html

# Barack Obama: stumbling towards isolationism

## One of the ironies of Barack Obama's presidency is that he is increasingly distant from the world he promised to embrace, writes Toby Harnden in Washington

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767523 Date: 08/31/2015

Toby Harnden's American Way
Published: 2:00PM GMT 06 Feb 2010

Europeans cheered Barack Obama every step of the way to the White House.

They swooned when the candidate took his stump skills to Berlin, where he spoke of "the burdens of global citizenship" and promised to "remake the world".

He had lived in Indonesia as a boy, travelled to Pakistan and Africa in his youth and came from a family that looked, as he liked to quip, "like the United Nations". Then, in his first year in office, he made 10 trips abroad to 21 countries, making him the most travelled of all United States presidents in their first 12 months.

So it came as a rude shock to Europeans last week when Obama decided not to bother with the European Union knees up Madrid in May - particularly miffing Prime Minister Jose Luis Zapatero of Spain, who, like the American president, campaigned on his opposition to the Iraq war.

American officials intimated that they were unimpressed by European bickering over who would sit next to the Obamas at the summit dinner and even over who would be the first leader to shake the hand of the person that Oprah Winfrey anointed as "the One" in Iowa back in 2008.

Perhaps Obama himself was a touch irritated by Nicolas Sarkozy's new habit of mocking him. "Obama has been in power for a year, and he has already lost three special elections," the French president said last week. "Me, I have won two legislative elections and the EU election. What can one say I've lost?"

The discomfort of Europe's elites indicates growing a realisation that perhaps he's just not that into them. The fact that Hillary Clinton, Obama's Secretary of State, felt the need to point out that "European security remains an anchor of US foreign and security policy" spoke volumes.

There is little sign that Obama feels the kind of instinctive belief in transatlantic alliances that, for instance, President George W Bush felt. In Washington, the much-ballyhooed "special relationship" - a phrase that Team Obama views as betraying a British inferiority complex and cloying neediness - has never felt less special.

That's partly because Gordon Brown is viewed as so toxic by the Obama administration that dealings with Downing Street are in a state of virtual suspended animation. But there are no indications yet that a Prime Minister David Cameron will have the red carpet rolled out for him.

One of Obama's conceits was that he would be the "Pacific president", looking west from his native Hawaii to China, India and Japan rather than east to America's traditional allies. It's as if Obama has embraced Donald Rumsfeld's much-maligned concept of "old Europe" - and broadened it.

The Czech Republic and Poland were told in late-night phone calls that planned missile defence sites on their territory were being abandoned.

Mid-level American officials often produce plans and papers about Helmand that overlook the fact that British troops have been fighting and dying there since 2006.

Obama's foreign policy sometimes seems like it does not go much further than the concept of "*le monde, c'est moi*". The limits of his transcendental personality in terms of results are becoming as apparent abroad as they are at home.

Relations with China sunk to a new low last week after the Obama decided to sell $6.4 billion in arms to Taiwan and to meet the Dalai Lama. After kowtowing to China by avoiding discussion of human rights in a humiliatingly ineffectual trip last November and failing to see the Tibetan monk, Obama's decided to get tough - though to what end is unclear.

Having offered an "unclenched fist" to Iran, Obama has been almost casually rebuffed. As Sarkozy put it: "What have these proposals for dialogue produced for the international community? Nothing but more enriched uranium and more centrifuges."

In the Middle East, Obama's popularity is sliding among both Israelis and Arabs and the prospects of meaningful peace talks are dire. Requests to Nato for more troops to train Afghan security forces have fallen largely on deaf ears. Suddenly, the US no longer feels like the indispensable nation.

For all his talk of reaching out to the world and his apologies on behalf of America, there is little that Obama has achieved. He is liked but not respected - and there are growing doubts about whether he has the backbone or the domestic political capital to deliver.

Obama is finding that foreign policy is about more than just talk and turning up to take a bow. For its part, the world is realising that the man it championed as one of its own is stumbling towards isolationism.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

Will do. Before the plan was simply to have GB present and Cameron to respond. I'm trying to figure out what the element of surprise is adding here.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:08:25 2010
Subject: Fw: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

Fyi. Can you determine when Shaun wants to talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 15:59:24 2010
Subject: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New developments on NI

Shaun regrets he cannot come here tomorrow. Here's the problem and the plan: Cameron is still quietly giving encouragement to the Ulster Unionists, which, led by Reg Empey, are trying to scuttle the agreement somehow. So the plan is for Shaunn to announce he will deliver a speech on Monday in the House of Commons presenting the agreement—except that at the last second Gordon will step in on the floor for Shaun, requiring Cameron to respond, theoretically forcing him to support the agreement. In his speech, Gordon will explicitly cite your role and support of the US—among other things further cornering Cameron (and Empey). Shaun would like to speak with you soon depending on how things are working out there, perhaps tomorrow (Sunday) or perhaps Monday (perhaps after Commons). Dinner will be on a rain-check.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

FYI. The latest thinking is that this would be a Clinton-Ashton statement. We'll make sure you have a chance to see/approve final, and we can work to incorporate any changes you have now.

---

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Burns, William J; Rana, Gautam A; Gordon, Philip H
**Sent:** Sat Feb 06 17:46:41 2010
**Subject:** US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Hi Jake/Huma:

Hope you're not too snowed in wherever you are.

[redacted] B5

Here is the draft statement that we're trying to put out with the EU:

[redacted] B5

Please let me know if you have any concerns, or need further information.

Thanks!

Steve

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:26 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** New top for development
**Attachments:** Development new top LM 915 pm.docx

Here is a new top. We will add the point about how much we actually spend on foreign aid (vs what people think we spend) a little later in the speech. Wanted to get this to you to see if it is going in the right direction. Am also faxing to you.

Development / New Top

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

It took 19 hours but I got home at noon today.

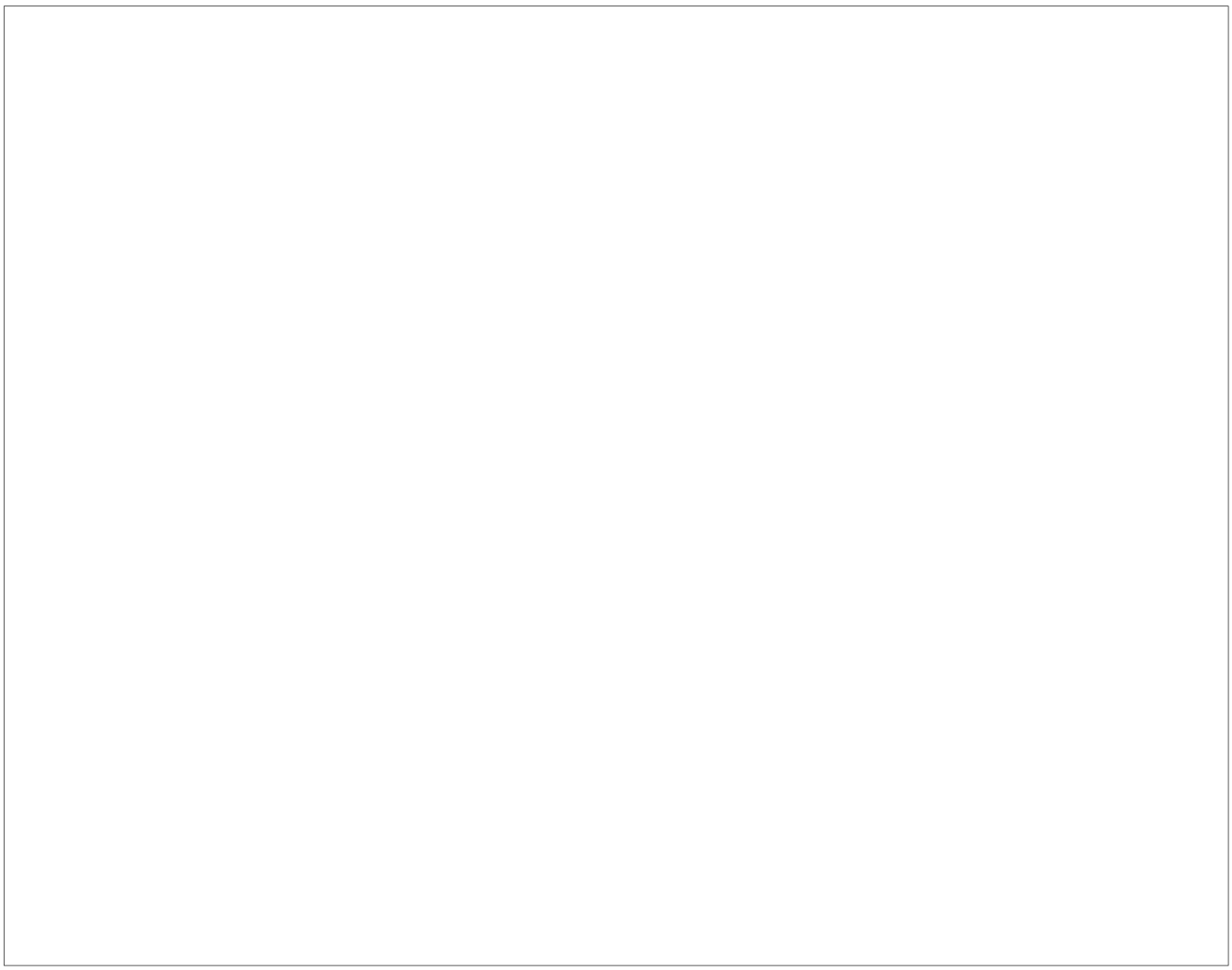
I can talk at 830pm tonight if that works for you? I cam also do tomorrow am.
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:08:57 2010
Subject: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Hope all is well. Let me know if and when you can talk yonight or tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Development / New Top



B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Text not set. Among other things, they're still working through whether to mention detainees.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:16:42 2010
Subject: Re: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Of course I will do. Is the text set?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:14:15 2010
Subject: Fw: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

FYI. The latest thinking is that this would be a Clinton-Ashton statement. We'll make sure you have a chance to see/approve final, and we can work to incorporate any changes you have now.

---

From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Burns, William J; Rana, Gautam A; Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:46:41 2010
Subject: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Hi Jake/Huma:

Hope you're not too snowed in wherever you are.

B5

Here is the draft statement that we're trying to put out with the EU:

B5

Please let me know if you have any concerns, or need further information.

Thanks!

Steve

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

How about 830am?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:17:42 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Can we do in morning? What time works for you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:14:08 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

It took 19 hours but I got home at noon today.

I can talk at 830pm tonight if that works for you? I cam also do tomorrow am.
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:08:57 2010
Subject: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Hope all is well. Let me know if and when you can talk yonight or tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Daniel Yohannes

Getting on a 9:30pm call - can I call you after?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 9:31 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Daniel Yohannes

Ok. Can you call me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:13:26 2010
Subject: FW: Daniel Yohannes

fyi

B6

From: Steve Radelet
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 6:32 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Daniel Yohannes

Just a heads up -- can someone let the Secretary know that Daniel Yohannes will be there tomorrow at the speech, so she may want to recognize him (presumably along with Raj) in her opening comments.

Thanks,

Steve

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

I'll tell him...

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Feb 6, 2010 10:13 pm
Subject: Re: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

I'm happy to talk w Shaun anytime.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sat Feb 06 15:59:24 2010

Subject: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February

6, 2010

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: New developments on NI

Shaun regrets he cannot come here tomorrow. Here's the problem and the plan: Cameron is still quietly giving encouragement to the Ulster Unionists, which, led by Reg Empey, are trying to scuttle the agreement somehow. So the plan is for Shaunn to announce he will deliver a speech on Monday in the House of Commons presenting the agreement—except that at the last second Gordon will step in on the floor for Shaun, requiring Cameron to respond, theoretically forcing him to support the agreement. In his speech, Gordon will explicitly cite your role and support of the US—among other things further cornering Cameron (and Empey). Shaun would like to speak with you soon depending on how things are working out there, perhaps tomorrow (Sunday) or perhaps Monday (perhaps after Commons). Dinner will be on a rain-check.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 10:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** sorry - just getting off calls and leaving the building - are you still up?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 6, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: New top for development

Sorry. I was driving in so didn't see your message when you sent it. You should have the new draft from Megan by now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 06, 2010 7:18 AM
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Re: New top for development

Will I get speech soon? Can yo fax it to house?

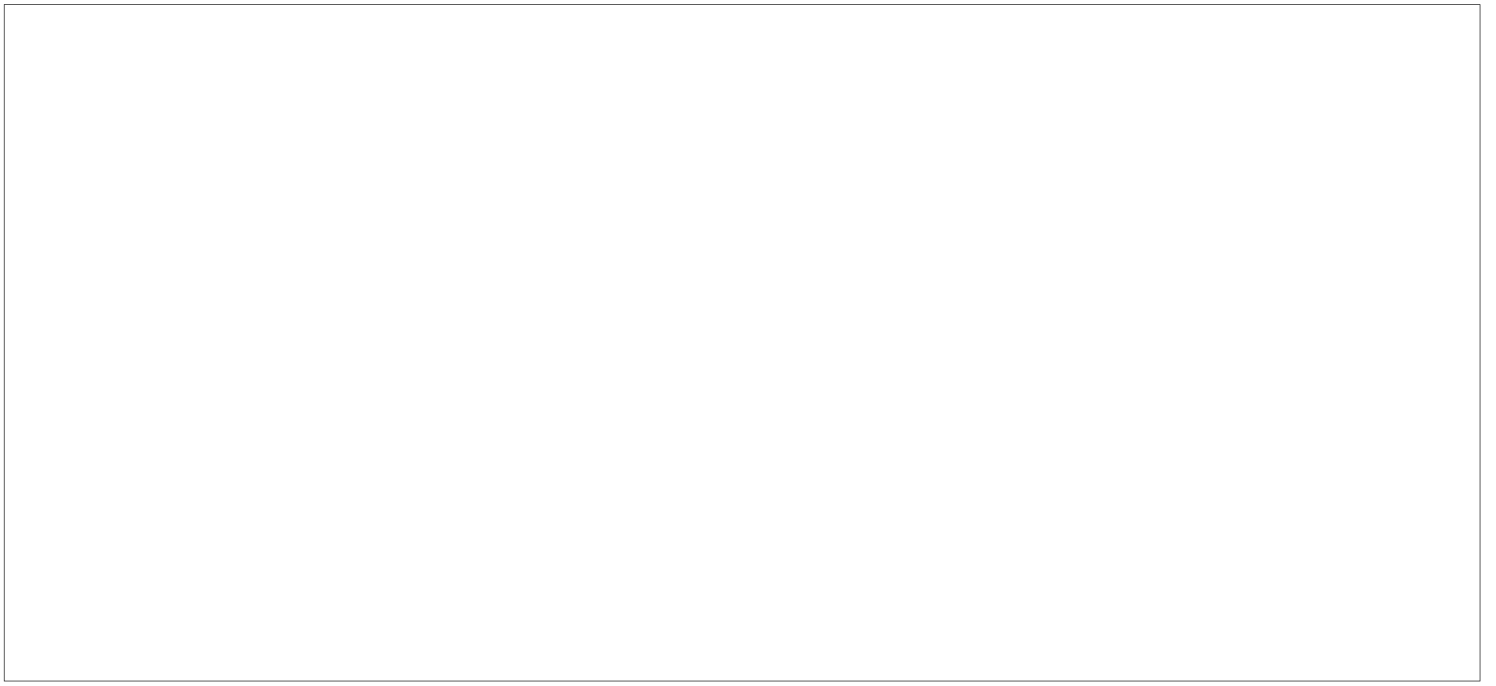
----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:26:20 2010
Subject: New top for development

Here is a new top. We will add the point about how much we actually spend on foreign aid (vs what people think we spend) a little later in the speech. Wanted to get this to you to see if it is going in the right direction. Am also faxing to you.

Development / New Top

B5

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 7:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Kibaki doesn't want to lose call. Is trying to do it at 7:30 so ops may call.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Kibaki can talk now but we will re-schedule.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:20 AM
**To:** H; Verma, Richard R
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Development speech

Great idea. I wonder if we should also try to get it published in Foreign Affairs or something equivalent.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Jan 07 07:33:45 2010
Subject: Development speech

I want to send the development speech as delivered w a note from me to the appropriate Members of Congress (authorizing, appropriating, leadership, others?). I can sign the letters anytime before I leave for Asia/Pacific on Monday am. Thx so much.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Robinson

Agreed. We are doing so. Looks like tomorrow or Sat.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jan 07 07:50:38 2010
Subject: Robinson

We should try to reschedule call. The press statements explain a lot.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

I will prepare for you to sign today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Thu Jan 07 08:26:47 2010
Subject: Fw: [redacted]

Pls do wedding congrats to [redacted] at address below.

----- Original Message -----
From: Voda ebeling [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 06 13:13:41 2010
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:35 AM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Development speech

We will put together a list of members and have the letters ready for you to sign today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Jan 07 07:33:45 2010
Subject: Development speech

I want to send the development speech as delivered w a note from me to the appropriate Members of Congress (authorizing, appropriating, leadership, others?). I can sign the letters anytime before I leave for Asia/Pacific on Monday am. Thx so much.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Big support from Lugar on 21st Century Statecraft

fyi

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Thursday, January 07, 2010 9:49 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Big support from Lugar on 21st Century Statecraft

Very cool/interesting/humbling. I've never met Lugar before and didn't know he was doing this. Basically a recitation of what we're doing with the appropriate attribution to the Secretary: "Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has championed the use of communications technology in diplomacy and development." He basically cuts and pastes from our public comments.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/06/twitter_vs_terror

# Twitter vs. Terror

How the U.S. State Department should enable and encourage social-networking sites in the global fight for freedom.

**BY U.S. SEN. RICHARD G. LUGAR** | JANUARY 6, 2010

During the turmoil that followed Iran's disputed 2009 presidential election, thousands of opposition supporters and other protesters communicated and organized through Twitter. So important was this social networking site to supporting the pro-democracy "green movement" that the U.S. State Department contacted corporate representatives of Twitter to ask them to delay a routine maintenance shutdown of the microblogging site.

In the strife-torn Democratic Republic of the Congo, U.S. officials are working with radio and cell-phone operators to reach isolated militia fighters with messages from former combatants now urging them to put down their arms and return to civilian life.

In Pakistan, the State Department paid for 24 million text messages as a way to help support a new mobile-phone-based social network, Humari Awaz, or "Our Voice." The gesture helps increase U.S. government engagement with the Pakistani people, strengthens communities, and can assist small businesses in gaining better market information.

These are just some of the latest examples of what is being called "21st-century statecraft," using the capabilities of modern communications and social networking technologies to win hearts and minds and improve the American

image abroad. It represents an important leap forward from traditional U.S. outreach efforts, such as Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

The adroit use of social networking sites, such as Twitter, Facebook, and others, coupled with text messages and increasingly widespread mobile-phone technology, can help lend support to existing grassroots movements for freedom and civil rights, connect people to information, and help those in closed societies communicate with the outside world. It also promises to give a strong economic boost to small entrepreneurs and the rural poor. The World Bank estimates that for every 10 percent increase in the number of mobile-phone users in a developing country, there is nearly a 1 percent increase in its economic output.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has championed the use of communications technology in diplomacy and development. In November in Morocco, she announced the "Civil Society 2.0" initiative, which will offer training and advice to local nongovernmental organizations around the world on how to use the Internet and other digital media to organize, communicate, and be more effective.

She has also appointed a special advisor for innovation, Alec Ross, to examine ways to employ communications technology to enhance traditional diplomatic and development activities. In a recent speech, he said that the State Department is using "these new connection technologies to engage and empower our interlocutors in new and different ways that are consistent with our foreign policy goals."

The applications vary widely. In Mexico, for instance, where drug-related crime and violence is at crisis level, the United States is helping set up a mobile-phone-based system so citizens can report crimes and tips anonymously. In Afghanistan, the State Department and the Pentagon are working with the private sector to expand mobile-phone banking, an innovation that has been successful in Africa. The hope is to improve the finances of people in rural conflict areas. When violence displaced up to 2 million people from Pakistan's Swat Valley, the State Department quickly set up a mobile texting system so concerned Americans could make $5 donations for refugee relief with just a few keystrokes.

Technology offers new ways to perform the traditional task of spreading the American message. During President Barack Obama's major Africa **speech** in Ghana last year, for instance, the government offered SMS texts of his remarks in English and French to cell-phone users across Africa and enabled them to post questions and comments.

But social networking technologies are more often used to enable individuals across a country, or across the globe, to interact, engage, and become empowered. Although this means that our government will not be able to control the message as well as it might with conventional public diplomacy tools, I believe it is a risk worth taking. Terrorists and other anti-American propagandists have for some time been using the Internet and other techniques to

communicate and recruit. America needs to beat them at their own game, especially since we invented most of the technology.

I would encourage the administration and our diplomats to be nimble, flexible, and innovative as they pursue a wide range of foreign-policy initiatives that use these new communication and connection techniques. Diplomacy and development are our best means of winning the global war of ideas, and we must come to the battle armed with the most modern tools at our disposal.

Alec Ross
Senior Advisor for Innovation
Office of the Secretary of State
(202) 647-6315
RossAJ@State.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 2:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Ann

Fyi

---

**From:** Pally, Maura M
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Jan 07 13:35:30 2010
**Subject:** Ann

is so wonderful. Brilliant pick. Every time I meet with her I like her more and more and she is really the right pick for ECA. She brings so much to the table that we need. Everyone here is so pleased with the selection and the fact that R is equally pleased is even better –that we can both think she is "ours" is a testament to Ann. It may have taken a long time but it will be well worth the wait. She can take ECA in a new direction. And if she has the help of Joe Macmanus she can do it even quicker and better (I can't pass up a good plug opportunity!).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Andy Young

fyi

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: Giffin, Gordon
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 8:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Andy Young

Happy New Year. I hope you got some time to enjoy the holiday season and could relax before getting back at it this year.
Andy Young is a very good friend of mine, and has been a stalwart for the Clintons over the years. He is also one of the most recognized and respected experts on Africa in America. He asked me today if I thought it would be appropriate for him to seek to see the Secretary to share some of his thoughts on Africa and current issues being confronted there. I told him of course and suggested that he reach out to you to try to arrange that dialogue. Hopefully that is ok from your perspective. Andy is a thoughtful, remarkable and decent man. If you don't know him you will enjoy getting to know him. Thanks and maybe one of these days when I am in DC we can grab a coffee together. Cheers.

Gordon D. Giffin
McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP
303 Peachtree St. Suite 5300
Atlanta, Ga. 30308
404-527-4020

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Tech Task Force Update (1/17/2010)

Fyi

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Mon Jan 18 07:50:56 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Tech Task Force Update (1/17/2010)

---

**From:** Stanton, Katie
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Cohen, Jared A; Ross, Alec J; Dowd, Katie W; Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Mon Jan 18 00:31:22 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Tech Task Force Update (1/17/2010)

---

**From:** Katie Jacobs Stanton [redacted] B6
**To:** Stanton, Katie
**Sent:** Mon Jan 18 00:12:36 2010
**Subject:** Tech Task Force Update (1/17/2010)

**Tech Task Force Update**
**January 17, 2010**

**1. Text 'Haiti' to 90999:**

- **We have raised $21.4mm**. This is historic. Big surges as a result of the NFL PSAs.
- I didn't watch the Golden Globes but looking at the data, I don't think they made an announcement, but the #s are still strong

**2. SMS 4636 info project** (where people in Haiti can text and report needs and locations)**:**

- 707 texts were rec'd, 402 were deemed useful, 125 had enough details that volunteers on the ground could plot the longitude and latitude to find them quickly
- Only works on Digicel. Comcel/Voila are evaluating
- Trying to get Wyclef and radio stations to start promoting
- Data is currently going to Reuters Emergency Service, InSTEDD and ICRC
- We're working on getting it to USAID
- Note, this effort is brand new and entirely volunteer run
- Breakdown of types of calls:

  28.06% Missing Persons
  12.23% Water shortage
  10.07% Food distribution

10.07% Asking to forward a message
9.35% Earthquake and aftershocks
5.04% Persons News
4.32% People trapped
3.60% Emergency
2.88% Health services
2.16% Medical Emergency
2.16% Died bodies management
2.16% Response
1.44% Looting
1.44% Shelter
5.04% Other

**3. WeHaveWeNeed (Craigslist for Haiti):**

- Quietly launched (DO NOT MENTION PUBLICLY)
- Working on beta testers
- [redacted] B6
- May launch tomorrow

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 9:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Potential Topics Susan Rice Weekly

HRC:

Huma reminded me that you wanted to get a more structured agenda for your weeklies with Susan. I will work on that over the next few weeks.

For tomorrow, Erica anticipates she will likely want to discuss the following items: B5

In addition to what Jake may add, think you should raise:

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 9:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thank you

Fyi

B6

**From:** Raj Shah
**Sent:** Thursday, January 07, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Thank you

Amidst alll the real work emails I just wanted to say thank you.

I suppose today's event made things feel very real and I didn't get a chance to say thank you after the event.

Also, please do let the Secretary know I appreciated her incredible generous comments yesterday and today -- especially nice comments about Shivam and the kids -- and will do my best to live up to them. :-)

Thx!

Raj

RELEASE IN PART
B5

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Potential Topics Susan Rice Weekly

I've pinged Jim for anything on his list. B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Jan 07 21:07:08 2010
**Subject:** Potential Topics Susan Rice Weekly

HRC:

Huma reminded me that you wanted to get a more structured agenda for your weeklies with Susan. I will work on that over the next few weeks.

For tomorrow, Erica anticipates she will likely want to discuss the following items:

In addition to what Jake may add, think you should raise:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Ann

FYI

---

**From:** Pally, Maura M
**Sent:** Thursday, January 07, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Ann

is so wonderful. Brilliant pick. Every time I meet with her I like her more and more and she is really the right pick for ECA. She brings so much to the table that we need. Everyone here is so pleased with the selection and the fact that R is equally pleased is even better –that we can both think she is "ours" is a testament to Ann. It may have taken a long time but it will be well worth the wait. She can take ECA in a new direction. And if she has the help of Joe Macmanus she can do it even quicker and better (I can't pass up a good plug opportunity!).

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott <
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** All praise on Haiti

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: All praise on Haiti

At airport, flying to LA. Landing around 3 p.m. Available for a few minutes now on

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:28:29 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

Can you talk/meet today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:24:03 2010
Subject: All praise on Haiti

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Yemen

I will be out of the office until Tuesday, January 19.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: All praise on Haiti

Fine. Will check for message on arrival at 3 DC time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:32:21 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

Am on call now so let me know when you can talk later.

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:30:32 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

B6

At airport, flying to LA. Landing around 3 p.m. Available for a few minutes now on

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:28:29 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

Can you talk/meet today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:24:03 2010
Subject: All praise on Haiti

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Succinct summary on NI situation at this moment. Details to follow later. Sid

January 9, 2010

# The First Lady, her young lover, and a scandal that could hand power to Sinn Fein

## David McKittrick reports on the far-reaching consequences of Iris Robinson's infidelity

The mesmerising saga of the toyboy, the Northern Ireland First Minister and his straying wife threatened to engulf Belfast's frail political settlement last night.

Following a day closeted with advisers Peter Robinson, head of the Northern Ireland government, broke his silence to insist defiantly that he would not step down after a day of turmoil. His move is unlikely to stem the clamour for an inquiry into an affair which has fused the political and the sexual. First indications are that members of his party, the Democratic Unionists (DUP), are reacting to the disclosures with strong disapproval. The party is highly religious and lays heavy emphasis on Christian family values. It is also currently highly nervous that the revelations could cost it seats in the coming Westminster election. If the DUP were to fracture as a result of the scandal it could lead the way to Sinn Fein becoming the largest party in the Northern Ireland Assembly - allowing it to nominate its own first minister and putting the peace process in jeopardy.

Disclosures in a BBC television programme on the activities of his wife, Iris, who has exited from public life, led to a day-long flurry of political calls for inquiries into the Robinson family.

Mr Robinson stands accused of failing to notify the authorities that his wife had been involved in financial transactions without declaring an interest. She helped a 19-year-old "toyboy" lover to set up a business.

Mr Robinson said he had asked for the appointment of a senior counsel "to ask me any questions he or she wishes to ask, and to give an opinion as to what I should have disclosed or whether I have breached an obligation".

Insisting he had done nothing wrong, Mr Robinson accused the BBC of broadcasting "smears and innuendo". Saying that he did not rule out a defamation action, he declared: "I am being tried in the court of public opinion."

Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness, who is Deputy First Minister, said he was shocked at the BBC revelations and is seeking talks with both Mr Robinson and Gordon Brown. Mr McGuinness was publicly sympathetic when news of the scandal broke, but his veering towards a tougher line is taken as indicating a calculation that Mr Robinson may not survive the storm.

Mr Robinson, who has been First Minister for 18 months, is regarded as a pivotal figure in the peace process since he was prepared to follow the Rev Ian Paisley into government with Sinn Fein.

But the state of the political settlement has appeared increasingly rocky as Mr Robinson has resisted pressure from almost all points of the political compass to complete devolution by accepting a transfer of responsibility for policing from London to Belfast.

His reluctance to move on the policing issue was attributed to nervousness about challenges from hardline opponents in the Westminster general election. Now opponents are speculating that it might instead have at least partly been due to the family scandal which has just become public but which he knew of for months.

In recent days Mrs Robinson dramatically announced that she was leaving politics. She is currently Westminster MP for east Belfast, a councillor and a member of the Belfast Assembly. Yesterday there were calls for her to depart immediately and stop drawing her salaries.

These reflected the fact that, while her husband might have a faint chance of political survival, her behaviour is regarded as inexcusable.

She had been a friend of Kirk McCambley's father, Billy. Before he died, he asked Mrs Robinson to look after his son. The BBC programme, Spotlight, revealed that her relationship with Kirk had developed into a sexual one. It said she suggested to him that he go into a business venture which was partly organised by Castlereagh council, where she is an alderman.

She is said to have obtained £50,000 from two property developers, to be used to set up the business. She is also said to have helped approve the McCambley proposal without declaring a financial interest. The council said yesterday it was investigating.

The young man was interviewed for the programme. So too was Mrs Robinson's one-time political adviser Selwyn Black, a former Methodist minister, who gave the BBC access to 150 text messages allegedly sent to him by Mrs Robinson.

Among those calling for a public inquiry yesterday were Jim Allister of Traditional Unionist Voice, a hardline critic of Mr Robinson. He said the issues in the programme must be addressed "with utter transparency and candour".

Ulster Unionist leader Sir Reg Empey called for Mrs Robinson's immediate resignation, saying: "It is clear that Iris Robinson's continuing position as an MP, Assembly member and councillor is utterly untenable. She should resign all her positions with immediate effect."

He added: "It is also unfortunately the case that the office of the First Minister is embroiled in these matters. My party will study the events outlined by the BBC and the very serious allegations that have been made with regards to the conduct of the First Minister. Inevitably the appropriate authorities will be required to investigate the allegations made against the First Minister."

* Northern Ireland Secretary Shaun Woodward refused to speculate about Mr Robinson's future.

But he said: "It is a responsibility on everyone in the Assembly to understand that the consequences of allowing the political process to slide would undoubtedly have an impact on the broader canvas.

"And that if anybody were to be selfish enough to think this is a moment when that can be allowed to be put in the deep freeze, even some may wish to unpick, they would be extremely irresponsible, foolish and would be playing very, very dangerous games."

Speaking to BBC Radio 4's Today programme, Mr Woodward said that the First Minister had to be allowed the opportunity to clear his name.

But he went on: "I'm very conscious of the fact that while all that is happening, he is First Minister and the business of devolution, the business of the Executive must go on.

"I hope he will be able to resume the responsibilities as First Minister to ensure that the work of the Executive continues and that includes the talks on policing and justice devolution." PA

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Haiti - child trafficking

I will work with her on specifics and get more info to you. She is an expert on Pakistan more than Haiti but obviously knows about the threat of child exploitation in these situations. Will see what we can find out.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:31:26 2010
Subject: Re: Haiti - child trafficking

That is important. I will work on it--there's a very long and sobering list. Does Jillian have specific ideas?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H
Sent: Fri Jan 15 12:28:05 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti - child trafficking

This is a good suggestion from Jillian Burns in S/P....to make sure that children (and wonen) don't become targets of traffickers, as happened in Pakistan.

From: Burns, Jillian L
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 12:01 PM
To: Gonzalez, Francisco J; Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Haiti - child trafficking

http://www.cbsatlanta.com/news/22239047/detail.html

Child Trafficking Major Concern After Quake

Thousands Of Children Left Without Parents

By Mike Paluska, CBS Atlanta Reporter

POSTED: 4:58 pm EST January 14, 2010

UPDATED: 5:28 pm EST January 14, 2010

ATLANTA -- UNICEF and international adoption agencies said getting children into safe zones is a top priority after the devastating earthquake in Haiti.

The massive magnitude 7.0 earthquake that hit the island of Hispaniola has left thousands of children without parents.

Before the quake even hit UNICEF statistics from 2007 show there were 380,000 orphans already in Haiti.

"There are so many children that are in desperate need of help that's what we are here to do to keep them alive and get them the nutrients they need and clean water. It becomes the one place of stability for the kids where they have people UNICEF workers they can relate to they have educational material so they can start back with school," said Alissa Silverman, deputy director for UNICEF in the southeast region. "UNICEF is tracing family members and caring for children orphaned by the disaster to protect them from harm or exploitation."

The number of children on the island is staggering. Forty-six percent of Haiti's population (nearly 10 million) is under the age of 18, more than half of the population is under 21. Prior to the earthquake, four of every 10 children lived in homes with mud floors or severely overcrowded conditions.

"My first concern is who is with the kids how many of our nannies our ok and who is watching the kids and then all the kids on the streets," said Chareyl Moyes, the program manager for Wasatch International Adoption. Moyes works with a number of different agencies and orphanages in Haiti. She said early reports about how much damage they suffered are good.

"But, there is going to be a concern about child trafficking so both Haitian and the United States governments are going to be careful about forging ahead with new adoptions. The need is going to be great," Moyes said.

A lot of families in the U.S. according to a number of international adoption agencies across the country said some people were at the very end of the process to adopt a child from Haiti. "Now, it will set everyone back," Moyes said.

Even though child trafficking is a major concern for Moyes she worries about the immediate help children need trapped in the rubble from a country in ruins. "How long will that child survive without somebody rescuing them," Moyes said.

http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/26294/

Save the Children Emergency Team Reaches Haiti <http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/comments/26294/>

An emergency response team from Westport's Save the Children successfully reached Haiti today and worked quickly with staff already on the ground to organize the distribution of tents, medicine, and toiletries to children and families in desperate need, the charity said.
"Save the Children is extremely concerned about the well-being of children in Haiti at this critical moment and we are doing everything we can to quickly get relief supplies to those who need it most," said Charles MacCormack, president and CEO of Save the Children, in a news release.

"Our staff on the ground is pulling out all the stops to overcome hurdles like blocked roads and unreliable access to the airport."

"This is just the beginning of what will be a comprehensive five-year effort to build back better in Haiti. We are dedicated to not only addressing the immediate needs of children and families, but to making sure they have a brighter future ahead."

http://children.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/01/13/haitis-disastrous-earthquake-hits-children-hardest/

As someone in the anti-trafficking news of the disaster in Haiti has my mind rushing to worrying thoughts on how the disaster will increase human trafficking in the country. Such a large scale disaster will undoubtedly leave thousands and thousands of children, and their families, at an increased to be victimized by modern slavery.

Haiti's Restavek system still has a tight grip on the community, leaving some 300,000 children in the country enslaved as domestic workers according to the UN. It is these children who will continue to anguish and suffer the most in the shadows of the earthquake.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy New Year!

Great. I wonder if the problem has something to do with the fob system. Will let you know what I find out.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sat Jan 09 10:58:24 2010
Subject: Re: Happy New Year!

I got it this morning at 8:35am; according to email, it was sent at 8:31am today.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 09 10:55:58 2010
Subject: Re: Happy New Year!

Not to be too neurotic about this but want to be sure you got my response about the meetings in Tampa yesterday. If not I will resend.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sat Jan 09 10:35:48 2010
Subject: Re: Happy New Year!

No, I haven't. I just did a search and have nothing from you before today. Did it appear on you email that they went thru to me?

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 09 10:03:20 2010
Subject: Re: Happy New Year!

Just curious whether you received the emails I sent to you over the past 2 months, re; pakistan, doug holloway, etc. Nothing urgent they were informational only but I am concerned our emails may be hitting some tech glitch.

Jm

----- Original Message -----

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 12:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tech dinner TYs

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V; Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:28:08 2010
Subject: Tech dinner TYs

B6

Pls get list from Thursday dinner and do TYs. I'd like to sign letters. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tech dinner TYs

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Jan 09 13:16:52 2010
Subject: Re: Tech dinner TYs

Also, pls add Gerry Ferraro to my call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:29:55 2010
Subject: Re: Tech dinner TYs

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V; Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:28:08 2010
Subject: Tech dinner TYs

Pls get list from Thursday dinner and do TYs. I'd like to sign letters. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Capricia Marshall [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; valmoroIj@state.gov
**Subject:** Alfalfa Dinner

Vernon just called to invite you and the President to lunch at his home - january 30th in honor of the Alfalfa Dinner.

Lona - Please let me know when you respond and can you get this request to appropriate person on President Clinton's staff?
Many thanks.

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 2:30 PM
**To:** 'capriciamarshall B6
**Subject:** Re: Alfalfa Dinner

Thought we had already regretted.

----- Original Message -----
From: Capricia Marshall
To: H; Huma Abedin; valmorolj@state.gov <valmorolj@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jan 09 14:20:10 2010
Subject: Alfalfa Dinner

Vernon just called to invite you and the President to lunch at his home - january 30th in honor of the Alfalfa Dinner.

Lona - Please let me know when you respond and can you get this request to appropriate person on President Clinton's staff?
Many thanks.

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; capriciamarshall [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Alfalfa Dinner

We have regretted the official dinner and the pre-Alfalfa luncheon that John Hamre organizes -- I believe this is separate?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin [redacted]
To: 'capriciamarshall [redacted]; H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J B6
Sent: Sat Jan 09 14:30:10 2010
Subject: Re: Alfalfa Dinner

Thought we had already regretted.

----- Original Message -----
From: Capricia Marshall [redacted]
To: H; Huma Abedin; valmorolj@state.gov <valmorolj@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jan 09 14:20:10 2010
Subject: Alfalfa Dinner

Vernon just called to invite you and the President to lunch at his home - january 30th in honor of the Alfalfa Dinner.

Lona - Please let me know when you respond and can you get this request to appropriate person on President Clinton's staff?
Many thanks.

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H; MillsCD@state.gov
**Subject:** Anecdotal, attitudinal, but maybe helpful. Sid

http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article6991697.ece

From The Times
January 18, 2010

# Fear of the poor is hampering Haiti rescue

## American views rule among the rubble of Port-au-Prince. That's one reason aid is taking so long to get to those in need

Linda Polman

Aid workers have already baptised the earthquake in Haiti a "historical disaster". It will rate high in the annals of the humanitarian aid world because of the number of victims and scale of the destruction. But the rescue operation is also becoming notorious for the slowness with which aid is reaching the victims. Five days after the quake hit, many places are still largely bereft of international aid.

Not through lack of funds, supplies or emergency experts. Those are all pouring in from dozens of countries. But most of the aid — and aid workers — seems stuck at the airport.

Rescue teams have pulled survivors from five-star hotels, university buildings, a supermarket and the UN headquarters, all in Port-au-Prince's better neighbourhoods. In poor areas, where the damage appears much greater, apparently forgotten victims report on Twitter that they have yet to encounter the first foreign rescuer.

Many aid workers are reported to have orders not to venture out without armed guards — which are not there at all, or only after long debates with the UN military command. The UN has lost a number of staff in the quake, and is not keen to risk more lives.

But the Haitian people seem to scare aid workers more than Somali warlords, Darfuri Janjawid or Afghan Taleban. Frightened Dutch aid workers abandoned a mission without reaching the collapsed building where people were trapped, and frightened doctors have left their patients unattended.

The experience of CNN's medical reporter, Dr Sanjay Gupta, is telling. In a makeshift clinic he encountered a Belgian medical team being evacuated in a UN bus. UN "rules of engagement" apparently stopped them providing security for the doctors. The Belgians took most of their medical supplies with them, to keep them out of the claws of robbers.

Dr Gupta and his camera team stayed the night, monitored the abandoned patients' vital signs and continued intravenous drips — and they were not robbed. Some rescuers are leaning so much toward security that they will allow people to die.

The media are not helping. CNN rules in the rubble. "Outside of a military conflict, this is our biggest international deployment since the tsunami in 2004," according to Tony Maddox, the managing director of CNN International. So the image of the aid operation being beamed back is primarily American — and one of the big problems is the American view of Haiti.

CNN won't stop telling aid workers and the outside world about pillaging (the incidence of which — for the first four frustrating days at least — did not compare with what happened after Hurricane Katrina) and about how dangerous it is to distribute food, because of the likelihood of "stampedes".

Nor is the US Government, the biggest player in the aid operation, doing anything to help to relax the atmosphere. On the contrary. When President Obama said that the US aid effort would be "aggressive" he meant it. The humanitarian operation is not led by civilian agencies, but by the Pentagon.

Mr Obama ordered 9,000 troops and a fleet of nuclear-powered ships to move in. Victims of the war in Congo (which has cost five million lives in the past years) and of the genocide in Darfur would love so much American attention — but it is Haiti's fate to lay in America's backyard and to have been a sore to American eyes for decades already.

One, perhaps even two million Haitians already live in the United States, but more try to come. Every day dead Haitian refugees wash up on Miami's sunny beaches. Haiti is a constant pain for US taxpayers who feel that the billions of dollars

that have been poured in should have at least lifted the country out of its position as one of the poorest places on Earth. Even when the earthquake struck, investigations were taking place into the fate of several million dollars of aid funds, sent to victims of a hurricane that hit Haiti in 2008, that have disappeared.

Furthermore, to the horror of many godfearing Americans, voodoo is an officially recognised religion in Haiti. And, perhaps above all, Haitians are poor and black. In the view of some Americans those two add up to ... murderous gangs.

The invasion of soldiers and humanitarian workers at the airport of Port-au-Prince reminds me of the American military invasion of Haiti authorised by President Clinton in 1994. I'd lived and worked there for almost two years as a correspondent for Dutch radio. There were 20,000 soldiers but they were surprisingly nervous about what reception the unarmed Haitians might have in store for them.

It turned out to be a wave of slum dwellers streaming to the air and sea port to greet the American guests. In abundant conga lines they snaked through the city, tea cosies on their heads to express just how happy they were. "Liberté! Merci Beel Cling Dong!" they shouted. A terrified American GI, still a teenager, saw the mass of pitiful creatures approaching him, and asked me if the tea cosies were "some kinda voodoo?". He calmed down only when a line of BMWs and Mitsubishis appeared and filed past to watch the invasion.

Where the soldier came from, the owners of vehicles like these are respectable citizens. In Haiti, they are likely to be the ones smuggling drugs and making US aid dollars disappear. The good guys in Haiti are the defenceless people in the slums. For Western city dwellers, this is the world turned upside down. "Back! Back!" the soldier shouted, aiming his weapons at the good guys.

The rescue teams that stay put at the airport are one reason why we still don't really know what is going on. Seventy survivors had been pulled from the rubble so far, the International Red Cross said on Sunday. That's 14 rescues per day as a joint result of the 1,739 international specialised rescue workers that are there. That number would surely jump if some of the professional equipment that they brought was made available to the countless groups of local people desperately digging for victims with their bare hands, day and night.

Let's hope that the food distributors worrying about their safety know that yesterday hundreds of people in Port-au-Prince dropped to their knees praying outside a warehouse where workers for the agency Food for the Poor had announced that they would be distributing rice and beans. The crowd allowed children and the elderly to go first in line without having guns aimed at them first.

*Linda Polman's War Games: The Story of War and Aid in Modern Times will be published by Penguin in April*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** H; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Tech dinner TYs

I will prepare for your signature. Thanks!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V; Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:28:08 2010
Subject: Tech dinner TYs

Pls get list from Thursday dinner and do TYs. I'd like to sign letters. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:39 AM
**To:** H; Valenzuela, Arturo A
**Subject:** Re: Venezuela

Madam Secretary:

[redacted] B5

I will be in touch with Judith, PJ et al.

Best,

Craig

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:58:13 2010
Subject: Venezuela

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank you.

Fyi

---

**From:** Lewis, Reta Jo
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Feb 26 18:05:17 2010
**Subject:** Thank you.

Cheryl:

I received a call from Pat that said all would be taken care of today. Thanks so much. Let's talk next week.

Reta

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Recos
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H

B6

Can u call me

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: E-mail test

Ur email must be back up!!
What happened is judith sent you an email. It bounced back. She called the email help desk at state (I guess assuming u had state email) and told them that. They had no idea it was YOU, just some random address so they emailed. Sorry about that. But regardless, means ur email must be back! R u getting other messages?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:13:28 2010
Subject: Fw: E-mail test

Do you know what this is?

----- Original Message -----
From: Butzgy, Christopher H <ButzgyCH2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 17:59:37 2010
Subject: E-mail test

Good Afternoon,

I work as a Help Desk Analyst and it has come to my attention that one of our customers has been receiving permanent fatal errors from this address, can you please confirm if you receive this message.

Thank you for your assistance,

Christopher

Christopher Butzgy

S/ES-IRM (POEMS)

202-647-8700

This e-mail is Unclassified based on the criteria of E.O. 12958

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 6:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: E-mail test

Nothing.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:30:41 2010
Subject: Re: E-mail test

I've gotten some messages from yesterday--how about you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:29:50 2010
Subject: Re: E-mail test

Ur email must be back up!!
What happened is judith sent you an email. It bounced back. She called the email help desk at state (I guess assuming u had state email) and told them that. They had no idea it was YOU, just some random address so they emailed. Sorry about that. But regardless, means ur email must be back! R u getting other messages?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:13:28 2010
Subject: Fw: E-mail test

Do you know what this is?

----- Original Message -----
From: Butzgy, Christopher H <ButzgyCH2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 17:59:37 2010
Subject: E-mail test

Good Afternoon,

I work as a Help Desk Analyst and it has come to my attention that one of our customers has been receiving permanent fatal errors from this address, can you please confirm if you receive this message.

Thank you for your assistance,

Christopher

Christopher Butzgy

S/ES-IRM (POEMS)

202-647-8700

This e-mail is Unclassified based on the criteria of E.O. 12958

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 6:37 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Meeting in Haiti

For WJC too.

Good meetings.

Spent about 3.5 hours w/ preval and bellerive.

They are very much on board w/ ihrc/hda and had some comments we can discuss when we talk.

Same on mdtf.

Discussed the political situation and the options they are looking at - quite thorny, particularly in terms of what to do re constitutional legitmacy.

He's on board w/ a visit on 10 mar w/ dinner w/ you and wjc on 9 mar.

More when we talk - taking off now.

Cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H; Mauldin, Caroline P; Schonander, Carl E; Jones, Kerri-Ann
**Subject:** Re: Water

Dear all:

To update you, at G we have been working on water and World Water Day (the event planned takes place at the National Geographic Building), since I am taking on water as the key issue I am/will working on. I sent S a memo on water in December outlining our plans. Note that we are mandated to report to Congress annually as part of the "Water for the Poor" Act.

I have met with Kerri-Ann, with OES "water" staff in the last weeks to address this and also with several regional bureau A/S (Carson, Feltman, Blake so far) on water in the respective regions.
There is a great deal of interest on their part and we have started outlining specific initiatives that we could focus on.

We've also met on the Nile Basin Initiative, with World Bank "experts" leading NGOs, McKinsey, etc. I've also spoken to Raj (USAID allocated about $480 million in FY 2009 to water, and MCC about $500 million) but of course he has been unable to focus on this. And Cheryl and I haven't spoken yet about Food Security/water.

[redacted] B5

Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:53:19 2010
Subject: Water

Maria, Anne-Marie and Cheryl,

March 22 is World Water Day (who knew?) Could we have a policy ready to announce by then? I have some ideas so when we all get a chance to breathe, let's discuss. Here's to H2O.

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Venezuela

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:00:01 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H; Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:38:54 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

Madam Secretary:

I will be in touch with Judith, PJ et al.

Best,

Craig

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:58:13 2010
Subject: Venezuela

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 10:43 AM
**To:** H; Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; cheryl.mills
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H; Mauldin, Caroline P; Schonander, Carl E; Jones, Kerri-Ann
**Subject:** Re: Water

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message ----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H; Mauldin, Caroline P; Schonander, Carl E; Jones, Kerri-Ann; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:05:03 2010
Subject: Re: Water

Lona--pls pull together a meeting after Maria gets back on Feb 2 for us to review where we are. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
To: H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>; cheryl.mills B6
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>; Mauldin, Caroline P <MauldinCP@state.gov>; Schonander, Carl E <SchonanderCE@state.gov>; Jones, Kerri-Ann <JonesK@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:41:13 2010
Subject: Re: Water

Dear all:

To update you, at G we have been working on water and World Water Day (the event planned takes place at the National Geographic Building), since I am taking on water as the key issue I am/will working on. I sent S a memo on water in December outlining our plans. Note that we are mandated to report to Congress annually as part of the "Water for the Poor" Act.

I have met with Kerri-Ann, with OES "water" staff in the last weeks to address this and also with several regional bureau A/S (Carson, Feltman, Blake so far) on water in the respective regions.
There is a great deal of interest on their part and we have started outlining specific initiatives that we could focus on.

We've also met on the Nile Basin Initiative, with World Bank "experts" leading NGOs, McKinsey, etc. I've also spoken to Raj (USAID allocated about $480 million in FY 2009 to water, and MCC about $500 million) but of course he has been unable to focus on this. And Cheryl and I haven't spoken yet about Food Security/water.

B5

Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:53:19 2010
Subject: Water

Maria, Anne-Marie and Cheryl,

March 22 is World Water Day (who knew?) Could we have a policy ready to announce by then? I have some ideas so when we all get a chance to breathe, let's discuss. Here's to H2O.

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 11:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Water

Hillary:
I had planned to meet with you on water after returning from Bolivia's inauguration - there is so much we can do.
Haiti is beyond what one's spirit can absorb. I am grateful that my former colleagues from ACCION, missing until friday, are safe.
Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:53:19 2010
Subject: Water

Maria, Anne-Marie and Cheryl,

March 22 is World Water Day (who knew?) Could we have a policy ready to announce by then? I have some ideas so when we all get a chance to breathe, let's discuss. Here's to H2O.

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 11:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** No PC today.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** MINUSTAH document

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 11:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Venezuela

B5

Best,

ck

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 18, 2010 10:33 AM
To: Kelly, Craig A
Subject: Re: Venezuela

Good. Let's document all of this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:29:43 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:00:01 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H; Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:38:54 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

Madam Secretary:

[redacted]

I will be in touch with Judith, PJ et al.

Best,

Craig

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:58:13 2010
Subject: Venezuela

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 2:26 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band; Justin Cooper; cheryl.mills Diane Reynolds; MMezvinsky B6
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Glad you're there

Just leaving the hospital.

Really rough and sad.

Mark Paul and others doing the Lord plus 10 work

I sent Keen an email re no security.

Troops just arrived so the hopefully they will be able to keepb doctors there tonight around the clock.

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Doug Band Justin Cooper 'cheryl.mills( B6
<cheryl.mills Diane Reynolds MMezvinsky
Sent: Mon Jan 18 14:22:08 2010
Subject: Glad you're there

Pl give me periodic updates about what you're seeing and doing. Love to all.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 6:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rep. McGovern on death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo 2/24/10
**Attachments:** Cuba 2010 - 1-minute on death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo 24feb10.doc

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy <Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Feb 26 16:42:49 2010
**Subject:** Rep. McGovern on death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo 2/24/10

Cheryl – Just an FYI – Secretary Clinton handled this tragedy very well before Senator Menendez the other day – Cindy

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** 'Bulgrin, Julie K'; 'Zuniga, Ricardo F'
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** Rep. McGovern on death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo 2/24/10

Dear Julie and Ricardo –
My apologies!
I just realized that I didn't send this over to you on Wednesday.
Please feel free to share with anyone you think should see it/know of it –
Cindy

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 2:23 PM
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy; Mershon, Michael
**Subject:** Rep. McGovern on death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo

Rep. McGovern statement on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives today, February 24, 2010, about the death of Cuban dissident Orlando Zapata Tamayo.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767712 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

James P. McGovern (MA-03)
One Minute Special Order
February 24, 2010

SORROW AND OUTRAGE AT DEATH OF CUBAN DISSIDENT ORLANDO ZAPATA TAMAYO

Mr. Speaker, I want to express my deepest sorrow and outrage at the death of Cuban dissident Orlando Zapata Tamayo. Imprisoned since 2003, he had been on a hunger strike for several weeks. We first heard he was seriously ill last week. Yesterday, he died at the prison clinic.

Zapata Tamayo paid the ultimate sacrifice for his commitment to changing Cuba's system. He commands our respect. No one has starved himself to death in a Cuban prison in over forty years. Surely the Cuban government could have and should have intervened earlier to prevent this tragedy. His death is on their conscience.

I have always felt – and continue to believe – that if we are truly going to do a better job of standing with the Cuban people, then we need to be closer to them and in greater numbers. We need to travel freely to the island to meet and learn from them, and they from us. I hope that day comes soon so we can tell all the Cuban people that we remember the sacrifice of Orlando Zapata Tamayo.

*Insert for the Record, "Activists: Cuba Dissident Dies After Hunger Strike," Washington Post, February 23, 2010*

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767712 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 11:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Warning: could not send message for past 4 hours (RESENT BY CDM)
**Attachments:** ATT1011450.txt; Fw: Thank you. (878 bytes)

Not sure why these came back - scroll down for messages

----- Original Message -----
From: postmaster <postmaster@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 26 21:53:26 2010
Subject: Warning: could not send message for past 4 hours

**********
** THIS IS A WARNING MESSAGE ONLY **
** YOU DO NOT NEED TO RESEND YOUR MESSAGE **
**********

The original message was received at Fri, 26 Feb 2010 22:42:16 GMT
from:
<MillsCD@state.gov>

----- Transcript of session follows -----
451 4.4.1 reply: read error from mail.clintonemail.com.
<hdr22@clintonemail.com>... Deferred: Connection timed out with mail.clintonemail.com.
Warning: message still undelivered after 4 hours Will keep trying until message is 1 day old

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 11:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Warning: could not send message for past 4 hours (SEC TRY BY CDM)
**Attachments:** ATT1011675.txt; Meeting in Haiti (1.09 KB)

Scroll down

----- Original Message -----
From: postmaster <postmaster@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 26 22:32:44 2010
Subject: Warning: could not send message for past 4 hours

**********
** THIS IS A WARNING MESSAGE ONLY **
** YOU DO NOT NEED TO RESEND YOUR MESSAGE **
**********

The original message was received at Fri, 26 Feb 2010 23:06:26 GMT
from:
<MillsCD@state.gov>

----- Transcript of session follows -----
451 4.4.1 reply: read error from mail.clintonemail.com.
<hdr22@clintonemail.com>... Deferred: Connection timed out with mail.clintonemail.com.
451 4.4.1 reply: read error from mail.presidentclinton.com.
<doug .. Deferred: Connection timed out with mail.presidentclinton.com. B6
Warning: message still undelivered after 4 hours Will keep trying until message is 1 day old

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 7:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Earthquake in Chile

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Abedin, Huma; Bennett, Virginia L; Sullivan, Jacob J; Simons, Paul E (Santiago); McMullen, Christopher J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Sat Feb 27 07:30:15 2010
Subject: Re: Earthquake in Chile

Chilean press now saying 78 deaths so far.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Abedin, Huma; Bennett, Virginia L; Sullivan, Jacob J; Simons, Paul E (Santiago); Kelly, Craig A; McMullen, Christopher J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Sat Feb 27 05:45:36 2010
Subject: Earthquake in Chile

Paul Simons called me shortly after earthquake hit Chile (8.5 Richter-- stronger than Haiti). He was going to reach out to advance team. Marriott Hotel fine. Event frightening because of intensity of tremor. Epicenter near Concepcion-- third largest city in Chile about 400 miles south of Santiago (city of Cauquenes--- hardest hit).

Just heard Bachelet on TV-- casualties so far 16-- though because communications down and it is still dark information is preliminary. Some concern over risk of Tsunami though Navy deems unlikely. Fortunately, there is no collapse of dams. Considerable damage to highway bridges and infrastructure---that will affect traffic-- in Talca hospital evacuated for precautionary reasons. President declared zones of Maule and Bio Bio disaster areas.

Significant loss of life and damage unlikely because Chile suffered devastating earthquakes in 1939 and 1960 (the strongest in recorded history) in same area so most old construction is gone. Chile has strong construction codes and state of the art anti-earthquake standards. Also Chile has excellent first responder capacity. One concern of course are aftershocks. In 1960 (May 21) a second earthquake occurred day after that caused a Tsunami in Japan.
Will have to evaluate whether trip to Chile should proceed. Precisely because of tragedy this may not be time to cancel -- provided Chilean side can handle and are anxious for trip to proceed. Suspect that that will be the case. Should evaluate in morning after dust settles.

Arturo

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:20 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Dallas

Today's Dallas Morning News editorial page condemns attorney David Schiller for including you in the wrongful death suit that he filed on behalf of the Lozado family. It ends with ". . . citing Clinton is enough to give even ambulance-chasing lawyers a bad name."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gifilte Fish

More on Gifilte Fish...will ask Jeff Feltman and Bob Hormats for help as well.

---

**From**: Adams, David S
**To**: Verma, Richard R; de la Iglesia, Mark J; Greene, David J
**Sent**: Sat Feb 27 07:44:27 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Gifilte Fish

From the Israeli Embassy. See below.

---

**From**: Daniel Meron [redacted]
**To**: Adams, David S
**Cc**: Ohad Cohen [redacted]
**Sent**: Fri Feb 26 23:10:05 2010
**Subject**: Gifilte Fish

B6

Dave,
According to the Agricultural Agreement between Israel and the US from 2004 (ATAP), carp is not exempted from custom duties. Last December the Israeli customs realized that according to the tariff list their is no customs on the importation of carp to Israel. That was amended. A few weeks ago a representative of the relevant company in Illinois contacted our trade mission to inquire about the new customs tariff and was told that it would apply to all the carp his company will send to Israel. Therefore it should not have been a surprise to the company this new customs tariff. Their are now 2 containers of the fish that are sitting in the port in Israel waiting to be cleared and their are another 7 containers waiting in Illinois to get the green light to leave for Israel. Our trade representative here thinks he could get an exemption for the two containers already in Israel from the new customs tariff but probably not for the other 7. We at the embassy have asked he highest political level in Israel to see if we could get an exemption from customs for all the 9 containers.

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "Adams, David S" <AdamsDS@state.gov>
**Date:** Fri, 26 Feb 2010 20:48:05 -0500
**To:** [redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Gifilte Fish

Hi Daniel-We're not just concerned about customs, but would like to understand what the issue is preventing delivery. Thanks. Dave

---

**From**: Daniel Meron [redacted]
**To**: Adams, David S
**Sent**: Fri Feb 26 20:18:16 2010
**Subject**: Re: Gifilte Fish

Ohad
This is from Secretary Clinton's office. Can you understand why he thinks the customs was paid?

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "Adams, David S" <AdamsDS@state.gov>
**Date:** Fri, 26 Feb 2010 19:53:03 -0500
**To:** [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Gifilte Fish

Hi Daniel-Sorry to bother you on shabbat, but during yesterday's hearing with the Secretary, Rep Manzullo he asked her to help soert out the issue of gifilte fish shipments from a plant in his district to Israel. She, of course, said she would. So, I'm asking for some help in sorting through this. I have heard that the Israeli customer may have paid the duty, but this is unconfirmed. Any light you could shed on this would be appreciated. BTW, my cell number is [redacted] Thanks. Dave

**********
This footnote confirms that this email message has been scanned by
PineApp Mail-SeCure for the presence of malicious code, vandals & computer viruses.
**********

**********
This footnote confirms that this email message has been scanned by
PineApp Mail-SeCure for the presence of malicious code, vandals & computer viruses.
**********

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Butzgy, Christopher H <ButzgyCH2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** E-mail test

Good Afternoon,

I work as a Help Desk Analyst and it has come to my attention that one of our customers has been receiving permanent fatal errors from this address, can you please confirm if you receive this message.

Thank you for your assistance,

Christopher

Christopher Butzgy
S/ES-IRM (POEMS)
202-647-8700

This e-mail is Unclassified based on the criteria of E.O. 12958

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Our mutual friend

[redacted]- u can call now

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Sat Feb 27 20:03:08 2010
Subject: Re: Our mutual friend

Could you talk now or tomorrow early morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 18:20:13 2010
Subject: Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 11:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Bingo. Sid

- Close Window

- Print this page

From The Sunday Times
February 28, 2010

# Gordon Brown on course to win election

David Smith and Jonathan Oliver
GORDON BROWN is on course to remain prime minister after the general election as a new Sunday Times poll reveals that Labour is now just two points behind the Tories.
The YouGov survey places David Cameron's Conservatives on 37%, as against 35% for Labour — the closest gap between the parties in more than two years.
It means Labour is heading for a total of 317 seats, nine short of an overall majority, with the Tories languishing on a total of just 263 MPs. Such an outcome would mean Brown could stay in office and deny Cameron the keys to No 10.
The poll result presents the Conservative leader with one of the greatest challenges of his leadership today as he makes the keynote speech to his party's spring forum.
In an interview with The Sunday Times, Cameron defied his right-wing critics who believe the party's modernisation has gone too far. He said: "Some people say to me, 'Play things safe; try to win by default — the government is in a mess.' I say, 'No. This is the Conservative party that is offering radical change. I'm doubling up on change'."
With the expected May 6 election now just over two months away, Cameron will seek to reconnect with voters through a series of pledges, including a plan to restore discipline in schools. In an echo of the speech that won him the Tory leadership in 2005, he will address the Brighton conference without notes.
"This is very, very clear," he said. "I've made my choice. There is no going back. This election is about change and we will be offering change."
Cameron insisted he was unconcerned about the collapse in Tory support. "The polls move around a lot," he said. "The voters tell us that they want change. They want to know the Conservative party itself has changed."
The narrowing of the Conservative lead has been dramatic and rapid. Until January the Tories held close to a 10-point lead. But a week ago a Sunday Times YouGov poll put the gap at six points, suggesting a hung parliament, with the Tories still on course to become the largest party.
In the last election, in 2005, support for the parties generally held steady in the run-up to polling day. YouGov polling for The Sunday Times showed Labour leads of between two and five points from January through to the June election. Labour's margin of victory was three points.
In today's poll, Labour has risen two points on the previous week, from 33%, while the Conservatives have dropped two from 39%. The Liberal Democrats are unchanged on 17%.
The collapse in the Tory poll lead will put pressure on the pound in financial markets tomorrow by adding to fears that a hung parliament will mean insufficient action is taken to cut Britain's budget deficit.
The last time the gap between the two main parties came this close and the Tory support was so low was in autumn 2007. That was before Brown's honeymoon ended with his failure to call a snap general election. The Conservatives went on to peak in May 2008 with a 26-point lead.
Today's poll suggests recent claims about Brown's tantrums and his intimidation of staff may have actually helped him. Just 28% of people believe the prime minister is a bully and 50% agree he has a "strong sense of right and wrong".
The survey disclosed growing concerns about Cameron's elite background and lack of empathy with ordinary families. Just 25% think that Cameron understands problems faced by "people like me", compared with 35% for Brown.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 11:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Bingo. Sid

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The survey disclosed growing concerns about Cameron's elite background and lack of empathy with ordinary families. Just 25% think that Cameron understands problems faced by "people like me", compared with 35% for Brown.

Furthermore, only 28% think the Conservative leader wants to do the best for "all groups in Britain", against 39% for the prime minister.

Peter Kellner, president of YouGov, the Sunday Times pollster, said that while individual polls could throw up unexpected shifts, the recent trend had been for a significant narrowing of the Tory lead.

"Our daily polls should be regarded a bit like the FTSE index: a 100-point rise or fall in a day might be a blip or a trend — often we can't tell for a few days," he said.

"I am confident the Tory lead is down this weekend but I can't promise whether the latest movement will be sustained, increased or reversed in the days ahead. One of the reasons for doing daily polls is to monitor these fluctuations."

The Tory lead of 6%, which was first reported in The Sunday Times, was maintained in YouGov's polls in The Sun last week. The increase in support for Labour on Thursday and Friday, as the latest Sunday Times poll was being conducted, came as figures showed a strengthening economic recovery.

Under the British parliamentary system, the prime minister remains in office after a general election until he either tenders his resignation or is defeated in a Commons no confidence vote.

If the election result leaves Labour just short of an overall majority, Brown is likely to battle on, with Labour running the country as a minority government. The party would seek to do deals with minor parties such as Ulster's Democratic Unionist party or, if necessary, Nick Clegg's Liberal Democrats, to get its legislation through parliament.

If repeated in a general election on the basis of a uniform swing in all constituencies, today's poll would leave Labour just nine seats short of the 326 needed for an overall majority in the new 650-seat House of Commons.

The Tories would be well behind on 263 seats, with the Liberal Democrats on 41. Kellner calculated that, even allowing for a larger swing to the Tories in marginal seats, where the party has spent millions of pounds on campaigning, the poll was consistent with Labour being by far the largest party.

He suggested that in such a scenario Labour might win 300 seats, with the Tories on 270 and the Lib Dems on 50.

Labour will believe it is benefiting from the upturn in the economy. For the first time in a YouGov poll since July 2007, before the financial crisis, people trust Labour more than the Tories to run the economy.

YouGov, which began polling after the 2001 election, has developed a reputation for accuracy. Its final Sunday Times poll in 2005 was precisely right, and it accurately predicted Boris Johnson's victory in the 2008 London mayoral election and the results of last year's Euro elections.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Haiti - child trafficking

GTIP is working on it. Also, meant to say that Jillian works on Iran, not Pakistan.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:31:26 2010
Subject: Re: Haiti - child trafficking

That is important. I will work on it--there's a very long and sobering list. Does Jillian have specific ideas?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H
Sent: Fri Jan 15 12:28:05 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti - child trafficking

This is a good suggestion from Jillian Burns in S/P....to make sure that children (and wonen) don't become targets of traffickers, as happened in Pakistan.

From: Burns, Jillian L
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 12:01 PM
To: Gonzalez, Francisco J; Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Haiti - child trafficking

http://www.cbsatlanta.com/news/22239047/detail.html

Child Trafficking Major Concern After Quake

Thousands Of Children Left Without Parents

By Mike Paluska, CBS Atlanta Reporter

POSTED: 4:58 pm EST January 14, 2010

UPDATED: 5:28 pm EST January 14, 2010

ATLANTA -- UNICEF and international adoption agencies said getting children into safe zones is a top priority after the devastating earthquake in Haiti.

The massive magnitude 7.0 earthquake that hit the island of Hispaniola has left thousands of children without parents.

Before the quake even hit UNICEF statistics from 2007 show there were 380,000 orphans already in Haiti.

"There are so many children that are in desperate need of help that's what we are here to do to keep them alive and get them the nutrients they need and clean water. It becomes the one place of stability for the kids where they have people UNICEF workers they can relate to they have educational material so they can start back with school," said Alissa Silverman, deputy director for UNICEF in the southeast region. "UNICEF is tracing family members and caring for children orphaned by the disaster to protect them from harm or exploitation."

The number of children on the island is staggering. Forty-six percent of Haiti's population (nearly 10 million) is under the age of 18, more than half of the population is under 21. Prior to the earthquake, four of every 10 children lived in homes with mud floors or severely overcrowded conditions.

"My first concern is who is with the kids how many of our nannies our ok and who is watching the kids and then all the kids on the streets," said Chareyl Moyes, the program manager for Wasatch International Adoption. Moyes works with a number of different agencies and orphanages in Haiti. She said early reports about how much damage they suffered are good.

"But, there is going to be a concern about child trafficking so both Haitian and the United States governments are going to be careful about forging ahead with new adoptions. The need is going to be great," Moyes said.

A lot of families in the U.S. according to a number of international adoption agencies across the country said some people were at the very end of the process to adopt a child from Haiti. "Now, it will set everyone back," Moyes said.

Even though child trafficking is a major concern for Moyes she worries about the immediate help children need trapped in the rubble from a country in ruins. "How long will that child survive without somebody rescuing them," Moyes said.

http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/26294/

Save the Children Emergency Team Reaches Haiti <http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/comments/26294/>

An emergency response team from Westport's Save the Children successfully reached Haiti today and worked quickly with staff already on the ground to organize the distribution of tents, medicine, and toiletries to children and families in desperate need, the charity said.
"Save the Children is extremely concerned about the well-being of children in Haiti at this critical moment and we are doing everything we can to quickly get relief supplies to those who need it most," said Charles MacCormack, president and CEO of Save the Children, in a news release.

"Our staff on the ground is pulling out all the stops to overcome hurdles like blocked roads and unreliable access to the airport."

"This is just the beginning of what will be a comprehensive five-year effort to build back better in Haiti. We are dedicated to not only addressing the immediate needs of children and families, but to making sure they have a brighter future ahead."

http://children.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/01/13/haitis-disastrous-earthquake-hits-children-hardest/

As someone in the anti-trafficking news of the disaster in Haiti has my mind rushing to worrying thoughts on how the disaster will increase human trafficking in the country. Such a large scale disaster will undoubtedly leave thousands and thousands of children, and their families, at an increased to be victimized by modern slavery.

Haiti's Restavek system still has a tight grip on the community, leaving some 300,000 children in the country enslaved as domestic workers according to the UN. It is these children who will continue to anguish and suffer the most in the shadows of the earthquake.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FOX and Adoptive Parents

---

**From**: Crowley, Philip J
**To**: Duguid, Gordon K (PACE); Bond, Michele T
**Cc**: Benton, Cheryl A (Special Use Only); Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Mon Jan 18 15:58:18 2010
**Subject**: FOX and Adoptive Parents

FOX is focused on one family, Joshua and Elizabeth Daby of Rochester, NY, who have children standing to adopt, Johnny and Marie. They are in this category where we are evidently waiting for the Government of Haiti to approve. I just did a phone interview with Sheppard Smith and it turns out Mr. Daby, saying we are doing everything possible to move such cases [redacted] B5

PJ

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 1:13 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

I did email her yesterday to see availability. Will confirm her

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin <[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sun Feb 28 00:21:05 2010
Subject: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 9:39 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

Yes I emailed u back earlier, hope u are not having more trouble.
Have told mario we are switching. Secret service knows. Lona confirming.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Feb 28 09:35:05 2010
Subject: Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 6:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ops left messages for ron kirk and ed markey fyi. Weren't able to reach either.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

We just heard there's no 2. Its 230 or 3. What would you like?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Feb 28 09:38:57 2010
Subject: Re: Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

Yes I emailed u back earlier, hope u are not having more trouble.
Have told mario we are switching. Secret service knows. Lona confirming.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Feb 28 09:35:05 2010
Subject: Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 7:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Question

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Jan 18 19:39:33 2010
Subject: Question

Can you find out why the Mexican offer to set up a portable kitchen was rejected, per FM Espinosa?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 12:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

This is old.
She emailed back this am and said she wasn't free.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 28 12:00:13 2010
Subject: Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

I thought she wasn't available but that Alex was coming--or is that old berry info?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 28 01:12:59 2010
Subject: Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

I did email her yesterday to see availability. Will confirm her

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin < [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Feb 28 00:21:05 2010
Subject: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The matter I raised on my end of the converation last night.....

Just reached Tom about it. Alerted him to the version as it came to me, including potential of its breaking. He seemed a) aware of the basis for what I'd heard, b) to share my assessment/concern (though asked me to elaborate, which I did vividly), and c) prepared to make sure that whatever ready to be is said publicly - and whatever happens diplomatically - put the kibosh on the version as it came to me.

Incidentally, unbidden by me on both points-i.e., volunteering-he went out of his way to says upbeat things about you and downbeat things about OMF. Said he wanted to discuss that with me in person. I said nothing of substance, except always glad to talk.

Over and out, tho would appreciate you're confirming receipt, since I'm not cc'ing anyone on this.

Cha-cha-cha (even though you're not going to Argentina-and rightly so).

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:03 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Re: Our mutual friend

Could you talk now or tomorrow early morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 18:20:13 2010
Subject: Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 9:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Information

Rob will do a note for you to sign. B6

**From:** Lou D'Allesandro
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Sat Jan 09 20:39:21 2010
**Subject:** Information

Secretary Clinton,

My best to you and your family. Keep up the great work as so many are counting on you.

Warmest regards,
Senator Lou D'Allesandro

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

Death toll jumps to 708 after Chile quake: president

SANTIAGO, February 28, 2010 (AFP) - The official death toll for Chile's devastating 8.8-magnitude earthquake and resulting tsunami jumped Sunday to 708 confirmed fatalities, President Michelle Bachelet told reporters here.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Button, Case <ButtonWC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

B6

Secretary-
Thank you so much for the well wishes. I have enjoyed working for you (everyday since and am grateful for another year supporting the work you do.

Thank you again for the note. See you in HST!
Case

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Button, Case
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:40:43 2010
Subject:

Dear Case--

All the best, H

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 11:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** DefCon 2. Sid

http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/PPP_Release_MA_45398436.pdf

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 9, 2010
INTERVIEWS: DEAN DEBNAM 888-621-6988 / 919-880-4888 (serious media inquiries only please, other questions can be directed to Tom Jensen)
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLL: TOM JENSEN 919-744-6312
Senate Race Competitive
Raleigh, N.C. – The race to replace Ted Kennedy in the US Senate is looking like a toss up, with Republican Scott Brown up 48-47 on Martha Coakley.
Brown is benefiting from depressed Democratic interest in the election and a huge lead among independents for his surprisingly strong standing. Those planning to vote in the special election only report having voted for Barack Obama in 2008 by a 16 point margin, in contrast to his actual 26 point victory in the state.
That decline in turnout from Obama voters plagued Democratic candidates for Governor in Virginia and New Jersey last fall. Beyond that 66% of Republicans say they're 'very excited' about turning out while only 48% of Democrats express that sentiment.
Brown leads 63-31 with independents and is winning 17% of the Democratic vote while Coakley receives only 6% support from GOP voters. Both candidates are relatively popular, with 57% viewing Brown favorably to only 25% unfavorable and 50% with a positive opinion of Coakley to 42% negative.
Those folks planning to vote in the special election are actually opposed to Obama's health care plan by a 47/41 margin and only narrowly express approval of the President's overall job performance 44/43.
"The Massachusetts Senate race is shaping up as a potential disaster for Democrats," said Dean Debnam, President of Public Policy Polling. "Martha Coakley's complacent campaign has put Scott Brown in a surprisingly strong position and she will need to step it up in the final week to win a victory once thought inevitable."
PPP surveyed 744 likely Massachusetts voters from January 7th to 9th. The margin of error is +/-3.6%. Other factors, such as refusal to be interviewed and weighting, may introduce additional error that is more difficult to quantify.
Complete results are attached and can be found at www.publicpolicypolling.com.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 2:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Situation Report No. 3 - Chile Earthquake

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Sun Feb 28 14:30:42 2010
**Subject:** Situation Report No. 3 - Chile Earthquake

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SITUATION REPORT No. 3*

## *CHILE EARTHQUAKE MONITORING GROUP MGCI01*

**Sunday, February 28, 2010**
**1400 EST**

## DEATH TOLL OVER 700, GOC ASSESSING DAMAGES

- (U) President Bachelet announced more than 700 people have been killed in the quake, report the media. All official Americans have been accounted for, confirms Embassy Santiago. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon, CNN en Español)***
- (SBU) Seventeen locally-engaged staff and 36 contract employees remain unaccounted for due to poor communications. Many Embassy families are still without electricity, reliable telephone service, or internet access. Land lines in the Santiago area remain irregular.
- (SBU) Aftershocks continue but are diminishing in intensity and are moving northward. The media is relaying Chilean ONEMI (FEMA-equivalent) information. The government requests the population remain in place. Facebook is offering assistance in public outreach. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon, MGCI01/R e-mail)***
- (SBU) Communications with the affected area (Concepcion, Talca and the Juan Fernandez Islands) remain erratic. Concepcion airport will be closed for a week. The main highway south from Concepcion is out due to a collapsed bridge, and land routes to the area have been damaged and bridges are down. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon, Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***
- (U) Some looting has begun; police are on patrol to prevent further lawlessness. The government is providing food and water via helicopter. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon, Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***

## STATUS OF EMBASSY/AMCITS

- Six of the seven Fulbrighters in-country have been accounted for; the Fulbrighter in Concepcion has not yet been located. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon, Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***
- (U) The Embassy will be open for limited services on March 1. Visa interviews will be cancelled. ***(Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***
- (SBU) No American deaths have yet been reported.

***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon, Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***

- (U) Embassy Santiago will maintain a 24-hour switchboard with bilingual operators at 56-2-330-3000. ***(Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***

## FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

- (SBU) The Chile Earthquake Monitoring Group is in contact with the U.S. military, HHS and USAID/OFDA to confirm availability of medical assistance, including field hospitals, as appropriate. An official request for a field hospital has been made by the Chilean government. ***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) The EU has offered 3 million Euros in disaster assistance and search and rescue, which the government has so far declined. Germany and Puerto Rico also have made offers of assistance. ***(MGCIO1 e-mail)***

## SANTIAGO AIRPORT STATUS/OPERATIONS

- (SBU) Santiago airport remains closed to everything but military flights. International commercial flights likely will not resume until March 5. ***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon, Embassy Santiago SitRep#4)***
- (SBU) The government is considering using airports in northern Chile for international flights; however, those airports are not equipped with customs and immigration systems. ***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) The Embassy intends to send staff to Santiago airport to assist American citizens gathering there to understand Spanish-language public service announcements and to inform them of lodging availability. ***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

## TSUNAMI DEATHS

(SBU) Six people are dead and 10 are missing after a wave hit the inhabited portions of the Juan Fernandez Islands. Chile has confirmed that two American citizens unaccounted for are not among the dead or missing. ***(MGCIO1/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov.

Drafted: KSchulz Approved: GPMacris

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Issues I cover
**Attachments:** Note on current projects.docx

Madam Secretary,

Attached and below, please find a list of the issues I cover.

Thanks,
Mike

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: Secretary Clinton
FROM: Mike
CC: Cheryl, Jake
SUBJECT: Issues I Cover

In addition to the day-to-day projects and follow-up items I work on with Jake, I cover the following issues:

**Long-Range Policy**

- Helping Cheryl and Jake plan for, and follow-up on, the bi-monthly policy meetings
- Working with bureaus on end-of-year reports follow-up
- Keeping up to speed on issues discussed at Deputies meetings for weekly memos
- Helping shepherd speech ideas and providing feedback on drafts

**Substantive Issue Areas**

- Human rights/democracy
- Sudan
- Mexico
- Cookstoves
- Yemen-related issues
- Export controls
- Cybersecurity
- Terrorist finance issues
- Military families issues
- Climate change

- Dialogues and partnerships with Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Indonesia, Brazil

**State Department Reform**

- Report reform: Working with Rich Verma and his team on reforming state's system for producing annual reports to Congress

- QDDR-related assistance

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:57 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

Will follow up on both. Safe travels!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:55 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

March 9--I may need to host a small dinner for Pres. Preval, maybe at my house.
Zach Iscol's movie was accepted for the Tribeca Film Festival and will be shown btw dates in late April and early May. Can we find out when?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767766 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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TO: Secretary Clinton

FROM: Mike

CC: Cheryl, Jake

SUBJECT: Issues I Cover

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767766 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin < [redacted] > B6
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:59 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Zach talked to me about it last night as well. Will be between april 21st and may 2nd. He will let us know as soon he gets the date.
Cdm did tell us to hold the 9th at whitehaven so we are doing that.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 28 16:54:59 2010
Subject: Schedule

March 9--I may need to host a small dinner for Pres. Preval, maybe at my house.
Zach Iscol's movie was accepted for the Tribeca Film Festival and will be shown btw dates in late April and early May. Can we find out when?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 8:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NPR

Yes

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Jan 11 07:59:49 2010
Subject: NPR

Can you get me transcript of story on NPR this am about how nearsightedness is cause?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

Will do.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:59 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Schedule

Thx. Also pls put as option: B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 28 16:56:41 2010
Subject: RE: Schedule

Will follow up on both. Safe travels!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:55 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

March 9--I may need to host a small dinner for Pres. Preval, maybe at my house.
Zach Iscol's movie was accepted for the Tribeca Film Festival and will be shown btw dates in late April and early May. Can we find out when?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 6:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: for HRC

FYI

**From:** Goodwin Liu
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 6:46 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: for HRC

B6

February 28, 2010

The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton
Secretary of State
United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Clinton:

This is a brief note to express my sincere and deep appreciation for all the calls and conversations you pursued to make my judicial nomination happen. It would not have happened without you. I am very humbled by the friendship, loyalty, and mentorship that you have repeatedly extended to Ann and me. We admire and learn so much from your examples of political courage.

We love reading about your work and feel so proud of all that you are doing in the world. And we look forward to sharing with you our birth announcement when our baby boy arrives in late March!

All best wishes,

Goodwin Liu

Mills, Cheryl D wrote:
Yes but she won't see until next week when she returns – if you have it in email text – I can cut and past it to her

**From:** Goodwin Liu
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 12:34 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** for HRC

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Andy Young

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:48:36 2010
Subject: Fw: Andy Young

Pls set up appointment for Andy Young to come see me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 20:32:57 2010
Subject: FW: Andy Young

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Giffin, Gordon[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 8:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Andy Young

Happy New Year. I hope you got some time to enjoy the holiday season and could relax before getting back at it this year.
Andy Young is a very good friend of mine, and has been a stalwart for the Clintons over the years. He is also one of the most recognized and respected experts on Africa in America. He asked me today if I thought it would be appropriate for him to seek to see the Secretary to share some of his thoughts on Africa and current issues being confronted there. I told him of course and suggested that he reach out to you to try to arrange that dialogue. Hopefully that is ok from your perspective. Andy is a thoughtful, remarkable and decent man. If you don't know him you will enjoy getting to know him. Thanks and maybe one of these days when I am in DC we can grab a coffee together. Cheers.

Gordon D. Giffin
McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP
303 Peachtree St. Suite 5300
Atlanta, Ga. 30308
404-527-4020

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RELEASE IN PART
B4,B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 7:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Google has been wierd about this whole deal but this whole Espo experience has been fascinating. Some companies will say absolutely no for months (Qualcomm, Bloomberg, J&J) and then pop out of nowhere and say yes. Others like ATT are in for [redacted] and then decide not to give us a penny. Therefore we have to keep bugging these guys. B4

We WILL raise the money. We are at $54M+ (this wk Hawaii came in for $500k and Bloomberg LLC [redacted] and need $7M more. Ideally we would like to raise $10 to 11M to cover any overruns (it's getting more expensive because the US was so late we are paying more now to build it quicker).

Where it will come from?

A- Right now we have three big companies talking to us in the range of [redacted] each - Monsanto, Disney, and Oracle. Haier may go from [redacted]. If two or three come thru big we are done.

B- We also have a number of other companies like Invitrogen, Hormel, Mattel and Major League Baseball in the [redacted] range.

C- Interestingly the cities and states are going to their private funders and trying to raise money on their own to promote their jurisdictions - Chicago, Houston, Georgia, Montana, TN. (In the past, over 20 states participated with public funds but current budgets are tough). Maybe a chat w Mayor Bloomberg would be worthwhile. For example, I spoke to the University of WA and they will probably get benefactors to cosponsor at $250k making them the only university represented.

D- We have approached groups like Pharma and the fashion industry thru Diane von Furstenburg to get them to bundle smaller companies and both have agreed to do it. I met w DVL and she wants you to know that she is very excited about helping (they are in the [redacted] M range).

E- We have talked to the elusive Chamber of Commerce again about getting SME's to raise $2-3M in smaller increments. They are contemplating it.

Finally the two obvious industries that are not involved are the banks (and we know why) and the insurance companies who are starting to look into the market over there.

Anyway, I did not mean to go on and on but that's where we stand and these are the potential areas to tap. We'll get there.

On your last Q - I too heard that [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:47:22 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

Do you know how [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 18:33:26 2010
Subject: Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN PART
B4

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 8:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Its not like a traditional trade show/expo with specific booths. It is more subtle and the pavilion folks would negotiate creatively on what they want. .

Depdg on amount, they get on the big wall of contributors, we show multiple scenes of NYC in the shows and displays, they can use the wonderful VIP lounge/auditorium to have NYC day or week at the Expo - the rockettes, Broadway goes to China, commercial diplomacy, mtgs betwn NYC and Chinese officials, .getting SME's access to China etc. We could really be creative.

LA, San Fran, San Antonio already in, chicago on way...

As you know the general theme is "Better Cities, Better Lives". How can NYC not be repped? They cam brag about their innovations.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:41:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

If a city gives $ do they put up display/exhibits?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:37:29 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

This will be an important two weeks to nail down these big companies. We are negotiating with them now about possible options. I'll keep you posted.

May be good to mention this to Mayor Bloomberg if you run into him or see him. Doctoroff gave us [redacted] from Bloomberg, LLC but he thght the Mayor may be interested for the city. B4

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:13:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

What else can I do to help?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: NPR

I am currently out of the office on official travel and will be checking e-mail periodically. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Good to see you

I've already met with him but will follow up again. Have an idea I think he may be able to help with.

Safe travels.

JM

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:45 PM
To: 'doug
Cc: McHale, Judith A
Subject: Re: Good to see you

B6

Raj is off to a brilliant start and thank you for the help you provided him.

We share your assessment of Pakistan's need for a public narrative and better capacity to communicate effectively. Judith has been working on how we improve our comm work there, and I know you were talking to the Pakistani Ambassador about helping them. I'm copying Judith and asking that the two of you discuss what we could do given the very difficult political landscape.

Thx for all your good counsel. We need to follow thru on the campaign for women we discussed some months back. Are you still assisting Melanne? Let me know what I can do to hurry it along. H

----- Original Message -----
From: doug <doug
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Good to see you

Mme Secretary:

I'm glad I got to see you at Raj's swearing-in. Hope you liked the speech. Alonzo said we hit the right notes and Raj is off to a strong start.

Of course I was kidding about "running away" from your "long list" of things you wanted to talk about with me. I'm happy to talk anytime.

In fact, it would be good to touch base on the women's initiative and Pakistan. I've been talking with NDI's highly regarded country director in Pakistan, who says communications is a desperate need and will definitely do some good for the government.

Look forward to seeing you again soon. All the best, Doug

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Roy Spence

As per your suggestion, I spoke with Roy Spence over the weekend and will be meeting with him on Wednesday to discuss candidates for the International Information programs (IIP) position. Will let you know how it goes.

JM

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Roy Spence

?
This is the role we discussed [redacted] for. B5 B6

cdm

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** 'H'
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Roy Spence

As per your suggestion, I spoke with Roy Spence over the weekend and will be meeting with him on Wednesday to discuss candidates for the International Information programs (IIP) position. Will let you know how it goes.

JM

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 12:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Ben Feder

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 3:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Read all the way down (2 emails)

Cdm

**From:** David Domenici [redacted] B6
**To:** David Domenici [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills [redacted]
**Sent:** Mon Jan 18 21:05:40 2010
**Subject:** RE: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

One other thought.
If the idea of building network of small new schools is just nuts given the infrastructure challenges, an alternative is more of the 'street school' approach. We take storefronts, little mom and pop storefronts, etc...and do minor reconfiguration and you have a whole set of little street schools clustered around central location. This could work, poses some challenges re: isolation of teachers, ability to offer a robust set of classes/offerings, but can still do the job, and can still have clear grand openings to help jumpstart culture, etc.
dd

---

**From:** David Domenici
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** 'Mills, Cheryl D'; 'Cheryl Mills'
**Subject:** Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Hey Cheryl,

Here are some quick thoughts on re-building school infrastructure in Port-au-Prince. Feel free to share with whomever you'd like.

I have little idea of the larger context here – how many schools/kids are we looking at, but one thing we've learned in the US in the last 5 years is that good teachers are the #1 lever of change in education. If we got 1,000 really great teachers into Port-au-Prince (w/ even a modicum of support and materials), they'd make a big difference and touch the lives of 30,000-60,000 kids.

I think this is totally doable, in short-order, in a magnificent way that could set the foundation for a well-educated generation of Haitians who could lead the country out of poverty, to self-sustainability, self-governance and openness.

To do--
Goal 1: Bring immediate influx of human capital into education sector in concentrated areas, and map out plan for long-term development of teachers/human capital.
Goal 2: Build curriculum, instructional materials that will support current Haitian elementary age students learning the academic and related skills they need to lead country to long-term sustainability.
Goal 3: Build/reconstruct schools and training centers that will support high quality education, and on their own, motivate and inspire children, families, and communities to send children to school.
Goal 4: Create (develop) family, community, economic, cultural, socio-political infrastructure that encourages and support all children going to school through elementary school, with goal of eradicating illiteracy and expanding the average level of education for Port-a-Prince residents to the [6th/8th] grade.

Goal 1: Human Capital:

Create Haiti Teacher Corps. Model loosely off of Peace Corps/Teach for America, CityYear

- Teacher corps (US): Recruit, train, and place 500-1000 teachers from US this spring and summer. We can do this.
    - Recruiting: Limit variable this year, and build up and out as we go. This spring we go to Georgetown, Univ of Maryland and Univ of Miami and University of Florida/S. Florida. Given crisis, current opportunities in the US, we could easily hire 500 college graduates of very high quality from 4 major universities under 2 year contracts.
    - Summer institute is 8 weeks in US; language training, intensive teacher training; onsite at two major universities (College Park, Univ. of Miami).
    - Language/culture training: TDB – find the best folks out there to train in French/Creole, and Haitian culture, current socio-political situation – 50% of the training program.
    - Academic training: We'll work w/ TFA and others and develop 8 week intensive teacher training program for other 50% of program.
- Teacher Corps (Haitian):
    - I need to learn more on this...but this would likely be critical both short-and long-term.
    - Need to know who/how to recruit. Avoid political pitfalls; focus on what we've learned about good teachers—you want people who have excelled in something—almost anything; so, we set up recruiting team on the ground in Haiti to find cohort of 500 new teachers; training is nearly identical to US teaching corp (i.e., modeled off of TFA summer institute).
    - Training: either bring them over to US to live and learn w/ US counterparts, or if that's too precarious, look to move them out of the city for 6-8 weeks over the summer. Find space 100 miles out and build summer camp/institute for them.
- Teacher leaders/principals/trainers:
    - Much easier than you'd think. Huge network now in the charter and ed reform community of hard-working, mission-driven teacher-leaders who would take this on.
    - (US Based) TFA/New Teacher Project alumni are in schools all over the US. They have taught for 2-6 years, want a chance to do something totally meaningful. This is is. We'll recruit 100-200 of them, and they will lead cohorts of 20 teachers...
    - Haiti-based: Less clear what the teacher-leader pipeline is like...but we can figure out and get whoever we can.
- Compensation, related.
    - We should build dorms/apts for people. Serve food in cafeteria's on-site at the schools; have community kitchens available, etc.
    - All US staff gets paid minimally during their tour/commitment, but earns stipends/completion bonuses. If folks convinced their expenses will be covered, they will have money to spend, we then backload this. So, might be a $10,000 salary and a $10,000 bonus upon completion. You live cheap; two years later, you get check that amounts to what you would have saved if you had been living, working, paying bills, etc. in the US.
    - Not sure about how to do Haitian pay. But structure similarly.
- What do we need to accomplish the Human Capital Goal?
    - In the US, not much.
        - A small staff of the right people could recruit, interview, assess and hire 500 corp members and we could get that done between Feb 1 and June 1, 2010—easily.
        - Cost:
            - 2-4 staff on board by 2.1; 10-15 staff on board by 3.1.10; that team will get everyone hired by 6.1.10
            - Summer training institutes: 500-100 teachers, housing at universities; training/supervision staff at 1:20 ratio to recruits
            - 8.1.10—Teaching Corp heads to Haiti, ongoing cost of housing, stipends/salary, health care, training/supervision, etc (we could build out draft operating budget quickly, but not doing that now).
    - In Haiti, less clear, but I think if we identify the right people, we'd concurrently recruit, interview, assess, hire 500 people.
        - Staffing and Cost: See notes above re: US recruitment and training. Assess current status in Haiti, and set up staffing, recruiting, hr function.
- Concurrently, we have team that is developing summer training materials, and working on curriculum/content (see below).
- Concurrently, we have team that is working on facilities (see below)
- Concurrently, we have team working on community outreach (see below).

Goal 2: Build a robust curriculum and teacher instruction program

We need to immediately tilt teaching and learning in the early grades to the skills and contents that are necessary in Haiti so that it people can enable it grow and develop economically, politically.

I am not a curriculum expert, but I think this is really doable, as well, so long as we get the right team—which in this case is likely a team of leading experts from Haiti, possibly other countries that have intentionally undergone an intensive ramp-up in the education sector, and US curriculum writers.

- US-Team:
  - Similar to above, there is incredible talent in the charters, and in a few major cities where structural education reform has taken hold.
  - We just need a small team to join us for 1 year to help us jump start the project.
- Haiti/Other countries:
  - We need to talk w/ folks in Haiti and find current state of curriculum, standards, instructional guides, books, materials, etc.
- Backwards Mapping: This is not as hard as it seems.
  - We get the right people to help us figure out what a 10-12 year old Haitian should know and we map backwards, all the way to preschool.
  - Once we get an end goal in key areas – math, reading, writing, history/social studies, science...we map backwards and start to define what we will teach.
  - And once we decide this, we use some of the tools we've developed in the US in the last 5-10 years to help us write curriculum, produce instructional materials.
  - This will be a jumbled mess to start...but will work and sort itself out.
  - We build it in clusters and in modules that can be swapped in and out, and mixed and matched. You want to give teachers tools so they can be successful with kids of different ages and abilities, particularly early on when we're likely to be operating more like one-room school houses than grade level schools we're used to here.
  - We build in assessments, standards, and teach teachers how to recognize when kids are falling behind, how to build in supports and tutorials.
  - The goal is to get large cohort of younger kids, I think, who start to learn and be taught to standards...all the while, we push hard in the upper grades, knowing it will be a lot less clear (and possibly much more directed towards helping current teens develop basic skills they need to be employable and contributing members of the rebuilding efforts –so this may be basic literacy, key vocational skills, etc.).
- Cost/staffing: Small US team that works with Haitian/other country team. Within a year or so, this team should be Haiti-based, w/ possible long-term support/membership from the US team. The start-up team sets up framework, establishing learning standards, builds tools and cranks out curricular materials—some of which are developed specifically for Haiti, but many of which may be translations from high quality materials from US and elsewhere.

Goal 3: Build high quality, durable schools that entice families, children into education.

In spite of current situation, this seems like another very doable goal.

- Get some schools built quickly to entice attendance.
  - Once rebuilding starts up, we can build schools quickly, affordably. And once they are up, if done correctly, they will immediately be attractive to families and communities. This, ironically, will be the case if we can get schools up quickly—while much of the other infrastructure is still in poor shape. Families will want kids in schools if the schools are safe, offer food, health care and structure—much of which will be wanting in devastated, poor neighborhoods.
- I'm not facilities expert, either; this is an area where we can look to other examples in the developing world for best practices. Nonprofits and governments have worked together to build great schools in many places in Africa, South America, and even recently in the Middle East.
- To think about: Consider technology and technology infrastructure as a part of the initial construction plan so it's not add-on later.
- To think about: Keeping the schools small, functional, really basic will help us get them up; including significant health care and related services complicates planning, build-out, but increases functionality.
- Cost/staffing: I don't have enough knowledge about this, particularly in Haiti. I think it would be quite easy to find the best models and quickly develop turnkey model for design/build that would ensure functionality, safety, and cost compliance.
- Once we have this, we either develop this capacity internally, or contract out and get these built, quickly.

Goal 4: Create family, community impetus for all school age children to be in school

This is both the end-game and a necessary condition along the way.

- The simpleton in me thinks that highly engaged, spirited teachers, inside safe, modern school buildings that serve healthy meals at no charge will, for some period of time (years) be a catalyst for socio-political change. And if we can get traction for a few years, and get large cohorts of young children actively engaged in school, then it will be hard to unwind the long-term, salutary benefits.
- Clearly, if families remain in poverty, and adults have no means to eam enough money to support families, then children of all ages, but particularly as they move toward teen years, will be attracted to alternatives other than school—some legitimate, but low-wage, and others illegal and destructive.
- In short-term, while we are developing program, we should be doing extensive community outreach and in all cases, getting neighborhoods and communities engaged in the pre-planning process. Families everywhere get excited about a new school, new teachers, and a new chance. And w should play on this—this will enable us to do necessary planning around enrollment, student/family needs, etc. We shouldn't sort of move slowly from no school to some school, we should go from no school to a new school and fresh start—even if that delays opening a bit. The first day should be major community event, that everyone can reflect upon and hold to in difficult times.

Gotta run. See you shortly.
xo,
dd

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 4:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Memo: Latest NI crisis/UK coup. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni crisis 011110.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

January 11, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Northern Ireland crisis and latest UK coup

The political crisis in Northern Ireland is fast moving and fluid. On Friday, January 7, after reading a lengthy statement on TV denouncing his wife repeatedly for her affair (with a teenager), Peter Robinson assured Shaun Woodward privately that no financial irregularity was involved. Then, within hours, it was reported that Iris Robinson secured 50,000 pounds from government contractors to give to her lover to set up a restaurant. Peter Robinson in fact knew of the money all along. Robinson had an opportunity to save himself, perhaps, by declaring himself for engagement on devolution, freeing himself of the DUP hardliners and throwing himself on public opinion, but was incapable of acting. By accepting his withdrawal as First Minister for six weeks today, the DUP has maintained a modicum of Robinson's authority, though it is in suspended animation. His temporary replacement, Arlene Foster, according to Shaun, comes from the modernizing wing of the party. Shaun does not know if her naming indicates a potetinally positive direction or makes her a prisoner of those who put her in place. The silence of Sinn Fein is telling. Not reacting in horror, Sinn Fein is unsure whether this is good or bad news, and it's willing to wait. But the waiting game is untenable without forward movement on devolution.

Here's why: Without positive steps from Foster and the DUP, the situation will become swiftly unacceptable to Sinn Fein. It will speak out. Martin McGuinness will have to express his opposition to DUP recalcitrance and paralysis. Earlier, Shaun sent signals to leaders of the DUP that Robinson's resignation would provoke a series of events leading rapidly to Shaun calling an election in which they would be tainted by him and suffer a catastrophic defeat, followed by the general UK election (almost certainly May 6) that would compound their misery. Shaun was trying to push them not to scuttle the peace process but to embrace it and move forward. Robinson's six weeks hiatus puts the DUP in a fugue state, a twilight zone of disorientation, that cannot be sustained even this week. Shaun is also working through the Irish government to communicate to Adams not to provoke a full-blown crisis, ruining peace prospects in order to advance the dream of a united Ireland.

There's more to come, hour by hour, but the situation remains extremely murky. It should clairfy within days.

On the latest coup attempt against Gordon: The plotters, Patricia Hewitt and Geoffrey Hoon, had no one behind them. It was a fizzle. This is the third and likely the last attempt. It's the end of the coup season. Ironically, the coup was announced just as Gordon had had his best week, last week, after David Cameron flip-flopped on a marriage tax and Gordon walloped him in Question Time. The coup obviously halted that momentum and shifted the subject to disunity within the Labour Party. Gordon and Labour lost a bit of time and ground it will have to make up. But various polls show almost no negative movement of Gordon in a matchup with Cameron. He has pulled to within ten points and remains steady. However, a poll in the Guardian today shows that while Gordon has actually improved his standing within the party the party itslef has taken a hit.

David Miliband was the loser in this coup attempt. He took seven hours before responding, issuing a tepid statement saying he expected that labour would win under Gordon's leadership. His vacillation marked him. Niether willing to strike nor support, he seems unsure, wobbly. His performance has made people wonder if he's the man to be leader after Gordon. David's brother, Ed, the environment minister, meanwhile, reacting swiftly in his backing of Gordon, and has emerged as a sterling fellow. Mandelson, for his part, waited to go on TV to express his public support. No one trusts him, yet he's indispensable. If somehow Gordon wins, he would likely be the first one defenestrated. More to come soon...

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** FW: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

**Importance:** High

FYI

**From:** Rick Leach [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 11:28 AM
**To:** Thompson, James F
**Subject:** Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton
**Importance:** High

Hello and Happy New Year Jim,

Friends of WFP has decided to provide its annual "Leadership in the Fight Against Hunger" Award to Secretary Clinton this year. The award is presented at a ceremony on Capitol Hill (within one of the House/Senate caucus rooms). Approximately 200 people attend the event including Members of Congress, NGO representatives, business leaders, administration officials and other leaders in the fight against hunger.

As you know, Friends of WFP is a non-profit organization dedicated to addressing global hunger. Its board members include former agriculture secretary Dan Glickman, former Senators George McGovern and Bob Dole, YUM Brands CEO David Novak, former NSC Advisor Sandy Berger and others. I established the organization in 1997.

Before officially announcing Secretary Clinton as this year's award recipient, we hoped to confirm that Secretary Clinton will be available to personally accept the award. We plan to schedule the award ceremony in September on either a Tuesday or Wednesday evening (at approximately 6:30/7pm). We would select the specific date based on Secretary Clinton's schedule.

I think the ceremony would provide another good opportunity to shine a spotlight on the unprecedented commitment of Secretary Clinton and President Obama to addressing global hunger. Thank you for your help in engaging the appropriate officials in the State Department.

All the Best,
Rick Leach

---

**From:** Thompson, James F [ThompsonJF2@state.gov]
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 29, 2009 4:16 PM
**To:** Global Partnership Initiative
**Subject:** Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative Update

Friends,
As 2009 comes to a close, we wanted to provide you with an update on the U.S. Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative and share with you what is to come in the new year.

First, a word of thanks for the input that many of you provided on our Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative consultation document. We received a large amount of interest and excellent suggestions on the document, and we will soon release a new version that reflects this input.

We are also drafting an implementation plan that will describe in greater detail how we intend to implement the initiative. We look forward to sharing both documents with you.

In recent months, we have continued to garner international support for the five core principles for global food security that form the basis of our strategy. In November, all UN member states endorsed these principles at the World Summit on Food Security in Rome.

1) Invest in country-owned plans
2) Foster strategic coordination
3) Strive for a comprehensive approach to food security
4) Ensure a strong role for the multilateral system
5) Ensure sustained and substantial commitment by all partners to investment in agriculture and food security and nutrition

In establishing the Rome Principles, the international community declared a new business model for coordinated action to increase global food security.

Translating these principles into action, on December 6-8, the Government of Rwanda, together with the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program, hosted a technical review of its Agriculture Sector Investment Plan and convened a high-level stakeholders meeting. At the meeting, development partners and the African Union/NEPAD endorsed Rwanda's plan and agreed to mobilize support for scaled-up financing. The African Union/NEPAD and representatives from the World Bank, UN, donor countries, the private sector, civil society organizations, and NGOs attended the meeting.

The United States was represented by a whole-of-government team led by Special Assistant to the President Gayle Smith that included representatives from the Departments of State, Treasury, and Agriculture, USAID, and MCC. Our team committed to improve the quality of our aid; to provide robust financial commitments and technical support; and to work to mobilize additional financing of the Investment Plan.

In the new year, we will continue to engage all stakeholders, work with the international community, and build on our experience in Rwanda as we move forward with plans to implement our initiative.

Please continue to visit our website: www.state.gov/s/globalfoodsecurity to stay informed of planning for the initiative and to provide input.

We wish you a happy new year and look forward to continuing to work closely with you.

The Global Hunger and Food Security Team

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 12:51 AM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: John Gill

He was very flexible but this week would be great. We can try and do tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 12 00:48:34 2010
Subject: John Gill

When can I call him?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 4:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

All you - will get with Iona

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Jan 11 23:03:23 2010
Subject: Re: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

That's very nice but you should get it! But, of course, I would accept on behalf of all of us.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 22:40:35 2010
Subject: FW: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

FYI

From: Rick Leach [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 11:28 AM
To: Thompson, James F
Subject: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton
Importance: High

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All the Best,

Rick Leach

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To: Global Partnership Initiative
Subject: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative Update

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Please continue to visit our website: www.state.gov/s/globalfoodsecurity to stay informed of planning for the initiative and to provide input.

We wish you a happy new year and look forward to continuing to work closely with you.

The Global Hunger and Food Security Team

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 10:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi: poll just out, relevant to your work in China, it's the economy, stupid. Sid

http://www.cbsnews.com/blogs/2010/01/11/politics/politicalhotsheet/entry6084818.shtml?tag=stack
January 11, 2010 6:30 PM

# Obama's Approval Rating Dips to New Low

(CBS)

President Obama's job approval rating has fallen to 46 percent, according to a new **CBS News poll**.

That rating is Mr. Obama's lowest yet in CBS News polling, and the poll marks the first time his approval rating has fallen below the 50 percent mark. Forty-one percent now say they disapprove of Mr. Obama's performance as president.

In last month's CBS News poll, 50 percent of Americans approved of how the president was handling his job, while thirty-nine percent disapproved.

**Analysis: The Irony Behind Obama's Poll Numbers**

Mr. Obama still receives strong support from Democrats (eight in ten approve of his performance), but his approval rating among Republicans is only 13 percent. More importantly, Mr. Obama's approval rating among independents has declined 10 points in recent months – and it now stands at just 42 percent.

Domestic issues – and not his response to terrorist threats - appear to be driving the president's approval rating downward.

Just 41 percent now approve of his handling of the economy, which Americans say is the nation's most pressing issue. Forty-seven percent disapprove. The president's marks on handling health care, with reforms still under debate in Congress, are even lower – just 36 percent approve, while 54 percent disapprove. Both of these approval ratings are the lowest of Mr. Obama's presidency.

Meanwhile, both parties in Congress receive even lower marks than the president on handling health care. Few Americans think the reforms in Congress hit the right note on expanding coverage, lowering costs and regulating the health insurance industry. (Read more on the health care poll results)

(CBS)

The president receives slightly higher ratings for his handling of the war in Afghanistan and the threat of terrorism than on domestic issues. Forty-six percent approve of Mr. Obama's handling of Afghanistan, and 52 percent approve of how he is handling the threat of terrorism.

While some Republicans have criticized the president and Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano's responses to the attempted Christmas Day terror attack, most Americans don't share their opinion.

In the poll, 57 percent of Americans approve of the way the Obama administration has responded to the attempted attack, and 29 percent disapprove. Views are highly partisan – 75 percent of Democrats approve, while just 41 percent of Republicans and 55 percent of independents do.

**More Findings from the Poll:**

• Fear of another terrorist attack has increased since the attempted attack on a Northwest Airlines flight from Amsterdam on Christmas Day. Now, 26 percent think another attack on the United States within the next few months is very likely, up from 12 percent just before the latest incident. This is the highest percentage that has felt an attack was very likely since March 2003, just after the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

• While most Americans (56 percent) have at least a fair amount of confidence that the government will protect its citizens from future attacks, just 15 percent are very confident. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, more expressed confidence.

• Few Americans – just 19 percent - think U.S. intelligence agencies are doing all they could to monitor the actions of suspected terrorists. Seventy-six think they could be doing more.

• Most Americans support conducting full body scans on travelers using a digital x-ray machine, a device some airports are now using. Seventy-four percent agree these machines should be used because they provide a detailed check for hidden weapons and explosives and reduce the need for physical searches. Just 20 percent think these machines should not be used because they would produce an image of a passenger's naked body and are an invasion of privacy.

• Over half of Americans think the U.S. should continue to keep the Guantanamo Bay prison open. Thirty-two percent think it ought to be closed and the prisoners there transferred somewhere else.

• The American public continues to volunteer the economy and jobs as the most important problem facing the country (44 percent), with health care a distant second (14 percent). In the wake of the attempted terror attack on Christmas Day, the percentage that cites terrorism as the most pressing issue has risen to seven percent from zero percent early last month.

• The public's overall assessment of the condition of the national economy remains grim – 82 percent of Americans say the economy is in bad shape. Looking ahead, 31 percent of Americans think the economy is getting better, while 19 percent think it is getting worse. Forty-nine percent now say the economy is staying the same.

RELEASE IN PART B4,B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Yup. Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Tue Jan 12 10:44:39 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Can you send me a call sheet for Bloomberg?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:56:15 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Its not like a traditional trade show/expo with specific booths. It is more subtle and the pavilion folks would negotiate creatively on what they want. .

Depdg on amount, they get on the big wall of contributors, we show multiple scenes of NYC in the shows and displays, they can use the wonderful VIP lounge/auditorium to have NYC day or week at the Expo - the rockettes, Broadway goes to China, commercial diplomacy, mtgs betwn NYC and Chinese officials, .getting SME's access to China etc. We could really be creative.

LA, San Fran, San Antonio already in, chicago on way...

As you know the general theme is "Better Cities, Better Lives". How can NYC not be repped? They cam brag about their innovations.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:41:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

If a city gives $ do they put up display/exhibits?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:37:29 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

This will be an important two weeks to nail down these big companies. We are negotiating with them now about possible options. I'll keep you posted.

May be good to mention this to Mayor Bloomberg if you run into him or see him. Doctoroff gave us [redacted] from Bloomberg, LLC but he thght the Mayor may be interested for the city. B4

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:13:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

What else can I do to help?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 19:03:24 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Google has been wierd about this whole deal but this whole Espo experience has been fascinating. Some companies will say absolutely no for months (Qualcomm, Bloomberg, J&J) and then pop out of nowhere and say yes. Others like ATT are in for [redacted] and then decide not to give us a penny. Therefore we have to keep bugging these guys.

We WILL raise the money. We are at $54M+ (this wk Hawaii came in for $500k and Bloomberg LLC [redacted] and need $7M more. Ideally we would like to raise $10 to 11M to cover any overruns (it's getting more expensive because the US was so late we are paying more now to build it quicker).

Where it will come from?

A- Right now we have three big companies talking to us in the range of [redacted] each - Monsanto, Disney, and Oracle. Haier may go from [redacted] If two or three come thru big we are done.

B- We also have a number of other companies like Invitrogen, Hormel, Mattel and Major League Baseball in the [redacted] range.

C- Interestingly the cities and states are going to their private funders and trying to raise money on their own to promote their jurisdictions - Chicago, Houston, Georgia, Montana, TN. (In the past, over 20 states participated with public funds but current budgets are tough). Maybe a chat w Mayor Bloomberg would be worthwhile. For example, I spoke to the University of WA and they will probably get benefactors to cosponsor at $250k making them the only university represented.

D- We have approached groups like Pharma and the fashion industry thru Diane von Furstenburg to get them to bundle smaller companies and both have agreed to do it. I met w DVL and she wants you to know that she is very excited about helping (they are in the [redacted] range).

E- We have talked to the elusive Chamber of Commerce again about getting SME's to raise $2-3M in smaller increments. They are contemplating it.

Finally the two obvious industries that are not involved are the banks (and we know why) and the insurance companies who are starting to look into the market over there.

Anyway, I did not mean to go on and on but that's where we stand and these are the potential areas to tap. We'll get there.

On your last Q - I too heard that [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:47:22 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

Do you know how [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 18:33:26 2010
Subject: Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 12:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: To Heilemann, Halperin and Politico: I'll Proudly Defend Hillary Clinton, On the Record

See below

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** To Heilemann, Halperin and Politico: I'll Proudly Defend Hillary Clinton, On the Record

The Huffington Post January 12, 2010



## Peter Daou

Political consultant, former adviser to Hillary Clinton

Posted: January 12, 2010 11:26 AM

# To Heilemann, Halperin and Politico: I'll Proudly Defend Hillary Clinton, On the Record

Ben Smith writes a cover story for Politico titled *Game over: The Clintons stand alone*. The piece is based on John Heilemann and Mark Halperin's '*Game Change*', the latest in an ever-expanding series of 2008 campaign books -- none of which, in my view, capture the entire story of what happened in that historic Democratic primary. (I include in that assessment David Plouffe's *The Audacity to Win*, which is undeniably a definitive version of what transpired **inside** the Obama campaign from the perspective of an exceptional campaign manager, but overlooks key reasons for Hillary Clinton's defeat and doesn't articulate the full scope of the online commentariat's impact.)

I am reading *Game Change* now and will update this entry once I've completed the portions about Hillary Clinton but I wanted to post something immediately in response to the Politico story.

Ben Smith is a savvy, well-connected reporter and Heilemann/Halperin are about as plugged into Beltway culture and DC power centers as anyone can be -- whether that's good or bad I'll let others judge. I became acquainted with Halperin during the campaign -- and with Smith -- but never spoke to the former about the book, nor with the latter about his article, so I'm coming to this as an outside observer. I don't dispute that Heilemann/Halperin have high level sources. I just want to be sure their readers get an accurate picture of Hillary Clinton's conduct during the campaign.

Smith's Politico article makes the case that the Clintons have few remaining defenders:

What's notable about the highly publicized release of "Game Change," however, is the virtual silence from the Clinton camp. The lack of public outrage seems to mark the sputtering end of what was once known as the Clinton political machine and underlines a fact that onetime Clinton loyalists acknowledge: The book's primary sources about the former candidate and current secretary of state are her own former staffers and intimates. As a result, there is no campaign of veteran Clintonites spinning the press corps and trying to pre-emptively discredit the book's scathing depiction of Hillary Clinton as a rudderless candidate and a cheerleader for vicious tactics against eventual winner Barack Obama. ... "Game Change" peels back a decade of careful renovations off Hillary Clinton's carefully constructed public face, casting her in the terms that defined her at her lows in the mid-1990s: scheming, profane, sometimes paranoid, often tone-deaf.

Here's my response: as a former adviser and a senior staffer/department head at her presidential campaign, I'll proudly defend Hillary Clinton and I'll do whatever I can to counter lies, smears and mischaracterizations.

Let me start by recounting how I first got to know her. Nearly four years ago, I was asked by her long-time communications maven Howard Wolfson to join her senate campaign. I was very happy running my site, the Daou Report, and advising a number of organizations in the then-nascent field of digital media consulting. I considered it an honor to be asked, but I knew it was a life-changing decision. Heeding Howard's warning that once I became part of 'Hillaryland' anything I said or did could become a media story (examples here and here), I had a series of conversations with people I trusted and whose unique perspective could help me make an informed decision.

I discussed it first with close friends and family.

I then spoke to Joan Walsh at Salon, who hosted/supported my site and always gave great advice. I spoke to Arianna Huffington, who openly warned me against giving up the world of blogging to join the Clinton team. I spoke to David Brock at Media Matters, who had a long history with the Clintons and understood the media landscape in great depth. I spoke to John Kerry, who I respect deeply and for whom I worked in the bitterly contested 2004 election. I fought on his behalf when he was trailing badly going into the 2004 primaries, and after he won the nomination, I lived, worked, ate and slept in his war room for the epic battle against Bush/Cheney/Rove. He understood and taught me the rigors of a campaign better than anyone I knew. And because one of my overarching tasks for Clinton was to connect her to the netroots, I spoke to bloggers like Digby, Markos (Kos) and others to get a sense of the challenge ahead.

In the end, I couldn't miss the once in a lifetime opportunity to work with one of the most dynamic, inspiring women in the world. And even though the entire focus when I joined her was on the senate campaign, I, like many others, was looking ahead to the 2008 race. I've blogged for years about the pervasive abuse of women and the rampant sexism that affects our world, and the idea of electing a woman president was beyond exciting.

Our first meeting was set for 15-30 minutes but lasted over an hour. Contrary to the myth that she was clueless about the Internet, Hillary was well aware of the importance of technology, of the role of the online community, and most importantly to me, the value of a strong progressive infrastructure centered around blogs, CAP, Media Matters and the like. We discussed the Middle East and my childhood in Beirut during Lebanon's bloody civil war. Not unexpectedly, she knew virtually everything about every topic we discussed. And she was as down to earth and funny as anyone I'd ever met in politics -- or outside politics.

A week later, fighting flared up in Lebanon. Very early on a Sunday morning, my home phone rang. I answered groggily. It was Hillary, calling to make sure my friends and family in Beirut were OK. That's the person she is, the person I encountered throughout the campaign, privately and publicly.

But this is not about psychoanalyzing Hillary Clinton or probing her personal attributes -- others have made a living doing that. It's not about making her out to be a saint. Nobody is. This is about describing how she ran her campaign and how she treated her opponents when the cameras and microphones were off.

Was I on every call and at every strategy session? No. Can I vouch for every single thing said and done at the campaign. Of course not. But having participated in countless senior strategy meetings, crisis management and rapid response drills and emergencies, "war rooms within war rooms" (a term used by Heilemann/Halperin), debate prep, calls, emails and private conversations with the candidate, and having slept with my BlackBerry under my pillow and been stationed at the center of her communications operation for the duration of the campaign, I can confidently state that Hillary Clinton did **not** push for 'vicious' or dirty tactics against any of her opponents, nor did she encourage or 'cheer on' that behavior from her staff. The ethos of the campaign, which she conveyed in word and deed, was that she would win because she was best prepared, worked the hardest and had the most compelling ideas.

She was centered, dignified and focused throughout, although her frustration and pain did show through at some moments. She knew the media environment was stacked against her, against any woman. She knew what she was up against and drove forward into the furious headwinds of sexism and rightwing-fueled Clinton-hatred.

For Hillary Clinton, it wasn't about being a woman, it was about being the best.

The unraveling of her huge lead in the polls in late 2007 is an incredibly convoluted and harrowing tale of words, actions, decisions, interpersonal dynamics, internal campaign struggles, dysfunctionality, careless mistakes, leaks, "surrogates gone wild," (my term for overzealous supporters), reactions, underreactions, overreactions, strategic/tactical brilliance and incompetence, emotional highs and lows on the part of all the candidates and campaigns. Anyone who tries to reduce it to a few pivotal moments or to a simple character narrative does history an injustice. It was literally a minute by minute unfolding, accelerated and complexified by millions of online activists and commentators, who could shape and reshape conventional wisdom in a matter of moments. Any single decision could have changed the course of events -- and of history. I have little tolerance for critics who simplify the whole election as some sort of reflection of the supposedly terrible character of Bill and Hillary Clinton, conveniently ignoring the Obama campaign's brutally effective hardball tactics and overlooking the infinite dimensions -- and messiness -- of a presidential image/message war.

The fact is, both campaigns slogged it out, played rough, and one came out victorious. And it would be wrong to act like only Hillary faced historic obstacles. Barack Obama was a formidable candidate and opponent who faced almost insurmountable odds. He deserves all the credit for winning and even more credit for appreciating Hillary's value when the contest ended.

Still, it's important to state for the record, contra *Game Change* (or at least Politico's interpretation of the book), that if anything, Hillary's campaign let *her* down, not the reverse. Nor was it just one person's fault. Her entire senior team bears responsibility. I take responsibility for the role I played. It's easy to demean her when you're an anonymous source for a book (and an easy way to absolve oneself of guilt), but let's get real: far too often, she carried the campaign through sheer force of will and through an endless wellspring of personal fortitude.

Nobody wants to relive 2008, but history is being written now. Generations from today, students will read about a historic campaign where barriers were shattered, and I for one, don't want the wrong story to be told.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Bloomberg Call Sheet
**Attachments:** Call Sheet for S on Mayor Bloomberg.docx

<<Call Sheet for S on Mayor Bloomberg.docx>> Attached is the call sheet you requested for Mayor Bloomberg. Thnx for doing this.

Kris

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 2010 10:45 AM
To: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

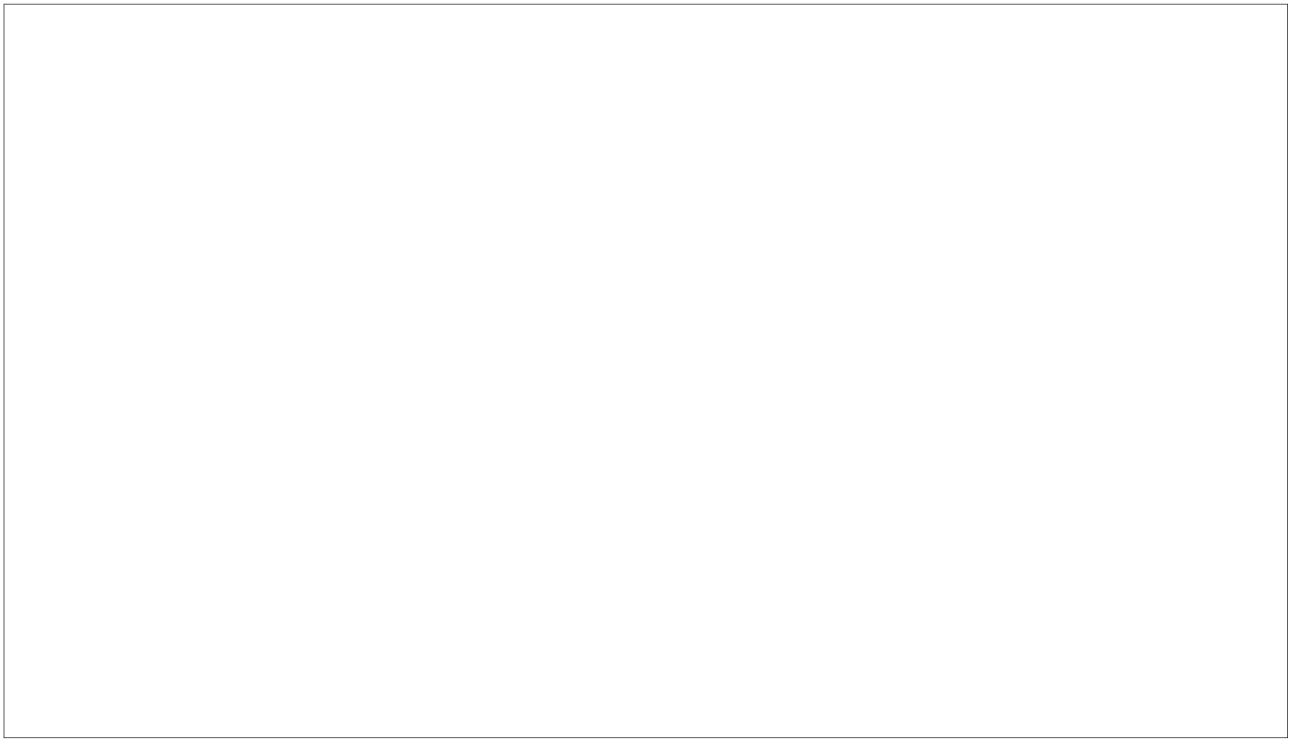
Can you send me a call sheet for Bloomberg?

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# The Secretary's Call Sheet for New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg Tuesday, January 12, 2009

B5



B5

Call Notes:

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 6:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Guinea- Conakry: Proposed Call for the Secretary

I talked to johnnie and relayed all info below to you. But so that u also have.

---

**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Yamamoto, Donald Y; Fitzgerald, William E; Cook, Akunna E; Leonard, Mary Beth
**Sent:** Tue Jan 12 16:01:43 2010
**Subject:** Guinea- Conakry: Proposed Call for the Secretary

Jake: I just missed your call, but wanted to bring you up to speed quickly on Guinean leader Dadis Camara and to reiterate my recommendation that

B5

We will send a Info Note to the Secretary at the end our business day.

Thanks. Johnnie

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 6:08 PM
**To:** Balderston, Kris M; H
**Subject:** Re: Bloomberg Call Sheet

Thx kris
Will let you know when she calls

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Jan 12 17:40:01 2010
Subject: Bloomberg Call Sheet

<<Call Sheet for S on Mayor Bloomberg.docx>> Attached is the call sheet you requested for Mayor Bloomberg. Thnx for doing this.

Kris

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 2010 10:45 AM
To: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Can you send me a call sheet for Bloomberg?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Google to Pull Out of China

FYI.

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**From:** Park, Pamela P
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Tesone, Mark
**Sent:** Tue Jan 12 18:11:54 2010
**Subject:** RE: Google to Pull Out of China

Google's announcement on their blog:

## A new approach to China

1/12/2010 03:00:00 PM
Like many other well-known organizations, we face cyber attacks of varying degrees on a regular basis. In mid-December, we detected a highly sophisticated and targeted attack on our corporate infrastructure originating from China that resulted in the theft of intellectual property from Google. However, it soon became clear that what at first appeared to be solely a security incident--albeit a significant one--was something quite different.

First, this attack was not just on Google. As part of our investigation we have discovered that at least twenty other large companies from a wide range of businesses--including the Internet, finance, technology, media and chemical sectors--have been similarly targeted. We are currently in the process of notifying those companies, and we are also working with the relevant U.S. authorities.

Second, we have evidence to suggest that a primary goal of the attackers was accessing the Gmail accounts of Chinese human rights activists. Based on our investigation to date we believe their attack did not achieve that objective. Only two Gmail accounts appear to have been accessed, and that activity was limited to account information (such as the date the account was created) and subject line, rather than the content of emails themselves.

Third, as part of this investigation but independent of the attack on Google, we have discovered that the accounts of dozens of U.S.-, China- and Europe-based Gmail users who are advocates of human rights in China appear to have been routinely accessed by third parties. These accounts have not been accessed through any security breach at Google, but most likely via phishing scams or malware placed on the users' computers.

We have already used information gained from this attack to make infrastructure and architectural improvements that enhance security for Google and for our users. In terms of individual users, we would advise people to deploy reputable anti-virus and anti-spyware programs on their computers, to install patches for their operating systems and to update their web browsers. Always be cautious when clicking on links appearing in instant messages and emails, or when asked to share personal information like passwords online. You can read more here about our cyber-security

recommendations. People wanting to learn more about these kinds of attacks can read this U.S. government report (PDF), Nart Villeneuve's blog and this presentation on the GhostNet spying incident.

We have taken the unusual step of sharing information about these attacks with a broad audience not just because of the security and human rights implications of what we have unearthed, but also because this information goes to the heart of a much bigger global debate about freedom of speech. In the last two decades, China's economic reform programs and its citizens' entrepreneurial flair have lifted hundreds of millions of Chinese people out of poverty. Indeed, this great nation is at the heart of much economic progress and development in the world today.

We launched Google.cn in January 2006 in the belief that the benefits of increased access to information for people in China and a more open Internet outweighed our discomfort in agreeing to censor some results. At the time we made clear that "we will carefully monitor conditions in China, including new laws and other restrictions on our services. If we determine that we are unable to achieve the objectives outlined we will not hesitate to reconsider our approach to China."

These attacks and the surveillance they have uncovered--combined with the attempts over the past year to further limit free speech on the web--have led us to conclude that we should review the feasibility of our business operations in China. We have decided we are no longer willing to continue censoring our results on Google.cn, and so over the next few weeks we will be discussing with the Chinese government the basis on which we could operate an unfiltered search engine within the law, if at all. We recognize that this may well mean having to shut down Google.cn, and potentially our offices in China.

The decision to review our business operations in China has been incredibly hard, and we know that it will have potentially far-reaching consequences. We want to make clear that this move was driven by our executives in the United States, without the knowledge or involvement of our employees in China who have worked incredibly hard to make Google.cn the success it is today. We are committed to working responsibly to resolve the very difficult issues raised.

Posted by David Drummond, SVP, Corporate Development and Chief Legal Officer

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 6:41 PM
**To:** H

Statement by the President on the Earthquake in Haiti

"My thoughts and prayers go out to those who have been affected by this earthquake. We are closely monitoring the situation and we stand ready to assist the people of Haiti."

Background information: The President was informed of the earthquake at 5:52pm. The President asked his staff to make sure that embassy personnel are safe, and to begin preparations in the event that humanitarian assistance is needed. The Department of State, USAID and the United States Southern Command have begun working to coordinate an assessment and any such assistance.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** FW: From PauP

fyi

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Daniel B
**Cc:** TaskForce-1
**Subject:** From PauP

Deputy RSO advises three severely injured Embassy employees in housing up one of the mountains

Working to get them down to Embassy Health Unit

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:57 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Re: From PauP

Americans? Or local staff?

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tue Jan 12 19:55:20 2010
**Subject:** FW: From PauP

fyi

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Daniel B
**Cc:** TaskForce-1
**Subject:** From PauP

Deputy RSO advises three severely injured Embassy employees in housing up one of the mountains

Working to get them down to Embassy Health Unit

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 8:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls Clear: Urging Release of Mourning Mothers in Iran

For your approval.

---

**From**: Schwerin, Daniel B
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Cc**: Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
**Sent**: Tue Jan 12 19:58:40 2010
**Subject**: Pls Clear: Urging Release of Mourning Mothers in Iran

Sorry to pile on one more to do in a busy window, but NEA would like to release this tonight.

Statement by Secretary Clinton

Urging Release of Mourning Mothers in Iran

B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Politico - Reid

FYI:

Jan 12, 2010
» Mobile Home » Top Stories
Inside the Reid eruption
By Mike Allen & Glenn Thrush | 1/12/10 @ 12:19 AM EST

Harry Reid isn't talkative. But the Senate majority leader chatted freely with the two disarmingly charming book authors who came to his office at the Capitol shortly after the 2008 election.

They — and their tape recorder — were soaking in his reminiscences about the wild campaign that had turned a backbencher in his caucus into president of the United States.

Reid wasn't on guard — perhaps because he'd been told by his staff that the meeting would be "off the record," according to a person with knowledge of the exchange.

Although Reid is a master of the Senate's mysterious inside game, he's often botched the outside game because of what one colleague calls a "penchant for saying things without a filter."

But Jim Manley, Reid's senior communications adviser, wasn't too worried as he and his boss sat down with John Heilemann of New York Magazine and Mark Halperin of Time magazine — two veteran reporters who were working on what their publisher had billed as "a sweeping, novelistic, and ultimately definitive portrait" of the 2008 race.

Like virtually every Washington political insider, Manley had a long and warm relationship with Halperin, the longtime political director for ABC News who once set conventional wisdom in Washington with "The Note."

Maybe Reid and Manley — thinking back to their many candid exchanges over the years — simply assumed that Halperin wouldn't burn him or his boss. Or maybe he expected that Halperin would check back with him on any quotes he planned to use?

Whatever they were thinking, they were wrong.

Reid was talking about the reasons why, even though he had publicly professed neutrality in the vicious Democratic primaries of 2008, he had secretly encouraged then-Illinois Sen. Barack Obama to challenge another member of his caucus, then-New York Sen. Hillary Clinton. And amid all the talk of Obama's oratorical gifts, he let slip something else: Obama could win the White House because he was a "light-skinned" African-American "with no Negro dialect, unless he wanted to have one."

The authors write in "Game Change," published this weekend, that Reid had made the remark "privately." They did not say he had said it to them.

As a chagrined Reid telephoned political allies in the Senate and civil rights community to shore up his support this weekend, he made it clear that he felt burned by the authors.

In the book's"Authors' Note," they wrote: "All of our interviews — from those with junior staffers to those with the candidates themselves — were conducted on a 'deep background' basis, which means we agreed not to identify the subjects as sources in any way. We believed this was essential to eliciting the level of candor on which a book of this sort depends."

Heilemann said on MSNBC's "Morning Joe": "We had a very clear agreement with all those sources that our interviews would be on deep background. ... Our ground rules are ... that we won't identify any of our sources as the sources of the material. But we said to them all very clearly that if they put themselves in scenes of the book, if they were uttering dialogue to people in the book in part of a scene, that we would identify them as the utterer of those words."

Halperin added: "There's no one we talked to for the book who we burned in any way, or violated any agreement with."

Manley, a Capitol Hill veteran who also had worked for the late Sen. Ted Kennedy, had been responsible for monitoring the interview and dealing with issues arising from it.

But he didn't tell anyone else in Reid's inner circle about the inflammatory remarks their boss had made; because of his good relationship with the authors, he assumed that the quotes would never be made public — at least not without his knowing about it first.

Manley declined comment on this story-- and wouldn't confirm if the interview took place.

On Friday at 10 p.m. — half a year after the interview — The Atlantic's Marc Ambinder e-mailed Reid's staff with questions about a "light-skinned" candidate without a "Negro dialect."

In the second-guessing that followed, Capitol Hill veterans said there was no way that such inflammatory words from a Senate majority leader would remain off the record, even if that had been the arrangement.

But because Manley had not sounded an internal alarm, he and the rest of the damage-control squad were caught flat-footed by Ambinder's e-mail, several people close to the situation told POLITICO.

"They could have had weeks to prepare for this or to try to convince Halperin not to run it," said a Democrat who participated in some of the damage control.

Now the staff had been blindsided with a revelation that, if mishandled, could be politically fatal. Manley and other aides worked until 2 a.m. Saturday to draft Reid's carefully written apology, which emphasized his record on African-American issues.

"I deeply regret using such a poor choice of words," the 90-word statement began.

Later on Saturday, Manley helped lead a counteroffensive, calling White House press secretary Robert Gibbs, a friend from his days as communications director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, to set up an apology call between Reid, at home in Searchlight, Nev., and Obama back in Washington.

In a stunning "Statement by the President" e-mailed to reporters at 3:55 p.m. Saturday, Obama said: "Harry Reid called me today and apologized for an unfortunate comment reported today. ... As far as I'm concerned, the book is closed."

Relieved to have the president's solid backing, Reid's aides decided that their toughest challenge would be to prevent any prominent African-American Democrats from attacking Reid too harshly — or calling for his resignation.

Reid's team correctly anticipated that Republicans would demand his head. Keeping that criticism from becoming a bipartisan drumbeat was the key. The team calculated that as long as the attacks looked like partisan shouting, Reid would benefit.

Aides say their boss quickly understood the danger and spent much of Saturday working a call list of about 30 prominent African-Americans across the country. On the calls, he apologized for his words and argued that the book's main takeaway should be that he had quietly supported Obama over Clinton, long before those made his feelings public.

Among those he called were the Rev. Al Sharpton; longtime civil rights leader Julian Bond; Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.), chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus; political consultant and talk-show fixture Donna Brazile; House Majority Whip Jim Clyburn (D-S.C.); Wade Henderson, CEO of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; and Hilary Shelton, director of the NAACP's Washington office.

The extent of the damage to his already shaky reelection chances in Nevada won't be known until November. But by Monday, Reid believed the Washington storm was passing. From his home in New York, Sen. Chuck Schumer telephoned Reid in Nevada and offered to organize a letter of support from all the Democratic senators.

Reid decided that was unnecessary. He had confidently concluded that for now, at least, he had won the inside game.

-----Original Message-----
From: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 2010 3:20 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Klevorick, Caitlin B
Subject: GC

It's one thing to say something that gets reported. Another to make it TO the authors. It's what happens when people sit with reporters for no obvious reason or goal.

http://mobile.politico.com/story.cfm?id=31384&cat=topnews

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 8:46 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** RE: From PauP

Am cits

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:57 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Re: From PauP

Americans? Or local staff?

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tue Jan 12 19:55:20 2010
**Subject:** FW: From PauP

fyi

---

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Daniel B
**Cc:** TaskForce-1
**Subject:** From PauP

Deputy RSO advises three severely injured Embassy employees in housing up one of the mountains

Working to get them down to Embassy Health Unit

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

Here you go:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Roger.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Jan 12 23:15:25 2010
Subject: Re: Statement

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 12 23:12:29 2010
Subject: Statement

Here you go:

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 12:44 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Fw: staff in Haiti

Latest below

We did a series of interagency calls from 7pm - 11pm.

Raj going out on am shows - potus will announce him as point for coordinating our disaster assistance.

We will start search and rescues teams at sunlight (w/no heavy equipment getting folks out will be hard).

We have requests for help from irish, canadian, taiwan embassies; help req from un. B6

David lindewall is doing good job.

See b/l.

Cdm

**From**: Lindwall, David E
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Wed Jan 13 00:05:08 2010
**Subject**: RE: staff in Haiti

Thanks, Cheryl We know we can count on your support. We'll talk in the morning. We're very concerned over our injured officers and moving heaven and hell to get to them. The UN was hit MUCH worse than us. No work on The UN is flying in medevacs early and hopes to start ferrying its injured and dead from the headquarters to the airport where they are setting up a temporary hospital/morgue. The city is chaotic with traffic jams, rubble, and lots of dead bodies. No reports yet of violence, but looting has begun. MINUSTAH is focused totally on trying to rescue people from their crumbled headquarters. The Canadian Embassy was severely damaged. We are getting HUGE aftershocks every 20-30 minutes that bring down more rubble and are rattling everyone's nerves. I'll be working on a list tonight for ordered departure and hope to have a recommendation for the Department at 7:30. Thanks for your support! David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:56 PM
**To:** Lindwall, David E
**Subject:** RE: staff in Haiti

Thanks David – I will check in with you early am – you're doing a great job – you sounded strong on the call and are providing the necessary leadership given the challenges facing you and Ken.

We're here for anything you need.

---

**From:** Lindwall, David E
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:51 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: staff in Haiti

Cheryl,

We'll look into it. I'm told a lot of people are taking refuge at the Karibe, leading me to hope it might be in better shape. I'll let you know anything I hear. David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:48 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1
**Cc:** Smith, Daniel B; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E
**Subject:** FW: staff in Haiti

---

**From:** Amitabh Desai [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 7:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** staff in Haiti

Dear Cheryl, we have some staff in Port au Prince, currently at the Hotel Karibe. Whatever USG folks can do to take care of them would be much appreciated:

- (US citizen) [cell: / cell 2: / email: ]
- (Scottish)
- (French)

Thanks,
Ami
Phone:
Email:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 1:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Situation Report No. 1 - Haiti Earthquake

Fyi

---

**From:** Awad, Miriam L
**Sent:** Wed Jan 13 01:08:48 2010
**Subject:** Situation Report No. 1 - Haiti Earthquake

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
Operations Center

# *SITUATION REPORT No. 1*

## *Haiti Earthquake TF01*

**Wednesday, January 13, 2010**
**0030 EST**

## HAITIAN AMB. REQUESTS AID; U.S. PRESIDENT PLEDGES SUPPORT

(SBU) President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and UN Special Envoy Clinton issued separate statements. Haitian Ambassador to the U.S. Raymond Joseph called for assistance in a CNN interview. Chile, the Dominican Republic, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Jamaica have offered support, with more expected. ***(White House release, CNN, Embassy Port-au-Prince)***

## EMBASSY STATUS, CASUALTIES, RESPONSE

- (SBU) Embassy buildings are stable, with running water and electricity. Two Embassy officers and a spouse are injured. An officer is possibly trapped in a collapsed home. At least four U.S. soldiers and three Coast Guard personnel are unaccounted for.
  ***(Ops/Embassy Port-Au-Prince telcon)***
- (SBU) The Embassy is unable to confirm reports the international airport in Port-au-Prince, is operational. ***(Ops/Embassy Port-Au-Prince telcon)***
- (SBU) SOUTHCOM reports two U.S. Coast Guard cutters are 9-18 hours from the capital; two C-130's are on standby for possible medical evacuations.
  ***(Ops/Embassy Port-Au-Prince telcon, SOUTHCOM/TF01 telcon)***

## AMERICAN CITIZEN WELFARE/WHEREABOUTS

(U) Consular calls can be directed to 888-407-4747, email ca-taskforce@state.gov. CA estimates 50 calls per hour. The embassy will issue a warden message and CA plans to issue a travel alert shortly. ***(TF01/CA-Task Force)***

## HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN QUEUE

(SBU) USAID/OFDA reports two urban search and rescue teams (from Fairfax and L.A. counties) have been activated and are on standby, the DART alert system has been activated, and OFDA is standing up a Response Management Team (RMT) in Washington. OFDA's regional team in Costa Rica is ready to deploy January 13 via chartered aircraft. ***(PMAT/USSOUTHCOM email)***

## MINUSTAH ESTABLISHES A PERIMETER AROUND ITS HEADQUARTERS

(U) MINUSTAH personnel, including Special Representative Hedi Annabi, are reported by UN officials to be trapped inside the collapsed building with a Chinese delegation.
***(Ops/Embassy Port-Au-Prince telcon)***

Drafted: HFRodriguez /DZimov

Approved: DLBanks

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSC, HSC, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Update on UN

**Importance:** High

FYI

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** [redacted] Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J; [redacted]; 'Vietor, Tommy'; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Daniel B
**Subject:** Update on UN
**Importance:** High

B6

See below

**From:** CMS TaskForce1E-DepCoordinator (OSD)
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** DiCarlo, Rosemary A (USUN); Brimmer, Esther D; Anderson, Gerald C; Noble, David A.; Baily, Jess L; Gray, Howard L; Naranjo, Brian R; Reneau, Jeffrey K (USUN); Ahmed, Salman (USUN); Keshap, Atul; Nossel, Suzanne F; Le Mon, Christopher J; Delaurentis, Jeffrey A (USUN)
**Cc:** TaskForce-1
**Subject:** FW: FINAL 01-13-10 Haiti Talking Points - 0530
**Importance:** High

There weren't a huge number of updates over the evening, though the phones are getting more active again now. Late this morning we learned that SYG Ban Ki Moon was in touch with AMB Rice, and told her that there were approximately 100 UN staff still buried under the rubble at MINUSTAH, [redacted] SYG Ban formally requested helicopter search and rescue teams. AMB Rice underscored that we need to make getting those SARs a priority.

I'm attaching our draft talking points from about an hour and a half ago; the background sections in particular have some useful information. Currently, Southcom is conducting aerial reconnaissance of the airport to determine in what sort of repair it is. The talking points note that several countries and organizations (Dominican Republic, Chile, UK, the Netherlands, IADB) have offered assistance to Haiti (and info'd us). In addition to those on the list, the Israelis are trying to send several urban search and rescue teams (some of the team members need help getting visas to transit Miami en route to Port-au-Prince).

The UN Situation Center is in contact with MINUSTAH's Deputy Force Commander. They have been working to clear a couple of major streets in Port-au-Prince, as noted in the talking points. They have also reviewed the airport, and their Deputy Force Commander told the UN Situation Center several hours ago that the airport was functional (in the sense that the tarmac was intact and planes could physically land).

Oren Anolik, political counselor at the Israeli Embassy, called around 2 a.m. to ask if there were any updates. We had few updates at that time, other than to let him know that we had learned the damage to southern Haiti was much more extensive than that in the north.

Brian

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Shervin Pishevar [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:35 AM
To: Dowd, Katie W
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Ross, Alec J
Subject: Re: Haiti

Btw, the text messaging fundraising for Haiti us a true example of 21st century statecraft. Kudos to your team!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 13, 2010, at 8:46 AM, "Dowd, Katie W" <DowdKW@state.gov> wrote:

> Shervin, would be great to talk further here. Let me know when is
> good.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Mills, Cheryl D
> To: 'Shervin Pishevar' < >
> Cc: Dowd, Katie W; Ross, Alec J
> Sent: Wed Jan 13 08:42:03 2010
> Subject: RE: Haiti
>
> Great idea - connecting folks who can make that real.
>
> cdm
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Shervin Pishevar [mailto: ] B6
> Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 8:06 AM
> To: Mills, Cheryl D
> Subject: Haiti
>
> Dear Cheryl,
>
> It was so nice to sit next to you at the dinner last week.
>
> What more can we do I'm the tech community to help in Haiti right now?
> I want to do all that I can.
>
> Cheers,
>

> Shervin
>
> Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:19 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Katie Dowd

FYI

We have not announced the amount raised.

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Katie Dowd

Cheryl,
You should know that Katie Dowd is working around the clock on Internet Freedom and doing a spectacular job.

In addition, this Haiti texting program (on which my role was little to nothing) was Katie Dowd + Stanton, Caitlin + James Eberhard (who was at dinner last week and who was woken up in Pakistan) with Katie Dowd playing the key leadership role. $200K raised so far.

Alec Ross
Senior Advisor for Innovation
Office of the Secretary of State
(202) 647-6315
RossAJ@State.gov

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 1/13/10 Senior Staff

FYI

---

**From:** Smith, Daniel B
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** 1/13/10 Senior Staff

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Haiti

- [redacted] B5
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]

1206/1207

- [redacted]

Guinea-Conakry

- [redacted]

Legal Issues

- [redacted]

UAE

- [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 11:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cdm on cnn briefing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Situation Report No. 4 - Chile Earthquake (SBU)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Sun Feb 28 19:09:29 2010
**Subject:** Situation Report No. 4 - Chile Earthquake (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SITUATION REPORT No. 4*

## *CHILE EARTHQUAKE MONITORING GROUP MGCI01*

**Sunday, February 28, 2010**
**1900 EST**

## OFFICIAL DEATH TOLL UPDATE, CONCEPCION DAMAGE ASSESSMENT

- (SBU) The Chilean government has issued an official death toll of 708. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) The Chilean Army arrived in Concepcion. Reports on the security situation vary; media report sporadic looting, which authorities are working to contain. Embassy contacts report the situation improved over the course of February 28. A curfew is in place for Concepcion and the Maule region. ***(MGCI01 e-mail, MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) Cell phone coverage in Concepcion deteriorated over the course of February 28. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago e-mail)***
- (SBU) There is no electricity in Concepcion and gas stations have run out of gas. Many people are attempting to flee the area, but the roads are damaged and clogged with traffic. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago e-mail)***
- (SBU) The situation in Talcahuano is reportedly dangerous as a tsunami flooded the city, creating problems with sewage and hygiene. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago e-mail)***

## STATUS OF EMBASSY/AMCITS

- (SBU) The Embassy continues to have no classified operations and requested assistance from OBO on dealing with HVAC problems. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) Eleven Locally Engaged Staff and thirty-five contractors remain unaccounted for. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) Some Embassy houses lack basic services with some Embassy families with no utilities. The Embassy warehouse is structurally damaged and closed. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

- (SBU) There are no Americans gathered at the airport, but there are Americans at several hotels and the Embassy will send staff to those locations to ensure they are informed about the situation. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

## FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

- (SBU) SOUTHCOM and USAID will arrange for delivery of up to 35 satellite phones over the next two days. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) Embassy Santiago is coordinating with the government of Chile and Washington agencies on the Chilean request for medical assistance. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

## AIRPORT STATUS/OPERATIONS

- (SBU) There are no international or domestic flights in or out of Santiago airport. The Chilean authorities may reopen the airport on March 2 if repairs to the terminal and access roads can be made. A collapsed fuel tank has not been cleaned up and there is a strong smell of the evaporating fuel. The major road entrance has collapsed, as has an overpass to the airport. Cars can transit, although their passage is not secure as they pass under the collapsed structure. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***
- (SBU) Concepcion airport is open to military flights only. ***(MGCI01/Embassy Santiago telcon)***

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov.

Drafted: KSchulz Approved: MTPascual/WParrs
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** That issue: the bad and the good (and the ugly)

Assume the following two pieces from Dawn in Karachi reached you through other channels, but just to be sure.
The first is exactly the bad story I was worried about.
The second is the Administration's attempt to shoot it down.
Bottom line (another four-letter word): "Whew!"

FIRST STORY .....

Talks under way for N-deal with US: Haqqani

By Zulqernain Tahir

Monday, 15 Feb, 2010 | 06:02 AM PST |

LAHORE: Pakistan's Ambassador to US Husain Haqqani has said the government has started negotiating with the United States for an agreement on nuclear technology.

"The US is not sceptical about our nuclear programme. Talks between Pakistan and the US for cooperation on atomic programmes are under way and we want the US to have an agreement with us like the one it had with India on civil nuclear technology," Mr Haqqani said at a reception hosted by Punjab Governor Salmaan Taseer on Sunday.

He said Pakistan would get 16 latest F-16 aircraft in June. He said although the expectations of Pakistan and the US with each other usually did not fulfil, both were indispensable for each other.

"We have to largely depend upon the US for our defence related matters.

"India is our main concern as it is buying weapons worth $100 billion from five countries, including China, and to balance it our relations with the US are very significant," he said and added that India had 5,500 tanks and there was a question against whom they would be used. "We cannot be assured by statements that India will not wage a war against us."

Giving a reason as to why Pakistan had to look towards the US for enhancing its military capacity and capability, Mr Haqqani said the European countries did not offer soft terms for buying weapons. "Ties with the US are important for a secure, stable and prosperous Pakistan."

Mr Haqqani said Pakistan had also made it clear on the US that it should ensure a strengthened and Islamabad-friendly regime in Kabul before leaving.

He said Pakistan had sought drone technology from America. "On one hand our innocent people are losing their lives while on the other Taliban leaders like Baitullah Mehsud get killed in such attacks," he said.

Mr Haqqani said the US wanted to strengthen democracy in Pakistan and aid under the Kerry-Lugar Bill had started coming from January.

In reply to a question, he said Pakistan's embassy in the US was working on diplomatic and legal aspects in Dr Aafia Siddiqui case and was making efforts for securing her release or transfer of her case to a Pakistani court.

SECOND STORY

No nuclear deal with Pakistan, says US

By Anwar Iqbal

Monday, 01 Mar, 2010 | 07:15 AM PST |

WASHINGTON: The Obama administration has told Pakistan it would not get an atomic power plant or a civilian nuclear deal from the United States.

A senior US official, while briefing Indian journalists in Washington, said the United States was working closely with Pakistan to help meet its growing energy needs.

"But nuclear power is not currently part of our discussions," and the United States had conveyed its decision to Pakistan, the official said.

He said the administration had also told Pakistan that "there is no way they can get a civilian nuclear deal similar to the one the Obama administration has signed with India".

The Indo-US civilian nuclear deal, the official said, was "specific to India only and there is no thinking going on in the administration to create a template for it."

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 28, 2010 3:13 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Re: The matter I raised on my end of the converation last night.....

Message received--thx.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 28 14:27:47 2010
Subject: The matter I raised on my end of the converation last night.....

Just reached Tom about it. Alerted him to the version as it came to me, including potential of its breaking. He seemed a) aware of the basis for what I'd heard, b) to share my assessment/concern (though asked me to elaborate, which I did

vividly), and c) prepared to make sure that whatever ready to be is said publicly - and whatever happens diplomatically - put the kibosh on the version as it came to me.

Incidentally, unbidden by me on both points-i.e., volunteering-he went out of his way to says upbeat things about you and downbeat things about OMF. Said he wanted to discuss that with me in person. I said nothing of substance, except always glad to talk.

Over and out, tho would appreciate you're confirming receipt, since I'm not cc'ing anyone on this.

Cha-cha-cha (even though you're not going to Argentina-and rightly so).

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:03 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Re: Our mutual friend

Could you talk now or tomorrow early morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 18:20:13 2010
Subject: Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 12:45 PM
**To:** [redacted] B6
**Cc:** H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 11:52 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** 6:51:29 AM

CDM & Raj live on CNN (ch 14)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 2:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rashad Hussain, a Muslim and new U.S. envoy, is bridge between two worlds

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Mon Mar 01 13:57:34 2010
**Subject:** Rashad Hussain, a Muslim and new U.S. envoy, is bridge between two worlds

The Washington Post

# Rashad Hussain, a Muslim and new U.S. envoy, is bridge between two worlds

By Scott Wilson
Monday, March 1, 2010; A19

Rashad Hussain, President Obama's new special envoy to the Organization of the Islamic Conference, was an avid high school debater in Plano, Tex., where he grew up.

His debate partner and best friend was a classmate named Josh Goldberg, meaning that at the end of many tournaments, the judge would announce "Goldberg-Hussain" as the cultural odd couple who had won the argument. "People got a kick out of it," Hussain said in a recent interview. "We joked that one day we would have the solution to the peace process." The two remain close friends.

In his new position, Hussain, who is both a Koran scholar and an ardent North Carolina Tar Heels basketball fan, will be responsible for helping to bridge another cultural divide -- the one in U.S. relations with Muslims inside and outside the nation's borders.

Since taking office, Obama has adopted an approach to broaden the ways in which the United States engages the Islamic world, moving from a policy focused mostly on counterterrorism to one that includes partnerships with Muslim countries and communities in education, health, science and commerce.

Hussain, 31, will be the face of that policy in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, where the Islamic Conference has it headquarters, and in the other capitals of its 56 member countries. His is an appropriately young face for an American representative to the world's 1.6 billion Muslims, the majority of whom are younger than he is.

At a time when the United States is fighting two wars in Muslim nations and defending itself against an enduring terrorist threat, changing perceptions will take time. "The challenge is to continue to communicate that this is a long-term process," Hussain said. "Sometimes the challenge becomes that people want to focus exclusively on the political issues, issues that this administration is working very diligently to solve."

Hussain's father, a mining engineer, moved from Bihar, India, to Wyoming in the late 1960s. A few years later, during a visit to India, he married Hussain's mother, now an obstetrician in Plano.

The family prayed regularly in a mosque not far from the church-heavy city. At about the time he began middle school, the Persian Gulf War began and, as he recalled, "it was not the easiest time to be named Hussain." But he said he encountered very little religious persecution during a childhood that featured study, prayer and basketball -- a passion he shares with the president. Hussain said it is his "dream" to play in one of Obama's pickup games.

He graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, then enrolled at Harvard University to pursue a master's degree in Arabic and Islamic studies. An internship after his first year of graduate school with Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) cemented his interest in government, and he returned after completing his degree to work on the House Judiciary Committee and was there on the morning of the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

"I experienced firsthand being evacuated from the building, not knowing what was going on, seeing the twin towers burning on TV as soon as I got into work, not knowing . . . whether there was a plane heading for the Capitol," he said. "I very much experienced the terror on that day myself."

In the following days, he said, he experienced a "whole set of feelings," from the initial fear of attack to worry about discrimination against American Muslims. He said he found that compassion, broader than the pockets of persecution, is often overlooked by Muslims here and abroad.

"A lot is made about American misperceptions about Muslim communities, but there's a lot of misperceptions that Muslim communities have about the United States," he said. To counter such misunderstandings of Muslim culture, Hussain cited his wife, whom he said "breaks down a lot of the misperceptions of women in Islam." Isra Bhatty, a Yale Law School student currently on a Rhodes scholarship, wears the hijab and is an epic Chicago Bears fan.

Hussain left Capitol Hill to attend Yale Law School. While there, he criticized the trial of Sami al-Arian, a University of South Florida professor, as "politically motivated persecution." Arian was accused of aiding the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement, a U.S.-designated terrorist organization. Hussain, who did not criticize the charges against Arian, was on a civil liberties panel with Arian's daughter when he made the comment. A jury acquitted Arian on some charges and deadlocked on others; he eventually pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy.

"My extensive writings on this topic make it clear that I condemn terrorism unequivocally in all its forms," Hussain said. "I'd be happy to put that against one sentence from 2004 that I believe was taken out of context."

After the 2008 election, Hussain was recruited to the White House counsel's office by Cassandra Butts, a fellow Tar Heel and Obama's former Harvard Law classmate. He has worked there on national security and new-media issues and helped inform the administration's Muslim outreach efforts.

Ben Rhodes, Obama's chief foreign policy speechwriter, sought Hussain's counsel last year as he drafted the president's Cairo address. Hussain said his advice concerned the contributions Muslims have made to American society and the context behind some of the religious passages. Hussain has memorized the Koran. He prays daily, often in a room in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building reserved for all faiths.

Hussain traveled in the Middle East after Obama announced his appointment during a Feb. 13 videoconference at the U.S.-Islamic World Forum in Doha, Qatar. His approach, Hussain said, will be to emphasize to Muslim countries what "America stands for," including through the partnerships.

"It's clear that we're not going to agree on every single issue," Hussain said. "Our job will be to try to maximize our areas of agreement and work through our areas of disagreement and come to the best policy."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 3:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank you Secretary Clinton

B6

**From:** Fred Hochberg
**To:** Abedin, Huma; cheryl.mills
**Sent:** Mon Mar 01 15:22:54 2010
**Subject:** Thank you Secretary Clinton

Huma and Cheryl...hope this finds you well...please thank Secretary Clinton for her faith in us.

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, Senator Casey, I can't thank you enough for asking that question, because I think you are 100 percent right. I obviously believe that what we're doing is part of our security. And I think that case is certainly more understandable for people today, since 9/11, than it might have been beforehand. But I also think it is essential to our economy.

You illustrate one example of that, the Export-Import Bank. We really believe that we can do even more through the EXIM Bank, and I'm going to try to encourage that approach. Somebody asked me what I'd like to do; I said I'd like to put EXIM Bank on steroids because I think it does so much good work for American companies, and I want American businesses to know that.

Fred P. Hochberg
Chairman and President
Export-Import Bank of the United States
811 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20571
Tel: 202-565-3500
Fax: 202-565-3513

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: 6:51:29 AM

We are all watching thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Reines, Philippe I
To: 'Hdr22@clintonemail.com' <Hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Jan 13 11:51:36 2010
Subject: 6:51:29 AM

CDM & Raj live on CNN (ch 14)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 4:33 PM
**To:** H
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**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Monday, March 01, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 12:56 PM
**To:** Doug Hattaway
**Cc:** Golden, Jennifer R
**Subject:** RE: Good to see you

Thanks for the note. Would love to follow up on Pakistan and also have another idea I'd like to talk to you about. By copy of this email I am asking Jenn Golden from my office to find a time to meet. Hope to see you soon.

JM

-----Original Message-----
From: Doug Hattaway [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:01 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: RE: Good to see you

Judith:

I hope you've been well. Following up on the Secretary's request, when would you like to regroup about communications support in Pakistan?

As food for thought, I've been talking with She's a great source of insight and information on the ground, with a valuable independent perspective. She is very tuned into the government's communications challenges and opportunities.

In her view, while the need is more urgent than ever, the government does have positive programs and policies that would generate good will if people knew about them. Communications seems to suffer both from a lack of perspective - politicians are obsessed with politics in the capital, rather than the needs of people at the grassroots - and a lack of both practical expertise and proactive strategy. They need a plan for publicizing initiatives that benefit people, as well as hands-on training and support to execute effectively.

This sounds very similar to the situation my team dealt with in Lebanon, where we worked with the government, political parties and NGOs. We learned not to let a state of crisis be an obstacle to moving forward with a communications program - they're always in crisis and, as you know, effective communications is part of the long-term solution.

I know there may be concern about working with US consultants. One approach would be to work through NDI, which has great contacts and credibility on the ground. That's how we did it in Lebanon.

I hope some of this is useful food for thought. You may recall that, when we met before the holidays, I showed you the program we did in Lebanon. Would you like me to put together ideas for a program in Pakistan?

Best, Doug

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:45 PM
To: 'doug[redacted]
Cc: 'mchaleja@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Good to see you

B6

Raj is off to a brilliant start and thank you for the help you provided him.

We share your assessment of Pakistan's need for a public narrative and better capacity to communicate effectively. Judith has been working on how we improve our comm work there, and I know you were talking to the Pakistani Ambassador about helping them. I'm copying Judith and asking that the two of you discuss what we could do given the very difficult political landscape.

Thx for all your good counsel. We need to follow thru on the campaign for women we discussed some months back. Are you still assisting Melanne? Let me know what I can do to hurry it along. H

----- Original Message -----
From: doug[redacted] <doug[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Good to see you

Mme Secretary:

I'm glad I got to see you at Raj's swearing-in. Hope you liked the speech. Alonzo said we hit the right notes and Raj is off to a strong start.

Of course I was kidding about "running away" from your "long list" of things you wanted to talk about with me. I'm happy to talk anytime.

In fact, it would be good to touch base on the women's initiative and Pakistan. I've been talking with NDI's highly regarded country director in Pakistan, who says communications is a desperate need and will definitely do some good for the government.

Look forward to seeing you again soon. All the best, Doug

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 1, 2010 11:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** UN

Your fans are here by the hundreds and eagerly awaiting your speech on the 12th!

As you know the US has been a strong supporter of a new women's agency at the UN that would provide for an Under Secretary General for women's issues, better coordination and effectiveness and-- consolidation of a group of smaller entities. In bilats today, I learned that some G77 countries are wondering what's in it for them. They're not developing countries and they're not the UK or US. Brazil may be second guessing the creation of the new agency yet this is an agency that will benefit women everywhere. I don't know if you'll have an opportunity to say to Brazil's leader that we hope the UN women's agency will continue to have their support. In fact Tom Shannon told me that they're really interested in women's issues and wanted to sign a MOU with us. Sometimes there's a disconnect between NY perm reps and their capitals

2nd, I don't know if you're still going to Chile. If you talk to Bachelet about her future, you can tell that so many govt reps at the UN would like to see her head up the new women's agency. It's not clear if she's even interested.

Thx

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 4:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Good Job!

fyi

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**From:** hugh parmer [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Good Job!

Ms Mills,

I got your email address in a message from my good friend, Kathleen Townsend, several months ago but have never wanted to bother you directly. However, as the former head of humanitarian operations at USAID under Pres. Clinton, I thought it appropriate to commend you and your colleagues on the excellent job that is being done in the early days of the USG response to the tragedy in Haiti. The deployment of Coast Guard and SouthComm resources, the immediate organization of an interdepartmental group to coordinate USG efforts, the deployment of multiple USAID urban search and rescue units as well as a DART, and the ability to make these decisions without delay is impressive. Managing information flow with early statements by the Pres. and Sec. followed by your press conference on relief plans effectively focused attention on the US leadership role. Please pass on my "good job" to whomever has been leading this effort. It's as good as I have seen from the USG. Let me know if there is anyway I can be of help.

Hugh

Hugh Parmer

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 6:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: AP: Israeli PM: Israel must keep Jordan Valley

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**From**: Valdez, Pablo M
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; S Special Assistant; Macmanus, Joseph E; Bennett, Virginia L
**Cc**: SES_DutyDeputies; SES-O_SWO-Only; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 06:24:12 2010
**Subject**: AP: Israeli PM: Israel must keep Jordan Valley

FYI. In light of upcoming S-call. This just out.

JERUSALEM - (AP) Israel's prime minister says he won't pull out of a key part of the West Bank even if there's a peace agreement with the Palestinians.

Benjamin Netanyahu was referring to the Jordan River Valley along the eastern border of the West Bank. Palestinians claim all of the West Bank as part of their future state.

Netanyahu's pronouncement comes as the U.S. is pushing hard to restart peace talks. Palestinians hesitate to negotiate because of Netanyahu's hardline attitudes and Israeli settlement construction.

Netanyahu told a parliamentary committee Tuesday that the Jordan Valley's strategic importance makes it impossible for Israel to withdraw, according to a meeting participant who spoke on condition of anonymity because the meeting was closed.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Note for Secretary

**From**: Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
**To**: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Bennett, Virginia L
**Cc**: Urban, Carol (Santiago); Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 06:57:06 2010
**Subject**: Note for Secretary

**Madam Secretary-**

**A few very quick notes for your visit here.**

**-- Chileans of all stripes are still recovering physically and emotionally from this earthquake.**

- **Bachelet's team initially underestimated the devastation in the affected area, but have moved quickly in the past 24 hours to restore public order which remains a major challenge.**

- **While Santiago looks superficially normal, there is still a huge cleanup effort ahead in the city and emotions are running high. Restoring services to Concepcion, Maule and the other affected areas will take weeks if not months. Without electricity there is no water or telecommunications.**

- **Chileans are proud and reluctant to accept much external support for the recovery effort. While they have grudgingly opened up to international offers of assistance, their wish list is short, and limited to very specific items. I believe they need to be much more expansive in their outreach to the international community. But this is a hard sell.**

**With Bachelet, you should express condolences, review current and pending U.S. support, and seek out her views on how we can be most helpful moving forward. You should also compliment her on her social legacy and her record of leadership in the region. If there is time, you**

**should also seek out her views on how the U.S. should position itself in the region in the next year.**

**With Pinera, you should seek out his views on the current crisis (including the economic impact), and outline U.S. support. He will want to discuss his plans to support democracy strengthening in the region and raise his upcoming trip to the U.S.**

**With the Embassy staff, you should express appreciation for their herculean 24/7 efforts to track down all Embassy staff, restore Embassy services, support and locate U.S. citizens throughout Chile, and coordinate immediate U.S. assistance with the Chilean government .**

**Many thanks!**

*Paul E. Simons*
*U.S. Ambassador*
*Santiago, Chile*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 4:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: [undp-washington] UNDP UPDATE ON THE HAITI EARTHQUAKE

fyi

**From:** undp.washington@undp.org [mailto:undp.washington@undp.org]
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 3:10 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** [undp-washington] UNDP UPDATE ON THE HAITI EARTHQUAKE

UNDP UPDATE ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN HAITI

Casualties and damage from the earthquake are so extensive that overall assessments are still incomplete. UN assistance to the victims has been complicated by the fact that a significant number of UN personnel, including UNDP colleagues, serving in the country are unaccounted for. The headquarters of the UN Mission and peacekeeping operations, MINUSTAH, collapsed in the tremors and many people are still trapped inside.

UNDP Administrator Helen Clark is meeting with the Secretary-General and other senior personnel continually today and the whole UN system is mobilized to bring the UN team in Haiti all necessary assistance as soon as possible to assess the damage, loss of life and injuries, and to support the national and international response efforts.

The building which housed UNDP and a large number of sister agencies - UNFPA, WFP, UNEP and UNIFEM - was partially damaged, and rescue workers are continuing to search through the rubble. Senior UNDP officials are in close touch with the Resident Co-ordinator, Kim Bolduc, who is operating out of a MINUSTAH logistics base near the airport. She reports that the situation is critical for staff with limited access to food, water, sanitation and medical attention.

In the coming hours UNDP will be dispatching additional staff, including stress counselors and medical doctors, as well communications equipment, to Port-au-Prince. Arrangements are also being made to evacuate injured and non-essential staff out from the country and to care for and assist its many local staff members. Due to the limited logistics capacity in Haiti, most of the staff and equipment needed will be transiting through the Dominican Republic. Plans for strengthening the UNDP office in that country are already underway.

Administrator Clark says UNDP will do whatever it can to support its staff in Haiti and to equip them with the necessary tools to help the Haitian people on what will be a long road to recovery. As a first step she expects a UN emergency response team lead by UN Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA) to be on the ground shortly to help co-ordinate humanitarian relief efforts.

Brad Minnick
Communications Advisor
UNDP Washington
1775 K Street, NW, Suite 420
Washington, DC 2006

B6

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You are currently subscribed to undp-washington as: millscd@state.gov.
To unsubscribe send a blank email to leave-3327225-514393.c42ba989b0b40f39ee5446ba4170fc6f@groups.undp.org

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767858 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Contact: Stephan Miller
Office of the Mayor of Jerusalem
miller@jerusalem.muni.il

# The King's Garden (Gan Hamelech, Al Bustan) – Development Plan

**Tuesday, March 2, 2010, Jerusalem, Israel - The King's Garden area will be developed into a tourist and residential district. Commercial sections, restaurants, and art galleries will be built, turning it into a bustling tourist zone. For the first time, the local residents will have the legitimate right to live in this neighborhood.**

The Mayor of Jerusalem, Nir Barkat, has introduced his new development plan for the King's Garden area, located south of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

The proposal – soon to be brought before the local and regional planning committees for discussion – aims to create a mixed use of the area, making it attractive to both tourists and the local residents. The project will comprise several interlaced elements:

1. **Restoration of the garden**: The western part of the Gan Hamelech area will be restored to its historical condition as a site of international as well as national prominence. The Gihon Spring will once again flow along the Kidron Valley, the orchards will be replanted, and a blooming garden will be grown, which would be open to both visitors and the neighborhood residents.

2. **Development of commerce, restaurants and tourism**: In the eastern part of the neighborhood, about 3000 sq.m of land will be approved for the construction of commercial areas, restaurants, artists' workshops, souvenir and local art shops, all on the ground level.

3. **Housing units for the welfare of the district residents**: On the eastern side, above the commercial level, housing units will be built to satisfy the needs of the local residents.

4. **Infrastructure**: The area, having been designated in the past to be an open recreational space, has not been planned or developed. The Jerusalem Municipality intends to design urban infrastructure, including the upgrade of the road and sewage infrastructure and other local facilities.

5. **A public facility building**: According to the plan, large building for the welfare of the neighborhood residents will be constructed on a 2000 sq.m site designated to include public areas, schoolrooms, day care centers, kindergartens, workout gyms, infant welfare centers, etc. The center, in addition to other establishments promoted by the municipality for the welfare of the residents of the eastern part of the city, will provide suitable solutions for the neighborhood residents. Underground a parking lot will be built for about 140 vehicles.

This plan constitutes a precedent inasmuch as apart from enforcing the law upon illegally built houses, it also enables and helps residents to build new homes in accordance with the law.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767858 Date: 08/31/2015

**This plan is considered a bold move due to the following reasons**:

- According to the national law, the King's Garden is at present classified as an open recreational space. Some of the neighborhood houses are under continuous legal proceedings, including fines, demolition orders, etc.

- Throughout the years and especially after regulating the sewage infrastructure in 1992, extensive parts of the park have been destroyed, and dozens of structures have been erected without permits. Thus, within a short time another greenbelt has ceased to exist in the city.

- The area, which for centuries has been preserved as an open space, and until 1967 had included no more than four buildings, has turned into a slum, lacking infrastructure, public institutions, and devoid of any planning.

- The municipal plan for the King's Garden neighborhood intends to restore the area to its natural state, the way it used to be as an open space for the benefit of residents and tourists, while providing an appropriate solution to the needs of the inhabitants of the area and creating tourist and business opportunities for the entire district.

- The proposal considers the long lasting present situation whereby about 120 families inhabit the neighborhood under difficult housing conditions.

- The realization of this program is a particularly difficult process, in view of the fact that the land in this area is not regulated.

- The process requires shifting some buildings from the western side of the Kidron Valley to its eastern side, which involves special legal procedures.

- The process requires designing and judiciary creativity as well as the cooperation of numerous factors. The Jerusalem Municipality acts vis-à-vis all these factors, among which are the municipal legal department and the State Attorney, for the purpose of finding a legitimate solution suitable for the recent design and enforcement of the Jerusalem municipality.

- The process requires determination on the part of government factors and cooperation on the part of the local residents and their representatives. Whenever the residents cooperate, the municipality will be flexible, but when they attempt to undermine the plan, the municipality will remain firm in its implementation.

- In the course of last year, dozens of meetings and debates were held with the neighborhood residents and their representatives, with the intent of formulating a fair program which would consider their needs as well as the extensive public interest, and with the objective of establishing a fundamental trust in the intentions and the program of the municipality.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 8:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti

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**From**: Dowd, Katie W
**To**: Sreebny, Daniel; McHale, Judith A
**Cc**: DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Mills, Cheryl D; MacInnes, Duncan H; Pally, Maura M; Mellott, Joseph
**Sent**: Wed Jan 13 19:22:10 2010
**Subject**: RE: Haiti

Just to update – we are now over $1.3 million raised from over 100,000 people mobilizing around the country to donate to disaster relief through the Red Cross.

Amazing

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**From:** Sreebny, Daniel
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Mills, Cheryl D; MacInnes, Duncan H; Sreebny, Daniel; Pally, Maura M; Dowd, Katie W; Sreebny, Daniel; Mellott, Joseph
**Subject:** RE: Haiti

U/S McHale – Per your earlier request, here is some information from IIP related to Haiti:

- SPEAKER PROGRAMS: There are no U.S. Speakers in Haiti at present, and no plans to send any in the near future.

- WEB SITES: Working in tandem with Katie Dowd and State PA, IIP web support staff used the Content Management System (CMS) to update the Embassy Haiti web page (http://haiti.usembassy.gov/) with emergency contact information, a note on U.S. assistance efforts, links to statements from President Obama and Secretary Clinton, and information on ways global citizens could donate to disaster relief. IIP web editors posted the information on the America.gov web site (http://www.america.gov/) , with a continually updated "How You Can Help" list and other items on the Today's Web Picks page, and made it immediately available to our Facebook and Twitter networks. IIP is also reconfiguring The Americas regional page on America.gov to focus on events in Haiti and USG assistance efforts to that country, in English, French and Spanish, including statements made by the President and the Secretary, links to US assistance and relief effort sites (USAID, Coast Guard, Southcom, NGOs and others), a photo gallery, and articles written by America.gov writers. French and Spanish materials will also be posted to IIP Facebook and Twitter networks.

- SOCIAL MEDIA: IIP posted America.gov Twitter feeds on the Haiti earthquake starting at 6:10 PM yesterday and continued posting as USG statements became available (http://twitter.com/americagov). IIP also provided four Facebook postings on Haiti, including statements from President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and USAID Administrator Shah (http://www.facebook.com/ejournalUSA). Similar items were also provided to subscribers of our Global Challenges RSS feed

Thank you,

Dan

Dan Sreebny
Acting Coordinator
Bureau of International Information Programs
Department of State
Office Phone: 202-632-6433
E-mail: sreebnyd@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B), 1.4(D),
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: State of Play

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**From**: Rudman, Mara
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 16:10:17 2010
**Subject**: State of Play

fyi

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**From:** Rubinstein, Daniel H
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** 'Mitchell, George'; Hale, David M; Hof, Frederic C; Rudman, Mara; Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura; shapirodanielb [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D; Marchese, Gregory M
**Subject:** RE: Jordan FM on State of Play

Following is based on readouts from Saeb Erekat and FCC member Azzam al-Ahmed also with the Palestinians in Cairo:

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/02/2025**

**From:** Mitchell, George [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** Hale, David M; Hof, Frederic C; Rudman, Mara; Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura; shapirodanielb [redacted]
**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Subject:** Re: Jordan FM on State of Play

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

**From:** Hale, David M <HaleDM2@state.gov>
**To:** Hof, Frederic C <HofFC@state.gov>; Rudman, Mara <RudmanM@state.gov>; Irwin, Matthew T <IrwinMT@state.gov>; NEA-SEMEP-DL <NEA-SEMEP-DL@state.gov>; Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Schlicher, Ronald L <SchlicherRL@state.gov>; Connelly, Maura <ConnellyM@state.gov>; Mitchell, George; shapirodanielb [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H <RubinsteinDH@state.gov>; Waters, John R <WatersJR@state.gov>; LoGerfo, Gregory D <LogerfoGD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tue Mar 02 14:20:17 2010
**Subject:** Re: Jordan FM on State of Play

[redacted] B5

Sent from Blackberry

**From:** Hale, David M
**To:** Hof, Frederic C; Rudman, Mara; Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura; 'george [redacted] 'shapirodanielb [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D 1.4(B)
**Sent:** Tue Mar 02 14:54:11 2010 1.4(D)
**Subject:** Jordan FM on State of Play B1

[redacted]

Sent from Blackberry

**From:** Hof, Frederic C
**To:** Rudman, Mara; Hale, David M; Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Sent:** Tue Mar 02 14:16:27 2010
**Subject:** Re: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

Same thing Asad told Kerry. Will do my best to reconnect with WM. F

**From**: Rudman, Mara
**To**: Hale, David M; Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc**: Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 14:00:10 2010
**Subject**: RE: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

Fred did of course talk to Muallem... who said that they would not stand in the way...

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**From:** Hale, David M
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 1:55 PM
**To:** Irwin, Matthew T; NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Subject:** Re: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Sent from Blackberry

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**From**: Irwin, Matthew T
**To**: NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc**: Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 12:51:41 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

Update from Rick and Ibrahim...

Sent via Blackberry

---

**From**: Waters, John R
**To**: Rubinstein, Daniel H; Marchese, Gregory M; Irwin, Matthew T; Hale, David M
**Cc**: Pilz, Amanda C
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 19:21:20 2010
**Subject**: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

*A quick summary from Ibrahim; these comments were made prior to the Follow-Up Cty meeting, which is now underway. -rw*

In press statements this evening, NAR stressed that the PA and the PLO are committed to the Arab position which will be developed in the meeting of the Arab Follow Up committee in Cairo. In response to a question at the beginning of the meeting on President Abbas's presentation to the committee, NAR said that the ideas that will be presented are not those of President Abu Mazen but basically are about the US responses to the Palestinian questions in relation to the role of Senator Mitchell in the 'proximity talks.' He will also stress that the Palestinian position will be the same as the Arab position.

He added that these ideas will be presented to the to the Arab Follow Up committee and we shall see what the Arabs will say. And we will adhere to the Arab position completely exactly as we did when we went to Annapolis and to Madrid peace conference. He said the answer will be provided in the meeting. He went on to say that we have received some responses from Washington to questions which President Abbas had raised. In response to a question on whether the US answers constitute an appropriate ground to resume negotiations, NAR said that the US wants to move the peace process forward and want to create a conducive atmosphere to launch direct negotiations in the future. He said that the proposed proximity talks essentially are based on Senator Mitchell continuing his trips between the Palestinians and Israelis. As far as we are concerned, we shall abide by the Arab position. He also said

we will not develop any position with respect to negotiations without Arab consensus whether in terms of accepting or rejecting the US ideas.

With regards to resumption of direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, NAR said that there are no proposals (ideas) at present time to resume direct negotiations. He said that the Arab and Palestinian position on this issue is clear; there needs to be a clear TOR for negotiations and total cessation of settlement activities. He said that the PA position in principle is not against negotiations. On the contrary its for negotiations that do not waste time since the Palestinian national interest requires a solution as soon as possible to create the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as capital. NAR went on to say that before talking about resumption of direct negotiations, there is a need to clarify the basis of these negotiations and to know the fate of settlements and to what extent will Israeli abide by freezing settlement activities.

With respect to Israeli provocations which seriously tamper with security and stability, NAR said that Israel does not want a return to negotiations but wants to blame the Palestinians by saying they don't want to enter negotiations. NAR went on to say 'It is imperative to take away this pretext by exposing the real Israeli position to the international community and the US administration. He said we are ready to resume negotiations on clear basis but its the Israeli side that places obstacles to avert meeting its commitments while blaming the Palestinian side (as Israel is accustomed to doing).

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 5:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: State of Play

Fyi

---

**From**: Rudman, Mara
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
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**Cc:** Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D; Marchese, Gregory M
**Subject:** RE: Jordan FM on State of Play 1.4(D) B1

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[redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 07/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/02/2025

B6

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**Subject:** Re: Jordan FM on State of Play

1.4(D)
B1

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**To:** Hof, Frederic C <HofFC@state.gov>; Rudman, Mara <RudmanM@state.gov>; Irwin, Matthew T <IrwinMT@state.gov>; NEA-SEMEP-DL <NEA-SEMEP-DL@state.gov>; Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Schlicher, Ronald L <SchlicherRL@state.gov>; Connelly, Maura <ConnellyM@state.gov>; Mitchell, George; shapirodanielb B6
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**Subject:** Re: Jordan FM on State of Play B5

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1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Sent from Blackberry

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**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
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**Subject**: RE: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

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**Cc:** Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Subject:** Re: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Sent from Blackberry

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**From**: Irwin, Matthew T
**To**: NEA-SEMEP-DL; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc**: Rubinstein, Daniel H; Waters, John R; LoGerfo, Gregory D
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 12:51:41 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

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**To**: Rubinstein, Daniel H; Marchese, Gregory M; Irwin, Matthew T; Hale, David M
**Cc**: Pilz, Amanda C
**Sent**: Tue Mar 02 19:21:20 2010
**Subject**: Nabil Abd Rabbo statements prior to the follow-up cty meeting

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we will not develop any position with respect to negotiations without Arab consensus whether in terms of accepting or rejecting the US ideas.

With regards to resumption of direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, NAR said that there are no proposals (ideas) at present time to resume direct negotiations. He said that the Arab and Palestinian position on this issue is clear; there needs to be a clear TOR for negotiations and total cessation of settlement activities. He said that the PA position in principle is not against negotiations. On the contrary its for negotiations that do not waste time since the Palestinian national interest requires a solution as soon as possible to create the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as capital. NAR went on to say that before talking about resumption of direct negotiations, there is a need to clarify the basis of these negotiations and to know the fate of settlements and to what extent will Israeli abide by freezing settlement activities.

With respect to Israeli provocations which seriously tamper with security and stability, NAR said that Israel does not want a return to negotiations but wants to blame the Palestinians by saying they don't want to enter negotiations. NAR went on to say 'It is imperative to take away this pretext by exposing the real Israeli position to the international community and the US administration. He said we are ready to resume negotiations on clear basis but its the Israeli side that places obstacles to avert meeting its commitments while blaming the Palestinian side (as Israel is accustomed to doing).

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 5:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Arab League

Smart money seems to be on the thing coming out OK tomorrow -- a heavy prologue on all the reasons they don't believe the process will lead anywhere,

1.4(D)
B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D), ~ Declassify on: 08/26/2040

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 9:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: AfPak weekly

Tx

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 02 21:08:59 2010
Subject: AfPak weekly

Ok to go.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 9:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jack

Talked to Jack, who is meeting with Tom, Michele and Hoss C tomorrow at 730 on AfPak and will raise the Chile issue.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FW: Call Me or Email

FYI - see Michele message

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Stewart Paperin [redacted] B6
Date: Wed, 13 Jan 2010 15:33:30 -0500
Subject: FW: Call Me or Email
To: raj.shah [redacted]

Raj,

In organizing efforts for Haiti you may want to reach out to Michele Pierre Louis, the former Prime Minister, who is on the ground. I have attaached below a short email describing the situation. She is a superb executive and has one of the best insights into what is needed.

Stewart

---

From: Michele Duvivier [mailto [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 2:13 PM
To: Stewart Paperin
Subject: Re: Call Me or Email

Stewart,

We are safe but Port-au-Prince is destroyed. My appartment is gone.
FOKAL is safe fortunately but a few employees had their homes destroyed, like mine. The phones don't work so it is easier to stay in touch by internet.

The situation is dramatic. the governement is powerless. The Palace, the Parliament, the Ministries, the Minustah are non operational. We cannot count the dead. [redacted] is dead and Minustah's headquarters collapsed. We ran out of medical supplies, water, food for the first reliefs, and then we have to think about reconstruction.

As soon as we can talk I'll call you to talk about specifics.

The hard part is that there have been over 40 repeats after the first tough seism and we don't know if it is over yet.

We keep in touch.

Michele

---

From: Stewart Paperin [redacted] B6
To: micheleduvivier [redacted]
Cc: Loraine Mangones [redacted]
Sent: Wed, January 13, 2010 12:09:15 PM
Subject: Call Me or Email

Michele,

I heard you, Loraine and the family are ok.. Please call me if you have a chance or ask Loraine to. I talked with [redacted] and want to discuss how we can be helpful.

SJP

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 9:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call from NYT

FYI

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 9:57 PM
**To:** Thessin, James H; Mills, Cheryl D; Koh, Harold Hongju; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Duguid, Gordon K (PACE); Toner, Mark C; Moore, Joanne C (PA/PRS) (PACE); Fleming, John T; Ratney, Michael A
**Subject:** RE: Call from NYT

I told the NYT that 17 people died in broad daylight. We took the investigation seriously from the outset. We called in the FBI to join the investigation and more than two years later we continue to pursue the case and seek justice. We did not attempt to characterize his purported testimony in any way.

PJ

---

**From:** Thessin, James H
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Koh, Harold Hongju; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Duguid, Gordon K (PACE); Toner, Mark C; Moore, Joanne C (PA/PRS) (PACE); Fleming, John T; Ratney, Michael A
**Subject:** RE: Call from NYT

I reached out to Jesse Tampio, the L attorney who knows most about the Blackwater investigation, who is now in a negotiation in the Marshall Islands. Here is what he responded through the DCM in Manjuro:

"Response from Jesse Tampio (transcribed over the phone):

B5

Best,
Jim

Deputy Legal Adviser
Office of the Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202-647-8460

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 02, 2010 8:37 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Koh, Harold Hongju; Thessin, James H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Duguid, Gordon K (PACE); Toner, Mark C; Moore, Joanne C (PA/PRS) (PACE); Fleming, John T; Ratney, Michael A

**Subject:** Call from NYT
**Importance:** High

I just received a call from Jim Risen of the NYT. He says there were court documents unsealed this evening regarding Blackwater and Nissour Square. In the documents, David Farrington, DS agent, claims there was a cover-up by other RSOs who handled evidence in such a way that they hoped the case would go away. He is writing for tomorrow. We have an immediate challenge of how to respond this evening for tomorrow's paper and then how to respond tonight or tomorrow when there is pick-up of the story. This will reverberate in Iraq as well. I assume that we are generally familiar with what Mr. Farrington said in court. So what is our view of his allegations? Did we investigate what he claimed? What were our conclusions? I would recommend a one-line response to Risen tonight but we will need more detailed guidance for tomorrow. Let me know how to proceed and what the facts are.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 9:29 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Fw: Argentina/Iran

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 03 08:09:02 2010
Subject: FW: Argentina/Iran

Nice payoff from the Argentina investment!

-----Original Message-----
From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R
Sent: Wednesday, March 03, 2010 6:57 AM
To: Mull, Stephen D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Nephew, Richard M; Waller, Robert P; Cook, Nerissa J; Kelly, Craig A
Cc: Davies, Glyn T; Scheland, Mark DL
Subject: Argentina/Iran

Really solid Argentine statement at today's IAEA Board meeting with all the wonky details we'd want on heavy water, the IR-40 reactor, concerns about Iran's move to 20 pct enrichment and the essential need for Iranian transparency.

Brazil will speak after lunch.

Best Regards,
Geoff

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 4:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Trip Postponement

Fyi - from your ambassador in papua new guinea.

---

**From**: Taylor, Teddy B
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Wed Jan 13 22:07:31 2010
**Subject**: Trip Postponement

Huma, I wanted to relay to you the sincere sentiments of appreciation expressed by the PM's Office and the MFA for the very personal touch by the Secretary notifying the PM about postponement of the trip. Not lost on the GPNG is the fact that the entire trip was postponed, not the PNG portion. As you can imagine that is politically very significant.

Naturally, we stand ready to reconstitute the program or enhance it should the trip move forward at a later date. We got luck today w/the weather—not a rain cloud in sight.

Safe travels, and hopefully we will work together at a later date. Best of luck with the Haiti recovery effort!
Regards,

**Teddy B. Taylor**
**Ambassador**
**Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands**
**and The Republic of Vanuatu**
**tel: 675 321-1455**
**fax: 675 321-3423**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 12:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Brazil president urges caution on Iran sanctions

**From**: Roberts, Kristin
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Wed Mar 03 12:00:47 2010
**Subject**: Brazil president urges caution on Iran sanctions

BRASILIA (AP) Brazil's president says Iran should not be "pushed against a wall" by the international community for its controversial nuclear program. President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva made the comments just hours before a scheduled meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: FW: Call Me or Email

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Jan 14 04:38:59 2010
Subject: Re: FW: Call Me or Email

I'm back on the ground, on the way to the house.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 13 21:44:33 2010
Subject: FW: FW: Call Me or Email

FYI - see Michele message

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Stewart Paperin
Date: Wed, 13 Jan 2010 15:33:30 -0500
Subject: FW: Call Me or Email
To: raj.shah

B6

Raj,

In organizing efforts for Haiti you may want to reach out to Michele Pierre Louis, the former Prime Minister, who is on the ground. I have attaached below a short email describing the situation. She is a superb executive and has one of the best insights into what is needed.

Stewart

---

From: Michele Duvivier [mailto:
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 2:13 PM
To: Stewart Paperin
Subject: Re: Call Me or Email

Stewart,

We are safe but Port-au-Prince is destroyed. My appartment is gone.
FOKAL is safe fortunately but a few employees had their homes destroyed, like mine. The phones don't work so it is easier to stay in touch by internet.

The situation is dramatic. the governement is powerless. The Palace, the Parliament, the Ministries, the Minustah are non operational. We cannot count the dead. [redacted] is dead and Minustah's headquarters collapsed. We ran out of medical supplies, water, food for the first reliefs, and then we have to think about reconstruction. B6

As soon as we can talk I'll call you to talk about specifics.

The hard part is that there have been over 40 repeats after the first tough seism and we don't know if it is over yet.

We keep in touch.

Michele

---

From: Stewart Paperin [redacted] B6
To: micheleduvivier [redacted]
Cc: Loraine Mangones [redacted]
Sent: Wed, January 13, 2010 12:09:15 PM
Subject: Call Me or Email

Michele,

I heard you, Loraine and the family are ok.. Please call me if you have a chance or ask Loraine to. I talked with [redacted] and want to discuss how we can be helpful.

SJP

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 6:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Situation Report No. 6 - Haiti Earthquake (SBU)

---

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Thu Jan 14 06:30:04 2010
**Subject:** Situation Report No. 6 - Haiti Earthquake (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SITUATION REPORT No.6*

***Haiti Earthquake Task Force TFHA01***

**Thursday, January 14, 2010**
**0530 EST**

## AMERICAN CITIZEN WELFARE/WHEREABOUTS/EVACUATIONS

(SBU) Post reports 150 Americans, currently located at the U.S. Embassy, will be taken to the airport and put on a MilAir flight at 0900 EST January 14. Consul General Moore met with another 160 Americans at the airport and told them to come back at 0900 EST January 14 to prep for the second round of MilAir flights. ***(TF1/Embassy Port-au-Prince e-mail)***

## [redacted] EVACUATED

B6

(SBU) He is en route to Guantanamo with an ETA of 0610 EST. He is still showing signs of neurological problems. ***(TF1/Embassy Port-au-Prince/US Coast Guard telcon)***

## ISRAELI AMBASSADOR AT U.S. EMBASSY OFFERING MOBILE HOSPITAL

(SBU) The Israeli Ambassador, from Santo Domingo, is seeking assistance to arrange landing clearance for two planes and ground transportation from the airport to the recommended site. ***(TF1/Embassy Port-au-Prince telcon)***

## SEARCH AND RESCUE TEAM UPDATES

(SBU) At the request of Vice President Biden, FEMA is assembling six SAR teams. ***(TF1/FEMA e-mail)***

## DEPARTMENT RESTOCKING EMBASSY MEDICAL SUPPLIES

(SBU) Six pallets of medical supplies, provided by the Department's Regional Center in Florida, will depart at 1000 EST January 14 via a SOUTHCOM C-130 flight from Miami's Homestead Air Force Base. ***(TF1/Diplomatic Security e-mail)***

## DIPLOMATIC SECURITY SENDING AGENTS

- (SBU) Eighteen DS Mobile Security Agents will depart on the same Miami SOUTHCOM C-130 flight as the medical supplies.

- (SBU) Fifteen DS Agents will arrive in Santo Domingo, their base of operations, via commercial air to assist the RSO in Santo Domingo. ***(TF1/Diplomatic Security e-mail)***

## EVENTS ON THE GROUND

(U) There are initial reports Haitians are beginning to enter the Dominican Republic. The Dominican authorities have stepped up immigration patrols fearing an influx of illegal immigrants. ***(hindustantimes.com)***

## U.S. COAST GUARD CONDUCTS INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF HARBOR

(SBU) Pier structures in the harbor appear to have collapsed with numerous oil sheens on the water. The only known container crane and all other port cranes appear to have been damaged with some being submerged. The port is not crowded, with approximately 15 small commercial and fishing vessels underway. ***(USCG SitRep)***

Drafted: PBurke Approved: RPSanders
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 1:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Trip of Former Secretary Rice to China 3/19-23

Condi rice going to china
She just called to discuss trip with you

---

**From:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Mar 03 12:52:15 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Trip of Former Secretary Rice to China 3/19-23

Fyi

B6

---

**From:** Colby Cooper
**To:** Kritenbrink, Daniel J
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E; Anne Lyons; Colby Cooper
**Sent:** Tue Mar 02 12:46:01 2010
**Subject:** Trip of Former Secretary Rice to China 3/19-23

Dan -
cc: Joe Macmanus / S

Thanks for taking my call and it is nice to reconnect with you.

As discussed, I wanted to officially notify you, as a matter of courtesy, that former Secretary Rice will be traveling to China (Hong Kong, Sanya, Beijing), March 19-23 to participate in a couple of events and for business/commercial purposes.

In Hong Kong, she will be speaking at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In Sanya, she will be speaking at the Boao International Tourism Forum. In Beijing, she will call upon current Chinese officials with whom she worked during her time in office. The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) are serving as her hosts in Sanya and Beijing.

We are not requesting any assistance or support from the US Mission in China. However, if you could let Post (Front Office / RSOs / Consulates) know of her travel plans we would be very appreciative.

Also, if it is not too much trouble I would like to establish personal contact with the RSOs just as a contingency. I will be the POC for this trip, so feel free to pass my contact information on to the appropriate individuals in the event they have further questions, etc.

While in country she will be staying at:

Hong Kong: TBD
Sanya: Sheraton Sanya Resort (basing out of for the day)
Beijing: The Ritz-Carlton, Beijing

A notional schedule follows:

**Thursday, March 18**
0105 Depart San Francisco enroute Hong Kong (Singapore Airlines, Flight 0001)

**Friday, March 19**
0710 Arrive Hong Kong
1700 Participate in Program at Chinese University of Hong Kong

**Saturday, March 20**
TBD Depart Hong Kong enroute Sanya, Hainan Province
TBD Arrive Sanya
1830 Participate in Boao International Tourism Forum
TBD Depart Sanya enroute Beijing
TBD Arrive Beijing

**Sunday, March 21**
AM/PM Personal Time

**Monday, March 22**
AM/PM Personal Time / Courtesy Calls

**Tuesday, March 23**
1240 Depart Beijing enroute San Francisco (United Airlines, Flight 0888)
0903 Arrive San Francisco

Thanks again for your assistance. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Regards,
Colby

Colby J. Cooper
Email: B6
Work: (251) 928-0265
Cell: B6
Fax: (251) 928-0271

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B), 1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 1:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S-Krishna Phone Call: Clarification from Foreign Ministry

**From**: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Blake, Robert O
**Cc**: Abedin, Huma; Moon, Patrick S; Owen, Michael S; Pershing, Jonathan; Lowe, Matthew D
**Sent**: Wed Mar 03 13:07:00 2010
**Subject**: RE: S-Krishna Phone Call: Clarification from Foreign Ministry

I did talk to Ramesh this morning – he called, unscheduled.

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Many thanks to all.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 03, 2010 12:35 PM
**To:** Blake, Robert O
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Moon, Patrick S; Owen, Michael S; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC); Pershing, Jonathan; Lowe, Matthew D
**Subject:** Re: S-Krishna Phone Call: Clarification from Foreign Ministry

Thanks Bob. I talked to Todd and we need to figure out the best way to secure GOI agreement to be listed....

**From**: Blake, Robert O
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Abedin, Huma; Moon, Patrick S; Owen, Michael S; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC); Pershing, Jonathan; Lowe, Matthew D
**Sent**: Wed Mar 03 11:11:38 2010
**Subject**: FW: S-Krishna Phone Call: Clarification from Foreign Ministry

Jake:

I got the readout from the Secretary's call to Indian FM Krishna, and I understand that she will convey India's support for Copenhagen to the Brazilians.

Right after the call, the MEA sought to clarify a key point, which moderates Krishna's message. According to the GOI, the Ministry wants to underline that while the Minister had conveyed to the Secretary India's "broad political support" for the Copenhagen Accord, it was not yet ready to be "listed" as a party to the Accord. But the GOI also understands that the listing process is a priority matter.

I also understand that Todd Stern talked to Jairam Ramesh, the Indian Minister of Environment. I have not heard a readout yet, but Todd may have more information about

Best,

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/03/2020**

Bob

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 6:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Public number

You can give out a number for the public to call for questions or information on Haiti.
1-888-407-4747
For foreign leaders, the Ops number of [redacted] is best. B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 1:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

Yep -- will follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 03 13:29:11 2010
Subject: Followup

Can you call Froman and discuss the cotton issue since I told the press--in response to a question--that I knew there would be retaliatory actions announced next week and that a high level delegation would come from DC to make a countervailing proposal w the hope of avoiding the imposition of the retaliation 30 days after they're announced. So what are the odds of that working? Not high, I believe so this combined w refusal on Iran sanctions will lead to difficult reactions from Congress toward Brazil. Then we have management problem on our hands.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 11:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: TPS

FYI – I will limit Haiti emails to major fyi information for you.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J; Sreebny, Daniel; Pally, Maura M; Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; Kalin, Carol R; Dowd, Katie W; Benton, Cheryl A (PACE); Cohen, Jared A; Duguid, Gordon K (Special Use Only); Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: TPS

Cheryl:

The following outlines strategy for TPS announcement, when made:

B5

Will keep you posted.

JM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 1:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HC & Reconciliation

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Verma, Richard R; Toiv, Nora F
**Sent**: Wed Mar 03 13:40:11 2010
**Subject**: HC & Reconciliation

This morning Majority Leader Reid convened an hour-long Senate leadership meeting to discuss the path forward on health care reform. Particpating were Senators Baucus, Dodd, Harkin, Durbin, Schumer and Murray.

Afterwards, Harkin and Durbin confirmed what has been suspected for a while – Senate Leadership has decided to go the reconciliation route on health care reform. The House, they said, will first pass the Senate bill after Senate leaders demonstrate to House leadership that they have the votes to pass reconciliation in the Senate.

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 5:43 PM
**To:** H

Possibility of Senate Run, Nurtured and Abandoned By MICHAEL BARBARO March 03, 2010 New York Times

A few weeks ago, Harold E. Ford Jr. had a telephone conversation with his friend Doug Band, the powerful counselor to former President Bill Clinton.

Mr. Ford, the former Tennessee congressman who now works on Wall Street, wanted to discuss a potential challenge to Senator Kirsten E. Gillibrand in New York's Democratic primary, a possibility he had flirted with for weeks.

But Mr. Band was not encouraging. He told Mr. Ford that with Democrats reeling from political setbacks across the country, it would be bad for the party and his career if he entered the race. "It's not the right thing to do," he said, according to a person with direct knowledge of the conversation.

A Ford spokesman confirmed the call but denied that Mr. Ford had been discouraged from running or that he had been told that doing so would hurt the party. The spokesman said Mr. Band told him the White House had pressured Mr. Clinton into supporting Ms. Gillibrand.

Mr. Ford's decision not to run for the Senate, which he disclosed on Tuesday, came after he reached out to dozens of donors, advocates and political leaders. In private conversations, the same worries emerged: that a race against Ms. Gillibrand would be a brutal fight, dominated by endless debates about when he began paying taxes as a New York resident and the sincerity of his support for gay marriage and abortion rights.

A campaign that he had hoped would focus on tax cuts and job growth would instead, he feared, become mired in discussions of "who got there first, and who meant it the most," on social issues, he told an associate. That might allow a Republican opponent to swoop in and take the seat from the bloodied Democratic nominee.

What seemed to weigh on him, interviews with dozens of people who have met and spoken to his advisers revealed, was not his status as a carpetbagger who had moved to New York from Tennessee, but rather the reality that there were few easy constituencies for him to grab on to, outside of Wall Street, where he has worked since moving here in 2006. Many spoke on the condition of anonymity because they did not want to be seen as disclosing private conversations.

As he hopscotched from city to city, charming crowds with bits of his Southern biography, signs of trouble for Mr. Ford emerged. His voting record in Congress put him on the right fringes of state Democrats, and his $2 million-a-year job at Merrill Lynch made it hard to run as a Scott Brown-style populist.

What seemed like an improbable, even impossible campaign had its roots in conversations, many dating back a year, among Mr. Ford, 39, and a coterie of powerful friends from New York City, Washington and Los Angeles.

Over dinner last July at the Post House, a clubby steakhouse on the Upper East Side, Richard Plepler, a co-president of HBO, urged Mr. Ford to restart his political career in New York. "I think you should give this serious thought," he said, of the Senate race. Mr. Ford replied that he would.

After the dinner, Mr. Plepler sent an e-mail message to Douglas E. Schoen, a top Democratic pollster, to bounce the idea off him. Mr. Schoen was intrigued, and as he studied public polls, became convinced that Mr. Ford's best shot at reaching the Senate was to wage a campaign against Ms. Gillibrand.

Over the next few months, Mr. Ford sounded out many of New York's wealthiest and most politically connected executives, frequently over breakfast at the Regency Hotel on Park Avenue: Robert Wolf, the head of the United States investment banking division at UBS; Ronald Perelman, the billionaire chairman of Revlon; and Steven Rattner, the founder of Quadrangle, the private equity firm, all of whom are big Democratic donors.

Mr. Rattner told Mr. Ford, who is also a political analyst on NBC, that money would not be a problem. "You can raise the money," he told him in December.

Yet several big-name donors warned him that Ms. Gillibrand, a relentless campaigner, had beaten him to the punch. "She has already locked a lot of Wall Street up" was the message that Marc Lasry, a billionaire hedge fund manager, conveyed to Mr. Ford in a telephone conversation.

As Mr. Ford traveled outside New York City, especially upstate, he found political support for Ms. Gillibrand to be shallow, and the hunger for change palpable. The mayor of Syracuse, Stephanie Miner, told him that residents there were "scared and desperate" about the economy, and she told Mr. Ford that Ms. Gillibrand was a rare presence in her city.

But Ms. Gillibrand's strategy of portraying Mr. Ford as a showboating out-of-towner was starting to stick. In late January, the head of the Brooklyn Democratic Party, Assemblyman Vito J. Lopez, held a luncheon for Mr. Ford, and invited local lawmakers. During a two-hour question-and-answer session, Marty Markowitz, the borough president, pointed to several up-and-coming state senators around the room and observed that all of them had greater experience in New York politics than Mr. Ford.

"With all due respect," he asked Mr. Ford, "why do you think you have what it takes to be New York's senator?"

Even lawmakers who seemed open to a Ford candidacy warned him that peeling away support from Ms. Gillibrand would be harder than it seemed.

Rubén Díaz Jr., the Bronx borough president, told Mr. Ford between bites of an omelet at a diner near his office, "It's difficult to make a strong case against her here." Ms. Gillibrand, he explained, had just secured $4 million worth of federal stimulus money to train his constituents for green jobs. Mr. Ford knew that some liberals would attack his relatively conservative voting record but, those he spoke with said, he was taken aback by the depth of the anger he encountered from advocates for abortion rights and gay marriage.

After reporters found examples of Mr. Ford calling himself pro-life during his time in Congress, Mr. Ford vehemently pushed back, saying he had always supported a woman's right to choose. He assumed that would put the matter to rest. It did not. "He was dumbfounded that it kept tripping him up," a friend said.

One of Mr. Ford's top advisers, Bradley Tusk, the campaign manager for Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg's 2009 re-election, arranged a meeting for Mr. Ford with a close Bloomberg ally, Kelli Conlin, the head of Naral-Pro Choice of New York. Mr. Ford expected a polite conversation that would help neutralize a foe. Ms. Conlin, however, started the meeting by quizzing Mr. Ford on his voting record and public statements.

Did he realize, she asked, that he had backed legislation that would outlaw late-term abortions even when a woman's health is in danger?

Far from conciliatory, Mr. Ford wanted to know why Naral allowed Ms. Gillibrand to vote for a health care bill that cut off financing for abortions. "You gave her a pass," he said. Before leaving, Mr. Ford told Ms. Conlin that if he chose to run he hoped to return to ask for the group's support. Ms. Conlin responded: "We can never support you if you take these positions." Mr. Ford "looked shocked," a person in the room said.

His meeting with gay rights advocates on Feb. 24 was rockier still. When he walked into the headquarters of the Stonewall Democrats in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan, he was greeted by signs that read "Liar!" and "Go home snake oil Harry," a reference to his recent support for gay marriage after having twice voted to outlaw it in Congress.

A few days later, the results of a poll that Mr. Ford had paid for out of his own pocket began to trickle in, giving his advisers pause. His negative ratings had increased slightly. A liberal primary electorate seemed wary about portions of his record. Ms. Gillibrand remained vulnerable, the data showed, but Mr. Ford's chance seemed to be 50-50. "It was not a slam dunk, at all," said a person who spoke with him and was briefed on the data.

Mr. Tusk had told associates that to win, Mr. Ford needed 80 percent of the state's black vote, a tall order, but not inconceivable for an African-American in a Democratic primary. But by the end of the week, Gov. David A. Paterson and Representative Charles B. Rangel had become embroiled in ethics scandals. New York's black political elite was in seeming disarray, just when he needed them to be organized and unified.

By Sunday, he had made up his mind not to run. He told his wife, Emily, and his father, former Representative Harold Ford Sr. He began to call friends the next evening, leaving many of them brief messages.

"I'm not going to run this time," he said in one message. "Thank you for your support."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 8:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Berman points

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 3:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Confirmations

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Brimmer, Esther D; Tauscher, Ellen O; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 03 20:30:54 2010
Subject: Fw: Confirmations

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Nolan, Sarah E
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 03 20:00:16 2010
Subject: Confirmations

Eileen Donahoe (UN HRC) and Laura Kennedy (Conference on Disarmament) were just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 10:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Listing

I am currently out of the office on official travel and will be checking e-mail periodically. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 1:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Human rights reports

I understand from Joe that you are reviewing the key material for the human rights reports. You might talk to Mike Fuchs, who I asked to go thru the key reports with a fine-toothed comb.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Lavrov call

Thanks. Got it. Hope they will think carefully on VP. Will follow up on other items.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 04, 2010 1:21 PM
To: Tauscher, Ellen O; Burns, William J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Lavrov call

Lavrov thanked me for sending Ellen to Geneva and was delighted to hear she would be back on the 9th and would stay until we reached agreement. You can read the memcon for more details.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 2:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Lavrov call

Thanks, glad I can help. Looking forward to going back. Leaving Sunday, stopping in Paris to do some civil nuclear meetings then into Geneva to meet with Antonov on Tuesday.
Looking forward to talking when convenient on secure line this weekend.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 04, 2010 1:21 PM
To: Tauscher, Ellen O; Burns, William J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Lavrov call

Lavrov thanked me for sending Ellen to Geneva and was delighted to hear she would be back on the 9th and would stay until we reached agreement. You can read the memcon for more details.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 3:51 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Genocide Resolution

Armenian Genocide Resolution vote in committee: 23 yes/22 no. Gavel just went down.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Brimmer, Esther D <BrimmerE@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Law of the Seas

Yes, Ma'am, China ratified in 1996.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 14, 2010 4:06 PM
To: Brimmer, Esther D
Subject: Law of the Seas

Esther--Can you tell me if China has signed this treaty?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Raj Shah

rshah [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Jan 14 17:51:48 2010
Subject: Raj Shah

Can you send me his email address?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 6:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Irwin redlener

Ill add him to your grid
[redacted] c. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Jan 14 18:34:22 2010
Subject: Irwin redlener

Just called me for her. Wants to talk to her about pediatric casualties in haiti

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# DHS DRAFT STATEMENT

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

# DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT
# EMBARGOED EMBARGOED EMBARGOED

**PRM Press Guidance**
**January 15, 2010**

B5

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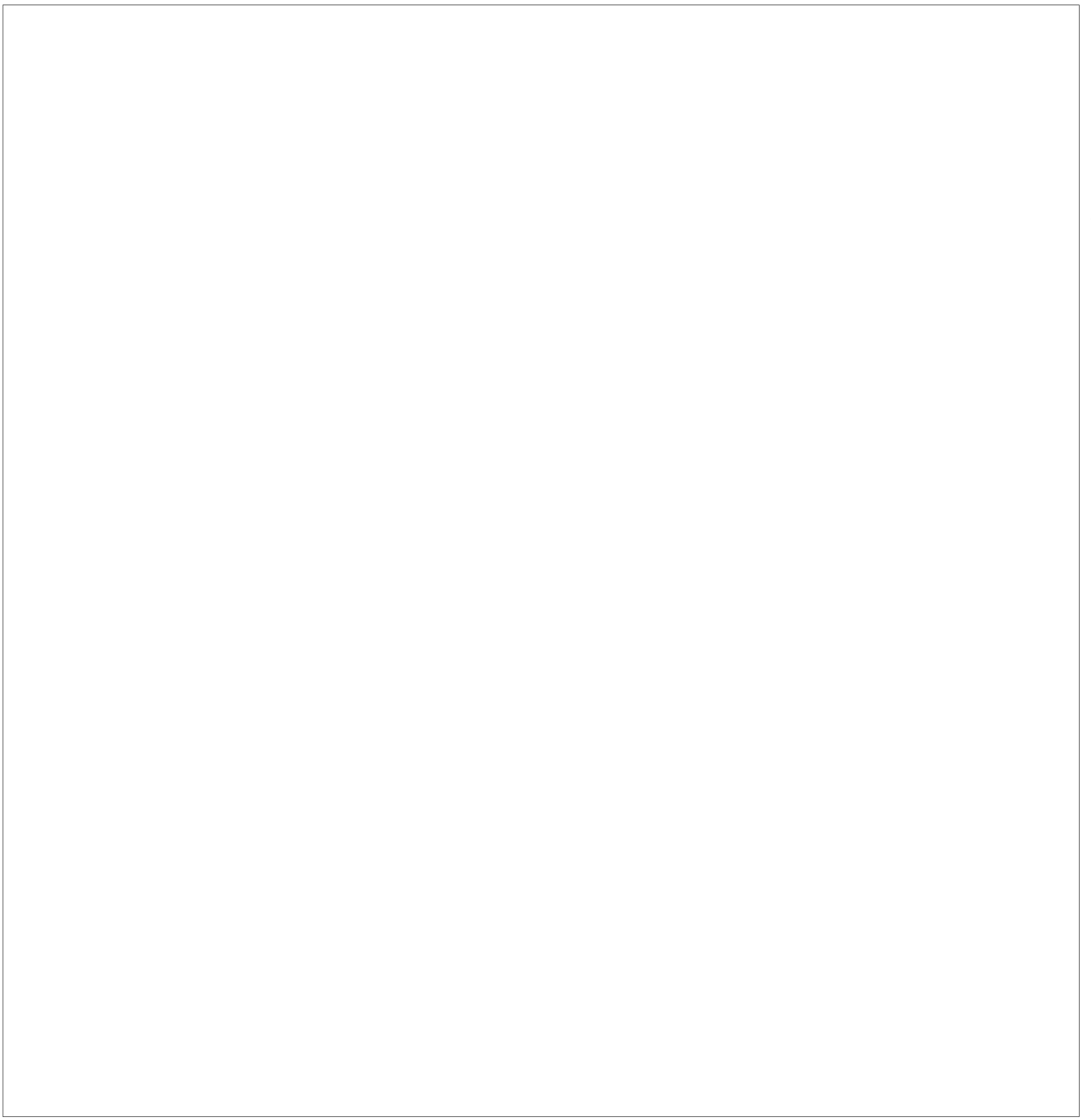
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Drafted: | PRM/MCE: | GWills |
| Approved: | PRM/FO: | DRobinson |
| | | |
| Cleared: | PRM/PIM: | JBanks |
| | PRM/ECA: | ENagy |
| | DHS/USCIS: | |
| | G: | KFriedrich |
| | P: | PAguilera |
| | D(S): | LCue |
| | S/P: | MPatel |

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RELEASE IN PART B5

# Public Diplomacy Communications Strategy for Haiti TPS policy

B5



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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FYI - Colombian President Uribe intends to travel to Haiti January 17,

## INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION

- (U) Colombian President Uribe intends to travel to Haiti January 17, according to press. His government will also send a naval hospital ship. ***(Rendon News Alerts)***

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Is there still a bottleneck at the airport? I'm listening to a doctor (Bob Hoff w Salvation Army)on NPR saying he is upset because they are running out of supplies and he keeps being told they are in the air.

Yes

While we have control of airport – the Haitians are dictating the priority of landing of planes and the document did not get signed today b/c at meeting the issue did not get resolved (or medical supply issue).

On with Ken now – getting ready to try calling Preval with Ken

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Is there still a bottleneck at the airport? I'm listening to a doctor (Bob Hoff w Salvation Army)on NPR saying he is upset because they are running out of supplies and he keeps being told they are in the air.

---

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:38 PM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A); 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Is there still a bottleneck at the airport? I'm listening to a doctor (Bob Hoff w Salvation Army)on NPR saying he is upset because they are running out of supplies and he keeps being told they are in the air.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 11:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FLOTUS recorded a PSA with our short code.just aired

FYI

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Stanton, Katie; Dowd, Katie W; Ross, Alec J; Cohen, Jared A
**Subject:** FLOTUS recorded a PSA with our short code...just aired

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted](blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 11:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Boehner's Chief of Staff

FYI –

POLITICO

# Boehner chief of staff dies at 46

By: Patrick O'Connor
January 10, 2010 01:40 PM EST

Paula Nowakowski, the longtime chief of staff to House Republican Leader John Boehner, died unexpectedly Saturday night, according to the leader's office. She was 46.

"It is with profound sadness and shock that I announce the passing of Paula Nowakowski, my longtime chief of staff, trusted aide and friend, who died suddenly last night," Boehner said in a statement early Sunday afternoon. "Words cannot adequately express the sorrow and disbelief I and every member of our team are grappling with today in the wake of this stunning news."

A Boehner aide said the cause was an apparent heart attack.

President Barack Obama and Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) were among those who called Boehner Sunday to offer their condolences on Nowakoski's death.

"The entire Capitol Hill community is shocked and saddened by the sudden passing of Paula Nowakowski," Pelosi said in a statement. "As Chief of Staff to Republican Leader John Boehner, Paula earned the respect not only of her Leadership and Conference, but all House Members on both sides of the aisle. She served Leader Boehner both in his current position as well as previously at the Committee on Education and the Workforce with great distinction.

"Paula was a thorough professional who loved the House and worked in a constructive and bipartisan fashion to implement policies to help the Congress function efficiently. On behalf of the entire House, I express our deep sadness to Paula's family, friends and our colleague, Leader John Boehner."

"Paula had some of the finest qualities a public servant can have: she was committed to advancing the cause of freedom, she cared deeply about the people she served, and she was a patriot," said Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY.).

"On behalf of her senate colleagues, I pass on my condolences to her family, Leader Boehner and his staff, and the whole House family for this tragic loss of our friend."

It would be hard to overstate Nowakowski's role in Boehner's tight-knit office. She has worked for the Ohio Republican almost continuously since 1995, when she joined his staff as communications director for the Republican Conference.

In the years since, she has worked as staff director for the Education and Labor Committee and served as his chief of staff since he returned to the leadership in early 2006. She briefly left Boehner's side in 1998 after he lost the conference post following a tough election for Republicans but rejoined him in 2001 when he assumed the chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee.

Along the way, she counseled Boehner on just about every decision he made and often served as an enforcer of sorts for the collegial Republican leader. It would be hard to find any chief of staff on Capitol Hill who maintained a closer relationship with her boss than the one she shared with Boehner.

Aides said Sunday that Boehner's office and extended network of former colleagues, known to many as "Boehner-land," were collectively shocked by the news.

"We will remember Paula as she would want to be remembered — as a tireless worker, faithful friend, rabid Detroit sports fan, whip-smart strategist, warrior for freedom and devoted Catholic who counted President Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II among her greatest heroes. She will never be replaced or forgotten," Boehner said. "I ask for your prayers for Paula's family."

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FD HIDDEN DIV
The Washington Post

# Paula Nowakowski, Rep. Boehner's chief of staff, dies at 46

By Martin Weil
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, January 11, 2010; B04

Paula Nowakowski, 46, chief of staff for House Minority Leader John A. Boehner, was found dead Jan. 10 at her home in Alexandria.

No official cause of death was available. Antonia Ferrier, a spokeswoman for Boehner (R-Ohio), said it appeared that Ms. Nowakowski died of a heart attack.

A longtime Hill aide, and Boehner's staff chief since 2006, Ms. Nowakowski was named by the Capitol Hill publication Roll Call to its 2009 list of the "Fabulous Fifty" staff members. The accolade recognized her savvy, her clout and her access to the top people in Congress.

Ms. Nowakowski, an avowed conservative, was highly regarded by leaders of both parties.

She was praised by Boehner and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.).

"It is with profound sadness and shock that I announce the passing of Paula Nowakowski, my longtime chief of staff, trusted aide, and friend, who died suddenly," Boehner said in a statement.

"Words cannot adequately express the sorrow and disbelief I and every member of our team are grappling with today in the wake of this stunning news," Boehner said.

Pelosi called Ms. Nowakowski a "thorough professional who loved the House and worked in a constructive and bipartisan fashion to implement policies to help the Congress function efficiently."

According to WhoRunsGov. com, a Washington Post Co. Web site, Ms. Nowakowski grew up in St. Clair Shores, Mich., and studied English at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y.

She told Politico of being made more conservative by the campus "rise of the loony left," citing "wacky, wacky stuff," which shaped her politics.

According to a reference book on congressional aides, she worked for the Republican National Committee in the late 1980s and early 1990s, then joined the staff of the House Republican Conference. After two years as a public affairs vice president of the American Insurance Association, she worked from 2001 to 2006 as staff director of the House Committee on Education & the Workforce. A Boehner aide said she worked for him at both the Republican Conference and the Education Committee.

Pelosi's staff chief, John Lawrence, who was Ms. Nowakowski's Democratic counterpart on the education committee, said they transcended political differences to "work in a very collegial way to strengthen the House itself." He called her "a great professional."

After the GOP lost its House majority in 2006 , Ms. Nowakowski said she experienced "the seven stages of grief," according to the Almanac of the Unelected 2008, a reference on Hill staffers.

"You don't want to be a compliant minority," she said of the party's new status, "but you have to adjust your expectations."

In his statement, Boehner called Ms. Nowakowski "a tireless worker, faithful friend and rabid Detroit sports fan."

Survivors include her longtime companion, Michael Smith, her mother, a brother and a sister.

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 6:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: BREAKING NEWS -- NYU GRAD STUDENTS FOUND. SAFE, WELL, IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND ON THEIR WAY HOME

**Importance:** High

Love th cg

---

**From:** John Beckman [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Jan 14 23:28:24 2010
**Subject:** BREAKING NEWS -- NYU GRAD STUDENTS FOUND. SAFE, WELL, IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND ON THEIR WAY HOME

Cheryl,
I am once again in your debt. Thank you for all the quick and sustained attention you and the State Department gave this matter.

I owe you.

At least one good ending...

Here's what I am distributing to news organizations:

STATEMENT FROM NYU SPOKESMAN JOHN BECKMAN

"NYU is very pleased to report that we have been in touch with one of the two missing graduate students who were in Haiti. They are together and safe and well in the Dominican Republic en route back home to the US. Details of their experience are still emerging, but our understanding is that they were flown out of the airport near Port-au-Prince by the Coast Guard, whose men and women we thank for their courage and perseverance.

"The University is very grateful for all the assistance we received from the State Department and other government agencies and elected officials.

"We're overjoyed to know they are coming home, safe and sound. This is a very happy ending to this story."

-- jb

On 1/14/10 8:13 AM, "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

So do they need to be found or are they fine and they need transporation

**From:** John Beckman [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:12 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: AmCits from NYU

I wasn't going to bother you; little surprise that, nonetheless, this matter made its way to you...

Just so you know, Walter and I are old friends; he's married to a really close friend of mine from high school, [redacted] I think the world of them both. B6

ISOS thinks they can get them out, but we have no communication with the two of them, so no way to arrange a rendezvous. They're history PhD students; they were supposed to be conducting research in the Haitian National Archives. Their accommodations are not entirely clear – they were either at a home in Carrefour district that belonged to the family of the young woman, or they may have been staying in one of the two hotels recommended to them by other grad students who had studied there: the Plaza, or the Oloffson.

We'd be grateful for anything the Dept can do. I know what a mess it is down there, and I know there are a zillion tasks to accomplish. I also know this must be very hard on the State Dept personnel who are posted there; my thoughts are with them.

Thanks, C. Just knowing you know about it is a relief to me

Yours,
jb

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:59 PM
**To:** john.beckman[redacted]
**Subject:** FW: AmCits from NYU

FYI

**From:** CMS TaskForce1I
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; TaskForce-1
**Cc:** CA Taskforce; TaskForce-1
**Subject:** RE: AmCits from NYU

CA is following up.

Henry Hand
CA TF-1 Rep

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 9:27 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1
**Subject:** FW: AmCits from NYU

Can we follow-up?

cdm

**From:** Douglas, Walter T

**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 6:39 PM
**To:** Haiti Earthquake Task Force
**Cc:** Oetgen, Jerome J
**Subject:** AmCits from NYU

Could you please contact John Beckman [redacted] at New York University with any information you might have on the two AmCits below? B6

Thank you for any help you can provide. Regards. Walter.

**Walter Douglas**

**Executive Assistant**

**Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**

**U.S. Department of State**

**2201 C St, NW Rm 5931**

W: 202.647.7062 | F: 202.647.9140 | ✉: DouglasWT@state.gov

**From:** John Beckman [mailto: [redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 13, 2010 4:46 PM
**To:** Douglas, Walter T
**Subject:** Walter -- I could really use your help

Walter – I could really use your help.

There are two NYU PhD history students – [redacted] and [redacted] (both US citizens) – in Port-au-Prince or possibly the nearby area of Carrefour. Neither the University nor their families have had any contact with them with the earthquake.

We are having trouble getting in touch with anyone at the State Dept who might be assembling a list of those who have contacted the embassy. Are you able to help at all? Their passport numbers are:

[redacted]

We are very worried, as are their families, of course. If there is anything that can be done to try to track them down – or if we can even know they have made contact with US authorities – we would be very grateful.

I know this must be a difficult time for the men and women of the foreign service in the US Embassy in Port-au-Prince. Please know that the thoughts of the NYU community are with them in this difficult time.

Thanks for anything you can do, Walter

John Beckman

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY CLINTON

The Passing of Victoria DeLong

This morning I spoke with the family of Victoria DeLong, the Cultural Affairs Officer at our Embassy in Port-Au-Prince who lost her life in the earthquake. I expressed my sincerest condolences on behalf of the men and women of the State Department and the American people. This is one tragedy among so many. The United Nations has suffered grevious losses. And the Hatian people have endured unimaginable heartbreak. For the State Department, we have lost one of our own. Victoria was a veteran Foreign Service Officer who worked tirelessly to build bridges of understanding and respect between the people of the United State and the people of Haiti. She served her country with distinction and honor, and she will be sorely missed. Victoria's friends and colleagues at the Embassy are working day and night to support vital relief and recovery efforts, and our thoughts, our prayers, and our deepest thanks are with them as well. Along with the military personnel, the search and rescue teams, and all the aid and relief workers now deploying, they represent the unwavering commitment of the United States to stand with Haiti in its hour of need and in the hard days and years to come. My heart is with the DeLong family today, and with all those in Haiti and around the world who have lost loved ones and friends in this disaster.

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 6:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Insulza speech

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Mar 04 18:34:05 2010
Subject: Fw: Insulza speech

USOAS summary of Insulza remarks.

----- Original Message -----
From: Armstrong, Robert A
To: Amselem, W Lewis; Rojas, Fernando D
Cc: Kelly, Craig A; Riva-Geoghegan, Margarita M
Sent: Thu Mar 04 12:18:46 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza speech

On democracy, Insulza repeated his line from 2005 (actually taken from Condi Rice) that it was not enough to be elected democratically; one had to govern democratically. He reviewed his own performance applying the Inter-American Democratic Charter (IADC) over the past five years and concluded that the record was good. He conceded that he had intervened too late in the Honduras case but said that was because Zelaya waited until too late to extend the invitation, asserting that he cannot intervene without an invitation from the executive branch.

"The truth is that we did everything possible to restore democracy in Honduras," he said.

Insulza said the Honduras experience showed the OAS needs to develop "swifter and more flexible procedures" to allow it to respond more preemptively. This would include mechanisms for the OAS to "make itself present in countries where there are possible signs of instability."

Insulza committed to "unreserved support" for the OAS human rights mechanisms, while respecting their autonomy.

"Democracy is more than elections and includes such essential components as respect for human rights, freedom of expression, separation and independence of the branches of government, respect for the rule of law and the democratic institutional system, and transparency and honesty in government. It also establishes a link between democracy, development, and equity," he said.

He talked about "modern multilateralism," modeled on the EU, as his vision for the OAS. "Modern multilateralism," he said, eschews Cold War divisions and "we all work together to build on our common principles."

On the management side, Insulza claimed he had inherited a bad financial situation at the OAS and improved it. Nonetheless, he said, "we need more resources." He committed to seek them from non-traditional sources such as OAS observers, NGOs, the private sector and academia. He claimed his efforts to improve transparency and accountability had been commended by external auditors.

Insulza committed to "give fresh impetus to the gender issue at the OAS."

Robert A. Armstrong
Political Counselor/Alternate Representative U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States 202-647-6375; mobile: [redacted] B6

-----Original Message-----
From: Amselem, W Lewis
Sent: Thursday, March 04, 2010 10:07 AM
To: Rojas, Fernando D; Armstrong, Robert A
Subject: FW: Insulza speech

Could one of you or your minions take this on?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Thursday, March 04, 2010 9:47 AM
To: Amselem, W Lewis
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S; Valenzuela, Arturo A
Subject: Insulza speech

Lew:

Can someone do a good summary for S? Pls highlight democracy measures, reforms and Honduras.

Thanks,

ck

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Call

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 08:11:59 2010
Subject: Call

Here is the next of kin information for Victoria DeLong, the officer who died in Haiti. Craig Kelly [redacted] yesterday morning: [redacted] and [redacted] B6
Home: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Here is a brief bio on Victoria: Virginia was Cultural Affairs Officer in Haiti. Entered the service in 1983 as an OMS (Office Management Specialist) and served in San Jose, San Salvador, Port Moresby and Kuala Lumpur. Became a Public Diplomacy officer in 1996, and served in Bonn, Manila, Public Affairs, Kinshasa and Port Louis before Haiti.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 8:25 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 1/15/10 Friday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:30 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **DROP-BY w/BRIAN ATWOOD**
10:40 am Secretary's Office

10:50 am **DEPART** State Department *En route White House

10:55 am **ARRIVE** White House

11:00 am **NSC MEETING w/POTUS**
12:00 pm Situation Room

12:05 pm **DEPART** White House *En route State Department

12:30 pm **PHONE CALL w/PETER ROBINSON, FIRST MINISTER (T)**
Secretary's Office

12:45 pm **PHONE CALL w/MARTIN MCGUINNESS, DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER (T)** Secretary's Office

1:00pm **PHONE CALL w/ARLENE FOSTER, ACTING FIRST MINISTER (T)**
Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **PHONE CALL w/REG EMPEY (T)**
Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **PHONE CALL w/ HOUSE REPUBLICANS**
Secretary's Office

Tbd **OFFICE TIME**
Secretary's Office

Time Tbd **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

Time Tbd **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WJC

Just called Huma's line for you and asked you to call him back when you are finished at the White House.

Lauren

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 12:28 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti - child trafficking

This is a good suggestion from Jillian Burns in S/P....to make sure that children (and wonen) don't become targets of traffickers, as happened in Pakistan.

---

**From:** Burns, Jillian L
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 12:01 PM
**To:** Gonzalez, Francisco J; Muscatine, Lissa
**Subject:** Haiti - child trafficking

http://www.cbsatlanta.com/news/22239047/detail.html

## Child Trafficking Major Concern After Quake

### Thousands Of Children Left Without Parents

*By Mike Paluska, CBS Atlanta Reporter*
POSTED: 4:58 pm EST January 14, 2010
UPDATED: 5:28 pm EST January 14, 2010

**ATLANTA** -- UNICEF and international adoption agencies said getting children into safe zones is a top priority after the devastating earthquake in Haiti.

The massive magnitude 7.0 earthquake that hit the island of Hispaniola has left thousands of children without parents. Before the quake even hit UNICEF statistics from 2007 show there were 380,000 orphans already in Haiti.

"There are so many children that are in desperate need of help that's what we are here to do to keep them alive and get them the nutrients they need and clean water. It becomes the one place of stability for the kids where they have people UNICEF workers they can relate to they have educational material so they can start back with school," said Alissa Silverman, deputy director for UNICEF in the southeast region. "UNICEF is tracing family members and caring for children orphaned by the disaster to protect them from harm or exploitation."

The number of children on the island is staggering. Forty-six percent of Haiti's population (nearly 10 million) is under the age of 18, more than half of the population is under 21. Prior to the earthquake, four of every 10 children lived in homes with mud floors or severely overcrowded conditions.

"My first concern is who is with the kids how many of our nannies our ok and who is watching the kids and then all the kids on the streets," said Chareyl Moyes, the program manager for Wasatch International Adoption. Moyes works with a number of different agencies and orphanages in Haiti. She said early reports about how much damage they suffered are good.

"But, there is going to be a concern about child trafficking so both Haitian and the United States governments are going to be careful about forging ahead with new adoptions. The need is going to be great," Moyes said.

A lot of families in the U.S. according to a number of international adoption agencies across the country said some people were at the very end of the process to adopt a child from Haiti. "Now, it will set everyone back," Moyes said.

Even though child trafficking is a major concern for Moyes she worries about the immediate help children need trapped in the rubble from a country in ruins. "How long will that child survive without somebody rescuing them," Moyes said.

http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/26294/

*Save the Children Emergency Team Reaches Haiti*

An emergency response team from Westport's Save the Children successfully reached Haiti today and worked quickly with staff already on the ground to organize the distribution of tents, medicine, and toiletries to children and families in desperate need, the charity said.
"Save the Children is extremely concerned about the well-being of children in Haiti at this critical moment and we are doing everything we can to quickly get relief supplies to those who need it most," said Charles MacCormack, president and CEO of Save the Children, in a news release.

"Our staff on the ground is pulling out all the stops to overcome hurdles like blocked roads and unreliable access to the airport."

"This is just the beginning of what will be a comprehensive five-year effort to build back better in Haiti. We are dedicated to not only addressing the immediate needs of children and families, but to making sure they have a brighter future ahead."

http://children.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/01/13/haitis-disastrous-earthquake-hits-children-hardest/

As someone in the anti-trafficking news of the disaster in Haiti has my mind rushing to worrying thoughts on how the disaster will increase human trafficking in the country. Such a large scale disaster will undoubtedly leave thousands and thousands of children, and their families, at an increased to be victimized by modern slavery.

Haiti's Restavek system still has a tight grip on the community, leaving some 300,000 children in the country enslaved as domestic workers according to the UN. It is these children who will continue to anguish and suffer the most in the shadows of the earthquake.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Comments from PM today

FYI

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Comments from PM today

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

cdm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 01/14/2025

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] response to S call

B6

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**To:** 'hr15@mycingular.blackberry.net' <hr15@mycingular.blackberry.net>
**Sent:** Fri Jan 15 19:41:59 2010
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] response to S call

---

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Fri Jan 15 19:21:18 2010
**Subject:** FW: [redacted] response to S call

Cheryl

E-mail from the Department's Casualty Assistance Office, who is in contact with the sister [principle living relative] of the [redacted]

Regards

pat

---

**From:** Boncy, Virginia W
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** Powell, Nancy J; Browning, Steve A; Manzanares, J Robert (Bob); Taglialatela, Linda S
**Cc:** Leach, Kirk A
**Subject:** [redacted] response to S call

When I spoke to [redacted] this morning she said that the Secretary had called, and she said, "I can't tell you how much it meant to us." She went on to say that she and her husband were very moved by the Secretary's words and by how much everyone cares.

Ginny
*Virginia Boncy*
*Deputy Director*
*Office of Casualty Assistance*
*Tel: 202-736-4302*
*Fax: 202-647-5313*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

POLITICO Breaking News:

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Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.) announced tonight that he will be retiring at the end of his term, citing the difficult political environment that he would have faced to win an eighth term in the House.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 8:59 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

**Importance:** High

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

---

**From:** Jacobson, Roberta S
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
**Cc:** De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
**Importance:** High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** [redacted] [mailto [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
**To:** Jacobson, Roberta S
**Subject:** Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

We will be sending you a proposed agenda for the call and a list of participating Ministers.

Cheers

*Alex Bugailiskis*

Assistant Deputy Minister
Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2
Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

Sous-ministre adjointe
Amérique latine et Caraïbes
Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada
125, promenade Sussex
Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2
Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Expo Update

Just a quick note to tell you that we are moving forward on the Expo funding. ATT came in at $500k, McGraw Hill at $200k, Intel at $250k more, Delos Living (a Mantz client) $250k, and CITI at a minimum of $2M brings us down to $3.7M.

The following are on deck and likely to come in soon - Boeing (more), Carlyle, Blackstone, Alcoa, and AECOM. EB and I chatting with many others.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

I think she may do an earlier call

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Ok to do conf call 1300 Sunday and call w Lady Ashton before that.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 20:58:51 2010
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
Importance: High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: [redacted] [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

We will be sending you a proposed agenda for the call and a list of participating Ministers.

Cheers

Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

125 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: This is good.

B6

**From:** Richard Socarides
**Sent:** Thursday, March 04, 2010 11:49 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** This is good.

# State Department Investigating LGBT Treatment In Uganda and Throughout Africa

Posted: 03 Mar 2010 11:01 PM PST

Last January, we reported that Sen. Ron Wyden (D-OR) wrote to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and US Trade Representative Ron Kirk, asking them to "communicate immediately to the Ugandan government, and President Yoweri Museveni directly, that Uganda's beneficiary status under AGOA (African Growth and Opportunity Act) will be revoked should the proposed legislation be enacted." The legislation he's referring to, of course, is the draconian Anti-Homosexuality Bill that is, as far as we are able to determine, awaiting its second reading before Parliament.

The State Department has now responded to Sen. Wyden's request. In a letter dated Feb 22, 2010 and released by Sen. Wyden's office, Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs Richard Verma responded that the department is not only "identified this issue as a priority in our bilateral relationship" with Uganda (PDF: 112KB/2 pages):

> We have reached out at the highest levels; Secretary Clinton and Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Johnnie Carson have discussed our concerns directly with President Museveni. In addition, our embassy in Kampala has been in close and regular contact with key political, media and civil society actors on the ground in Uganda, registering strong opposition to the bill and warning the Ugandans of potential consequences if it passes. The ambassador reiterated our concerns with President Museveni as recently as January 25, and Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs Maria Otero just visited Uganda on January 29. She met and offered support and encouragement to civil society groups opposed to the legislation and underscored our views to senior Ugandan officials. We are following this bill very closely.

In Museveni's remarks urging Parliament to "go slow" on considering the draconian legislation, he cited a long conversation with Secretary Clinton in declaring that the bill was not just a domestic issue but also had foreign policy considerations.

Assistant Secretary Verma characterized Uganda's proposed bill "a serious affront to internationally accepted human rights standards." And interestingly, the State Department's concerns aren't limited to Uganda:

> The State Department is also evaluating attitudes and laws that marginalize and criminalize and penalize the LGBT community in Africa more broadly. We have asked all of our embassies in Africa to report on host country laws and pending legislation that criminalizes homosexuality. In addition, our Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor has established a task force on LGBT issues to strategize a United States Government response to LBGT issues worldwide.

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site to Editor@BoxTurtleBulletin.com.
(Digital Fingerprint: ea9498dc0641a690b4f7fbd3a7339f9b)

--

Richard Socarides, Esq.
Brady Klein Weissman LLP
501 Fifth Avenue, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10017
w: 212.949.5800 m: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: [redacted] response to S call

**From**: Kennedy, Patrick F
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Fri Jan 15 19:21:18 2010
**Subject**: FW: [redacted] response to S call

Cheryl

E-mail from the Department's Casualty Assistance Office, who is in contact with the sister [principle living relative] of the [redacted]

B6

Regards

pat

---

**From:** Boncy, Virginia W
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** Powell, Nancy J; Browning, Steve A; Manzanares, J Robert (Bob); Taglialatela, Linda S
**Cc:** Leach, Kirk A
**Subject:** [redacted] response to S call

When I spoke to [redacted] this morning she said that the Secretary had called, and she said, "I can't tell you how much it meant to us." She went on to say that she and her husband were very moved by the Secretary's words and by how much everyone cares.

Ginny
*Virginia Boncy*
*Deputy Director*
*Office of Casualty Assistance*
*Tel: 202-736-4302*
*Fax: 202-647-5313*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 6:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Expo Update

Will do. Think we are in good shape. Immelt, Indra and Huntsman making calls. Mark Penn and Terry very helpful.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Fri Mar 05 06:25:55 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

Good work. Let me know if I need to do anything else.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Mar 04 19:08:52 2010
Subject: Expo Update

Just a quick note to tell you that we are moving forward on the Expo funding. ATT came in at $500k, McGraw Hill at $200k, Intel at $250k more, Delos Living (a Mantz client) $250k, and CITI at a minimum of $2M brings us down to $3.7M.

The following are on deck and likely to come in soon - Boeing (more), Carlyle, Blackstone, Alcoa, and AECOM. EB and I chatting with many others.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Not sure who they were but fine to do 1pm - I'll make sure it works.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:17 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

W/whom? I thought she wanted to speak w me Sunday morning. I just want to do it as late as possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:11:07 2010
Subject: RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

I think she may do an earlier call

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Ok to do conf call 1300 Sunday and call w Lady Ashton before that.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 20:58:51 2010
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
Importance: High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

We will be sending you a proposed agenda for the call and a list of participating Ministers.

Cheers

Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

125 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Tel [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** H; 'MillsCD@state.gov'; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

We told roberta 1pm works
Will offer ashton 12 for ashton so you are not rushed Lona says Cathedral isn't until 6pm if u decide to go. She has done nothing about it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:10:42 2010
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Ok to do conf call 1300 Sunday and call w Lady Ashton before that.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 20:58:51 2010
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
Importance: High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

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Cheers

Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

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Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 7:13 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Lavrov call

Shall we try for today while you are in air? I'll have Ops work it for us. If coms don't cooperate their Sunday is best me. I'm on the road Saturday and it will be difficult to go secure.
Safe travels.
Ellen

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Mar 05 06:32:33 2010
Subject: Re: Lavrov call

I can talk secure today btw 3-8pm on the plane ride to DC (IF phones work--always a question) or before 11 on either Sat or Sun. Does that work for you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Mar 04 14:28:55 2010
Subject: RE: Lavrov call

Thanks, glad I can help. Looking forward to going back. Leaving Sunday, stopping in Paris to do some civil nuclear meetings then into Geneva to meet with Antonov on Tuesday.
Looking forward to talking when convenient on secure line this weekend.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 04, 2010 1:21 PM
To: Tauscher, Ellen O; Burns, William J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Lavrov call

Lavrov thanked me for sending Ellen to Geneva and was delighted to hear she would be back on the 9th and would stay until we reached agreement. You can read the memcon for more details.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'MillsCD@state.gov'
**Subject:** Ngos

We are also bringing the following ngo representatives on the plane with us.
They have infrastructure on the ground so we are just giving them a ride there. Ngos are concern worldwide, catholic relief services, food for the hungry and world vision.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:36 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: David (Lindwall)'s house in PoP....

Take a look – a reminder of the trauma our workers have confronted.

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: David (Lindwall)'s house in PoP....

Cheryl

Photo of Port au Prince DCM David Lindwall's house post-earthquake

Regards

pat



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

We are setting you up to meet with UN tomorrow - it will be Mulet (he is ne Heda Anabi) and we also will have UN General - Floriana Peixoto, and we'll bring Keen and Luck (or Callahan) to the meeting.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Bill wants me to speak to/meet w Eduard Mulette who will replace head of UN Mission. Do you know him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:20:53 2010
Subject: RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Not sure who they were but fine to do 1pm - I'll make sure it works.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:17 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

W/whom? I thought she wanted to speak w me Sunday morning. I just want to do it as late as possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:11:07 2010
Subject: RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

I think she may do an earlier call

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Ok to do conf call 1300 Sunday and call w Lady Ashton before that.

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 20:58:51 2010
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
Importance: High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

We will be sending you a proposed agenda for the call and a list of participating Ministers.

Cheers

Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

125 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767967 Date: 08/31/2015



Media Analysis
January 15, 2009
Office of Research

# Europe: U.S. Should Be Wary of "Al Qaeda Trap" in Yemen

*European media see Yemen as a new front in the war on terror. Many outlets warn a military campaign would turn Muslims against the United States and prefer a non-military strategy promoting development.*

European commentators paid scant attention to Yemen prior to the Christmas Day bombing attempt. Some did mention the return of Guantanamo detainees and the potential for Yemen to serve as a haven for terrorists. But only a few outlets in Turkey and Britain reported on U.S. air strikes in early December. At the time, the *Daily Telegraph* stood out for boldly labeling Yemen "bin Laden's new base."

**Military approach could backfire**

Since the Christmas Day attempt, the floodgates of editorial opinion have opened. A broad spectrum now believe a U.S. intervention in Yemen is possible and just what al Qaeda wants. A Lithuanian commentator for centrist *Lietuvos Zinios* writes sardonically, "one does not need to be a genius" to understand how the Muslim world would react to opening a new front line against Yemen.

***"The U.S. view—that Iraq was a war of yesterday, Afghanistan is a war of today and Yemen will be a war of tomorrow unless pre-emptive action is taken—underlines the significance of this new front in the struggle against terrorism."***

**Finland's right-of-center *Aamulehti***
**December 29, 2009**

A number of outlets say airstrikes will drive more people into the arms of radical Islamists and "make the local population more sympathetic with al Qaeda," as Russia's centrist *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* puts it. Some believe an attack on Yemen could lead to a conflict spreading throughout the region. Referring to President Obama's inaugural address, a Turkish commentator for the Islamic reformist daily *Yeni Safak* writes "a possible U.S. intervention in Yemen would make the Muslim world 'clench its fist' again."

Several papers speculate a major U.S. military intervention in a country as unstable as Yemen will lead the United States into a quagmire. France's left-of-center *Le Monde* says this outcome is "precisely what al Qaeda is seeking to achieve." Commentators believe it will be difficult to drive al Qaeda out of Yemen, which a Belgian writer calls "an al Qaeda Trap." A columnist for France's right-of-center *Le Figaro* wants the international community to consider the tactics used against the Jihadists until now "before we dive headlong into battle," a view shared by others.

**Nation-building may be required**

Numerous observers say the United States should employ a broad strategy in Yemen, not just a military one. Several German papers argue, as left-of-center *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* does, that the country needs "development and better government" rather than air strikes against al Qaeda camps. Similarly, a pundit for Britain's left-of-center *Independent* wants the international community to provide "sustained and intensive attention, capacity building, and support" to the Yemeni people. Italy's centrist *Corriere della Sera* hopes the United States will opt for "all out collaboration" with Yemen, but a commentator for Britain's left-of-center *Guardian*, expressing a view shared by others on the left and right, says the United States should not be seen as propping up the unpopular president of Yemen.

***This product analyzes commentary from Europe December 28-January 13, 2010 reacting to the attempted bombing of NWA flight 253. Reports are selected by post for their relevance to U.S. policy and public diplomacy efforts. Prepared by the Office of Opinion Research, Media Reaction Division, rmrMail@state.gov; (202) 736-4330. Drafted by Andrew J. McLean.***

*The findings presented do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Government.*

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05767967 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 16, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Liberian leader heads to Burkina Faso

---

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: Guinea Monitoring Group; NEWS-AF; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sat Jan 16 07:18:23 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Liberian leader heads to Burkina Faso

OUAGADOUGOU (AP) - The private secretary of Liberian president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf said the African leader is departing for Burkina Faso. Cyrus Badio did not elaborate on why Sirleaf is going, but analysts said she is likely heading to Ouagadougou to take part in the finalization of a deal signed January 15 by Guinea's wounded military leader.

---

Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 9:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: More trouble for Tories and Cameron. He needs to support NI peace, not another problem. Sid

March 5, 2010

# New blow for Tories as lead slips in marginals

By Nigel Morris and Michael Savage

## Poll shows crumbling support in target seats as David Cameron is drawn into Ashcroft non-dom row

The Conservative lead is crumbling in the crucial marginal seats that David Cameron is relying on to deliver general election victory for the party, a poll last night disclosed.

The result was a fresh setback for the Tory leader after a torrid day in which he was drawn deeper into the row over the billionaire peer Lord Ashcroft, when it emerged that he had known for less than a month that Lord Ashcroft had maintained his non-dom tax status for 10 years.

The chances of the party drawing a line under the controversy were also wrecked by the announcement that Lord Ashcroft will be summoned to the Commons to explain why he negotiated a secret deal to enter the House of Lords without paying tax in this country on his overseas fortune.

With Gordon Brown expected to announce the election date this month, senior Tories have put a brave face on their sliding support in national opinion polls since the turn of the year.

They insisted they were performing much more strongly in marginal constituencies where the drive for votes has been masterminded and substantially funded by Lord Ashcroft.

The YouGov poll for Channel 4 News found the Tory lead in 60 Labour-held marginals had shrunk from seven to just two points over the past year.

The slide in Conservative support is further evidence Britain could be heading for a hung parliament after the election expected on 6 May. The survey put the Tories on 39 per cent (down four points since last year) and Labour on 37 per cent (up one). YouGov calculated that the results would leave the Tories the largest party after the election, but 11 seats short of an overall Commons majority.

An investigation by *The Independent* last week found the Tories spent £6m over two years in the marginal battlegrounds, in most cases far outspending Labour and the Liberal Democrats.

The party faces the daunting challenge of capturing 117 seats to achieve a majority of just one - a task described by a shadow cabinet member as a "mountain to climb".

The Conservatives received some good news yesterday when an 18-month inquiry by the Electoral Commission concluded that the £5.1m they received in donations from Bearwood Corporate Services, controlled by Lord Ashcroft, were legal. The party would have faced having to pay the money back had the electoral watchdog reached the opposite conclusion.

However, the commission added its regret that the Tories refused to agree to interviews and that Lord Ashcroft had destroyed documents relating to the ownership of the company.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 16, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Holbrooke unclear if Pakistani Taliban chief dead

---

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Pakistan
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sat Jan 16 07:19:05 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Holbrooke unclear if Pakistani Taliban chief dead

KABUL (Reuters) - The United States does not know if the leader of the Pakistani Taliban, Hakimullah Mehsud, was killed by a drone strike earlier this week, a senior American envoy said January 16. "I've heard every conceivable version of what's happened and I don't know." the U.S. Special Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan Richard Holbrooke said.

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Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 16, 2010 11:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Newsweek article "Why Haiti Matters" by Barack Obama

---

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Reines, Philippe I; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Meier, Edward F; Seiden, Maya D
**Sent:** Sat Jan 16 11:29:28 2010
**Subject:** Newsweek article "Why Haiti Matters" by Barack Obama

Why Haiti Matters
In the tragic aftermath of Haiti's 7.0 earthquake, images of the disaster break our hearts and remind us of the fragility of life. What America must do now—and why.
By Barack Obama | NEWSWEEK

Published Jan 15, 2010

From the magazine issue dated Jan 25, 2010

In the last week, we have been deeply moved by the heartbreaking images of the devastation in Haiti: parents searching through rubble for sons and daughters; children, frightened and alone, looking for their mothers and fathers. At this moment, entire parts of Port-au-Prince are in ruins, as families seek shelter in makeshift camps. It is a horrific scene of shattered lives in a poor nation that has already suffered so much.

In response, I have ordered a swift, coordinated, and aggressive effort to save lives in Haiti. We have launched one of the largest relief efforts in recent history. I have instructed the leaders of all agencies to make our response a top priority across the federal government. We are mobilizing every element of our national capacity: the resources of development agencies, the strength of our armed forces, and most important, the compassion of the American people. And we are working closely with the Haitian government, the United Nations, and the many international partners who are also aiding in this extraordinary effort.

We act for the sake of the thousands of American citizens who are in Haiti, and for their families back home; for the sake of the Haitian people who have been stricken with a tragic history, even as they have shown great resilience; and we act because of the close ties that we have with a neighbor that is only a few hundred miles to the south.

But above all, we act for a very simple reason: in times of tragedy, the United States of America steps forward and helps. That is who we are. That is what we do. For decades, America's leadership has been founded in part on the fact that we do not use our power to subjugate others, we use it to lift them up—whether it was rebuilding our former adversaries after World War II, dropping food and water to the people of Berlin, or helping the people of Bosnia and Kosovo rebuild their lives and their nations.

At no time is that more true than in moments of great peril and human suffering. It is why we have acted to help people combat the scourge of HIV/AIDS in Africa, or to recover from a catastrophic tsunami in Asia. When we show not just our power, but also our compassion, the world looks to us with a mixture of awe and admiration. That advances our leadership. That shows the character of our country. And it is why every American can look at this relief effort with the pride of knowing that America is acting on behalf of our common humanity.

Right now, our search-and-rescue teams are on the ground, pulling people from the rubble. Americans from Virginia and California and Florida have worked round the clock to save people whom they've never met. Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and Coast Guardsmen quickly deployed to the scene. Hand in hand with our civilians, they're laboring day and night to facilitate a massive logistical enterprise; to deliver and distribute food, water, and medicine to save lives; and to prevent an even larger humanitarian catastrophe.

Greater help is on the way. This will be a complex and difficult rescue and recovery operation, and it takes time to move all of the resources necessary into such a devastated environment. But more American rescue teams, doctors, nurses, and paramedics will arrive to care for the injured. More water, food, and supplies will be delivered. An aircraft carrier has arrived. A naval hospital ship has been deployed. And additional aircraft and heavy equipment will restore communications and clear roads and ports to speed relief and hasten recovery.

In addition, in this new century no great challenge will be one we can solve alone. In this humanitarian effort, we'll work closely with other nations, so that our work on the ground is efficient and effective even under what are very difficult conditions. We'll also join with the United Nations, which has done so much to bring security and stability to Haiti over the years, and which has suffered terrible losses in this tragedy. And we'll partner with the constellation of nongovernmental organizations that have a long and established record of working to improve the lives of the Haitian people.

It is also important to note that all of these efforts will be bolstered by the continuing good will and generosity of ordinary citizens. Governments alone are not enough. Already, a record number of donations have come in through text messaging. Money has poured into the Red Cross and other relief organizations. I want to thank the many Americans who have already contributed to this effort. And I want to encourage all Americans who want to help to go to whitehouse.gov to learn more.

And, lastly, in the days, months, and years ahead, we'll need to work closely with the government and people of Haiti to reclaim the momentum that they achieved before the earthquake. It is particularly devastating that this crisis has come at a time when—at long last, after decades of conflict and instability—Haiti was showing hopeful signs of political and economic progress. In the months and years to come, as the tremors fade and Haiti no longer tops the headlines or leads the evening news, our mission will be to help the people of Haiti to continue on their path to a brighter future. The United States will be there with the Haitian government and the United Nations every step of the way.

In the aftermath of disaster, we are reminded that life can be unimaginably cruel. That pain and loss is so often meted out without any justice or mercy. That "time and chance" happen to us all. But it is also in these moments, when we are brought face to face with our own fragility, that we rediscover our common humanity. We look into the eyes of another and see ourselves. And so the United States of America will lead the world in this humanitarian endeavor. That has been our history, and that is how we will answer the challenge before us.

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:33 AM
**To:** mark [redacted]; H; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C; cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D B6
**Subject:** Re: Help for dying patients

Adding raj as well.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted]
To: Hillary Clinton <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C; cheryl.mills [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Jan 16 22:00:42 2010
Subject: Help for dying patients

Dear Hillary and all.

We arrived at the general hospital last night with 1500 people sick or dying with 40 percent needing surgery. It has no water electricity or food and very limited surgical suites or supplies It the largest and most well known public hospital in the city and according to PIH and paul farmer needs to be supported and it's infrastucture needs to be rebuilt.

Right now we have surgeons but not enough operating rooms set up. We desperately need to get a generator and fuel and surgical lights and surgery supplies not just first aid. There are hundreds including children with festering wounds needing amputation and emergency surgical care. The doctors nurses and patients have no food or water.

Can you help get the infrastructure of electricity water and a medical hospital tent for post op patients. We are operating with headlamps and hacksaws rinsed with alcohol.

If we have the electricity and water we can open 11 operating rooms tomorrow if we get what we need. Can the military help ASAP and for security of equipment and medication.

Until this morning when [redacted] did the first amuptation there was almost no surgery happening at all here in the city and none at the General. B6

Five days after the quake with no acute surgical care wounds are festering patients are getting septic and dying. If we had a little help with basic servcices we could stop this.

I don't have cell or email at the hospital. Please coordinate with Claire Pierre or Nancy from PIH.

Thank you thank you thank you.

Mark Hyman, MD
Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 12:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Azerbaijan: U.S. 'genocide' vote hurts stability

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**From**: Rajadurai, Merin
**To**: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany; Birner, Timothy D
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Mar 05 11:00:37 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Azerbaijan: U.S. 'genocide' vote hurts stability

BAKU (Reuters) - Turkey ally Azerbaijan condemned a U.S. House panel resolution on the 1915 killing of Armenians as a blow to regional stability and to efforts to resolve a conflict over Armenian-backed Nagorno-Karabakh. The Azeri parliament unanimously adopted a strongly-worded statement saying the resolution, which labeled the mass killings by Ottoman Turks as genocide, "damages efforts to restore peace and stability in the region."

**Merin Rajadurai**
**U.S. Department of State**
**Executive Secretariat - Operations**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Help for dying patients

I will be traveling today without access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv. Toivnf@state.gov or [redacted]. B6

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HbJ

B6

**From**: Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To**: LeBaron, Joseph E; Steinfeld, Andrew W; Specht, Linda; Nantongo, Mirembe L; MacDonald, Andrew T
**Cc**: Sullivan, Jacob J; MacDonald, Andrew T; Abedin, Huma; Schlicher, Ronald L; Talwar, Puneet [redacted]; Limbert, John W; Connelly, Maura; Shampaine, Nicole D; Goldberger, Thomas H; Hale, David M; 'Mitchell, George [redacted]; Rudman, Mara; [redacted]; Hof, Frederic C
**Sent**: Fri Mar 05 10:52:09 2010
**Subject**: HbJ

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted]

*Jeffrey Feltman*

*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*

202-647-7209

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/05/2025**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office Re: Fw: Help for dying patients

I am traveling overseas and only have sporadic access to my email. If you need immediate assistance, please call State Department Operations at 202-647-1512 and ask for Nora Toiv who can assist you.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 6:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Monday

Welcome back. I changed my plans and will be back in DC this morning. I have meetings between 9 and noon but will be available any time in the afternoon today or tomorrow and can work around your schedule. After spending several hours on the phone last night I wanted to come back and attend to some of the logistical coordination issues.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'jacobjlew [redacted]; Lew, Jacob J B6
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:54:07 2010
Subject: Monday

Jack--

In looking at my schedule, I could talk w you by phone Sunday or Monday, rather than meeting, which would give you back your Monday and service event. I learned the office will be closed Monday, so I will be working from home. Does that make sense?

What times would be good to talk tomorrow or Monday?

Thx, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] Shah, Rajiv (AID/A); Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** RE: Help for dying patients

Raj

Am up and getting ready to get organized.

HRC

Raj is on the am show.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 17, 2010 7:25 AM
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A); Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Help for dying patients

Pls let me know if we are able to help today and if I need to call about this.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]rshah[redacted]; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:43:58 2010
Subject: Re: Help for dying patients

Also food and water?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]rshah[redacted]; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:42:53 2010
Subject: Fw: Help for dying patients

Mark, emergency room doc, is w Paul Farmer; Pier is his orthopedic surgeon wife. Is there any way to help asap? This should be the highest priority. Coulc one of the medical teams alreay there move over to help?[redacted] B5
[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: mark[redacted]; H; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A) <[redacted] B6
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>; cheryl.mills[redacted] Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:33:23 2010
Subject: Re: Help for dying patients

Adding raj as well.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted]>
To: Hillary Clinton <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C; cheryl.mills [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Sat Jan 16 22:00:42 2010
Subject: Help for dying patients

Dear Hillary and all.

We arrived at the general hospital last night with 1500 people sick or dying with 40 percent needing surgery. It has no water electricity or food and very limited surgical suites or supplies It the largest and most well known public hospital in the city and according to PIH and paul farmer needs to be supported and it's infrastucture needs to be rebuilt.

Right now we have surgeons but not enough operating rooms set up. We
desperately need to get a generator and fuel and surgical lights and surgery supplies not just first aid. There are hundreds including children with festering wounds needing amputation and emergency
surgical care. The doctors nurses and patients have no food or water.

Can you help get the infrastructure of electricity water and a medical hospital tent for post op patients. We are operating with headlamps and hacksaws rinsed with alcohol.

If we have the electricity and water we can open 11 operating rooms tomorrow if we get what we need. Can the military help ASAP and for security of equipment and medication.

Until this morning when [redacted] did the first amuptation there was almost no surgery happening at all here in the city and none at the General.

Five days after the quake with no acute surgical care wounds are
festering patients are getting septic and dying. If we had a little
help with basic servcices we could stop this.

I don't have cell or email at the hospital. Please coordinate with Claire Pierre or Nancy from PIH.

Thank you thank you thank you.

Mark Hyman, MD
Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 1:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HbJ

Huma may have passed on, but fyi

B6

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To:** LeBaron, Joseph E; Steinfeld, Andrew W; Specht, Linda; Nantongo, Mirembe L; MacDonald, Andrew T
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; MacDonald, Andrew T; Abedin, Huma; Schlicher, Ronald L; Talwar, Puneet [redacted]; Limbert, John W; Connelly, Maura; Shampaine, Nicole D; Goldberger, Thomas H; Hale, David M; 'Mitchell, George' [redacted]; Rudman, Mara; [redacted]; Hof, Frederic C
**Sent:** Fri Mar 05 10:52:09 2010
**Subject:** HbJ

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted]

*Jeffrey Feltman*

*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*

202-647-7209

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/05/2025**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 1:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reich

During the transition, Time.com did a top ten cabinet members list. Reich was #9.

See list below.

1. OBJ

Harold L. Ickes

2. OBJ

Henry Wallace

3. OBJ

Henry Morgenthau Jr.

4. OBJ

George Marshall

5.

Robert F. Kennedy

6. OBJ

William Ruckelshaus

7.

Elizabeth Dole

8.

Richard Riley

9. OBJ

Robert Reich

10.

Robert Gates

Here is what they wrote about Reich:

Robert Reich
Secretary of Labor, 1993-1997

A former Rhodes Scholar, Reich served as the 22nd Labor Secretary under President Bill Clinton. Among his accomplishments were helping to implement the Family and Medical Leave Act, raising the minimum wage and leading a crackdown on sweatshops. He currently serves as an adviser to President-elect Barack Obama and is a professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 4:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FYI WJC

-----Original Message----- B6
From: Betsy McManus
Sent: Friday, March 05, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Terry Krinvic; Doug Band - PC; Mills, Cheryl D; Matt McKenna - PC; Justin Cooper - PC; Steven Barnes; Angel Urena; Amitabh Desai
Cc: Laura Graham; Traci Carpenter
Subject: RE:

Thanks, TK.
We'll get going with initiatives.

-----Original Message-----
From: Terry Krinvic
Sent: Friday, March 05, 2010 3:43 PM
To: Doug Band - PC; 'MillsCD@state.gov'; Matt McKenna - PC; Justin Cooper - PC; Betsy McManus; Steven Barnes; Angel Urena; Amitabh Desai
Cc: Laura Graham
Subject: RE:

The Program would be Chairman Kerry to Lugar to WJC to Gates. Statements followed by questions from the Senators. They would expect nearly every Senator would attend if WJC confirmed. The topic of the hearing is "Building on Success: New Directions in Global Health" Also testifying after WJC / Gates would be a second panel of Second Panel: USAID Administrator Dr. Rajiv Shah and U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, Ambassador Eric Goosby. They would like WJC to speak on the public / private partnerships, where the US and Intl Community is, the importance of our work Because bi-partisan coalition on HIV/AIDS is becoming increasingly fragile with the poor economy.

Goals of the hearing from the committee:
The objective of the hearing is to discuss the progress that has been made in global health and to ask where we should go from here. How do we build on remarkable but sometimes compartmentalized successes? Questions for consideration include:
What are the key opportunities and challenges?
In a constrained budget environment, how can public and private partners maximize the life-saving impact and cost effectiveness of health programs?
The United States has led the way in supporting path-breaking bilateral and multilateral HIV/AIDS programs. How can we best maintain and expand that work while creating a more holistic and integrated approach to global health?
What does it mean in practical terms to focus on women and girls and how can this approach yield new results?
Health systems are more than the sum of their parts. How can public and private partners most effectively help countries create the capacity to deliver health service

Committee Members
Majority
Christopher J. Dodd

Russell D. Feingold
Barbara Boxer
Robert Menendez
Benjamin L. Cardin
Robert P. Casey Jr.
Jim Webb
Jeanne Shaheen
Edward E. Kaufman
Kirsten E. Gillibrand
Minority
Bob Corker
Johnny Isakson
James E. Risch
Jim DeMint
John Barrasso
Roger F. Wicker
James M. Inhofe

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: Doug Band
Sent: Friday, March 05, 2010 3:39 PM
To: 'MillsCD@state.gov'; Matt McKenna - PC; Justin Cooper - PC; Betsy McManus; Steven Barnes; Angel Urena; Amitabh Desai; Terry Krinvic
Cc: Laura Graham
Subject:

Wjc will brief the senate foreign relations committee on wednesday at 10am with bill gates After an opening statement, he will answer questions from the senators

Needless to say, a great opportunity to talk about our work. He hasn't ever briefed in this capacity thus we need get to work and get him lots of info from all over, chai, gates people etc

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 12:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:
**Attachments:** 3-3-10_BCL_S-Empey_Call_Sheet-_Final[1] jjs.docx; 3-4-10_BCL_S-Robinson_Draft-Final[1] jjs.docx; Draft_S-McGuinness_Call_Sheet-FINAL[1] jjs.docx

You had signed off on making these ireland calls with jake for tomorrow morning as well so we are reaching out.

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Lakhdhir, Kamala S (Belfast); Roland, Kevin S (Belfast); 'declan.kelly [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Fri Mar 05 23:21:11 2010
**Subject:** Fw:

Huma,

Attached are the call sheets for tomorrow. Order should be Empey then Robinson then McG.

Kamala, Kevin, Declan, if anything has changed from these sheets, please provide an early update. These calls will likely be scheduled early in the day est.

---

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted]
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Fri Mar 05 23:18:20 2010
**Subject:**

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# The Secretary's Call with Ulster Unionist Party Leader Sir Reg Empey

Background

With the March 9 cross-community vote on devolution in the Northern Ireland Assembly looming, Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader Sir Reg Empey and his party continue to withhold support for the Hillsborough Agreement. First Minister and Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader Peter Robinson has said that Empey's support is an essential component of "community confidence" in the deal, and that a "no" vote by the UUP on March 9 would prompt him to resign as First Minister, forcing Assembly elections to seek a unionist mandate for devolution of policing and justice. Such an outcome would effectively scuttle the Hillsborough Agreement and severely harm both local and international confidence in Northern Ireland's political institutions. There is also a strong possibility that Sinn Fein could become the largest party in the Assembly, which could cause a stalemate in establishing a new Executive after elections. (Under the St. Andrew's Agreement, the largest party holds the position of First Minister.) While electoral considerations factor significantly in UUP and DUP behavior at present, Empey's position is based on: 1) his anger at a lack of consultation by DUP and Sinn Fein during devolution negotiations; and 2) frustration with the dysfunctional workings of the Executive and the UUP's exclusion from decision-making. Empey is also looking to leverage the spoiler role, tacitly granted him by Robinson's position, to force the Executive to address the ongoing impasse on educational reform as a precondition of his support; an outcome that could benefit him electorally.

Since Hillsborough, Reg has received repeated calls from PMs Brown and Cowen, and Cameron and other senior Conservative Party officials. Empey has rebuffed them all and it appears their influence is limited. The Tories feel that Empey, who is increasingly isolated within the UUP, must be able to show his constituency that he has "gotten something" from the Hillsborough process, even if it is only a promise from the Executive to establish a framework to resolve the impasse on education. The Tories acknowledge that a commitment to future talks on education may not be enough for Empey, given his electoral concerns. Empey's focus on getting a concession on education puts disproportionate pressure on education ministerial portfolio-holder Sinn Fein. As a result, should the March 9 vote fail, unionists will undoubtedly seek to shift blame to Sinn Fein for their inability to compromise on education. Sinn Fein and the DUP have met with Empey numerous times in recent days to discuss ways forward, although no agreement has yet been reached. A senior DUP official has indicated that Empey's requests so far are not feasible.

Points

B5





B5

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** h: Krugman on China today in case you missed, his proposal at end of column. Sid

March 15, 2010
Op-Ed Columnist

# Taking On China

By PAUL KRUGMAN

Tensions are rising over Chinese economic policy, and rightly so: China's policy of keeping its currency, the renminbi, undervalued has become a significant drag on global economic recovery. Something must be done.

To give you a sense of the problem: Widespread complaints that China was manipulating its currency — selling renminbi and buying foreign currencies, so as to keep the renminbi weak and China's exports artificially competitive — began around 2003. At that point China was adding about $10 billion a month to its reserves, and in 2003 it ran an overall surplus on its current account — a broad measure of the trade balance — of $46 billion.

Today, China is adding more than $30 billion a month to its $2.4 trillion hoard of reserves. The International Monetary Fund expects China to have a 2010 current surplus of more than $450 billion — 10 times the 2003 figure. This is the most distortionary exchange rate policy any major nation has ever followed.

And it's a policy that seriously damages the rest of the world. Most of the world's large economies are stuck in a liquidity trap — deeply depressed, but unable to generate a recovery by cutting interest rates because the relevant rates are already near zero. China, by engineering an unwarranted trade surplus, is in effect imposing an anti-stimulus on these economies, which they can't offset.

So how should we respond? First of all, the U.S. Treasury Department must stop fudging and obfuscating.

Twice a year, by law, Treasury must issue a report identifying nations that "manipulate the rate of exchange between their currency and the United States dollar for purposes of preventing effective balance of payments adjustments or gaining unfair competitive advantage in international trade." The law's intent is clear: the report should be a factual determination, not a policy statement. In practice, however, Treasury has been both unwilling to take action on the renminbi and unwilling to do what the law requires, namely explain to Congress why it isn't taking action. Instead, it has spent the past six or seven years pretending not to see the obvious.

Will the next report, due April 15, continue this tradition? Stay tuned.

If Treasury does find Chinese currency manipulation, then what? Here, we have to get past a common misunderstanding: the view that the Chinese have us over a barrel, because we don't dare provoke China into dumping its dollar assets. What you have to ask is, What would happen if China tried to sell a large share of its U.S. assets? Would interest rates soar? Short-term U.S. interest rates wouldn't change: they're being kept near zero by the Fed, which won't raise rates until the unemployment rate comes down. Long-term rates might rise slightly, but they're mainly determined by market expectations of future short-term rates. Also, the Fed could offset any interest-rate impact of a Chinese pullback by expanding its own purchases of long-term bonds.

It's true that if China dumped its U.S. assets the value of the dollar would fall against other major currencies, such as the euro. But that would be a good thing for the United States, since it would make our goods more competitive and reduce our trade deficit. On the other hand, it would be a bad thing for China, which would suffer large losses on its dollar holdings. In short, right now America has China over a barrel, not the other way around.

So we have no reason to fear China. But what should we do?

Some still argue that we must reason gently with China, not confront it. But we've been reasoning with China for years, as its surplus ballooned, and gotten nowhere: on Sunday Wen Jiabao, the Chinese prime minister, declared — absurdly — that his nation's currency is not undervalued. (The Peterson Institute for International Economics estimates that the

renminbi is undervalued by between 20 and 40 percent.) And Mr. Wen accused other nations of doing what China actually does, seeking to weaken their currencies "just for the purposes of increasing their own exports."

But if sweet reason won't work, what's the alternative? In 1971 the United States dealt with a similar but much less severe problem of foreign undervaluation by imposing a temporary 10 percent surcharge on imports, which was removed a few months later after Germany, Japan and other nations raised the dollar value of their currencies. At this point, it's hard to see China changing its policies unless faced with the threat of similar action — except that this time the surcharge would have to be much larger, say 25 percent.

I don't propose this turn to policy hardball lightly. But Chinese currency policy is adding materially to the world's economic problems at a time when those problems are already very severe. It's time to take a stand.

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Aipac speech

We are working with Jake on some very good ideas that Bruce Jentleson has put forward, but I want to plant one idea for you to mull.

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 4:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Human Rights report on Haiti

See original email b/l

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Mon Mar 15 16:50:15 2010
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

I have not seen nor reviewed that report and it was not flagged for me.

Adding Jake and mike posner to advise - esp re process of vetting w/ embassy given the profile of the work we are doing w/ them.

Cdm

---

**From:** Lindwall, David E
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
**Subject:** Human Rights report on Haiti

Cheryl,

Local media drew attention this weekend to the line in the introduction of our annual human rights report that refers to the GOH by saying that there is severe corruption in all branches of government. [redacted] called this morning B6
asking for a copy of the report (which we sent him), saying that the President was upset and wanted to read it. The Embassy human rights officer sent the Department a first draft of this report late last year. It normally would have gone through two or three more versions with input from DRL and ultimately clearance by the Embassy Front Office. Because our Human Rights officer (Kathey-Lee Galvin) was seriously injured in the quake, DRL took it upon themselves to finish the report. The final draft was never sent to us for clearance/comments and I don't know who all in the Department cleared off on it. You may already be familiar with the report, but in the event you are not, I wanted you to have a copy in advance of meetings in Santo Domingo where you may hear about it from [redacted] Cheers, David B6

http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/wha/136116.htm

David E. Lindwall
Deputy Chief of Mission
U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti
(509) 2229-8132

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 5:04 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band
**Subject:** Fw: Information about [redacted] of Little Rock B6

For hrc and wjc

---

**From:** Carland, John M <CarlandJM@state.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Mon Mar 15 14:05:46 2010
**Subject:** Information about [redacted] of Little Rock B6

Dear Ms. Mills:

It may be inappropriate for me to do this and if so I apologize in advance but I thought Secretary Clinton might want to know, and probably didn't, about [redacted] terminal illness. My understanding is that the Clintons' and [redacted] paths crossed in Arkansas politics in the past and in a friendly way. B6 B6

[redacted] B6

I know all of this because I am originally from Little Rock, and have been told of [redacted] turn for the worse by a friend who teaches at UALR and knows [redacted] Additionally, [redacted] who served in the state legislature for a decade or so, was my undergraduate advisor at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock in the 1960s. B6 B6

I am emailing you in your capacity as the Secretary's chief of staff.

Again, my apologies if this is something I shouldn't have done.

Sincerely,

John M. Carland
Senior Historian
Office of the Historian
Department of State

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 8:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** ireland

Ma'am -- Jake tells me that you are tired of the Lamplighter story. I'm sorry, I didn't know. But the Belfast people have come up with a FANTASTIC story -- apparently, as per your request, they have tracked down the two kids who won the peace essay contest in the 90s, and they are doing great things -- one is a teacher, one is a police officer. They are now reaching out to get permission for you to tell their stories tomorrow night; assuming they will grant it, I am writing up their stories now and will fax a revised draft to you shortly.

Sorry for the Lamplighter redux; I'll let Lissa know it's off-limits for at least a few years.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 14, 2010 6:30 PM
To: Rooney, Megan
Subject: UN speech

Thx for all you did to make it work. I thought it went very well and I was so pleased you could be there. Now, onto the Irish!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The Steinberg Project

Ok, he's definitely keeping a very open mind Seeing him at 10:30am to suggest a few little things as baby steps

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: The Steinberg Project
Sent: Mar 16, 2010 7:21 AM

How's it going? I'm happy to go on the record anytime anywhere on his behalf. Just let me know.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Trying - they are a bit mad on two proper grounds - will make other donors less likel to give and our congress less likely to give

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:24:03 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

So, what do we do now?

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:51:08 2010
Subject: Fw: Human Rights report on Haiti

See original email b/l

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:50:15 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

I have not seen nor reviewed that report and it was not flagged for me.

Adding Jake and mike posner to advise - esp re process of vetting w/ embassy given the profile of the work we are doing w/ them.

Cdm

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
Subject: Human Rights report on Haiti

Cheryl,

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B6

B6

http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/wha/136116.htm

David E. Lindwall

Deputy Chief of Mission

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: ireland

Removing Megan. Lamplighter is teapot story with Joyce McCarran that you stripped from Stormont. Here is what I wrote to Megan (nothing about it being "off-limits"!):

"She cut the Lamplighter example from her Stormont speech because she thinks she's played it out. Not sure how she'll feel about it in this speech."

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 16 06:19:12 2010
Subject: Re: ireland

Can you send me a draft this morning? And, what is the Lamplighter story?

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 20:21:33 2010
Subject: ireland

Ma'am -- Jake tells me that you are tired of the Lamplighter story. I'm sorry, I didn't know. But the Belfast people have come up with a FANTASTIC story -- apparently, as per your request, they have tracked down the two kids who won the peace essay contest in the 90s, and they are doing great things -- one is a teacher, one is a police officer. They are now reaching out to get permission for you to tell their stories tomorrow night; assuming they will grant it, I am writing up their stories now and will fax a revised draft to you shortly.

Sorry for the Lamplighter redux; I'll let Lissa know it's off-limits for at least a few years.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 14, 2010 6:30 PM
To: Rooney, Megan
Subject: UN speech

Thx for all you did to make it work. I thought it went very well and I was so pleased you could be there. Now, onto the Irish!

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:39 AM
**To:** H; Rooney, Megan
**Subject:** Re: ireland

Lamplighter is teapot story with Joyce McCarran

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 16 06:19:12 2010
Subject: Re: ireland

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Agree - did you reach FM cannon

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:34:54 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Not if they say there have been problems which they were addressing before the quake and w outside help will continue and achieve their reform agenda.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:30:17 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Trying - they are a bit mad on two proper grounds - will make other donors less likel to give and our congress less likely to give

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:24:03 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

So, what do we do now?

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:51:08 2010
Subject: Fw: Human Rights report on Haiti

See original email b/l

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:50:15 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

I have not seen nor reviewed that report and it was not flagged for me.

Adding Jake and mike posner to advise - esp re process of vetting w/ embassy given the profile of the work we are doing w/ them.

Cdm

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
Subject: Human Rights report on Haiti

Cheryl,

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B6

B6

http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/wha/136116.htm

David E. Lindwall

Deputy Chief of Mission

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Voda ebeling <
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H; abedinh@state.gov
**Subject:** Fw: The bride
**Attachments:**

----- Forwarded Message ----
**From:** Elaine Weiss <
**To:** Voda ebeling <
**Sent:** Tue, March 16, 2010 4:06:39 PM
**Subject:** FW: The bride

I tried sending this to Huma and H via email but not sure it is going through. Could you take a shot at forwarding on?

-----Original Message-----
From: Elaine Weiss
Sent: Tuesday, March 16, 2010 3:31 PM
To: 'Huma Abedin'
Subject: RE: The bride

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 16, 2010 3:17 PM
To: Elaine Weiss
Cc: H
Subject: RE: The bride

Elaine - checking in with you since we are leaving tomorrow for a few days
you have anything ready to send to us?

From: Elaine Weiss
Sent: Saturday, March 13, 2010 1:49 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: H
Subject: Re: The bride

Will draft and send. Thanks.

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 13, 2010, at 12:34 PM, "Huma Abedin" <Huma@clintonemail.com>

wrote:

> I got this email elaine. Send it here.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Elaine Weiss <
> To: H
> Cc: Huma Abedin
> Sent: Sat Mar 13 13:30:15 2010
> Subject: Re: The bride
>
> Thanks for followup. My email to Huma bounces back. Can I send info to
> Betsy and she will forward to Huma?.
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Mar 13, 2010, at 9:24 AM, "H" <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
>
>> Elaine,
>>
>> I checked w my team and was told we haven't received our marching
>> orders frtom you yet. I'm anxious to help, so pls give me your
>> directions (nothing new about that!) Also, should I call
>>
>>
>> All the best, Hillary
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Elaine Weiss
>> To: H
>> Cc: betsyebeling1050
HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com
>> <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
>> Sent: Fri Mar 12 00:06:08 2010
>> Subject: Re: The bride
>>
>>
>> Sent from my iPhone
>>
>> On Mar 9, 2010, at 5:55 AM, "H" <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
>>
>>>
>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>> From: betsyebeling1050
>>> To: H; Elaine Weiss ; Huma Abedin
<HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com
>>>>
>>> Sent: Mon Mar 08 10:35:28 2010
>>> Subject: The bride
>>>

B6

B6

>>> Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry
>>>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**ABA Search Committee**

**Chair**-William Hubbard (Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP).

**Committee Members**:

Carolyn Lamm, ABA President, White & Case, Washington, D.C.

Steve Zack, ABA President-Elect, Boies, Schiller & Flexner, Miami, Florida

Bill Robinson, ABA President-Elect Nominee, Covington, Kentucky. I need to find firm information.

Rob Weiner, Board of Governors, Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C.

Paulette Brown, Board of Governors, Edwards Angell Palmer & Dodge, Madison, NJ

B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 5:28 PM
**To:** H; abdinh@state.gov
**Subject:** Elaine: ABA Search Committee.doc
**Attachments:** ABA Search Committee.doc

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**ABA Search Committee**

**Chair**-William Hubbard (Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP).

**Committee Members**:

Carolyn Lamm, ABA President, White & Case, Washington, D.C.

Steve Zack, ABA President-Elect, Boies, Schiller & Flexner, Miami, Florida

Bill Robinson, ABA President-Elect Nominee, Covington, Kentucky. I need to find firm information.

Rob Weiner, Board of Governors, Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C.

Paulette Brown, Board of Governors, Edwards Angell Palmer & Dodge, Madison, NJ



B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

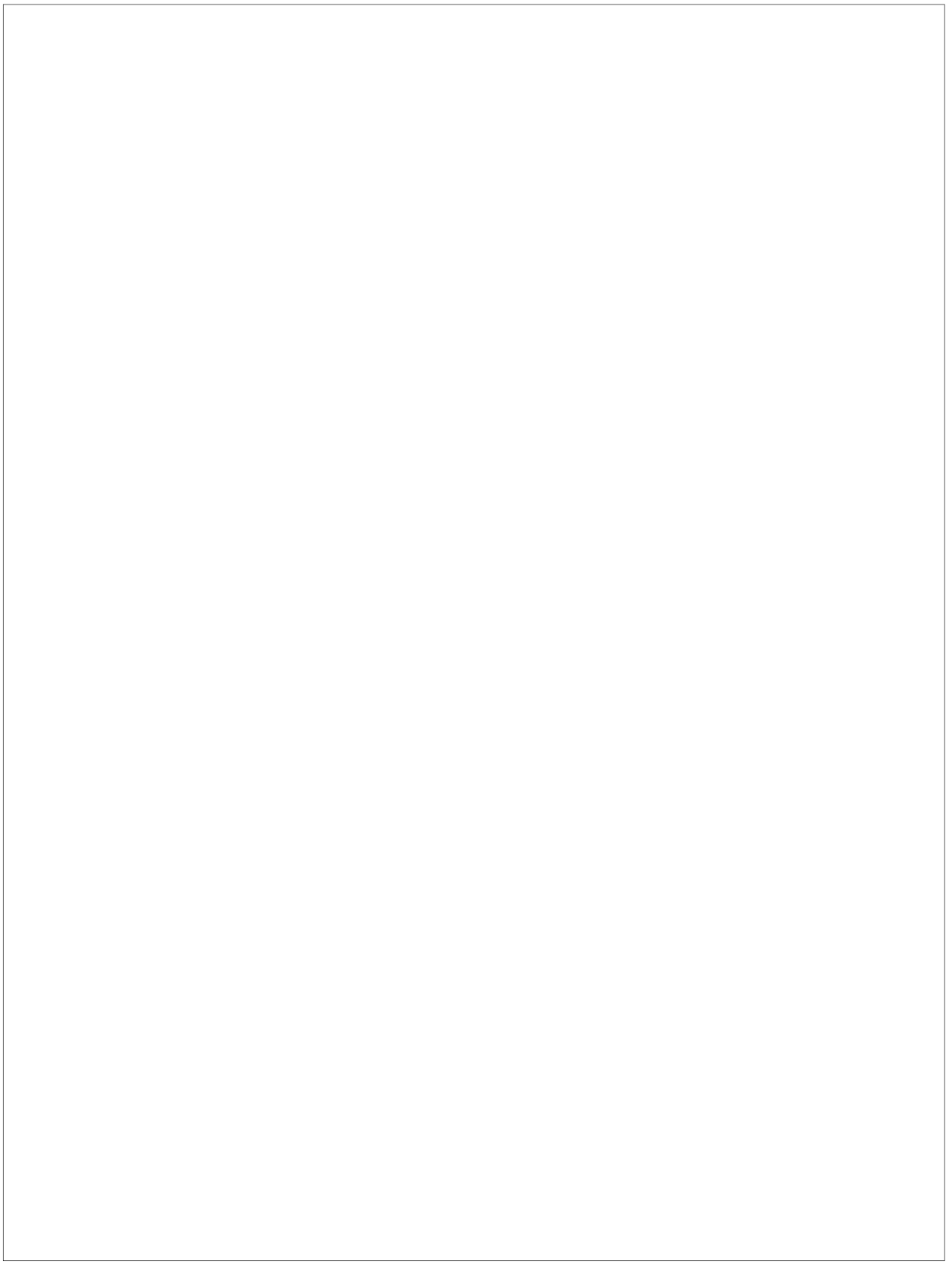
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** H; abedinh@state.gov
**Subject:** Reference Letter.doc
**Attachments:** Reference Letter.doc

RELEASE IN PART B6

Reference Letter

B6



Page Denied

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:05 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Pakistan briefings

On the Hill this afternoon went pretty well. Will give you the full run down tomorrow morning.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 17, 2010 12:59 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Steinberg Project: First (Baby) Step

http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/03/when-a-schedule-is-more-than-a-schedule/37587/

When A Schedule Is More Than A Schedule
By Marc Ambinder
The Atlantic.com
Mar 16 2010, 9:45 PM ET

Close observers of the State Department noticed something different this afternoon: on the daily schedule distributed by the department includes, for the first time, information on Deputy Secretary of State Jim Steinberg's appointments.

Until recently, the daily release included Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's schedule only. No longer.

"Steinberg will meet Wednesday with Singaporean Deputy Prime MInister Teo Chee Hean."

The inclusion of Steinberg suggests that the department is aware that it needs to do a better job of integrating Steinberg's portfolio into its general communications strategy and show how the leadership of the department acts in concert.

"Jim has always been an integral part of the Secretary's team, but we haven't always shown how crucial he is to State's mission," said Philippe Reines, Clinton's communications consiglieri. "This is a one simple way to fix that."

The Beltway rumor mill often includes gossip that Steinberg isn't happy, or that he's not seen as an integral part of President Obama's foreign policy team, or that his efforts aren't appreciated.

Reines, who rarely speaks on the record, responded to a question about whether Steinberg is indeed unhappy in this way: "I'm not a shrink, and I have to confess that we don't sit around in a circle often enough exploring our feelings. But what is crystal clear to everyone is that Jim is smart, dedicated, and valued."

Steinberg has a been a principal adviser on issues ranging from Iran -- he is the administration's team lead, cybersecurity and China (he's been tasked with pressuring China into accepting tougher sanctions on Iran), but his work often goes unnoticed.

On Friday, he is said to have given a tongue-lashing to the Israeli Ambassador to the U.S., Michael Oren, about that country's actions during a visit by Vice President Biden.

When President Obama selected Gen. Jim Jones as National Security Adviser, he asked Clinton to make Steinberg her deputy -- and she did. Since day one, prognosticators have been predicting friction between Steinberg and Clinton, although none has publicly surfaced.

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines[redacted]
Date: Tue, 16 Mar 2010 11:24:05

B6

To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: The Steinberg Project

Ok, he's definitely keeping a very open mind Seeing him at 10:30am to suggest a few little things as baby steps

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: The Steinberg Project
Sent: Mar 16, 2010 7:21 AM

How's it going? I'm happy to go on the record anytime anywhere on his behalf. Just let me know.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 17, 2010 6:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Update

Busy day yesterday - highlights:

- haiti delivered its vision, fine but needs work and cost alignment (3 year cost exceeds 7B with total need put at 11B for complete rebuild - neither are great numbers based on analysis so work cont)

- discussion and presentation of both dev authority and MDTF (which is open for contributions now and will be administered by WB with support from IDB)

- bellerive or preval to announce wjc in context of release on dev authority - supposedly today but if preval wants to announce from Haiti that won't occur until thurs and will drive us all wild so pushing for today

- EC says it will do essentially 100M that is new (rest is 200M being repurposed; 100M - of which 20M is only new - being repurposed). Of their repurposed money, 40M euros will go to debt support by end of april)

- France will do 70M euros a year for 2 years (upping their traditional annual contrib by 50M euros from 20M euros); french will do some budget supp

- seeing spain, canada, and pot today

- tentatively seeing cubans today to discuss hospital cooperation proposal they sent as result of craig/julissa last trip

- lots of whispering re timing of usg human rts report and a few pointed ques re our motivation on timing given pre-conf and conf on 31Mar; preval still very upset - will be calling him on thurs as a post conf conv and hear him out

- pressure for budget support on everyone; french pointed out US says it doesnt do budget supp but sends 500M each year to palestian auth in direct budget support suggesting we will do it when politically expedient for us

- worry about the rains and cont need for shelter (been raining in PauP for last 3 days).

Cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 17, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Israel, couple of things. Sid

H: In case you haven't seen it, this is the fully articulated view of the Netanyahu government and Likud about "the crisis." The New Republic is a preferred outlet for the highest level Likud/neocon propaganda. Michael Oren, a channel for Israeli intel, was a frequent contributor in the past. On a lower level, so was Michael Ledeen when he was trafficking disinformation. The New Republic was critical in undermining Carter when he pressed Begin. Israeli intel used Ledeen and TNR to put out the stories on Billy Carter. But TNR is only one key being hit in the Wurlitzer. Here's one small but frank thing: Axelrod should not be a foreign policy spokesman on any issue or area. He has badly exacerbated this one. Many people in the press feel he's out of his lane and resent being lectured by him on foreign policy. Foreign Policy magazine website has run a piece on this, reflecting widespread sentiment. (I've enclosed this article bellow the TNR one below.) I'd make Steinberg tell Donilon they need to rein in Axelrod. Axelrod has enough to do fixing the domestic messes he's made. Let it come from Steinberg. He's unhappy anyway. Sid

http://www.tnr.com/article/world/the-crisis?page=0,0

Published on *The New Republic* ([redacted])

# The Crisis

Was Obama's confrontation with Israel premeditated?

- Yossi Klein Halevi
- March 16, 2010 | 7:13 pm



JERUSALEM—Suddenly, my city feels again like a war zone..Since the suicide bombings ended in 2005, life in Jerusalem has been for the most part relatively calm. The worst disruptions have been the traffic jams resulting from construction of a light rail, just like in a normal city. But now, again, there are clusters of helmeted border police near the gates of the Old City, black smoke from burning tires in the Arab village across from my porch, young men marching with green Islamist flags toward my neighborhood, ambulances parked at strategic places ready for this city's ultimate nightmare.

The return of menace to Jerusalem is not because a mid-level bureaucrat announced stage four of a seven-stage process in the eventual construction of 1,600 apartments in Ramat Shlomo, a Jewish neighborhood in northeast Jerusalem. Such announcements and building projects have become so routine over the years that Palestinians have scarcely responded, let alone violently. In negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, the permanence of Ramat Shlomo, and other Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, has been a given. Ramat Shlomo, located between the Jewish neighborhoods of French Hill and Ramot, will remain within the boundaries of Israeli Jerusalem according to every peace plan. Unlike the small Jewish enclaves inserted into Arab neighborhoods, on which Israelis are strongly divided, building in the established Jewish neighborhoods of East Jerusalem defines the national consensus.

Why, then, the outbreak of violence now? Why Hamas's "day of rage" over Jerusalem and the Palestinian Authority's call to gather on the Temple Mount to "save" the Dome of the Rock from non-existent plans to build the Third Temple? Why

the sudden outrage over rebuilding a synagogue, destroyed by the Jordanians in 1948, in the Old City's Jewish Quarter, when dozens of synagogues and yeshivas have been built in the quarter without incident?

The answer lies not in Jerusalem but in Washington. By placing the issue of building in Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem at the center of the peace process, President Obama has inadvertently challenged the Palestinians to do no less.

Astonishingly, Obama is repeating the key tactical mistake of his failed efforts to restart Middle East peace talks over the last year. Though Obama's insistence on a settlement freeze to help restart negotiations was legitimate, he went a step too far by including building in East Jerusalem. Every Israeli government over the last four decades has built in the Jewish neighborhoods of East Jerusalem; no government, let alone one headed by the Likud, could possibly agree to a freeze there. Obama made resumption of negotiations hostage to a demand that could not be met. The result was that Palestinian leaders were forced to adjust their demands accordingly.

Obama is directly responsible for one of the most absurd turns in the history of Middle East negotiations. Though Palestinian leaders negotiated with Israeli governments that built extensively in the West Bank, they now refused to sit down with the first Israeli government to actually agree to a suspension of building. Obama's demand for a building freeze in Jerusalem led to a freeze in negotiations.

Finally, after intensive efforts, the administration produced the pathetic achievement of "proximity talks"—setting Palestinian-Israeli negotiations back a generation, to the time when Palestinian leaders refused to sit at the same table with Israelis.

That Obama could be guilty of such amateurishness was perhaps forgivable because he was, after all, an amateur. But he has now taken his failed policy and intensified it. By demanding that Israel stop building in Ramat Shlomo and elsewhere in East Jerusalem—and placing that demand at the center of American-Israeli relations—he's ensured that the Palestinians won't show up even to proximity talks. This is no longer amateurishness; it is pique disguised as policy.

**Initially, when the announcement about** building in Ramat Shlomo was made, Israelis shared Vice President Biden's humiliation and were outraged at their government's incompetence. The widespread sense here was that Netanyahu deserved the administration's condemnation, not because of what he did but because of what he didn't do: He failed to convey to all parts of his government the need for caution during Biden's visit, symptomatic of his chaotic style of governing generally.

But not even the opposition accused Netanyahu of a deliberate provocation. These are not the days of Yitzhak Shamir, the former Israeli prime minister who used to greet a visit from Secretary of State James Baker with an announcement of the creation of another West Bank settlement. Netanyahu has placed the need for strategic cooperation with the U.S. on the Iranian threat ahead of the right-wing political agenda. That's why he included the Labor Party into his coalition, and why he accepted a two-state solution—an historic achievement that set the Likud, however reluctantly, within the mainstream consensus supporting Palestinian statehood. The last thing Netanyahu wanted was to embarrass Biden during his goodwill visit and trigger a clash with Obama over an ultra-Orthodox neighborhood.

Nor is it likely that there was a deliberate provocation from the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, which runs the interior ministry that oversees building procedures. Shas, which supports peace talks and territorial compromise, is not a nationalist party. Its interest is providing housing for its constituents, like the future residents of Ramat Shlomo; provoking international incidents is not its style.

Finally, the very ordinariness of the building procedure—the fact that construction in Jewish East Jerusalem is considered by Israelis routine—is perhaps the best proof that there was no intentional ambush of Biden. Apparently no one in the interior ministry could imagine that a long-term plan over Ramat Shlomo would sabotage a state visit.

In turning an incident into a crisis, Obama has convinced many Israelis that he was merely seeking a pretext to pick a fight with Israel. Netanyahu was inadvertently shabby; Obama, deliberately so.

According to a banner headline in the newspaper *Ma'ariv*, senior Likud officials believe that Obama's goal is to topple the Netanyahu government, by encouraging those in the Labor Party who want to quit the coalition.

The popular assumption is that Obama is seeking to prove his resolve as a leader by getting tough with Israel. Given his ineffectiveness against Iran and his tendency to violate his own self-imposed deadlines for sanctions, the Israeli public is not likely to be impressed. Indeed, Israelis' initial anger at Netanyahu has turned to anger against Obama. According to an Israel Radio poll on March 16, 62 percent of Israelis blame the Obama administration for the crisis, while 20 percent blame Netanyahu. (Another 17 percent blame Shas leader Eli Yishai.)

In the last year, the administration has not once publicly condemned the Palestinians for lack of good faith—even though the Palestinian Authority media has, for example, been waging a months-long campaign denying the Jews' historic roots in Jerusalem. Just after Biden left Ramallah, Palestinian officials held a ceremony naming a square in the city after a terrorist responsible for the massacre of 38 Israeli civilians. That too didn't merit an administration rebuke.

Obama's one-sided public pressure against Israel could intensify the atmosphere of "open season" against Israel internationally. Indeed, the European Union has reaffirmed it is linking improved economic relations with Israel to the resumption of the peace process—as if it's Israel rather than the Palestinians that has refused to come to the table.

**If the administration's main tactical** error in Middle East negotiating was emphasizing building in Jerusalem, its main strategic error was assuming that a two-state solution was within easy reach. Shortly after Obama took office, Rahm Emanuel was quoted in the Israeli press insisting that a Palestinian state would be created within Obama's first term. Instead, a year later, we are in the era of suspended proximity talks. Now the administration is demanding that Israel negotiate over final status issues in proximity talks as a way of convincing the Palestinians to agree to those talks--as if Israelis would agree to discuss the future of Jerusalem when Palestinian leaders refuse to even sit with them.

To insist on the imminent possibility of a two-state solution requires amnesia. Biden's plea to Israelis to consider a withdrawal to an approximation of the 1967 borders in exchange for peace ignored the fact that Israel made that offer twice in the last decade: first, when Prime Minister Ehud Barak accepted the Clinton Proposals of December 2000, and then more recently when Prime Minister Ehud Olmert renewed the offer to Mahmoud Abbas. Abbas, says Olmert, never replied.

The reason for Palestinian rejection of a two-state solution is because a deal would require Palestinians to confine the return of the descendants of the 1948 refugees to Palestine rather than to Israel. That would prevent a two-state solution from devolving into a bi-national, one-state solution. Israel's insistence on survival remains the obstacle to peace.

To achieve eventual peace, the international community needs to pressure Palestinian leaders to forgo their claim to Haifa and Jaffa and confine their people's right of return to a future Palestinian state—just as the Jews will need to forgo their claim to Hebron and Bethlehem and confine their people's right of return to the state of Israel. That is the only possible deal: conceding my right of return to Greater Israel in exchange for your right of return to Greater Palestine. A majority of Israelis—along with the political system—has accepted that principle. On the Palestinian side, the political system has rejected it.

In the absence of Palestinian willingness to compromise on the right of return, negotiations should not focus on a two-state solution but on more limited goals.

There have been positive signs of change on the Palestinian side in the last few years. The rise of Hamas has created panic within Fatah, and the result is, for the first time, genuine security cooperation with Israel. Also, the emergence of Salam Fayyad as Palestinian prime minister marks a shift from ideological to pragmatic leadership (though Fayyad still lacks a power base). Finally, the West Bank economy is growing, thanks in part to Israel's removal of dozens of roadblocks. The goal of negotiations at this point in the conflict should be to encourage those trends.

But by focusing on building in Jerusalem, Obama has undermined that possibility too. To the fictitious notion of a peace process, Obama has now added the fiction of an intransigent Israel blocking the peace process.

The administration, according to a report in the Israeli newspaper Yedito Aharonot, is making an even more insidious accusation against Israel. During his visit, wrote Yediot Aharanot, Biden told Israeli leaders that their policies are endangering American lives in Afghanistan and Iraq. The report has been denied in the White House. Whether or not the remark was made, what is clear today in Jerusalem is that Obama's recklessness is endangering Israeli--and Palestinian--lives. As I listen to police sirens outside my window, Obama's political intifada against Netanyahu seems to be turning into a third intifada over Jerusalem.

*Yossi Klein Halevi is a senior fellow of the Shalem Center in Jerusalem, and a contributing editor of* The New Republic.

# Will David Axelrod please be quiet, please?

## Posted By Daniel W. Drezner □Monday, March 15, 2010

*Commentary*'s Jennifer Rubin is reacting *way* out of proportion to David Axelrod's tour of the Sunday morning talk shows. That said, she's got a germ of a good point:

> David Axelrod — a political operative who now seems at the center of foreign-policy formulation (more on this later) — went on the Fox, ABC, and NBC Sunday talk shows to repeat how insulted the Obami were over Israeli building in Jerusalem and what an affront this was to them....
> [I]t might have something to do with the fact that Axelrod and the Chicago pols are running foreign policy. It's attack, attack, attack — just as they do any domestic critic.

Quibble away with Rubin's characterization of "Chicago pols," but she does raise a decent question: why on God's green earth is the Obama equivalent of Karl Rove talking about foreign policy in public?

Since the VP trip from Hell, it's clear that the Obama administration has ratcheted up the rhetoric in private, in public, in press leaks and through multilateral channels to their Israeli counterparts. Given what transpired, it's entirely appropriate that the Obama administration make its displeasure felt publicly.

Why Axelrod, however? Sure, the Sunday morning talk shows wanted to talk health care as well. And it's true that Axelrod, thought of as pro-Israel, could send a tough signal. Still, couldn't the administration have sent Hillary Clinton to one of the Sunday morning talk shows instead? Wouldn't she have been the more appropriate spokesman.

I've spent enought time inside the Beltway to be leery of the gossipy tidbits I collect when I'm down there. That said, there was one persistent drumbeat I heard during my last sojourn -- that Axelrod and the political advisors were acting as Obama's foreign policy gatekeepers.

Now, I am shocked, *shocked*, that politicians are thinking about foreign policy in a political manner. That said, there is a balance to be struck between political and policy advisors. Even David Frum admitted that this balance got out of whack during the Bush administration. I'd like to see things return to to the pre-21st century equilibrium. It would be disturbing if the new equilibrium is that someone like David Axelrod becomes the foreign policy czar.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 6:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: KUDOS!

XO

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Sent: Wed Mar 31 19:29:15 2010
Subject: KUDOS!

You did a fabulous job and everybody knew this would not have succeeded w/out your leadership. Onward.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ops alert on PM of Guinea-Bissau being arrested

Colleagues, The Operations Center would like to call your attention to the following report received from Embassy Dakar. DCM Jay Smith, Embassy Dakar reports a possible forced change of leadership in Guinea-Bissau. Reports indicate that:

· Prime Minister Gomes and Chief of Defense Zamora Induta have been arrested; · Early indications are the deputy chief of defense may be responsible for the arrests; · The former Navy Chief of Staff has been "liberated" from the UN compound where he had been a refugee; · The president reportedly remains in office and it is unclear if he is aligned with those arrested or those seeking to take power; · There are no official Americans in country and approximately 12 private resident Americn citizens; Post is checking on their safety.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Helsinki

I'm going to call today to get more info and only way to make this work is to do on front end of talinn so u get back for engagement party. But do u have any immediate reaction to the suggestion?

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Mar 30 20:20:47 2010
**Subject:** Helsinki

What do you guys think of stopping in Helsinki after Tallinn ministerial and having S give a speech on 35th anniversary of Helsinki Final Act – emphasizing the human dimension of security that complements what she will just have done at NATO? [redacted] B5

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 2:21 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Toiv, Nora F
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** RE: Declaration of Independence on display in Adams Room

Nice work Jake and Nora.

cdm

---

**From:** Craighill, Marcee F
**Sent:** Thursday, April 01, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Declaration of Independence on display in Adams Room

Pat,

We received the Declaration of Independence on loan from David Rubenstein. It's displayed in the John Quincy Adams Room and looks wonderful.

We have invited Mr. Rubenstein and his family to attend the reception to thank donors – on April 29th.

Marcee

Marcee F. Craighill
Director, The Diplomatic Reception Rooms
U.S. Department of State
M/FA, Room 8213
2210 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520
(202) 647-1990
(202) 647-3428 fax

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 3:19 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Time 100: Pelosi

Time Magazine is including Nancy Pelosi in their 100 Issue, and as you know from writing for others and being written about, they ask other notables to write the accompanying text. They are inviting you to write the text that accompanies Pelosi's

We all think you should do, the timing allows you to write a bit about the importance of health care.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 3:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: THANKS to Team Pledge Data

See bottom of message re the firsts.

These were innovations we pushed (particularly use of web for real time display of pledges and what initially was described by those who did not like my idea as pay to play (or in this instance as I argued - it was pay to have a priority speaking slot as those who did not have a pledge would get to speak, just not until the end).

Nice addition to our innovation and tech storyline.

Cdm

---

**From:** DeMarcellus, Roland F
**To:** 'Danila Boneva' ; Katherine Gilbert < >; Siemer, Marguerite E; Bruno Lemarquis < >; Elizabeth Fong < >; Gianluca Rampolla < >; Dasa Silovic < >; Jehane Sedky < > Elisabeth Diaz < >; Eric Overvest ; Nick Rene Hartmann < >; Annie Demirjian ashot.hovanesian ; Arshak.hovanesian Leatham, Rachel M; 'nancy.victorinc
**Cc:** 'Garry Conille' ; Jordan Ryan < >; Mills, Cheryl D; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Thu Apr 01 14:35:11 2010
**Subject:** THANKS to Team Pledge Data

B6

Dear members of Team Pledge Data,

I wanted to thank all of you for your excellent work leading up and at the Conference in establishing the system for gathering, scrubbing, presenting, projecting, and posting the pledge data from all the donors. And to thank you for accommodating so quickly my inchoate and sleep-deprived requests yesterday morning for the changes to the format of what was projected.

But I wanted to make sure you realized that you accomplished something rather historic yesterday. You have massively raised the bar for future donors' conference on how pledge data should be tracked and shared.

Here are some of the "firsts" that you should be proud of (based at least on my experience in 8 major donors' conferences so far):

- First to gather written pledges from all donors
- First to project individual pledges in real time at the conference
- First to release individual pledges to the world public and media on the same day as the conference

In addition to these, the work that you put into scrubbing the pledges – with the rigor and integrity of development professionals – ensured that the pledge figures were more meaningful and accurate than for most other pledging conferences (another possible first).

All of these achievements are great in themselves, but they will be most important in their impact on ensuring that the pledged assistance actually makes in to the people of Haiti. This is really just the beginning of that important effort, and you will be playing a critical role in it – but you have set us off with the best possible starting point for that effort.

Thank you again. It has been and will remain for me a pleasure for me to work with you. Best regards, Roland

Please pass this on to others on the team that I have missed in this email.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Call points

Purpose of Call: Foreign Minister Nkoana-Mashabane has asked to speak with you about the upcoming vote at the World Bank on the Medupi Power Plant in South Africa.

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 5:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: How did hbj mtg go?

----- Original Message -----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 21:24:16 2010
Subject: Re: How did hbj mtg go?

Ok.

B5

Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Wed Mar 31 16:39:38 2010
Subject: How did hbj mtg go?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 5:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jim

Jim is very agitated by some maneuverings related to the NPR. I should bring you up to speed on it when you have a moment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 6:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Israel meeting

There was a garble on the middle east meeting. It's not chiefly on Mitchell travel or related issues. It's chiefly on how to deal with the nuclear issue in the context of the upcoming summit. Though with the players at the table...

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 6:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Israel meeting

They know, but she is not on the invite list. I will work on that.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 01, 2010 6:26 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Israel meeting

Do they know Ellen Tauscher has been working on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 01 18:24:00 2010
Subject: Israel meeting

There was a garble on the middle east meeting. It's not chiefly on Mitchell travel or related issues. It's chiefly on how to deal with the nuclear issue in the context of the upcoming summit. Though with the players at the table...

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 8:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: A Haiti thank you

More on tech component

----- Original Message -----
From: Dowd, Katie W
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Stanton, Katie
Cc: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Thu Apr 01 16:17:46 2010
Subject: RE: A Haiti thank you

Thank you so much Cheryl and no you did not! The conference looked great yesterday and the read out, congrats to all of you for a great event. On the video, just hope it got to a point where you were happy with it. That said, I also wanted to say that the streaming on State.gov and America.gov went very well yesterday and received a lot more praise then the UN one which required people to download software, which ours did not. :)

Also, we are working now to send the video out to posts and to let them use in their own story telling. Also, we had a gadget created to help promote the event which has been featured on several sites and we are continuing to push out which encourages people to keep up to date on news on Haiti and to donate to the Clinton Bush Haiti Fund.

Best, Katie

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, April 01, 2010 3:41 PM
To: Dowd, Katie W; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Stanton, Katie
Cc: McHale, Judith A
Subject: A Haiti thank you

I wanted to say thank you for all the work you put in to make the Haiti conference a success - your work - especially on the video (Katie I know I nearly drove you crazy) and on helping the web experience and streaming experience work was on display and much appreciated.

In case you don't know, this is one of the mosr successful donor conferences ever so thank you for helping Haiti and the dept make history.

Best
Cdm

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Algerian PM call

He is willing to take your call anytime between 9am and 4pm. What time would u like to do? Points below

The Secretary's Call Sheet for
Algerian Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia (AH-med ooh-YA-hee-ah)

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** [redacted] B6

Assume you remember her [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 11:19 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Press points

Gibbs and PJ will/have deployed these:

- **Some of the comments made yesterday by President Karzai are troubling and a cause for real concern.**
- **Together with our international partners, the United States is making great sacrifices and investing substantial resources to defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies, and to create opportunities for the Afghan people. As President Obama has said, we have vital security interests in the region, and we are committed to helping Afghanistan become strong, stable and prosperous.**
- **We would reiterate the commitments that both Presidents made during their visit last weekend. We are discussing this with President Karzai and his Administration and we are seeking clarification of his remarks.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Karzai
**Attachments:** Note to S on Karzai 1 Apr Press Conf to send.docx; Tab A Karzai 1 April Press Conference Summary - Rough.docx; Note to S on Karzai 1 Apr Press Conf to send.docx; Tab A Karzai 1 April Press Conference Summary - Rough.docx

**Importance:** High

Attached are materials on Karzai that RCH has discussed with you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 11:37 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H

If Karl sees him at 2 tomorrow, that's 5:30 am here. So if you called first thing our time tomorrow, you'd follow him.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 11:37 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Readout of conversation with Omar Zakhilwal, Afghan Minister of Finance

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/02/2025**

Readout of conversation with Omar Zakhilwal, Afghan Minister of Finance

April 2, 2010

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Barnett R. Rubin

[redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

--
Barnett R. Rubin

[redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 11:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma

I think it's only 815 there now.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 12:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Economist: The limits of freedom and faith

**See the piece below on defamation of religion. Not bad.**

**http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15833005**
**Religion and human rights**

# The limits of freedom and faith

Mar 31st 2010
From The Economist print edition

**Opponents of a bid by Muslim states to "protect religion" claim a small success**

**How dare you call us blasphemers?**

IT DOES not happen often: Christian lobbyists, the sort who favour prayer in American classrooms and crucifixes in Italian ones, lining up on the same side as secularists who battle to curb religion's role in the public square. But in both those camps there has been some quiet satisfaction after a recent vote at the United Nations. Not over the outcome, but over the slim margin of defeat.

On March 25th the Human Rights Council (HRC), a Geneva-based UN agency which often exasperates its Western members, voted by 20 votes to 17, with eight abstentions, for a text that lists the "defamation of religion" as an infringement of liberty. Nothing amazing there: the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which groups 56 mainly Muslim states (plus Palestine), has been working to push resolutions of that kind through the General Assembly and other UN bodies since 2005. But the margin was the smallest ever, and opponents think there could be a good chance of defeating a "defamation" motion next time one comes around.

The OIC's idea is to establish the principle that faiths need protection, just as individuals do. It denies any sinister intention (see article). And to some ears, the OIC's effort sounds like harmless UN-speak, but nothing more. (The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, a congressionally mandated body, has noted a logical flaw: defamation means harming the reputation of a living person or entity: that implies that one can't defame an idea or a religious founder who is no longer, at least physically, alive on earth.)

But critics of the OIC campaign, who include atheists, Christians and indeed some Muslims, say the "defamation" idea is worse than hot air: far from protecting human rights, it emboldens countries that use blasphemy laws to criminalise dissent. What encourages these critics is that more countries seem to be coming around to their view. Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Zambia and South Korea voted against the latest resolution. Brazil criticised the text but abstained.

Deeper still inside the UN's bureaucracy, another battle over religion rages—and the stakes could be even higher. An "ad hoc committee" is mulling ways to amend or extend the UN convention on racial discrimination. Certain states want language that would fuse the categories of race and faith; some want a new convention, or a protocol to the existing one.

For secularists (in the broad sense of people, including believers, who oppose the idea of faith having privileged access to power), all this is alarming. Non-binding resolutions against defamation are bad enough; a UN treaty on race-plus-religion would have legal force, at least for its signatories, and give heart to theocrats.

At the HRC's latest discussion of this effort in March, the Algerian who oversees the project was keen to plough ahead. But countries like Switzerland, Japan, Mexico, Argentina and France retorted that it would be better to enforce the existing UN norms than dream up new ones. Efforts to widen the racism accord will resume, with a new chairman, late this year—but critics are relieved to have stalled it. Still, would-be theocrats may now focus harder on adding to the racism charter, because they face a real risk of being defeated over defamation, in the view of Roy Brown, Geneva spokesman for the International Humanist and Ethical Union.

Meanwhile a Christian-inspired NGO, the European Centre for Law and Justice, has been denouncing the abuse of blasphemy laws in many OIC member states. How fair is their point? It is an easy case to make, for example, over Pakistan.

Some 41 complaints of blasphemy were registered by police in Pakistan last year, says that country's independent Human Rights Commission. In theory, blasphemy is punishable by death—a penalty that has been handed down but never carried out. Worst-hit by the law are minorities like Christians and Ahmadis, a group whose claim to be Muslim is rejected by the Pakistani state. Although abuse of the law is less rife now than in the 1980s, when an Islamist general tightened up the rules, the law is still invoked in disputes (over property, say) that have nothing to do with faith.

**"The most vulnerable people, that is religious minorities, continue to be charged with blasphemy," said Ali Dayan Hasan, a researcher at Human Rights Watch, a campaign group. "But are people convicted? No. Rarely. It is used as an instrument of political and social coercion."**

When convictions occur, they lead to long jail terms; and pre-trial detention can last for years. Pakistan's parliament is revising the constitution but it has left intact the religious bits, despite a vow by the ruling party to review the blasphemy laws. (Indonesia too has stepped back from a move to liberalise its blasphemy regime.)

On Pakistani streets, the law has dire effects. In January 2009, in a village in Punjab province, five Ahmadis, a labourer and four children, were charged with blasphemy. They had supposedly written "Prophet Muhammad" on the wall of a mosque toilet. The children were behind bars for nearly six months till the charge was quashed.

And last September a young Pakistani Christian was accused of throwing part of the Koran down a drain. It seems that his real crime, however, was affection for a Muslim woman. A mob torched a church, and many Christians had to flee. He was taken to jail, where he died a few days later. His family alleged torture; the authorities claimed suicide. There was mayhem at the funeral and the country's Christians (see picture) were appalled. In some places, it is not the "defamation" of faith that threatens rights but measures that supposedly defend it.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# The Secretary's Call with Democratic Unionist Party Leader Peter Robinson

Background

DUP Leader Peter Robinson is threatening to resign as First Minister and thereby force elections if the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) does not vote in favor of devolution on March 9. UUP leader Sir Reg Empey continues to withhold his support for the Hillsborough Agreement, citing complaints about the functioning of the Executive and demanding movement on educational reform; an outcome that would benefit him electorally. Even though a UUP "yes" is not required for the vote to pass, Robinson has said that Empey's support is an essential component of "community confidence" in the deal, and that a "no" vote by the UUP on March 9 would prompt him to resign as First Minister, force new elections to seek a unionist mandate for devolution. Such an outcome would effectively scuttle the Hillsborough Agreement and severely harm both local and international confidence in Northern Ireland's political institutions. Robinson feels strongly that the DUP would "hammer" the UUP in an Assembly election, while we understand that the UUP has done polling which would indicate significant gains for them against a scandal-ridden and weakened DUP. Sinn Fein feels both parties are miscalculating.

Empey's focus on getting some concession on education to "save" the Hillsborough Agreement focuses pressure on education ministerial portfolio-holder Sinn Fein; Robinson and the DUP have refused to discuss the impasse on education. However, should Robinson resign forcing early Assembly elections, both the DUP and UUP will undoubtedly seek to shift blame to Sinn Fein for their inability to compromise on this issue. Sinn Fein and the DUP have met with Empey numerous times in recent days to discuss ways forward, although no agreement has yet been reached. Regardless of Empey's behavior, Robinson, who is still exhibiting signs of weak leadership within his party, still holds the key to the March 9 outcome.

Points

B5

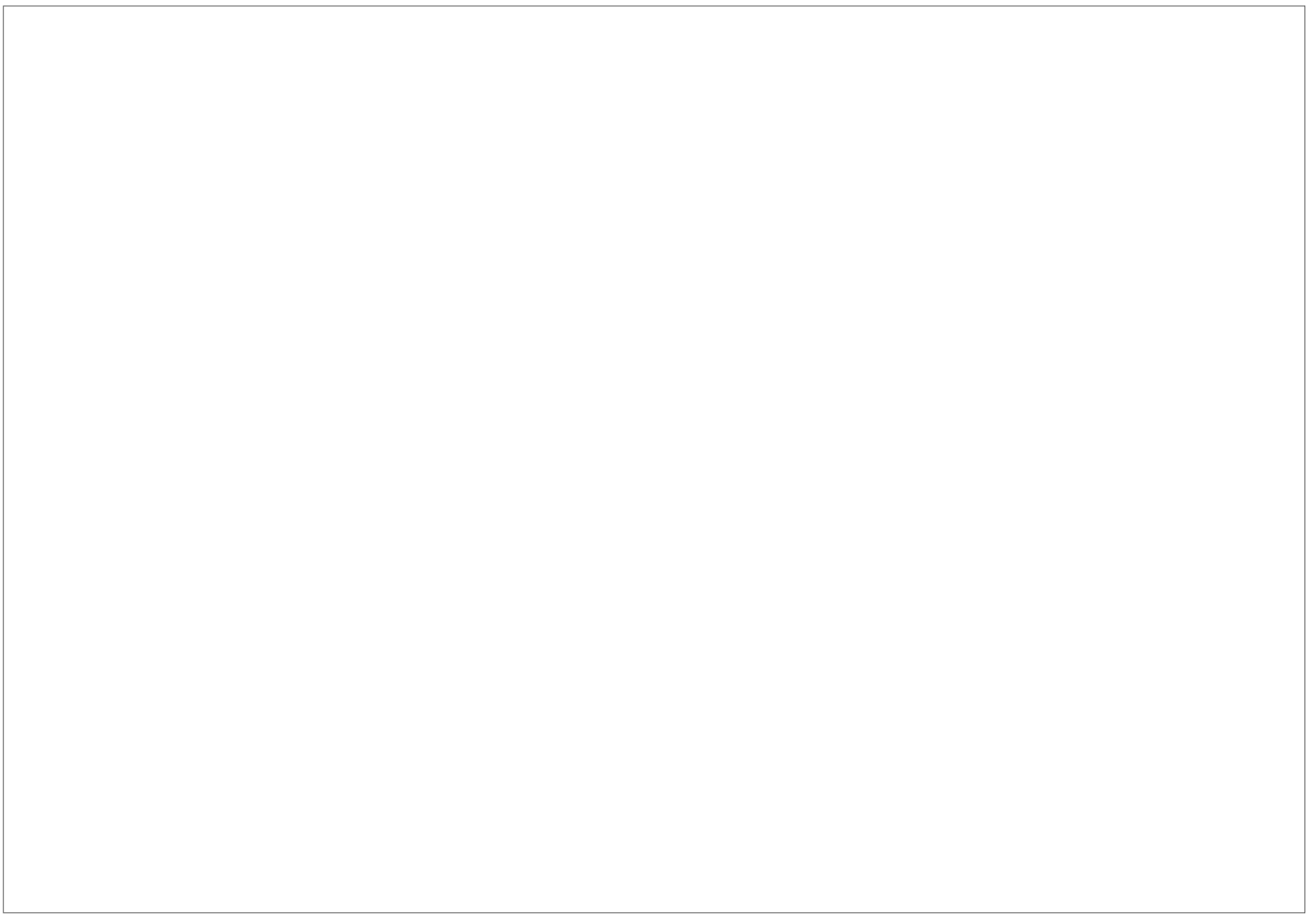
RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 12:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Karzai points

These are the points in circulation now for comment. Understand Eikenberry is reaching out to speak with you. He has this draft.

B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 12:57 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

I would simply reiterate the need for a statement *FAST* and say that the embassy can follow up. This will help both of us.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, April 02, 2010 1:14 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re:

Anything to add to this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Apr 02 12:56:32 2010
Subject:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 1:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Our proposed readout

Here is what I'm proposing:

| |
|---|
| |

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 7:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Anything to report?

One thing I missed:

Currency deferral decision likely tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Apr 02 18:30:59 2010
Subject: Anything to report?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 17, 2010 9:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H; fyi. Sid

Waiting at Nora's now with Jackie for Shaun and his wife Camilla, you're welcome to join us. If you're around Sunday joe Wilson is coming by to show the cut of the film about him and valerie starring Sean Penn. just us and Joe and the film. Everything you've done on NI has had a beneficial effect. All good. This is a happy St Pat's. Sid Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Wed, 17 Mar 2010 20:40:53
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H; fyi. Sid

I hadn't seen it until you sent it. So thx, as always, for the headsup. I had a great visit w Shaun and all the Irish--much happier times.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 14 23:51:33 2010
Subject: H; fyi. Sid

H: Assume you have seen the "Petraeus briefing story" or otherwise are familiar with its contents. In any case, here it is. It was blazoned atop the Foreign Policy website, the most widely read site on international affairs daily, owned and published by the Washington Post. Below the piece is a note by its writer about his sourcing that appeared on a small website elsewhere. Also, I've included an article by Max Blumenthal, who spends his time on this issue and plans to move to Israel for about 6-8 months to write a book. He tracks a lot of things that do not appear in the mainstream press. Sid

http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/03/14/the_petraeus_briefing_biden_s_embarrassment_is_not_the_whole_story

The Petraeus briefing: Biden's embarrassment is not the whole story

Posted By Mark Perry <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/images/091022_meta_block.gif> Saturday, March 13, 2010 -

On Jan. 16, two days after a killer earthquake hit Haiti, a team of senior military officers from the U.S. Central Command (responsible for overseeing American security interests in the Middle East), arrived at the Pentagon to brief Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Adm. Michael Mullen on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The team had been dispatched by CENTCOM commander Gen. David Petraeus to underline his growing worries at the lack of progress in resolving the issue. The 33-slide, 45-minute PowerPoint briefing stunned Mullen. The briefers reported that there was a growing perception among Arab leaders that the U.S. was incapable of standing up to Israel, that CENTCOM's mostly Arab constituency was losing

faith in American promises, that Israeli intransigence on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was jeopardizing U.S. standing in the region, and that Mitchell himself was (as a senior Pentagon officer later bluntly described it) "too old, too slow ... and too late."

The January Mullen briefing was unprecedented. No previous CENTCOM commander had ever expressed himself on what is essentially a political issue; which is why the briefers were careful to tell Mullen that their conclusions followed from a December 2009 tour of the region where, on Petraeus's instructions, they spoke to senior Arab leaders. "Everywhere they went, the message was pretty humbling," a Pentagon officer familiar with the briefing says. "America was not only viewed as weak, but its military posture in the region was eroding." But Petraeus wasn't finished: two days after the Mullen briefing, Petraeus sent a paper to the White House requesting that the West Bank and Gaza (which, with Israel, is a part of the European Command -- or EUCOM), be made a part of his area of operations. Petraeus's reason was straightforward: with U.S. troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military had to be perceived by Arab leaders as engaged in the region's most troublesome conflict.

[UPDATE: A senior military officer denied Sunday that Petraeus sent a paper to the White House.

"CENTCOM did have a team brief the CJCS on concerns revolving around the Palestinian issue, and CENTCOM did propose a UCP change, but to CJCS, not to the WH," the officer said via email. "GEN Petraeus was not certain what might have been conveyed to the WH (if anything) from that brief to CJCS."

(UCP means "unified combatant command," like CENTCOM; CJCS refers to Mullen; and WH is the White House.)] The Mullen briefing and Petraeus's request hit the White House like a bombshell. While Petraeus's request that CENTCOM be expanded to include the Palestinians was denied ("it was dead on arrival," a Pentagon officer confirms), the Obama administration decided it would redouble its efforts -- pressing Israel once again on the settlements issue, sending Mitchell on a visit to a number of Arab capitals and dispatching Mullen for a carefully arranged meeting with the chief of the Israeli General Staff, Lt. General Gabi Ashkenazi. While the American press speculated that Mullen's trip focused on Iran, the JCS Chairman actually carried a blunt, and tough, message on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: that Israel had to see its conflict with the Palestinians "in a larger, regional, context" -- as having a direct impact on America's status in the region. Certainly, it was thought, Israel would get the message.

Israel didn't. When Vice President Joe Biden was embarrassed by an Israeli announcement that the Netanyahu government was building 1,600 new homes in East Jerusalem, the administration reacted. But no one was more outraged than Biden who, according to the Israeli daily Yedioth Ahronoth, engaged in a private, and angry, exchange with the Israeli Prime Minister. Not surprisingly, what Biden told Netanyahu reflected the importance the administration attached to Petraeus's Mullen briefing: "This is starting to get dangerous for us," Biden reportedly told Netanyahu. "What you're doing here undermines the security of our troops who are fighting in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. That endangers us and it endangers regional peace." Yedioth Ahronoth went on to report: "The vice president told his Israeli hosts that since many people in the Muslim world perceived a connection between Israel's actions and US policy, any decision about construction that undermines Palestinian rights in East Jerusalem could have an impact on the personal safety of American troops fighting against Islamic terrorism." The message couldn't be plainer: Israel's intransigence could cost American lives.

There are important and powerful lobbies in America: the NRA, the American Medical Association, the lawyers -- and the Israeli lobby. But no lobby is as important, or as powerful, as the U.S. military. While commentators and pundits might reflect that Joe Biden's trip to Israel has forever shifted America's relationship with its erstwhile ally in the region, the real break came in January, when David Petraeus sent a briefing team to the Pentagon with a stark warning: America's relationship with Israel is important, but not as important as the lives of America's soldiers. Maybe Israel gets the message now.

Mark Perry's newest book is Talking To Terrorists <http://www.amazon.com/Talking-Terrorists-America-Engage-Enemies/dp/0465011179>

http://warincontext.org/2010/03/14/israel-is-putting-american-lives-at-risk/

My piece on the briefing of Admiral Mullen by CENTCOM senior officers has occasioned a great deal of comment, as well as some skepticism: how accurate is the account? Was it told to me by direct participants in the briefing? Is there any basis for imagining that Petraeus has any kind of hidden agenda, whether that is a desire to expand CENTCOM – or even hostility towards Israel.

I won't name my sources, even though it's clear to people in the Pentagon – and certainly to General Petraeus – who they are. Was I told of the briefing by the briefers themselves? I will only say that there were four people in the briefing

– the two briefers, Admiral Mullen, and Admiral Mullen's primary adviser on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I know two of the people involved in the briefing. Whether or not they are my sources is something for the reader to determine. The account is not only accurate, it's a precis of what actually happened. There is a lot more to it. The White House, State Department and Pentagon have not denied the account, and for good reason: it's true.
Is there any basis for imagining that Petraeus has any kind of hidden agenda in ordering the briefing?
I have been reporting on the American military for thirty years. My work on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Four Stars <http://www.amazon.com/Four-Stars-Forty-Year-Americas-Civilian/dp/0395429234> , is the authoritative account on the subject. I have deeply rooted contacts in the military that go back thirty years. I have never met a senior military officer whom I do not admire. There is no greater insult than to believe that General Petraeus or any other senior American military officer would use the lives of American soldiers as a lever to enhance their own political future. My sense is that General Petraeus neither likes nor dislikes Israel: but he loves his country and he wants to protect our soldiers. The current crisis in American relations with Israel is not a litmus test of General Petraeus's loyalty to Israel, but of his, and our, concern for those Americans in uniform in the Middle East.
It is, perhaps, a sign of the depth of "the Biden crisis" that every controversy of this type seems to get translated into whether or not America and its leaders are committed to Israel's security. This isn't about Israel's security, it's about our security.

http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/03/pastor-hagee-and-netanyahus-lovefest-on-eve-of-bidens-arrival-in-israel/

Netanyahu and Pastor Hagee's Lovefest on Eve of Biden's Arrival in Israel <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/03/pastor-hagee-and-netanyahus-lovefest-on-eve-of-bidens-arrival-in-israel/>

On 03.09.10, By Max
(Videos recorded by Rachel Tabachnick <http://zeek.forward.com/authors/rachel-tabachnick> ; more videos coming shortly.) Vice President Joe Biden was greeted in Jerusalem with the announcement <http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5ioi_0jtO9RjMwPNRoXNCndRPRq3gD9EB9N580> that the Israeli Interior Ministry approved the construction of 1600 new homes in Occupied East Jerusalem contrary to U.S. wishes and complicating Biden's mission <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/mar/07/joe-biden-israel-palestinian-talks> to help jump start the peace process. But Biden should have known that Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu intended to upset his plans by Netanyahu's appearance with John Hagee.
The day after a series of talks between US Special Envoy for the Middle East George Mitchell and Netanyahu, and a day before Biden's arrival, Netanyahu appeared onstage with Pastor John Hagee in Jerusalem. The occasion was Hagee's Night To Honor Israel, an event the far-right Texas-based preacher arranged to tout his ministry's millions in donations to Israeli organizations and to level bellicose rhetoric against Israel's perceived enemies.
At the gathering, Hagee called Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad "the Hitler of the Middle East" and denounced the Goldstone Report as "character assassination by an unbiased and uninformed committee."
Netanyahu welcomed the crowd of 1000 American evangelicals to Jerusalem, a city he described as "the undivided, eternal capitol of the Jewish people. Then, he told them, "I salute you! The Jewish people salute you!" He used the rest of his speech to call for "tough, biting sanctions" against Iran that "bite deep into its energy sector."
Hagee and Netanyahu appear together on stage:

In the audience were top-level members of the Israeli government, from Ambassador Michael Oren to Jerusalem Mayor Nir Barkat to Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon. Also present was Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, the chief rabbi of the illegal West Bank settlement of Efrat who gained notoriety for lobbying President Bill Clinton to pardon his friend, fugitive billionaire Marc Rich. Ayalon had stirred controversy <http://haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1150484.html> days before when he refused to meet with a US congressional delegation brought to Israel by the progressive Jewish group J Street.
Part One of Hagee's speech:

Part Two:

Pastor Hagee in Jerusalem 3/8/10 (Part II) <http://vimeo.com/10034685> from Max J Blumenthal <http://vimeo.com/user3344487> on Vimeo <http://vimeo.com>.

Hagee's ceremony featured a 15-minute film highlighting the recipients of donations from John Hagee Ministries that totaled $58 million since 2001. The recipients included Jewish settlements from the West Bank like Gush Etzion and Shomron, which was involved in promoting an "Obama Hilltop project" <http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/277856,jewish-settlers-launch-obama-hilltop-project.html> that promoted more settlement building and compared Obama to Pharoah. Hagee also announced funding for a pressure group run by the settlers evacuated from Gush Katif in Gaza in 2005. During Israel's assault on Gaza in 2009, a group of Gush Katif residents lobbied <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1054491.html> the Israel government to allow them to resettle the Palestinian coastal region.

Who is Hagee funding in Israel?

Who Is Hagee Funding In Israel? <http://vimeo.com/10027708> from Max Blumenthal <http://vimeo.com/user1924826> on Vimeo <http://vimeo.com>.

The most notable of Hagee's funding recipients was an organization called Im Tirtzu. A student representative of this group appeared in the film to thank Hagee for "help[ing] us to ensure that students in Israel are on the right path, the path of Zionism, the love of Israel, the path of solidarity." Another student called for "the second revolution in Israel." In February, Im Tirtzu funding a smear campaign against former Knesset member and New Israel Fund Director Naomi Chazan <http://www.nif.org/media-center/press-releases/former-mk-naomi.html> that included posters caricaturing her with a horn on her head. The group misleadingly accused the New Israel Fund of bankrolling 16 human rights organizations that contributed documentation to the Goldstone Report.

The smear campaign led to unsuccessful legislation in the Knesset designed to further cripple already marginalized Israeli human rights groups. Meanwhile, the Jerusalem Post fired <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1147783.html> Chazan as a columnist without explanation. Gideon Levy, a columnist for Ha'aretz, called <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1148014.html> Im Tirtzu "a McCarthyite movement" for its attacks on Chazan.

Although CUFI attempted to distance itself <http://www.jpost.com/JewishWorld/JewishNews/Article.aspx?id=167666> from Im Tirtzu's campaign, the organization's appearance during CUFI's Jerusalem ceremony suggested that Hagee would continue to provide it with funding well into the future.

Republican Senator John McCain repudiated the endorsement <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/05/22/mccain.hagee/index.html> of Hagee during his 2008 presidential campaign after Hagee's statements describing the Holocaust as a fulfillment of divine prophecy came to light. Hagee has also said that <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/max-blumenthal/pastor-hagee-the-antichri_b_104608.html> he believed the anti-Christ was "partially Jewish, as was Adolph Hitler." However, none of Hagee's comments have deterred Israeli government officials from embracing him or accepting his millions in annual charity.

During Hagee's speech, he made no secret of his support for the illegal settlement enterprise that has been the source of difficulties between the US and Israel. "The settlements are not the problem," he boomed from the podium. "The problem is the refusal of Arab leaders to respect the right of Jewish people to live anywhere in the Middle East." Hagee received a rousing ovation from the crowd and the Israeli government officials seated beside the podium when he proclaimed, "World leaders do not have the authority to tell Israel and the Jewish people what they can and cannot do in the city of Jerusalem. They don't have the authority to tell them what they can and cannot build, who can and and cannot live there."

The following day, on March 9, Vice President Joseph Biden arrived in Israel to meet with Netanyahu and officials from the Palestinian Authority. He told reporters <http://haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1155106.html> after touching down that he saw "a moment of real opportunity."

<http://www.amazon.com/Talking-Terrorists-America-Engage-Enemies/dp/0465011179>

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 8:18 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)
**Attachments:** Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-22-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-23-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips March 24, 2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-25-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-26-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-27-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-28-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-29-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-30-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-31-2010.doc

FYI, generally positive coverage.

B5

jm

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**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**Sent:** Saturday, April 03, 2010 5:37 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

Judith,
Can't remember whether I forwarded this stuff to you.
As you can see, our staff feel that the Dialogue went pretty well in the press – and it continues to do well. The Foreign Minister -- now claiming credit for changing our TSA airport screening policy -- is promising to "take Parliament into confidence" on the dialogue in the near future. I'm going to be out talking at a think tank on Weds; Holbrooke will be here next week.
L

---

**From:** Howard, Ariel
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 4:11 PM
**To:** Schwartz, Larry
**Subject:** Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue Media Summary

The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue dominated Pakistani media on March 24 and March 25. All major English and Urdu language networks carried live the Secretary and Foreign Minister Qureshi's remarks at the opening session. On Thursday morning, nearly all television networks led with coverage of the joint press availability. All major English and Urdu language dailies featured the talks on their front pages, highlighting the Secretary's announcement of $125 million in aid to Pakistan's energy sector. Reporting was straight-forward with favorable headlines: *Dawn*—"U.S, Pakistan pledge to boost and broaden ties" and "U.S. to provide $125m for energy, power plants"; *The News*—"US vows to boost energy, defence, trade ties"; *Nawa-i-Waqt*—"U.S. will neither abandon nor dictate to Pakistan"; *The Nation*—"'New day' for US, Pakistan: Hillary." Media highlighted the positive shift in U.S.-Pakistan relations, echoing Secretary Clinton's statement that the talks are the beginning of a new chapter. Reports also focused on the question of nuclear cooperation and U.S. engagement in the Kashmir dispute; however the U.S. position on these issues had been widely reported by the media prior to the Dialogue. *The Nation* published an editorial, entitled "Negative starting note,"

criticizing the talks before they began. The daily stated that "promises will be made on some issues, including on nuclear cooperation, which will not see fruition." Other editorials stressed the need for a sustained commitment on both sides, beyond March 24, to produce results: *Dawn* – "Prospects for Pak-US ties," and *Daily Times*—"Pak-US Strategic Dialogue." End Summary.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# The Secretary's Call with Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness

## Background

Although Sinn Fein threats of bringing down the government helped precipitate the crisis that led to the Hillsborough agreement, the party now finds itself seeking to offset an electorally-fueled battle between the DUP and UUP that threatens to do the same. UUP leader Sir Reg Empey is threatening to withhold his support for the Hillsborough Agreement vote in the assembly on March 9, citing complaints about the functioning of the Executive and demanding movement on educational reform. Sinn Fein and the DUP are currently mulling his demands, and Sinn Fein might be willing to offer talks on the post-primary education sector (as it did two years ago, according to McGuinness) as a face-saving measure for Empey. This may be too little for Empey. Even though a UUP "yes" is not required for the cross-community vote to pass, First Minister Peter Robinson has said that Empey's support is an essential component of "community confidence" in the deal, and that a "no" vote by the UUP on March 9 would prompt him to resign as First Minister, force new elections to seek a unionist mandate for devolution. Such an outcome would effectively scuttle the Hillsborough Agreement and severely harm both local and international confidence in Northern Ireland's political institutions. Robinson feels strongly that the DUP would "hammer" the UUP in an Assembly election, while we understand that the UUP has done polling which would indicate significant gains for them against a scandal-ridden and weakened DUP. McGuinness feels both parties are badly miscalculating.

Sinn Fein and the DUP have met with Empey repeatedly in recent days to discuss ways forward, although no agreement has yet been reached. McGuinness has told us that regardless of Empey's behavior, Robinson still holds the key to the March 9 outcome and should come under the most pressure to allow the vote to go to the floor, with or without UUP concurrence. Having all parties except the UUP vote in favor of devolution will leave Empey and the UUP isolated, and Sinn Fein is trying to convince its DUP partner in government of such.

Points

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 6:12 AM
**To:** H

Did some research on Saving Americas Treasures. Looks like it is funded thru interior approps. Feinstein is Senate chair and Norm Dicks is house chair. Moran will likely take over for Dicks, as he moves to take over defense subcommittee. Happy to weigh in with both staffs, but you are also seeing Senator Feinstein this week for dinner. We can prepare a short paper for her staff.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Got it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Sat Mar 06 07:44:30 2010
Subject: Re:

Thx, Rich, but I don't think H should prepare a paper since it's not part of your official job. I'm seeing her this week so if you can give me info to use, I will share w her. Appreciate the help.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 06:12:24 2010
Subject:

Did some research on Saving Americas Treasures. Looks like it is funded thru interior approps. Feinstein is Senate chair and Norm Dicks is house chair. Moran will likely take over for Dicks, as he moves to take over defense subcommittee. Happy to weigh in with both staffs, but you are also seeing Senator Feinstein this week for dinner. We can prepare a short paper for her staff.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma

Happy to chat at your convenience

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Email address

Yes, we will. Thank you, Courtney

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
Sent: Sat Mar 06 08:36:07 2010
Subject: Email address

Courtney--Please share this w Zia and use for scheduling matters. Thanks so much, HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

I will be outo f the office through Monday, April 5th. I will be checking e-mail periodically. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 9:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Oscar Flores
**Subject:** Latest call list for today

German FM Westerwelle 930am
Sir Reg Empey 1030 am
Peter Robinson 1230pm
Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 4:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

Will do
Same to you!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Apr 03 16:49:49 2010
Subject: Fw: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

Pls print for me and HAPPY EASTER!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Apr 03 08:17:36 2010
Subject: FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

FYI, generally positive coverage.

B5

jm

From: Schwartz, Larry
Sent: Saturday, April 03, 2010 5:37 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

Judith,

Can't remember whether I forwarded this stuff to you.

As you can see, our staff feel that the Dialogue went pretty well in the press – and it continues to do well. The Foreign Minister -- now claiming credit for changing our TSA airport screening policy -- is promising to "take Parliament into confidence" on the dialogue in the near future. I'm going to be out talking at a think tank on Weds; Holbrooke will be here next week.

L

From: Howard, Ariel
Sent: Wednesday, March 31, 2010 4:11 PM
To: Schwartz, Larry
Subject: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue Media Summary

The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue dominated Pakistani media on March 24 and March 25. All major English and Urdu language networks carried live the Secretary and Foreign Minister Qureshi's remarks at the opening session. On Thursday morning, nearly all television networks led with coverage of the joint press availability. All major English and Urdu language dailies featured the talks on their front pages, highlighting the Secretary's announcement of $125 million in aid to Pakistan's energy sector. Reporting was straight-forward with favorable headlines: Dawn—"U.S, Pakistan pledge to boost and broaden ties" and "U.S. to provide $125m for energy, power plants"; The News—"US vows to boost energy, defence, trade ties"; Nawa-i-Waqt—"U.S. will neither abandon nor dictate to Pakistan"; The Nation—"'New day' for US, Pakistan: Hillary." Media highlighted the positive shift in U.S.-Pakistan relations, echoing Secretary Clinton's statement that the talks are the beginning of a new chapter. Reports also focused on the question of nuclear cooperation and U.S. engagement in the Kashmir dispute; however the U.S. position on these issues had been widely reported by the media prior to the Dialogue. The Nation published an editorial, entitled "Negative starting note," criticizing the talks before they began. The daily stated that "promises will be made on some issues, including on nuclear cooperation, which will not see fruition." Other editorials stressed the need for a sustained commitment on both sides, beyond March 24, to produce results: Dawn – "Prospects for Pak-US ties," and Daily Times—"Pak-US Strategic Dialogue." End Summary.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 4:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Apr 03 16:52:17 2010
Subject: Fw:

Pls add to my call list. He's in New York City working for the Methodist Church.

----- Original Message -----
From: Diane Reynolds
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 20:55:10 2010
Subject:

Bill Shillady
United Methodist City Society

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Latest call list for today

Ok we may miss ashton which wouldn't be end of world. Her staff has been emailing saying she's anxious to talk but they haven't locked a time. I did tell her staff we weren't going to push russians to cancel quartet dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:45:27 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

I'd prefer to get all calls done by 2 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:43:14 2010
Subject: Latest call list for today

German FM Westerwelle 930am
Sir Reg Empey 1030 am
Peter Robinson 1230pm
Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Latest call list for today

No windows at all yet from her team.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:57:58 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

When can she talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:57:39 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

Ok we may miss ashton which wouldn't be end of world. Her staff has been emailing saying she's anxious to talk but they haven't locked a time. I did tell her staff we weren't going to push russians to cancel quartet dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:45:27 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

I'd prefer to get all calls done by 2 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:43:14 2010
Subject: Latest call list for today

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Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 5:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Congrats!

I will prepare for Tuesday. Happy Easter!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sat Apr 03 17:12:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats!

Pls add Kris to may call list and draft note to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 26 17:13:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats!

---

From: kris.durmer [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 16:54:53 2010
Subject: Congrats!

Dear Cheryl - -

My name is Kris Durmer, and I am the recently appointed (9/21/09) General Counsel of GSA. I am also from NH and a long-time supporter and acquaintance of Secretary Clinton and the former President. Please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the Secretary for the recent US-Russia nuclear agreement and her work generally over the last year. She has been terrific!

My best,

Kris

Kris E. Durmer
General Counsel
U.S. General Services Administration
1800 F Street NW, Suite 4140
Washington, DC 20405

Tel: 202-501-2200
Fax: 202-501-2509

B6

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; H
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** FW: UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST

Madam Secretary,

In addition to moving back Sir Reg Empey's call to 10:30, Ops has confirmed your call with UK First Minister Robinson at 12:30.

Regards,
Courtney

---

**From:** McNeil, Matthew C
**Sent:** Saturday, March 06, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** SES-O_S-Calls
**Subject:** UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST

Colleagues,

UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST.

Also Sir Reg Empey's call has been moved back to 1030.

Regards,

Matthew McNeil
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 4, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** On a day of easter peace ...

B5

Happy Easter!
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Gentle reminder about the Bob Barnett profile he emailed you about. Story is being written by David Montgomery of the Washington Post, and is slated to run tomorrow - so we need to do this today, the earlier the better.

All you have to do is call into Ops when you're ready, they will connect you to the reporter (and add me in)

Here's the reporters description on the piece: "...a large profile of Bob Barnett for the Style section. I know Barnett has been a friend and counselor and campaign supporter over the years. I would like to ask Secretary Clinton her estimation of what makes Barnett good at what he does, what he has meant to her in the various ways he has worked for her over the years. And I would like to ask what she makes of how such a committed Democrat as Barnett is able to work so well in his professional life for noted Republicans on book projects and other work. (A theme of the piece is how some say Barnett harkens to a mythic time in Washington when players supposedly could more readily have relationships with other side, even while sticking to principles in their political work)"

B5

You have talked about Bob many times, but general points:

[redacted]



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 4, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Will call you at 10pm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 4, 2010 9:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Will call you at 10pm

Yep

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Apr 04 20:39:57 2010
Subject: Re: Will call you at 10pm

Can we talk at 7:30 am?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 04 18:16:04 2010
Subject: Will call you at 10pm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 5, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Karzai stands by vote fraud claims against West

---

**From:** Rajadurai, Merin
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-IO
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Mon Apr 05 11:44:39 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Karzai stands by vote fraud claims against West

KABUL (Reuters) – President Karzai said he stood behind accusations that the West was responsible for election fraud in Afghanistan, despite having incurred the White House's anger over the comments.

**Merin Rajadurai**
**U.S. Department of State**
**Executive Secretariat - Operations**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 5, 2010 2:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: before you talk to Steve - give me a call

FYI

---

**From:** Steinberg, James B
**Sent:** Monday, April 05, 2010 1:42 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: before you talk to Steve - give me a call

Steve better, more widely known

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Steinberg, James B
**Sent**: Mon Apr 05 13:00:40 2010
**Subject**: RE: before you talk to Steve - give me a call

wanted me to raise alt of [redacted] B6

---

**From:** Steinberg, James B
**Sent:** Monday, April 05, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: before you talk to Steve - give me a call

Already did!

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Steinberg, James B
**Cc**: Crocker, Bathsheba N
**Sent**: Mon Apr 05 12:25:17 2010
**Subject**: before you talk to Steve - give me a call

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 5, 2010 2:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: S-Ashton Update

I think we're fine on this.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 03, 2010 5:14 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: S-Ashton Update

I did not mention this because not sure how I felt about it, but if all agree it would help, I will call her.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 30 12:53:19 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Ashton Update

Fyi

---

From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Montgomery, Molly C; Baxter, Shawn; Lang, Alan; Waller, Robert P; P-NEA Duty; Waser, Tamir G
Sent: Tue Mar 30 12:45:10 2010
Subject: S-Ashton Update

Hi Jake,

You'll see that the Secretary's points for Ashton mention the idea of our sending an inter-agency expert team to Brussels for the next few months to improve US-EU coordination on Iran sanctions prep. EU officials had been receptive, but now the bureaucrats are saying this would be "counter-productive", and instead prefer more regular videoconferences. Which is probably OK. Anyway, I just wanted you to know the background, in case it comes up in the Ashton meeting.

Steve

RELEASE IN PART B6

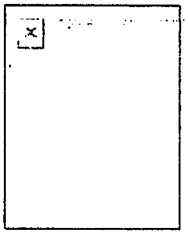
**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, April 5, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: UK election being called. Sid

Gordon is going to call the election tomorrow for May 6. I'm going to go over for that week. Sid

# Labour could win most seats at general election, poll shows

Guardian/ICM poll reveals gap between two main parties at four points – the closest in an ICM poll for almost two years

- Julian Glover
- guardian.co.uk, Monday 5 April 2010 19.02 BST
- Article history



Labour still has a fighting chance of winning the most seats in the general election, according to a Guardian/ICM poll published today.

The findings suggest Tory hopes of a defining breakthrough have been overplayed, with the gap between the two main parties now at just four points – the closest in an ICM poll for almost two years.

Labour support has climbed four points to 33% since an ICM poll carried out for the Guardian last week. Conservative backing has dropped one since then to 37% – Labour's best ICM rating since December 2008 and the Tories' worst since February.

On a uniform national swing, these figures could leave Labour 30 seats short of an overall majority. Even if the Tories perform better than average in marginal seats – as most people expect – David Cameron would struggle to establish a secure parliamentary basis for power.

Either party could be left dependent on the Liberal Democrats, who are on 21% in the poll – down two from last week. Despite that decline, the Lib Dems will be pleased by the strength of their position going into the election. The party has been at or above 20% in seven of this year's 11 ICM polls.

Meanwhile support for other parties, which peaked last spring in the European elections, has fallen again to just 9%.

At the start of an election campaign likely to see more polling than ever before in British politics, today's figures will be treated with caution unless confirmed by other surveys.

Some polls late last week suggested the Conservative lead had grown rather than shrunk, and research may have been affected by the Easter holidays, when some voters would have been away from home. Yet the results suggest that Labour's chances should not be written off, and events such as the leaders' debates could prove decisive in the coming weeks.

Today's poll suggests 60% of people are planning to watch at least one debate, with 29% saying they plan to watch all three. Only 39% of voters said they would not watch any of them.

The ICM survey also asked voters whether they might switch away from their first choice party and, if so, who they might back instead.

Labour and Tory support is now equally solid. Overall, 71% of Labour supporters say they will definitely back Labour while 71% of Tories also say they will stick with their first choice party.

Lib Dems, however, are less loyal – only 52% are sure they will end up giving Nick Clegg their vote. That leaves just over a quarter of each main party's supporters considering backing another party.

The proportion of Lib Dems and Conservatives saying they might vote Labour instead has doubled since ICM last asked this question earlier in the year. The ICM figures suggest the maximum potential vote for Labour and the Conservatives – all their definite supporters, plus all potential switchers – is running neck and neck at 42%. The Lib Dem maximum is 28%. Realistically, Labour is unlikely to beat its 2005 share of 36% and even today's poll suggesting it has shed only three points since then will surprise many. Nonetheless, there is all to play for as the contest begins now.

• *ICM Research interviewed a random sample of 1,001 adults aged 18 and over by telephone on 1-3 April 2010. Interviews were conducted across the country, and the results weighted to the profile of all adults. ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules.*

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 6:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: having an impact

Not for public acknowledgement but, as we have said, consistent engagement at the highest levels actually works. Ibrahim is CEO of GEO and a major figure in Pakistani media circles.

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 06, 2010 1:04 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** having an impact

Hi Judith:
Your engagement with GEO-TV's Mir Ibrahim is clearly having an impact: had a long long chat with TV Anchor Dr. Shahid Masood yesterday. It was a very long and freewheeling discussion,

B6

B5

Larry

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Larry Schwartz
Minister Counselor for Public Affairs
Embassy of the United States of America
Islamabad - PAKISTAN
Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040
Mobile:

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 7:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Yes, the agreement with Lavrov? Working on details today.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Apr 06 07:07:09 2010
Subject: Schedule

April 13 protocol signing?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 9:18 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: RADM Dave Stone

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue Apr 06 21:10:05 2010
Subject: Fw: RADM Dave Stone

Pls add as option.

----- Original Message -----
From: Steve Abbot [redacted]
To: Steve Abbot [redacted]
Sent: Tue Apr 06 10:26:14 2010
Subject: RADM Dave Stone

There will be an interment service at Arlington National Cemetery for RADM Dave Stone at 12:45 pm, July 14, 2010. This is a change from the originally planned date of May 26. Details to follow

ADM Charles S. Abbot, USN (Ret)

President, Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 18, 2010 6:24 AM
**To:** Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**Cc:** Williams, James H (Mexico City); Dickson, John S; Castillo, Raymond A; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** Strategic Communications

Carlos:

First, let me say how shocked we all were by the news over the weekend. I know this is a very difficult time for everyone at the Mission and our thoughts are with all of you.

I had a good conversation with Jim Williams about the strategic communications initiative and I wanted to bring you up to speed on our thinking and where things stand with Keith.

Based on our discussions and the excellent paper that Jim prepared I think there are several critical areas that we need to address:

- Work with our counterparts in the Mexican government to help them develop their capacity to handle the communications aspects of the drug initiative more effectively
- Develop a process for ensuring the GOM and USG have clear, coordinated and consistent messaging on all aspects of the initiative
- Increase public awareness in Mexico about "Merida" ; based on a report I got from INR last week there is very little awareness or understanding of the program in Mexico and the contributions of USG
- Work with GOM to develop an on-going and effective communications strategy at all levels to provide people across the country with information that is directly relevant to them and which they need to navigate their way through this crisis. For example, what is going on in *their* community; what are *local* authorities doing; what programs are available in *their* schools; what can *they* do, etc. I have increasingly come to believe that the lack of this sort of "personally relevant" information at a time of crisis increases public anxiety and contributes to the overall sense of things being out of control. We have begun to focus on this issue and have worked both in Haiti and last year in Pakistan to provide people with a steady stream of information they can use. We are using a wide array of communications tools to deliver these messages that allows the information to be delivered in a very granular ,local, personal way. The other benefit of this approach is that it helps balance the steady stream of gruesome news being put out by traditional media.
- Work with private sector in both Mexico and US to develop broad based PSA campaign to increase awareness of the initiative and maintain public support for the effort
- Increase awareness in Mexico of USG efforts to combat drug use in US

Keith has reached out to a number of his associates at BDA and unfortunately he has met with some resistance to BDA taking this project on. The personal safety issue seems to be the biggest concern. I do believe we will be able to overcome this to some degree and I have some ideas which we can discuss when we next speak. In the meantime I have reached out to Pat Mitchell of the Paley Center and she believes she will be able to help engage the US private sector once we have a plan of action in place.

Finally, with regard to next week's trip by S, Jim feels it might be better for me to come to Mexico sometime in late April rather than have it as part of next week's agenda. I am happy to do whatever works best for you. Keith is also prepared to come next week or in April. Just let us know.

Judth

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 10:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Tue Apr 06 21:11:38 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add Henry Kissinger

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 18, 2010 10:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Crowley

Spoke to Joe and he is on board and all set re IFI. One concern is that Trini Vargo (frmr EMK staffer) is trying to redirect money from IFI to her Irish Am Alliance for Mitchell scholarships. She will not succeed.

We'll work it out.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Fri Mar 05 07:25:55 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

Good work. Let me know if I need to do anything else.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Mar 04 19:08:52 2010
Subject: Expo Update

Just a quick note to tell you that we are moving forward on the Expo funding. ATT came in at $500k, McGraw Hill at $200k, Intel at $250k more, Delos Living (a Mantz client) $250k, and CITI at a minimum of $2M brings us down to $3.7M.

The following are on deck and likely to come in soon - Boeing (more), Carlyle, Blackstone, Alcoa, and AECOM. EB and I chatting with many others.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 7:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ignatius

You should definitely read Ignatius this morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 8:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) UK's Brown to miss Obama nuclear summit in D.C.

---

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: SES-O_Shift-II; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: Bitner, Steven R
**Sent**: Wed Apr 07 07:39:42 2010
**Subject**: (AP) UK's Brown to miss Obama nuclear summit in D.C.

LONDON (AP) - President Barack Obama's planned nuclear summit in Washington next week will go on without Britain's leader. British Prime Minister Gordon Brown has told Obama he'll be staying in London to concentrate on a hotly contested May election. Brown told Obama in a phone call that he will send Foreign Secretary David Miliband to represent Britain at the April 12-13 meeting. Obama is hosting dozens of world leaders to discuss the spread of atomic weapons and the threat of nuclear terrorism. Brown's Labour Party is seeking a fourth term in office but the opposition Conservatives are ahead in the polls and favored to take power for the first time since 1997.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 8:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Report: Kyrgyz protesters kill interior minister

---

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA
**Sent**: Wed Apr 07 08:27:49 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Report: Kyrgyz protesters kill interior minister

BISHKEK (AP) - An opposition member in Kyrgyzstan says a mob of angry protesters beat up the Central Asian nation's interior minister, who died shortly afterward. Opposition activist Shamil Murat told The Associated Press that he saw the dead body of Minister Moldomusa Kongatiyev in a government building in the western town of Talas. Murat said the protesters in Talas who seized a police headquarters on the second day of anti-government rallies beat up Kongatiyev and forced him to order his subordinates in the Kyrgyz capital of Bishkek to stop a crackdown on an opposition rally there. Police in Bishkek opened fire earlier April 7 on the protesters and an opposition leader said at least 17 were killed. Protesters in Bishkek also stormed the building of the state-owned television company.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 18, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

I had breakfast w/ Dan this morning, who weighed in strongly and to my mind compellingly [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 9:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Qatar

Just came in from ops. Will send more info as we get it.
The FAA Operations Center reports a Qatari passenger aboard United Airlines flight 663 attempted to light his shoes on fire and was detained by Federal Air Marshals. The flight was en route to Denver from Reagan National. FAA believes the man may have some diplomatic status.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 11:22 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Call when you awake re Qatari flyer

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 8, 2010 8:13 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case--[redacted] B6

FYI

**From**: Barnum, Forrest SL. <BarnumFSL@state.gov>
**To**: PA PRS Group
**Sent**: Thu Apr 08 07:58:02 2010
**Subject**: Sad News and a Question

Hello,

I'm in the Historian's Office,[redacted]. We were wondering what we should do if we receive media inquiries, we need to direct them elsewhere, as we don't want to speak for the department. Thanks for your assistance. B6

Regards,

**Forrest Barnum**
Student Historian
*U.S. Department of State*
*Bureau of Public Affairs*
*Office of the Historian*
Phone: (202) 663-1123
barnumfsl@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 11:01 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** WaPo

Wow, that was fast - and great

Don't worry about the reporter reading the quotes back to you, we're recording and he'll have the transcript shortly. I'm guessing we just caught him at a bad moment and he's not as flaky as he sounds

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines
Date: Sat, 6 Mar 2010 15:50:03
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Gentle reminder about the Bob Barnett profile he emailed you about. Story is being written by David Montgomery of the Washington Post, and is slated to run tomorrow - so we need to do this today, the earlier the better.

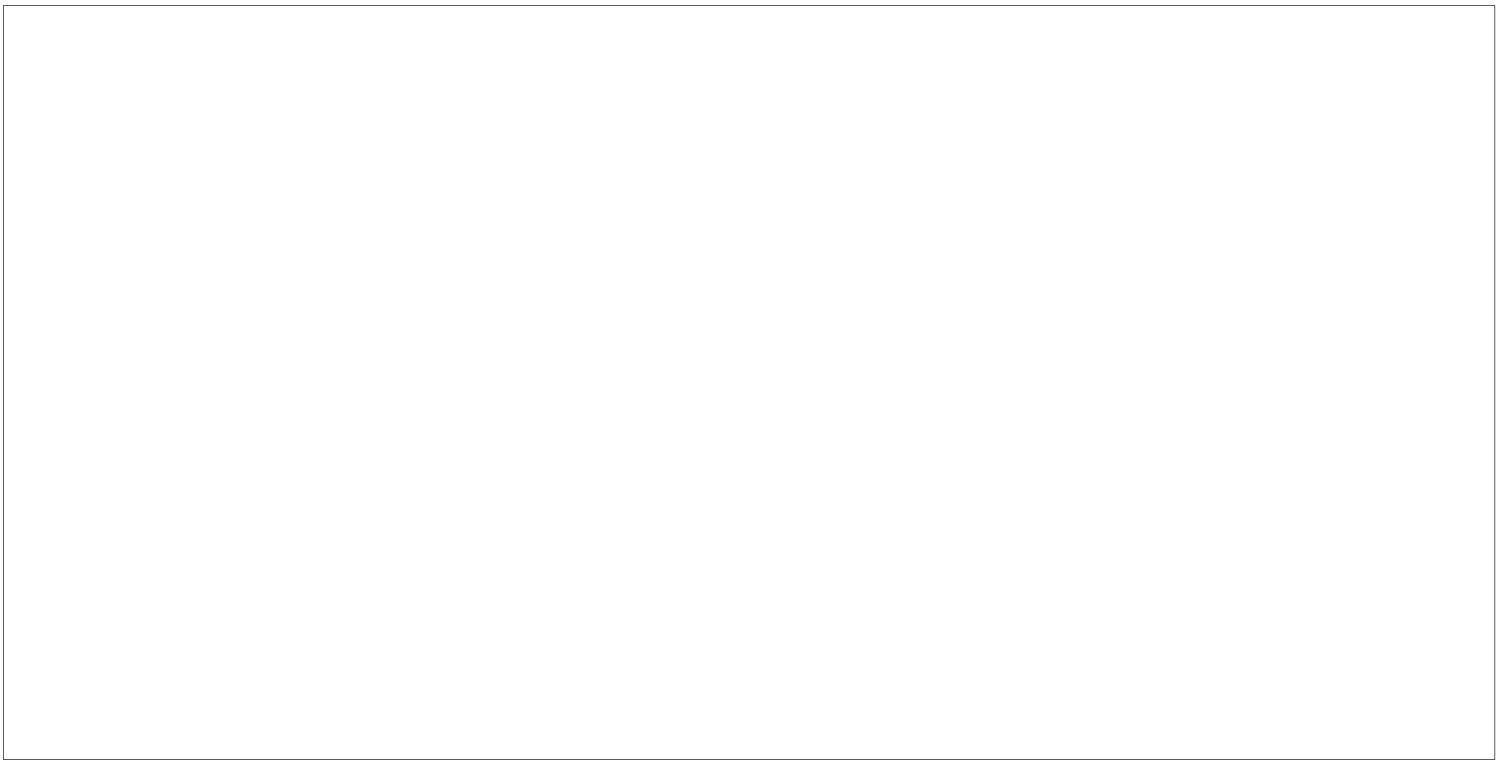
All you have to do is call into Ops when you're ready, they will connect you to the reporter (and add me in)

Here's the reporters description on the piece: "...a large profile of Bob Barnett for the Style section. I know Barnett has been a friend and counselor and campaign supporter over the years. I would like to ask Secretary Clinton her estimation of what makes Barnett good at what he does, what he has meant to her in the various ways he has worked for her over the years. And I would like to ask what she makes of how such a committed Democrat as Barnett is able to work so well in his professional life for noted Republicans on book projects and other work. (A theme of the piece is how some say Barnett harkens to a mythic time in Washington when players supposedly could more readily have relationships with other side, even while sticking to principles in their political work)"

You have talked about Bob many times, but general points:

B5

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 8, 2010 1:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia wants U.S. Kyrgyz base to close-offical

Fyi

---

**From**: Johnson, Andrew Kim
**To**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Thu Apr 08 11:38:51 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Russia wants U.S. Kyrgyz base to close-offical

PRAGUE (Reuters) - A senior Russian official said Kyrgyz President Bakiyev had not fulfilled a promise to close a U.S. air base in the Central Asian nation and suggested Moscow would urge its new leaders to do so. "In Kyrgyzstan there should be only one base - Russian," the official told reporters in Prague on condition of anonymity.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 11:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Yes - was more than ok

And you've read my mind, will make sure he sees

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 6 Mar 2010 11:00:29
To: 'preines [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Was that ok? Can you give transcript to Bob?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Mar 06 10:50:03 2010
Subject: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Gentle reminder about the Bob Barnett profile he emailed you about. Story is being written by David Montgomery of the Washington Post, and is slated to run tomorrow - so we need to do this today, the earlier the better.

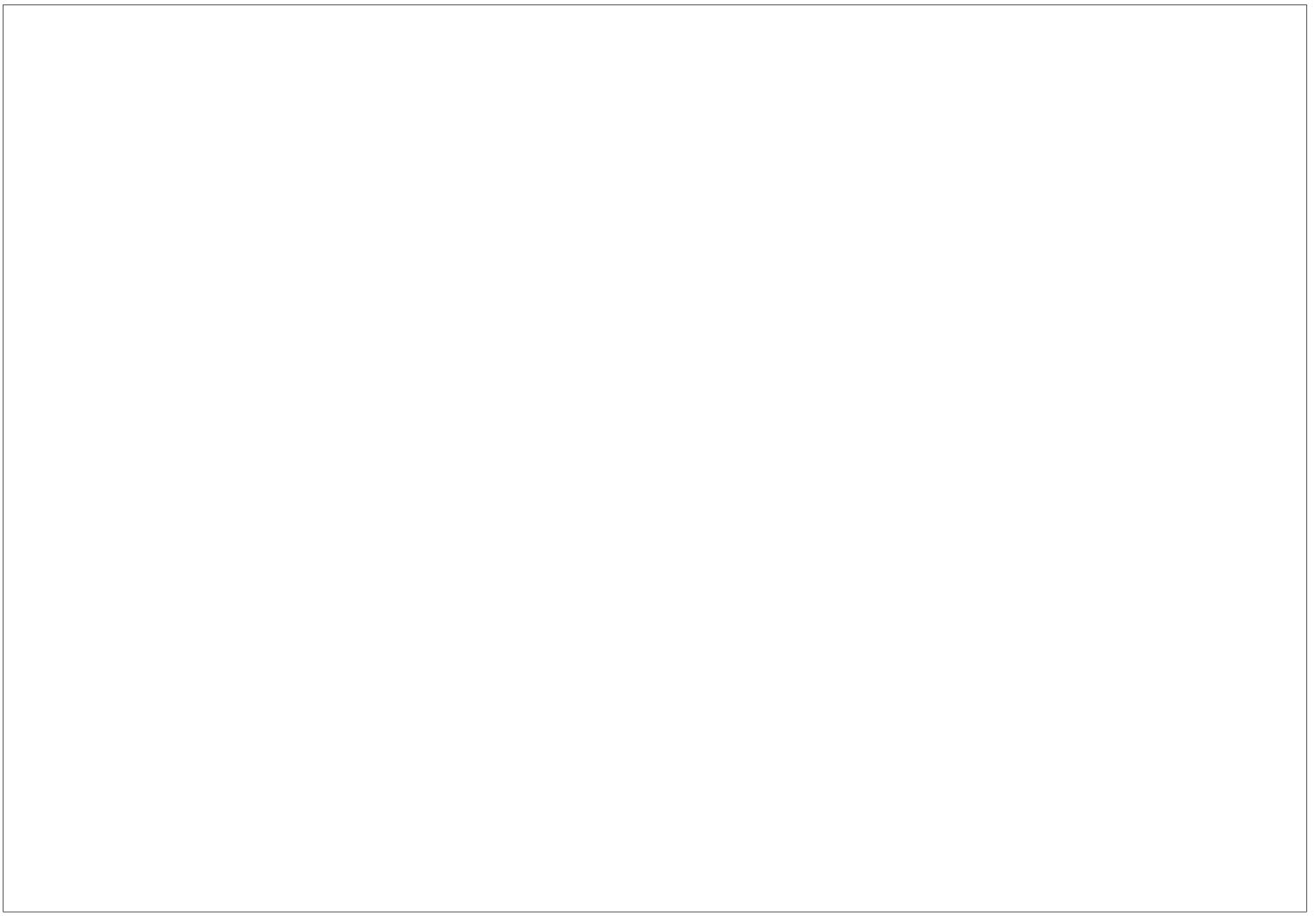
All you have to do is call into Ops when you're ready, they will connect you to the reporter (and add me in)

Here's the reporters description on the piece: "...a large profile of Bob Barnett for the Style section. I know Barnett has been a friend and counselor and campaign supporter over the years. I would like to ask Secretary Clinton her estimation of what makes Barnett good at what he does, what he has meant to her in the various ways he has worked for her over the years. And I would like to ask what she makes of how such a committed Democrat as Barnett is able to work so well in his professional life for noted Republicans on book projects and other work. (A theme of the piece is how some say Barnett harkens to a mythic time in Washington when players supposedly could more readily have relationships with other side, even while sticking to principles in their political work)"

You have talked about Bob many times, but general points:

[redacted] B5

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 19, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

I will be out of the office Wednesday March 17 through Friday March 19. I won't be carrying a blackberry and will have very little access to email. Please call me through ops if it is urgent. Otherwise, please email Mike Fuchs at fuchsmh@state.gov.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 8, 2010 4:23 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Verveer, Melanne S
**Subject:** recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

We all agree that there is a need to dramatically increase the awareness level of USG assistance efforts around the world. Following up on conversations with Melanne and others, I would like to suggest that we begin the effort by bringing together a small group of people from inside and outside government to help us think this through. USAID participation will be crucial. I'd be happy to organize this and/or co-host the event with you . Let me know what you think.

jm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 8, 2010 9:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Netanyahu cancels trip to Obama's nuclear summit

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**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: SES-O_Shift-III; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: Bitner, Steven R; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Thu Apr 08 17:27:02 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Netanyahu cancels trip to Obama's nuclear summit

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has cancelled a planned trip to Washington next week to take part in President Barack Obama's 47-country nuclear security summit conference. He made the decision after learning that Egypt and Turkey intended to raise the issue of Israel's presumed nuclear arsenal at the conference, a senior government official said. Israel is believed to the only nuclear-armed power in the Middle East but has never confirmed or denied that it possesses atomic weapons.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 1:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NI vote

Cool. Will tell Shaun.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop B6
Cc: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Sat, Mar 6, 2010 12:57 pm
Subject: NI vote

I've just talked w Empey, Robinson and McG and, as of today, the vote will be fine on the 9th and it's up to the UUP to decide if they want to remain relevant or not. Both Peter and Martin were positive so, unless a crisis erupts, all is well.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 6:54 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

Will do. This is such a critical (and frustrating) issue that I want to try and start moving forward on it as soon as we can. I know Raj wants to address this as well. I'd like to start off with a relatively small group of DoS and USAID reps, plus a group top private sector brand and other experts. For example, who is an incredible woman who is already helping me with youth engagement and who would be terrific for this. In addition I'd like to reach out to people in the NGO and think tank community so we can get a broad range of opinions. B6

Will keep you posted.

There is a difference of opinion within NEA that I am trying to sort out but I will have something to you by next early week. B5

Finally, as I think you know, B5 I am working on a memo for you and Jim outlining the details.

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 08, 2010 9:57 PM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: Re: recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

I agree this needs to be addressed. Just let me know how you decide to do so. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
Cc: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; DiMartino, Kitty <DiMartinoK@state.gov>; Douglas, Walter T <DouglasWT@state.gov>; Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 08 16:23:19 2010
Subject: recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

We all agree that there is a need to dramatically increase the awareness level of USG assistance efforts around the world. Following up on conversations with Melanne and others, I would like to suggest that we begin the effort by bringing together a small group of people from inside and outside government to help us think this through. USAID participation will be crucial. I'd be happy to organize this and/or co-host the event with you . Let me know what you think.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case--

Didn't rec name - will get

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Apr 09 07:35:46 2010
Subject: Re: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case--

B6

Who was it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 08 08:13:02 2010
Subject: FW: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case--

FYI

---

From: Barnum, Forrest SL. <BarnumFSL@state.gov>
To: PA PRS Group
Sent: Thu Apr 08 07:58:02 2010
Subject: Sad News and a Question

Hello,

I'm in the Historian's Office, We were wondering what we should do if we receive media inquiries, we need to direct them elsewhere, as we don't want to speak for the department. Thanks for your assistance.

Regards,

Forrest Barnum

Student Historian

U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of the Historian
Phone: (202) 663-1123

barnumfsl@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/9/10 Friday

10:40 am **ARRIVE** State Department

10:45 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **PREP CALL w/TBD** Secretary's Office

12:10 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route River Entrance, Pentagon

12:20 pm **ARRIVE** Pentagon

12:30 pm **SUNDAY SHOW TAPINGS w/DEFENSE SECRETARY GATES**
1:30 pm Secretary's Dining Room, 3E918

1:30 pm **DEPART** Pentagon *En route Andrews Air Force Base

1:55 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

2:00 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force Aircraft Tail #90404
En route Lexington, Kentucky

3:30 pm **ARRIVE** Louisville International Airport

3:35 pm **DEPART** Louisville International Airport
En route Papa John's Cardinal Stadium, University of Louisville

3:40 pm **ARRIVE** Papa John's Cardinal Stadium

3:45pm **SPEECH AT THE MCCONNELL CENTER, UNIV. OF LOUISVILLE**
5:20 pm Brown & Williamson Club *Papa John's Cardinal Stadium *Approx. 1100 ppl. attending.

5:25 pm **DEPART** University of Louisville
En route Louisville International Airport

5:30 pm **ARRIVE** Atlantic Aviation Terminal, Louisville International Airport

5:35 pm **DEPART** Louisville, Kentucky via Air Force Aircraft Tail #90404
En route White Plains, New York

7:05 pm **ARRIVE** Westchester County Airport, White Plains

7:15 pm **DEPART** Westchester County Airport *En route Private Residence

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 9:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Papendreaou just called back in. Is available for you when u want to call

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Passing of Dr. Peter Andrew Kraemer

Here he is.

**From:** McCrary, Larry R [mailto:McCraryLR@state.gov]
**Sent:** Thursday, April 08, 2010 2:58 PM
**To:** All - PA Bureau Users
**Subject:** Passing of Dr. Peter Andrew Kraemer

The Office of the Historian is saddened to announce the premature passing of Dr. Peter Andrew Kraemer on April 7, 2010.

Dr. Kraemer joined the office in August 2004 as a historian producing volumes in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, the official documentary history of U.S. foreign policy. He worked on volumes on South Asia, Eastern Europe, and national security policy. He regularly lectured in the Foreign Service Institute's A-100 orientation course for Foreign Service Officers. In November 2009, he made a video appearance on the Department's DipNote blog, where he spoke about the rise and fall of the Berlin Wall. In January 2009, he participated in an on-the-ground lessons learned project in Iraq, conducting oral history interviews on the nature of civil-military cooperation.

In addition to his work at the Office of the Historian, Dr. Kraemer was a Professorial Lecturer in History at The George Washington University, where he taught a course on the political, social, and cultural techniques that create historical narratives. In years past, he taught History and American Studies at Indiana University and Indiana University-Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; served as an editorial assistant at the *Journal of American History*; and worked as an oral historian at Indiana University's Oral History Research Center and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. He was an active member of a number of professional organizations, including the American Historian Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and the Society for History in the Federal Government.
Dr. Kraemer completed his Ph.D. in History and American Studies at Indiana University in 2004, where he wrote a dissertation entitled, "Germany is Whose Problem?: American Philanthropy and the German Question, 1944–1964." He took his M.A. in History from Indiana University and his B.A. in History and German at Dickinson College.

For condolences and information on memorial services and donations, please contact Forrest Barnum at the Office of the Historian at 202-663-1123.

Larry McCrary
Supervisory HR Specialist
PA/EX Room 2214
202-647-5400

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 5:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: BBC E-mail: Clinton scorns 'entrenched' Cuba

Fyi traffic

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Apr 10 05:21:07 2010
Subject: Re: BBC E-mail: Clinton scorns 'entrenched' Cuba

Well who would be quoted as saying that from USG side b/c none of us in there would have said this.

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Curtis, Meghann A
Sent: Sat Apr 10 01:57:11 2010
Subject: Fw: BBC E-mail: Clinton scorns 'entrenched' Cuba

The note in this article that we "didn't agree on very much" at the NY meeting is simply not true. I am not sure where that is coming from. We agreed to continue dialogue re health cooperation in Haiti which was the main point of the meeting.

----- Original Message -----
From: webmasters@bbc.co.uk <webmasters@bbc.co.uk>
To: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Sat Apr 10 01:33:14 2010
Subject: BBC E-mail: Clinton scorns 'entrenched' Cuba

Julissa saw this story on the BBC News website and thought you should see it.

** Clinton scorns 'entrenched' Cuba **
US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton accuses Cuba's leaders of not wanting to normalise ties with the United States.
< http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-/2/hi/americas/8612765.stm >

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 1:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** kyrgyzstan

B6

I don't know if you'll be speaking to Roza Otunboyeva, the interim leader in Kyrgyzstan, but if you do, it might be interesting to mention that you know of her commitment to microcredit. She was instrumental in bringing FINCA to Kyrgyzstan and when you made your trip there you saw what a difference it was making to lift up women and their families. She also was her country's head of delegation to Beijing. She was foreign minister at the time and made a strong statement about gender equality and the transformative power of microcredit. I think she had an overseas post when you visited Kyrgyz so I don't think you met her.

I know it's a very complicated situation there now with our use of the base in potential jeopardy, but I thought this info might be useful in some way.....assuming she manages to hold on.

I'm off to Lithuania, Russia and Egypt later today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 7:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Poland Sitrep

From Lee b/l

**From:** Rodriguez, Hugo F
**To:** SES_DutyDeputies; S; D(L); D(S); P_Officers; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent:** Sat Apr 10 06:57:48 2010
**Subject:** FW: Poland Sitrep

Colleagues, the latest from Amb. Feinstein of Embassy Warsaw. In short, the crash took the lives of many of Poland's senior civilian and military leadership; succession/transition will be the first major test of Poland's constitution. The speaker of the lower house of parliament, Bronislaw Komorowski, will temporarily assume the presidency. The constitution requires he call for presidential elections within 14 days and that elections take place within 60 days. An unofficial manifest is included. Rgds, H.

**From:** Feinstein, Lee
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 6:44 AM
**To:** Gordon, Philip H; 'Sherwood-Randall, Elizabeth D.'; Quanrud, Pamela G; 'Hovenier, Jeffrey M.'; Karagiannis, Alexander; Heidt, William A; Glantz, Mary E; Sainz, Francisco D; SES-O
**Subject:** Poland Sitrep

All,

This is going out as a cable momentarily. The main point is that the crash killed not only the President and his wife but a broad swath of Poland's top national security leadership. In this sense it is an unprecedented governmental tragedy, and a test of Poland's constitution. The sitrep follows.

Shortly before 1000 Warsaw time, a Polish government Tu-154 plane carrying a delegation headed by Polish President Lech Kaczynski crashed in heavy fog at the airport in Smolensk, Russia. Russian officials have told the press that there were no survivors; the foreign ministry spokesman said there were 88 passengers on board. The delegation was en route to ceremonies hosted by the Russian government to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Katyn massacres. There is as yet not government confirmation of the deaths, but there is no expectation of survivors.

Speaker of the Polish Sejm (the lower house of parliament) Bronislaw Komorowski is en route to Warsaw to take over the powers of the presidency and those of the Commander in Chief, according to press reports. According to the Polish constitution, if the president dies in office, the Speaker temporarily assumes the presidency, and has 14 days to announce the date of special presidential elections. The elections must be held within 60 days of his announcement. This is the first major test of the Polish constitution, and the government is itself sorting out the details of the procedure in this unprecedented circumstance.

Prime Minister Tusk is returning from Gdansk to Warsaw, and will chair a meeting of the Council of Ministers at 1P local time. Tusk has received condolence telephone calls from Russian Prime Minister Putin, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and other world leaders.

The magnitude of the loss is difficult to overstate including, in addition to the President and the First Lady, the top national security leadership of the Presidential Chancellery, the head of Poland's armed forces, all or nearly all of Poland's military chiefs, a deputy minister of defense, a deputy foreign minister, a presidential candidate, and members of Parliament. Crowds of people with candles and flowers have started to assemble in front of the presidential palace in downtown Warsaw. A mass in honor of those who died will be held later this afternoon. Poland is in shock and entering a period of deep national mourning.

Below is an unofficial and incomplete manifest of those who are on the plane. Among them are:

President Lech Kaczynski
First Lady Maria Kaczynska
Former President Ryszard Kaczorowski
Wladislaw Stasiak, Chief of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland
Aleksander Szczyglo, State Secretary, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Chief of the Office of National Security
GEN Franciszek Gagor, Chief of National Defense
Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Vice Speaker of the Sejm and Democratic Left Alliance Presidential Candidate
Andrzej Kremer, Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Stanislaw Komorwoski, Under Secretary of Defense, Ministry of Defense
Mariusz Handzlik, Under Secretary of State, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland
Slawomir Skrzypek, Chairman of the National Bank of Poland

## Lista osób na pokładzie Tupolewa

**Tragiczne informacje napływają ze Smoleńska, gdzie rozbił się rządowy samolot z prezydentem Lechem Kaczyńskim na pokładzie.**
Wraz z prezydentem na pokładzie samolotu było wiele najważniejszych osób w państwie polskim, między innymi: prezes NBP, wiceszef MSZ, wicemarszałek Sejmu Jerzy Szmajdziński, szef IPN, posłowie, biskupi, szef światowego związku AK.

Według programu Rady Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa, na liście pasażerów prezydenckiego samolotu TU-154 powinni znajdować się:

Lech Kaczyński

Maria Kaczyńska

DELEGACJA OFICJALNA

1. Pan Ryszard KACZOROWSKI b. Prezydent RP na Uchodźctwie

2. Pan Krzysztof PUTRA Wicemarszałek Sejmu RP

3. Pan Jerzy SZMAJDZIŃSKI Wicemarszałek Sejmu RP

4. Pani Krystyna BOCHENEK Wicemarszałek Senatu RP

5. Pan Jerzy BAHR Ambasador RP w Federacji Rosyjskiej 6. Pan Władysław STASIAK Szef Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

7. Pan Aleksander SZCZYGŁO Szef Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego

8. Pan Jacek SASIN Sekretarz Stanu, Zastępca Szefa Kancelarii Prezydenta RP 9. Pan Paweł WYPYCH Sekretarz Stanu w Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

10. Pan Mariusz HANDZLIK Podsekretarz Stanu w Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

11. Pan Andrzej KREMER Podsekretarz Stanu w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych

12. Pan Stanisław KOMOROWSKI Podsekretarz Stanu w MON

13. Pan Tomasz MERTA Podsekretarz Stanu w MKiDN

14. Gen. Franciszek GĄGOR Szef Sztabu Generalnego Wojska Polskiego

15. Pan Andrzej PRZEWOŹNIK Sekretarz ROPWiM

16. Pan Maciej PŁAŻYŃSKI Prezes Stowarzyszenia „Wspólnota Polska"

17. Pan Mariusz KAZANA Dyrektor Protokołu Dyplomatycznego MSZ

PRZEDSTAWICIELE PARLAMENTU RP

1. Pan Leszek DEPTUŁA Poseł na Sejm RP

2. Pan Grzegorz DOLNIAK Poseł na Sejm RP 3. Pani Grażyna GĘSICKA Poseł na Sejm RP

4. Pan Przemysław GOSIEWSKI Poseł na Sejm RP

5. Pan Sebastian KARPINIUK Poseł na Sejm RP

6. Pani Izabela JARUGA – NOWACKA Poseł na Sejm RP

7. Pan Zbigniew WASSERMANN Poseł na Sejm RP

8. Pani Aleksandra NATALLI – ŚWIAT Poseł na Sejm RP

10. Pan Arkadiusz RYBICKI Poseł na Sejm RP

11. Pani Jolanta SZYMANEK – DERESZ Poseł na Sejm RP

12. Pan Wiesław WODA Poseł na Sejm RP

13. Pan Edward WOJTAS Poseł na Sejm RP

14. Pani Janina FETLIŃSKA Senator RP

15. Pan Stanisław ZAJĄC Senator RP

OSOBY TOWARZYSZĄCE

1. Pan Janusz KOCHANOWSKI Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich

2. Pan Sławomir SKRZYPEK Prezes Narodowego Banku Polskiego

3. Pan Janusz KURTYKA Prezes Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej

4. Pan Janusz KRUPSKI Kierownik Urzędu do Spraw Kombatantów i Osób Represjonowanych

PRZEDSTAWICIELE KOŚCIOŁÓW I WYZNAŃ RELIGIJNYCH

1. Ks. Bp. gen. dyw. Tadeusz PŁOSKI Ordynariusz Polowy Wojska Polskiego

2. Abp gen. bryg. Miron CHODAKOWSKI Prawosławny Ordynariusz Wojska Polskiego

3. Ks. płk Adąm PILCH Ewangelickie Duszpasterstwo Polowe

4. Ks. ppłk Jan OSIŃSKI Ordynariat Polowy Wojska Polskiego

PRZEDSTAWICIELE RODZIN KATYŃSKICH I INNYCH STOWARZYSZEŃ

1. Pan Edward DUCHNOWSKI Sekretarz Generalny Związku Sybiraków

2. Ks. prałat Bronisław GOSTOMSKI

3. Ks. Józef JONIEC Prezes Stowarzyszenia Parafiada

4. Ks. Zdzisław KRÓL Kapelan Warszawskiej Rodziny Katyńskiej 1987-2007

5. Ks. Andrzej KWAŚNIK Kapelan Federacji Rodzin Katyńskich

6. Pan Tadeusz LUTOBORSKI

7. Pani Bożena ŁOJEK Prezes Polskiej Fundacji Katyńskiej

8. Pan Stefan MELAK Prezes Komitetu Katyńskiego

9. Pan Stanisław MIKKE Wiceprzewodniczący ROPWiM

10. Pani Bronisława ORAWIEC - LOFFLER

11. Pani Katarzyna PISKORSKA

12. Pan Andrzej SARIUSZ – SKĄPSKI Prezes Federacji Rodzin Katyńskich

13. Pan Wojciech SEWERYN

14. Pan Leszek SOLSKI

15. Pani Teresa WALEWSKA – PRZYJAŁKOWSKA Fundacja „Golgota Wschodu"

16. Pani Gabriela ZYCH

17. Pani Ewa BĄKOWSKA wnuczka Gen. bryg. Mieczysława Smorawińskiego

18. Pani Maria BOROWSKA

19. Pan Bartosz BOROWSKI

20. Pan Dariusz MALINOWSKI

PRZEDSTAWICIELE SIŁ ZBROJNYCH RP

1. Gen. broni Bronisław KWIATKOWSKI Dowódca Operacyjny Sił Zbrojnych RP

2. Gen. broni pil. Andrzej BŁASIK Dowódca Sił Powietrznych RP

3. Gen. dyw. Tadeusz BUK Dowódca Wojsk Lądowych RP

4. Gen. dyw. Włodzimierz POTASIŃSKI Dowódca Wojsk Specjalnych RP

5. Wiceadmirał Andrzej KARWETA Dowódca Marynarki Wojennej RP

6. Gen. bryg. Kazimierz GILARSKI Dowódca Garnizonu Warszawa

LEE FEINSTEIN
AMBASSADOR TO POLAND
+48 22 504-2900

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 9:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call time?

B/w noon and 1pm sun; also may call in one of windows today

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]<cheryl.mills[redacted] Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Sat Apr 10 08:49:21 2010
Subject: Call time?

I can talk today before 10:45 and tomorrow early am, btw 7-9 or from noon to 1 or after 6. What works for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Albright Call with Otunbayeva

Fyi -- not sure of timing of your call.

Terrible news about Poland.

I'm on the ground and reachable at your convenience.

---

**From**: Blake, Robert O
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Macmanus, Joseph E; Burns, William J; West, Thomas; Krol, George A; Hushek, Thomas J
**Sent**: Fri Apr 09 19:21:30 2010
**Subject**: Albright Call with Otunbayeva

Jake: Madeline Albright very kindly called to provide a readout of a call she had today with Roza Otunbayeva, the head of the Kryrgystan provisional administration. She characterized it as a good call. Otunbayeva was pleased to talk, said she wants to restore democracy to Kyrgystan and have a government that is responsible to the people. She said she personally wants to have a "high reputation" as a result of her democracy efforts. MKA offered NDI's full assistance in organizing the elections Otunbayeva has pledged to hold in six months. Otunbayeva expressed her appreciation, but did not make any specific requests. Interestingly, Otunbayeva volunteered that Kyrgystan would keep Manas open. That is more forward leaning than what she told our Charge yesterday; she told him that they would need to review the Manas agreement but would keep it open pending that review. I thanked MKA for the readout and promised to pass it on to you. A memo and call sheet will be on its way shortly to the Secretary for her to call Otunbayeva tomorrow. Best, Bob

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 9:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: UPDATE: Cuba leaders 'do not want' normal ties with US: Clinton

Perhaps my Cuba question from last night was ill-timed!

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Apr 09 21:54:16 2010
Subject: Fw: UPDATE: Cuba leaders 'do not want' normal ties with US: Clinton

updated

----- Original Message -----
From: membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com <membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com>
To: southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com
<southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com>
Sent: Fri Apr 09 21:48:21 2010
Subject: UPDATE: Cuba leaders 'do not want' normal ties with US: Clinton

Cuba leaders 'do not want' normal ties with US: Clinton

WASHINGTON, April 10, 2010 (AFP) - Cuba's leadership does not want to normalize ties with Washington because they would "lose their excuses" for the country's economic stagnation, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said Friday.

The United States maintains a decades-old trade embargo on the Americas' only one-party Communist regime, but President Barack Obama took office last year offering to improve ties if President Raul Castro improved human rights.

Clinton however blamed Castro and his brother Fidel -- Cuba's leader from 1959 to 2008 -- for undermining Washington's bid to improve relations.

Despite US efforts to "enhance cooperation," Clinton said that the Castro brothers "do not want to see an end to the embargo and do not want to see normalization with the United States because they would then lose all their excuses for what hasn't happened in Cuba in the last 50 years," Clinton said.

"I find that very sad, because there should be an opportunity for a transition" to democracy in Cuba," said Clinton, who was answering a student's question during a visit to the University of Louisville in the state of Kentucky.

"The people of Cuba should have democratically elected leaders and a chance to chart their own future. But unfortunately, I don't see that happening while the Castros are still in charge," the top US diplomat said.

Raul Castro officially became president in 2008 after his older brother was sidelined with serious health problems. However Fidel, now 83, remains enormously influential in Cuban affairs.

Clinton also noted what she said was a growing acknowledgment from the international community that Havana was cracking down on human rights.

"For the first time, a lot of countries that had done nothing but berate the United States for our failure to be more open to Cuba have now started criticizing Cuba because they let people die," she said.

"Many in the world are now seeing what we have seen for a long time, which is a very intransigent, entrenched regime that has stifled the opportunity for the Cuban people."

A leading political prisoner, Orlando Zapata, died in hospital February 23 after 85 days into a hunger strike protesting Cuban prison conditions.

Two other Cuban dissidents -- cyber journalist Guillermo Farinas and doctor Darsi Ferrer -- are currently engaged in hunger strikes demanding improved conditions.

According to the Cuban Commission on Human Rights (CCDHRN), an illegal but tolerated group on the island, there are some 200 political prisoners in Cuba.

Raul Castro on April 4 vowed never to give in to the dissidents' demands, calling it "blackmail" organized by the United States and Europe.

The Cuban president charged the United States and Europe with waging "an unprecedented publicity war" against Havana allegedly supported by "major Western media."

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www.sosiltd.com

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 9:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Sign off

U ok with statement?

Statement by the Secretary

The Death of Polish President Kaczynski and His Delegation

I join President Obama in offering my deepest condolences to the people of Poland, to the Kaczynski family, and to the families of all those killed in this tragedy. Lost alongside President Kaczynski and his wife were Polish leaders from across the political spectrum, men and women who shaped and sped Poland's post-1989 democratic transformation and were leading Poland into its promising future. The tragedy of these lives cut short will be felt deeply across the world, but their legacy will live on in a free and flourishing Poland.

The United States stands with the Polish people in this difficult hour. Like the country he led, President Kaczynski was one of America's most valued and trusted allies. He was well known in the United States as a champion for democracy against an oppressive regime, a man whose journey took him from the Gdańsk Shipyards to the presidency of a free people. President Kaczynski was an unstinting advocate for freedom and human rights not just in Poland, but around the world. He will be long remembered and sorely missed.

The Polish people have endured more than their share of sorrow, but they have always shown resilience and resolve in the face of adversity -- and I know they will pull together in solidarity to grieve this loss.

My thoughts and prayers are with all the people of Poland today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 10:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sign off

Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Apr 10 10:09:05 2010
Subject: Re: Sign off

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 10 09:50:59 2010
Subject: Sign off

U ok with statement?

Statement by the Secretary

The Death of Polish President Kaczynski and His Delegation

I join President Obama in offering my deepest condolences to the people of Poland, to the Kaczynski family, and to the families of all those killed in this tragedy. Lost alongside President Kaczynski and his wife were Polish leaders from across the political spectrum, men and women who shaped and sped Poland's post-1989 democratic transformation and were leading Poland into its promising future. The tragedy of these lives cut short will be felt deeply across the world, but their legacy will live on in a free and flourishing Poland.

The United States stands with the Polish people in this difficult hour. Like the country he led, President Kaczynski was one of America's most valued and trusted allies. He was well known in the United States as a champion for democracy against an oppressive regime, a man whose journey took him from the Gdańsk Shipyards to the presidency of a free people. President Kaczynski was an unstinting advocate for freedom and human rights not just in Poland, but around the world. He will be long remembered and sorely missed.

The Polish people have endured more than their share of sorrow, but they have always shown resilience and resolve in the face of adversity -- and I know they will pull together in solidarity to grieve this loss.

My thoughts and prayers are with all the people of Poland today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 1:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by

See below. Meeting with embassy folks now -- will report on that and dinner later.

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**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Singh, Vikram J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat Apr 10 08:59:21 2010
**Subject:** Fw: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by

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**From:** >
**To:** Eikenberry, Karl W; Ricciardone, Francis J; Holbrooke, Richard
**Sent:** Fri Apr 09 09:02:14 2010
**Subject:** IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by

*Karl, Frank, Richard,*

**I hope in the next few days we can focus on some of the themes in the following:**

1. On 9 April, I had lunch in Kabul with expert on Afghanistan now based at was on his way back to Washington via a meeting in Paris with the French Political Director. He had just spend three weeks in Kandahar and Gardez, his first visit since August last year. He came across as patriotic, but deeply worried, speaking in a monologue, mostly in French. B6

OVERALL SITUATION

2. said that his assessment was that the overall situation had deteriorated sharply since his last visit. The Taliban were stronger, and more confident, than ever. ISAF was inflicting heavy losses on them, but the scale was as nothing compared with what the *mujahideen* had endured at the hands of the Russians. Moreover, the change in rules of engagement – to prevent civilian casualties, and fewer night raids – had been interpreted by the Taliban as signalling weakness on NATO's part. In view, most of the East, and Kunduz, was effectively lost to the Taliban and their fellow travellers. US forces in the East controlled the ground they occupied or passed over, but little more: they were in a similar position to the Soviet Army. Moreover, the population did not want to back them, and was resisting US attempts to set up tribal militias or implant US Special Forces in the villages. did, however, acknowledge that he had heard that the US Marines in Helmand were behaving much more sensitively towards the population than had been expected. But the situation in Marjah was not good. Of course, the Marines held the ground, but violence would continue for months or years. This did not offer the positive signal of momentum for which the Coalition had been hoping.

KANDAHAR

3. [redacted] said repeatedly that he did not understand the strategy in Kandahar. The Taliban had effectively penetrated, and largely controlled, a city of one million people. The ANP there were largely Barakzai, and working for either or both of the Taliban or Ahmed Wali Karzai's network. AWK was at the centre of a vast criminal enterprise: his brother-in-law was one of the largest drug traffickers in the south. When I said that surely ISAF could gradually occupy the city, squeezing the Taliban back and out, [redacted] said he was not certain of that: he thought that there might well be quite violent resistance from the Taliban. He was also dismissive of the ISAF strategy of "managing" AWK: if the latter really did abandon his criminal ways, he would be dead. He would lose the protection of his militias. In such situations, one could only move forward, or go into prison or exile: there was no going back. AWK had just too many enemies to survive in Kandahar without the protection of his own criminal networks. [redacted] guess was that AWK would promise to be good, but in reality stick to his old habits, and hope to profit from the action taken by ISAF against the Taliban. [redacted] was dismissive of efforts to empower Governor Weesa, who would not survive five minutes in Kandahar without Western support and protection. Although Weesa came from the area, he had no power base, and, with his Canadian nationality, was regarded by the Kandaharis as a foreigner.

4. [redacted] was also sceptical as to whether ISAF could "shura" its way to success in Kandahar. On the military side, he thought ISAF just couldn't generate the force densities necessary to control the city: for example, he thought the Argandab would require getting on for 15,000 troops to control it properly. The city of Kandahar would require some 10,000 fresh police, who were just not available. B6

NEXT STEPS

5. [redacted] said he was worried about where the coalition was heading. The best that could be expected was a messy stalemate in Kandahar, but the probability was, by the early autumn, an outcome that would not look at all like success. [redacted] wondered whether ISAF really did need to go ahead with its plan to take Kandahar: in [redacted] view, he was riding for a fall. I said that I did not see how we could pull back now. The planners were well aware of the risks, but wanted to generate positive momentum to enable a political process to take hold.

MAKING PEACE

6. [redacted] said that, in his view, the only way out now was a negotiated peace with the Taliban and all the other parties to the conflict. He thought that Pakistan would need to help Karzai and the Americans open such a dialogue with the Taliban, but, sooner or later, both Pakistan and Karzai would need to be moved to one side, and there would need to be direct talks between the Americans and the Taliban. The Taliban would not make a final peace with Karzai, who had little credibility left. Similarly, the senior Taliban leaders would need to be brought across the border into Afghanistan, to get them out from under the control of the ISI. All this would need deception and trickery: for the first time in his career, [redacted] could see that diplomats were needed, in this case to finesse a delicate process, involving multiple negotiations. Karzai would have to eased out, but gently and with plenty of public respect.

7. [redacted] said that there would need to be a cease-fire, and wondered why ISAF couldn't occupy the high ground by being the first to offer such a move. There would also have to be frank discussions about the withdrawal of foreign forces.

8. [redacted] said that his main worry was that the Obama Administration would waste another year ploughing on with a military campaign which could deliver stalemate at best, and a serious reverse at worst. Then, with the 2011-12 Presidential election campaign getting going, the White House would panic, handing the problem to Pakistan, and pull US troops out more quickly than the situation

merited. It was vital to get ahead of the curve, and start making preparations now for a messy political process that could last months or years.

9. [redacted] said that he had known from 2001 that the Western intervention in Afghanistan had been fraught with danger. He had suspected then, and knew even more strongly now, that the Taliban could not be defeated or even properly contained by military means. Once again, he was sick with worry at the way things were going. He had thought that the Obama Administration had understood that the solutions in Afghanistan were political, not military. He was trying to think how he and other concerned experts could shock the Administration in getting a political grip on the situation: he was considering a joint op-ed by a group of experts. The seriousness of the situation meant that such an article would have to concentrate on essentials: much of the talk about counter-insurgency (in what was an Afghan civil war) and development and governance was no more than "poetry".

10. I pointed out to [redacted] the political difficulties for the US and other Western governments in negotiating direct with the Taliban. Although the principle of a negotiated peace was accepted, more or less, in Washington and London, there was a long way to go before politicians fully addressed what that might involve. Hence the argument that we needed first to get on the front foot militarily. It would help if the Taliban could be pinned down on politically neuralgic issues, such as women's rights and social restrictions. [redacted] said that, in a serious negotiation, he thought such undertakings could be extracted from the Taliban: again, however, the sooner work started on that, the more chance of a satisfactory result. B6

11. I told [redacted] that much of this thinking coincided with the views expressed by the Foreign Secretary in his article in *The New York Review of Books* of 29 April 2010 [redacted] had missed the MIT speech, as he had been in Kandahar). The UK election campaign meant that there was little that could be done over the next few weeks, apart from making sure that incoming or returning Ministers had the best possible advice. After the election, there was clearly a case for a good strategic discussion between the British Prime Minister and the American President: we all needed to raise our eyes from the urgent tactical preoccupations in the south to the really important strategic issues, of harvesting political success from military progress.

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Do you have mail address

BlakeR2@State.gov

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Apr 10 13:56:21 2010
Subject: Do you have mail address

For Asst. Sec. Bob Blake?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 11, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Kyrgyz leader: no guarantees for ousted ruler

Fyi

---

**From**: Shelstad, Jeffrey
**To**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Sun Apr 11 08:34:32 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Kyrgyz leader: no guarantees for ousted ruler

BISHKEK - (AP) The head of Kyrgyzstan's interim government, Roza Otunbayeva, said the deposed president must face trial, rescinding an earlier offer of security guarantees for him. Otunbayeva and others had earlier offered ousted President Bakiyev a safe passage out of the country if he resigned voluntarily. Bakiyev, speaking to Russian media from his home Jalal-Abad region in southern Kyrgyzstan, urged the United Nations to send peacekeepers to Kyrgyzstan to prevent unrest from spreading.

**Jeff Shelstad**
**Watch Officer**
**Department of State Operations Center (S/ES-O)**
**ShelstadJ@state.gov (202) 647-1512**

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 3:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

Peres said something similiar recently. Let me track down.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Mar 19 20:04:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Mar 18 15:51:49 2010
Subject: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

I had breakfast w/ Dan this morning, who weighed in strongly and to my mind compellingly for

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 11, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Israel update

See below from Mitchell. Will send an email with thoughts on Kabul later tonight.

The following is a summary [redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/11/2030

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 11, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Boeing

FYI - Boeing has made a significant number of military sales to European countries. Can get you more details.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 11, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Frank Views: QDDR -- Prevention and Complex Crisis Response

Fyi

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sun Apr 11 13:37:48 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Frank Views: QDDR -- Prevention and Complex Crisis Response

Cheryl -- I think u shd see this too.

---

**From:** Schwartz, Eric P
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Apr 11 13:31:11 2010
**Subject:** Frank Views: QDDR -- Prevention and Complex Crisis Response

Dear Jack, Anne-Marie and Jim:

Without prejudice to the deliberative process now underway, I owe you my unvarnished and very frank views on the QDDR process -- and how the U.S. Government must best organize itself to anticipate and respond effectively to crisis and conflicts. The stakes are huge, and because we are at the point where the working group I co-chair on this issue has to generate recommendations, this is the time for me to offer some basic perspectives directly to you -- informed by my experiences working on these issues at the NSC, at State, at the United Nations and in the NGO community, as well as writing and teaching about them over the course of the last decade. The QDDR process itself has also impacted my perspectives and, more importantly, raised serious concerns for me about mistakes we must avoid.

I also realize that current bureaucratic and political realities may impose limitations (or compel adjustments) to the kinds of organizational arrangements we might make. But the starting point for me is what makes the most sense.

My propositions:

B5

B5

B5

Best,
Eric

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 11, 2010 11:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: SMS Gateway Success

Fyi

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat Apr 10 16:27:16 2010
**Subject:** Fw: SMS Gateway Success

In the midst of all that isn't working with the Sudanese elections we rammed through an election monitoring tip-line system over the last 3 weeks. More great work from Katie Stanton. She's a star.

---

**From:** Stanton, Katie
**To:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Sat Apr 10 15:46:26 2010
**Subject:** Fw: SMS Gateway Success

Giddy up

---

**From:** Fareed Zein [redacted] B6
**To:** Stanton, Katie; sawsanhassan1 [redacted] <sawsanhassan1 [redacted]>; eiman.zein-elabdin [redacted]
<eiman.zein-elabdin [redacted]>; patrick [redacted] <patrick [redacted]; katiestanton [redacted]
<katiestanton [redacted]>; Amin Abdelrahim Oshi [redacted]; Rene Simons
[redacted]>; Selvam Velmurugan [redacted]; Casper de Villiers
[redacted]
**Sent:** Sat Apr 10 15:31:44 2010
**Subject:** Re: SMS Gateway Success

Team,
We have great news to report. We have just succeeded in completing end to end testing of SMS messaging using the two short codes Zain has provided through our Sudan Vote Monitor system.

So at this point all systems are GO for tomorrow's start of voting.
This was done through an incredible collaboration. My sincere thanks to Katie and Sawsan who made all this possible, Casper and the great flexibility of Clickatell, my own team Amin in Khartoum, Selvam in Seattle, Rene in Houston, and our Director Eiman in Lancaster.
Great effort everyone, now the real work begins!

All the Best,

Fareed

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Oscar Flores
**Subject:** Abu Mazen

I understand you are ok making the abu mazen call. Everyone agrees you should make it and they want you to do it today. Can you do after marianne?

Below are points.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 12, 2010 9:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Northern Ireland picks justice minister in peace landmark

**From**: O'Neill, Douglas S
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Mon Apr 12 09:15:05 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Northern Ireland picks justice minister in peace landmark

BELFAST - (AP) Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant lawmakers have appointed their first justice minister, a power-sharing landmark that IRA dissidents protested by bombing the local base of Britain's spy agency MI5. David Ford received support in the Northern Ireland Assembly from both the Protestants of the Democratic Unionists and the Catholics of Sinn Fein, who jointly lead the province's three-year-old administration. The Democratic Unionists and Sinn Fein spent years negotiating terms for receiving control of Northern Ireland's justice system from Britain. Their compromise candidate, Ford, leads a small party called Alliance that seeks votes equally from both sides of the community. Ford denounced Monday's bombing, in which no one was injured, as pointless.

*Doug O'Neill*
*Watch Officer*
*Operations Center*
*Department of State*
*(202) 647-1512*

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Oh I apologize. Jake said he spoke with you about it and that you'd agreed to do it if mitchell recommended it. He does recommend it, these are points from him about what to say. And they asked if you would do today.
Ill follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:26:34 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Not until I have a report from Mitchell. No one asked mer to call and I don't know what I'd say.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:25:37 2010
Subject: Abu Mazen

I understand you are ok making the abu mazen call. Everyone agrees you should make it and they want you to do it today. Can you do after marianne?

Below are points.

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

They are in the original email I sent and pasting again below. Oscar should have printed.

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:32:21 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Where are points? Jake did mention it, but I didn't know there was a decision.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:31:31 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Oh I apologize. Jake said he spoke with you about it and that you'd agreed to do it if mitchell recommended it. He does recommend it, these are points from him about what to say. And they asked if you would do today.
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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:26:34 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

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----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:25:37 2010
Subject: Abu Mazen

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Below are points.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 12, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** great picture on the front page of the NYT!

I hope you are having someone keep a scrapbook!

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 12, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: HRC meeting with the IMF?

RELEASE IN FULL

See below – thoughts.

---

**From:** Radelet, Steven C
**Sent:** Monday, April 12, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** HRC meeting with the IMF?

Cheryl, Jake,

I received a call from Masood Ahmed, Director of the Middle East Department at the IMF. Apparently at the Haiti meeting in NYC, the Secretary had a conversation with IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn in which she expressed an interest in meeting with him to discuss the IMF's work in Haiti and other places.

A few weeks earlier, apparently she talked briefly with Mr. Ahmed at a meeting about Pakistan, and also expressed an interest in meeting with the IMF to discuss their work.

The Managing Director would be very happy to meet with her. But I think they wanted to know whether she was really interested in meeting, or whether she was being diplomatic and polite. For what it's worth, I think a meeting could be very useful. Someone from Treasury would want to sit in.

How should I respond to them?

Thanks.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 12:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Yup. Already did that.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 12:25:27 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

I meant after 1:30. Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:34:47 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

They are in the original email I sent and pasting again below. Oscar should have printed.

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:32:21 2010

Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Where are points? Jake did mention it, but I didn't know there was a decision.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:31:31 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Oh I apologize. Jake said he spoke with you about it and that you'd agreed to do it if mitchell recommended it. He does recommend it, these are points from him about what to say. And they asked if you would do today.
Ill follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:26:34 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Not until I have a report from Mitchell. No one asked mer to call and I don't know what I'd say.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:25:37 2010
Subject: Abu Mazen

I understand you are ok making the abu mazen call. Everyone agrees you should make it and they want you to do it today. Can you do after marianne?

Below are points.

B5

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 7:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/13/10 Tuesday

8:00 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route Washington Convention Center

8:20 am **ARRIVE** Washington Convention Center

8:30 am **BILATERAL w/PM HSIEN LOONG LEE, SINGAPORE**

8:45 am S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

9:00 am **BILATERAL w/FM MOURAD MEDELCI, ALGERIA**

9:15 am S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

9:30 am **MORNING SESSION OF THE NUCLEAR SECURITY SUMMIT**

11:30 am Plenary Room, Washington Convention Center

10:00 am **BILATERAL w/TURKISH FM DAVUTOGLU**

10:30 am S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

10:45 am **BILATERAL w/EGYPTIAN FM ABOUL GHEIT**

11:15 am S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

11:15 am **BILATERAL w/FM TAIEB FASSI-FIHRI, MOROCCO**

11:30 am S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

11:40 am **BILATERAL w/FOREIGN MINISTER KASIT, THAILAND**

12:00 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

12:00 pm **CO-HOST WORKING LUNCH w/ENERGY SEC'Y CHU FOR MEMBERS**

1:10 pm **OF DELEGATIONS** Dining Room, Washington Convention Center

1:15 pm **PLUTONIUM DISPOSITION AGREEMENT SIGNING w/RUSSIAN FM**

1:30 pm **SERGEY LAVROV** Room 147A, Press Bfg Rm 2, Washington Convention Ctr.

1:30 pm **POTUS PULL ASIDE w/ PRIME MINISTER ERDOGAN, TURKEY**

1:45 pm Miniature Bilateral Room A, Outside of Plenary Session

Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

2:00 pm **AFTERNOON PLENARY SESSION OF THE NUCLEAR SECURITY**

4:00 pm **SUMMIT** Plenary Room, Washington Convention Center

2:30 pm **BILATERAL w/CHILEAN FM MORENO**

3:00 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

3:15 pm **BILATERAL w/BRAZILIAN FM AMORIM**

3:45 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

4:00 pm **BILATERAL w/PRIME MINISTER DUNG, VIETNAM**

4:30 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

4:45 pm **BILATERAL w/PRESIDENT SARGSIAN, ARMENIA**

5:15 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

5:30 pm **ONE-ON-ONE PULL-ASIDE w/FOREIGN SEC'Y DAVID MILIBAND**

5:45 pm S Bilateral Room 148, Washington Convention Ctr *Camera spray at top.

6:00 pm **POTUS BILATERAL w/GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL**

6:30 pm Room 152A, Washington Convention Center *Camera spray at top.

6:35pm (t) **DEPART** Washington Convention Center *En route Four Seasons Hotel

6:55 pm **ARRIVE** Four Seasons Hotel

7:00 pm **BILATERAL w/PAKISTANI PRIME MINISTER GILANI**

7:45 pm Room 476, Fourth Floor, Four Seasons Hotel *Camera spray at top.

7:50 pm **DEPART** Four Seasons Hotel *En route Private Residence

8:00 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**

12:00 pm **HEADS OF DELEGATION LUNCHEON**

1:30 pm Leaders Dining Room

4:30 pm **POTUS PRESS CONFERENCE**

5:00 pm Press Room, Washington Convention Center

5:00 pm **NUCLEAR SECURITY SUMMIT CLOSING RECEPTION**

6:00 pm Room Tbd, Washington Convention Center

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cuba

FYI see below - first time since 1968 that they've allowed privatization in the retail sector.

EXCLUSIVE - Cuba handing beauty, barber shops over to workers

Mon Apr 12, 2010 11:05pm IST

By Marc Frank

HAVANA (Reuters) - Communist Cuba is turning over hundreds of state-run barber shops and beauty salons to employees across the country in what appears to be the start of a long-expected revamping of state retail services by President Raul Castro.The measure marks the first time state-run, retail-level establishments have been handed over to employees since they were nationalized in 1968.Barbers and hair dressers in telephone interviews from a number of cities during the weekend said they would now rent the space where they work and pay taxes instead of receiving a monthly wage.Those employees who do not wish to rent are being offered other jobs or retirement

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Bomb defused in N.Ireland as dissidents step up attacks

**From**: Johnson, Andrew Kim
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Tue Apr 13 18:09:01 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Bomb defused in N.Ireland as dissidents step up attacks

BELFAST (Reuters) - A car bomb planted outside a Northern Ireland police station by dissident republicans was defused, police said, a day after a bomb exploded near the headquarters of the British intelligence services. In a call to local media, the Continuity IRA, which last year killed a police officer in the bloodiest three days in Northern Ireland for more than a decade, claimed responsibility for planting the bomb in the county of Armagh.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi. sid

H: Uri Avnery, the Israeli analyst and activist, is privately circulating this analysis today. One consequence: Petraeus cannot run as a Republican. At least Putin didn't bring his big dogs in with him like he did with Merkel. Cheers, Sid

**Uri Avnery**
**20.3.10**

## The Doomsday Weapon

**IT IS already a commonplace to say that people who don't learn from history are condemned to repeat their mistakes.**

**Some 1942 years ago, the Jews in the province called Palaestina launched a revolt against the Roman Empire. In retrospect, this looks like an act of madness. Palestine was a small and insignificant part of the world-wide empire which had just won a crushing victory against the rival power – the Parthian Empire (Persia) – and put down a major rebellion in Britain. What chances could the Jewish revolt have?**

**God knows what was going on in the mind of the "Zealots". They eliminated the moderate leaders, who warned against provoking the empire, and gained sway over the Jewish population of the country. They relied on God. Perhaps they also relied on the Jews in Rome and believed that their influence over the Senate would restrain the Emperor, Nero. Perhaps they had heard that Nero was weak and about to fall.**

**We know how it ended: after three years, the rebels were crushed, Jerusalem fell and the temple was burned down. The last of the Zealots committed suicide in Masada.**

**The Zionists did indeed try to learn from history. They acted in a rational way, did not provoke the great powers, endeavored in every situation to attain what was possible. They accepted compromises, and every compromise served them as a basis for the next surge forward. They cleverly utilized the radical stance of their adversaries and gained the sympathy of the whole world.**

**But since the beginning of the occupation, their mind has become clouded. The cult of Masada has become dominant. Divine promises once again start to play a role in public discourse. Large parts of the public are following the new zealots.**

**The next phase is also repeating itself: the leaders of Israel are starting a rebellion against the new Rome.**

**WHAT BEGAN as an insult to the Vice President of the United States is developing into something far bigger. The mouse has given birth to an elephant.**

Lately, the ultra-right government in Jerusalem has started to treat President Barack Obama with thinly veiled contempt. The fears that arose in Jerusalem at the beginning of his term have dissipated. Obama looks to them like a paper black panther. He gave up his demand for a real settlement freeze. Every time he was spat on, he remarked that it was raining.

Yet now, ostensibly quite suddenly, the measure is full. Obama, his Vice President and his senior assistants condemn the Netanyahu government with growing severity. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has submitted an ultimatum: Netanyahu must stop all settlement activity, East Jerusalem included; he must agree to negotiate about all core problems of the conflict, including East Jerusalem, and more.

The surprise was complete. Obama, it seems, has crossed the Rubicon, much as the Egyptian army had crossed the Suez Canal in 1973. Netanyahu gave the order to mobilize all the reserves in America and to move forward all the diplomatic tanks. All Jewish organizations in the US were commanded to join the campaign. AIPAC blew the shofar and ordered its soldiers, the Senators and Congressmen, to storm the White House.

It seems that the decisive battle has been joined. The Israeli leaders were certain that Obama would be defeated.

And then an unusual noise was heard: the sound of the doomsday weapon.

THE MAN who decided to activate it was a foe of a new kind.

David Petraeus is the most popular officer of the United States army. The four-star general, son of a Dutch sea captain who went to America when his country was overrun by the Nazis, stood out from early childhood. In West Point he was a "distinguished cadet", in Army Command and General Staff College he was No. 1. As a combat commander, he reaped plaudits. He wrote his doctoral thesis (on the lessons of Vietnam) at Princeton and served as an assistant professor for international relations in the US Military Academy.

He made his mark in Iraq, when he commanded the forces in Mosul, the most problematical city in the country. He concluded that in order to vanquish the enemies of the US he must win over the hearts of the civilian population, acquire local allies and spend more money than ammunition. The locals called him King David. His success was considered so outstanding that his methods were adopted as the official doctrine of the American army.

His star rose rapidly. He was appointed commander of the coalition forces in Iraq and soon became the chief of the Central Command of the US army, which covers the whole Middle East , except Israel and Palestine (which "belong" to the American command in Europe).

When such a person raises his voice, the American people listen. As a respected military thinker, he has no rivals.

THIS WEEK, Petraeus conveyed an unequivocal message: after reviewing the problems in his AOR (Area Of Responsibility) – which includes, among others, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Yemen – he turned to what he called the "root causes of instability" in the region. The list was topped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In his report to the Armed Services Committee he stated: "The enduring hostilities between Israel and some of its neighbors present distinct challenges to our ability to advance our interests in the AOR...The conflict foments anti-American sentiment, due to a perception of U.S. favoritism for Israel. Arab anger over the Palestinian question limits the strength and depth of U.S. partnerships with governments and peoples in the AOR and weakens the legitimacy of moderate regimes in the Arab world. Meanwhile, al-Qaeda and other militant groups exploit that anger to mobilize support. The conflict also gives Iran influence in the Arab world through its clients, Lebanese Hizballah and Hamas."

Not content with that, Petraeus sent his officers to present his conclusions to the Joint Chiefs of Staff,

In other words: Israeli-Palestinian peace is not a private matter between the two parties, but a supreme national interest of the USA. That means that the US must give up its one-sided support for the Israeli government and impose the two-state solution.

The argument as such is not new. Several experts have said more or less the same in the past. (Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, I wrote in a similar vein and prophesied that the US would change its policy. It did not happen then.) But now this is being stated in an official document written by the responsible American commander.

The Netanyahu government immediately went into damage-limitation mode. Its spokespersons declared that Petraeus represents a narrow military approach, that he doesn't understand political matters, that his reasoning is faulty. But it is not this that made people in Jerusalem break out into cold sweat.

AS IS well known, the pro-Israel lobby dominates the American political system without limits – almost. Every American politician and senior official is mortally afraid of it. The slightest deviation from the strict AIPAC line is tantamount to political suicide.

But in the armor of this political Goliath there is a chink. Like Achilles' heel, the immense might of the pro-Israel lobby has a vulnerable point that, when touched, can neutralize its power.

It was illustrated by the Jonathan Pollard affair. This American-Jewish employee of a sensitive intelligence agency spied for Israel. Israelis consider him a national hero, a Jew who did his duty to his people. But for the US intelligence community, he is a traitor who endangered the lives of many American agents. Not satisfied with a routine penalty, it induced the court to impose a life sentence. Since then, all American presidents have refused the requests of successive Israeli governments to commute the sentence. No president dared to confront his intelligence chiefs in this matter.

But the most significant side of this affair is reminiscent of the famous words of Sherlock Holmes about the dogs that did not bark. AIPAC did not bark. The entire American Jewish community fell silent. Almost nobody raised their voice for poor Pollard.

Why? Because most American Jews are ready to do anything – just anything – for the government of Israel. With one exception: they will not do anything that appears to hurt the security of the United States. When the flag of security is hoisted, the Jews, like all Americans, snap to attention and salute. The Damocles sword of suspicion of disloyalty hangs above their heads. For them, this is the ultimate nightmare: to be accused of putting the security of Israel

ahead of the security of the US. Therefore it is important for them to repeat endlessly the mantra that the interests of Israel and the US are identical.

And now comes the most important general of the US Army and says that this is not so. The policy of the present Israeli government is endangering the lives of American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan.

FOR NOW, this is being said only as a side remark, in a military document that has not been widely aired. But the sword has been drawn from its scabbard – and American Jews have started to tremble at the distant rumble of an approaching earthquake.

This week, Netanyahu's brother-in-law has used our own doomsday weapon. He declared that Obama is an "anti-Semite". The official newspaper of the Shas party has asserted that Obama is really a Muslim. They represent the radical right and its allies, who argue in speech and in writing that "Hussein" Obama is a Jew-hating black who must be beaten in the coming congressional elections and in the next presidential ones.

(Yet an important poll in Israel published yesterday shows that the Israeli public is far from convinced by these insinuations: the vast majority believes that Obama's treatment of Israel is fair. Indeed, Obama got higher marks than Netanyahu.)

If Obama decides to fight back and activate his doomsday weapon – the accusation that Israel puts the lives of American servicemen at risk – this would have catastrophic consequences for Israel.

For the time being, this is only a shot across the bow – a warning shot fired by a warship in order to induce another vessel to follow its instructions. The warning is clear. Even if the present crisis is somehow damped down, it will inevitably flare up again and again as long as the present coalition in Israel stays in power.

When the movie "Hurt Locker" won its awards, the entire American public was united in its concern about the lives of its soldiers in the Middle East. If this public becomes convinced that Israel is sticking a knife in their back, it will be a disaster for Netanyahu. And not just for him.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 4:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** New polls from NI

Shaun writes me: Two polls tomorrow will show massive support in NI for HC Agreement. Also two thirds of UUP voters support the agreement and also devolution now. Reg isin effect totally detached and in danger of no longer leading his Party!
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 6:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu. Sid

- Print this page

From Times Online
April 14, 2010

# Tory lead narrows amid huge voter disenchantment, Times poll finds

Image :1 of 2
Peter Riddell
The general election race is tightening, according to a Populus poll for *The Times* that reveals deep public disenchantment with the campaign so far.
The poll, undertaken yesterday and this morning, says that more voters are now hoping for a hung parliament than either a Tory or a Labour outright victory.
Conservative support has slipped by three points over the past week to 36 per cent, while Labour is a point up at 33 per cent. The Liberal Democrats are unchanged on 21 per cent.
The polls tend to fluctuate by a couple of points either way. and these shifts are within the margin of error of the average. With other new polls pointing to a firming in Labour support, the party may have enjoyed a small boost from its manifesto launch. Tory strategists will hope to have achieved a boost from its manifesto launch today.
If the Populus figures were repeated in the general election in three weeks' time, and there is a uniform switch in votes, Labour would be the largest single party, with about 300 MPs, ahead of the Tories on 264 and the Lib Dems on 54. This would point to a Lab/Lib Dem coalition. But many analysts do not expect a uniform national swing.
The latest poll shows that 32 per cent of the public now hope for a hung parliament (as opposed to expecting one), against 28 per cent wanting a Tory majority and 22 per cent a Labour one. Lib Dem voters prefer a deal with Labour than the Tories in a hung parliament, by 44 to 31 per cent. The public is evenly split 40 to 42 per cent about whether they want Labour or the Tories in either a majority or a minority government.
The poll shows that the number expecting a Tory overall majority has risen by three points to 34 per cent over the past week. This only just exceeds the number expecting a hung parliament, at 33 per cent, down six points compared with a week ago. Overall, 57 per cent expect the Tories to be the largest party, against 29 per cent expecting Labour to be.
The public is deeply sceptical about the honesty of the parties. Only 4 per cent think that they are being completely honest about their tax plans, 61 per cent partly honest. Only 6 per cent say they are being completely honest about cutting the deficit and 61 per cent partly honest. Some 7 per cent say that they are being completely honest about the extent to which they can fund their policies by cutting waste and 58 per cent partly honest.
Voters were asked to say which party had proposed eight key manifesto pledges. They wrongly identified four: reducing the increase in national insurance contributions (naming Labour not the Tories); allowing unsuccessful schools, hospitals and the police (the Tories, not Labour); tightening up takeover rules (the Tories not Labour); and requiring foreign workers employed in public services to speak fluent English (the Tories not Labour).
In only one case, the £150-a-year tax break, did more than half of voters (60 per cent) correctly identify the party making the proposal.

In most cases, the pledge will make little difference to people's votes, apart from three made by Labour: the foreign workers language pledge, doubling paid paternity leave and allowing the takover of unsuccessful schools, hospitals etc.
More than two fifths (43 per cent), including 50 per cent of women, say "none of the parties", or "don't know", when asked which party is putting across a convincing cases to voters. This compares with 25 per cent naming the Tories and 18 per cent Labour.
Just over half the public (54 per cent) plan to watch the first televised leaders' debate on Thursday evening. Men and middle class professionals are more likely to say that they will view. More than two fifths (42 per cent) expect David Cameron to win the debate, against 22 per cent for Gordon Brown. More Tories (70 per cent) than Labour voters ( 57 per cent) expect their leader to win.
Two fifths of the public (42 per cent, up one point on a week ago) say it seems like a change from Labour, but are not sure that it is time for a change to the Conservatives. Some 33 per cent, down one point, think it is time for a change to the Tories.
*Populus interviewed a random sample of 1,525 adult voters on April 12 to 13. Interviews were conducted across the country and have been weighted to be representative of all adults. For more details go to www.populus.co.uk.*
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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 9:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu.Sid

Just spoke with him. Gordon screwed up with business on national insurance tax, strings pulled by peter. Cameron manifesto launch was very good. But, but, but... The dogs really are wary of that dog food, hence Times poll tonight. Also peter gunning for David's job. David aware. The security conf was boffo.
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Tue, 13 Apr 2010 21:14:11
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu.
Sid

B6

Just had drinks w Miliband who is still very worried. I have crossed fingers!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 13 18:35:15 2010
Subject: H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu. Sid

Times Online Logo 222 x 25 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/img/global/tol-logo-222x25.gif>

* Print this page
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7096632.ece?print=yes&randnum=1271197986619#>

From Times Online
April 14, 2010

Tory lead narrows amid huge voter disenchantment, Times poll finds

Conservative party leader David Cameron launches his party's manifesto in Battersea Power Station, in London, England
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00707/cameron-_707420a.jpg>
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/xxx> Image :1 of 2
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/xxx>
Peter Riddell
The general election race is tightening, according to a Populus poll for The Times that reveals deep public disenchantment with the campaign so far.
The poll, undertaken yesterday and this morning, says that more voters are now hoping for a hung parliament than either a Tory or a Labour outright victory.
Conservative support has slipped by three points over the past week to 36 per cent, while Labour is a point up at 33 per cent. The Liberal Democrats are unchanged on 21 per cent.
The polls tend to fluctuate by a couple of points either way, and these shifts are within the margin of error of the average.

With other new polls pointing to a firming in Labour support, the party may have enjoyed a small boost from its manifesto launch. Tory strategists will hope to have achieved a boost from its manifesto launch today.
If the Populus figures were repeated in the general election in three weeks' time, and there is a uniform switch in votes, Labour would be the largest single party, with about 300 MPs, ahead of the Tories on 264 and the Lib Dems on 54. This would point to a Lab/Lib Dem coalition. But many analysts do not expect a uniform national swing.
The latest poll shows that 32 per cent of the public now hope for a hung parliament (as opposed to expecting one), against 28 per cent wanting a Tory majority and 22 per cent a Labour one. Lib Dem voters prefer a deal with Labour than the Tories in a hung parliament, by 44 to 31 per cent. The public is evenly split 40 to 42 per cent about whether they want Labour or the Tories in either a majority or a minority government.
The poll shows that the number expecting a Tory overall majority has risen by three points to 34 per cent over the past week. This only just exceeds the number expecting a hung parliament, at 33 per cent, down six points compared with a week ago. Overall, 57 per cent expect the Tories to be the largest party, against 29 per cent expecting Labour to be.
The public is deeply sceptical about the honesty of the parties. Only 4 per cent think that they are being completely honest about their tax plans, 61 per cent partly honest. Only 6 per cent say they are being completely honest about cutting the deficit and 61 per cent partly honest. Some 7 per cent say that they are being completely honest about the extent to which they can fund their policies by cutting waste and 58 per cent partly honest.
Voters were asked to say which party had proposed eight key manifesto pledges. They wrongly identified four: reducing the increase in national insurance contributions (naming Labour not the Tories); allowing unsuccessful schools, hospitals and the police (the Tories, not Labour); tightening up takeover rules (the Tories not Labour); and requiring foreign workers employed in public services to speak fluent English (the Tories not Labour).
In only one case, the £150-a-year tax break, did more than half of voters (60 per cent) correctly identify the party making the proposal.
In most cases, the pledge will make little difference to people's votes, apart from three made by Labour: the foreign workers language pledge, doubling paid paternity leave and allowing the takover of unsuccessful schools, hospitals etc.
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Just over half the public (54 per cent) plan to watch the first televised leaders' debate on Thursday evening. Men and middle class professionals are more likely to say that they will view. More than two fifths (42 per cent) expect David Cameron to win the debate, against 22 per cent for Gordon Brown. More Tories (70 per cent) than Labour voters ( 57 per cent) expect their leader to win.
Two fifths of the public (42 per cent, up one point on a week ago) say it seems like a change from Labour, but are not sure that it is time for a change to the Conservatives. Some 33 per cent, down one point, think it is time for a change to the Tories.
Populus interviewed a random sample of 1,525 adult voters on April 12 to 13. Interviews were conducted across the country and have been weighted to be representative of all adults. For more details go to www.populus.co.uk.
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<http://the-acap.org/acap-enabled.php>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Am catching train

To dc from ny at 9am so will call later - what works?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 14, 2010 4:26 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Update on interagency sharing of foreign audience research

Madam Secretary,

Jake asked me to send you a brief update on the effort to create an internal USG website for housing interagency information about the attitudes, concerns, and media habits of foreign audiences (following up on the memo INR sent to you on this subject in February).

INR is working with the interagency to create six initial country pages (Indonesia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and Yemen) on this website. In addition to background information about each country and its relationship with the United States, each page will focus on providing up to date information on how local audiences view the United States and an analysis of the mediums through which local audiences get their news. Pages will also include a list effective messaging themes that would resonate with target audiences in each country.

In the coming weeks, INR will be receiving interagency feedback on these initial draft web pages, and will be seeking guidance as to which additional countries should be covered. The hope is that each page will evolve over time based on user feedback.

Please let me know if you would like any further information.

Thanks,
Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 15, 2010 7:53 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/15/10 Thursday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:15 am **PRIVATE MEETING**
10:25 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **PREP SESSION FOR POTUS MEETING**
11:45 am Secretary's Office

11:55 am **DEPART** State Department *En route Iglesias Conference Center

12:10 pm **ARRIVE** Iglesias Conference Center

12:10 pm **KEYNOTE REMARKS AT ENERGY AND CLIMATE PARTNERSHIP**
12:40 pm **OF THE AMERICAS (EPCA) MINISTERIAL LUNCHEON**
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)

12:40 pm **DEPART** Iglesias Conference Center *En route State Department

12:55 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

1:00pm **PRE-BRIEF f/ TURKISH BILAT w/JAKE SULLIVAN**
1:15pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **BILATERAL w/TURKISH FM AHMET DAVUTOGLU**
2:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

2:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:30 pm Secretary's Office

2:30pm **PHONE CALL w/NORWEGIAN FM JONAS STOERE**
2:45pm Secretary's Office

2:45pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:30pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **REMARKS AT THE DEPARTMENT'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON**
3:40 pm **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY (ACIEP)** Room 1107

4:00 pm **INTERVIEW w/DANIEL DOMBEY, *FINANCIAL TIMES***
4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **MEETING w/PHIL GOLDBERG**
5:00 pm Secretary's Office

5:00 pm **MEETING w/SPEECH WRITING TEAM**
5:30 pm Secretary's Office

5:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
7:00 pm Secretary's Office

7:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route The W Hotel

7:10 pm **ARRIVE** The W Hotel

7:15 pm **REMARKS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE S. DANIEL ABRAHAM**
7:45 pm **CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE** The W Hotel, Altitude Ballroom, Roof Level
7:50 pm **DEPART** The W Hotel *En route Private Residence

8:05 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iraq

Below is a proposed statement to go out in an hour or so. Also, did you see the Pakistanis arrested Adam Gadhan, the American al Qaeda spokesman?

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

IRAQI NATIONAL ELECTIONS

I congratulate all the people of Iraq who participated in national elections today and over the past three days. There is no better rebuke to the violent extremists who seek to derail Iraq's progress. Our thoughts and prayers are with the families who lost friends and loved ones, and we salute the determination of the Iraqi people to reaffirm their commitment to democracy and to charting their own future free of fear and intimidation.

Thanks to the efforts of the Iraq High Electoral Commission and the Iraqi Security Forces, which organized the voting and ensured security at thousands of polling sites throughout the country, Iraqi men and women from all parts of the country were able to go to the polls and choose their leaders freely.

I also would like to commend Ambassador Hill, General Odierno and all the U.S. civilian and military personnel who supported this historic effort.

Iraqis have chosen a new government to lead their country at a critical time. In the coming months, we will work together with Iraqi leaders as our partnership continues its transition to a primarily civilian focus, with the goal of building a long-term, multidimensional relationship between our two nations - a relationship that will contribute to stability in the Middle East and growing peace and prosperity in Iraq.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 3:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pakistan

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Kennedy, Patrick F
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Mar 07 15:14:27 2010
Subject: Pakistan

Cheryl

They departed last nite (before M was notified)

Am in the office

Regards

Pat

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 9:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** touching base

I am likely going to go to bed early and be up early.

Hope you had a chance to go through ppt.

[redacted] B6

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 9:01 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: US troops withdrawing en masse from Haiti

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com <membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com>
To: southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com
<southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com>
Sent: Sun Mar 07 16:32:43 2010
Subject: US troops withdrawing en masse from Haiti

US troops withdrawing en masse from Haiti BEN FOX,Associated Press Writers JENNIFER KAY,Associated Press Writers

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti (AP) ¶ U.S. troops are withdrawing from the shattered capital, leaving many Haitians anxious that the most visible portion of international is ending even as the city is still mired in misery and vulnerable to unrest.

As troops packed their duffels and began to fly home this weekend, Haitians and some aid workers wondered whether U.N. peacekeepers and local police are up to the task of maintaining order. More than a half-million people still live in vast encampments that have grown more unpleasant in recent days with the early onset of rainy season.

Some also fear the departure of the American troops is a sign of dwindling international interest in the plight of the Haitian people following the catastrophic Jan. 12 earthquake.

"I would like for them to stay in Haiti until they rebuild the country and everybody can go back to their house," said Marjorie Louis, a 27-year-old mother of two, as she warmed a bowl of beans for her family over a charcoal fire on the fake grass of the national stadium.

U.S. officials say the long-anticipated draw down of troops is not a sign of waning commitment to Haiti, only a change in the nature of the operation. Security will now be the responsibility of the 10,000-strong U.N. peacekeeping force and the Haitian police.

A smaller number of U.S. forces ¶ the exact number has not yet been determined ¶ will be needed as the U.N. and Haitian government reassert control, said Gen. Douglas Fraser, head of U.S. Southern Command, which runs the Haiti operation.

"Our mission is largely accomplished," Fraser said.

American forces arrived in the immediate aftermath of the quake to treat the wounded, provide emergency water and rations and help prevent a feared outbreak of violence among desperate survivors. They also helped reopen the airport and seaport.

There has been no widespread violence but security is a real issue. A U.N. food convoy traveling from Gonaives to Dessalines on Friday was stopped and overrun by people, who looted two trucks before peacekeepers regained control, U.N. officials said.

They managed to escort the other two back to Gonaives. There were no reports of injuries.

The military operation was criticized by some Haitian senators and foreign leaders as heavy-handed and inappropriate in a country that had been occupied by American forces for nearly two decades in the early 20th century. But ordinary Haitians largely welcomed the troops, many out of disenchantment with their own government.

"They should stay because they have been doing a good job," 35-year-old Lesly Pierre said as his family prepared dinner under a tarp at an encampment in Petionville. "If it was up to our government, we wouldn't have gotten any help at all."

U.S. soldiers said they had nothing but warm encounters with the Haitian people.

"They're real good people. They just want help," Army Private First Class Troy Sims, a 19-year-old from Fresno, California, said as he prepared to board a flight back to the U.S. "I feel that us being here helped a lot. If we weren't here, things probably would have gotten out of control."

There are now about 11,000 troops, more than half of them on ships just off the coast, down from a peak of around 20,000 on Feb. 1. The total is expected to drop to about 8,000 in coming days as the withdrawal gathers steam. The military said more than 700 paratroopers left this weekend.

Soldiers are now gone from the General Hospital, where they once directed traffic and kept order amid the chaos of mass casualties. There are no more Haitian patients on board the USNS Comfort, which treated 8,600 people after the quake. At a country club in Petionville, where some 100,000 Haitians are living in rough shelters in a muddy ravine, only a few soldiers remain of the several hundred there after the disaster.

Alison Thompson said she was nervous about the smaller U.S. troop contingent.

"Soon we are not going to have any security," said Thompson, medical coordinator of the Jenkins/Penn Relief Organization, which runs a field hospital at the edge of the ravine. "Everybody is just so worried that they are pulling out because it's going to get dangerous."

It was the same concern for Louis at the national stadium.

"If the troublemakers see that there is some kind of force here, they will think twice before they do anything," she said. "They are already getting ready to stir up trouble."

But Ted Constan, chief program officer for Partners in Health, said that the way to address security is to get adequate shelter and other aid to the hundreds of thousands of people who are now stranded in squalid encampments.

"The real solution is to deliver services ... rather than turn Haiti into a military state," he said.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 15, 2010 1:00 PM
**To:** H; mtorrey [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'

Thnx. I am happy to do the introduction.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 15, 2010 12:54 PM
To: 'mtorrey [redacted]
Cc: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: Re: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'

Marty--I'm copying Kris and asking that he connect you w Lou C de Baca whose in charge of the office responsible for trafficking in State so you can explore ways of helping. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marty Torrey [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 15 07:44:25 2010
Subject: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'

HRC,
As of April 21st Dave Stone's former business partner ( James F. Blom ), and I will establish 'Stone Harbour,LLC' (named for Dave) in Delaware. This will be a nice merger of Dave's and my contacts. Apart from the ongoing vetting of Simon Stringer's multi purpose software, at several levels, I am keen to help in the human trafficking effort. I have been in touch with Sharyn Magarian (keeping Kris B informed) in seeking the status of that effort, as I am quite sure the combo of Dave's former contacts and mine can help. Jim Blom has already spoken to several (Oracle Corp and his friends in Silicon Valley) and they too are motivated. Work is work, but the human trafficking issue seems like the right thing to do.
All the best, Marty

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 4:46 AM
**To:** Doug Band; H
**Subject:** Fw: Approval

For wjc too

Met w/opposition senators for two hours yesterday in Haiti re IHRC.

Bill passed.

Work b/gs.

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: Merten, Kenneth H
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Sent: Thu Apr 15 23:06:30 2010
Subject: Approval

I hear the Senate approved. Perhaps what you said had a bigger effect than you thought. KM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 15, 2010 3:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bill Shillady

If you would like for your blackberry:

**Rev. Dr. Bill Shillady [SHILL-uh-dee]**
**United Methodist City Society**
**Executive Director**

B6

**###**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: fyi. sid

I will send you a memo this morning
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 21 Mar 2010 08:22:29
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: fyi. sid

I have to speak to AIPAC tomorrow. How--and should--i use this?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 17:54:00 2010
Subject: H: fyi. sid

H: Uri Avnery, the Israeli analyst and activist, is privately circulating this analysis today. One consequence: Petraeus cannot run as a Republican. At least Putin didn't bring his big dogs in with him like he did with Merkel. Cheers, Sid

Uri Avnery
20.3.10

The Doomsday Weapon

IT IS already a commonplace to say that people who don't learn from history are condemned to repeat their mistakes.

Some 1942 years ago, the Jews in the province called Palaestina launched a revolt against the Roman Empire. In retrospect, this looks like an act of madness. Palestine was a small and insignificant part of the world-wide empire which had just won a crushing victory against the rival power – the Parthian Empire (Persia) – and put down a major rebellion in Britain. What chances could the Jewish revolt have?

God knows what was going on in the mind of the "Zealots". They eliminated the moderate leaders, who warned against provoking the empire, and gained sway over the Jewish population of the country. They relied on God. Perhaps they also relied on the Jews in Rome and believed that their influence over the Senate would restrain the Emperor, Nero. Perhaps they had heard that Nero was weak and about to fall.

We know how it ended: after three years, the rebels were crushed, Jerusalem fell and the temple was burned down. The last of the Zealots committed suicide in Masada.

The Zionists did indeed try to learn from history. They acted in a rational way, did not provoke the great powers, endeavored in every situation to attain what was possible. They accepted compromises, and every compromise served

them as a basis for the next surge forward. They cleverly utilized the radical stance of their adversaries and gained the sympathy of the whole world.

But since the beginning of the occupation, their mind has become clouded. The cult of Masada has become dominant. Divine promises once again start to play a role in public discourse. Large parts of the public are following the new zealots.

The next phase is also repeating itself: the leaders of Israel are starting a rebellion against the new Rome.

WHAT BEGAN as an insult to the Vice President of the United States is developing into something far bigger. The mouse has given birth to an elephant.

Lately, the ultra-right government in Jerusalem has started to treat President Barack Obama with thinly veiled contempt. The fears that arose in Jerusalem at the beginning of his term have dissipated. Obama looks to them like a paper black panther. He gave up his demand for a real settlement freeze. Every time he was spat on, he remarked that it was raining.

Yet now, ostensibly quite suddenly, the measure is full. Obama, his Vice President and his senior assistants condemn the Netanyahu government with growing severity. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has submitted an ultimatum: Netanyahu must stop all settlement activity, East Jerusalem included; he must agree to negotiate about all core problems of the conflict, including East Jerusalem, and more.

The surprise was compiete. Obama, it seems, has crossed the Rubicon, much as the Egyptian army had crossed the Suez Canal in 1973. Netanyahu gave the order to mobilize all the reserves in America and to move forward all the diplomatic tanks. All Jewish organizations in the US were commanded to join the campaign. AIPAC blew the shofar and ordered its soldiers, the Senators and Congressmen, to storm the White House.

It seems that the decisive battle has been joined. The Israeli leaders were certain that Obama would be defeated.

And then an unusual noise was heard: the sound of the doomsday weapon.

THE MAN who decided to activate it was a foe of a new kind.

David Petraeus is the most popular officer of the United States army. The four-star general, son of a Dutch sea captain who went to America when his country was overrun by the Nazis, stood out from early childhood. In West Point he was a "distinguished cadet", in Army Command and General Staff College he was No. 1. As a combat commander, he reaped plaudits. He wrote his doctoral thesis (on the lessons of Vietnam) at Princeton and served as an assistant professor for international relations in the US Military Academy.

He made his mark in Iraq, when he commanded the forces in Mosul, the most problematical city in the country. He concluded that in order to vanquish the enemies of the US he must win over the hearts of the civilian population, acquire local allies and spend more money than ammunition. The locals called him King David. His success was considered so outstanding that his methods were adopted as the official doctrine of the American army.

His star rose rapidly. He was appointed commander of the coalition forces in Iraq and soon became the chief of the Central Command of the US army, which covers the whole Middle East , except Israel and Palestine (which "belong" to the American command in Europe).

When such a person raises his voice, the American people listen. As a respected military thinker, he has no rivals.

THIS WEEK, Petraeus conveyed an unequivocal message: after reviewing the problems in his AOR (Area Of Responsibility) – which includes, among others, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Yemen – he turned to what he called the "root causes of instability" in the region. The list was topped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In his report to the Armed Services Committee he stated: "The enduring hostilities between Israel and some of its neighbors present distinct challenges to our ability to advance our interests in the AOR...The conflict foments anti-American sentiment, due to a perception of U.S. favoritism for Israel. Arab anger over the Palestinian question limits the strength and depth of U.S. partnerships with governments and peoples in the AOR and weakens the legitimacy of moderate regimes in the Arab world. Meanwhile, al-Qaeda and other militant groups exploit that anger to mobilize support. The conflict also gives Iran influence in the Arab world through its clients, Lebanese Hizballah and Hamas."

Not content with that, Petraeus sent his officers to present his conclusions to the Joint Chiefs of Staff,

In other words: Israeli-Palestinian peace is not a private matter between the two parties, but a supreme national interest of the USA. That means that the US must give up its one-sided support for the Israeli government and impose the two-state solution.

The argument as such is not new. Several experts have said more or less the same in the past. (Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, I wrote in a similar vein and prophesied that the US would change its policy. It did not happen then.) But now this is being stated in an official document written by the responsible American commander.

The Netanyahu government immediately went into damage-limitation mode. Its spokespersons declared that Petraeus represents a narrow military approach, that he doesn't understand political matters, that his reasoning is faulty. But it is not this that made people in Jerusalem break out into cold sweat.

AS IS well known, the pro-Israel lobby dominates the American political system without limits – almost. Every American politician and senior official is mortally afraid of it. The slightest deviation from the strict AIPAC line is tantamount to political suicide.

But in the armor of this political Goliath there is a chink. Like Achilles' heel, the immense might of the pro-Israel lobby has a vulnerable point that, when touched, can neutralize its power.

It was illustrated by the Jonathan Pollard affair. This American-Jewish employee of a sensitive intelligence agency spied for Israel. Israelis consider him a national hero, a Jew who did his duty to his people. But for the US intelligence community, he is a traitor who endangered the lives of many American agents. Not satisfied with a routine penalty, it induced the court to impose a life sentence. Since then, all American presidents have refused the requests of successive Israeli governments to commute the sentence. No president dared to confront his intelligence chiefs in this matter.

But the most significant side of this affair is reminiscent of the famous words of Sherlock Holmes about the dogs that did not bark. AIPAC did not bark. The entire American Jewish community fell silent. Almost nobody raised their voice for poor Pollard.

Why? Because most American Jews are ready to do anything – just anything – for the government of Israel. With one exception: they will not do anything that appears to hurt the security of the United States. When the flag of security is hoisted, the Jews, like all Americans, snap to attention and salute. The Damocles sword of suspicion of disloyalty hangs above their heads. For them, this is the ultimate nightmare: to be accused of putting the security of Israel ahead of the security of the US. Therefore it is important for them to repeat endlessly the mantra that the interests of Israel and the US are identical.

And now comes the most important general of the US Army and says that this is not so. The policy of the present Israeli government is endangering the lives of American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan.

FOR NOW, this is being said only as a side remark, in a military document that has not been widely aired. But the sword has been drawn from its scabbard – and American Jews have started to tremble at the distant rumble of an approaching earthquake.

This week, Netanyahu's brother-in-law has used our own doomsday weapon. He declared that Obama is an "anti-Semite". The official newspaper of the Shas party has asserted that Obama is really a Muslim. They represent the radical right and its allies, who argue in speech and in writing that "Hussein" Obama is a Jew-hating black who must be beaten in the coming congressional elections and in the next presidential ones.

(Yet an important poll in Israel published yesterday shows that the Israeli public is far from convinced by these insinuations: the vast majority believes that Obama's treatment of Israel is fair. Indeed, Obama got higher marks than Netanyahu.)

If Obama decides to fight back and activate his doomsday weapon – the accusation that Israel puts the lives of American servicemen at risk – this would have catastrophic consequences for Israel.

For the time being, this is only a shot across the bow – a warning shot fired by a warship in order to induce another vessel to follow its instructions. The warning is clear. Even if the present crisis is somehow damped down, it will inevitably flare up again and again as long as the present coalition in Israel stays in power.

When the movie "Hurt Locker" won its awards, the entire American public was united in its concern about the lives of its soldiers in the Middle East. If this public becomes convinced that Israel is sticking a knife in their back, it will be a disaster for Netanyahu. And not just for him.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 4:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Press Release: Chairman Eliot Engel Praises Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas

Fyi

---

**From**: Kelly, Craig A
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Thu Apr 15 20:52:49 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Press Release: Chairman Eliot Engel Praises Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas

S delivered a terrific speech today. Text was great but she also did some masterful riffs from it. Everyone was talking about it the rest of the afternoon. It was cited in every bilat I sat in on.

ck

---

**From**: Riva-Geoghegan, Margarita M
**To**: Corneille, Faith C; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A; Colon, Frances A (WHA); McIlhenny, William W; Bulgrin, Julie K; Fitzgerald, Betsy A; Goldwyn, David L; McManus, Matthew T; Duggan, J. Brian; Kastenberg, Rachel L (OES); Dowdy, Felix A; Mills, Pamela G; Rooney, Megan; Jordan, Darla A
**Cc**: Lomellin, Carmen
**Sent**: Thu Apr 15 20:26:31 2010
**Subject**: Re: Press Release: Chairman Eliot Engel Praises Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas

Congratulations!

---

**From**: Corneille, Faith C
**To**: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A; Colon, Frances A (WHA); McIlhenny, William W; Bulgrin, Julie K; Fitzgerald, Betsy A; Riva-Geoghegan, Margarita M; Goldwyn, David L; McManus, Matthew T; Duggan, J. Brian; Kastenberg, Rachel L (OES); Dowdy, Felix A; Mills, Pamela G; Rooney, Megan; Jordan, Darla A
**Sent**: Thu Apr 15 20:21:27 2010
**Subject**: FW: Press Release: Chairman Eliot Engel Praises Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas

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**From:** Steinbaum, Jason
**Sent:** Thursday, April 15, 2010 2:27 PM
**To:** Steinbaum, Jason; Tomasulo, Jeremy
**Subject:** FW: Press Release: Chairman Eliot Engel Praises Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas

111th Congress

Press Release

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768360 Date: 08/31/2015

*News from*

# *Congressman Eliot Engel*

## *Representing the Bronx, Westchester, and Rockland Counties*

*Offices in the Bronx, Mount Vernon and West Nyack*

*2161 Rayburn HOB, Washington, DC 20515*

Contact: Jeremy Tomasulo at 202-225-2464

For Release: Thursday, April 15, 2010

## ENGEL OFFERS STRONG SUPPORT FOR

## ENERGY AND CLIMATE PARTNERSHIP OF THE AMERICAS

Washington, DC--Congressman Eliot Engel, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, issued the following statement today to recognize the Energy and Climate Ministerial of the Americas, held on April 15-16 in Washington DC.

"I would like to offer my strong support for the Energy and Climate Ministerial of the Americas being held today at the Inter-American Development Bank and at the Organization for American States on April 16. I attended the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago in April 2009 when President Obama announced the Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas (ECPA) to address the energy and climate change challenges facing the region. The challenges are many as seen in frequent blackouts in major cities in the region and the lack of access to electricity in the rural countryside. Energy poverty, energy inefficiency and poor infrastructure have a direct impact on economic growth and development in many countries.

"The Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas is an effort to address these issues head on. But it's not an initiative that places the United States in a role in which it provides all the assistance or direction. It's innovative since it sets up a voluntary and flexible framework that is open to governments, private industry, and civil society to lead or participate in initiatives that reflect their priorities. Many countries in the Western Hemisphere such as Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Canada plan on leading initiatives under ECPA. El Salvador, Chile, Costa Rica and Trinidad and Tobago will set up Clean Energy Technology Centers to serve as sources of expertise on renewable energy technologies.

"I applaud the efforts of the representatives of the 32 countries and over 200 businesses and civil society organizations attending the Energy and Climate Ministerial of the Americas. Many initiatives will be announced during the Ministerial. It's impressive to see the fast progress on ECPA since President Obama announced it last year. This is clearly a sign of the new relationship that the Obama Administration would like with the countries of the Western Hemisphere - an inclusive one based on partnership and focused on pragmatic problem solving and not political posturing. I plan on working with President Obama, Secretary of State Clinton, and Energy Secretary Steven Chu to make sure the goals and priorities of the Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas are met."

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768360 Date: 08/31/2015

##########

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H B6
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Today is [redacted] birthday.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:53 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re:

Ok

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Huma Abedin
Subject:
Sent: Mar 21, 2010 8:52 AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Spanish Thanks

FYI

---

**From:** Lindwall, David E
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 5:03 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Reynoso, Julissa
**Cc:** Merten, Kenneth H; Rodriguez, Karen M; Robinson, Stephanie L
**Subject:** FW: Spanish Thanks

You may already be aware of this, but in the event you aren't: A Spanish helicopter based on their Navy ship "Castilla" disappeared in a mountainous region near the Dominican border shortly before noon. The Spanish Embassy called us, and JTF scrambled a helo. Chilean MINUSTAH helo had also been dispatched. The Spanish helo apparently crashed and burned in an area where rescue helos could not land, so a JTF helo landed in the closest area and US troops with stretchers hiked in. On arrival, they reported that the crew of four had all been killed. We are getting body bags into the site now and will remove the bodies today. This is the first fatality involving foreign troops engaged in earthquake response.

---

**From:** Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L) [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E
**Subject:** Re: Spanish Thanks

Classification: Unclassified

Thanks, will pass it along to those who responded. Sorry there was not a better outcome. As happened here, we do keep a quick reaction force ready to respond to events like this. If it is life or limb we will launch them immediately.

V/R
Ken

---

**From**: Merten, Kenneth H <MertenKH@state.gov>
**To**: Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L); Lindwall, David E <LindwallDE@state.gov>
**Sent**: Fri Apr 16 16:46:56 2010
**Subject**: Spanish Thanks

Genl Keen,

The Spanish Ambassador just called to express his government's gratitude for the U.S. rescue/recovery efforts regarding the helicopter. I told him all credit was due to my colleagues in the U.S. military and that I would pass along his thanks to you.

KM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 7:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:**

B5

Hope you have a **great weekend.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

RELEASE IN PART
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti

See his last point.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/17/2025

cdm

**From:** Goosby, Eric
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: Haiti

B5
B6

Cheryl:

The National MSPP is just the Ministry of Health for Haiti at the National level (Minister Larsen's office). We spent a long time with him and

We plan to discuss the USG contributions next week and in the April 26th meeting with the MSPP.

In our TA strategy that ( attached in the original email), we outline the areas we can specifically support them in developing the capabilities needed to be a strong oversight National office of Health that can lead and support the Department ministries in carrying out the work. B5
Right now we have committed to talking further with the Cubans about reconstruction efforts and in further clarifying the role they would play with HUEH. There are many areas we could work together with the Cubans that would be beneficial to the Haitian medical system. You will still have the opportunity to call final package. We will make sure we are clear where our proposal overlaps with the final vision of the Haitians and other donors.

Whole of Government Approach:

B5

Eric

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:10 PM
**To:** Goosby, Eric
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: Haiti

Eric

Thank you for this and for coming – I am very grateful.

I have always understood that while GOH appreciated Cuban doctors and training, [redacted]. I understand that frame, and assuming they have physicians and managers, it makes complete sense. 1.4(D) B1

What I still feel like is a bit of a mystery to me, though I know once Dalberg has the proposed final strategy, they will do a careful implementation plan at the direction of you and Judith, is what exactly this means for USG specific activities.

For example:

[redacted] B5

Thanks.

cdm

**From:** Goosby, Eric
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** Haiti

Cheryl:

I hope you completed your trip and returned safely. I got back yesterday. I just wanted to close the loop on the discussions I completed with the Ministry of Health Haiti (MSPP) and a brief update on the discussion with the Cubans.

Cuban Delegation:

1. We agreed to talk further about the specifics of the collaboration with the Cuban-Haitian Government, to meet on April 22-23rd to discuss specifics and then again after the April 26th meeting.
2. Agreed to develop a National MSPP focused Technical Assistance Strategy

[redacted] B5

[redacted]

After the Cuban discussion ended, we toured the HUEH hospital with Drs. Henry and Thimothe followed by a long dinner with Minister Larsen agreed to do the following:

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

2. Meet with the Cuban Delegation as discussed April 22-23 and post Donor Meeting

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

I hope to catch up with you soon, see you Monday. I am in the office most of the weekend if you want to talk.

Eric

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

He's asking us to schedule it. He's on his way home now and said he can do in the next few hours.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:26:57 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Sure--I'll call him now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:03:50 2010
Subject: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Ill ask about 7
And make sure he can connect to a white phone.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Apr 17 16:27:36 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Ok. How about 7? Does that work for him? Can I call on my white phone which is now working?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:59:39 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

He's asking us to schedule it. He's on his way home now and said he can do in the next few hours.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:26:57 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Sure--I'll call him now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:03:50 2010
Subject: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** H

7 with jim is fine
Call from your white phone when u r ready and they will connect you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 9:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: my take. S

For filing: My immediate take on the Oscars is that it was Hollywood's re-voting of the 2008 primaries, not giving it to the "Avatar" but to the tough woman. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

FYI

---

**From:** Jones, Paul W
**Sent:** Monday, March 08, 2010 6:11 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

Jake
Very worthwhile article from a couple of days ago. If S hasn't already seen, she might appreciate it. Karl and folks in Kabul are quite pleased with it. Paul

---

**From**: Simon, Jessica L
**To**: SSRAP_Expanded; Philadelphia, Carlton A; Campbell, Piper; Crowley, Philip J; Chitre, Nanda S; (U) Toner, Mark C; Duguid, Gordon K; USAID Press Officers
**Sent**: Sun Mar 07 21:55:50 2010
**Subject**: FW: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

**From Emb Kabul:**

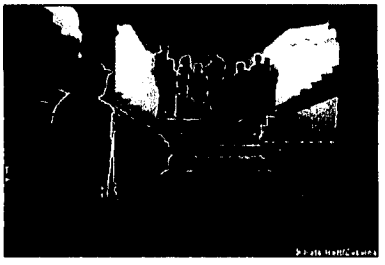
Hey, guys! Just wanted to flag this story that includes some good work by our civilians in the Arghandab. Thanks! -CH

---

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/894535f4-272c-11df-b84e-00144feabdc0.html

# US civilians battle to help Afghanistan

By Matthew Green
Published: March 5 2010 22:43 | Last updated: March 5 2010 22:43



US State Department representative Christopher Harich (top left) and Kevin Melton flank Haji Abdul Jabar as they discuss the restoration of a religious monument

Each morning this winter, Haji Abdul Jabar has packed a flask of home-brewed green tea for work. It's not frugality; he's trying to avoid being poisoned. You can't be too careful: before leaving the house, he also straps a Smith & Wesson 9mm handgun into a holster secreted in the depths of his robes. Seized with occasional fits of passion, Jabar has been known to whip out the gun during meetings. He may be jumpy, but tactics like this are not entirely out of place in his line of work: as district governor, the 65-year-old has an unenviable task – of wresting the Arghandab River Valley, one of the most dangerous places in Afghanistan, from the Taliban.

Viewed from the roof of Jabar's district headquarters, the sweep of the valley is at once beautiful – bleakly majestic – and charged with menace. A distant range of low, dun-coloured hills defines the valley's opposite flank. Orchards of pomegranate trees, their branches stripped bare by the cold, line the banks of a river meandering across the valley floor, dividing the east side of Arghandab from the west.

The east is where Jabar's office is perched, and where US troops feel safer – it's the west side they call "bad juju land". Insurgents use a strip of desert there to infiltrate Kandahar, the birthplace of the Taliban in the mid-1990s, and the pivot on which previous Afghan wars have turned. Roadside bombs hidden in the lush vineyards last year turned Arghandab into a killing field. A battalion of the 82nd Airborne Division deployed here in mid-December is hoping for better luck, but a new showdown is coming. Stanley McChrystal, the Nato commander in Afghanistan, has vowed to secure Kandahar. The Taliban want it back.



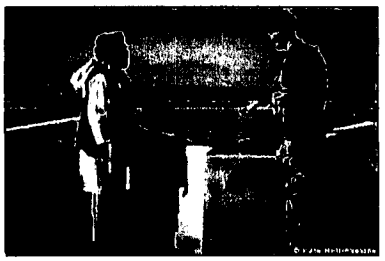
The district governor's office

One night, one of the insurgents called the governor's mobile. "He said, 'I'm going to kill you, you're working for the Americans,'" says Jabar, sitting on the carpet in his office. "I said, 'Do whatever you can do.' Then I abused him and hung up." Jabar normally cuts a rather solemn figure. At this recollection, he laughed.

Jabar is not alone in his mission. Aside from the 2-508 battalion of the 82nd Airborne, two Americans have arrived in Arghandab to help out: 27-year-old Kevin Melton and 35-year-old Christopher Harich. They're part of the Obama administration's "civilian surge", announced alongside a fresh build-up of US troops.

Working out of the whitewashed, two-storey district office, this unlikely trio aims to turn the tide of opinion in the district. They must do it before spring, when the valley will come into leaf and the Taliban fighters return from Pakistan in time for the fighting season.

"Arghandab is the gate to Kandahar city," Jabar says. "If Arghandab is lost, Kandahar is also lost. It's the most important valley in Afghanistan."



Haji Abdul Jabar and Kevin Melton of US Aid above the Arghandab Valley

Jabar, Harich and Melton have little in common but their beards. Melton, who grew up in the suburbs of Washington, is working for USAid, the US government's development agency. Hard-driving and anxious to get results, Melton juggles a raft of plans for projects from solar-powered lamps for villages, to schemes for hydroelectricity and renovating a shrine clinging to a nearby mountainside. His past experience includes work in Sudan, but the challenge in Arghandab trumps anything he has previously attempted. "It feels like there's no end to the day," he said. "It's physically, mentally, emotionally and intellectually exhausting."

Harich is a lawyer and a former marine from Louisiana who until recently worked as a policy adviser to the governor of West Virginia. He now represents the US State Department in Arghandab. "I've no doubt in my mind that we're going to have a fight this summer," he says. "When the Taliban come back in May, are they welcomed with open arms?"

Strapping on their khaki-coloured helmets and flak jackets and donning wraparound protective sunglasses whenever they leave the base, Melton and Harich bear a distinct resemblance to the US soldiers who protect them.

Jabar, meanwhile, sports neck and wrist pouches containing Koranic charms to ward off the health risks caused by his high blood pressure. (He takes advantage of the medic in the US military base adjacent to his office for regular check-ups.)

Both the Americans were lured by the challenge of participating in the US adventure in Afghanistan for a year. Sleeping in vacant rooms in the district office and equipped with a V-Sat internet link to keep in touch with superiors in Kandahar city – but no shower – they must figure out how to work with Jabar to build local government more or less from scratch. Harich aims to act as a "mentor", helping Jabar as he works with the provincial government in Kandahar to assemble an administrative team to govern the district of more than 55,000 people.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 12:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYTimes "The Soft Steps of Diplomacy"

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: stockann [redacted] B6
To: Cheryl Mills [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Pally, Maura M
Sent: Sun Mar 21 11:47:42 2010
Subject: NYTimes "The Soft Steps of Diplomacy"

Check out the NYT Arts Section front page cover story today on ECA. It's spectacular. Was put together by Maura and Laura Tischler, a FSO on loan to ECA from PJ's shop. Ann Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN FULL

we will not develop any position with respect to negotiations without Arab consensus whether in terms of accepting or rejecting the US ideas.

With regards to resumption of direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, NAR said that there are no proposals (ideas) at present time to resume direct negotiations. He said that the Arab and Palestinian position on this issue is clear; there needs to be a clear TOR for negotiations and total cessation of settlement activities. He said that the PA position in principle is not against negotiations. On the contrary its for negotiations that do not waste time since the Palestinian national interest requires a solution as soon as possible to create the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as capital. NAR went on to say that before talking about resumption of direct negotiations, there is a need to clarify the basis of these negotiations and to know the fate of settlements and to what extent will Israeli abide by freezing settlement activities.

With respect to Israeli provocations which seriously tamper with security and stability, NAR said that Israel does not want a return to negotiations but wants to blame the Palestinians by saying they don't want to enter negotiations. NAR went on to say 'It is imperative to take away this pretext by exposing the real Israeli position to the international community and the US administration. He said we are ready to resume negotiations on clear basis but its the Israeli side that places obstacles to avert meeting its commitments while blaming the Palestinian side (as Israel is accustomed to doing).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: VP's Israel speech

Coming soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 12:56:22 2010
Subject: VP's Israel speech

Can you email Biden's speech to Jon to print for me?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Speech

Whenever you like. What works? I can have ops reach out and build.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 13:07:17 2010
Subject: Speech

When can we do conf call on speech?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: latest news on NI. Empey Dumpty... Sid

# UUP policing meeting with McGuinness breaks down after three minutes

Latest row comes on eve of critical vote in Stormont assembly on transfer of justice powers from London to Belfast

- Henry McDonald, Ireland correspondent
- guardian.co.uk, Monday 8 March 2010 17.36 GMT
- Article history

A meeting between the Ulster Unionists and Northern Ireland's deputy first minister aimed at securing the party's support for the devolution of policing and justice broke down in acrimony this evening.
The encounter between Martin McGuinness and a UUP delegation lasted all of three minutes at Stormont.
The latest row comes on the eve of a critical vote in the Stormont assembly on transferring justice and policing powers from London to Belfast. The UUP has indicated it will not support the last act of devolution because they believe the entire power-sharing executive is dysfunctional.
Sir Reg Empey, the UUP leader, told the Guardian last month his party would not support the transfer of these powers unless it obtained concessions on education – specifically the retention of academic selection to grammar schools at 11.
Following the aborted meeting today, the UUP released a statement condemning both McGuinness and Peter Robinson, the first minister, who is leader of the rival Democratic Unionist party. The UUP claimed it had been ejected from the deputy first minister's office.
A UUP spokesman said: "An ill-tempered deputy first minister attempted to aggressively lecture the Ulster Unionist party on policing and justice. He ridiculously accused us of being an anti-agreement party. Our delegation robustly reminded the deputy first minister that we were the party which brought power-sharing government to Stormont.
"Quite clearly dissent and disagreement are unacceptable to Sinn Féin – unfortunately for Mr McGuinness, a party voting against a motion with which it disagrees is basic, normal democratic politics."
The spokesman added that McGuinness's "angry and aggressive attempt to lecture" the UUP was "wholly unacceptable".
"When challenged on his tone, the meeting broke down. The UUP will not take lectures on our commitment to devolution from Martin McGuinness.
"If this is how Sinn Féin understands power-sharing, then it is small wonder that the [Northern Ireland] executive is dysfunctional."
If the DUP and Sinn Féin press ahead with the vote it is highly likely that the leader of the centrist, non-sectarian Alliance party, David Ford, will become the first justice minister for Northern Ireland.
The SDLP will back the transfer of policing and justice powers in the Assembly tomorrow. However the nationalist party is angry that it is not being offered the justice ministry. Under the rules governing the hand-out of ministries in the power-sharing government the SDLP are officially entitled to choose the next ministry.
The party opposes the appointment of Ford as justice minister but will still support the transfer of these powers as they want to be seen to continue to back the power-sharing arrangement.

# US Congress warns Cameron over danger of failed Ulster police deal

Yes vote on Hillsborough agreement would see policing and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month

- Nicholas Watt, chief political correspondent
- guardian.co.uk, Sunday 7 March 2010 22.12 GMT
- Article history

US secretary of state Hillary Clinton is said to be concerned at Cameron's apparent failure to exert pressure on his UUP partners. Photograph: Karim Jaafar/AFP/Getty Images

David Cameron has been given a stark warning from Washington that dissident terrorists will be "emboldened" to intensify their attacks in Northern Ireland and millions of dollars of US investment will be threatened if he fails to persuade the Tories' Ulster Unionist partners to endorse the final stage of the peace process.

In a sign of deep unease in Washington at the Tories' electoral pact with the UUP, a bipartisan group of US Congress members have demanded Cameron must "aggressively" encourage his partners to endorse the deal in a vote in the Northern Ireland assembly on Tuesday.

"At this defining moment in the peace process, it is crucial that all the political parties speak with one voice about their shared future," the members of Congress wrote in a private letter to Cameron.

Without a unanimous vote, they said, the province's elected officials would be sending the wrong message to the people they represent, and to the world.

"Dissidents are trying to destabilise the political institutions and turn the clock back ... These dissidents will continue to be emboldened if they sense there is no political unanimity on the way forward ... The challenge of bringing good jobs to Northern Ireland will be made more difficult if potential investors do not believe there is political stability."

The letter by congressional leaders of the 41 million-strong Irish-American community has been passed to the Guardian before the crucial vote on last month's Hillsborough agreement between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionists.

A yes vote would see policing and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month in what the British government has dubbed the final piece in the jigsaw of the 1998 Good Friday agreement.

The congressmen and women, whose views reflect the private misgivings of the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, wrote to Cameron after learning that his electoral partners in Northern Ireland were voicing doubts about endorsing the deal. Clinton is said to be alarmed that Cameron has either failed, or not bothered, to warn the UUP of the dangers of obstructing the deal.

A Tory source said: "David Cameron has consistently made clear that we support the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers ... We welcomed the agreement between the DUP and Sinn Féin. The final details are for the parties in the executive, working as a four-party coalition, to decide. We hope that between now and Tuesday any outstanding issues can be solved."

The Hillsborough agreement was brokered last month under a system endorsed by the UUP when it was the largest party in Northern Ireland. This says that any change must have the consent of 50% of both the nationalist and Unionist communities and 50% of the assembly.

Sir Reg Empey, the UUP leader who was one of the architects of the Good Friday agreement, will meet his party's executive tomorrow night to decide how to vote.

The deal could still be passed tomorrow without the support of the UUP because the DUP's 36 assembly members account for more than 50% of the unionist bloc. But there are fears in Washington that a no vote from the UUP, seen as a moribund force until Cameron breathed new life into it, would destabilise many members of the DUP and undermine support for the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers.

# US eyes on Northern Ireland in countdown to crucial peace vote

Hillary Clinton, the White House and Congressional leaders look for a yes vote in Belfast

By Nick Watt
Guardian

For a few hours tomorrow, the United States will turn its attention to Northern Ireland. Democratic and Republican leaders will both be watching to see whether all mainstream political parties endorse the final stage in the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement: the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers.

Sir Reg Empey, the leader of the Ulster Unionist party, is meeting his executive tonight to decide whether to vote yes. Empey has severe doubts about the deal between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist party. This would see policing

and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month – a key nationalist demand – in return for the long-standing unionist demand for a review of the way in which contentious parades are run.

Intense pressure is being placed on Empey to fall into line. Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state who has taken a keen interest in Northern Ireland since the peace process was launched in the early days of her husband's presidency, spent 15 minutes talking to Empey by phone, according to BBC Northern Ireland.

But transatlantic pressure has also been brought to bear on the other side of the Irish Sea. I reported this morning that a group of bipartisan US Congressmen have written to David Cameron asking him to use his influence with the UUP, which recently formed an electoral pact with the Tories, to vote yes.

The unease among the US Congress members is shared by Hillary Clinton. She is said to believe that Cameron would be well advised to follow the example of John Major, who was respected as an impartial referee.

The concerns in the US will raise questions about claims made in private recently by William Hague. The shadow foreign secretary is saying that, despite their political differences, he is forging a strong bond with Clinton.

But all sides need to be careful. The Tories, who support the deal between Sinn Féin and the DUP, believe that ministers need to be careful about frightening the UUP with too much political pressure. The government was this morning trumpeting a poll, commissioned by them, which showed overwhelming support among UUP voters for a yes vote. But, as Slugger O'Toole notes, there is some debate about the methodology.

"It almost feels like the government want the UUP to vote no so they can draw one of Gordon Brown's beloved dividing lines and say we are to blame for it all going wrong," one Tory tells me.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 4:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Conservatives final push

FYI, see below. I will send the Guardian article in a moment. [redacted] B5

[redacted] Look forward to discussing.

---

**From:** LeBaron, Richard B
**Sent:** Monday, March 08, 2010
**To:** Susman, Louis B; Lakhdhir, Kamala S (Belfast); 'declan.kelly[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Cc:** Roland, Kevin S (Belfast); McNicholas, Daniel F
**Subject:** Conservatives final push

**FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY**

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

**RL**

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/08/2020**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 4:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Guardian

# US Congress warns Cameron over danger of failed Ulster police deal

Yes vote on Hillsborough agreement would see policing and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month

David Cameron has been given a stark warning from Washington that dissident terrorists will be "emboldened" to intensify their attacks in Northern Ireland and millions of dollars of US investment will be threatened if he fails to persuade the Tories' Ulster Unionist partners to endorse the final stage of the peace process.

In a sign of deep unease in Washington at the Tories' electoral pact with the UUP, a bipartisan group of US Congress members have demanded Cameron must "aggressively" encourage his partners to endorse the deal in a vote in the Northern Ireland assembly on Tuesday.

"At this defining moment in the peace process, it is crucial that all the political parties speak with one voice about their shared future," the members of Congress wrote in a private letter to Cameron.

Without a unanimous vote, they said, the province's elected officials would be sending the wrong message to the people they represent, and to the world.

"Dissidents are trying to destabilise the political institutions and turn the clock back ... These dissidents will continue to be emboldened if they sense there is no political unanimity on the way forward ... The challenge of bringing good jobs to Northern Ireland will be made more difficult if potential investors do not believe there is political stability."

The letter by congressional leaders of the 41 million-strong Irish-American community has been passed to the Guardian before the crucial vote on last month's Hillsborough agreement between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionists.

A yes vote would see policing and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month in what the British government has dubbed the final piece in the jigsaw of the 1998 Good Friday agreement.

The congressmen and women, whose views reflect the private misgivings of the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, wrote to Cameron after learning that his electoral partners in Northern Ireland were voicing doubts about endorsing the deal. Clinton is said to be alarmed that Cameron has either failed, or not bothered, to warn the UUP of the dangers of obstructing the deal.

A Tory source said: "David Cameron has consistently made clear that we support the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers ... We welcomed the agreement between the DUP and Sinn Féin. The final details are for the parties in the executive, working as a four-party coalition, to decide. We hope that between now and Tuesday any outstanding issues can be solved."

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The deal could still be passed tomorrow without the support of the UUP because the DUP's 36 assembly members account for more than 50% of the unionist bloc. But there are fears in Washington that a no vote from the UUP, seen as a moribund force until Cameron breathed new life into it, would destabilise many members of the DUP and undermine support for the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Speech

Jon should've printed new draft about 30 mins ago.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 13:07:17 2010
Subject: Speech

When can we do conf call on speech?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:37 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Small dinner

Yes, I am asking for new date options.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Mar 21 13:27:13 2010
Subject: Small dinner

Can we reschedule the dinner if I can't do the 24th?

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 5:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** India/Copenhagen Accord

India has now agreed to be included on the List of Parties for the Copenhagen Accord.

1.4(D)
B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/08/2020

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 5:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: UUP to vote against justice deal

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S (Belfast)
Sent: Monday, March 08, 2010 5:17 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Susman, Louis B; LeBaron, Richard B; McNicholas, Daniel F; Nystrom, Dwight D; Boyer, Spencer P; Cormack, Maureen E; Dwyer, Stuart A; Hackworth, Jason K
Cc: Roland, Kevin S (Belfast)
Subject: BBC: UUP to vote against justice deal

UUP to vote against justice deal
Page last updated at 22:05 GMT, Monday, 8 March 2010 The Ulster Unionist Executive has endorsed the party's decision to vote against the devolution of policing and justice powers to Northern Ireland.

The assembly is to vote on whether the powers should be devolved on Tuesday.

Earlier on Monday, the UUP accused Northern Ireland Secretary Shaun Woodward of political and emotional blackmail ahead of Tuesday's vote.

Danny Kennedy said he had linked the vote to the anniversary of the murder of Constable Stephen Carroll.

The vote takes place exactly a year after the police officer was murdered by the Continuity IRA in Craigavon.

Mr Woodward said transferring justice powers on Tuesday would send an important message to those responsible for his death and dissident republicans in general.

Bur Mr Kennedy, the UUP's deputy leader, said the secretary of state was guilty of "political and emotional blackmail" and called on him to consider his position.

The UUP has been refusing to endorse the Hillsborough Agreement, insisting that matters such as education, parading and "the dysfunctional nature of the current executive" must be addressed.

On Monday night, former DUP leader Ian Paisley said the UUP would be making a "colossal mistake" by not backing the deal.

Mr Paisley was speaking to DUP members in Ballymena as he announced his retirement as MP for north Antrim.

The DUP selected his son, Ian Jnr, as its candidate in the forthcoming Westminster election at the same meeting.

Meanwhile,

It also suggested that 70% of unionists favour Northern Ireland politicians being in charge of policing issues, compared to 83% of nationalists.

Story from BBC NEWS:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/northern_ireland/8556766.stm

Published: 2010/03/08 22:05:28 GMT

© BBC MMX

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 6:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi, just broke in Guardian. Sid

# George Bush to David Cameron: don't derail Northern Ireland peace process

**Exclusive:** Former president urges Cameron to rein in Unionist partners

- Nicholas Watt
- guardian.co.uk, Monday 8 March 2010 21.20 GMT
- Article history

Former US president George Bush has called David Cameron over his concerns for the Northern Ireland peace process. Photograph: Andrew Parsons/PA

The former US president George Bush has made a direct plea to David Cameron to support the Northern Ireland peace process, amid widespread concern in the US about the Tories' new electoral pact with the Ulster Unionists.

In his most active intervention since leaving the White House, Bush took the rare step of calling the Conservative leader to ask him to use his influence to press his unionist partners to endorse the final stages of the 15-year search for a settlement.

Bush, who took a close interest in the peace process during his years in the White House, telephoned Cameron last Friday to ask him to plead with the UUP leader, Sir Reg Empey, to endorse the deal in a vote tomorrow in the Northern Ireland assembly.

Democrats and Republicans fear that the peace process could be undermined if the Ulster Unionist party, formerly Northern Ireland's largest party, which governed the province until direct rule was imposed in 1972, votes against the devolution of policing and criminal justice powers to Belfast.

While the UUP does not have enough votes to scupper the deal, the White House fears a no vote from the UUP could undermine support for the settlement within the Democratic Unionist party and among the wider unionist community.

Cameron has faced intense pressure in recent months over his decision to form an electoral pact with the UUP, which could provide him with crucial support if the general election leads to a hung parliament. The pact has prompted fears in Washington that Cameron may abandon the even-handed approach to Northern Ireland adopted by John Major in the early years of the peace process.

The Guardian understands that the White House is so concerned that the US economic envoy to Northern Ireland, Declan Kelly, persuaded Bush to intervene. The former president telephoned Cameron to ask him to use his influence to persuade Empey to vote for the deal.

"There was a feeling that a conservative to conservative conversation was the right way to go about this," said one source familiar with the transatlantic negotiations. "This conversation was borne out of the concern that Empey is holding out."

Another source familiar with the contact said: "This is the most active thing George W Bush has done in his post-presidency period. He has been incredibly restrained and diplomatic since leaving the White House. He has maintained radio silence."

One source familiar with thinking on Northern Ireland on both sides of the Atlantic added: "The fact that George W Bush has decided to intervene is really significant. He was interested in the peace process as president and appointed an envoy. It is a general sign of how concerned people are in the US about what David Cameron is up to."

A Tory source said: "George Bush did have a conversation with David Cameron. It was a positive conversation. David underlined his commitment to the agreement and said we are doing all we can to support it. But he said that we cannot force Sir Reg to vote for it. George Bush thanked David and said, 'I can see you are engaged.'"

The disclosure of Bush's intervention came as Empey met the executive of his party tonight to decide whether to endorse the deal brokered last month at Hillsborough Castle between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionists that would see policing and criminal justice powers devolved to Belfast next month.

The UUP leader, who is minister for employment and learning in the four-party power sharing executive, believes it is foolish to devolve the final set of powers while the coalition is struggling to function. In a sign of Empey's unease about endorsing the deal, a meeting between the UUP and the Sinn Féin deputy first minster, Martin McGuinness, broke up after just three minutes tonight.

The White House and political leaders across the spectrum in the US have been watching developments with care. Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state, today pleaded with Empey in a 15-minute telephone call to support the deal.

A group of US Congress members wrote to Cameron last month to issue a stark warning that dissident terrorists will be "emboldened" to intensify their attacks if he fails to persuade the Tories' partners to endorse the final stage of the peace process.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Rch confirmed for 6pm

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 6:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call From Qadhafi Staffer

FYI

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**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Sent:** Monday, March 08, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Call From Qadhafi Staffer

Look at this -- from our Embassy in Tripoli, about the Qadhafi rage over PJ's remarks.

B5

*Jeffrey Feltman*
*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*
202-647-7209

---

**From:** Lempert, Yael
**Sent:** Monday, March 08, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Cretz, Gene A; Polaschik, Joan A; Nardi, Margaret H; Kalmbach, Heather E; Baker, Natalie A
**Subject:** Call From Qadhafi Staffer

**Jeff,**

**Wanted to fill you in on a call I just received from key Qadhafi staffer Mabrouka al Sharef; she's the one who initially flagged for us last week that there was GOL blowback to A/S Crowley's comments.**

**Sharef began by stating how much Libya valued the bilateral relationship with the US, how we had all worked for years to improve things between our countries, "only to have it all ruined in one minute by your spokesman." Sharef said she had sat in on meetings today with Qadhafi, PM Baghdadi, and Qadhafi chief of staff Bashir Saleh. She said all were "angry and upset" that there had still been no apology from the USG for the "insult to the Leader." I reviewed with her Crowley's March 5 comments, noting that he had clarified his remarks were off-hand (I translated that in Arabic as ""non-official.") I also briefed her on your and A/S Crowley's meeting with Aujali, which she had clearly not yet heard about (which means Q most likely had also not been briefed on it). Sharef said such a meeting was appreciated, but did not meet the Libyan demand for an apology. She said, repeatedly throughout the conversation, "The Brother Leader is upset that no one from the USG has explained that this spokesman was not speaking for them, and made clear that his comments were wrong, and apologized for them. He expected behavior and words like this from Switzerland, not from the US." She noted that Q had remarked that he had said nice things about President Obama during his meetings with people from the US Embassy ("You reported that back to Washington, right"; I assured her we had), and was thus surprised that the USG responded with "the words of gangsters!" Sharef repeatedly referenced NOC Chair Ghanem's meeting last Thursday with the GM's from US oil companies: "We don't want to have to take measures against them, but such insults to the Leader cannot stand. Why has the US not publicly distanced itself from Crowley and his comments?!" She**

**treated me to a lengthy detailing of Swiss criminality and violations of international agreements, and then said, "But even the Swiss haven't said what your spokesman did!"**

**I reviewed again with her Crowley's March 5 comments, and noted that, as he is the spokesman for the State Department, he is the correct person, in our view, to remark on the situation; it wouldn't be in keeping with USG practice for someone other than the Department spokesman to comment (i.e. no distancing of the USG from Crowley). I emphasized that the US was not involved, and did not want to be involved, in the Swiss-Libya dispute, we just hope it is resolved soon. I stressed that the US values its relationship with Libya, and wants to continue improving the relationship, and get past this unfortunate bad spot we currently are in. I asked if it would be helpful if a senior USG official called Q to discuss issues of bilateral interest, and reinforce the importance of the relationship. At first, she brushed off such an idea – "that won't be a public apology" – but at the end of our conversation, returned to the idea, noting that it was interesting, and inquiring as to which USG official might call. I said I didn't want to make any promises I couldn't keep; that I'd check with Washington and get back to her with further details tomorrow. She reiterated that she liked the idea, and said we should discuss it further over coffee tomorrow or Wednesday.**

**Sharef closed by mentioning that she "and most Libyans" are "hand in hand with the US ... we want a good relationship with you, as we like you, you're not like the Europeans."**

**Appreciate your guidance as to whether I can discuss further details of possible call with Sharef tomorrow.**

**Thanks, and sorry our hosts are taking up so much of your time lately!,**

**Yael**

RELEASE IN PART
B5

DRAFT – AIPAC – D Schwerin – ~~v3~~v5, 03/~~18~~12~~09~~/10 – ~~3610~~ 356~~746~~ words

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
# REMARKS TO AIPAC
# WASHINGTON, DC
# MARCH 22, 2010

B5

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Libya

B5

I was thinking the same thing after Jeff's latest missive last night.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 09 06:50:48 2010
Subject: Libya

Explain again why we shouldn't have PJ apologize?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 7:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Libya

Roger

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 09 07:55:46 2010
Subject: Re: Libya

B5

Talk w PJ and Jeff before staff mtg and work out appropriate language.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 09 07:40:06 2010
Subject: Re: Libya

I was thinking the same thing after Jeff's latest missive last night.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 09 06:50:48 2010
Subject: Libya

Explain again why we shouldn't have PJ apologize?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: fyi. sid

yes, within about 15 min. Have been writing and also talking it out with Joe Wilson. Coming very soon.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Sun, Mar 21, 2010 2:58 pm
Subject: Re: H: fyi. sid

Are you still sending?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sun Mar 21 08:33:36 2010

Subject: Re: H: fyi. sid

I will send you a memo this morning

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

Date: Sun, 21 Mar 2010 08:22:29

To: 'sbwhoeop

Subject: Re: H: fyi. sid

I have to speak to AIPAC tomorrow. How--and should--i use this?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sat Mar 20 17:54:00 2010

Subject: H: fyi. sid

H: Uri Avnery, the Israeli analyst and activist, is privately circulating this analysis today. One consequence: Petraeus cannot run as a Republican. At least Putin didn't bring his big dogs in with him like he did with Merkel. Cheers, Sid

Uri Avnery

20.3.10

The Doomsday Weapon

IT IS already a commonplace to say that people who don't learn from history are condemned to repeat their mistakes.

Some 1942 years ago, the Jews in the province called Palaestina launched a revolt against the Roman Empire. In retrospect, this looks like an act of madness. Palestine was a small and insignificant part of the world-wide empire which had just won a crushing victory against the rival power - the Parthian Empire (Persia) - and put down a major rebellion in Britain. What chances could the Jewish revolt have?

God knows what was going on in the mind of the "Zealots". They eliminated the moderate leaders, who warned against provoking the empire, and gained sway over the Jewish population of the country. They relied on God. Perhaps they also relied on the Jews in Rome and believed that their influence over the Senate would restrain the Emperor, Nero. Perhaps they had heard that Nero was weak and about to fall.

We know how it ended: after three years, the rebels were crushed, Jerusalem fell and the temple was burned down. The last of the Zealots committed suicide in Masada.

The Zionists did indeed try to learn from history. They acted in a rational way, did not provoke the great powers, endeavored in every situation to attain what was possible. They accepted compromises, and every compromise served them as a basis for the next surge forward. They cleverly utilized the radical stance of their adversaries and gained the sympathy of the whole world.

But since the beginning of the occupation, their mind has become clouded. The cult of Masada has become dominant. Divine promises once again start to play a role in public discourse. Large parts of the public are following the new zealots.

The next phase is also repeating itself: the leaders of Israel are starting a rebellion against the new Rome.

WHAT BEGAN as an insult to the Vice President of the United States is developing into something far bigger. The mouse has given birth to an elephant.

Lately, the ultra-right government in Jerusalem has started to treat President Barack Obama with thinly veiled contempt. The fears that arose in Jerusalem at the beginning of his term have dissipated. Obama looks to them like a paper black panther. He gave up his demand for a real settlement freeze. Every time he was spat on, he remarked that it was raining.

Yet now, ostensibly quite suddenly, the measure is full. Obama, his Vice President and his senior assistants condemn the Netanyahu government with

growing severity. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has submitted an ultimatum: Netanyahu must stop all settlement activity, East Jerusalem included; he must agree to negotiate about all core problems of the conflict, including East Jerusalem, and more.

The surprise was complete. Obama, it seems, has crossed the Rubicon, much as the Egyptian army had crossed the Suez Canal in 1973. Netanyahu gave the order to mobilize all the reserves in America and to move forward all the diplomatic tanks. All Jewish organizations in the US were commanded to join the campaign. AIPAC blew the shofar and ordered its soldiers, the Senators and Congressmen, to storm the White House.

It seems that the decisive battle has been joined. The Israeli leaders were certain that Obama would be defeated.

And then an unusual noise was heard: the sound of the doomsday weapon.

THE MAN who decided to activate it was a foe of a new kind.

David Petraeus is the most popular officer of the United States army. The four-star general, son of a Dutch sea captain who went to America when his country was overrun by the Nazis, stood out from early childhood. In West Point he was a "distinguished cadet", in Army Command and General Staff College he was No. 1. As a combat commander, he reaped plaudits. He wrote his doctoral thesis (on the lessons of Vietnam) at Princeton and served as an assistant professor for international relations in the US Military Academy.

He made his mark in Iraq, when he commanded the forces in Mosul, the most problematical city in the country. He concluded that in order to vanquish the enemies of the US he must win over the hearts of the civilian population,

acquire local allies and spend more money than ammunition. The locals called him King David. His success was considered so outstanding that his methods were adopted as the official doctrine of the American army.

His star rose rapidly. He was appointed commander of the coalition forces in Iraq and soon became the chief of the Central Command of the US army, which covers the whole Middle East , except Israel and Palestine (which "belong" to the American command in Europe).

When such a person raises his voice, the American people listen. As a respected military thinker, he has no rivals.

THIS WEEK, Petraeus conveyed an unequivocal message: after reviewing the problems in his AOR (Area Of Responsibility) - which includes, among others, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Yemen - he turned to what he called the "root causes of instability" in the region. The list was topped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In his report to the Armed Services Committee he stated: "The enduring hostilities between Israel and some of its neighbors present distinct challenges to our ability to advance our interests in the AOR…The conflict foments anti-American sentiment, due to a perception of U.S. favoritism for Israel. Arab anger over the Palestinian question limits the strength and depth of U.S. partnerships with governments and peoples in the AOR and weakens the legitimacy of moderate regimes in the Arab world. Meanwhile, al-Qaeda and other militant groups exploit that anger to mobilize support. The conflict also gives Iran influence in the Arab world through its clients, Lebanese Hizballah and Hamas."

Not content with that, Petraeus sent his officers to present his conclusions to the Joint Chiefs of Staff,

In other words: Israeli-Palestinian peace is not a private matter between the two parties, but a supreme national interest of the USA. That means that the US must give up its one-sided support for the Israeli government and impose the two-state solution.

The argument as such is not new. Several experts have said more or less the same in the past. (Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, I wrote in a similar vein and prophesied that the US would change its policy. It did not happen then.) But now this is being stated in an official document written by the responsible American commander.

The Netanyahu government immediately went into damage-limitation mode. Its spokespersons declared that Petraeus represents a narrow military approach, that he doesn't understand political matters, that his reasoning is faulty. But it is not this that made people in Jerusalem break out into cold sweat.

AS IS well known, the pro-Israel lobby dominates the American political system without limits - almost. Every American politician and senior official is mortally afraid of it. The slightest deviation from the strict AIPAC line is tantamount to political suicide.

But in the armor of this political Goliath there is a chink. Like Achilles' heel, the immense might of the pro-Israel lobby has a vulnerable point that, when touched, can neutralize its power.

It was illustrated by the Jonathan Pollard affair. This American-Jewish employee of a sensitive intelligence agency spied for Israel. Israelis consider him a national hero, a Jew who did his duty to his people. But for the US intelligence community, he is a traitor who endangered the lives of many American agents. Not

satisfied with a routine penalty, it induced the court to impose a life sentence. Since then, all American presidents have refused the requests of successive Israeli governments to commute the sentence. No president dared to confront his intelligence chiefs in this matter.

But the most significant side of this affair is reminiscent of the famous words of Sherlock Holmes about the dogs that did not bark. AIPAC did not bark. The entire American Jewish community fell silent. Almost nobody raised their voice for poor Pollard.

Why? Because most American Jews are ready to do anything - just anything - for the government of Israel. With one exception: they will not do anything that appears to hurt the security of the United States. When the flag of security is hoisted, the Jews, like all Americans, snap to attention and salute. The Damocles sword of suspicion of disloyalty hangs above their heads. For them, this is the ultimate nightmare: to be accused of putting the security of Israel ahead of the security of the US. Therefore it is important for them to repeat endlessly the mantra that the interests of Israel and the US are identical.

And now comes the most important general of the US Army and says that this is not so. The policy of the present Israeli government is endangering the lives of American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan.

FOR NOW, this is being said only as a side remark, in a military document that has not been widely aired. But the sword has been drawn from its scabbard - and American Jews have started to tremble at the distant rumble of an approaching earthquake.

This week, Netanyahu's brother-in-law has used our own doomsday weapon. He declared that Obama is an "anti-Semite". The official newspaper of the Shas

party has asserted that Obama is really a Muslim. They represent the radical right and its allies, who argue in speech and in writing that "Hussein" Obama is a Jew-hating black who must be beaten in the coming congressional elections and in the next presidential ones.

(Yet an important poll in Israel published yesterday shows that the Israeli public is far from convinced by these insinuations: the vast majority believes that Obama's treatment of Israel is fair. Indeed, Obama got higher marks than Netanyahu.)

If Obama decides to fight back and activate his doomsday weapon - the accusation that Israel puts the lives of American servicemen at risk - this would have catastrophic consequences for Israel.

For the time being, this is only a shot across the bow - a warning shot fired by a warship in order to induce another vessel to follow its instructions. The warning is clear. Even if the present crisis is somehow damped down, it will inevitably flare up again and again as long as the present coalition in Israel stays in power.

When the movie "Hurt Locker" won its awards, the entire American public was united in its concern about the lives of its soldiers in the Middle East. If this public becomes convinced that Israel is sticking a knife in their back, it will be a disaster for Netanyahu. And not just for him.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768491 Date: 08/31/2015

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CONFIDENTIAL

March 21, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: AIPAC speech

This memo does not address specific policy initiatives.

What I've written are options. Use what you like, or none at all. Here are some ideas:

1. Hold Bibi's feet to the fire, remind everyone he was at Wye, his key participant event in the peace process, and that it was successful.

2. Reassure all players of our commitment to the process and the solution (whatever the language is).

3. Perhaps most controversial, I would argue something you should do is that, while praising AIPAC, remind it in as subtle but also direct a way as you can that it does not have a monopoly over American Jewish opinion. Bibi is stage managing US Jewish organizations (and neocons, and the religious right, and whomever else he can muster) against the administration. AIPAC itself has become an organ of the Israeli right, specifically Likud. By acknowledging J Street you give them legitimacy, credibility and create room within the American Jewish community for debate supportive of the administration's pursuit of the peace process. Just by mentioning J Street in passing, AIPAC becomes a point on the spectrum, not the controller of the spectrum. I suggest a way how to do this below.

Some language:

1. On US national security interest, Israel's security and the peace process:

The reason the US has always supported Israel since the moment President Harry S. Truman decided to recognize the State of Israel is that it is in the US national security interest and consistent with our values. It is in our interest to support a thriving democracy in the Middle East

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768491 Date: 08/31/2015

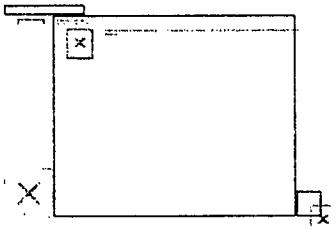
Only through the marketplace of ideas will sound policies to help resolve complicated and seemingly intransigent problems be developed. This administration values everybody's views. They are important. You are important. We welcome views across the spectrum, from AIPAC to J Street. All these views are legitimate and must be heard and considered.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** and in case you haven't seen, Ignatius column today in Wash Post. Sid

[redacted]

NEWS | POLITICS | O[redacted]



# Time to break the fog of Middle East politics

By David Ignatius
Sunday, March 21, 2010; A19

Diplomats love ambiguity. It allows them to fuzz up the hard parts of a negotiation -- the "final status" issues, as they're often called -- and save them for later, when the parties are more amenable to pressure.

This devotion to "constructive ambiguity" has been a hallmark of U.S. peacemaking on the Palestinian-Israeli issue for 40 years. Rather than state the unpalatable concessions that most analysts recognize will be required for any viable settlement -- that Israelis must share sovereignty in Jerusalem and that Palestinians must give up the "right of return" to Israel -- successive U.S. administrations have tried to defer these unmentionables until later.

But the fog machine blew apart this month, when the Israeli Interior Ministry announced during a visit by Vice President Biden that Israel would build 1,600 more housing units in East Jerusalem. The Obama administration was upset, to put it mildly: Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called the housing announcement a "deeply negative signal" about U.S.-Israeli relations and "an insult."

In the ensuing hubbub over the "crisis" in U.S.-Israeli relations, there have been frantic attempts to pretend it was all a misunderstanding and pull the cloak of ambiguity back over the peace process. But that's a mistake.

The East Jerusalem move wasn't an accident but an emphatic public statement of the Israeli right's rejection of concessions on Jerusalem. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu had been trying to play along with U.S. requests to fuzz the issue by avoiding provocative actions on Jerusalem. But the right-wing Shas party, which controls the Interior Ministry, basically called his bluff.

"Freezing building in East Jerusalem is one of those things we cannot do," said Dore Gold, a right-wing former Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. And Avigdor Lieberman, the Israeli foreign minister and a settler himself, responded: "Can you imagine if they told Jews in New York they could not build or buy in Queens?"

So what should the administration do, now that the Israeli right has put Jerusalem squarely on the table despite the best efforts of the ambiguity-addicted diplomats?

The administration's best strategy is to do what it considered a year ago, which is to state clearly the basic principles that must frame these negotiations. Those guidelines have been articulated well by Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former national security adviser: real sharing of Jerusalem; no right of return for the Palestinians; a return to the 1967 borders, with mutual adjustments to allow for big Israeli settlement blocks; and a demilitarized Palestinian state. Every negotiation for the past four decades has converged toward those parameters.

The Obama administration debated whether to issue such a statement of principles a year ago, when it began its peacemaking effort. Launching negotiations with this "big bang" made sense to some officials, including Gen. Jim Jones, the national security adviser. But George Mitchell, the Middle East envoy, argued that based on his experience in the Northern Ireland peace talks, it was better to let the parties haggle before the United States stepped in with bridging proposals.

Rather than stating U.S. negotiating principles at the outset, the Obama team decided instead to push Netanyahu on settlements. The administration picked this fight in the flush of President Obama's first months in office, confident that he

was so strong and Netanyahu so weak that if it came to a showdown, Netanyahu would cave. The Israeli leader coolly bided his time, dickering about procedural issues while Obama got weaker politically by the month. Netanyahu finally agreed in November to a temporary moratorium on new settlements -- but it excluded Jerusalem. The administration should have seen what was coming.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the step-by-step approach was a mistake: Constructive ambiguity, in this case, proved destructive. It allowed the Israeli right wing to perpetuate the idea that it could have it all -- obtain a peace deal without making concessions on Jerusalem. And it allowed Netanyahu to continue his straddle.

Jerusalem is the hardest issue of all in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiation, and for that reason, would-be peacemakers have wanted to save it for last. But this month's crisis makes that strategic waffling impossible. Thanks to the Israeli right, the Jerusalem issue is joined.

What's needed now is for Obama to announce that when negotiations begin, the United States will state its views about Jerusalem and other key issues -- sketching the outlines of the deal that most Israelis and Palestinians want. If Netanyahu refuses to play, then we have a real crisis in U.S.-Israeli relations.

davidignatius@washpost.com

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**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Water speech

I am on travel with the Secretary and have very irregular email access. If you need to reach me urgently, please call the State Department Operations Center. Otherwise, I'll get back to you the week of March 22.

Thanks,
Tomicah

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B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 12:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Peace vote

Shaun just called. Vote just happened. UUP unanimously voted against. DUP held firm. Agreement passed. You might call Shaun and Robinson and McGuinness to congratulate. More later. Sid Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

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**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Water speech

Yes -- I'm finalizing the visuals now and should have it for you in the next half hour.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:52:40 2010
Subject: Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

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**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 1:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: If haven't already, put out statement to press, esp UK and Irish press. You should be in subsequent stories. Sid

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# UUP rejects Tory plea and votes against devolution of policing powers

New justice ministry is created without backing of Conservative allies in Stormont

- Comments (...)

- Henry McDonald and Andrew Sparrow
- guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 9 March 2010 17.37 GMT
-

Ulster Unionist leader Sir Reg Empey walks past a TV monitor displaying the Northern Ireland chamber meeting at Stormont in Belfast today. Photograph: Peter Muhly/AFP/Getty Images

The final part of the Northern Ireland devolution deal was put in place today, giving the province its first justice minister since the Troubles erupted four decades ago.

Nationalists and unionists in the Stormont parliament voted together to create the new justice ministry, completing the last act of the Good Friday agreement.

But there was discord inside the Stormont parliament after the Conservatives' allies in Northern Ireland, the Ulster Unionists, and their 18-strong assembly team, voted against the move.

Despite an 11th hour intervention by David Cameron imploring the UUP to vote yes, the party refused to back the historic measure.

The party's stance puts Cameron in a difficult position: he is in favour of the devolution of justice to Belfast, but his electoral pact with the UUP risks exposing him to criticism that a Conservative government could not claim to be an "honest broker" when there are disagreements between the parties at Stormont.

Today's vote came just before 5pm, when 88 assembly members from Sinn Féin and the DUP joined the SDLP and smaller parties to back the transfer of policing and judicial powers to Belfast.

But the UUP resisted pressure – from, among others, former US president George Bush – to support the measure.

Speaking on the assembly floor, Sir Reg Empey, the UUP leader, said his party had voted no "as a democratic political

party pledged to making power-sharing work in an inclusive manner for all the people of Northern Ireland, and we exercise our rights refusing to bow to the blackmail and bullying to which we have been subjected in recent weeks."
The deputy first minister, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness, earlier denounced the UUP stance, claiming it was intended to embarrass the DUP.
"The UUP declared last night that they will not support this resolution," McGuinness told the assembly.
"That saddens and disappoints me. They are opposed in my view to the transfer for cynical party political reasons."
In a statement after the vote, Gordon Brown praised the parties which backed the deal. "Today the politics of progress have finally replaced the politics of division in Northern Ireland," the prime minister said. "The completion of devolution, supported by all sections of the community in Northern Ireland, is the final end to decades of strife. It sends the most powerful message to those who would return to violence: that democracy and tolerance will prevail.
"The courage and leadership of the parties who voted to complete devolution at Stormont will be noted around the world."
The Conservatives welcomed the vote, without mentioning the UUP's rejection of the move. A Tory spokesman said: "We welcome the fact that devolution of policing and justice is going to happen. We wanted all four parties to be involved and for it to be decided by local politicians."
But the Liberal Democrats called on Cameron to "clarify the position of his Tory-UUP alliance on the devolution of policing and justice powers".
Alistair Carmichael, their spokesman on Northern Ireland, said: "With the UUP saying one thing, and the Tories saying the complete opposite, voters will struggle to understand what exactly joint Tory-UUP candidates stand for. What we're seeing is the Tories in complete disarray. When it takes George Bush to step in as the voice of reason, it's clear that David Cameron has dug himself a very big hole."
Carmichael added: "This raises serious questions about David Cameron's judgment. If he can't manage to steer a straight course in opposition, how on earth would he cope as prime minister?"
Earlier there was acrimony in the Great Hall at Stormont when a victims' campaigner attempted to serve a civil writ against McGuinness.
Willie Frazer of the group Families Acting for Innocent Relatives threw the legal document in McGuinness's direction after the deputy first minister refused to take it off him. Frazer is taking a civil action in Belfast high court against the Sinn Féin MP because he alleges McGuinness directed the IRA's campaign during the Troubles. The south Armagh unionist's father was shot dead by the IRA.
The FAIR spokesman said he had chosen yesterday because the DUP "had betrayed me and other victims" by agreeing to devolve policing and justice powers. Frazer predicted that Sinn Féin would exercise a major influence over the police and judiciary even though the centrist, non-sectarian Alliance party leader, David Ford, will be the first justice minister.
Frazer said: "I am very disappointed in the DUP because for years they said the things victims wanted to hear and now they have done a complete somersault. All along they told me that Sinn Féin would never get their hands on policing and justice but they have a say. Mr Ford is answerable to the executive and that means the deputy first minister, Martin McGuinness. That is why the only action left to me is a civil action. I feel very let down by a number of DUP people."
The DUP will suffer at the polls for this U-turn, Frazer predicted.


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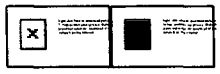
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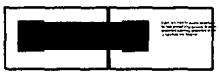
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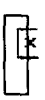
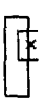
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**5 Dec 2008**

Iain Dale: An enlightened merger of Ulster Unionists and Conservatives

**13 Jun 2002**

UUP may merge with Tories

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11 Mar 2009:
Thousands gather across Northern Ireland to hold silent vigils in protest against the murders of two soldiers and a policeman by dissident republicans
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 6:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jim

He cannot do 7.
Asking if you can do 8pm?

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/17/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 6:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Haiti

They are on board philosophically but don't know how much he would say vis-a-vis Raj

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Apr 17 16:28:12 2010
Subject: Re: Haiti

We have such a strong case. Can we try to get Sibelius and Vilsack on board?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:48:25 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti

See his last point.

cdm

From: Goosby, Eric
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:48 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: RE: Haiti

Cheryl:

The National MSPP is just the Ministry of Health for Haiti at the National level (Minister Larsen's office). We spent a long time with him and [redacted] B5
B6

We plan to discuss the USG contributions next week and in the April 26th meeting with the MSPP. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] In our TA strategy that ( attached in the original email), we outline the areas we can specifically support them in developing the capabilities needed to be a strong oversight National office of Health that can lead and support the Department ministries in carrying out the work.

Right now we have committed to talking further with the Cubans about reconstruction efforts and in further clarifying the role they would play with HUEH. There are many areas we could work together with the Cubans that would be beneficial to the Haitian medical system. You will still have the opportunity to call final package. We will make sure we are clear where our proposal overlaps with the final vision of the Haitians and other donors.

Whole of Government Approach:

[redacted]

Eric

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:10 PM
To: Goosby, Eric
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: RE: Haiti

Eric

Thank you for this and for coming – I am very grateful.

I have always understood that while GOH appreciated Cuban doctors and training, [redacted] I understand that frame, and assuming they have physicians and managers, it makes complete sense. 1.4(D) B1

What I still feel like is a bit of a mystery to me, though I know once Dalberg has the proposed final strategy, they will do a careful implementation plan at the direction of you and Judith, is what exactly this means for USG specific activities.

For example:

[redacted] B5

Thanks.

cdm

From: Goosby, Eric
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 12:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: Haiti

Cheryl:

I hope you completed your trip and returned safely. I got back yesterday. I just wanted to close the loop on the discussions I completed with the Ministry of Health Haiti (MSPP) and a brief update on the discussion with the Cubans.

Cuban Delegation:

1. We agreed to talk further about the specifics of the collaboration with the Cuban-Haitian Government, to meet on April 22-23rd to discuss specifics and then again after the April 26th meeting.

2. Agreed to develop a National MSPP focused Technical Assistance Strategy

[redacted] B5

After the Cuban discussion ended, we toured the HUEH hospital with Drs. Henry and Thimothe followed by a long dinner with Minister Larsen agreed to do the following:

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

2. Meet with the Cuban Delegation as discussed April 22-23 and post Donor Meeting

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

I hope to catch up with you soon, see you Monday. I am in the office most of the weekend if you want to talk.

Eric

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 9:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Gates/Iran

Have you seen this story? I look forward to discussing.

Gates Says U.S. Lacks Strategy to Curb Iran's Nuclear Drive

By DAVID E. SANGER and THOM SHANKER
Published: April 18, 2010

WASHINGTON - Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates has warned in a secret three-page memorandum to top White House officials that the United States does not have an effective long-range policy for dealing with Iran's steady progress toward nuclear capability, according to government officials familiar with the document.

Several officials said the highly classified analysis, written in January to President Obama's national security adviser, Gen. James L. Jones, touched off an intense effort inside the Pentagon, the White House and the intelligence agencies to develop new options for Mr. Obama. They include a revised set of military alternatives, still under development, to be considered should diplomacy and sanctions fail to force Iran to change course.

Officials familiar with the memo's contents would describe only portions dealing with strategy and policy, and not sections that apparently dealt with secret operations against Iran, or how to deal with Persian Gulf allies.

One senior official, who like others spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the memo, described the document as "a wake-up call." But White House officials dispute that view, insisting that for 15 months they had been conducting detailed planning for many possible outcomes regarding Iran's nuclear program.

In an interview on Friday, General Jones declined to speak about the memorandum. But he said: "On Iran, we are doing what we said we were going to do. The fact that we don't announce publicly our entire strategy for the world to see doesn't mean we don't have a strategy that anticipates the full range of contingencies - we do."

But in his memo, Mr. Gates wrote of a variety of concerns, including the absence of an effective strategy should Iran choose the course that many government and outside analysts consider likely: Iran could assemble all the major parts it needs for a nuclear weapon - fuel, designs and detonators - but stop just short of assembling a fully operational weapon.

In that case, Iran could remain a signatory of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty while becoming what strategists call a "virtual" nuclear weapons state.

According to several officials, the memorandum also calls for new thinking about how the United States might contain Iran's power if it decided to produce a weapon, and how to deal with the possibility that fuel or weapons could be obtained by one of the terrorist groups Iran has supported, which officials said they considered to be a less-likely possibility.

Mr. Gates has never mentioned the memo in public. His spokesman, Geoff Morrell, declined comment on specifics in the document, but issued a statement on Saturday saying, "The secretary believes the president and his national security team have spent an extraordinary amount of time and effort considering and preparing for the full range of contingencies with respect to Iran."

Pressed on the administration's ambiguous phrases until now about how close the United States was willing to allow Iran's program to proceed, a senior administration official described last week in somewhat clearer terms that there was a line Iran would not be permitted to cross.

The official said that the United States would ensure that Iran would not "acquire a nuclear capability," a step Tehran could get to well before it developed a sophisticated weapon. "That includes the ability to have a breakout," he said, using the term nuclear specialists apply to a country that suddenly renounces the nonproliferation treaty and uses its technology to build a small arsenal.

Nearly two weeks ago, Mr. Obama, in an interview with The New York Times, was asked about whether he saw a difference between a nuclear-capable Iran and one that had a fully developed weapon. "I'm not going to parse that right now," he said. But he noted that North Korea was considered a nuclear-capable state until it threw out inspectors and, as he said, "became a self-professed nuclear state."

Mr. Gates has alluded to his concern that intelligence agencies might miss signals that Iran was taking the final steps toward producing a weapon. Last Sunday on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," he said: "If their policy is to go to the threshold but not assemble a nuclear weapon, how do you tell that they have not assembled? I don't actually know how you would verify that." But he cautioned that Iran had run into production difficulties, and he said, "It's going slow - slower than they anticipated, but they are moving in that direction."

Mr. Gates has taken a crucial role in formulating the administration's strategy, and he has been known over his career to issue stark warnings against the possibility of strategic surprise.

Some officials said his memo should be viewed in that light: as a warning to a relatively new president that the United States was not adequately prepared.

He wrote the memo after Iran had let pass a 2009 deadline set by Mr. Obama to respond to his offers of diplomatic engagement.

Both that process and efforts to bring new sanctions against Iran have struggled. Administration officials had hoped that the revelation by Mr. Obama in September that Iran was building a new uranium enrichment plant inside a mountain near Qum would galvanize other nations against Iran, but the reaction was muted. The next three months were spent in what proved to be fruitless diplomatic talks with Iran over a plan to swap much of its low-enriched uranium for fuel for a medical reactor in Tehran. By the time Mr. Gates wrote his memo, those negotiations had collapsed.

Mr. Gates's memo appears to reflect concerns in the upper echelons of the Pentagon and the military that the White House did not have a well-prepared series of alternatives in place in case all the diplomatic steps finally failed. In fact, just before Mr. Gates issued his warning, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, wrote an official "chairman's guidance" to his staff saying that while any military option would have "limited results" against Iran's nuclear facilities, preparations needed to be stepped up.

"Should the president call for military options, we must have them ready," the admiral wrote.

Administration officials testifying before a Senate committee last week made it clear that those preparations were under way. So did General Jones. "The president has made it clear from the beginning of this administration that we need to be prepared for every possible contingency," he said in the interview. "That is what we have done from day one, while successfully building a coalition of nations to isolate Iran and pressure it to live up to its obligations."

At the same hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Lt. Gen. Ronald L. Burgess Jr., director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, and Gen. James E. Cartwright, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the military's most experienced officers on nuclear matters, said that Iran could produce bomb-grade fuel for at least one nuclear weapon within a year, but that it would probably need two to five years to manufacture a workable atomic bomb.

The administration has been stepping up efforts to contain the influence of Iran and counter its missiles, including placing Patriot anti-missile batteries, mostly

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 4:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From the road

I wanted to give you some brief observations from my trip to Lithuania. First of all, their friendship with the US and respect for you was much in evidence on all levels. Most of the cabinet turned out for the reception that the amb hosted for me. The FM went out his way to tell me what it meant to get a call from you when he assumed his position (he's hoping to have a few mins with you in Tallin). As far as Lith has to go, it has achieved some remarkable achievements for Eastern Eur. They have a female president, Speaker, Finance minister and def. minister. I had a good meeting with the President and thanked her for Lith commitment to our collective efforts in afghanistan. They run the smallest PRT and, despite a tough economy, have done everything we've asked in terms of additional support since the surge. The meeting with the Speaker and top women members of the parl'nt was yet another reminder of your inspiration over many years. One of the women was at the Vienna VV conf and said she's in politics today because of you. Another read about safe birthing kits in your book and was inspired to send several thousand to Afghanistan. They are eager for more opportunities to work together.

I came primarily to launch the new working group on gender that we and Lith are co-chairing. There was much gratitude for our leadership with them in the Community of Democracies.
The meaning of democracy is so strong for people who had to stuggle for it more recently. They really feel this is an important time to renew the understanding of democ, particularly after the bruising it underwent over the last several years.
We had terrific turnout from other countries, many comments about you and references to Beijing and Iceland VV conf. (So many people told me the impact Vienna and Iceland had on them). We left our meeting with many commitments for future concrete projects that will be undertaken. There is great hope that you will be in Krakow in July for the CD ministerial. The Lith CD coordinator headed to Belgium the next day for an EU meeting. He told me he got a very positive response for our gender initiative and that Ashton was particularly excited about it. The EU is locating their new gender institute in Lithuania and they are ager for our help.
The Dutch minister who came
said the outcome of their election in June will say much about the nature of their ongoing commitment in Afg.
Lastly, I arrived shortly after the Polish tragedy. There is a very close relationship between the 2 countries and their grief was palpable. Jolenta Kwasniewska and several other Poles came to the CD meeting. She told me that they lost so many of their top leaders across all sectors of society, incl several top women leaders. Jolenta' foundation has been very active in advancing women's progress in Poland as well as working in other countries.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 10:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI, a little collaboration in the spirit of postpartisanship. Sid

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joe-wilson/emcourage-and-consequence_b_492602.html?view=print

March 9, 2010
x

## Joseph C. Wilson

# *Courage and Consequence*: Less Memoir Than Hoax

Karl Rove's book *Courage and Consequence* is less memoir than hoax. The chapters that relate to the CIA leak scandal are yet another attempt to deflect attention from his central role in the betrayal of Valerie Plame Wilson's identity as a covert CIA officer.

His distortions and fabrications are consistent with his approach throughout this sordid and criminal affair. Wasting his opportunity to tell the truth, he offers absolutely nothing new, and his selective use of facts and quotes are a transparent effort to continue his long campaign to confuse people, unfortunately consistent with his past behavior.

His book is a pathetically weak defense of the disastrous policies pursued by the Bush administration, involving our country in a war of choice based on false intelligence and badly tarnishing the good name of the United States of America. Nothing in Karl Rove's book refutes those facts. His book, however, is illuminating in further exposing his political methods, especially his reliance on personal insults, not simply towards Valerie and myself, but also towards all those who opposed his unprincipled behavior.

If any additional proof to the irrefutable historical record were needed, Rove's book demonstrates once again the actions of a vindictive, angry and petty man. Karl Rove betrayed his nation; now he has betrayed history.

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 11:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: You are at top of NI story. Sid

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# Stormont votes to take over Northern Ireland policing powers

- Power-sharing finalised as assembly agrees to first justice minister since Troubles
- Ulster Unionists oppose measure but Hillary Clinton welcomes assembly's yes vote

A 15-year search for a political settlement in Northern Ireland cleared its final hurdle today when unionists and nationalists voted to transfer policing and criminal justice powers to Belfast, creating the province's first justice minister since the Troubles erupted four decades ago.

Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP), who were barely on speaking terms a few years ago, joined forces with the nationalist SDLP in the Northern Ireland assembly to endorse a deal on policing, hammered out last month.

The justice minister will be appointed on 12 April and is likely to be David Ford, the leader of the centrist Alliance party.

The breakthrough was marred by a row when the Ulster Unionist party (UUP), which governed Northern Ireland for five decades until the imposition of direct rule in 1972, voted against the deal.

Sir Reg Empey, the UUP leader, who recently formed an electoral pact with the Conservatives, said he had voted no because his party did not believe that the four-party power-sharing executive was functioning properly. Empey, the minister for employment and learning, said: "We exercise our rights, refusing to bow to the blackmail and bullying to which we have been subjected in recent weeks."

The UUP hit out after facing intense pressure from London and the US to fall in behind David Cameron, who has backed devolution of the criminal justice system. Gordon Brown phoned Empey shortly before today's vote, while former US president George Bush pleaded with Cameron last week to persuade the UUP to support the deal.

Empey's unionist rivals, the DUP, who have overtaken the UUP in recent years, focused on what could happen after the vote. The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, who managed to persuade all but one of his 36 assembly members to back the devolution deal, said: "The move is about completing and maintaining devolution, it is about whether we move forward together as a society."

The vote secures an extra £800m for policing and justice that Brown promised the assembly if they backed the transfer. It also adds an extra 1,200 police officers. The prime minister praised the main parties for reaching the deal on an issue that almost broke the power-sharing government.

He said: "Today the politics of progress have finally replaced the politics of division in Northern Ireland. The completion of devolution, supported by all sections of the community in Northern Ireland, is the final end to decades of strife. It sends the most powerful message to those who would return to violence: that democracy and tolerance will prevail. The courage and leadership of the parties who voted to complete devolution at Stormont will be noted around the world."

**The vote was also praised tonight by Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state. She said: "I commend the Northern Ireland Assembly for its affirmation of the Hillsborough Agreement and its endorsement of the devolution of policing and justice, an important step in ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for all of the people of Northern Ireland for generations to come."**

Irish president Mary McAleese also hailed the move. "Today's vote in the Northern Ireland assembly represents an eloquent statement of confidence in the political institutions established under the Good Friday Agreement," she said.

Matt Baggott, chief constable of the Police Service of Northern Ireland, welcomed the vote as a step forward. "Devolution will strengthen our service. It will help to ensure communities receive the policing service that not only they deserve, but that we are committed to delivering.

"The financial package is also welcomed ... it will help us deal with those who are living in the darkness of the past and who have tried to disrupt this process and the lives of our community."

But there was discord inside Stormont after the UUP and their 17-strong assembly team voted against the move.

Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin's deputy first minister, denounced the UUP stance, claiming they were doing it to embarrass the DUP. "The UUP declared last night [Monday] that they will not support this resolution," McGuinness told the assembly. "That saddens and disappoints me. They are opposed in my view to the transfer for cynical party political reasons." He stressed that no single party could control the justice department.

The UUP no-vote will put pressure on the Tories, who will campaign with their allies in the general election, having taken opposing sides on the biggest vote since the DUP and Sinn Féin started sharing power in 2007.

Cameron insisted that the Tories had played a constructive role, saying he would maintain his alliance with the UUP. "We want to move Northern Ireland politics forward – to focus on the issues that affect people in their everyday lives – rather than remaining stuck in the past. That is why we remain totally committed to bringing national, mainstream UK politics to Northern Ireland and to ending its semi-detached political status."

Cameron's remarks were designed, in part, to reassure the White House, which fears a UUP no-vote could harden unionist opinion against power-sharing.

Hardline Unionists turned on the DUP tonight. Jim Allister, the former DUP MEP, who now leads the breakaway Traditional Unionist Voice, claimed his former party had "rolled over in triple somersaults for Sinn Féin". He also suggested the new justice minister would be a "pointless puppet keeping the seat warm for Sinn Féin". Prior to the vote the widow of the first Police Service of Northern Ireland officer to be murdered by dissident republicans urged all parties to back the devolution of policing and justice powers. Kate Carroll, whose husband, Stephen, was killed by a Continuity IRA sniper, said in an appeal to the UUP: "It is heartbreaking that I have to get on this morning to please ask the politicians to get on with their job."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake wants to talk to u when u r free

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** NYT Somalia article on p1

FYI – I'm sure you saw.

cdm

---

**From:** Russo, Robert V
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: You should read NYT Somalia article on p1

Here is the link: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/10/world/africa/10somalia.html?ref=world

Text below, also printed in your "Read" folder:

March 9, 2010

# Somalia Food Aid Bypasses Needy, U.N. Study Says

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and NEIL MacFARQUHAR

As much as half the food aid sent to Somalia is diverted from needy people to a web of corrupt contractors, radical Islamist militants and local United Nations staff members, according to a new Security Council report.

The report, which has not yet been made public but was shown to The New York Times by diplomats, outlines a host of problems so grave that it recommends that Secretary General Ban Ki-moon open an independent investigation into the World Food Program's Somalia operations. It suggests that the program rebuild the food distribution system — which serves at least 2.5 million people and whose aid was worth about $485 million in 2009 — from scratch to break what it describes as a corrupt cartel of Somali distributors.

In addition to the diversion of food aid, regional Somali authorities are collaborating with pirates who hijack ships along the lawless coast, the report says, and Somali government ministers have auctioned off diplomatic visas for trips to Europe to the highest bidders, some of whom may have been pirates or insurgents.

Somali officials denied that the visa problem was widespread, and officials for the World Food Program said they had not yet seen the report but would investigate its conclusions once it was presented to the Security Council next Tuesday.

The report comes as Somalia's transitional government is preparing for a major military offensive to retake the capital, Mogadishu, and combat an Islamist insurgency with connections to Al Qaeda.

The United States is providing military aid, as the United Nations tries to roll back two decades of anarchy in the country.

But it may be an uphill battle. According to the report, Somalia's security forces "remain ineffective, disorganized and corrupt — a composite of independent militias loyal to senior government officials and military officers who profit from the business of war."

One American official recently conceded that Somalia's "best hope" was the government's new military chief, a 60-year-old former artillery officer who, until a few months ago, was assistant manager at a McDonald's in Germany.

The report's investigators, part of the Monitoring Group on Somalia, were originally asked to track violations of the United Nations arms embargo on Somalia, but the mandate was expanded.

Several of the report's authors have received death threats, and the United Nations recently relocated them from Kenya to New York for safety reasons.

Possible aid obstructions have been a nettlesome topic for Somalia over the past year and have contributed to delays in aid shipments by the American government and recent suspensions of food programs in some areas by United Nations officials.

The report singles out the World Food Program, the largest aid agency in the crisis-racked country, as particularly flawed.

"Some humanitarian resources, notably food aid, have been diverted to military uses," the report said. "A handful of Somali contractors for aid agencies have formed a cartel and become important power brokers — some of whom channel their profits, or the aid itself, directly to armed opposition groups."

These allegations of food aid diversions first surfaced last year. The World Food Program has consistently denied finding any proof of malfeasance and said that its own recent internal audit found no widespread abuse.

"We have not yet seen the U.N. Somalia Monitoring Group report," the World Food Program's deputy executive director, Amir Abdulla, said Tuesday. "But we will investigate all of the allegations, as we have always done in the past if questions have been raised about our operations."

The current report's investigators question how independent that past audit was, and called for a new outside investigation of the United Nations agency.

"We have to tell these folks that you cannot go on like this — we know what you are doing, you can't fool us anymore, so you better stop," said President Ali Bongo Ondimba of Gabon, who was at the United Nations, where his country holds the presidency of the Security Council this month.

The report also charges that Somali officials are selling spots on trips to Europe and that many of the people who are presented as part of an official government entourage are actually pirates or members of militant groups.

The report says that Somali officials use their connections to foreign governments to get visas and travel documents for people who would not otherwise be able to travel abroad and that many of these people then disappear into Europe and do not come back.

"Somali ministers, members of Parliament, diplomats and 'freelance brokers' have transformed access to foreign visas into a growth industry, matched possibly only by piracy," selling visas for $10,000 to $15,000 each, the report said.

The report's authors estimate that dozens, if not hundreds of Somalis have gained access to Europe or beyond through this under-the-table visa business.

Mohamed Osman Aden, a Somali diplomat in Kenya, said: "Maybe there's been one or two cases that have happened over the years. But these are just rumors. These allegations have been going around for years."

The report also takes aim at some of Somalia's richest, most influential businessmen, Somalia's so-called money lords. One, Abdulkadir M. Nur, known as Eno, is married to a woman who plays a prominent role in a local aid agency that is supposed to verify whether food aid is actually delivered. That "potential loophole" could "offer considerable potential of large-scale diversion," the report said.

The report accuses Mr. Nur of staging the hijacking of his own trucks and later selling the food.

In an e-mail message, Mr. Nur said he had sent the investigators many documents that "showed very clearly that the gossip and rumors they are investigating are untrue," including the alleged hijacking or any link to insurgents. He said that his wife merely sat on the board of the local aid agency and that only "a tiny fraction" of the food he transported was designated for that aid agency.

In September, Somalia's president, Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed, wrote a letter to Secretary General Ban, defending Mr. Nur as a "very conscientious, diligent and hard-working person" and saying that if it were not for the contractors, "many Somalis would have perished."

The report questions why the World Food Program would steer 80 percent of its transportation contracts for Somalia, worth about $200 million, to three Somali businessmen, especially when they are suspected of connections to Islamist insurgents.

The report says that fraud is pervasive, with about 30 percent of aid skimmed by local partners and local World Food Program personnel, 10 percent by the ground transporters and 5 to 10 percent by the armed group in control of the area. That means as much as half of the food never makes it to the people who desperately need it.

In January, the United States halted tens of millions of dollars of aid shipments to southern Somalia because of fears of such diversions, and American officials believe that some American aid may have fallen into the hands of Al Shabab, the most militant of Somalia's insurgent groups.

The report also said that the president of Puntland, a semiautonomous region in northern Somalia, had extensive ties to pirates in the area, who then funneled some of the money they made from hijacking ships to authorities.

Puntland authorities could not be reached on Tuesday, but Mr. Aden, the Somali diplomat, dismissed the allegations, saying that the Puntland government had jailed more than 150 pirates and that it had not "received a penny from them."

"It's unfortunate that this monitoring group thinks they can stick everything on the Somalis," he said.

*Jeffrey Gettleman reported from Gisenyi, Rwanda, and Neil MacFarquhar from New York.*

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 7:08 AM
**To:** H; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** FW: BBC poll on global attitutudes-favorable views of USA
**Attachments:** plugin-BBC_2010 Country Influence Poll_Long Version.pdf

FYI. Mostly good news. I am already focusing on Turkey. Met with my Turkish counter-part last week and have a trip planned for early June. [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

[redacted]

I'll keep you posted as things move forward. Will also send you an email on the high side about my SSCI hearing last week.

jm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/19/2020

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 8:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: AIPAC

Roger.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 08:02:04 2010
Subject: Re: AIPAC

Pls add to the acknowledgements: Howard Friedman, Ester Kurz and Richard Fishman.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:10:55 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

See below. [redacted] How would you like to proceed? B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:07:38 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Knopf, Payton L
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Prince, Jonathan M; Djerassi, Alexander M
Cc: Rudman, Mara; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
Sent: Mon Mar 22 06:57:39 2010
Subject: AIPAC

[redacted]

We are boarding a plane from Amman to DC shortly but can be reached via the Operations Center if there are questions.

Thanks.

Payton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Official: Kyrgyz president leaves Kazakhstan

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Mon Apr 19 08:10:32 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Official: Kyrgyz president leaves Kazakhstan

BISHKEK (AP) - Kazakh Foreign Ministry spokesman Ilyas Omarov said the deposed president of Kyrgyzstan left their country for an unknown destination, where he had sought refuge in the wake of the bloody uprising in his nation.

Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Secretary's Video Speech

FYI

---

**From:** John, Eric G
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 4:29 AM
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Marciel, Scot A; Smith, Demian
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Secretary's Video Speech

Kurt:

You'll be happy to know that the Secretary's video message was the subject of a great op-ed in today's Thai Rath, the leading newspaper in Thailand. They took exactly the line that we hoped they would – seeing her message not as the U.S. intervening in politics, but, rather, as a very personal message from someone who cares deeply about Thailand. The writer even referred to the Secretary's autobiography.

*Thai Rath* (leading Thai language daily), a commentary on Thai politics, April 16, referenced Secretary Clinton's video statement calling for a peaceful solution to Thailand's political crisis: "I would like to thank U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for making a request herself and on behalf of President Obama for the two opposing parties to return to the negotiating table so as to end their conflict. The short video message in which she mentioned Thailand was full of sincerity. She started by saying that she was making this request as "a long-standing friend of the Thai people" She referred to the Songkran festival which is the Thai New Year and said the opposing parties should consider this an opportunity for a new round of talks. She emphasized that violence cannot bring happiness and peace and that the opposing parties should talk in order to solve the problem. I believe Mrs. Clinton said this with sincerity. I have read a book in which she wrote about her brief visit to Thailand as First Lady several years ago and showed her goodwill toward the Thai people and Thailand in the book. During her most recent visit to Thailand last year, Mrs. Clinton gave an interview and expressed her opinion about Thai politics in the most amicable way. Normally, I do not quite approve of the U.S. because I think it often meddles with other countries' affairs. But I wholeheartedly agree with Secretary Clinton's request and would like to sincerely thank her for it." (To see the video, click here. To read the original article in Thai, click here.)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 2:41 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: choice quotes from the testimony

FYI.

---

**From:** Hyde, Dana
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: choice quotes from the testimony

REALLY good stuff from the GHI hearing this morning with Gates and Clinton. ☺

We should make sure the Secretary knows what an instrumental role Ann Gavaghan has played at all levels of this. - D

---

**From:** Gavaghan, Ann
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** Hyde, Dana; Batson, Amie (GH/AA)
**Subject:** FW: choice quotes from the testimony

Stories are starting to roll in...

---

**From:** Peterson, Jennifer L
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 2:02 PM
**To:** Gavaghan, Ann; Knight, M Chantal; Walsh, Thomas J
**Cc:** Thaivalappil, Maureen E; Ballard, Erica L; Murphy, Ruth L
**Subject:** RE: choice quotes from the testimony

I was just chatting with Maureen about highlighting today's testimony. She can send out some of the quotes below via PEPFAR's Twitter feed, and will give State a heads up about the tweets in case they want to push them out too. She is also posting the video of the hearing on our Facebook page.

We could consider doing a Dipnote blog from EG when he testifies, and we could quote today's testimony.

Here are some articles out:

**Clinton: Improving foreign health is good policy**
***CNN International - March 10, 2010***
**Washington (CNN)** -- Aside from a moral obligation, improving the health of people in other nations is smart foreign policy, former President Clinton said Wednesday. "We live in an interdependent world in which we have learned the hard way that no matter how brilliantly our forces perform, we can not kill, jail or occupy all of our adversaries," he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in discussing why the issue of global health should be important to the United States.

**Clinton, Gates Say US Help Abroad Improves Image**
***Associated Press – March 10, 2010***
Bill Clinton and Bill Gates have told a Senate panel that U.S. investments in fighting AIDS, malaria and other diseases in underdeveloped nations play a vital role in improving America's image abroad. Clinton said Wednesday that helping the

world's poorest tackle their health problems is "intrinsically good for America's foreign policy." The former president said the work shouldn't be politicized.

**Double Bill-ing on the Hill**
***Politico – March 10, 2010***
Bill Clinton and Bill Gates urged senators to devote more resources to global health today – and said that there are limits to what their own fame and wealth can accomplish. "My goal is to go to places where my being there won't cause problems for foreign policy," Clinton said. ... Gates and Clinton agreed broadly that the United States should continue and intensify its efforts to combat infectious diseases. On other global development issues, they sometimes clarified each other's remarks.

---

**From:** Gavaghan, Ann
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** Peterson, Jennifer L; Knight, M Chantal
**Subject:** choice quotes from the testimony

Senator John Kerry: "The Global Health Initiative has rightly identified several core principles that should guide our thinking.... I hope they will provide the underpinnings for strong bipartisan support going forward for advancing global health and strengthening the fight against HIV/AIDS."

Bill Gates:
**"I believe GHI is an important next step – indeed a natural progression – in U.S. efforts to address health challenges around the world."**

"I am pleased that the GHI will include an increased emphasis on family health and the myriad of interventions that, when taken together and integrated in both approach and execution, make families healthier and societies more productive."

"...the GHI aims for greater resources and a fresh approach to deploying resources in order to maximize health outcomes in as short a time as possible. It seeks to concentrate resources in order to better achieve scale in selected countries. And it utilizes targeted funding increases on diseases and conditions that have a devastating health and economic impact on countries yet are entirely preventable or treatable. **These are laudable goals."**

"I'm pleased that the Global Health Initiative aims to build off of and improve successful American platforms such as PEPFAR and PMI, and that it will enable a more integrated approach to health both here in Washington, D.C., and on the ground – where we lose patients if we can't address their needs comprehensively."

"Yet 9 million children dying unnecessarily each year is still 9 million too many. I believe that a combination of interventions, as suggested by the approach of the Global Health Initiative, can cut this figure in half again in well under 15 years."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 9:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement for sign off

Joint Statement by Former President Clinton and Secretary of State Clinton on the Passing of Dr. Dorothy Height We are deeply saddened to learn of the passing of Dr. Dorothy Height, an icon of America's long march toward equality and a personal inspiration to us both. As the only woman among the "Big Six" civil rights leaders, Dr. Height helped galvanize a movement that changed our country forever. She organized the "Wednesdays in Mississippi" meetings that brought black and white women together to find common ground and break down barriers. She never stopped fighting for what she knew was right. And through it all, she was always the best dressed woman in the room. We were blessed to know Dr. Height, to benefit from her grace, passion and wisdom, and to call her our friend. For decades, starting with the early days at the Children's Defense Fund, we worked with her, learned from her, and drew inspiration from her example. From the Presidential Medal of Freedom, to the Congressional Gold Medal, to the unveiling of a long-sought-after bust of Sojourner Truth in the United States Capitol, we had the privilege of helping honor Dr. Height and her accomplishments. Born before women had the right to vote, denied access to the college of her choice because of the color of her skin, and witness to nation divided, Dr. Height dedicated her life to the proposition that all Americans should have the opportunity to live up to their full God-given potential. Our nation is poorer for her loss but infinitely richer for the life she led, the progress she achieved, and the people she touched. Our thoughts and prayers are with Dr. Height's family today, and with her many loving friends and colleagues. She would be the first to tell us that the best way to honor her memory is to carry forward the work she started and the causes she championed, to open wide the freedom gates. May we all find the strength and the wisdom to live up to her legacy.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Lukashenko: Deposed Kyrgyz leader in Belarus

**From**: Roberts, Kristin
**To**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Tue Apr 20 08:54:52 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Lukashenko: Deposed Kyrgyz leader in Belarus

MINSK (Reuters) - Belarussian leader Alexander Lukashenko said that Kyrgyzstan's former president, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, was in the Belarussian capital, Minsk. Bakiyev fled Kyrgyzstan last week after an uprising against his five-year rule.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

Basically if they can get their teams in from brussels tomorrow morning (a day before nato starts), its moving forward. We should know approx 6am our time. However, if we need to be wheels up at 8am, that's too short notice. I just told ivo we need to lean on them to make a decision sooner. Will keep u posted but we are def getting the sense they want to move forward.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Apr 20 09:24:30 2010
Subject: Re: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

So, what's the latest? It sounds contradictory and when does AF have to decide? Shall we take the 1 or 2 shuttle?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 08:31:55 2010
Subject: Fw: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

Update on airport openings. Looks like estonia is partially open. They think most ministers will fly private so they seem to want to try and move forward.

---

From: OpsAlert
Sent: Tue Apr 20 06:37:21 2010
Subject: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SPOT REPORT No. 1

VOLCANIC ASH TRAVEL DISRUPTION

Tuesday, April 20, 2010

0630 EDT

SOME EUROPEAN AIRLINES RESUME OPERATIONS

· (SBU) The European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation (EuroControl) expects close to 60 percent of the scheduled 27,500 flights in European airspace to fly April 20. There were approximately 8700 flights on April 19, roughly 30 percent of regularly scheduled flights. (www.eurocontrol.int <http://www.eurocontrol.int/> )

· (SBU) EU transportation ministers agreed on a phased opening of larger airports, subject to changing conditions. Per www.eurocontrol.int <http://www.eurocontrol.int/> , current European airport operations include:

o Normal Operations: Austria, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine

o Partial Operations (includes airports fully operational for limited hours): Belgium, Britain, Estonia, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden

o Closed (in some cases the airspace remains open for transit flights): Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia

· (SBU) For additional information, please go to the New York Times airport cancellation tracker: www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/04/15/world/europe/airport-closings-graphic.html?src=me&ref=world <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/04/15/world/europe/airport-closings-graphic.html?src=me&ref=world>

STATE DEPARTMENT RESPONSE

· (SBU) The United States is not evacuating American citizens at this time. Commercial travel is expected to resume before U.S. Government-facilitated arrangements could be made. (travel.state.gov <http://www.travel.state.gov/> )

· (SBU) Consular Affairs (CA) updated the travel.state.gov <http://www.state.gov/> website, as well as websites for U.S. Embassies throughout Europe, in order to provide additional details, including low-cost hotels, medical services, and the process to refill U.S. prescriptions. CA urges travelers to monitor local news and check in with airlines frequently. As applicable, the websites also detail procedures for those who have exceeded the duration of their visas due to the delays. (travel.state.gov <http://www.travel.state.gov/> )

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov <http://ses.state.sgov.gov/> .

Drafted: KMZurcher

Approved: HCThompson

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 9:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WHA posts

For this year:

Chile is going to Alex Wolfe
Columbia to Mike McKinley
Venezuela to Larry Palmer.

Next year, few big posts are up. Indeed the only posts are:

Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, panama, paraguay

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Kucinich Resolution on Afghanistan Troop Withdrawl

65 for and 356 against

(60 Dems and 5 Republicans voting for)

This is an increase of 9 votes since the last votes cast against the war (2009 war supp funding).

RELEASE IN PART B4,B5

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Corning

Thnx for talking to Wendell. Will do. Spoke to Tim already via email and he getting me paper and then we can discuss.

Also told him to have Wendell go to the Expo opening. Altho delayed could also have an impact.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Mon Apr 19 15:56:09 2010
Subject: Corning

| | |
|---|---|
| | B4<br>B5 |

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: IDB/Haiti Debt

---

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** Siemer, Marguerite E; Mills, Cheryl D; DeMarcellus, Roland F
**Cc:** Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A
**Subject:** IDB/Haiti Debt

IDB Approves $70 Billion Capital Increase, Forgives Haitian Debt

The governors of the Inter-American Development Bank early Monday approved a $70 billion capital increase for the multilateral lender and also agreed to forgive $479 million of Haitian debt, Reuters reported. Colombian Finance Minister Óscar Zuluaga announced the move at the close of an IDB governors meeting in Cancún. Last week, Moody's Investor Services affirmed the bank's long-standing Aaa credit rating, the IDB said.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 4:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Sanctions and Transitions

Fyi traffic

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 4:20 PM
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J
**Subject:** RE: Sanctions and Transitions

Terrific – we are.

Thanks.

cmd

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Sanctions and Transitions

Cheryl,

See Bill's response below. If he, you, the Secretary, and others are comfortable, I certainly am comfortable proceeding.

Bob

---

**From:** Burns, William J
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 3:03 PM
**To:** Einhorn, Robert J
**Subject:** Re: Sanctions and Transitions

Bob,

I appreciate the concern, [redacted] B5
[redacted] Let's talk when I get back. All best, Bill

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J
**To:** Burns, William J
**Sent:** Mon Apr 19 14:02:47 2010
**Subject:** FW: Sanctions and Transitions

Bill, please see below. Bob

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 2:01 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B

**Cc:** Goldberg, Philip S; Mull, Stephen D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Sanctions and Transitions

Cheryl,

I have one additional thought since we spoke, which I am mentioning to the other addressees. [redacted] B5

[redacted] I'd welcome Bill's reaction on that, as well as that of the other addressees.

Bob

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 1:41 PM
**To:** Steinberg, James B
**Cc:** Einhorn, Robert J; Goldberg, Philip S; Mull, Stephen D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Sanctions and Transitions

Jim:

Bob and I spoke today and he has graciously agreed to assume the sanctions portfolios for NK and Iran, in addition to his existing responsibilities.

I know we all want to ensure a smooth transition – I think it might make sense for you Bob to meet with both Phil and then with Steve and determine a timeline and process and then to brief you and me on that transition.

If that makes sense, I would encourage Bob to meet with Phil and with Steve. We then can determine once there is a recommendation for how to proceed how to make that information public.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Brava!

The way you did the ending was pitch perfect. The headlines may about the Iran language, but you laid a powerful predicate for moving forward. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 9:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says
**Attachments:** haiti education funding 3-10-10.doc

FYI

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 6:34 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Warnholz, Jean-Louis
**Subject:** FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Not good. The Hills is trying to tie our hands all over the place.

---

**From:** Bulgrin, Julie K
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A; Reynoso, Julissa; Brigety, Reuben; De Pirro, Velia M; Chartrand, Jennifer; Rademacher, Paul R; Stout, Jennifer P
**Cc:** Rayburn, Dorothy J; Gonzalez, Juan S; Pressfield, Justin C
**Subject:** FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

# Dick Lugar

## U.S. Senator for Indiana

Date: 3/10/2010 • http://lugar.senate.gov
Andy Fisher • 202-224-2079 • andy_fisher@lugar.senate.gov

---

## Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Getting Haitian children back in classrooms should be a priority in U.S. assistance to Haiti, U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar said today after attending the White House Rose Garden ceremony with President Barack Obama hosting Haitian President René Préval. Earlier in the day, former President Bill Clinton also told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that this should be a priority.

"As the Administration prepares to present its supplemental appropriations request for Haiti, a top priority for recovery and long term reconstruction efforts in Haiti should include significant assistance to get Haitian children quickly back into the classroom," Lugar said. "Assistance for infrastructure, technical assistance for instruction and curriculum development especially should be included. Only with a strong education initiative will Haiti have a chance at a better future."

Lugar directed two staff members to accompany a Congressional Delegation to Haiti on Friday, March 5. During the visit, staff saw firsthand the devastation experienced by Haitians and reported to Lugar that thousands of schools in and around Port au Prince could remain closed for months or never reopen. As a result, Haitian children could be left languishing in refugee camps. Before the January 12 earthquake approximately one-half of Haiti's school-age children were enrolled in classes. Children make up about 45 percent of Haiti's population.

"The relationship between the United States and the Haitian government should be a consensual, cooperative arrangement that preserves Haitian participation in decisions, while ensuring that the resources and expertise of the United States Government and international community are brought to bear on the daily problems of Haiti. Education of the Haiti's youth is an appropriate starting point," Lugar said.

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Gen. Shalikashvili returned the call

[redacted]h

B6

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tomorrow

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

latest is that nato will make decision tomorrow morning, they don't want to cancel unless they have to and unless we have other dates to offer. We talked about around poland in july for the alternative.
Phil and I are connecting early tomorrow.
My guess is it will be moved.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:13:15 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

What's the latest for our trip to Finland?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:10:32 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768547 Date: 08/31/2015


# Dick Lugar

## U.S. Senator for Indiana

Date: 3/10/2010 • http://lugar.senate.gov
Andy Fisher • 202-224-2079 • andy_fisher@lugar.senate.gov


RELEASE IN FULL

## Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

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###

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768547 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Brainard Nom.

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
**Cc**: Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent**: Mon Apr 19 18:03:07 2010
**Subject**: Brainard Nom.

S was asking about this nomination earlier today.

Cloture was invoked on Lael Brainard's nomination this evening, 84-10.

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Brainard Vote

Cloture was invoked on Lael Brainard's nomination this afternoon, 84-10.

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: UNAMA mandate renewal

Fyi. This resolves - in some respects - the UN mandate issue Lavrov raised.

---

**From:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Mon Mar 22 16:10:52 2010
**Subject:** UNAMA mandate renewal

Jake –

I am not sure if this answers the question, but the issue is OBE as the mandate was adopted today. B5

B5 – Erica

**********

**UNAMA MANDATE RENEWAL & RUSSIAN DISCUSSION**

On March 22 the Security Council renewed the UNAMA mandate by unanimous consent, but not without a short delay at the request of Russian PermRep Churkin, who called for last-minute consultations prior to the adoption of the mandate. Churkin took the floor in closed consultations to "begin an interactive dialogue" highlighting the drug problem caused by Afghanistan's unabated poppy cultivation, noting it fuels domestic corruption and finances the Taliban. Churkin's "dialogue" was triggered by a front-page Sunday New York Times article titled, "U.S. Turns a Blind Eye to Opium in Afghan Town."

Following the adoption of the UMAMA mandate, the Russian PermRep took the floor in the chamber and noted Russian support for the new UNAMA mandate which has "satisfactory language in all regards." Churkin emphasized that the Afghan-led policy of national reconciliation can not contradict past Council resolutions, including the sanctions regime, and reminded that all who join the reconciliation program must lay down arms, pledge to uphold the Afghan constitution and break ties with terrorist organizations. Churkin reminded Members that drugs represent a "direct threat to international peace and security" and noted that "recent media reports" state that ISAF has "given up" on eradication. He called for ISAF to be "active and robust" in combating drugs.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 8:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Yes sorry.
Here is what he said:

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Apr 18 19:06:58 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Did you ever ask what else I can take? Should I call him directly?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:21:10 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

latest is that nato will make decision tomorrow morning, they don't want to cancel unless they have to and unless we have other dates to offer. We talked about around poland in july for the alternative.
Phil and I are connecting early tomorrow.
My guess is it will be moved.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:13:15 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

What's the latest for our trip to Finland?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:10:32 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Decision on NATO Ministerial not expected until this evening

This is the latest, believe it or not.

---

**From**: Thompson, Hillary C
**To**: SES_DutyDeputies; EUR-FO-DL; IO Front Office users-DL; S
**Cc**: SES-O
**Sent**: Tue Apr 20 07:10:38 2010
**Subject**: Decision on NATO Ministerial not expected until this evening

Colleagues, please see a further update below on deliberations regarding the NATO Ministerial.

---

**From:** Zurcher, Kenneth M
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** Decision on NATO Ministerial not expected until this evening

Good morning,

Per Brian Greaney, USNATO, NATO will attempt to send an estimated 20-30 staff members to Tallinn this evening. Should the group, likely including interpreters, security personnel and technicians, be unable to complete the trip, the Ministerial likely will be cancelled. USNATO will continue to monitor and report to Ops as they learn more.

Thanks,

Ken Zurcher
*Watch Officer*
*State Department Operations Center, S/ES-O*
*(202) 647-1512*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

Update on airport openings. Looks like estonia is partially open. They think most ministers will fly private so they seem to want to try and move forward.

---

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Tue Apr 20 06:37:21 2010
**Subject:** Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SPOT REPORT No. 1*

## *VOLCANIC ASH TRAVEL DISRUPTION*

**Tuesday, April 20, 2010**
**0630 EDT**

## SOME EUROPEAN AIRLINES RESUME OPERATIONS

- (SBU) The European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation (EuroControl) expects close to 60 percent of the scheduled 27,500 flights in European airspace to fly April 20. There were approximately 8700 flights on April 19, roughly 30 percent of regularly scheduled flights. (www.eurocontrol.int)
- (SBU) EU transportation ministers agreed on a phased opening of larger airports, subject to changing conditions. Per www.eurocontrol.int, current European airport operations include:
  - **Normal Operations:** Austria, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine
  - **Partial Operations** (includes airports fully operational for limited hours): Belgium, Britain, Estonia, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden
  - **Closed** (in some cases the airspace remains open for transit flights): Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia
- (SBU) For additional information, please go to the New York Times airport cancellation tracker: www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/04/15/world/europe/airport-closings-graphic.html?src=me&ref=world

## STATE DEPARTMENT RESPONSE

- (SBU) The United States is not evacuating American citizens at this time. Commercial travel is expected to resume before U.S. Government-facilitated arrangements could be made. (travel.state.gov)

- (SBU) Consular Affairs (CA) updated the travel.state.gov website, as well as websites for U.S. Embassies throughout Europe, in order to provide additional details, including low-cost hotels, medical services, and the process to refill U.S. prescriptions. CA urges travelers to monitor local news and check in with airlines frequently. As applicable, the websites also detail procedures for those who have exceeded the duration of their visas due to the delays. (travel.state.gov)

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov.

Drafted: KMZurcher Approved: HCThompson

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 9:29 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Dorothy Height

Yes, joint w/WJC, Huma should have for your review

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Dorothy Height
Sent: Apr 20, 2010 9:25 AM

Have we prepared a statement--w Bill or solo?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 8:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Nuns. Health. Care

Whew once again u are in the thick of thing--- but didn't it make your heart feel good about the passage of. Health. Care----and. The. Nuns pushed it over the finish line----as usual in the fcore front of. Social. Justice and a daring willingness. To break with the. Boys------ if you need a tonic. Go to the. Nuns exhibit @ the. Smithsonian--- Ripley. Center. Gives the 250 year history of. Nuns in. Usa. And their role in shaping. Our country and producing 1000s of women leaders with names like. Pelosi. Mikulski. Ferrar0. Sebilius. ------- takes less than a hour. You are doing great

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** H

Lael was confirmed....79 to 19.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Brainard Confirmed

Lael Brainard was confirmed 78-19 this afternoon.

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

Scheduled for 3:00 PM.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 2010 11:39 AM
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

Pls schedule so I can get this done.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 11:18:10 2010
Subject: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 2:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mrs Mubarak

I had a good visit with her. She very much wants you to come to Egypt for the major anti-trafficking event she is doing in December and sends you her regards.
Egypt is making good progress on women's issues: prosecuting child marriage cases, combating FGM and they're close to passing a tough anti-trafficking law. Mrs M is the guiding force.
She and the President appreciated your call after his surgery. The most difficult part of our conversation was [redacted] B6

[redacted]

We also announced our partnership with egypt for the training of. Afghan midwives at the suzanne mubarek health center in Alexandria.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 10:12 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:**

B5

B5

AMS

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 12:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: UN speech

Great! Will do.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 11, 2010 12:33 PM
To: Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: UN speech

I like the draft. I have a few comments and ideas for the end. Pls talk to Lona about coming to see me later.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 7:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Doug coe



B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:05 AM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Singh, Vikram J; Pauli, Rosemarie; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard C; Patterson, Anne W
**Subject:** FW: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination
**Attachments:** 04-21-2010 Correction For The Record False Statements Concerning The Assassination Of Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto .pdf

PJ

As you will note from Larry's message below, we are dealing with a another "situation' in Islamabad. I have asked Larry to work with his team to be sure our response gets as broad coverage as possible in Pakistan and on-line so our reaction is picked up by googlers. As you know, although our immediate reaction may be to just blow this stuff off we ignore it at our peril since it seems there are large segments of the population who actually believe this stuff. I also want to be sure we get it out to the diaspora community here and elsewhere. Thoughts ?

jm

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Under Secretary McHale:

This week we have seen the most extraordinary series of public attacks on the United States by Lt Gen (ret) Hamid Gul, a noted anti-American crackpot who derives his role as an "expert analyst" by being the only former Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Chief who ever appears on TV. Gul was briefly ISI chief during PM Bhutto's first term in office almost 20 years ago. Appearing on several TV stations this week, Gul has repeated allegations that the U.S. is implicated in the Bhutto Assassination – the subject is current this week because of the release of the U.N. report on the assassination, which is itself a remarkable document.

One ironic element of the UN report on the assassination is the report that on October 16, 2007 former PM Bhutto wrote to General Musharraf that the very same Hamid Gul was one of three people she considered a threat to her security. (see excerpt below) This fact came up in none of the programs.

Our view is that the television journalists and executives now must begin taking responsibility for putting inciting and unsubstantiated claims on the air. We have released the attached "Correction," which will be seen by news editors across the country.

Larry

Excerpt from the UN report on the Bhutto assassination:

*179. On 16 October 2007, Ms Bhutto writing from Dubai to General Musharraf, identified three people she considered a threat to her security: (i) Brigadier (ret) Ejaz Shah, Director General of the IB at the time of the*

*assassination, (ii) General (ret) Hamid Gul, a former Director General of the ISI, and (iii) Mr Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi, Chief Minister of Punjab until 22 November 2007.*

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Larry Schwartz
Minister Counselor for Public Affairs
Embassy of the United States of America
Islamabad - PAKISTAN
Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040
Mobile: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Example of our hitting back in action ---- it works.

jm

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:15 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Already running as a crawl on Express, one of the offending networks, within an hour of sending our correction.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 4:47 PM
**To:** Schwartz, Larry
**Subject:** RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Thanks. Need to be sure this gets picked up by print and/or broadcast outlets as well as some major online enterprise in ALL critical languages (URDU, PASHTO. Etc) so that it pops up when this topic is googled. Have Richard send me his plan for getting this picked up. Do you have a copy of the release in Urdu that I can forward to WH and Hill ?

jm

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Larry Schwartz
Minister Counselor for Public Affairs
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Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040
Mobile: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

great

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++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

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Islamabad - PAKISTAN
Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040
Mobile: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

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**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

I have sent PJ an email about this and will let you know what he thinks. I'm want to be sure we hit the Pakistani disapora here and elsewhere.

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:23 AM
To: McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Good work. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
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++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Larry Schwartz

Minister Counselor for Public Affairs

Embassy of the United States of America

Islamabad - PAKISTAN

Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040

Mobile: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 11:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: UK election. Sid

Setup for foreign policy TV debate on Thursday. Obviously, this is a popular position. Clegg is now at the height of his popularity and playing to public opinion. Clegg is pushing off both Brown (still suffering from Obama's dismissive slights, unpopularity of Afghanistan, and, deepest factor, Bush poisoning of the well) and Cameron (making him an old Thatcherite, pro-US, anti-EU). Clegg is an ardent Europeanist, not so much Americanist.

http://itn.co.uk/b0929495306b2635ca77854b1db33626.html

# Clegg: special relationship with US is over

Tue Apr 20 2010 20:38:43
The "special relationship" between Britain and the United States is over, Nick Clegg has said.

The Liberal Democrat leader said Barack Obama's administration "understood the world had changed" and the UK's leaders needed to end their "slavish" devotion to Washington.

Mr Clegg also warned against "sabre-rattling" over Iran's nuclear ambitions and repeated his pledge to offer a referendum on the UK's continued membership of the European Union when the issue next arose.

The Lib Dems have ruled out replacing Trident with a like-for-like system and Mr Clegg said the UK should consider "not having a continuous at sea deterrent".

In a speech to the Foreign Press Association in London, Mr Clegg said it was time to challenge the "conventional wisdom" that had lasted since the Suez crisis about the UK's relationship with the US.

He said: "I think it's sometimes rather embarrassing the way Conservative and Labour politicians talk in this kind of slavish way about the special relationship. If you speak to hard-nosed folk in Washington they think 'it's a good relationship but it's not the special relationship'."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton
**Attachments:** Scan001.PDF

fyi

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 2:42 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl –
It's our understanding that the review of the terrorist list undertaken at the beginning of the year is reaching completion, imminently. Jim asked me to shoot you a note that this continues to be a very important issue for him and Bill Delahunt. The list needs to be purged of political manipulation – and quite frankly, the current status quo with Cuba needs to be broken, not further reinforced – for the sake of Alan Gross, those on the island needing space to voice their views, and indeed, all of us outside who know change is coming.
It's time to do something bold and constructive – and in our very best interests –
Let us know if there's anything we can do to help –
Cindy

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy
**Sent:** Thursday, January 07, 2010 1:15 PM
**To:** 'Mills, Cheryl D'
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl --

Attached please find a letter regarding the review of terrorist lists currently taking place within the Obama Administration. The letter cites Cuba as a nation that should be purged from such lists, including the State Sponsors of Terrorism list, as an example for the need of a thorough, robust and judicious review and updating of these lists.

Can you please ensure that the Secretary and other relevant State Department officials are made aware of this letter?

Very best regards --

Cindy

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768601 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

JAMES P. McGOVERN
3rd District, Massachusetts

VICE CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON RULES

COMMITTEE ON BUDGET

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515–2103

http://www.jimcgovern.house.gov

January 7, 2010

438 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515-2103
(202) 225-6101

District Office:
34 Mechanic Street
Worcester, MA 01608
(508) 831-7356

Attleboro Office:
9 North Main Street, Room 300
Attleboro, MA 02703
(508) 431-8325

Fall River Office
371 Main Street, #102
Fall River, MA 02721
(508) 677-0140

Marlborough Office:
255 Main Street, Room 104
Marlborough, MA 01752
(508) 460-9207

President Barack Obama
The White House

Janet Napolitano
Secretary of Homeland Security
Department of Homeland Security

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Secretary of State
Department of State

Dear President Obama and Secretaries Napolitano and Clinton:

I write to express my recognition, appreciation and concern for the difficult task you have to identify and ensure that states that sponsor and harbor terrorist networks and organizations are unable to do grave harm to our nation and people. The urgency of this matter, as demonstrated by the attempt on Christmas Day to destroy a U.S. passenger airliner, requires you to take quick decisions in the immediate term to protect U.S. citizens. Over the coming days and weeks, however, I encourage a more detailed and robust review of information and intelligence so that individuals, organizations and nations that have been placed on "watch" lists for political or reasons unrelated to terrorism – or whose circumstances have changed over time – are removed from such lists. This cleansing and updating of information is critical so that U.S. attention, resources and energy are focused on where threats genuinely reside, rather than squandered where there is no documented threat.

One such State, for example, that should be removed from the State Sponsors of Terrorism list and other similar "watch" lists is Cuba. The Pentagon, U.S. intelligence agencies or the State Department's Office on Counter-Terrorism have not identified Cuba as a threat to U.S. security. It is not engaged in nuclear proliferation or the production of biological or chemical weapons. Shopworn arguments regarding relationships with terrorist groups, such as the ETA, FARC or ELN, run contrary to fact. The individual ETA members who reside in Cuba are there as a result of a 1984 agreement between Spain and Cuba to keep them on the island. As Spain now assumes the presidency of the European Union, it is actively encouraging EU members to ease restrictions and open up expanded relations with Cuba – hardly the action of a country concerned about a terrorist attack being launched from Cuba. The Cuban government engaged the Colombian guerrilla group, the ELN, in negotiations at the request of and with the full and active engagement of Colombian President Uribe and his government. Cuba also made the same offer to the FARC, at the request of the Uribe Administration, even though the FARC

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768601 Date: 08/31/2015

and Cuba are long-time ideological antagonists. In 2009, President Uribe re-established full relations with Cuba, opening an embassy and sending an ambassador to serve on the island. Further, there has never been any accusation, not even by U.S. authorities, that Colombian guerrilla organizations have ever used Cuba as a site for terrorist or insurgent activities.

There are several individuals living in Cuba who are wanted for crimes, including murder, in the United States. However, these are *criminal* activities, unrelated to *terrorism*. Due to more than five decades of diplomatic isolation, the U.S. has no extradition treaty or any other law enforcement or judicial mechanism set up with Cuba that would allow for their transfer back to the United States to face trial. As you are aware, many of our closest friends and allies in Latin America and elsewhere will not extradite or return individuals indicted for crimes in the United States, in general because of objections to the U.S. death penalty, so this is not a justification for a nation to appear on the terrorism list.

The United States has many long-standing political and diplomatic problems with Cuba, but none of them relate to terrorism. In fact, engaging, collaborating and enlisting Cuba in the fight against international terrorism would be to the advantage of U.S. national security.

As noted, this is but one example of a country that should be removed from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism; no doubt, there are other individuals and organizations that appear on other lists that also merit serious review and possible removal. I encourage you to carry out a thorough and judicious review of such lists, purge from them nations and organizations that appear due to political and policy reasons unrelated to the threat of terrorism, and restore integrity to these watch lists so that our own precautionary measures and our coordination with international intelligence and law enforcement agencies may be used to maximum effect and the enhanced protection of our nation and citizens.

Thank you for your serious attention to these recommendations. Please know that I would welcome any opportunity to discuss these matters in more detail with you.

Sincerely,

James P. McGovern
Member of Congress

JPM:cmb

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Summary of PSD/QDDR DC
**Attachments:** Summary of DC on PSD and QDDR4.20.10.docx

I know that Jack gave you a verbal summary, but here is the blow by blow. Not a wonderful meeting. To me the biggest issue concerns the role of the NSC versus State/USAID in coordinating development policy. I will send some thoughts on a possible strategy tomorrow. Jake, Cheryl and Jack have all seen this summary and Jack has approved it. AM

---

**From**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**To**: Lew, Jacob J
**Cc**: Campbell, Piper; Hyde, Dana
**Sent**: Tue Apr 20 19:33:19 2010
**Subject**: Summary of DC -- pse review and edit so I can send to S asap

---

**From**: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Tue Apr 20 19:26:57 2010
**Subject**: Summary of DC

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768606 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

PRELIMINARY AGENDA August 12, 2014

**The 34th Annual COLP Conference**
**May 20 and 21, 2010**

# United States Interests in Prompt Adherence to the Law of the Sea Convention

**The National Press Club**
**529 14th Street, NW, 13th Floor**
**Washington, D.C. 20045**

**Thursday 20 May**

**0800-0830** **Registration and Continental Breakfast**

**0830-0900** **Welcome: John Norton Moore**

**Comments and Introduction of Statements on the Record from President Barack Obama***

**0900-1030** **Panel I: The Stakes for America**

**Moderator and Commentator:** Ambassador Mary Beth West
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Oceans and Fisheries

**Panelists:** Ambassador David A. Balton
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Oceans and Fisheries
U.S. Department of State

Admiral Paul A. Yost, Jr.
Former Commandant, United States Coast Guard &
President, James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation

Andrew Keller
Legal Counsel, Majority Staff
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Michael J. Mattler
Chief Counsel, Minority Staff
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

**Discussion**

**1030-1045** **Break**



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768606 Date: 08/31/2015

**1045-1215 Panel II: Energy and Economic Development**

**Moderator and Commentator:** Paul L. Kelly, Esquire
Senior Vice President, Rowan Companies, Inc. (ret.) &
Member, U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy

**Panelists:** Admiral James D. Watkins, U.S. Navy (Ret.)
Co-Chair, Joint Ocean Commission Initiative &
Chairman, U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy &
Former Secretary of Energy

R. Bruce Josten
Executive Vice President
Government Affairs
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Randall Luthi
President
National Ocean Industries Association

Brian T. Petty
Executive Vice President
Government Affairs
International Association of Drilling Contractors

**Discussion**

**1215-1415 Luncheon Speaker:** Admiral Gary Roughead
Chief of Naval Operations
U.S. Navy

**1430-1615 Panel III: Submarine Cables: Critical Infrastructure**

**Moderator and Commentator:** Douglas R. Burnett
Partner, Squire, Sanders and Dempsey &
International Law Advisor,
Int'l Cable Protection Committee

**Panelists:** Stephen R. Malphrus
Staff Director for Management
U.S. Federal Reserve Board

Robert Wargo
President, North American Submarine Cable Association &
Vice-Chairman, International Cable Protection Committee &
Marine Liaison Manager, AT&T Undersea Cable Systems

Dr. Ronald J. Rapp
Director of Cable Engineering and Technology
Tyco Electronics Subsea Communications LLC

**Discussion**

**1830-1900** **Reception**

**1900- 2130** **Gala Dinner**

**Introduction of Speaker:** John Norton Moore

**Keynote Dinner Speaker:** Vice President Joe Biden*

**Friday 21 May**

**0830-0900** **Registration and Continental Breakfast**

**0900-0930** **Introduction:** John Norton Moore

**Film Presentation:** **"The Oceans"**
Courtesy of the Council on Foreign Relations

**0930-1130** **Panel IV: Protecting and Enhancing U.S. National Security**

**Moderator and Commentator:** The Honorable Edwin D. Williamson
Former Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State

**Panelists:** Vice Admiral Bruce W. Clingan
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations
Operations, Plans and Strategy
U.S. Navy

Vice Admiral James W. Houck
Judge Advocate General's Corps
U.S. Navy Judge Advocate General

Rear Admiral William Schachte
Former Department of Defense Representative
Ocean Policy Affairs &
Former Acting Judge Advocate General of the Navy

**Discussion**

**1130-1200** **Break**

**1200-1330** **Luncheon Keynote Speaker:** The Honorable Lisa Murkowski
Senator (R- Alaska)

**1330-1500** **Panel V: Debate: The Senate Should Give Prompt Advice and Consent to the Law of the Sea Convention**

**Moderator:** The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering
Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations &
Former Under Secretary for Political Affairs
U.S. Department of State

**Pro:** Ambassador John Norton Moore
Director
Center for Oceans Law and Policy
University of Virginia School of Law &
Former Deputy Special Representative of the President
for the Law of the Sea Conference

**Con:** Steven Groves
Bernard and Barbara Lomas Fellow
The Heritage Foundation

**1600** Adjournment

* Designates not yet accepted.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bosnia

Permit me an unsolicited observation on the Bosnia issue. B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Reid's Wife and Daughter Hospitalized After Car Accident

**From:** Lewis, Jessica (Reid) <Jessica_Lewis@reid.senate.gov>
**To:** [redacted] (SES) OSD LA' [redacted] Verma, Richard R B6
**Cc:** Ross, Tommy (Reid) <Tommy_Ross@reid.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Thu Mar 11 17:22:09 2010
**Subject:** Reid's Wife and Daughter Hospitalized After Car Accident

# Reid's Wife and Daughter Hospitalized After Car Accident

By John Stanton
Roll Call Staff
March 11, 2010, 5:15 p.m.
<SCRIPT language="JavaScript1.1"
SRC="http://ad.doubleclick.net/adj/rollcall/news;abr=!ie;sz=100x75;tile=2;ord=16225718;;category=news?"> </SCRIPT>

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## Latest News


- Reid's Wife and Daughter Hospitalized After Car Accident
- Judge: Prosecutors Should Lose Access to Renzi Wiretap Information
- Senate Democrats Told to Keep Quiet on Health Bill Concerns
- Flake Will Revise Resolution on Ethics Committee's PMA Probe
- Pappaioanou: Veterinary Crisis Has Implications for Human Health


Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid's (D-Nev.) wife and daughter were in a car accident Thursday and taken to a Washington-area hospital.

"Today Sen. Reid's wife, Landra, and daughter, Lana, were involved in an accident in which their vehicle was rear-ended. They are both being treated at a Washington-area hospital," Reid's office said in a statement released to CNN.

Additional details were not yet known.

*Jessica Lewis*
*National Security Advisor*
*Majority Leader*
*Senator Harry Reid*

*The Capitol, S.221*
*Washington, DC 20510*
*(202) 224-2158 (phone)*
*(202) 224-7362 (fax)*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Armenia coalition halts ratification of Turkey deal

**From:** Rajadurai, Merin
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Apr 22 06:52:39 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Armenia coalition halts ratification of Turkey deal

YEREVAN (Reuters) – Armenia's ruling coalition said it had decided to freeze the ratification in parliament of accords with Turkey aimed at normalizing ties between the historic foes.

"Considering the Turkish side's refusal to fulfill the requirement to ratify the accord without preconditions in a reasonable time, making the continuation of the ratification process in the national parliament pointless, we consider it necessary to suspend this process," the statement said.

**Merin Rajadurai**
**U.S. Department of State**
**Executive Secretariat - Operations**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Mrs Reid and Lana update

More.

---

**From:** Lewis, Jessica (Reid) <Jessica_Lewis@reid.senate.gov>
**To:** Verma, Richard R; '[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thu Mar 11 17:57:51 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Mrs Reid and Lana update

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

---

**From:** McCallum, David (Reid)
**To:** dpc-staff@dpc.senate.gov <dpc-staff@dpc.senate.gov>; Garcia, Yolanda (Reid); Rodriguez, Jamie (Reid); Araujo, Nelson (Reid); Barrett, Danielle (Reid); Durgin, Sandie (Reid); Elliott, Robert (Reid); Foger, Charvez (Reid); Gaines, Ida (Reid); Hernandez, Mariela (Reid); Martinez, Christina (Reid); Miller, Janice (Reid); Moyer, Christopher (Reid); Pinkerton, Aga (Reid); Raborn, Shannon (Reid); Sharp, Bob (Reid); Van Hoove, Marge (Reid); Vannozzi, Michael (Reid); Conelly, Mary (Reid); Esposito, Mike (Reid); Lisagor, Susan (Reid); Mercado, Victor (Reid); Thomsen, Jessica (Reid); Trzynadlowski, Nicole (Reid); Tuma, Matthew (Reid); Brede, Tom (Reid); Carscaden, Kara (Reid); Castellano, Mike (Reid); Daneshforouz, Danica (Reid); Devalk, Randy (Reid); Gluck, Carolyn (Reid); Greenawalt, Bob (Reid); Hanson, Joshua (Reid); Hoy, Serena (Reid); Juris, Krysta (Reid); King, Bruce (Reid); Kornze, Neil (Reid); Krone, David (Reid); Krupin, Stephen (Reid); Lachapelle, Regan (Reid); Leone, Kate (Reid); Lewis, Jessica (Reid); MacKenzie, Meredith (Reid); Manley, Jim (Reid); McCain, Robin (Reid); McGrath, Christopher (Reid); Mollineau, Rodell (Reid); Moore, Lisa (Reid); Myrick, Gary (Reid); Orthman, Kristen (Reid); Parke, Gavin (Reid); Parra, Jose (Reid); Payne, Joel (Reid); Pope, Amy (Reid); Rideout, P. Dominique (Reid); Ross, Tommy (Reid); Savage, Darcell (Reid); Shelton, Janice (Reid); Sonti, Srinu (Reid); Summers, Jon (Reid); Thompson, Darrel (Reid); Tingey, Jessica (Reid); Unger, Jason (Reid); Urbina, Maria (Reid); Wetjen, Mark (Reid); Arboleda, Angela (Reid); Badger, Sabrina (Reid); Bateman, Lauren (Reid); Bray, Vaughn (Reid); Cain, Mary (Reid); Call, Neysa (Reid); Campbell, Joshua (Reid); Cristinzio, Dayle (Reid); Cruz, Adelle (Reid); Daneshforouz, Devlin (Reid); Deese, Ileanexis (Reid); Doherty, Griffin (Reid); Dove, Carrie (Reid); Eckard, Vickie (Reid); Gillette, Kasey (Reid); Grandberry, Ralleigh (Reid); Guynes, Natasha (Reid); Helgemo, Wendy (Indian Affairs); Herbert, Robert (Reid); Holman, George (Reid); Lainez, Julio (Reid); McCallum, David (Reid); McDonough, Alexander (Reid); Miller, Chris (Reid); Miller, Sara (Reid); Ramsey, Ryan (Reid); Reffett, Trey (Reid); Rodman, Scott (Reid); Rozner, Kathleen (Reid); Rushforth, Tyler (EPW); Sargent, Simon (Reid); Street, Caren (Reid); Tebbutt, Karlee (Reid); Todd, Nicole (Reid); Utley, Cedric (Reid); Vlach, Rosalie (Reid); Wilcox-Fogel, Nathaniel (Reid); Zastrow, Jan (Reid)
**Sent:** Thu Mar 11 17:56:43 2010
**Subject:** Mrs Reid and Lana update

Senator Reid's wife, Landra, and daughter, Lana, were involved in an accident earlier today. They are being treated at a Washington-area hospital. While driving on a Washington, DC, highway, their vehicle was rear-ended by a semi-truck.

[redacted] B6

Senator Reid has been to the hospital and appreciates the support he and his family are receiving from Nevadans and his colleagues in the Senate. We will keep you posted

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Update on Head Speechwriter

Lissa and I met at the end of last week.

She had worked through a number of candidates.

She had narrowed to 3: [redacted] (but see below); [redacted]; and [redacted] She was continuing her outreach. B6

Her email below is the latest update.

She has agreed not to depart even on 1 June if we have not yet settled and brought someone on board but I think we are on track to do interviews the next two weeks and then give sample writings and opportunities to decide in sufficient time.

Her update below is fyi to you.

---

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** good news, bad news

Cheryl,

Bad news: [redacted]. He was disappointed. On the other hand, that opens the way for me to talk to [redacted] and is very good (also was on [redacted] has written a book; and was an editor at [redacted] is in late 30s or early 40s, will find out more). He happens to be [redacted]

The good news is that [redacted] is potentially seriously interested. I have talked to him for several hours on the phone and we have communicated by email. I think he could be a superb fit based on his experience at [redacted] and before. In any case, he is deciding whether to pursue this (which involves moving to DC from [redacted]) and will let me know in the next day or two. I will try to get him here so we can all meet him in person and he can see the landscape and decide whether it might be a good fit for him.

I'm also reaching out to [redacted] during our years), but I doubt he'll do it (Derek and Vinca know him well but think he will want to stay put at [redacted], where he is now managing editor). We'll see.

No answer yet from [redacted] I emailed them at their AOL address a couple of days ago.

Any word from Pat on [redacted]? If not, I would like to hire [redacted] [redacted] and get that process rolling.

Lissa

Lissa Muscatine
Senior Advisor and Director of Speechwriting
Department of State
(w) 202-647-9841
(bb) [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; H
**Subject:** speech theme idea

Hillary and Cheryl,
I'm feeling very good about our recent efforts to connect our speeches thematically. We've done it with development, human rights, and Internet freedom; and most recently with AIPAC, Ctr for Middle East Peace, and next the AJC. Here's what I want to suggest: The three most basic elements of human existence are food, water, and health. We have now done major speeches on food and water. I'd like us to consider a major speech on global health – the third in a trilogy. Linking these three issues thematically, we can explain how and why foreign policy challenges and solutions must be seen through a prism of human survival and why the conditions of people's lives influence everything from economic development to political stability and more. This trilogy of speeches (with the right PR) could further underscore our elevation of development AND our comprehensive, smart power approach to foreign policy. After all, food, water, and health are the sine qua non of human progress. And this is a Hillary Clinton signature idea, at least to me. Thoughts?
LM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** betsey griffith

Sheepishly inquired as to whether you might be willing to speak at Madeira's commencement on June 4th in the morning. It's her last time officiating as head of the school. It's a couple of days before the Lat Am trip. Thoughts?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:11 AM
**To:** Muscatine, Lissa; H
**Subject:** RE: speech theme idea

I like this idea.

I like even better that we have a nutrition speech coming up which bridges GHI and GHFSI and we could use it as a venue not only to check the box re: FS, but health.

cdm

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'H'
**Subject:** speech theme idea

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Summary of PSD/QDDR DC

You are the world's best boss! B6
AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Thu Apr 22 09:16:55 2010
Subject: Re: Summary of PSD/QDDR DC

I look forward to talking w you about this, B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Apr 21 21:33:22 2010
Subject: Summary of PSD/QDDR DC

I know that Jack gave you a verbal summary, but here is the blow by blow. Not a wonderful meeting. To me the biggest issue concerns the role of the NSC versus State/USAID in coordinating development policy. I will send some thoughts on a possible strategy tomorrow. Jake, Cheryl and Jack have all seen this summary and Jack has approved it. AM

---

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: Lew, Jacob J
Cc: Campbell, Piper; Hyde, Dana
Sent: Tue Apr 20 19:33:19 2010
Subject: Summary of DC -- pse review and edit so I can send to S asap

---

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tue Apr 20 19:26:57 2010
Subject: Summary of DC

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: betsey griffith

[redacted] I'll find out about the date and whether they could move it. B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:20 AM
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Re: betsey griffith

[redacted] Any chance the date could B6
be changed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 22 09:01:37 2010
Subject: betsey griffith

Sheepishly inquired as to whether you might be willing to speak at Madeira's commencement on June 4th in the morning. It's her last time officiating as head of the school. It's a couple of days before the Lat Am trip. Thoughts?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:54 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: speech theme idea

Great! We will start working on how to connect these issues thematically, beginning with CARE speech. Maybe can weave water in there as well to underscore our point.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:16 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Re: speech theme idea

I agree that this is a great idea and want to pursue. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>; H
Sent: Thu Apr 22 09:11:17 2010
Subject: RE: speech theme idea

I like this idea.

I like even better that we have a nutrition speech coming up which bridges GHI and GHFSI and we could use it as a venue not only to check the box re: FS, but health.

cdm

From: Muscatine, Lissa
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 2010 8:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'H'
Subject: speech theme idea

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seen through a prism of human survival and why the conditions of people's lives influence everything from economic development to political stability and more. This trilogy of speeches (with the right PR) could further underscore our elevation of development AND our comprehensive, smart power approach to foreign policy. After all, food, water, and health are the sine qua non of human progress. And this is a Hillary Clinton signature idea, at least to me. Thoughts?

LM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Obama Backs Down on Sudan

FYI

Kristof's OpEd From Today's NY Times.

---

April 22, 2010
Op-Ed Columnist
Obama Backs Down on Sudan
By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF
JUBA, Sudan

Until he reached the White House, Barack Obama repeatedly insisted that the United States apply more pressure on Sudan so as to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe in Darfur and elsewhere.

Yet, as president, Mr. Obama and his aides have caved, leaving Sudan gloating at American weakness. Western monitors, Sudanese journalists and local civil society groups have all found this month's Sudanese elections to be deeply flawed - yet Mr. Obama's special envoy for Sudan, Maj. Gen. Scott Gration, pre-emptively defended the elections, saying they would be "as free and as fair as possible." The White House showed only a hint more backbone with a hurried reference this week to "an essential step" with "serious irregularities."

President Omar Hassan al-Bashir of Sudan - the man wanted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity in Darfur - has been celebrating. His regime calls itself the National Congress Party, or N.C.P., and he was quoted in Sudan as telling a rally in the Blue Nile region: "Even America is becoming an N.C.P. member. No one is against our will."

Memo to Mr. Obama: When a man who has been charged with crimes against humanity tells the world that America is in his pocket, it's time to review your policy.

Perhaps the Obama administration caved because it considers a flawed election better than no election. That's a reasonable view, one I share. It's conceivable that Mr. Bashir could have won a quasi-fair election - oil revenues have manifestly raised the standard of living in parts of Sudan - and the campaigning did create space for sharp criticism of the government.

It's also true that Sudan has been behaving better in some respects.
The death toll in Darfur is hugely reduced, and the government is negotiating with rebel groups there. The Sudanese government gave me a visa and travel permits to Darfur, allowing me to travel legally and freely.

The real game isn't, in fact, Darfur or the elections but the maneuvering for a possible new civil war. The last north-south civil war in Sudan ended with a fragile peace in 2005, after some two million deaths. The peace agreement provided for a referendum, scheduled to take place in January, in which southern Sudanese will decide whether to secede. They are expected to vote overwhelmingly to form a separate country.

Then the question becomes: will the north allow South Sudan to separate? The south holds the great majority of the country's oil, and it's difficult to see President Bashir allowing oil fields to walk away.

"If the result of the referendum is independence, there is going to be war - complete war," predicts Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, one of Sudan's most outspoken human rights advocates. He cautions that America's willingness to turn a blind eye to election-rigging here increases the risk that Mr. Bashir will feel that he can get away with war.

"They're very naïve in Washington," Mr. Mudawi said. "They don't understand what is going on."

On the other hand, a senior Sudanese government official, Ghazi Salahuddin, told me unequivocally in Khartoum, the nation's capital, that Sudan will honor the referendum results. And it's certainly plausible that north and south will muddle through and avoid war, for both sides are exhausted by years of fighting.

Here in Juba, the South Sudan capital, I met Winnie Wol, 26, who fled the civil war in 1994 after a militia from the north attacked her village to kill, loot, rape and burn. Her father and many relatives were killed, but she escaped and made her way to Kenya - and eventually resettled as a refugee in California. She now lives in Olathe, Kan., and she had returned for the first time to Sudan to visit a mother and sisters she had last seen when she was a little girl.

Ms. Wol, every bit the well-dressed American, let me tag along for her journey back to her village of Nyamlell, 400 miles northwest of Juba.
The trip ended by a thatch-roof hut that belonged to her mother, who didn't know she was coming - so no one was home. Ms. Wol was crushed.

Then there was a scream and a woman came running. It was Ms. Wol's mother, somehow recognizing her, and they flew into each other's arms.
To me, it felt like a peace dividend.

Yet that peace is fragile, and Ms. Wol knows that the northern forces may come back to pillage again. "I don't want war," she said, "but I don't think they will allow us to separate."

My own hunch is that the north hasn't entirely decided what to do, and that strong international pressure can reduce the risk of another savage war. If President Obama is ever going to find his voice on Sudan, it had better be soon.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 2:49 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** FW: Day in May
**Attachments:** Cover Letter and HRC Answer to Lozada Complaint.pdf

Pls print for HRC to read this weekend.

She can sign here on Monday and we can scan to them.

Happy to discuss with her.

cdm

**From:** Turner, Katherine [mailto: B6
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 1:28 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Kendall, David
**Subject:** RE: Day in May

Cheryl:

I am working with David Kendall on the Lozada matter. Attached please find B5
These materials have also been couriered to your office. If you have any questions, please let me know. Thank you very much for your assistance with this.

Katherine M. Turner
Associate
Williams & Connolly LLP
725 12th Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Tel:
Fax: 202.434.5029
B6

**From:** Kendall, David
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** 'MillsCD@state.gov'
**Cc:** Turner, Katherine
**Subject:** Re: Day in May

Thanks, Cheryl.

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**To**: Kendall, David; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent**: Wed Apr 21 11:20:06 2010
**Subject**: Day in May

David:

Lona is going to send you dates for the third week in May shortly.

Best.

cdm

---

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(call us collect at (202) 434-5000) and immediately delete this message
and all its attachments.

==========

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 9:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Nita Lowey and AJC

fyi

---

**From:** Lew, Jacob J
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Nita Lowey and AJC

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 9:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

FYI. Israelis spinning up a storm, starting with plane briefing on the way over.

----- Original Message -----
From: Kim Ghattas <kim.ghattas@bbc.co.uk>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 20:06:06 2010
Subject: Re:

Oh sorry slightly cryptic message I realise now. Just got read-out from meeting from Israeli side. And PM plane brieifing on way here. Sounding a bit cocky.

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

-----Original Message-----
From: "Sullivan, Jacob J" <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Date: Mon, 22 Mar 2010 19:42:12
To: <kim.ghattas@bbc.co.uk>
Subject: RE:

Sorry?

-----Original Message-----
From: Kim Ghattas [mailto:kim.ghattas@bbc.co.uk]
Sent: Monday, March 22, 2010 6:20 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject:

This isn't going anywhere is it?
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

http://www.bbc.co.uk/
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Please note that the BBC monitors e-mails sent or received.
Further communication will signify your consent to this.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 2:51 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Day in May

Ok

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thu Apr 22 14:49:11 2010
**Subject:** FW: Day in May

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Happy to discuss with her.

cdm

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**Cc:** Kendall, David
**Subject:** RE: Day in May

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in error, please notify us immediately by reply or by telephone
(call us collect at (202) 434-5000) and immediately delete this message
and all its attachments.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 9:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: New polls on US Jewish opinion, etc. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo new polls 032310.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

March 23, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: US Jewish and Israeli public opinion

Three new polls released: from Avaaz (all US), J Street (US Jews), and Ha'aretz (Israelis). I've sent Lauren the whole J Street poll to print out for you; its internals are the most detailed, relevant and suggestive. My reading of that poll is that the administration is in a pretty good spot with US Jewish opinion and that the drag (about 10 points, I think) has less to do with the Middle East and Israel than with the economy. Jewish opinion is far more solidly supportive of the administration generally than the general population (except minorities). Those adamantly opposed to the administration stance on Israel are preconceived to be against; they are predictable, a minority of the US Jewish community and have reached their natural limits. The institutional US Jewish position backing Bibi and against the administration does not have majority support among Jews.

Avaaz.org (a left international environmental activist group involved with Al Gore on climate change) commissioned a YouGov poll (more info here: http://bit.ly/9T4heq) of the general American public that found:

- 62% of those polled said the growth of Israeli settlements in occupied Palestinian territory will only lead to greater hostilities.
- 52% of respondents support, and 31% oppose, the Obama administration's demand that Israel stop all settlement-building.
- The poll showed broad support for President Obama's overall approach to the region. 61% of respondents supported the administration's plan to lead negotiations to broker a peace deal between Israel and the Palestinians during the coming months, with only 25% opposing that approach.

J Street found:

- American Jews by a four-to-one margin, 82-18 percent, support the United States playing an active role in helping the parties to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, with 73 percent of American Jews supporting this active role even if it means that the United States were to publicly state its disagreements with both the Israelis and the Arabs.

- And by a 71-29 percent margin, American Jews support the United States "exerting pressure" on both the Israelis and the Arabs to make the necessary compromises to achieve peace. An earlier J Street poll last March found a similar level of support.

A Ha'aretz-backed poll in Israel found 69% of Israelis think Obama is "fair" (51%) or "friendly" (18%) to Israel, against 21% who say he's hostile. 41% of Israeli public think that Israel should stop building in East Jerusalem until the end of peace negotiations with the Palestinian, and 48% think it shouldn't--despite a general (US) perception of an Israeli consensus supporting the settlements in Jerusalem.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768642 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** PVerveer B6
**Subject:** fyi, drug violence, cuidad juarez and women. Sid

FYI, a lot of the violence in Cuidad Juarez has historically been targeted against women. In 2002, Max wrote this report from Juarez, the first report by an American from the scene, winning the Annenberg Online Journalism Award, the equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize.

<script language="JavaScript" type="text/javascript"> document.write('<a href="http://clk.atdmt.com/CNT/go/197071989/direct;wi.728;hi.90/01/" target="_blank"><img src="http://view.atdmt.com/CNT/view/197071989/direct;wi.728;hi.90/01/"/></a>'); </script><noscript><a href="http://clk.atdmt.com/CNT/go/197071989/direct;wi.728;hi.90/01/" target="_blank"><img border="0" src="http://view.atdmt.com/CNT/view/197071989/direct;wi.728;hi.90/01/" /></a></noscript>

http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2002/12/04/juarez/print.html

# Day of the dead

More than 325 women have been murdered in the free-trade boomtown of Ciudad Juarez in the past decade. Faced with government incompetence and corruption, people are rebelling.
By Max Blumenthal
Dec 4, 2002 | The body of another murdered woman was found late last month in the Mexican industrial hub of Ciudad Juarez, dumped behind some shrubs in the squalor of the Anapra neighborhood, a ramshackle hodgepodge of corrugated tin and cardboard shacks on the sludge-washed banks of the Rio Grande. Her hands had been tied, and the evidence suggested she had been raped. The body was so badly decomposed that investigators calculated that she'd been dead for seven months.
However horrific the details, they were numbing in their familiarity. The body of a woman who had died in similar circumstances was found in the same dusty lot a couple of months earlier. The bodies of eight women were found in a lot not far away a little more than a year ago. So many women have been murdered here in the past 10 years that there is no reliable count. Most experts place it close to 325, an average of 32 a year, nearly three every month. At least 90 of the deaths are believed to be the work of one or more serial killers. Hundreds more women have simply vanished.
Like so many of the others, the woman whose body was found in late October had probably come to Juarez from the poverty of southern Mexico to work for about $10 a day in one of the many foreign-owned assembly plants known as maquiladoras that sprouted up in Juarez after the North American Free Trade Agreement was signed in 1994. And like them, too, her body was unclaimed in death and buried alone and anonymous.
Such death has become a way of life here. So, too, with the fear and paranoia that rise in such a climate. Nobody knows who is doing the killings, and the mystery only seems to deepen. Arrests made by local authorities have produced allegations of torture, witness tampering and frame-ups -- but no convictions. Most here believe that the killer or killers must have enormous clout. Perhaps, some say, the killers are *narcotrafficantes* disposing of witnesses. Perhaps they are the sons of the wealthy and powerful indulging in sick sex. Perhaps they are cultists whose members come from the highest levels of government and finance. The theories differ, but a common assumption is that arrests made thus far are only a smokescreen for an historically opaque and corrupt government that will protect its dark secrets at any cost.
One thing seems clear: The murders arise from a social landscape that has been transformed by global economic forces. Where Ciudad Juarez was once a small, sleepy desert outpost just across the border from El Paso, Texas, the population in the past decade has exploded to 1.2 million people, many of them drawn by the lure of the maquiladoras. The tides of people have overwhelmed the ability of the city to absorb them, overwhelmed health services, social services and law enforcement. Free-trade advocates once promised that NAFTA would transform Juarez into the City of the Future -- and

they have been proven right in a way they never could have imagined. Today, Juarez still has the feel of the lawless Old West, but with a grim 21st century edge.

Despite promises of swift justice from Mexican President Vicente Fox and Chihuahua Gov. Patricio Martinez, they have yet to take up offers of assistance from the FBI; bureau agents in Texas have suggested that official corruption is hindering efforts to stop the murders. Chihuahua state investigators have seemingly adopted a "don't ask, don't tell" policy towards Juarez's homicides, fostering an atmosphere of impunity and pervasive fear. Foreign corporations operating in Juarez that have employed many of the murdered women largely deny that such an atmosphere exists.

But in this postmodern urban culture, where the very concept of community has broken down, many bereaved family members and local activists have begun to take matters into their own hands, investigating the murders and speaking out even if it means threats and other reprisals.

Evangeline Arce's daughter, Silvia, a street vendor, disappeared on Nov. 3, 1998. Since that day, she said, the authorities have done little to investigate. "Two days after my daughter disappeared, I went to the police and filed a report," the mother says in Spanish, her face flaring with anger. "They promised me prompt action but when I checked back a week later, the missing persons report was never filed and the investigation had not even begun. When they finally got witnesses together, none of them would talk because they were too afraid."

Even as Mexico continues to make strides toward becoming an open and democratic society, the epidemic of rape and murder here has exposed the heavy residue of its corrupt and authoritarian political legacy as well as the contradictions of its efforts at economic expansion.

To understand the magnitude of the breakdown, think of the sniper rampage in the Washington area this fall that left 10 people dead and three wounded. Imagine that Montgomery County Police Chief Charles Moose held a press conference and asked local citizens to catch the sniper themselves because local police were not up to the task and the federal government was not being helpful; imagine that the federal government charged that local officials in Montgomery County were complicit in the killings and impeding the investigation. Chaos would ensue, certainly. But then, multiply the number of victims by 30, by 40, by 50, or more.

That's Juarez today.

The jumbled, exhaust-choked commercial core of this city has grown wildly in the wake of NAFTA, adding modern shopping malls, condominiums and expansive boulevards. The population is growing at twice the rate of the national average; it is expected to nearly double by 2010, to 2 million people. Many of them directly or indirectly rely on the 300 or so maquiladoras for their livelihoods.

To accommodate the new army of workers, the city has given birth to entirely new sectors. The Campestre Juarez is a luxurious conglomerate of gated communities, with a main gate that's a life-size replica of Paris' Arc de Triomphe. Nearby, many of the maquiladoras are situated along the Avenida de la Industria. Though the assembly-line workers sometimes can be glimpsed behind a plate glass window in aqua-blue uniforms, there usually is little sign of any activity behind the maquiladoras' featureless walls.

Most of the new residents are poor, or on the brink of poverty, and they live in Anapra or another of the grim, violent *colonias populares* on the outskirts of town. In those colonias, residents usually live without sanitation, running water, electricity or paved roads.

Avenida Manuel Gomez Morin is the pothole-riddled six-lane avenue that ties these varied worlds together. Sitio Colosio Valle, a medium-sized strip mall, stands on a corner of the avenue at the gateway to the industrial sector. It is fronted by a vast parking lot and inside are various clothing outlets and boutiques. By day, the lot bustles as customers scurry back and forth, hauling their purchases to their cars -- a sight similar to any mall in the suburban United States. By night, however, traffic tapers off, stores lock up and the mall's lot becomes dark and desolate. Sitio Colosio Valle was where many of the slain and missing women were last seen.

In the mall's parking lot, Braulio Rosas, a 40-year-old security guard, leans against the door of a giant Nike outlet. Inside the store, under bright fluorescent lights, employees frantically check inventory and scramble to close up.

"A lot of girls were picked up here," Rosas says in a voice of calm resignation. "But really, it's the girls' fault. It's because even though they weren't *putas,* [prostitutes] you know, they were more like *faciles* [easy women]. They didn't have to get into those cars if they didn't want to."

Rosas sounds cynical, but blaming the victims is by no means an aberration in Juarez. Similar notions have been offered by officials like Suly Ponce, the former Chihuahua special prosecutor in charge of the murdered women's cases.

"Sometimes there are cases that a girl meets some person, he strikes up a relationship with her, they drink ... and it ends violently," she told the Washington Post in 2000, before she was promoted to a job in the governor's office. "It's difficult to know."

A handful of the women found murdered since 1993 were indeed confirmed as prostitutes. But the truth is that a large majority of the missing or murdered women were hardworking, young, poor and for the most part socially conservative. Most had migrated to Juarez from Mexico's depressed south to work in the maquiladoras , sometimes arriving alone and with little means of contacting their families back home.

The maquiladoras , run by companies like Delphi and RCA Thomson, prefer to hire young women for assembly-line jobs. An entry-level assembly-line worker makes minimum wage, about $2 an hour. With experience, pay can rise to as much as $2.50 an hour -- and compared to wages in Guerrero or Chiapas, that's good money. But in Juarez, the women are caught in an economic trap: Since the cost of living here is only slighter lower than in El Paso, the wages that seem so

high to new maquiladora workers actually ensure poverty. The workers can be hired and fired on the spot, with little pretext and no legal protection. And union activities are prohibited.

Even for those who accept the conditions, security is elusive. More often now, the global companies that own maquiladoras are closing up shop and transferring operations to China to take advantage of lower taxes, investment subsidies and outrageously cheap labor. On June 29, Royal Philips Electronics announced it was moving its P.C. monitor manufacturing operations, at a cost of 900 jobs. On July 1, Scientific Atlanta fired 1,300 workers after shutting its plant down. According to the Nov. 5 New York Times, this trend has cost Juarez 287,000 jobs in the maquiladoras since their peak in October 2000.

Not only does this slash and burn the economic base. There are brutal social reverberations, too. The city's health system, Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, has reported 200,000 people falling from its list of insured after losing their company policies, according to a July article in La Prensa. Esther Chavez Cano, director of Juarez's only battered-women's shelter, Casa Amiga, said in a speech this summer that domestic violence cases had risen by 50 percent in July alone.

The combination of poverty and a lack of social connections renders women on the assembly line powerless and virtually invisible. And that has made them easy prey. According to the El Paso Times, about a third of the approximately 325 slain women were employed by maquiladoras at the time of their murder.

Given that few of the maquiladoras provide shuttle service to and from the colonias, the female workers often are preyed upon while walking through perilous places like Sitio Colosio Valle in the darkness of the early morning. At such an hour, the only nearby activity is that of bars and nightclubs closing up as male patrons filter into the street after a long night of drinking.

Besides China's attractive economic climate, an intangible cause of maquiladora flight is Juarez's chronic violence. The effect is difficult to measure. Two companies in the city's industrial sector -- including TDK, the audio tape maker -- have posted banners on their factories reading: "STOP THE VIOLENCE. To Better Our City, Let's Unite." But most foreign companies are purely economic organisms governed entirely, it seems, by the dictates of efficiency. They have maintained a stunning silence even as their female workers are slaughtered.

Consider the case of 17-year-old Claudia Ivette Gonzalez. Her body was found in November 2001 along with seven others in an overgrown cotton field on Avenida Technologico, just blocks from Sitio Colosio Valle mall and across the street from the offices of the Association of Maquiladoras. She had worked on the assembly line for the Lear Corp., a Detroit-based auto-interior supplier. Lear has declined to publicly address Gonzalez's murder.

Greg Bloom, editor of the *Frontera Norte Sur* -- an Internet news service that focuses on the U.S.-Mexico border -- recalled a conversation with Gonzalez's mother, Josefina, in which she recounted her daughter's last day. In the darkness of the early morning, Gonzalez told him, Claudia set out for her job at Lear. When she arrived at work a few minutes late after missing her bus, Claudia Ivette was promptly sent away under a policy barring tardy assembly-line workers from their shifts. A half-hour past when she usually would have returned home, her mother knew something was gravely wrong. Her worst fear -- the same nagging fear shared by so many Juarez mothers -- would soon be realized.

Andrea Puchalsky, Lear's director of communications, acknowledged that the company has not made any public statements regarding Gonzalez's murder, nor has it enacted any proactive measures to protect employees from another wave of violence. "Adding security is not a question that relates to Lear," she said. "[Gonzalez's murder] did not happen on Lear property."

When questioned about the murder and Lear policies, Puchalsky mentioned that a company memo was prepared for her with responses to possible questions. As to Lear's worker-lockout policy, which apparently put Gonzalez in a precarious situation the day of her abduction, Puchalsky declined to comment on whether Gonzalez was locked out or sent home from Lear's plant on her last day.

"We have a policy for tardiness and she was tardy many times," Puchalsky said. "When she had arrived late to work her shift, she was not there in time to work her shift."

When asked whether Lear's offices in the U.S. have a similar policy in which late employees are barred from working their shifts, Puchalsky reversed her earlier statement, vehemently denying that such a policy existed anywhere within Lear's operations. "There is not a policy to send a worker home after X number of tardy arrivals," she said. "Typically what we do is if there is someone arriving late on kind of a warning system, there might be a notification that 'the next time you arrive late, you have to take a day off ...' It's not a policy, though. There is no written policy like that throughout Lear Corp."

The body of 17-year-old Lilia Alejandra Garcia was found mutilated just 300 feet from her *maquiladora* in February 2001, and since then her case has come to embody the incompetence and corruption of police and prosecutors from Ciudad Juarez to the state capital in Chihuahua City and south all the way to Mexico City.

Garcia, the mother of a 5-month-old baby and a 2-year-old child, apparently was kidnapped just after she left work. She was held in captivity for a week, repeatedly beaten and raped, and then strangled. Then-prosecutor Suly Ponce told the Juarez newspaper El Diario that Garcia was the first woman of the year to be murdered and raped in this area of the city -- even though two days before, the body of an unidentified woman was found naked just blocks away.

When an FBI leak revealed witness testimony linking Lilia Garcia's killers to drug dealers, Suly Ponce dismissed it, calling it erroneous. She instead blamed workers in a circus across the street from the strip mall where Garcia was last seen. When circus managers claimed that Ponce offered them money to blame co-workers, she dropped the investigation.

According to a July article in the El Paso Times, former Chihuahua state forensic chief Oscar Maynez Grijalva said Garcia was killed in a similar manner as three of the eight women found in the cotton field with Claudia Ivette Gonzalez in November 2001. Curiously, local authorities behaved just as evasively in that investigation as in Garcia's.

When Gonzalez and the seven other women's bodies were found in November 2001, ex-Chihuahua Attorney General Arturo Gonzalez Rascon immediately fingered two local bus drivers as the culprits. Yet doubts about their guilt arose, especially after Grijalva -- who was Rascon's evidence expert at the time -- resigned from his post, citing pressure to fabricate evidence against them. And the head of a local prison was forced from office when he documented signs of torture on the accused men after they had returned from Rascon's office.

Four months later, in February 2002, a search-and-rescue team combing the cotton field found Claudia Ivette Gonzalez's overalls in a plastic bag, along with strands of hair and other crucial pieces of evidence that Rascon's investigators had failed to discover. In response, Rascon offered his opinion to the El Paso Times: "The state police have done a thoroughly professional job. I have no doubt about that." But on Oct. 28, DNA results revealed that Rascon's investigators had properly identified only one of the eight dead women -- Gonzalez.

Stuck with a far more dubious task than catching one madman or replacing one feeble leader, Juarez's fractured civil society has been paralyzed. A cynical mood is palpable just by speaking to citizens on the street, who unanimously express fear and distrust of law-enforcement and government officials. Some local cops are just as cynical.

"We can't just sit around in deserted places waiting for someone to drive up and dump bodies off," said one municipal police officer seated in an idling paddy wagon who refused to give his name for security reasons. "There are too few of us and the city's too big ... We don't get much support from the federal government. Judicially, we are not protected like cops in the U.S. Plus, the arms they give us are weak and the bulletproof vests don't really stop bullets. It's not just that, though. I have a young woman in my home so I can put myself in the place of the parents who have lost their daughters. But it's a question of society. We need their support and they need them to be more conscious if it is going to get any better here."

The scope of the crime is so enormous, and there has been so little success in stopping it, that suspicion breeds on itself. The litany of theories as to who the killers are and what their motive might be suggests that Juarez has become a breeding ground for every imaginable predator. And yet, nobody knows. Nothing is certain. And that feeds the climate of paranoia.

Garcia and Gonzalez's murders are rumored to be the work of a serial killer with possible ties to drug dealers. Yet Garcia was found with marks on her wrists that, according to local forensics experts, were identical to those made by police handcuffs. And upon the discovery of her daughter's overalls, Josefina Gonzalez told the El Paso Times that someone powerful was undoubtedly responsible for the murder.

Many in Mexico's law enforcement community agree that a ring of rich men are behind some of the killings, but they have no evidence to support the theory. Some suggest that some young men from the local aristocracy are responsible, but are being protected by their parents. A persistent theory holds that the murders -- or a significant subset of them -- are linked to powerful *narcotraficantes* who have co-opted segments of the local ruling class.

And the cynicism has been exacerbated by the fact that of the 17 men and one woman accused as serial killer masterminds of the murders, only one has been convicted, Abdel Latif Sharif Sharif, an Egyptian chemist and resident of Texas at the time of his extradition to Mexico in 1995. Currently, Sharif is awaiting sentencing for allegedly paying a drug trafficker named Victor Manuel Rivera Moreno to carry out about a dozen murders. However, evidence against Sharif is suspect and charges against him have been changed repeatedly. Once he was even charged with killing a woman, Elizabeth Ontiveros, who showed up later at police offices to prove she was alive.

In 1996, Sharif was accused of paying the gang Los Rebeldes to kill 17 women. Then, in 1999, he was charged with hiring five bus drivers and an El Paso man from his jail cell to kill seven women. Officials claimed Sharif hired the killers to deflect blame from himself. By 1999, judges had cleared him of all charges, citing an absence of concrete evidence and the possibility of witness intimidation by prosecutors.

Suly Ponce, who supervised the case, has yet to make a compelling case against him. In a 1999 radio interview, rather than presenting hard evidence, she claimed Sharif was aggressively hostile toward women because of his Egyptian background. Now she says that the case against Sharif hinges on Moreno's declaration that Sharif paid him to carry out the killings with money he earned from 13 patents he developed for Benchmark Research and Technology. But according to an article in the El Paso Times, Benchmark has never paid employees for patent development. In a telephone interview last week with Salon, Ponce said she hadn't known this. Angela Palaveras, the current special prosecutor, declined to discuss Sharif's case or any aspect of the investigations.

Many local residents scoff at the notion that the killers have been caught. "We don't believe that the guys they have arrested are the killers," says Miguel Angel Jaramillo, a mid-level manager for the Lear Corp. "It's obvious that they're just scapegoats."

Yet Ponce remains ardent in her belief that Sharif is at the center of the murders. "Today the killings continue because there are many imitators," she told Salon last week. "But after Sharif was caught, there were almost no homicides for a year." But according to the Juarez daily El Diario, the year immediately after Sharif was jailed -- a period spanning from October 1995 to October 1996 -- 28 young women were found murdered.

Meanwhile, the theories flourish and become more and more paranoid, reflecting a breakdown in public trust. By one popular theory, the women are being murdered at blood rituals for a cabal of wealthy, powerful men. Another theory posits a financial motive for murder. "We're finding a lot of girls that are mutilated in the same way," says a young municipal

police officer who declined to give his name. "Someone's probably killing them to take their organs to sell them for a lot of money in the U.S." When asked if there was any evidence to support the theory, the officer replied that it was only a hunch.

Such a climate sends a message to the killers every day: You can get away with anything, even a crime on this scale. But where such a climate breeds cynicism and hopelessness among people who live and work here, it has also provoked an incipient revolt.

On her radio show "Grueso Calibre" ("Large Caliber"), popular host Samira Izaguirre frequently aired the views of guests who were critical of how authorities handled the murders. When Attorney General Rascon accused the two bus drivers of the cotton field murders in November 2001, Izaguirre hosted the drivers' wives on her show. After that interview, advertisements began appearing in local newspapers smearing Izaguirre with claims that she frequented strip clubs and was romantically involved with one of the bus drivers. News media on both sides of the border have reported that the receipt for the ad was signed by government officials who paid for it.

Then, in February, when Izaguirre started organizing a vigil and announced a hunger strike on her show on Radio Canon, she was fired. Fearing for her safety, she moved across the border to El Paso.

Others, too, have discovered that pressing the complaint too forcefully brings reprisal. Marisela Ortiz, co-director of *Nuestras Hijas Regreso a Casa* (Our Daughters Back Home), a legal support group for victims' parents, was a frequent guest on "Grueso Calibre." Like Izaguirre, Ortiz has focused her resources on drawing attention to government and police incompetence in the slain women's cases. And she says that, like Izaguirre, she has faced ever-increasing danger.

In *Nuestras Hijas'* office in central Juarez, located inside a small one-story row house with a "For Rent" sign out front, Ortiz described the shadow of terror that has stalked her since she began pressuring the authorities.

She claims she was threatened by ex-Chihuahua District Attorney Arturo Gonzalez Rascon. "Rascon came all the way to Juarez [from Chihuahua City] to tell me not to involve myself in all the cases," she tells Salon. "Then I got a message on my phone saying: 'You have daughters that are alive. Take care of them.'" Rascon, in an earlier story by the Associated Press, denied the allegation.

Last May, Ortiz says, she was pursued by men in a black pickup truck who tried to kidnap her. She believes the attempt was orchestrated by Rascon's office since it occurred only a day before she had planned to travel to El Paso for a meeting with the FBI and Texas state Sen. Eliot Shapleigh, D-El Paso, who is calling for a bi-national investigation into the murders.

Victims' parents who came to Nuestras Hijas for help in finding their missing daughters also say they have been threatened. Mario Lee Lopez and his wife, Soledad Aguilar, lost their daughter, Cecilia Covarrubias. She was kidnapped in 1995 along with their granddaughter, who was two months old. By now their granddaughter would be 7, and Lopez and Aguilar's own investigation has led them to believe that she is alive and living in the custody of a well-connected local family.

To an outsider it is a desperate story, all but impossible to prove. Lopez accuses Ponce of coordinating the coverup of the kidnappings and murder; again, Ponce denies the charge. And she was adamant that government officials have harassed no one. "I didn't have any knowledge of threats against anybody," she said. "On the contrary, we support the families and they are encouraged to be intimately involved in the investigations."

Lopez recalls an incident in which he had gone to Juarez's judicial building to press his granddaughter's case and did not exactly find the kind of support Ponce mentioned. While leaving the court, Lopez says, he was confronted by a high-ranking minister who warned that if he didn't drop the investigation, he would be tortured with electric shock devices. "But it's too late to stop now," Lopez adds with a wistful smile.

Despite the campaign against Izaguirre, or perhaps because of it, the vigil took place as scheduled in March. It was an unprecedented show of solidarity, with thousands of people gathered in the cotton field where Gonzalez and the seven others were found in an irrigation ditch. There are still tatters of yellow police tape there, and candleholders left from the vigil are strewn over the site. Eight red crosses mark the spot where the bodies were found.

However, city officials have no plans to memorialize the site as Juarez's residents have. In fact, according to a Sept. 4 article in El Diario, the site is now being used as a dumping ground for Juarez's Department of Parks and Gardens.

Near downtown Juarez there is a monument to Abraham Lincoln, honoring him for "establishing North American industries, today the most important in the world." Not far away is a simple gallery where the Collectiva Antigona [Antigone Collective], a group of local artists, has organized a series of public performances, installations and conferences focused on Juarez's crisis of violence.

Each week, the artists gather to collaborate and discuss strategy. At a table with 12 other artists and writers, in an expansive room filled with cubist-inspired paintings, Antonio Munoz Ortega, a 51-year-old writer, describes the Collectiva's goals and the problems confronting the group. "Our government is authoritarian, and authoritarian governments are principally concerned with the manipulation of life," he says. "The victims' families feel manipulated by the authorities' insensitivity and this has manifested a greater and greater cynicism here that's really dangerous. The struggle, then, is for reparation and simply regaining our daily lives."

Ortega says he was moved to action by Samira Izaguirre's candlelight vigil in March. He describes the building of an impromptu church in front of the Association of Maquiladoras office as an effort to "communicate through a different language, one that's symbolic." This decision, he says, helped lead to the formation of the Collectiva.

The rallying cry for Collectiva Antigona, as evidenced by the name, has been Sophocles' Greek tragedy, "Antigone," which tells the tale of a girl's persecution at the hands of a cruel dictator for burying her brother. The Collectiva has organized readings of the play around the state of Chihuahua and plans a public performance in the future.

The Collectiva also has begun to establish a visual presence around central Juarez, most noticeably by painting a wall spanning an entire block with poetry written by participants in a recent writer's conference on violence against women. On Nov. 1 and 2, the Mexican holiday *Dia de los Muertos,* the collective filled a room with traditional altars honoring the victims along with a giant cross in the center of the room covered with masks, intended to symbolize the anonymity of the victims. An estimated 1,500 people viewed the exhibit. A week later, working with *Nuestras Hijas,* the collective placed a coffin and flowers and had a bonfire in the cotton field ditch where Claudia Ivette Gonzalez and seven others were found.

"It is absolutely necessary to affect civil society with the intention of shaking the indolence and to provoke some sort of reaction from the people," says Mariela Paniagua, a 41-year-old painter. "People are no longer affected by what is happening in this city. They have lost the capacity for outrage in the face of these acts."

While Collectiva Antigona meets, another group gathers a few miles away to combat Juarez's violence by drastically different means. Past the seemingly endless rows of cardboard hovels in the desperately poor Colonia Morelos, beyond the municipal dump, on a rocky desert mesa in the shadow of Mount Indio, members of a search-and-rescue group called Banda Civil spread out through the hills to search for more murder victims.

Luz Elena Guerrero Guerra, a strong-looking woman in her late 50s with an intense gaze, serves as president of one of Banda Civil's six divisions. Guerra tells of how it began as a search-and-rescue group in 1985 to assist during a massive earthquake in Mexico City and evolved to respond to Juarez's crisis. She herself found the first slain women's bodies in 1989, before investigators had even identified the deadly trend. Today, Banda Civil's members still lend their help during natural disasters but the bulk of their work comes in the search for bodies, monitoring of schools and a citywide crime-awareness campaign.

Ever-present terror, coupled with the impotence of Juarez's authorities, forced Banda Civil's transformation, Guerra says. "I've narrowly escaped violence many times," she explains. "Sometimes it is just pure luck that a bus or a taxi happens to come by in time when someone is chasing me ... All of us, we're uncertain of what the authorities are telling us. That's our indignation. If they [the authorities] aren't interested in helping, we'll pressure them."

Because the group is required by law to cooperate with police, some view it with suspicion. Yet they have had success where most other activist groups have failed. It was Banda Civil members who made the crucial discovery of Claudia Ivette Gonzalez's overalls in February, humiliating Attorney General Rascon and breathing new life into the investigation. And Banda Civil has continued to find more evidence during their weekly searches of Juarez's human dumping grounds.

Besides its role as a search-and-rescue/quasi-vigilante group, Banda Civil has the feel of a support group, providing members with an outlet from the daily fear that comes with life in Juarez. According to Guerra, over 300 people have accompanied the group on searches and many of them are family members of missing women. And indeed, the searches are a family activity.

On one recent Saturday, the search was joined by about 60 participants of all ages and from all sectors of Juarez society, including a middle manager from the Lear Corp. There were no terrible discoveries that day, and yet afterward, as people stood around talked and listened to norteño music blaring from a car stereo, it was evident just how deeply the murders are ingrained into life here -- and how some people are fighting back with whatever tools they have at hand. Perhaps the quiet optimism is derived frorn the age-old Mexican axiom that death brings about rebirth.

"Instead of spending our time criticizing the authorities, we're trying to find some solutions," says Santos. "We all have sisters and daughters here and we all feel the same. My daughter is in danger. I can't let her live like this."

-- By Max Blumenthal

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:09 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Craig and I have discussed the state sponsor of terror issue a couple of times [redacted] B5
[redacted] Let me follow up with him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Apr 22 17:55:38 2010
Subject: Re: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Apr 21 15:59:02 2010
Subject: FW: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

fyi

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 2:42 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

It's our understanding that the review of the terrorist list undertaken at the beginning of the year is reaching completion, imminently. Jim asked me to shoot you a note that this continues to be a very important issue for him and Bill Delahunt. The list needs to be purged of political manipulation – and quite frankly, the current status quo with Cuba needs to be broken, not further reinforced – for the sake of Alan Gross, those on the island needing space to voice their views, and indeed, all of us outside who know change is coming.

It's time to do something bold and constructive – and in our very best interests –

Let us know if there's anything we can do to help –

Cindy

From: Buhl, Cindy
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 1:15 PM
To: 'Mills, Cheryl D'
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl --

Attached please find a letter regarding the review of terrorist lists currently taking place within the Obama Administration. The letter cites Cuba as a nation that should be purged from such lists, including the State Sponsors of Terrorism list, as an example for the need of a thorough, robust and judicious review and updating of these lists.

Can you please ensure that the Secretary and other relevant State Department officials are made aware of this letter?

Very best regards --

Cindy

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Update from ops

Subject: (SBU) Amcit detained for explosives threat on flight from Taipei to Shanghai · During China Airlines flight 501, Amcit [redacted] told cabin crew his luggage contained explosives. · The plane was diverted to Hangzhou, where [redacted] was detained by Chinese authorities. Authorities found no explosives on the flight, and the plane continued to Shanghai. · According to the Taiwan National Immigration Agency, [redacted] attempted to board with U.S. passport number [redacted] However, because he did not have a valid Chinese visa, [redacted] flew on his Taiwanese passport.

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

B6

fyi

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**From:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A) [mailto:
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:48 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE:

Raj

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Subject:**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 1:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: per your request - Brussels Forum

Fyi

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**From**: Bommer, Ashley F
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Pauli, Rosemarie
**Sent**: Tue Mar 23 13:19:08 2010
**Subject**: per your request - Brussels Forum

Ambassador Holbrooke is scheduled to attend the Brussels Forum, March 26 - 27. The Forum is similar to the Munich Security Conference: a collection of high-profile leaders, journalists and policy-makers from the U.S., Europe and Asia. The Forum is sponsored by the German Marshall Fund (Ron Asmus), and Ambassador Holbrooke has attended every year. His presence this year consists of two things: 1) bilat meetings including those with EU High Rep Catherine Ashton, Codel Casey, Nato Sec Gen Rasmussen, Ambassador Daalder, and Ambassador Kennard (some with Mullen); and 2) an internationally televised BBC discussion on Afghanistan and Pakistan with Admiral Mullen. The panel will be shown live and broadcast on BBC World four times over the course of the weekend - a great communications opportunity. Fawzia Koofi, who is the Deputy Speaker of the Afghan parliament and Former Dutch Development Minister Bert Koenders are also on the panel. Nik Gowing from the BBC will moderate. The panel and Holbrooke/Mullen's attendance at the forum have been announced to the media.

Ashley Bommer
Special Advisor to the Special Representative to Afghanistan & Pakistan
U.S. Department of State
Tel: 202 647 4128
Fax: 202 647 4142

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 7:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mrs Mubarak

I think it's Dec 10 at the Winter Palace in Luxor where you previously staved. I'll get exact date. [redacted] B6
[redacted] The. Assembly passed a good anti-trafficking law a day ago because of her leadership. I think it's a first for the region.
I saw the FM today. He said, "Tell dear Hillary that I send hugs."
I'm heading home finally. Its been intensive but very good. They love you here.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Apr 22 18:05:55 2010
Subject: Re: Mrs Mubarak

What is the date of her event in December?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 14:36:21 2010
Subject: Mrs Mubarak

I had a good visit with her. She very much wants you to come to Egypt for the major anti-trafficking event she is doing in December and sends you her regards.
Egypt is making good progress on women's issues: prosecuting child marriage cases, combating FGM and they're close to passing a tough anti-trafficking law. Mrs M is the guiding force.
She and the President appreciated your call after his surgery. The most difficult part of our conversation was [redacted]
[redacted]
We also announced our partnership with egypt for the training of. Afghan midwives at the suzanne mubarek health center in Alexandria.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 1:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: White Smoke!!

Fyi. Good news!

----- Original Message -----
From: Tauscher, Ellen O
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 23 13:37:24 2010
Subject: White Smoke!!

Jake,
We have one Working Group that will complete their work in 30 minutes or so. No material issues, just proofing language. Russians will return to their Mission and by pre-agreement from earlier Anatoly will call tonight and confirm that Protocol is agreed.
We have forwarded Ad Ref Treaty to DC this afternoon. Will forward Ad Ref Protocol tomorrow. Conformed version later this week. Please let S know. Coming back to DC Thursday.
Ellen

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** h: just a line. S

Next time you feel like stepping all over your story by saying you are tired, use the line of the black woman in the Montgomery bus boycott who walked to work: "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested."

On UK: Clegg held his own in the second debate last night. Gordon hit him as "anti-American." This feels like it's moving to a hung parliament. Cameron can't break through. Two-thirds of the voters simply hate the Tories. No matter how well Clegg does the system doesn't allow for any gain in seats to match his personal poll numbers. UK stunned by its first series of debates and the whole campaign has atrophied in wonderment, little happening between the debates. Final one next week, but guaranteed not to be conclusive, just a repetition, confirming the earlier two.

Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 5:01 PM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: Nita Lowey and AJC

Great - I have to brief her tomorrow on Haiti - I will tell her we are re-looking at it.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 23, 2010 12:36 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Nita Lowey and AJC

I think we should reconsider this invite.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 21:44:02 2010
Subject: FW: Nita Lowey and AJC

fyi

From: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Monday, March 22, 2010 5:08 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Nita Lowey and AJC

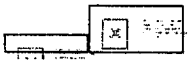
B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 10:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FYI Kornblum... Sid

In light of Clegg's rising popularity partly based on his anti-Americanism and Germany's growing hegemony in Europe while becoming more insular, John Kornblum has written this op-ed with reference in last graphs to US policy.





April 23, 2010
I.H.T. Op-Ed Contributor

# Germany in Need of a Dream

By JOHN KORNBLUM

Has Germany abandoned Europe? Do Angela Merkel's tough conditions for aid to Greece mean that Germany is no longer the motor of European integration? Has Frau Merkel in fact morphed from the Miss Europa of 2007 to the Fräulein Germania of 2010, as Germany's own former foreign minister Joschka Fischer has suggested?

As a former American ambassador who has lived and worked the better part of four decades around Germany, my Blackberry often glows red hot with messages from persons asking these questions. My response is always the same: Germany has changed very little, but Europe and the world have changed a lot. Therein lies the dilemma.

Germany has worked hard to dig its way out of the disaster of 1945, but trauma remains a defining issue for German society. Sixty five years later, Germany is still focused on the three essentials of its recovery: stability, respectability and peace. Keep this triangle in mind and lots of things quickly come into focus.

From the first days of the Federal Republic, Germany's leaders emphasized the importance of defining interests solely within a common European and Atlantic vocation. But they also understood that renouncing national ambitions did not remove the responsibility to pursue specific German goals through the common institutions.

Many important postwar accomplishments were conceived and pushed by Germany, sometimes over the opposition of others — including the United States. Ostpolitik was controversial for years, as was NATO enlargement. Germany pushed them with determination.

Helmut Kohl did not consult before promulgating his 10 points on reunification. He agreed to French desires for a common currency, but only if it could be a mirror of the Deutsche mark, for decades the European monetary standard. The euro stability pact, now the object of so much controversy with Greece, was the result. After 1990, the E.U.'s eastward expansion was Germany's way of firming up its Eastern flank.

Slowly and without fanfare, Germany has been remaking the European Union in its image. At each step of the way, Germany made its wishes more palatable by paying more than its share. Part of today's misunderstanding is caused by Germany's success in using its contributions to build an image of selflessness. Germany has been as single-minded in pursuit of its goals as Charles de Gaulle ever was for his, but it almost always left leadership to others.

A new consciousness grew after the costs of reunification began to mount. "Europe" in the institutional sense has become increasingly unpopular. German courts have begun to define German European issues in the context of the German Constitution rather than on the basis of E.U. law. At least some of Ms. Merkel's refusal to allow immediate assistance to Greece was based on her fears that it would fan anti-E.U. sentiment at home. Are these the first signs of a German Tea Party?

Here we find the source of most of the hand wringing about Germany's role as the "motor of Europe." Ms. Merkel's unwillingness to sweeten the financial pot echoed throughout Brussels. To many, it signified the decline of German willingness to "salute the French flag three times before raising the German flag," as Konrad Adenauer used to put it. Germans are not alone in objecting to throwing more money into the E.U. pot, but they happen to be the only ones who can do something about it. Many fear that without German complaisance, the E.U. will stutter to a stop. But such self-

denial could never offer a viable foundation for a new Europe. Neither could the inefficiency and even corruption that characterizes many E.U. programs.

Most maddening for most thinking Europeans is the knowledge that the Germans are right. But to them, the question is whether Germany is remaking the E.U. in a fashion palatable to the majority of other member states. They are not so sure that its focus on stability and accountability is the right way to help such a diverse collection of peoples adjust to a globalized world.

And so when Angela Merkel raps Greek knuckles, she is sending a message most Europeans don't want to hear. Not that Germany is dangerous; even worse, that it is unrelenting. The Neue Züricher Zeitung probably spoke for many others when it once accused Germany of wanting Europe to become a large Switzerland.

The growing gap between Germany's aspirations and the perceived needs of other members of the E.U. is beginning to burden both sides. Most Europeans are simply not ready to live up to German standards. Without a more flexible sense of common purpose, the project to build a democratic Europe could stop dead in the water. But as Germans will themselves often tell you: They have forgotten how to dream.

Younger Germans feel this lack of inspiration as well. Dreams were what 200,000 of them were waiting to hear when they rallied to hear Barack Obama in Berlin two summers ago. They wanted more than to "Dare to Hope," which is the characteristically timid German translation of the title of the president's best seller. And they are still waiting. America seems busy elsewhere.

The main conclusion I draw from the debate about Germany is that it is not about Germany at all. The task of building a democratic Europe is far from complete. Most of the foundations have been laid and now the residents are starting to haggle over the design. Weaving today's 27 states into a true trans-Atlantic partnership is a task that is too big for Germany or even Europe to accomplish alone. They desperately need some skilled architectural assistance.

Uniting Europe and North America is the most audacious project ever conceived. If it works, the United States will be joined by nearly 500 million Europeans to form a democratic space, within which modern democratic values will harness more energy than in any single nation on earth. Democracy's future as the operating system for a globalized world will be assured.

European fecklessness seems to worry Washington officials these days. But if Germany has forgotten how to dream and the United States is too busy to try, we will both be guilty of perpetuating the aimlessness we so criticize. To hold up its side of the bargain, Europe needs exactly what Barack Obama originally promised — the audacity of hope.

John Kornblum, senior counselor with the international law firm Noerr LLP in Berlin, served as the U.S. ambassador to Germany from 1997 to 2001.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 11:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: WP Gration item, in case you missed it

**From:** Vietor, Tommy [mailto B6
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; McDonough, Denis R.; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; Gavin, Michelle D.; Etim, Linda
**Subject:** WP Gration item, in case you missed it

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/22/AR2010042205756_2.html

## Ambassador for life

Career Foreign Service ambassadors almost never serve much longer than their traditional three-year terms overseas. There have been a few exceptions, most famously former ambassador to Israel *Sam Lewis*, who was in Tel Aviv for eight years until 1985. But the rule generally applies.

This summer, however, Ambassador to Kenya *Michael E. Ranneberger*, a veteran Africa hand, apparently will begin his fifth year on the job in Nairobi, and there's no nominee in sight to replace him.

That sparked speculation that the administration might want to extend Ranneberger in order to hold the job open for Sudan special envoy *J. Scott Gration*, should Gration work out the Sudan mess. Gration, Loop Fans recall, grew up in Africa and became tight with President Obama when he escorted the then-senator as he toured his ancestral homeland -- or birthplace, as some folks say.

Gration, a retired Air Force general, early on had been looked at for a top administration job and perhaps as a replacement for Ranneberger. But we're told that's not happening anytime soon because the White House is not about to pull him off the full-time Sudan portfolio, despite some criticism that he's too soft on the war criminals. "The ball's not even rolling in that direction," one source said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 2:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Prox talks

Arabs gave green light. More later.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 11:46 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
**Subject:** FW: Americans held in Iran

-----Original Message-----
From: Aaron Judzewitsch [mailto
Sent: Friday, April 23, 2010 11:25 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Americans held in Iran

B6

Ms. Mills,

I am pleading for the US to push harder to release the Americans held in Iran. We were able to get Americans out of North Korea. Please do what you can to get these young Americans out of Iran.

Thanks,

PS: Please pass on to Secretary Clinton
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Schumer on HRC, PJ & Israel

fyi

---

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 12:52 PM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Shapiro, Andrew J
**Subject:** Schumer on HRC, PJ & Israel

From Ben Smith today:

# Schumer: Obama's 'counter-productive' Israel policy 'has to stop'

New York Senator Chuck Schumer harshly criticized the Obama Administration's attempts to exert pressure on Israel today, making him the highest-ranking Democrat to object to Obama's policies in such blunt terms.

Schumer, along with a majority of members of the House and Senate, signed on to letters politely suggesting the U.S. keep its disagreements with Israel private, a tacit objection to the administration's very public rebuke of the Jewish State over construction in Jerusalem last month.

But Schumer dramatically sharpened his tone on the politically conservative Jewish Nachum Segal Show today, calling the White House stance to date "counter-productive" and describing his own threat to "blast" the Administration had the State Department not backed down from its "terrible" tough talk toward Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Schumer, a hawkish ally of Israel since his days as a Brooklyn Congressman, described "a battle going on inside the administration" over Middle East policy.

"This has to stop," he said of the administration's policy of publicly pressuring Israel to end construction in Jerusalem.

"I told the President, I told Rahm Emanuel and others in the administration that I thought the policy they took to try to bring about negotiations is counter-productive, because when you give the Palestinians hope that the United States will do its negotiating for them, they are not going to sit down and talk," Schumer told Segal. "Palestinians don't really believe in a state of Israel. They, unlike a majority of Israelis, who have come to the conclusion that they can live with a two-state solution to be determined by the parties, the majority of Palestinians are still very reluctant, and they need to be pushed to get there.

"If the U.S. says certain things and takes certain stands the Palestinians say, 'Why should we negotiate?'" Schumer said.

Schumer described the recent confrontation over construction in Jerusalem as a "kerfuffle."

**"Israel apologized and when Biden left, and Biden is the best friend of Israel in the administration [and] everything was fine," Schumer said. "But then what happened is the next day Hillary Clinton called up Netanyahu and talked very tough to him, and worse they made it public through this spokesperson, a guy named Crowley. And Crowley said something I have never heard before, which is, the relationship of Israel and the United States depends on the pace of the negotiations."**

Schumer was referring to State Department spokesman PJ Crowley's description of Clinton's conversation with Netanyahu, in which he said that Clinton "made clear that the Israeli government needed to demonstrate not just through words but through specific actions that they are committed to this relationship and to the peace process."

"That is terrible," Schumer said today. "That is the dagger because the relationship is much deeper than the disagreements on negotiations, and most Americans—Democrat, Republican, Jew, non-Jew--would feel that. So I called up Rahm Emanuel and I called up the White House and I said, 'If you don't retract that statement you are going to hear me publicly blast you on this,'" Schumer said.

Schumer said the White House had backed off that statement, but that now "many of us are pushing back, some of the Jewish members will be meeting with the President next week or the week after, and we are saying that this has to stop."

"You have to show Israel that it's not going to be forced to do things it doesn't want to do and can't do. At the same time you have to show the Palestinians that they are not going to get their way by just sitting back and not giving in, and not recognizing that there is a state of Israel," Schumer said. "And right now there is a battle going on inside the administration, one side agrees with us, one side doesn't, and we're pushing hard to make sure the right side wins and if not we'll have to take it to the next step."

The full transcript of Segal's interview with Schumer is after the jump.

Chuck Schumer Interview with Nachum Segal 4/22/10

Nachum Segal: Straight to what has become one of the most concerning issues in the Jewish Community certainly, and for anybody in the United States, and anywhere in the world who cares somewhat, or more, about Israel. There is a perception that the White House and Jerusalem are not enjoying the same type of relationship that the White House and Jerusalem have enjoyed in the past. Need we be concerned?

SCHUMER: Well of course we should be concerned, and the thing we should most be concerned about, of course, the threat to Israel...I mean it always changes but it's always there it seems to be the fate if Israel and it seems to be the fate of the Jewish people. Right now what are the threats? I would rank them in this order: Greatest threat- Nuclear Iran, obviously as Netanyahu has said that's an existential threat. Second greatest threat- SCUDs in Syria these are rockets
that can go four or five hundred miles and carry a bigger payload and could be launched by Hezbollah and hit any part of Israel far more damaging and devastating than the katyusha rockets. And third actually is what everyone is focused on, which is the disagreements
between the United States and Israel, very real, on how to sit down and negotiate with the Palestinians. The irony is Nachum, on the first two, if you talk to the Prime Minister if you talk to the Israeli military, US-Israeli cooperation continues strong and
hand in glove. Both the US and Israel greatly fear a nuclear Iran, and there are very serious discussions going on as to how to deal with it. We in the Congress Senator Lieberman and myself, Senator Bayh, are working up our sanctions bill, which even if the
UN sanctions are weak we could have unilateral sanctions by the United States, for instance, if you cut of

gasoline. Iranians do not produce their own gasoline, and by the way the Iranian people are ready to rebel and overthrow this regime, and if we would
squeeze them economically that could happen.

SEGAL: If in fact all this is true, and let's assume there is no reason not to believe that it's true, that in fact Israel and the United States continue the same cooperation level they have had in the past, and we know that when it comes to serious matters, especially military matters, it's been great cooperation, Why wouldn't the President of the U.S. want that perception to be out there? Why would he want to alienate so many who care about Israel.

SCHUMER: Nachum this is the question I talked to Rahm Emanuel about, and the President about this week. I told the President, I told Rahm Emanuel and others in the administration that I thought the policy they took to try to bring about negotiations is counter-productive, because when you give the Palestinians hope that the United States will do its negotiating for them, they are not going to sit down and talk. Palestinians don't really believe in a state of Israel,
they, unlike a majority of Israelis, who have come to the conclusion that they can live with a 2-state solution to be determined by the parties, the majority of Palestinians are still very reluctant, and they need to be pushed to get there. If the U.S. says
certain things and takes certain stands the Palestinians say, "Why should we negotiate?" So that's bad and that should change and we are working on changing it. But the other two are very good, according to both the Israeli government and the Israeli military
and the U.S. government. But we should make that known, why don't they? I asked them to do just that, I said we should make it public because it will, at least, give people, who are supportive of Israel, Jew and non-Jew alike, a little bit of solace.

SEGAL: That I agree with. But then you see the Gates memo which has become its own sort of entity out there, and you wonder about what type of support the United States could give Israel if, god-forbid, they were attacked by Iran.

SCHUMER: I do think that this administration, like previous ones, realizes a nuclear Iran is devastating and is a very bad thing. By the way, not just for Israel but for the whole Middle-East and for world peace and
I think they're working strenuously to avoid it. They are having more success in this area than the previous administration, they are trying to get some of the Europeans, and even the Russians and Chinese to impose sanctions, but we are moving in the Senate
and the house to achieve any unilateral action that the U.S. can take. If we tell any major oil company that if they sell gasoline to Iran, directly or indirectly, they can't sell any oil product in the U.S., then they will stop selling gasoline to Iran and
the Iranian economy will have real problems. This will, at the very minimum, divert the leadership from their nuclear strategy and could bring down the regime. This is important and good. Let's talk about the bad. Let's talk about, what I'm sure your listeners
are most aggravated about, is what's happened in the last while in Israel. Let me say this: things were going pretty well, until a couple of months ago, for this reason—the Netanyahu administration, with money from the U.S., had gotten the PA on the west bank
to have their own police force and have them come down on the terrorists , for their own self interest not to protect the Jewish people. It has worked, not only are there fewer killings of Jews on the Israeli side of the fence, but there are many fewer in
the other side because there is a Palestinian police force and they have put those terrorists in line. As a result Israel has been able to take down 27 of the checkpoints and as a result of that there is some economic growth in the west bank. Its growing at
7-8%, Netanyahu brags that -- when he came here I spent a lot of time with him – That there are multiplex theatres in places like Ramallah and Janeen. At the same time that is happening, there is prosperity with the more moderate Palestinian Authority in the

west bank, and Hamas in Gaza is being squeezed and people there are doing very badly. Not only because Israel has blocked off the border and not let anything into Gaza, and I support Israel in doing that, and it may be tough on the Palestinian people, but
when they vote for Hamas they are going to have to suffer the consequences. But also because Egypt is preventing all the tunnels from going under the Gaza-Egyptian border, not so much because they want to help Israel but they don't want the terrorists infiltrating
from Gaza into Egypt. So the Palestinians were beginning to see those who talked about living in coexistence with Israel, and not terrorism, and not wiping it out, such as the PA on the west bank would do better, and those who talked about destroying Israel,
and shooting rockets into it were doing horrible.

SEGAL. I don't think the checkpoint and open highway point is one we are going to agree on Senator. But I want to move to another hot point which is Syria, it seems, and I'm not sure how many people would consider these confirmed reports or not and I'm sure you know more about this than I do, but Syria is making sure that Hezbollah, north of Israel is being armed with SCUD missiles at this point. And you know that Washington is making efforts to try and strengthen the
diplomatic relationship with Syria. Do you think that's outrageous?

SCHUMER: I do, and think that's stopped. They are working very hard to put pressure on the Syrians both diplomatic and then maybe economic, to stop this and it's intolerable and that has to change. Let me just finish this dialogue about Israel for a minute. All we have to do is leave things alone, and you might get the Palestinians more willing to sit down and actually discuss peace because they would see the contrast. When Biden was in Israel and there was this kerfuffle
over settlements which is in Israeli Jerusalem 5 minutes from downtown and should never have been an issue to begin with, but they probably shouldn't have made the announcement when Biden was there. But Israel apologized and when Biden left, and Biden is
the best friend of Israel in the administration everything was fine. But then what happened is the next day Hillary Clinton called up Netanyahu and talked very tough to him, and worse they made it pubic through this spokesperson, a guy named Crowley.
And Crowley said something I have never heard before, which is, the relationship of Israel and the United States depends on the pace of the negotiations. That is terrible. That is the dagger because the relationship is much deeper than the disagreements
on negotiations, and most Americans—Democrat, Republican, Jew, non-Jew--would feel that. So I called up Rahm Emanuel and I called up the White House and I said, "If you don't retract that statement you are going to hear me publicly blast you on this."
Of course they did retract it. Now what's happened, and many of us are pushing back, some of the Jewish members will be meeting with the President next week or the week after, and we are saying that this has to stop. You have to have, in terms of the negotiations,
you have to show Israel that it's not going to be forced to do things it doesn't want to do and can't do. At the same time you have to show the Palestinians that they are not going to get their way by just sitting back and not giving in, and not recognizing
that there is a state of Israel. And right now there is a battle going on inside the administration, one side agrees with us, one side doesn't, and we're pushing hard to make sure the right side wins and if not we'll have to take it to the next step.

SEGAL: You know Senator Schumer, the perception among New York state residents, and I'm one of them as you know, is there likely is no one closer in the Senate to the President than you.

SCHUMER: That's not quite true, but I have an ear and frankly I spent time on the phone just yesterday talking to him about this, and telling him that I didn't quite understand the United States policy, because even
if the goal is to bring about talks of peace, it was counter-productive because it's encouraging the Palestinians not to sit down.

SEGAL: More than ¾ of the Senate, including a lot of democrats, signed the letter to Sec. of State Clinton rebuking the administration for these confrontational stances toward Israel. Were you surprised that names like Kerry, Dodd, Durbin, Leahy and Reid were not included in that letter?

SCHUMER: well I think Senator Reid signed the letter, some didn't sign but the majority of both parties signed. And we'll have other letters and other meetings to keep pushing that. I think you can say there are a handful of people who are not sympathetic to Israel in the Senate of each party, but 90% of the Senate is overwhelmingly in support of Israel. And one of my jobs, as you know is to rally those forces to do strong poll work for this year (couldn't hear this
part perfectly). Believe me I think the policy has to change, and I'm working hard to make it change and I think it will. Every administration at the beginning has this view even Ronald Reagan, the best friend Israel ever had, do you remember his first 2 years?
When George Schultz wanted to sell AWACs to Saudi Arabia? Every administration has this idea to talk tough to Israel and make nice to the Arabs and the Palestinians and that's the way to bring about peace. It's counter-productive, it's actually the
opposite. The only way the Palestinians will sit down and talk is if they know Israel and the United States are as close as could be. And each administration learns it. Schultz had to learn it and Reagan had to learn it. Clinton did it in the early years and
later became a very good friend of Israel. George Bush the first did it and never got over it, (SEGAL laughing muffles SCHUMER). We are at a crucial moment here and I am hopeful that administration will see the right way to go. I am working on it. I don't believe
that have made any definitive decision, and as I have said on both Iran on Syria there is close cooperation, you can check with your Israeli contacts Nachum and they will confirm that. So we just have to get this third part right and I'm working hard to do
it and I'm optimistic that that can happen.

SEGAL: Good to hear that. Finally Senator, just for our own curiosity, just like the most recent justice appointed to the Supreme Court, will the next one also be a New Yorker?

SCHUMER: I don't know. I would like it to be, I recommended the first one. I have 3 criteria for Supreme Court Justices: they should be legally excellent, they should be moderate as is typical of my politics I don't want too far right or far left, and diversity, which means different ethnic groups and everything else. Luckily in terms of Jewish people we have good representation in terms of the Supreme Court. That will continue. One thing I want to assure your listeners
Nachum, my name as you know comes from a Hebrew word. It comes from the word shomer, which mean guardian. My ancestors were guardians of the ghetto wall in Chortkov and I believe Hashem, actually, gave me name as one of my roles that is very important in the
United States Senate to be a shomer to be A. a shomer for Israel and I will continue to be that with every bone in my body for of the other is against me.

SEGAL: can I ask you one other favor Senator? To be a shomer against the value-add tax?

SCHUMER: I am against it. I'm not sure it's needed but I will be a shomer against it.

SEGAL: always a pleasure Senator, thanks so much for joining us.

SCHUMER: Nachum, nice to see you and I hope you readership continues to go in peace and prosperity.

Posted by Ben Smith 08:24 PM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Hikers

Can we put out the below?

Draft S Statement on the Hikers

I was pleased to learn of the consular visit yesterday by the Swiss Ambassador in Iran to the three detained American hikers, Shane Bauer, Josh Fattal, and Sarah Shourd. But we are disturbed by the families' reports of their children's physical and emotional health. These three Americans -- innocent tourists in Iraq's Kurdistan region when they were detained on July 31, 2009 -- have been unjustly held for almost nine months without formal charges or access to legal representation. We ask the Islamic Republic of Iran to release these three Americans and allow them to go home and be reunited with their families.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 8:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Hikers

We did. I sent this to you at Goose Bay.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Apr 23 20:45:43 2010
Subject: Re: Hikers

I thought we did already.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 23 17:12:47 2010
Subject: Hikers

Can we put out the below?

Draft S Statement on the Hikers

I was pleased to learn of the consular visit yesterday by the Swiss Ambassador in Iran to the three detained American hikers, Shane Bauer, Josh Fattal, and Sarah Shourd. But we are disturbed by the families' reports of their children's physical and emotional health. These three Americans -- innocent tourists in Iraq's Kurdistan region when they were detained on July 31, 2009 -- have been unjustly held for almost nine months without formal charges or access to legal representation. We ask the Islamic Republic of Iran to release these three Americans and allow them to go home and be reunited with their families.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Arab nations back indirect peace talks with Israel

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sat May 01 14:40:15 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Arab nations back indirect peace talks with Israel

CAIRO (AP) - Arab nations have given the Palestinians the green light to enter indirect peace talks with Israel for a preliminary four-month period. The decision from Arab foreign ministers likely opens the way for the start of long-stalled US-brokered negotiations. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas signaled this week that he would be willing to resume negotiations. Secretary Clinton said April 30 the talks would start next week.

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Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Harry Reid

Sure thing. Will prepare a call sheet for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Apr 24 09:31:14 2010
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WSJ article

Below is the article I mentioned:

U.S. Revises Tack on Mideast Arms
Washington, Egypt Discuss Plan to Rid Region of Nuclear Weapons, in Effort to Steal Iran's Thunder at U.N. Conference

By JONATHAN WEISMAN, JAY SOLOMON and JOE LAURIA

The U.S. is negotiating with Egypt a proposal to make the Middle East a region free of nuclear weapons, as the U.S. seeks to prevent Iran from derailing a monthlong U.N. conference on nuclear nonproliferation that begins Monday.

U.S. officials familiar with the move call it an important step in assuring countries that Washington—criticized by some for its silence about Israel's undeclared nuclear arsenal—will equitably address weapons proliferation across the region, as Iran seeks to shift focus away from its own nuclear program.

Washington also reassured Israel it won't foist a nuclear-free zone on the region until all parties agree to it and significant progress has been made on Mideast peace.

The U.N. conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is held every five years, is expected to begin with a bang Monday with an address by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has condemned the West for its refusal to disarm and for tacitly accepting Israel's nuclear capability.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will follow the Iranian leader in the afternoon.

The U.N. talks come at a time when Iran is believed to be heading toward a nuclear capability and the U.S. and allies have been pressing for new, tough Security Council sanctions to curb Tehran's program.

"The Iranians are clearly intending to spoil the party," said a senior U.S. official involved in the nuclear diplomacy. The official highlighted the importance of raising Mideast nuclear-free zone issues.

The designation of the region as a zone free of weapons of mass destruction was a nonbinding agreement that emerged from a 1995 U.N. review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, a 1970 pact to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. That 1995 agreement was pivotal because it won the indefinite extension of the treaty, but no action on the zone has been taken since.

Senior Obama administration officials said Friday the White House is willing to significantly advance a Mideast nuclear weapons-free zone, and would support a conference on the subject at a future date. U.S. officials said talks with Egypt would resume in New York in the coming month. Such a zone is envisaged to include Israel, the Arab states, Iran and Turkey.

"We've made a proposal to them [Egypt] that goes beyond what the U.S. has been willing to do before," said the senior U.S. official involved in the nuclear diplomacy.

U.S. officials stressed, however, that they didn't believe that would happen without first achieving major advances in Arab-Israeli peace talks.

"We are concerned that the conditions are not right unless all members of the region participate, which would be unlikely unless there is a comprehensive peace plan which is accepted," said Ellen Tauscher, undersecretary of state for arms

control and international security. She said the U.S. has also discussed the zone with the Arab League and other members of the Nonaligned Movement.

The diplomacy could raise new tensions between President Barack Obama and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu if Washington is seen backing away from its commitment to Israel. Israel has voiced concerns that the U.N. conference could turn into an international forum to corner Israel. Mr. Netanyahu backed out of a nuclear-security conference in Washington in March due to such concerns.

An Israeli official said Friday that his government supports a Middle East freeze of WMD and nuclear weapons, but that "it should be the culmination of a process that begins with bilateral and individual peace agreements between all the countries in the region."

The U.S. and Israel have been locked in a monthslong spat over Mr. Obama's calls for a complete freeze in building new Jewish housing in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. U.S. officials have grown increasingly confident in recent days that ties between the U.S. and Israel have stabilized. Mrs. Clinton said Friday that the Mideast peace process will get on track next week, though not the U.S.-brokered direct talks involving Israeli and Palestinians that the Obama administration wants to see.

Egypt's latest proposal calls for Israel's disarmament "as soon as possible." It also called for Israel's nuclear program to be placed under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the U.N.'s atomic watchdog. That proposal won't be accepted, U.S. officials said.

The Egyptian working paper demands NPT signatory states release "all information available to them on the nature and scope of Israeli nuclear facilities and activities, including information pertaining to previous nuclear transfers to Israel." U.S. officials indicated no such demands could be made on Israel.

Arms-control analysts familiar with the talks say the U.S. is likely to propose creating a U.N. envoy given the task of calling a conference of Middle East nations to press forward on the nuclear weapon-free zone.

"They are desperate to buy off Egyptian objections," said Henry Sokolski, executive director of the Non-Proliferation Education Center and a critic of the Obama administration's arms-control approach.

Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association, an advocacy group, said the U.S. acceptance of a special envoy is a significant shift. A U.S. official refused to say whether the envoy proposal, first floated by Russia, was part of the U.S. offer.

The last NPT conference in 2005 ended in collapse. But U.S. officials said they have been laying the groundwork for this conference for nearly a year.

The White House wants rules to ensure that a country that withdraws from the treaty doesn't escape inspections and sanctions. They also want more power for U.N. inspectors and more backing for multinational facilities that could help nations develop peaceful nuclear power.

Write to Jonathan Weisman at jonathan.weisman@wsj.com, Jay Solomon at jay.solomon@wsj.com and Joe Lauria at newseditor@wsj.com

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** H; Oscar Flores
**Subject:** Bosnia

This call will be after indonesia. Oscar can u print for her?
Points for President Silajdzic call:

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 5:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: names and names

Remind me to discuss this traffic w/ you.

Cdm

**From:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Mar 23 18:11:29 2010
**Subject:** Re: names and names

[redacted] B6

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Tue Mar 23 17:17:42 2010
**Subject:** RE: names and names

Who did you propose?

---

**From:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 11:25 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** names and names

Cheryl:

[redacted] I will keep trying. I appreciate your confidence in me in this job, and will gladly remain in it. My conviction is that [redacted] should go to ECA with a PDAS in place, and believe that even an Acting PDAS is necessary now to help prepare for her first days and weeks. I have some names to offer. Above all else, my first responsibility is to the Secretary and you and this office. I have one of the best jobs in town, and about everything I am always optimistic.
Joe

B5
B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** H; Oscar Flores
**Subject:** Bosnia

Formal eur points on bosnia:
Proposed Points Follow:

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 3:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Harry Reid

We prepared a call sheet that is in clearance now. Will send to you ASAP.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** START

We've got a plan [redacted] B5
[redacted] Ellen will pass on details early next week.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: VMI

We can def ask.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:18:30 2010
Subject: VMI

What about asking VMI to move to another day--is that out of the question?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Blake, Robert O <BlakeR2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Important new memo on Kyrg. Sid

I will be out of the office on official travel through Tuesday May 4. Please send any urgent action items to the SCA Staff Assistants or SCA PDAS Pat Moon. Thanks, Bob

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:36 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: VMI

I don't think it is, honestly -- but we should probably offer a date option to them when/if we call them to postpone.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:18:30 2010
Subject: VMI

What about asking VMI to move to another day--is that out of the question?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: h: just a line. S

The UK election, I think, reflects lingering fixation on Tony. They just can't get over him. The British public feels like the wife he abandoned for George W. Bush, wants vengeance, yet still pines for him. Clegg is a Tony stand-in love object, Cameron a pretender. Alas, poor Gordon, Heathcliffe, unloved, unlovable, suffering.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
Sent: Sat, Apr 24, 2010 4:20 pm
Subject: Re: h: just a line. S

Good advice.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted] B6

To: H

Sent: Fri Apr 23 10:05:50 2010

Subject: h: just a line. S

Next time you feel like stepping all over your story by saying you are tired, use the line of the black woman in the Montgomery bus boycott who walked to work: "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested."

On UK: Clegg held his own in the second debate last night. Gordon hit him as "anti-American." This feels like it's moving to a hung parliament. Cameron can't break through. Two-thirds of the voters simply hate the Tories. No matter how well Clegg does the system doesn't allow for any gain in seats to match his personal poll numbers. UK stunned by its first series of debates and the whole campaign has atrophied in wonderment, little happening between the debates. Final one next week, but guaranteed not to be conclusive, just a repetition,

confirming the earlier two.

Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: START

Agreed. That's being worked too.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, May 01, 2010 6:23 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: START

We also need to brief Rice.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 01 18:00:12 2010
Subject: START

We've got a plan [redacted] B5
[redacted] Ellen will pass on details early next week.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** NSS/PSD Strategy Going Forward
**Attachments:** PSD Strategy Going Forward4.22.10.docx

I hope that you can read this (3 pages) before your meeting with Secretary Gates on pooled funding on Monday. I have spent a lot of time thinking about these issues in the context of the QDDR, but I think if we're going to push the position I suggest, it has to be now. If you agree, there are a number of ways we can make this quite attractive to other agencies as well as DoD. AM

---

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sat Apr 24 16:33:30 2010
**Subject:** NSS/PSD Strategy Going Forward

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 7:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Am up if you are

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

## SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

## EXPERIENCE

B6



# EXPERIENCE (CONT'D)

## *PUBLIC INTEREST*

## *MILITARY*

# EDUCATION

B6

# MEMBERSHIPS/PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D), B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 5:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

For you eyes only

B1
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Mills Cheryl
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:00:09 2010
Subject: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

B6

CDM:
At behest of PDT, I tried to call you just minutes ago to ask about your availability for phone call from him this afternoon.
- First choice: 5:00 p.m. (your time)
- Alternative: 7:00 p.m.
- If neither works for you, then propose time and we'll accomodate.
Two options to suggest:
1. With our individual cell phones, it is difficult to involve third person - to wit, me. Could you arrange for a confe[illegible]ce type number and code to which PD and I could call separately?
2. Or as alternative, do you have capacity to call us separately to turn it into a conference call?
Either option would not only make for a smoother conversation, but would also allow me to not have to be in same location as PDT.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

so best that call be today.
Regards.

Sent from my BlackBerry® device from Digicel

B1
1.4(D)

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: FYI Kornblum... Sid

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Apr 24 18:26:17 2010
Subject: Fw: FYI Kornblum... Sid

Pls print and have delivered to my house.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 23 10:10:42 2010
Subject: FYI Kornblum... Sid

In light of Clegg's rising popularity partly based on his anti-Americanism and Germany's growing hegemony in Europe while becoming more insular, John Kornblum has written this op-ed with reference in last graphs to US policy.

The New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/> <http://graphics8.nytimes.com/ads/spacer.gif> Printer Friendly Format Sponsored By
<http://www.nytimes.com/adx/bin/adx_click.html?type=goto&opzn&page=www.nytimes.com/printer-friendly&pos=Position1&sn2=336c557e/4f3dd5d2&sn1=1c82efea/a8348c0e&camp=foxsearch2010_emailtools_1225557e_nyt5&ad=Cyrus_120x60_e_01.25&goto=http://www.foxsearchlight.com/cyrus>

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April 23, 2010
I.H.T. Op-Ed Contributor

Germany in Need of a Dream

By JOHN KORNBLUM
Has Germany abandoned Europe? Do Angela Merkel's tough conditions for aid to Greece mean that Germany is no longer the motor of European integration? Has Frau Merkel in fact morphed from the Miss Europa of 2007 to the Fräulein Germania of 2010, as Germany's own former foreign minister Joschka Fischer has suggested?
As a former American ambassador who has lived and worked the better part of four decades around Germany, my Blackberry often glows red hot with messages from persons asking these questions. My response is always the same: Germany has changed very little, but Europe and the world have changed a lot. Therein lies the dilemma.

Germany has worked hard to dig its way out of the disaster of 1945, but trauma remains a defining issue for German society. Sixty five years later, Germany is still focused on the three essentials of its recovery: stability, respectability and peace. Keep this triangle in mind and lots of things quickly come into focus.

From the first days of the Federal Republic, Germany's leaders emphasized the importance of defining interests solely within a common European and Atlantic vocation. But they also understood that renouncing national ambitions did not remove the responsibility to pursue specific German goals through the common institutions.

Many important postwar accomplishments were conceived and pushed by Germany, sometimes over the opposition of others — including the United States. Ostpolitik was controversial for years, as was NATO enlargement. Germany pushed them with determination.

Helmut Kohl did not consult before promulgating his 10 points on reunification. He agreed to French desires for a common currency, but only if it could be a mirror of the Deutsche mark, for decades the European monetary standard. The euro stability pact, now the object of so much controversy with Greece, was the result. After 1990, the E.U.'s eastward expansion was Germany's way of firming up its Eastern flank.

Slowly and without fanfare, Germany has been remaking the European Union in its image. At each step of the way, Germany made its wishes more palatable by paying more than its share. Part of today's misunderstanding is caused by Germany's success in using its contributions to build an image of selflessness. Germany has been as single-minded in pursuit of its goals as Charles de Gaulle ever was for his, but it almost always left leadership to others.

A new consciousness grew after the costs of reunification began to mount. "Europe" in the institutional sense has become increasingly unpopular. German courts have begun to define German European issues in the context of the German Constitution rather than on the basis of E.U. law. At least some of Ms. Merkel's refusal to allow immediate assistance to Greece was based on her fears that it would fan anti-E.U. sentiment at home. Are these the first signs of a German Tea Party?

Here we find the source of most of the hand wringing about Germany's role as the "motor of Europe." Ms. Merkel's unwillingness to sweeten the financial pot echoed throughout Brussels. To many, it signified the decline of German willingness to "salute the French flag three times before raising the German flag," as Konrad Adenauer used to put it. Germans are not alone in objecting to throwing more money into the E.U. pot, but they happen to be the only ones who can do something about it. Many fear that without German complaisance, the E.U. will stutter to a stop. But such self-denial could never offer a viable foundation for a new Europe. Neither could the inefficiency and even corruption that characterizes many E.U. programs.

Most maddening for most thinking Europeans is the knowledge that the Germans are right. But to them, the question is whether Germany is remaking the E.U. in a fashion palatable to the majority of other member states. They are not so sure that its focus on stability and accountability is the right way to help such a diverse collection of peoples adjust to a globalized world.

And so when Angela Merkel raps Greek knuckles, she is sending a message most Europeans don't want to hear. Not that Germany is dangerous; even worse, that it is unrelenting. The Neue Züricher Zeitung probably spoke for many others when it once accused Germany of wanting Europe to become a large Switzerland.

The growing gap between Germany's aspirations and the perceived needs of other members of the E.U. is beginning to burden both sides. Most Europeans are simply not ready to live up to German standards. Without a more flexible sense of common purpose, the project to build a democratic Europe could stop dead in the water. But as Germans will themselves often tell you: They have forgotten how to dream.

Younger Germans feel this lack of inspiration as well. Dreams were what 200,000 of them were waiting to hear when they rallied to hear Barack Obama in Berlin two summers ago. They wanted more than to "Dare to Hope," which is the characteristically timid German translation of the title of the president's best seller. And they are still waiting. America seems busy elsewhere.

The main conclusion I draw from the debate about Germany is that it is not about Germany at all. The task of building a democratic Europe is far from complete. Most of the foundations have been laid and now the residents are starting to haggle over the design. Weaving today's 27 states into a true trans-Atlantic partnership is a task that is too big for Germany or even Europe to accomplish alone. They desperately need some skilled architectural assistance.

Uniting Europe and North America is the most audacious project ever conceived. If it works, the United States will be joined by nearly 500 million Europeans to form a democratic space, within which modern democratic values will harness more energy than in any single nation on earth. Democracy's future as the operating system for a globalized world will be assured.

European fecklessness seems to worry Washington officials these days. But if Germany has forgotten how to dream and the United States is too busy to try, we will both be guilty of perpetuating the aimlessness we so criticize. To hold up its side of the bargain, Europe needs exactly what Barack Obama originally promised — the audacity of hope.

John Kornblum, senior counselor with the international law firm Noerr LLP in Berlin, served as the U.S. ambassador to Germany from 1997 to 2001.

<http://up.nytimes.com/?d=0/9/&t=&s=1&ui=1384214&r=http%3a%2f%2fwww%2enytimes%2ecom%2f2010%2f04%2f23%2fopinion%2f23iht%2dedkornblum%2ehtml%3femc%3deta1&u=www%2enytimes%2ecom%2f2010%2f04%2f23%2fopinion%2f23iht%2dedkornblum%2ehtml%3femc%3deta1%26pagewanted%3dprint>

DCSIMG

<http://wt.o.nytimes.com/dcsym57yw10000s1s8g0boozt_9t1x/njs.gif?dcsuri=/nojavascript&WT.js=No&WT.tv=1.0.7>

<http://www.nytimes.com/adx/bin/clientside/2c7bce84Q2FRbLQ51TT4Q23TLwQ51Q51Q5BQ25TQ2ATQ22Q22Q2AbQ23Q22Q51>

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

## GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE

B6

## CORPORATE EXPERIENCE

B6

## ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

**POLITICAL EXPERIENCE**

B6

**EDUCATION**

B6

**HONORS AND MEMBERSHIPS**

B6

**PUBLICATIONS**

B6

**PERSONAL**

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**SUMMARY OF EXPERIENCE:**

**EMPLOYMENT:**

B6

**EMPLOYMENT (continued):**

B6

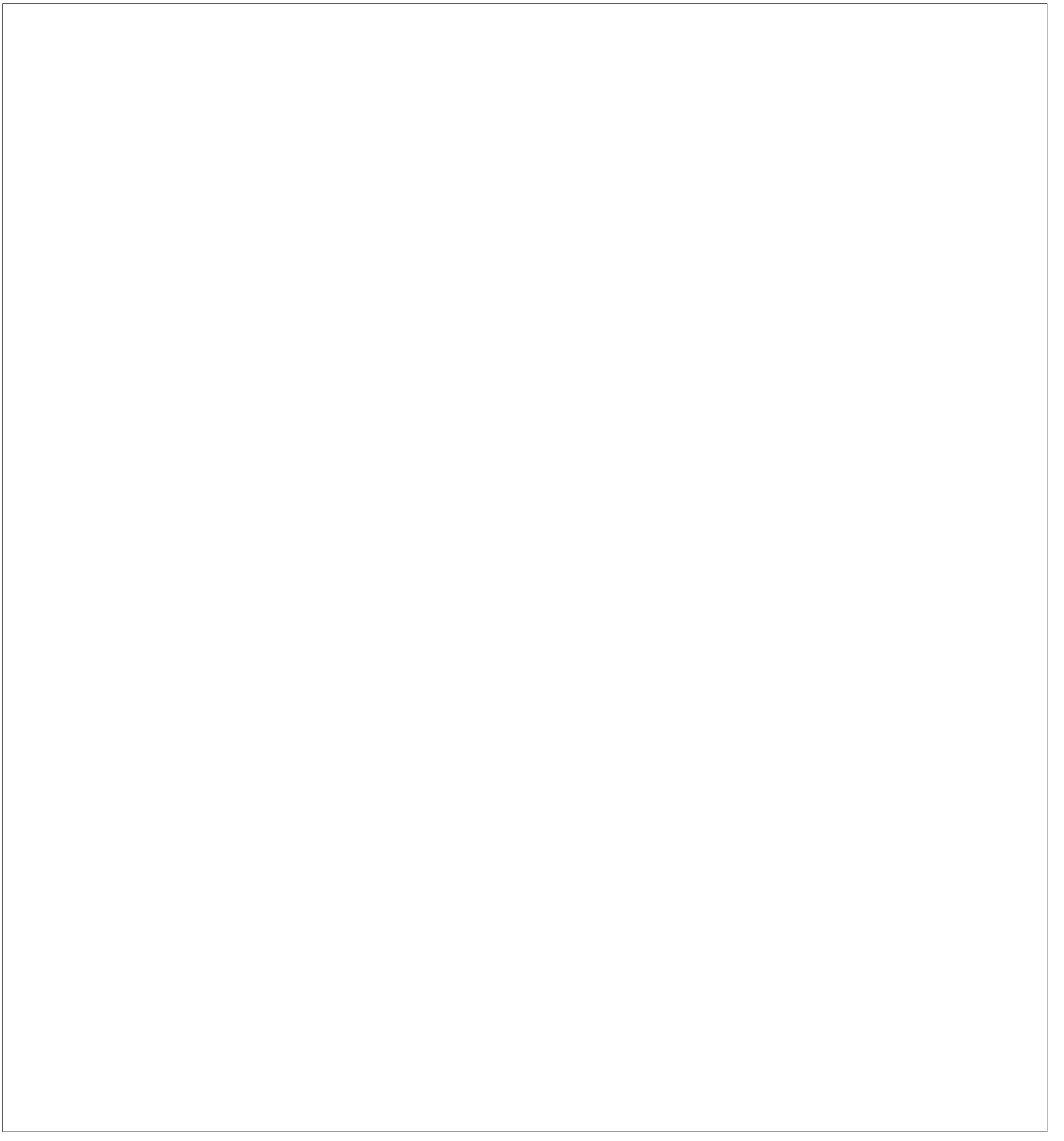
**EDUCATION:**

B6

**OTHER EDUCATIONAL TRAINING:**

B6

B6



RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 7:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Amano [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

Fyi

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035**

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**From**: Mull, Stephen D
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Waser, Tamir G; Burns, William J; Waller, Robert P; Wells, Alice G
**Sent**: Sat Apr 24 17:50:47 2010
**Subject**: FW: Amano [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

FYI, excellent readout from Ambassador Davies' meeting with IAEA DG Amano [redacted]

---

**From:** Davies, Glyn T
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 1:24 PM
**To:** Mull, Stephen D; Einhorn, Robert J; Timbie, James P; Cook, Nerissa J; [redacted] Scheland, Mark DL; Burk, Susan F B6
**Cc:** 'Poneman, Daniel'; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Hall, Andrea G; [redacted] Hoh, Christopher J; Pappas, Demitra M; Yu, Alan K; Nephew, Richard M
**Subject:** Amano [redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Good chat with the DG, just a half-hour after he landed from his Tokyo flight.

[redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

- G

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B)1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 7:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Amano [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

Yep -- they've been distributed.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Apr 24 19:30:18 2010
Subject: Re: Amano [redacted]

I assume Steve et al got the readouts [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 19:21:32 2010
Subject: Fw: Amano [redacted]

Fyi

---

From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Waser, Tamir G; Burns, William J; Waller, Robert P; Wells, Alice G
Sent: Sat Apr 24 17:50:47 2010
Subject: FW: Amano [redacted]

FYI, excellent readout from Ambassador Davies' meeting with IAEA DG Amano [redacted]

From: Davies, Glyn T
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 1:24 PM
To: Mull, Stephen D; Einhorn, Robert J; Timbie, James P; Cook, Nerissa J; [redacted] Scheland, Mark DL; Burk, Susan F B6
Cc: 'Poneman, Daniel'; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Hall, Andrea G; [redacted] Hoh, Christopher J; Pappas, Demitra M; Yu, Alan K; Nephew, Richard M
Subject: Amano [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Good chat with the DG, just a half-hour after he landed from his Tokyo flight.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

G

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 8:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Reid Call Sheet 4-24-10
**Attachments:** Reid Call Sheet 4-24-10.docx

# The Secretary's Call Sheet for Majority Leader Harry Reid

## Saturday, April 24, 2010

**BACKGROUND**: Yesterday (Friday, April 23, 2010), Majority Leader Reid sent you a letter in which he asked you to work with Congress to "quickly complete action on the Iran sanctions legislation." Additionally, he encouraged you "to support direct [peace] negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians."

Iran Sanctions

B5

B5

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations

B5

B5

Call Notes:

<<Reid Call Sheet 4-24-10.docx>>

RELEASE IN PART
B5

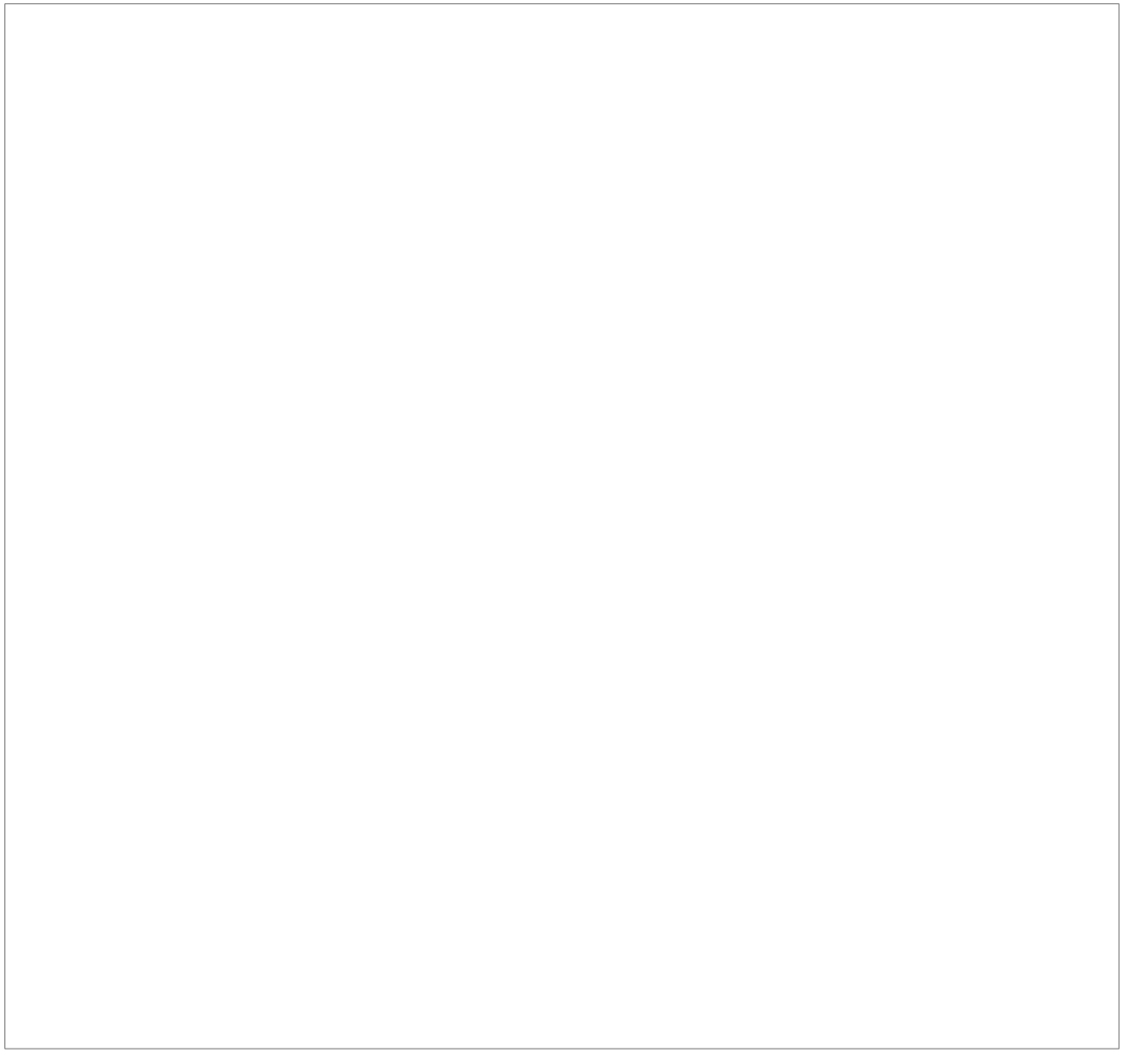
UNCLASSIFIED

**The Secretary's Call Sheet for Majority Leader Harry Reid**
**Saturday, April 24, 2010**

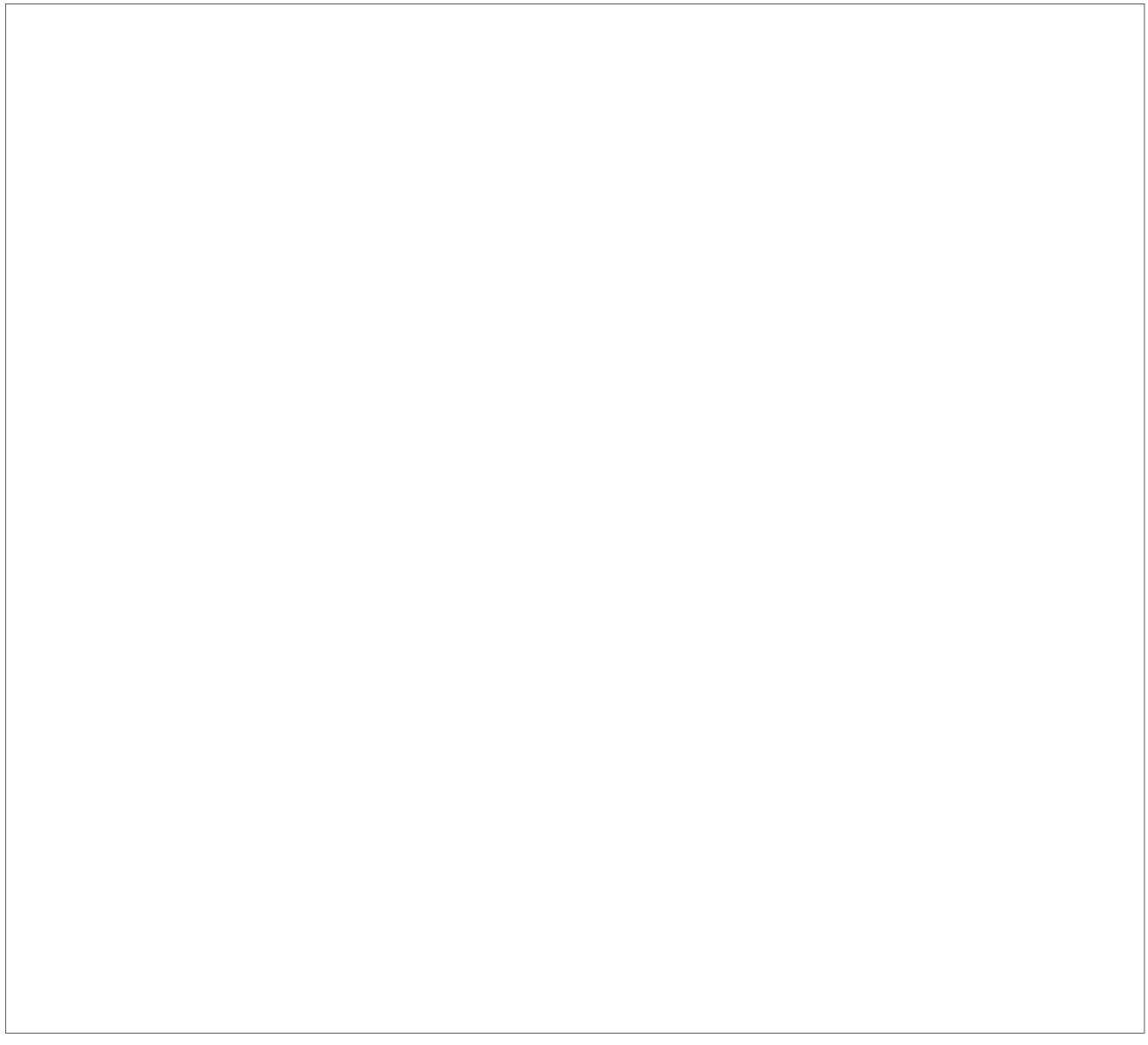
**BACKGROUND**: Yesterday (Friday, April 23, 2010), Majority Leader Reid sent you a letter in which he asked you to work with Congress to "quickly complete action on the Iran sanctions legislation." Additionally, he encouraged you "to support direct [peace] negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians."

Iran Sanctions

B5

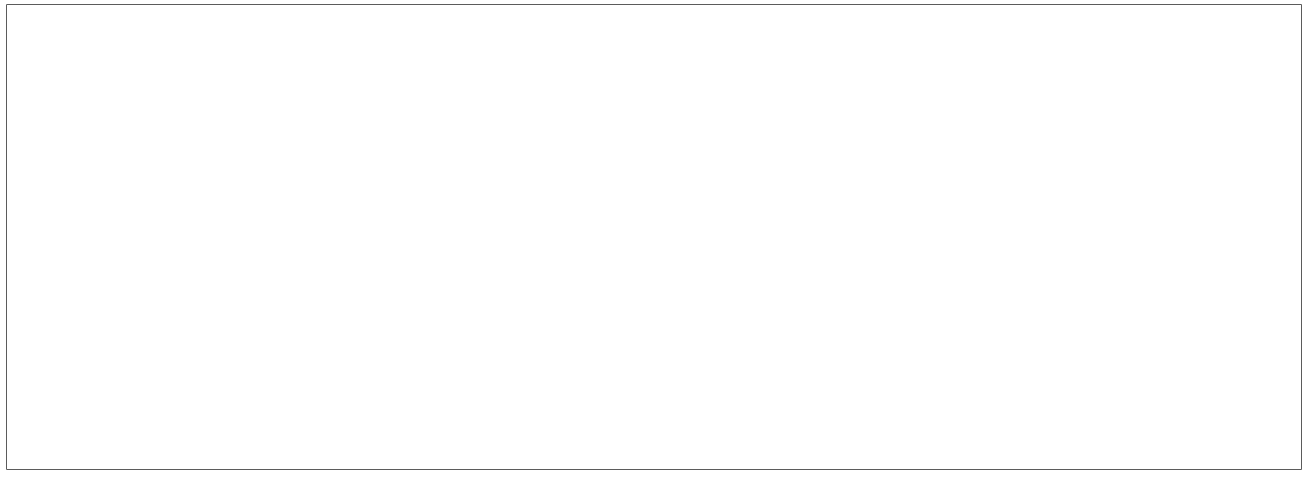


UNCLASSIFIED



B5

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations



B5

UNCLASSIFIED

B5

Call Notes:

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Am up if you are

Going running at 8am

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun May 02 07:11:54 2010
Subject: Am up if you are

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:38 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 3/24/10 Wednesday

**NOTE: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC WILL BE TAPING B-ROLL FOOTAGE**

**THROUGHOUT THE DAY.**

7:50 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:00 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:00 am **OPENING SESSION OF US-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC DIALOGUE**

9:15 am Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Open press for first 30 minutes

9:15 am **OFFICE TIME**

9:35 am Secretary's Office

9:40 am **MCC BOARD PREP**

9:55 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am **CHAIR MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE CORPORATION**

12:00 pm **(MCC) BOARD MEETING** Principals Conference Room 7516

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**

1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **VIDEOS (2)**

1:05 pm John Jay Room, 7th Floor

1:10 pm **CONFERENCE CALL w/SENATORS SHAHEEN AND VOINOVICH**

1:25 pm Secretary's Office

1:30 pm **PRE-BRIEF MEETING**

1:45 pm Secretary's Office

1:45 pm **PREP CALL w/DEFENSE SECRETARY GATES**

2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **BILATERAL w/PAKISTANI F.M. MAKHDOOM SHAH MEHMOOD**

3:00 pm **QURESHI** Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

3:00 pm **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**

3:05 pm Secretary's Office

3:05 pm **JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE w/PAKISTANI FM QURESHI**

3:25 pm Treaty Room, 7th Floor

3:45 pm **HEARING PREP w/RICH VERMA AND TEAM**

4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **DROP-BY AT THE RECEPTION FOR THE US-PAKISTAN**

4:45 pm **STRATEGIC DIALOGUE** Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Aprox. 270

ppl. expected.

4:55 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Admiral Mullen's Residence

5:00 pm **ARRIVE** Mullen Residence

5:00 pm **US-PAKISTAN SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION**

7:00 pm Admiral Mullen's Residence, Quarters AA

7:00 pm **US-PAKISTAN WORKING DINNER**

9:00 pm Admiral Mullen's Residence, Quarters AA

9:05 pm (t) **DEPART** Mullen's Residence *En route Private Residence

9:15 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**

7:30 am **US-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC DIALOGUE BREAKFAST**

8:00 am Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

12:30 pm **US-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC DIALOGUE LUNCH**

2:00 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

1:30 pm **US-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC DIALOGUE MEETING**

3:30 pm Henry Clay Room, 8th Floor

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Harry Reid

Just sent to you in a separate email.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 7:43 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Harry Reid

I still have not received the call sheet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 15:19:19 2010
Subject: RE: Harry Reid

We prepared a call sheet that is in clearance now. Will send to you ASAP.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Personnel

Yes

B5
B6

For discussion:

1. INL

[redacted]

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:37 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: INL Resumes

Let's discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Mar 24 05:44:46 2010
Subject: Fw: INL Resumes

[redacted]

As fyi - INL does more policing/security/ law enf than mil.

Cdm

Cdm

---

From: Gelber, Ethan M
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne; Toiv, Nora F; Carpenter, Margaret V.W.; Diminuco, Steven L
Sent: Tue Mar 23 16:43:45 2010
Subject: INL Resumes

Cheryl,

As requested, please find the resumes attached for the candidates interviewed thus far for INL – [redacted] B6

Thanks,

Ethan

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:04 AM
**To:** H; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Newsweek

Really good stuff. Especially fantastic opening page

Getting very very good feedback

I can't even remember now what if anything in it bugged me yesterday. Nothing in it has anyone making a double take to flesh out so far.

Its overall frame of the partnership paints you in exactly the way I think people respect you most, and I think Hirsh might actually have come up with a theme that will stick.

Have only seen the cover photo online, I want to see the hardcopy since we all know it's the pictures that really matter. Text on the cover is great

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Newsweek
Sent: Apr 25, 2010 9:55 AM

So what's the verdict on the article?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Personnel

Correct -

[redacted] B5 B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:49 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Personnel

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:47:15 2010
Subject: Personnel

Yes

For discussion:

1. INL

[redacted]

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:37 AM

To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: INL Resumes

Let's discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Mar 24 05:44:46 2010
Subject: Fw: INL Resumes

[redacted] B5 B6

As fyi - INL does more policing/security/ law enf than mil.

Cdm

Cdm

---

From: Gelber, Ethan M
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne; Toiv, Nora F; Carpenter, Margaret V.W.; Diminuco, Steven L
Sent: Tue Mar 23 16:43:45 2010
Subject: INL Resumes

Cheryl,

As requested, please find the resumes attached for the candidates interviewed thus far for INL – [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Thanks,

Ethan

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Note for the Secretary from Bill Burns: Nigeria and Cape Verde, April 24-25

Fyi

**From**: Burns, William J
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Rice, Susan E (USUN); Carson, Johnnie; Wolff, Alex D (USUN)
**Cc**: Wells, Alice G; Mull, Stephen D
**Sent**: Sun Apr 25 09:25:43 2010
**Subject**: Note for the Secretary from Bill Burns: Nigeria and Cape Verde, April 24-25

April 25
Cape Verde

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Madam Secretary,

Just a short note in this system; more details when I get back.

Back in DC late tonight.

Best regards,

Bill

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/24/2035

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 1:28 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Scheduling

My update from this list:
Sandy Levin will be this week, working on the other Hill appointments and will get Walter I. in as soon as possible.

Staff retreat -- I don't believe we could use Blair House on the 14th but Huma will remember better than me. The 28th is the Friday before Memorial Day weekend, not sure if people have plans that would interfere?

I will follow up on Vietnam symposium and I did call Reyes' office but never heard back so will try again tomorrow.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Sun May 02 13:22:24 2010
Subject: Scheduling

Here are a few odds and ends:

Since I'm going to the Bahrain Manama Conf in December, I want to decide where else I might go. The. climate conf in Mexico will be held Nov 29-Dec 10. There is also a Dec 10 conf on trafficking in Luxor sponsored by Mrs. Mubarak that Melanne hopes I could attend.

Add to list of meetings the following--

Ron Kirk
Hilda Solis
Walter Isaacson--high priority
Sandy Levin
Loretta Sanchez
Max Baucus
Eliot Engel

Ben Cardin wants me to come give a speech about the 35th anniversary of the Helsinki Accords on the Hill so I thought If I'm going back to Helsinki for a speech about the Helinski Accords in July maybe I should do the Hill speech around that time.

Also, Cheryl wants a staff retreat/meeting so what about May 14 or 28?

Did you get info about the Vietnam symposium the State historian, Carland, invited me to open on 9/29?

I want to plan to go to the Arctic Council in Greenland next April.

Did you find out when Cong Reyes's conf on border security was in August?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Newsweek

You're very welcome. We've got a pretty good process in place handling the projects, and as always, we have a great product to sell.

And as a non-Methodist list maker, this project now comes off mine, and Caroline will be crossing it off our white board tomorrow, a very satisfying ritual. Esquire's should hit soon and will hopefully be as positive. Then it's just 60 left, and I feel good about that too.

I would say that the one thing that's going to continue to be annoying is people pressing you on how long you'll serve. When Tavis got you to say you probably won't for 8 years, that was especially stupid newsmaking on his part. Hirsh tried it with four, and I think others will.

Might just be easiest to say, I've learned not to predict the future - including my own - but I intend to and hope to. We have a lot to do, so much that we've started, and I want to see it through.

Or just a simple I hope to

If you don't you don't nobody's going to call you on saying you 'intended to' a year earlier. Again, the 8 years was especially dumb speculation

But these questions are really code for are you happy, are you being treated well, do you have enough juice? And no point to let people interpret the answer to their nefarious use.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Newsweek
Sent: Apr 25, 2010 10:18 AM

Thx for all your help especially since I know it's hard helping Methodists!

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [redacted] B6
To: H; Jake Sullivan <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Apr 25 10:03:32 2010
Subject: Re: Newsweek

Really good stuff. Especially fantastic opening page

Getting very very good feedback

I can't even remember now what if anything in it bugged me yesterday. Nothing in it has anyone making a double take to flesh out so far.

Its overall frame of the partnership paints you in exactly the way I think people respect you most, and I think Hirsh might actually have come up with a theme that will stick.

Have only seen the cover photo online, I want to see the hardcopy since we all know it's the pictures that really matter. Text on the cover is great

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Newsweek
Sent: Apr 25, 2010 9:55 AM

So what's the verdict on the article?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Newsweek

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:56 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Chollet, Derek H
**Subject:** Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I checked last friday and was told it went up to you -- am checking again now. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:53:05 2010
Subject: Pak-India-Bangl

Remember the comparison I asked for? Is that ready--I'd like it today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** preines( H; Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Re: Newsweek

I second Philippe's assessment. In a funny way, having the few negative quotes (which basically posit the standard critiques) works in our favor, because the rest of the piece undermines/marginalizes them very effectively.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines B6
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Apr 25 10:03:32 2010
Subject: Re: Newsweek

Really good stuff. Especially fantastic opening page

Getting very very good feedback

I can't even remember now what if anything in it bugged me yesterday. Nothing in it has anyone making a double take to flesh out so far.

Its overall frame of the partnership paints you in exactly the way I think people respect you most, and I think Hirsh might actually have come up with a theme that will stick.

Have only seen the cover photo online, I want to see the hardcopy since we all know it's the pictures that really matter. Text on the cover is great

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Newsweek
Sent: Apr 25, 2010 9:55 AM

So what's the verdict on the article?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Anything to report?

The word from Ramallah is quite positive. IF there are no announcements this week, we anticipate that the Arab League Follow-up Committee will give its blessing on May 1 and Sen Mitchell can return to the region to start talking substance. Given the Israelis' warning, this is a real If.

Karl/Frank will go in today to walk Karzai through the particulars of the visit - the only thorny part is that it has dropped from 4 to 3 days. But it has all the same elements, plus a dinner with Biden.

Did you see reports that Iran has dropped out of the running for the UNSC? Trying to confirm.

Andrew S. will be sending you a long memo that responds to DOD's pooling proposals - it conveys a desire to work together with DOD on this and offers some alternative ideas. He also canvassed the building on other topics and will send a list up for your book tonight. He and I agreed that the list should just be for reference and that your approach of having informal conversation on the big topics is the right one.

You saw CDM's email about the Sudan ad. Ben emailed yesterday to say he wants to talk Sudan comms strategy going forward. Hopefully I'll reach him today. I know CDM is talking to Denis.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Apr 25 10:26:24 2010
Subject: Anything to report?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 6:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: fyi

**FYI**

http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/03/10/lugar_no_more_money_for_development_banks_until_reform
Lugar: No more money for development banks until reform
Posted By Josh Rogin Wednesday, March 10, 2010

In the wake of the global financial crisis, a slew of multinational development banks are asking for large amounts of new capital to both replenish and in some cases expand their resource pools, and much of the burden will fall on the United States.

This creates a unique opportunity for the Obama administration to press these organizations to implement long-awaited reforms, according to the Senate's top Republican on foreign relations, who has a big say in whether and how the Congress doles out the funds.

"As the world struggles to emerge from the worst economic crisis since World War II, it is an appropriate time to ask whether the [International Financial Institutions] are performing optimally and doing the jobs they should be doing," reads a newly released report by the staff of Sen. Richard Lugar, R-IN, "The crisis should not be used as an excuse to win increases that could not otherwise be justified. As the requests for capital are negotiated with the international donor community, there is a window of opportunity for significant reform."

The report, which is the culmination of six years of research, including half a dozen hearings when Lugar was committee chairman, outlines several dozen recommendations for what the Obama administration, Congress, and the banks can do to update their relevance.

"Does the world really need the IMF, World Bank, African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and Inter-American Development Bank today? Can they be changed to better address our needs? How should we re-design them?" the report asks.

"Such questions are particularly timely because nearly all the IFIs have sought, or will soon seek, major new infusions of money from their donors, including the taxpayers of the United States."

The Asian Development Bank has already asked the Obama administration for new funds, and the administration has requested in its new budget $533 million in direct money and $12.8 billion in borrowing authority for the ADB.

A committee staffer told The Cable that Lugar wants to see progress on reform before he would support authorizing the money.

"We want to make sure that before the American taxpayer puts more money in there that things are fixed," the staffer said. "It's not possible for them to do everything, but they could certainly make progress."

The reforms the administration could press for in the short term include pressing the banks to focus more on development goals rather than the structure and size of loans and "work with the other donor countries to step back and slow down the process," the staffer said.

Congress is also concerned that the Obama administration might not be interested in pressing for these reforms, considering that Obama issued a signing statement in June indicating he did not feel bound to follow congressional direction on such international negotiations.

Negotiations between several banks and the Treasury Department are ongoing. The U.S. side is led by Scott Morris, deputy assistant secretary of the Treasury's Office of International Development Finance and Debt.

The issue will next surface at the end of March when the Inter-American Development Bank convenes its annual meeting in Cancun.

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Good luck on a good start!

Wow What a nice suprise. Thanks 4 words of support and enthusiasm----- alas my gain has given omaaley his nemisis. The erlichs r running 4 gov. Both husband/wife were looking @ senate. But. Dem. Md. Will be like NATO. An. Attack on one an attack on all----- am zipping around the. State and. Tweeting. Can u believe it. Along way from our perogi tours. NY. ---- your are the best.

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski)
Sent: Sun Apr 25 11:12:28 2010
Subject: Good luck on a good start!

Barb--

I loved your comments at your re-election kickoff and hope you've scared off all the would-be opponents.

How's our friend, Martin, doing? I know he has a rematch when he should be reelected by acclamation for steering the ship of state so well. Pls give him my best wishes.

And go get 'em! Your friend and booster, Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 1:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Expo Update

I have asked Jose to get you a more detailed report but I must tell you the opening of the USA Pavilion has been a great success so far - at least among the expo-goers. A few vignettes.

- while we don't want to brag to our Chinese hosts, our Pavilion has become the most popular. During the trial runs last week, the Chinese expo-goers rushed directly from the gates to the USAP (and even broke some of our turn-styles). Needless to say, the Chinese have improved security. On EACH of the first two days, 30,000 pple visited. Lines are long and pple are loving the show. We are also getting many foreign officials to visit.

- the 100 US college student ambassadors (who act as guides and speak Mandarin) are the biggest hits of the pavilion. Fair-goers stand in line to have their photo's taken w them. They explain the show and send a great message.

- the story line that we thght was simplistic is quite popular (the overture where Americans try to say hello in mandarin is met w howls of laughter and Act II called the Garden is doing well). During the thunderstorm scene a mist comes from the ceiling and some pple put up their umbrellas. Act I is a bit too commercial but the audience claps and take photo's when you and President come on the screen.

- we are selling tons of USA merchandise - the two most popular items - mini-basketballs with the USAP seal on it and the bison stuffed animals - who knew?

Anyway, thght u'd enjoy the quick report. I cannot imagine us not being here! We will keep you posted.

Smart power works!

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Apr 25 18:14:14 2010
Subject: Re: Followup

Thnx on GPF. A lot of ideas out there.

Kurt and Hormats were looking into it. Will bug them in the am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Apr 25 17:07:54 2010
Subject: Followup

I heard you did a great job at the Global Philanthropy Forum. Thx.

Also, where are we w Corning? Can you consult w EAP and E to find out what we can do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 3:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iran

You'll get from Derek and me tonight a short agenda with framing questions for the Iran meeting tomorrow. Derek is on call to act as a sort of conductor and move the conversation along, if need be.

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** VMI update ...

I had a very good chat with VMI [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 2:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun May 02 13:22:07 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add:

Alan Bersin over at DHS.
John Kerry and note subjects--Asad, Karzai,

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 5:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Expo Update

In the process of doing that.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun May 02 17:16:13 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

Yeah!! Can we get some good statistics and anecdotes to share w our sponsors, the press and the administration to tell the story?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 13:55:52 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

I have asked Jose to get you a more detailed report but I must tell you the opening of the USA Pavilion has been a great success so far - at least among the expo-goers. A few vignettes.

- while we don't want to brag to our Chinese hosts, our Pavilion has become the most popular. During the trial runs last week, the Chinese expo-goers rushed directly from the gates to the USAP (and even broke some of our turn-styles). Needless to say, the Chinese have improved security. On EACH of the first two days, 30,000 pple visited. Lines are long and pple are loving the show. We are also getting many foreign officials to visit.

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Anyway, thght u'd enjoy the quick report. I cannot imagine us not being here! We will keep you posted.

Smart power works!

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Apr 25 18:14:14 2010

Subject: Re: Followup

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Kurt and Hormats were looking into it. Will bug them in the am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
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Sent: Sun Apr 25 17:07:54 2010
Subject: Followup

I heard you did a great job at the Global Philanthropy Forum. Thx.

Also, where are we w Corning? Can you consult w EAP and E to find out what we can do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

Thnx on GPF. A lot of ideas out there.

Kurt and Hormats were looking into it. Will bug them in the am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Apr 25 17:07:54 2010
Subject: Followup

I heard you did a great job at the Global Philanthropy Forum. Thx.

Also, where are we w Corning? Can you consult w EAP and E to find out what we can do?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H; millscd@state.gov
**Subject:** RE: Can you talk tonight?

yes – I can talk now – does now work for you?

---

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 7:11 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Can you talk tonight?

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 7:44 AM
**To:** H; pverveer [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Speech

No -- I will add.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan; 'pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Mar 12 07:42:48 2010
Subject: Speech

Is there a reason I don't mention the need for the UN to have more women at higher levels?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Speech

B6

Also is the gender entity in there -- the new women's agency Look at my UN remarks last week I have several parags on it

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'rooneym@state.gov'
To: 'pverveer
Sent: Mar 12, 2010 7:42 AM
Subject: Speech

B6

Is there a reason I don't mention the need for the UN to have more women at higher levels?

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 9:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Harry Reid

Did you get what you need? Is there anything else that might be helpful to you?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** pverveer [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Speech

No, should be there
------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'rooneym@state.gov'
To: 'pverveer [redacted] B6
Sent: Mar 12, 2010 7:42 AM
Subject: Speech

Is there a reason I don't mention the need for the UN to have more women at higher levels?

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 6:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Futenma

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Thanks Madame Secretary in HK on the way to Tokyo. [redacted] B5

Will know more in Tokyo tomorrow and will report to you directly. [redacted] Best Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Campbell, Kurt M
Cc: Steinberg, James B
Sent: Sun Apr 25 16:12:39 2010
Subject: Futenma

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

What is the state of play? I read the reports about [redacted] And what do we do now?

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/25/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 7:12 AM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** Re: Pak-India-Bangl

It should be ready for you. We'll get it on your desk.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 07:02:56 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I haven't seen it yet and it's not in my materials for today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Chollet, Derek H <CholletDH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:56:05 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I checked last friday and was told it went up to you -- am checking again now. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:53:05 2010
Subject: Pak-India-Bangl

Remember the comparison I asked for? Is that ready--I'd like it today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iraqi panel invalidates votes for 52 candidates

**From**: Packer, Adam D
**To**: NEWS-Iraq; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Mon Apr 26 06:49:23 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Iraqi panel invalidates votes for 52 candidates

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - An Iraqi review panel invalidated the votes of 52 candidates of the March election, officials said, possibly wiping out the slim lead of a Sunni-backed alliance. It was not immediately clear how many of the candidates barred for alleged ties to Saddam Hussein's banned Baath party had won seats in the March 7 ballot. If the result changed, the decision could spark anger among Sunnis just as the sectarian violence unleashed after the 2003 U.S.-led invasion recedes. The panel's ruling was confirmed by Ali al-Lami, a senior member of a commission that sought to bar candidates with Baath party links, Tariq Harp, a lawyer for Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's State of Law coalition, and Mustafa al-Hiti, a senior member of the winning Iraqiya alliance that was heavily backed by Sunnis.

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I just confirmed that we sent it up on Friday and it definitely went into the line.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Wed Mar 24 07:12:20 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

It should be ready for you. We'll get it on your desk.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 07:02:56 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I haven't seen it yet and it's not in my materials for today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Chollet, Derek H <CholletDH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:56:05 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I checked last friday and was told it went up to you -- am checking again now. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:53:05 2010
Subject: Pak-India-Bangl

Remember the comparison I asked for? Is that ready--I'd like it today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 10:21 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Call list

I'll check on Durmer and take care of the rest.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 10:15 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Pls send Gen. Shalikashvili's numbers to Bill's staff because he asked me to have Bill call him.

Send all of Ron Dellums' numbers also to Bill.

Did I write Kris Durmer? If so, pls remove.

Pls add to list:
Susan Berger
Mark Weiner
Pls take off:
Albright
Lavrov
Spindelegger
Clark (ask Amb. Morningstar to call him to discuss oil shale in Europe) Saudabayev Holbrooke

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Call list

You signed as letter to Durmer on April 6th. I sent the numbers to WJC, and asked Morningstar to call Clark. He will let me know once they've spoken.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 10:15 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Pls send Gen. Shalikashvili's numbers to Bill's staff because he asked me to have Bill call him.

Send all of Ron Dellums' numbers also to Bill.

Did I write Kris Durmer? If so, pls remove.

Pls add to list:
Susan Berger
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Pls take off:
Albright
Lavrov
Spindelegger
Clark (ask Amb. Morningstar to call him to discuss oil shale in Europe) Saudabayev Holbrooke

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 5:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Call

Sandy levin returned your call

[redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** dorothy height and madeira

Do you want notes/background material or a script for your remarks at the memorial? Also, Madeira [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 11:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Confidential -- [redacted] B6

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 11:55 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Confidential -- [redacted]

Thought you would like to know. Will let you know if I hear anything.

jm

---

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 11:52 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** [redacted]

Judith and Kitty

[redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/25/2035

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** FW: Update on your trip to Doha

FYI, I will be going to Doha this weekend to meet with Al Jazeera. Also plan to meet with CENTCOM and then onto Kabul for two days of meetings. Back next Thursday.

jm

---

**From:** Somerset, Ann D
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; Davidson, Mark J; Mellott, Joseph; Sreebny, Daniel
**Subject:** Update on your trip to Doha

Judith,

Below is a rough outline of your trip to Doha, as it currently stands.

**LOGISTICS:**

You are currently scheduled to arrive in Doha on May 1 at 6:30 and depart May 2 at 7 pm. Traveling with you will be Kitty DiMartino, Joe Mellott, Mark Davidson, and GSEC's LTC Eric Schoennauer. Dana Smith will fly in from the Media Hub in Dubai to meet you in Doha.

**KEY EVENTS:**

**Dinner with Al Jazeera (AJ) staff:** AJ Director General Wadah Khanfar will host a dinner on May 1 with senior AJ staff, including AJ English Managing Director Tony Burman. We expect 7 people on the AJ side and 6 on ours. (The dinner is schedule for 8pm in a private room in the Four Seasons; post is making reservations for the party to stay in the same hotel.)

**Meeting with AJ Board Members at AJ Headquarters:** This will give you an opportunity to engage the Qatari leadership of the network. Discussions topics should include the mid-May Washington visit by some AJ Board representatives. We expect Wadah Khanfar to also participate in this meeting.

**(TBC) Meeting with Prime Minister Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabir al-Thani (HBJ):** As PM, HBJ is the ultimate Qatari authority on AJ. The meeting will also allow you to raise bi-lateral engagement issues as necessary. We expect to know in a few days if HBJ will be available.

**Meetings with CENTCOM:** You will meet with CENTCOM staff at Al Udeid airbase just outside of Doha. They will brief you on their [redacted] within their AOR, but with particular focus on activities in [redacted]. B1 1.4(D)

**MEDIA:**

**Feature on AJ Arabic:** 15 minute "feature" piece filmed at AJ Studios on the Administration's commitment to engagement with Muslim communities worldwide. This will be a good opportunity to highlight the Entrepreneurship Summit. We can expect you to also get questions on PD programs in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. You will be interviewed by one of AJ's "top" journalists; exactly who is still to be determined. The interview will be in English with simultaneous interpretation into Arabic. It will likely air a number of times on AJ.

**Feature on AJ English:** This would be a second 15 minute "feature" piece similar to the one for AJ Arabic. If we are pressed for time we can consider just doing the AJ Arabic feature.

**Roundtable with local Qatari media:** This will include journalists from a number of local Qatari media outlets. This is another opportunity to talk about the Administration's commitment to engagement, but with a more targeted focus on bilateral engagement and exchange programs.

Note – Wadah Khanfar has been closely engaged on, if not driving, the portions of your program that deal with AJ. Post reports that he is very pleased to have this opportunity for you to engage with AJ leadership in Doha.

Best,
Ann

**Ann Somerset**
**Special Assistant**
**Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**
**U.S. Department of State**
**2201 C St, NW Rm 5932**
W: 202.647.9130 | ✉: SomersetAD@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Interesting.

---

**From:** Einhorn, Robert J
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 5:33 PM
**To:** Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Tauscher, Ellen O; 'Ryu, Rexon Y.'; Samore, Gary S.; Magsamen, Kelly E.; Crowley, Philip J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Chollet, Derek H; Mull, Stephen D
**Subject:** Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

UN Secretariat informed us a few minutes ago that Iran says Ahmadinejad will give Iran's speech at the RevCon on Monday. Because of seniority, he may speak first.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 8:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Absolutely. Already working on it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Apr 26 20:14:23 2010
Subject: Re: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Very. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 26 18:40:29 2010
Subject: FW: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Interesting.

From: Einhorn, Robert J
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 5:33 PM
To: Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Tauscher, Ellen O; 'Ryu, Rexon Y.'; Samore, Gary S.; Magsamen, Kelly E.; Crowley, Philip J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Chollet, Derek H; Mull, Stephen D
Subject: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

UN Secretariat informed us a few minutes ago that Iran says Ahmadinejad will give Iran's speech at the RevCon on Monday. Because of seniority, he may speak first.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** remind me re matters

1. Colorado
2. June 2011
3. Policy plan

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 9:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Nice picture!

Today's to do list read:

1) Remove all copies of Post from 7th floor

2) Prevent item from appearing in clips

3) Avoid HRC at all costs, provide no opportunity for ribbing

As you can see I went 0 for 3

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Nice picture!
Sent: Apr 26, 2010 8:41 PM

Just saw the WaPo article w your photo and wondered whether that was on your list?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 6:45 AM
**To:** H

FYI – today the SFRC will take up at its business meeting the State Dept authorization bill. We have been working with them for months on this package, and they have taken virtually all of our provisions in tact. There are a few problems (minor) that we will continue to work on those, but all in all it is a good package. Unfortunately, it will never become enacted, so it is largely a symbolic gesture, but it is helpful nonetheless. Thought Kerry or Lugar might mention it to you, and our general posture has been to thank them for their efforts.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Pakistani Taliban claim failed New York bomb attack

**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-SCT; DS Command Center
**Sent**: Sun May 02 13:27:13 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Pakistani Taliban claim failed New York bomb attack

DUBAI - The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for the attempted car bomb attack in New York's Times square, a statement on an Islamist website said on Sunday.

The statement said it was to avenge the killing of two Islamists and "Muslim martyrs".

"The Pakistani Taliban announced its responsibility for the New York attack in revenge for the two leaders al-Baghdadi and al-Mahajer and Muslim martyrs," said a statement on a website commonly used by Islamists.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Arizona's foreign policy. Sid

You might consider making a statement on the deleterious international effects of Arizona's unwise and precipitous law violating traditional American values of liberty, especially in light of Mexican President Calderon's condemnation. Seems like a complete freebie. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bibi

Have readout at your convenience.

RELEASE IN PART
B1, 1.4 (B), 1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** AU/Iran

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

From Johnnie,

Regards, Johnnie

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/02/2020

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Ears ringing?

Nice.

---

**From:** iansolomor[redacted] [mailto[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Marline Alexis
**Subject:** Ears ringing?

Hey Cheryl,
Was at a lunch with[redacted] when he sang praises for your leadership on Haiti recovery. I was so pleased by his confidence and optimism and by what appears to be good bilateral and multilateral coordination.[redacted]

Best,
Ian

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Dorothy Height

I refined my earlier draft and worked in [redacted] see what you think. The new draft (LM3) is in your book for tonight. B5

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/02/2020

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 10:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: AU/Iran

[redacted] B5

On the speech, it might be 15 but not much more. Dan K-P has taken over drafting [redacted] B6
He has been incorporating fine-tuning edits today. I will email you a draft shortly, which will be tweaked in the am. [redacted] Unfortunately, there is no teleprompter at the UN. B5

On your book, I understand that Huma will bring it out in the morning.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun May 02 22:26:00 2010
Subject: Re: AU/Iran

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Also, I just saw on the schedule I was expected to speak for only 12 minutes. I think the speech as written is longer but I haven't seen the final draft. Is there a teleprompter?

I also don't yet have any briefing materials. Will I get them tonight or tomorrow morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 21:21:08 2010
Subject: AU/Iran

1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

From Johnnie, [redacted]

[redacted]

Regards, Johnnie

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 27, 2010 11:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** H: Memo. Greek eco crisis; transatlantic consequences. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo greek crisis.europe 042710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

April 27, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Greek economic crisis; transatlantic consequences
CC: Cheryl

A potential second major phase of the economic crisis, at least in Europe, likely with repercussions in the US, is being triggered with the designation of Greece to junk band status, on the edge of default, with Portugal, Spain, and perhaps even Ireland at tipping points. This is more than a further unfolding of the economic crisis, threatening recovery; fissures within the transatlantic relationship will now be under intensifying strain. More than statements from Treasury should be forthcoming in the days ahead. This is about the future of the transatlantic relationship. Reassuring words about our enduring commitment will matter.

I've been having conversations with John Kornblum and those discussions prompted this email from him a couple of days ago, before the latest Greek event:

-- the economic crisis is starting to have a negative effect on dynamics among EU members. Tensions over deficits, Greece etc are uncovering major gaps among the major players.

-- Germany has emerged stronger than others. German voters believe (correctly) that they have sacrificed to maintain stability and are increasingly angry over signs of obvious mismanagement by Greece and others. *The strains of Afghanistan are being felt by everyone and while the President is very popular in Europe, EU leaders miss the regular stroking by the US which for decades has been an essential aspect of their self-confidence.*

- Germany's harsh reaction to Greece has shaken everyone, perhaps the French most of all. They now see that Germany has been remaking the EU behind the scenes without their noticing it. *Commonality on major issues is declining.*

-- Continuation of this trend would be very damaging to US interests. Global markets could be weakened significantly if the budgetary crises continue. Cooperation on issues such as Afghanistan and Iran could be undermined. In the worst case, the President could be confronted with a major crisis of confidence among members of the EU. He would be blamed for inattention to the negative trends.

-- Things are not in crisis, but the trends are worrying enough to warrant a senior effort to focus the dialogue, especially with the Germans and the French. Assuming the Conservatives win in the UK, there will be a need to guide them successfully into office. Others such as the Poles and the Turks cannot be ignored.

-- *In other words, we cannot treat our partnership with Europe as just another point on a multipolar map. Maintaining consensus within Europe and between the US and Europe is essential to maintaining a foundation for our global efforts.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 9:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Remind me to discuss when we talk

---

**From:** Dubose, Mary L
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** D(L)_LewDailySchedule
**Subject:** Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Deputy Secretary Lew will be out of the office on Monday, March 15. He will return to the office on Tuesday, March 16.

---

**Mary L. Dubose • Personal Assistant to Deputy Secretary Lew • Office of the Deputy Secretary of State • U.S. Department of State - 2201 C St, NW Rm 7240, Washington, DC 20520 ☎(202.647.5073-w: 🖷 202.647.5108-Fax)✉ DuboseML@state.gov**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 10:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: current speech
**Attachments:** NPT Revcon TT DKP v8 5 2 10.docx

The speech is attached. Let me know if you need me to send it elsewhere to be printed.

---

**From:** Daniel Kurtz-Phelan [redacted] B6
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sun May 02 22:39:45 2010
**Subject:** current speech

Here you go.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 12:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Bloomberg) Kissinger hospitalized in Seoul

---

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sat Mar 13 00:51:15 2010
**Subject**: (Bloomberg) Kissinger hospitalized in Seoul

SEOUL (Bloomberg) Former Secretary of State Kissinger is in stable condition in a Seoul hospital after being taken there with abdominal pains at about 10 a.m. March 13. Kissinger was examined by doctors and is recovering according to a spokesman at Yonsei University's Severance Hospital in western Seoul. Results of the examination are not yet available, though the 86-year-old Kissinger is in no danger, the spokesman said. Kissinger came to Seoul to deliver a special lecture at a forum on North Korea's nuclear issue March 11 in Seoul. He also visited Cheong Wa Dae March 12 and discussed North Korea and East Asia's security order with South Korean President Lee Myung-bak.

---

Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Yes - will call at 930am - have calls starting now

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 12 23:08:16 2010
Subject: Re: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Can you talk tomorrow before 10:30 am?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 12 21:41:39 2010
Subject: FW: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Remind me to discuss when we talk

From: Dubose, Mary L
Sent: Friday, March 12, 2010 5:37 PM
To: D(L)_LewDailySchedule
Subject: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Deputy Secretary Lew will be out of the office on Monday, March 15. He will return to the office on Tuesday, March 16.

---

Mary L. Dubose • Personal Assistant to Deputy Secretary Lew • Office of the Deputy Secretary of State • U.S. Department of State - 2201 C St, NW Rm 7240, Washington, DC 20520 '(202.647.5073-w: 7 202.647.5108-Fax)*
DuboseML@state.gov <mailto:DuboseML@state.gov>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 9:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: reception invitation
**Attachments:** Reception Invitation.pdf

fyi

**From:** Lomellin, Carmen
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** reception invitation

Hi Cheryl – hope you're holding up ok with all of the Haiti work.

I'm having a little reception on 3/22 6pm over at the OAS to celebrate my swearing-in. I'd love it if you could come by for a glass of champagne and a little jazz music!

I'd love to invite the Secretary. Is that even proper protocol? Although she probably couldn't attend, I'd like to share it with her. Your thoughts?

Ambassador Carmen Lomellin
U.S. Permanent Representative to the OAS
2201 C. St, NW #5914
Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: The bride

Not yet.
She said she would send it but haven't got info yet.
Ill check in

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>; 'Russorv@state.gov' <Russorv@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Mar 13 01:33:04 2010
Subject: Fw: The bride

Have you received info from Elaine yet for letter?

----- Original Message -----
From: Elaine Weiss [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: betsyebeling1050[redacted]; HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com
<HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
Sent: Fri Mar 12 00:06:08 2010
Subject: Re: The bride

[redacted]

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 9, 2010, at 5:55 AM, "H" <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

[redacted]

>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: betsyebeling1050[redacted]
> To: H; Elaine Weiss[redacted]; Huma Abedin
> <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com
> >
> Sent: Mon Mar 08 10:35:28 2010
> Subject: The bride
>

[redacted]

[redacted]

B6

[redacted]Hope all is well with you. B Sent from my Verizon Wireless
> BlackBerry
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: confidential re this morning's conversation

Well well

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 1:52 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** confidential re this morning's conversation

I may have been way off base w/ Jim – he just sent me an email saying he's in Texas… so discount at will.

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:50 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Zach and Radha's Film, The Western Front - Screening at the Tribeca Film Festival

you are going to be in estoniaand as you know we talked about israel for this trip as well potentially (although maybe we are never going there....).
ii told zach becfore they scheduled to do it earlier in the week if they really wanted you to be able to come.
he said they couldnt and you and i discussed getting the dvd for you.
i did tell cvc as well that moving party from the april 10th date to the 24th would make it difficult for you to go. unless you want us to make the schedule work somehow.

---

From: H
Sent: Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:49 AM
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: Zach and Radha's Film, The Western Front - Screening at the Tribeca Film Festival

Can I do this? Also the next day I want to go to Philly for the party.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jill Iscol [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 12 19:01:21 2010
Subject: Zach and Radha's Film, The Western Front - Screening at the Tribeca Film Festival

Dear Hillary,

Zach and Radha's film, The Western Front, has been selected for screening by the Tribeca Film Festival. The first screening for family and friends will be on Friday, April 23rd at 7:30 pm on the Intrepid. Below is a link to the press release and a trailer will be online in the coming weeks.

http://www.tribecafilm.com/festival/features/TFF_10_Special_Events.html
<http://www.tribecafilm.com/festival/features/TFF_10_Special_Events.html>

It would mean the world to Zach and, of course, Ken, Kiva and me if you would save the date and join us to celebrate this moment.

Please RSVP to Sara Spagnuolo at [redacted] or 917-923-1702 by April 1st as there is limited seating.

As always and with love,

Jill and Ken

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Mission Accomplished

[redacted] B5

**From**: Tauscher, Ellen O
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
**Sent**: Sat Mar 13 07:36:17 2010
**Subject**: Mission Accomplished

Bill and Jake,

[redacted] B5

Thanks,
Ellen

Ellen O. Tauscher
Under Secretary of State
for Arms Control and International Security
202-647-1049

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**TT/DKP v 8**
**5/2 10 PM**

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
# REMARKS TO THE REVIEW CONFERENCE OF PARTIES TO THE TREATY ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
# THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, NY
# MAY 3, 2010

B5

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768823 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

April 27, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Greek economic crisis; transatlantic consequences
CC: Cheryl

A potential second major phase of the economic crisis, at least in Europe, likely with repercussions in the US, is being triggered with the designation of Greece to junk band status, on the edge of default, with Portugal, Spain, and perhaps even Ireland at tipping points. This is more than a further unfolding of the economic crisis, threatening recovery; fissures within the transatlantic relationship will now be under intensifying strain. More than statements from Treasury should be forthcoming in the days ahead. This is about the future of the transatlantic relationship. Reassuring words about our enduring commitment will matter.

I've been having conversations with John Kornblum and those discussions prompted this email from him a couple of days ago, before the latest Greek event:

-- the economic crisis is starting to have a negative effect on dynamics among EU members. Tensions over deficits, Greece etc are uncovering major gaps among the major players.

-- Germany has emerged stronger than others. German voters believe (correctly) that they have sacrificed to maintain stability and are increasingly angry over signs of obvious mismanagement by Greece and others. *The strains of Afghanistan are being felt by everyone and while the President is very popular in Europe, EU leaders miss the regular stroking by the US which for decades has been an essential aspect of their self-confidence.*

- Germany's harsh reaction to Greece has shaken everyone, perhaps the French most of all. They now see that Germany has been remaking the EU behind the scenes without their noticing it. *Commonality on major issues is declining.*

-- Continuation of this trend would be very damaging to US interests. Global markets could be weakened significantly if the budgetary crises continue. Cooperation on issues

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05768823 Date: 08/31/2015

such as Afghanistan and Iran could be undermined. In the worst case, the President could be confronted with a major crisis of confidence among members of the EU. He would be blamed for inattention to the negative trends.

-- Things are not in crisis, but the trends are worrying enough to warrant a senior effort to focus the dialogue, especially with the Germans and the French. Assuming the Conservatives win in the UK, there will be a need to guide them successfully into office. Others such as the Poles and the Turks cannot be ignored.

-- *In other words, we cannot treat our partnership with Europe as just another point on a multipolar map. Maintaining consensus within Europe and between the US and Europe is essential to maintaining a foundation for our global efforts.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 28, 2010 8:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/28/10 Wednesday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:00 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:00 am **BREAKFAST w/ WOMEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP SUMMIT**
9:15 am **ATTENDEES** Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

9:30 am **BIWEEKLY MEETING w/MANAGEMENT TEAM**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UNDER SECRETARIES**
10:45 am Secretary's Conference Room

11:15am **PHONE CALL w/OAS SECRETARY GENERAL JOSE MIGUEL INSULZA**
11:30am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **BILATERAL w/TUNISIAN FM KAMEL MORJANE**
2:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray in Treaty Room preceding.

2:50 pm **REMARKS TO THE ANNUAL IRAN WATCHERS CONFERENCE**
3:00 pm Delegates Lounge, First Floor *Official photo.

3:15 pm **MEETING w/FAMILIES OF IRAN HIKERS**
3:30 pm Secretary's Office *Official photo.

4:00 pm **BILAT w/HONDURAN SEC'Y OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MARIO**
4:30 pm **CANAHUATI** Secy's Conf. Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

4:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
7:00 pm Secretary's Office

7:05 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Shiloh Baptist Church

7:25 pm **ARRIVE** Shiloh Baptist Church

7:30 pm **COMMUNITY CELEBRATION OF LIFE FOR DR. DOROTHY HEIGHT**
8:00 pm (t) Shiloh Baptist Church, 1500 Ninth Street, NW

8:05 pm (t) **DEPART** Shiloh Baptist Church *En route Private Residence

8:20 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 6:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Number for cohns

I'm sorry I didn't see this last night. I don't know what that number is. The ones I have are:

[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Apr 28 22:34:22 2010
Subject: Fw: Number for cohns

Is this the number you got?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 26 18:47:26 2010
Subject: Number for cohns

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Man stabs 28 children at kindergarten in China

Fyi before u talk to dai.

---

**From:** Pearce, Jennifer
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Apr 29 06:27:49 2010
**Subject:** FW: (AP) Man stabs 28 children at kindergarten in China

Of potential interest for the Secretary's 8AM call

BEIJING - (AP) A local official says a knife-wielding man has attacked 28 children at a kindergarten in eastern Jiangsu province, the second such attack in China in two days. Propaganda department official Zhu Guiming told The Associated Press the man wounded the students, two teachers and one security guard. Zhu said five people were in critical condition in hospital. He had no information on the suspect.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Lisa prefers tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Another fyi before dai call

From ops:
CG Shanghai provided the update below on Chinese President Hu's visit to the U.S. pavilion at the Shanghai Expo. For your situational awareness:

SWO Chinese President Hu Jintao visited the USA Pavilion at the Shanghai Expo around 12:30 p.m. for 15-20 minutes Thursday, April 29 (Shanghai time). USA Pavilion Commissioner General Jose Villarreal and Consul General Beatrice Camp greeted President Hu, who was accompanied by Vice Premier Wang Qishan, Shanghai Expo Bureau officials, and a large contingent of Chinese media. Hu then walked through the pavilion's initial section (the "Overture") where Vice Premier Wang Qishan called attention to all the logos of the pavilion's sponsors. The Chinese president also viewed a film clip of President Obama welcoming visitors to the pavilion and shook hands with about 10 of the nearly 80 U.S. "student ambassadors" staffing the pavilion. Before departing, President Hu thanked Commissioner General Villarreal and wished the USA Pavilion great success.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** H

BEIJING, April 29 (Reuters) - A knife-wielding man injured 28 children, two teachers and a security guard in a kindergarten in eastern China, state media reported on Thursday, the fourth such stabbing case in recent weeks. Xu Yuyuan, 47, an unemployed local man, broke into a classroom in Taixing city of eastern Jiangsu province on Thursday morning, attacking the children with a 20 cm long knife, the official Xinhua news agency said. The injured children were all about four years old, and five are in critical condition, it added. Xu has been jobless since he was fired from a local insurance company in 2001, and then took part in pyramid selling schemes, Xinhua added. The attack is the fourth reported school stabbing in China in recent weeks, and the rash of violence has prompted public calls for more measures to protect students in a country where many couples only have one child. A man stabbed 16 students and a teacher at a primary school in southern China on Wednesday, the same day that a former doctor was executed for stabbing to death eight school children last month. "More concrete measures should be taken to make school the safest place," a commentary in today's Beijing News said, calling for more serve punishment for these killers. Some Chinese people have taken to the Internet to discuss the root causes of the increasing number of school tragedies

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From our embassy in china

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Please print the message below from Embassy Beijing which gives some further background

===

(From Embassy Beijing)
I was the notetaker AMB Huntsman asked me to give you a readout

AmEmbassy Beijing

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/28/2035**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

We traded calls but I haven't heard back. [redacted] B6

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Apr 29 07:35:33 2010
Subject: Re:

Thx. What did Mark Hyman tell you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 29 07:14:45 2010
Subject:

BEIJING, April 29 (Reuters) - A knife-wielding man injured 28 children, two teachers and a security guard in a kindergarten in eastern China, state media reported on Thursday, the fourth such stabbing case in recent weeks. Xu Yuyuan, 47, an unemployed local man, broke into a classroom in Taixing city of eastern Jiangsu province on Thursday morning, attacking the children with a 20 cm long knife, the official Xinhua news agency said. The injured children were all about four years old, and five are in critical condition, it added. Xu has been jobless since he was fired from a local insurance company in 2001, and then took part in pyramid selling schemes, Xinhua added. The attack is the fourth reported school stabbing in China in recent weeks, and the rash of violence has prompted public calls for more measures to protect students in a country where many couples only have one child. A man stabbed 16 students and a teacher at a primary school in southern China on Wednesday, the same day that a former doctor was executed for stabbing to death eight school children last month. "More concrete measures should be taken to make school the safest place," a commentary in today's Beijing News said, calling for more serve punishment for these killers. Some Chinese people have taken to the Internet to discuss the root causes of the increasing number of school tragedies

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 8:59 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/29/10 Thursday

8:00 am **PHONE CALL w/CHINESE STATE COUNCILOR DAI BINGGUO**
Private Residence

9:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route Washington National Cathedral
9:30 am **ARRIVE** Washington National Cathedral

10:00 am **FUNERAL SERVICE FOR DR. DOROTHY HEIGHT**
12:00 pm (t) Washington National Cathedral, 3101 Wisconsin Avenue, NW

12:05 pm (t) **DEPART** National Cathedral *En route State Department
12:15 pm (t) **ARRIVE** State Department

12:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **MEETING w/JACK LEW AND RAJ SHAH**
1:30 pm Secretary's Office

1:30 pm **BILATERAL w/POLISH FM RADOSLAW SIKORSKI**
2:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

2:00 pm **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
2:05 pm Secretary's Office

2:05 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/POLISH FM SIKORSKI**
2:20 pm Treaty Room

2:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:10 pm Secretary's Office

3:10pm **MEETING w/MILDRED OTERO**
3:20pm Secretary's Office

3:25 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route White House
3:30 pm **ARRIVE** White House

3:30 pm **SMALL GROUP MEETING**
4:15 pm White House Situation Room

4:30 pm **WEEKLY MEETING w/POTUS**
5:00 pm Oval Office

5:05 pm **DEPART** White House *En route State Department
5:10 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

5:30 pm **HOST ANNUAL RECEPTION FOR THE DONORS TO THE**
7:00 pm **DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION ROOMS** Adams/Franklin Rooms, 8th Floor

7:05 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Grand Hyatt Hotel

7:15 pm **ARRIVE** Grand Hyatt Hotel

7:20 pm **REMARKS AT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE GALA**
7:40 pm **ANNUAL DINNER** Grand Hyatt Hotel, 1300 H Street, NW

7:40 pm **DEPART** Grand Hyatt Hotel *En route Private Residence

7:55 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence ###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Putin Tags Polar Bear in Arctic

Pretty good stuff.

**From:** Russell, Daniel A
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 3:08 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Gordon, Philip H
**Subject:** Putin Tags Polar Bear in Arctic

**Jake: This is the event to which Putin invited Bill Clinton during his meeting with HRC in Moscow.**

# Putin Tags Polar Bear in Russia's Arctic

## Russian Prime Minister Helps Scientists Track Endangered Species, Calls for Removal of



Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, right, fixes a radio beacon on a neck of a polar bear, which was anaesthetized, during a visit to a research institute at the Franz Josef Land archipelago in the Arctic Ocean on Thursday. **(AP Photo/RIA Novosti, pool)**

**(AP)** *Updated at 1:29 p.m. ET*

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin played the eco-warrior in Russia's Arctic on Thursday, helping scientists track endangered polar bears and calling for a cleanup of the region.

Putin traveled to Franz Josef Land, an archipelago in the Arctic Ocean off the northwest coast of Russia's mainland in his latest display of adventuring prowess to highlight the country's guardianship of the resource-rich region.

Wearing a bright red coat and cap, the 57-year-old premier kneeled at the head of a tranquilized polar bear to attach a satellite-tracking collar, then helped elevate the beast for weighing. The images were broadcast nationally.

Putin helped measure the bear and roll it onto its side.

On his departure, he shook its paw and uttered the words: "Be well."

"The paw is heavy. This is the master of the Arctic, you can feel that straight away," Putin said.

Of a total 25,000 polar bears remaining in the wild, about 6,000 are in Russia's Arctic territory, Russian news agencies quoted officials as saying.

Putin also called for "a general cleanup of the Arctic," ordering the removal of thousands of barrels of fuel buried in the snow that had been left unused by a Soviet-era military base.

He has been spearheading Russia's re-emergence as a regional power, including the country's claims over the Arctic's formidable natural resources. Some 90 billion barrels of oil and one-third of the world's undiscovered natural gas lie hidden in the Arctic region, the U.S. Geological Survey estimates.

"Geopolitically, Russia's deepest interests are linked to the Arctic," Putin said. "Here Russia's security and defense capabilities is provided for. Here there are vitally important transport communications."

Canada, the U.S., Russia and Denmark have competing claims before a United Nations commission regarding extend their undersea boundaries into areas previously blocked by Arctic ice.

Moscow dramatically staked its claim to the region by dropping a flag on the ocean floor at the North Pole in 2007.

Since then, all four countries have agreed to cool their rhetoric and allow scientists to finish their surveys.

Putin adores the media spotlight when it accentuates his macho side. He has been photographed fishing bare-chested in Russia's Altai region, and was shown on television diving into an icy river and swimming the butterfly stroke.

He has also tackled predators in the wild before, shooting a tiger with a tranquilizer gun and releasing leopards.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:28 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** NAM lunch

Huma said you were asking about the goals and purposes of the NAM lunch Monday. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 10:24 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: NAM lunch

Hrc - we are going to extend invites tomorrow morning if ok with you?

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Thu Apr 29 19:28:10 2010
**Subject:** NAM lunch

Huma said you were asking about the goals and purposes of the NAM lunch Monday. B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 5:44 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: For the Secretary
**Attachments:** ir2110.vcf

Lauren - can u print for hrc?

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin Redlener, M.D. [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Apr 30 00:30:43 2010
Subject: For the Secretary

Hi,Huma,
Please share this with Hillary.
Thanks,
Irwin

---

Dear Hillary,
I am hoping we can pick up the threads of our previous conversations, including meeting again with Cheryl. I continue to believe that I can - and would very much like to - be able to contribute meaningfully to your work and the mission of the Department. Issues having to do with the status of children world-wide, health liaison to US AID and a variety of issues within the realm of disaster response and preparedness.

- I just today participated in and spoke at a major conference in DC on nuclear terrorism. Most of the speakers and participants were federal officials, including WH staff. One of the key points I made was the extraordinary disconnect between administration concerns with respect to the possibility of IND/nuclear terrorism and the degree to which this is essentially ignored in state and local disaster planning, including in the principal target cities. My discussions with officials in Great Britain and a couple of other countries reveal a similar inability to deal with nuclear preparedness. For many of these folks, here and abroad, images of apocalyptic destruction - as was the actual threat during the nuclear arms race with the Soviets - are just paralyzing.
However, a terrorist IND, is not an all-out nuclear war. Current, scientific modeling suggests that minimal planning for an IND could save hundreds of thousands of lives and create a much high level of resiliency than we currently have

I believe that an international consortium of disaster response and recovery planning officials should be considered as a means of increasing attention and resources focused on nuclear - and CBRNE in general - terrorism readiness. We have much that could be learned from one another in terms of advancing this work. My center at Columbia recently held a very successful and productive conference called "Day 3"
, focused on the regional conditions and projections 72 hours post IND detonation.

- Natural disasters also remain a major challenge and potentially increasingly so over the years to come. I feel that there is much to be gained by upgrading the level and quality of our international collaboration around disaster response planning - and particularly major disaster recovery, still one of the great unsolved challenges world-wide.

- As a member of the federally appointed National Commission on Children and Disasters, we just completed a field hearing of state and federal officials on the management of children brought from Haiti to Florida for medical care and humanitarian rescue. Some were American nationals, others not. But the reports from people involved in the process were overwhelmingly concerned about lack of coordination, dangerously inadequate information accompanying many of the kids who came over and lots of less than positive feedback about operations within Haiti. I believe that I could help in the organization of emergency response, overseeing some of the key functions in managing international disasters which end up involving the U.S.

- I had a chance and very interesting meeting with Ban Ki-Moon 2 weeks ago. I mentioned an idea I have been thinking about having to do with another world children's summit. The last one was in 1990, held at the U.N. and involving about 150 countries, including heads of state from about 45 - 50 nations. Conditions for children were outlined and goals set for future improvements - many of which were met, many not.. We are overdue for another world gathering focused on children. This would obviously by in Tony Lake's purview, and I was going to visit with him, bringing Jeff Sachs with me.

- We did discuss this a bit last year, but I am hoping that the U.S.
could continue to expand its involvement in global health diplomacy strategies as a part of U.S. smart power agenda. The global health program at Columbia - and a number of other academic centers - could provide resources, ideas, programs, expertise and relevant research to bolster such efforts.

If you think it would be worthwhile, I would look forward to continuing our conversations.

Warm regards,

Irwin

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 7:12 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: For the Secretary

Yep

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Apr 30 05:43:46 2010
Subject: Fw: For the Secretary

Lauren - can u print for hrc?

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin Redlener, M.D. [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Apr 30 00:30:43 2010
Subject: For the Secretary

Hi,Huma,
Please share this with Hillary.
Thanks,
Irwin

---

Dear Hillary,
I am hoping we can pick up the threads of our previous conversations, including meeting again with Cheryl. I continue to believe that I can - and would very much like to - be able to contribute meaningfully to your work and the mission of the Department. Issues having to do with the status of children world-wide, health liaison to US AID and a variety of issues within the realm of disaster response and preparedness.

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much that could be learned from one another in terms of advancing this work. My center at Columbia recently held a very successful and productive conference called "Day 3"
, focused on the regional conditions and projections 72 hours post IND detonation.

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- As a member of the federally appointed National Commission on Children and Disasters, we just completed a field hearing of state and federal officials on the management of children brought from Haiti to Florida for medical care and humanitarian rescue. Some were American nationals, others not. But the reports from people involved in the process were overwhelmingly concerned about lack of coordination, dangerously inadequate information accompanying many of the kids who came over and lots of less than positive feedback about operations within Haiti. I believe that I could help in the organization of emergency response, overseeing some of the key functions in managing international disasters which end up involving the U.S.

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- We did discuss this a bit last year, but I am hoping that the U.S.
could continue to expand its involvement in global health diplomacy strategies as a part of U.S. smart power agenda. The global health program at Columbia - and a number of other academic centers - could provide resources, ideas, programs, expertise and relevant research to bolster such efforts.

If you think it would be worthwhile, I would look forward to continuing our conversations.

Warm regards,

Irwin

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 7:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/30/10 Friday

7:45 am **PHONE CALL w/PHILIPPE** *Private Residence

8:30 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route NBC Studio

8:50 am **ARRIVE** NBC Studio

9:00 am **TAPED INTERVIEW w/NBC MEET THE PRESS' DAVID GREGORY**

9:20 am NBC Studio

9:25 am **DEPART** NBC Studio *En route State Department

9:40 am **ARRIVE** State Department

9:55 am **RECEPTION TO CELEBRATE THE OPENING OF THE USA**

10:20 am **PAVILLION AT THE 2010 SHANGHAI WORLD EXPO**

Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

10:30 am **BILATERAL w/KUWAITI DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FOREIGN**

11:00 am **MINISTER DR. MOHAMMAD SABAH AL-SALEM AL SABAH**

Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:00 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**

11:05 am Secretary's Office

11:05 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND**

11:20 am **FM DR. MOHAMMAD al-SABAH al-SALEM AL SABAH** Treaty Room

11:30 am **OFFICE TIME**

12:45 pm Secretary's Office

12:45 pm **PRE-BRIEF MEETING**

1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **BILATERAL w/SPANISH FM MIGUEL ANGEL MORATINOS**

1:45 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

2:00 pm **ONE-ON-ONE MEETING w/AFGHAN PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR**

2:30 pm **ASHRAF GHANI** Secretary's Office

2:50 pm **VIDEOS (4)**

3:05 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

3:10 pm **152ND FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER ORIENTATION CLASS**

3:25 pm **SWEARING-IN CEREMONY** Dean Acheson Auditorium, First Floor

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**

4:15 pm Secretary's Office

4:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

4:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

5:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2180

En route New York, NY

6:25 pm **ARRIVE** LaGuardia Airport

6:35 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence ###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 8:58 AM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Re: Schedule request

Would be happy to

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Schedule request

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 8:59 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C; H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule request

Yes I will get the number from Lauren and call this morning.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 08:58:05 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule request

Would be happy to

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Schedule request

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 11:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** h: FYI, Iran document Gary Sick sent me. Sid

From Gary Sick

Mojtaba Samareh Hashemi is a senior adviser to President Ahmadinejad and a devoted proponent of the Divine Right of Kings doctrine of ultra-conservative ayatollah Mesbah-Yazdi. Many regard him as an éminence grise of the Iranian regime and an important bridge between the Revolutionary Guards, the fanatic-fringe ayatollahs, and the presidency. So his words are worth listening to as clues to what is happening inside the closed circles of the Iranian leadership.

Today he was quoted by the Fars news agency (in Persian) on the troublesome issue of U.S.-Iran relations. Although the statement was translated into English, it needs more than a word-for-word translation in order to be understood. So I have added my own interpretation of what Mojtaba really meant to say.

* * * * *

"Obama not only did not manage to realize his slogan [of change], but has pursued the dark policies of Bush all over the world ever more energetically..."

[real meaning: Oh, how we miss George Bush! He was such an easy target. With him we were winning everywhere and America's credibility was falling to the point of disappearance even among its friends.]

"The Bush presidency is one of the darkest eras of the United States and the greatest hatred emerged internationally towards the United States..."

[Why can't Obama be more like Bush? In the good old days we didn't have to keep answering questions about why we would not accept an outstretched hand of friendship. It was all so much easier then.]

"Today we see that the United States rather than moving its military forces out of Iraq and Afghanistan has increased their number which has led to mass murder of the people and increased impoverishment in these countries. Obama had said that he wanted to oppose violation of human rights and wanted to close Guantanamo and secret prisons in Europe. Did this happen? Of course not..."

[The United States has announced its withdrawal from Iraq and actually seems to be on schedule; in the meantime, our favorite parties and politicians in Iraq have not done all that well in the Iraqi elections despite our support. The Shi'i religious leaders in Najaf openly dismiss the idea of an Islamic Republic and are increasingly competing with us, instead of following our lead. In Afghanistan, the Americans seem to be serious about announcing a date certain for withdrawal, and they even seem to be edging up to a Karzai reconciliation strategy with the Taliban. How can we attack them with a straight face when they behave this way!]

"There has also not been any correction of the dark policy of Bush towards Iran's nuclear program or [the United State's] opposition towards the Iranian nation..."

[Their willingness to meet with us and that dastardly offer of a uranium swap were hugely embarrassing. Now every time we sit down with a foreign leader we have to listen to tiresome suggestions that we should reconsider our position on the uranium swap – even from the Russians and Chinese. You can't trust anyone these days!]

"We do not want anything from the United States. The Iranian nation demands its rights to be recognized and respected..."

[All we want from the Americans is the return of George Bush! Even John McCain would be an improvement. I wonder if Sarah Palin has any chance? We'll keep our fingers crossed.]

"The Islamic Republic has not become isolated, rather, it is expanding [its foreign relations] ever more and is finding new

friends...If they have claims, they must show it in their actions so the Iranian nation gradually trusts them..."

[We have never been so alone since the earliest years of the revolution. Even dictators and police states are privately expressing sympathy to us for the way our crackdown on the Green Movement attracted sympathetic attention all over the world. And it's all the fault of that *&!* Obama and the %$#! internet. The shah never had all these problems. Ah, for the good old days...]

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 11:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iran lang

B6

These Review Conferences have been held every five years for the last four decades.

We know there are some countries who will choose not to be constructive.

B5

Page Denied

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Re: Schedule request

Lona has logged a message at her office

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Schedule request

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 6:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Natalegawa is confirmed for 7:30am.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu

Yes we figured that?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:56:19 2010
Subject: Netanyahu

I'd like one-on-one time w him.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 11:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** remind me to discuss

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 3:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: May 12 - [redacted] invitation from [redacted]

B6

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 2:29 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills
**Subject:** May 12 - [redacted] invitation from [redacted]

- If there's any chance the Secretary will be in town, we'd love to have her stop by!

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Espinosa

News to me
They want you to call the new ukrainian foreign minister but that's all I know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:57:10 2010
Subject: Espinosa

Am I supposed to call her tomorrow?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Water speech

The plan is to have a large screen off to your side so that it won't get in the way of a tight shot. We've worked with National Geographic on the photos -- some of which are quite stunning -- and they'll pace the presentation slowly with long transitions so it's not distracting. I've folded the images into the text I'm sending you, but you'll have a teleprompter on stage tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:55:50 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Thanks so much. As to visuals, will we have handouts or power point on screen?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:54:45 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Yes -- I'm finalizing the visuals now and should have it for you in the next half hour.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:52:40 2010
Subject: Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Maternal health and abortion
**Attachments:** 2010-4-30 Maternal Health and Abortion (2).docx

Attached is a memo from Melanne, Jen, and Rachel on maternal health and abortion.

---

**From:** Klein, Jennifer L
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 4:04 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Vogelstein, Rachel; Verveer, Melanne S
**Subject:** Sorry, noticed a typo

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 9:20 AM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call with Secretary Clinton

fyi

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** 'Thomas F. McLarty'
**Subject:** RE: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Mack:

Thank you for following up on this matter. I know she appreciated your conversation and has been concerned about this matter.

I will flag for Lona – this week is relatively hectic so it may be a weekend or next week call but will flag now as this issue is ripe.

Best.

cdm

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl,

Good morning on a consequential and indeed historic week in the life of our country given the passage of health care reform. President Obama was courageous, persevering and skilled in his leadership and efforts. Having said that, in my humble opinion, he would not have been successful had it not been for President Clinton's, Hillary's and our efforts in 1994. That's my story and I'm sticking to it, and I believe it's true.

I know this has been a particularly demanding week in the life of the Secretary and in your life as well. Having Netanyahu, AIPAC and a major trip to Mexico to fight the narco-traffickers is a formidable task even for Hillary Clinton.

Cheryl, I would like to respectfully request a brief meeting or phone call with Secretary Clinton following up on the conversation she initiated with me at the Vital Voices event regarding the IDB. It's my sense and belief that this matter needs to be carefully handled for a number of reasons including the longstanding friendship that both the Secretary and President Clinton have with Luis Alberto Moreno. I also have another important and timely matter (personal not business) that I would like to discuss with Hillary in our time together.

As I think you know, I try to be very judicious about these types of requests. I think 15 minutes either in person or by phone will be adequate to cover both of these subjects. As always, I appreciate your consideration relating to my request. Thank you and I'll await your guidance and direction.

Personally,
Mack

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** RE: Netanyahu

Any preference to front or back end? He is set for 2:45pm.

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:58 PM
To: H; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Netanyahu

Yes we figured that?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:56:19 2010
Subject: Netanyahu

I'd like one-on-one time w him.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 5:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Maternal health and abortion

yes

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, April 30, 2010 5:13 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Maternal health and abortion

Can you fax it to my DC house?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Apr 30 17:10:19 2010
Subject: Maternal health and abortion

Attached is a memo from Melanne, Jen, and Rachel on maternal health and abortion.

From: Klein, Jennifer L
Sent: Friday, April 30, 2010 4:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Vogelstein, Rachel; Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: Sorry, noticed a typo

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Oil spill

I'm not
For a few reasons

First, calmness is not such a bad thing in these moments. Calm is not cavalier, which you weren't

Second, you're not the EPA administrator or Interior Secretary - nobody will see you as a front line cabinet officer on this

Third, if this is still out of control on Sunday, the administration has bigger problems

So I'm really not worried.
Here it is again which might allay your concerns

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, David, I think that the President has ordered the departments that deal with this – Homeland Security, Interior, Environmental Protection, Defense – to all immediately not only do everything possible to mitigate the effects of this spill, but to try to come up with recommendations going forward. The first order of business, however, is to try to get this spill under control, which has been, as you know, very difficult, and to prevent further damage to the coastline along Louisiana to the fishing waters, to the wildlife. I think it does raise questions which the President has said have to be answered. He put forth a very comprehensive approach that included the potential of drilling off of our own shores. That is a national security concern because we have to do better to lessen our dependence on foreign oil. But it has to be done safely. It can't be done at the risk of having to spend billions of dollars cleaning up these spills. So as with so much in these difficult areas, it's going to require a balancing act.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Oil spill
Sent: Apr 30, 2010 6:04 PM

I'm worried that by Sunday my answer will seem too calm under the circumstances.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] letter B5

There is a proposed letter that should be in your weekend reading materials. Adding Huma to see if she's seen it. [redacted] B5

[redacted] I will make sure it gets to you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:55 PM
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: [redacted] letter B5

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Haaretz chief columnist on Bibi's visit. Sid

http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1158992.html

# Aluf Benn / Netanyahu leaves U.S. disgraced, isolated and weaker

By Aluf Benn

Details emerging from Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Washington remain incomplete, but the conclusion may nonetheless be drawn that the prime minister erred in choosing to fly to the United States this week. The visit - touted as a fence-mending effort, a bid to strengthen the tenuous ties between Netanyahu and U.S. President Barack Obama - only highlighted the deep rift between the American and Israeli administrations.

The prime minister leaves America disgraced, isolated, and altogether weaker than when he came.

Instead of setting the diplomatic agenda, Netanyahu surrendered control over it. Instead of leaving the Palestinian issue aside and focusing on Iran, as he would like, Netanyahu now finds himself fighting for the legitimacy of Israeli control over East Jerusalem.

Advertisement

The most sensitive and insoluble core issues - those which when raised a decade ago led to the dissolution of the peace process and explosion of the second intifada - are now being served as a mere appetizer.

At the start of his visit, Netanyahu was tempted to bask in the warm welcome he received at the AIPAC conference, at which he gave his emotional address on Jerusalem.

Taking a page from Menachem Begin, he spoke not on behalf of the State of Israel, but in the name of the Jewish people itself and its millennia of history.

His speech was not radical rightist rhetoric. Reading between the lines, one could spot a certain willingness to relinquish West Bank settlements as long as Israel maintains a security buffer in the Jordan Valley.

But at the White House, the prime minister's speech to thousands of pro-Israel activists and hundreds of cheering congressmen looked like an obvious attempt to raise political capital against the American president.

Knowing Netanyahu would be reenergized by his speech at the lobby, Obama and his staff set him a honey trap. Over the weekend they sought to quell the row that flared up during U.S. Vice President Joe Biden's trip here two weeks ago, and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described Netanyahu's response to the ultimatums Washington presented to him as "useful."

Special envoy George Mitchell made a televised visit to the prime minister's bureau Sunday to invite Netanyahu to the White House. Washington, it seemed, was trying to make nice.

Far from it. Just when Netanyahu thought he had resolved the crisis by apologizing to Biden, Clinton called him up for a dressing down.

This time as well, Netanyahu almost believed the crisis had passed, that he had survived by offering partial, noncommittal answers to the Americans' questions. Shortly before meeting with Obama, Netanyahu even warned the Palestinians that

should they continue to demand a freeze on construction, he would postpone peace talks by a year.

His arrogant tone underscored the fact that Netanyahu believed that on the strength of his AIPAC speech, he could call the next few steps of the diplomatic dance.

But then calamity struck. At their White House meeting, Obama made clear to his guest that the letter Netanyahu had sent was insufficient and returned it for further corrections. Instead of a reception as a guest of honor, Netanyahu was treated as a problem child, an army private ordered to do laps around the base for slipping up at roll call.

The revolution in the Americans' behavior is clear to all. On Sunday morning Obama was still anxiously looking ahead to the House of Representatives vote on health care - the last thing he wanted was a last-minute disagreement with congressmen over ties with Israel.

The moment the bill was passed, however, a victorious Obama was free to deal with his unruly guest.

The Americans made every effort to downplay the visit. As during his last visit in November, Netanyahu was invited to the White House at a late hour, without media coverage or a press conference. If that were not enough, the White House spokesman challenged Netanyahu's observation at AIPAC that "Jerusalem is not a settlement."

The Americans didn't even wait for him to leave Washington to make their disagreement known. It was not the behavior Washington shows an ally, but the kind it shows an annoyance.

The approval of construction at the Shepherd Hotel in Sheikh Jarrah, announced before his meeting with Obama, again caught Netanyahu unawares. Apparently the special panel appointed after the Ramat Shlomo debacle to prevent such surprises failed its first test.

Netanyahu is having his most difficult week since returning to office, beginning with the unfortunate decision to relocate the planned emergency room at Ashkelon's Barzilai Medical Center and lasting through his humiliating jaunt through Washington.

Returning to Israel today, Netanyahu will need to work hard to rehabilitate his image, knowing full well that Obama will not relent, but instead demand that he stop zigzagging and decide, once and for all, whether he stands with America or with the settlers.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 7:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Of course.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 19:18:22 2010
Subject: Shuttle

Lona---Pls cancel the 9 and I'll let you know about tomorrow. I may have to take a later shuttle or even wait until Sunday. Just not sure yet. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle schedule

Well most of the weekend planes are the little planes. Calling mario now to see. .

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Apr 30 21:44:22 2010
Subject: Shuttle schedule

Pls cancel the 8am but what are the times later and are any of them the large planes instead of the new littler ones?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 10:15 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle schedule

Mario will know for sure but the only larger plane from the website seems to be the 10am. There is an 8am, 10am, 12pm, 2pm and 4pm tomorrow.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 21:50:08 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle schedule

Well most of the weekend planes are the little planes. Calling mario now to see. .

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Apr 30 21:44:22 2010
Subject: Shuttle schedule

Pls cancel the 8am but what are the times later and are any of them the large planes instead of the new littler ones?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 12:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mack McLarty

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Mar 25 12:24:22 2010
Subject: Mack McLarty

Pls put him on my call list and call to ask how late tonight or early tomorrow I can call him.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; H
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle schedule

Haven't heard back from him
That's very possible. Could be a dc plane that need to ends up in ny for monday. Ill confirn.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: Huma Abedin; H
Sent: Fri Apr 30 22:14:38 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle schedule

Mario will know for sure but the only larger plane from the website seems to be the 10am. There is an 8am, 10am, 12pm, 2pm and 4pm tomorrow.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] direct)

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Apr 30 21:50:08 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle schedule

Well most of the weekend planes are the little planes. Calling mario now to see. .

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Apr 30 21:44:22 2010
Subject: Shuttle schedule

Pls cancel the 8am but what are the times later and are any of them the large planes instead of the new littler ones?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 1:45 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E; DiMartino, Kitty; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Updated Pakistan Plan
**Attachments:** Pak PD Plan Update for US McHale - 12MAR10.pptx

I have attached a copy of the status report for the Pakistan Communications Plan which was approved last September. You will note that we have made progress on many fronts. The Post has significantly increased its engagement with the media and responds immediately to rumors and inaccurate stories. There has also been a significant increase in the number of exchange participants. We are continuing to experience difficulty in filling critical positions and I am working with Nancy Powell to address this issue.

Please let me know if you have any questions or comments.

JM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:15 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Water speech

I've sent the file to Ops. They'll fax over a black and white version momentarily, and send a color copy via courier.

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:00:53 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

The plan is to have a large screen off to your side so that it won't get in the way of a tight shot. We've worked with National Geographic on the photos -- some of which are quite stunning -- and they'll pace the presentation slowly with long transitions so it's not distracting. I've folded the images into the text I'm sending you, but you'll have a teleprompter on stage tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:55:50 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Thanks so much. As to visuals, will we have handouts or power point on screen?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:54:45 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Yes -- I'm finalizing the visuals now and should have it for you in the next half hour.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:52:40 2010
Subject: Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 1:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mack McLarty

He is available until about 645 tonight. After that he catches a flight to london. I will add to your grid.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Mar 25 12:24:22 2010
Subject: Mack McLarty

Pls put him on my call list and call to ask how late tonight or early tomorrow I can call him.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Registered: 111 Member States plus the EU, Ministers from 22 countries (plus EU High Representative and 3 State Secretaries)

**Importance:** High

Haiti Donor Conference Update.

See below.

We have calls for you to call Qatar and UAE for funds (also on your call sheet was Saudis and Kuwait – have not seen them register yet nor have they told our embassies yet).

Also – am going to head to Haiti for day on the CoDEL and sit with GOH on the development authority – just had long convo with WJC.

cdm

---

**From:** DeMarcellus, Roland F
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A; Siemer, Marguerite E; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Laszczych, Joanne; Warnholz, Jean-Louis; Reynoso, Julissa; Williams, Stacy D
**Subject:** FW: Registered: 111 Member States plus the EU, Ministers from 22 countries (plus EU High Representative and 3 State Secretaries)
**Importance:** High

Cheryl,
Great turn out! 22 Ministers so far. Note the Cuban FM. Happy to see the Qatari PM/FM and UAE Minister of State. Hopefully that means some money. Best, Roland

---

**From:** Sudha Srivastava [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 2:26 PM
**To:** Jordan Ryan; DeMarcellus, Roland F; Phyllis Powers; Eva Busza; Alexandra Barahona Posada; Ion Botnaru
**Subject:** FW: Registered: 111 Member States plus the EU, Ministers from 22 countries (plus EU High Representative and 3 State Secretaries)
**Importance:** High

FYI

*Sudha Srivastava*
*Chief*
Programme and Operations Support Cluster
Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery

UNDP

One United Nations Plaza (Room DC1 -2064)
New York, NY 10017
Tel: (212) 906 – 5357; Fax: (212) 906- 6887
email:

skype:

B6

**From:** Harald Friedl
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** Elisabeth Diaz
**Cc:** Sudha Srivastava; Bruno Lemarquis; Nancy Victorino; Imelda Panguito
**Subject:** Registered: 111 Member States plus the EU, Ministers from 22 countries (plus EU High Representative and 3 State Secretaries)
**Importance:** High

Dear team,
Here is the latest info: Thanks Nancy and Imelda for your valuable contributions!
Harald

---

**Info regarding registrations:**

**Member States**

- 111 Member States **(including Palestine Authorities and Holy See; this does not include Haiti)** and the EU (HR Ashton) have so far registered.
- We are now following up with **Canada, Jamaica and Uruguay** who have indicated presence at ministerial level but have not registered yet .

**Ministers who have registered:**

1. Argentina: Jorge Taiana, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores
2. Belgium: Charles Michel, Minister for Development Cooperation
3. Bolivia: Nicolas Maduro Moros, Ministrer of People's Power for Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
4. Brasil: Celso Amorim, Minister of External Relations
5. Colombia: Adriana Mejia Hernandez, Vice Minister of Multilateral Affairs
6. Cyprus: Marcos Kyprianou, Minister of Foreign Affairs
7. Dominican Republic: Carlos Morales Troncoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs
    - Temitocles Montas, Minister of Economy and Planning
    - Louis Bogaert, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
8. Estonia: Urmas Paet, Foreign Minister
9. France: Bernard Kouchner, Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres
10. Haiti: President René Preval, Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive
11. Ireland: Peter Power, Minister for Overseas Development
12. Japan: Katsuya Okada, Minister for Foreign Affairs
13. Madagascar: Hyppolite Rarison Ramaroson, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

14. Mexico: Patricia Espinosa, Foreign Relations Minister
15. Cuba: Bruno Rodriguez Parrilla, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores
16. South Africa: Sue van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation
17. Spain: Maria Teresa Fernandez de la Vega, First Vice President of the Government
    - Soraya Rodriguez-Ramos, Secretary of State for International Cooperation for Development
18. Qatar: Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs
19. Thailand: Kasit Piromya, Minister of Foreign Affairs
20. The Gambia: Ousman Jammeh, Minister of Foreign Affairs , International Cooperation and Gambians abroad
21. United Arab Emireates: Reem Al Hashimi, Minister of State of the UAE
22. USA: Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State
23. **Canada, Jamaica and Uruguay (?) – no confirmation yet**

**Others**

1. *EU: Catherine Ashton, EU High Representative*
2. Finland: Ritva Koukku-Ronde, Under-Secretary of State: Development Cooperation and Development Policy
3. Norway: Ingrid Fiskaa, State Secretary for International Development
4. Switzerland: Martin Dahinden, State Secretary

**VIPs invited:**

| | Organization | Status |
|---|---|---|
| Catherine Ashton | EU | Registered, attending |
| Robert Zoellick, President | Worldbank | Registered, attending |
| Mr. Dominique Strauss-Kahn Managing Director | IFM | Registered, attending |
| Mr. Samuel Worthington President & CEO | InterAction | Registered, attending |
| Mr. Tadateru Konoé, President, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent | IFRC | Registered |
| Mr. Luis Alberto Moreno President | Inter-American Dev. Bank | His assistant will confirm participation later today |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| Mr. Jose Miguel Insulza<br>Secretary-General<br><br>Replaced by:<br>Mr. Albert Ramdin<br>Assistant Secretary-General | Organization of American States | attending |
| Mr. Edwin Carrington<br>Secretary-General | CARICOM | Not attending but will replaced by a representative |
| Dr. Compton Bourne<br>President | Carribean Dev. Bank | Not attending but will register a representative |
| Jakob Kellenberger, President, International Committee of the Red Cross<br><br>(Mr Fuellemann, Observer of ICRC to UN is registered) | ICRC | Open |

---

Harald Friedl
UNDP - Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery,
One United Nations Plaza DC1, 20th floor, room 2036
New York, NY, 10017, USA
Tel: 1-212-906-6955
www.undp.org/cpr

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:16 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] letter B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:54:41 2010
Subject: [redacted] letter

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** A view from Iran

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B5

Bill Luers sent me this report yesterday

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 07/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/24/2035

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] letter B5

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:14 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: [redacted] letter

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:11:23 2010
Subject: RE: [redacted] letter

There is a proposed letter that should be in your weekend reading materials. Adding Huma to see if she's seen it. [redacted]

[redacted] I will make sure it gets to you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:55 PM
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: [redacted] letter

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 6:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Mtg. w/Reyes

FYI.

---

**From:** Jacobson, Roberta S
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 5:55 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Valenzuela, Arturo A; Verma, Richard R; Johnson, David T; Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**Subject:** Mtg. w/Reyes

Jake, Huma: Could you let the Secretary know that I met with Chairman Reyes this afternoon at his request, to talk about Tuesday's trip to Mexico and the High Level Group. He indicated he might be speaking with the Secretary very soon on this. He was very pleased with the Secretary's leadership of such a high level delegation, the support for President Calderon's efforts, and the attention Mexico and the border is now getting, and had spoken yesterday with Secretary Napolitano. He stressed that he thinks we should be doing more for Mexico (he mentioned only wanting to get funding for Mexican improvements to ports of entry). I ran into [redacted] going in as I was leaving. [redacted] expressed some frustration at Mexican positions during yesterday's meeting, but was extremely grateful for the US participation and the Secretary's leadership. We agreed to get together very soon to review "action items" coming out of the meeting. B6

Many thanks, Roberta

*Roberta S. Jacobson*
*Deputy Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs*
*Department of State*
*(202)-647-8387*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** China currency memo

**You should have Bob's memo on China currency, which he worked through with Bill. See below his further elaboration:**

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: China currency memo

Okay -- working on that.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:39 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: China currency memo

I don't have memo.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:32:02 2010
Subject: China currency memo

You should have Bob's memo on China currency, which he worked through with Bill. See below his further elaboration:

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mexico

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Netanyahu

I believe so.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:11 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Netanyahu

At beginning. Will there be a camera spray?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: Huma Abedin; H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:09:16 2010
Subject: RE: Netanyahu

Any preference to front or back end? He is set for 2:45pm.

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:58 PM
To: H; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Netanyahu

Yes we figured that?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:56:19 2010
Subject: Netanyahu

I'd like one-on-one time w him.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Clinton intro

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Shapiro, Andrew J
To: Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; 'Dan_Schwerin@clinton.senate.gov' <Dan_Schwerin@clinton.senate.gov>; Lew, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Burns, William J; Mills, Cheryl D; Prince, Jonathan M; Chollet, Derek H; Verma, Richard R; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Mar 21 18:53:29 2010
Subject: Fw: Clinton intro

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Ester Kurz
To: Shapiro, Andrew J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 18:47:33 2010
Subject: Clinton intro

B6

Andrew -

It's a good strong intro that not only mentions her great record in the Senate, but also highlights her record as Secretary of State - fighting against efforts to delegitimize Israel, defending Israel against Goldstone, supporting the increase in aid to Israel, and fighting to secure strong sanctions against Iran. Should set a strong, positive tone.

Have a safe trip,

Ester

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dan...

Also, you'll get Bibi points tonight, fresh from the road.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:31:51 2010
Subject: Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dan...

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:50:32 2010
Subject: Re: Dan...

I just went over edits w Dan. Let me know if there are any serious changes from reviewers.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:31:51 2010
Subject: Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dan...

Yep

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:50:49 2010
Subject: Re: Dan...

For the meeting?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:32:47 2010
Subject: Re: Dan...

Also, you'll get Bibi points tonight, fresh from the road.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:31:51 2010
Subject: Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 7:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update on text fundraising

FYI
----- Original Message -----
From: Dowd, Katie W
To: Crowley, Philip J; Chitre, Nanda S; Reines, Philippe I; Adler, Caroline E; DiMartino, Kitty; Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Tue Jan 19 07:02:24 2010
Subject: Update on fundraising

Just wanted to update all that we are now at $23.4 million raised which is donations made up over over 2 million people.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 11:34 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Espinosa

checked in with carlos and he says it would be useful, but not critical for you to call espinosa will have points for you tomorrow in case you want to do _____

From: H
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:57 PM
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
Subject: Espinosa

Am I supposed to call her tomorrow?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 12:12 AM
**To:** H

I just want to drop you a note congratulating you on the vote tonight on health care, that whatever its imperfections the establishment of the principle is a vindication. You might take a moment of personal privilege tomorrow to express gratitude to Nancy Pelosi, the House, and the President for finally achieving the work of years. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 7:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: AIPAC

See below. [redacted] How would you like to proceed? B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:07:38 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Knopf, Payton L
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Prince, Jonathan M; Djerassi, Alexander M
Cc: Rudman, Mara; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
Sent: Mon Mar 22 06:57:39 2010
Subject: AIPAC

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

We are boarding a plane from Amman to DC shortly but can be reached via the Operations Center if there are questions.

Thanks.

Payton

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

fyi

---

**From:** Nora Toiv [mailto:nora.toiv
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 7:29 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

B6

Posted on Sun, Mar. 21, 2010

# Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

BY JACQUELINE CHARLES
jcharles@MiamiHerald.com

Call it the $100 million club.

That's the amount each donor nation will have to ante up for a say in Haiti's early recovery under a plan Haitian President René Préval plans to present at an international donors conference in New York at month's end.

While Haitian and foreign disaster experts were tallying the cost to rebuild after the Jan. 12, 7.0-magnitude earthquake -- $11.5 billion -- Préval and his advisors have been quietly negotiating the blueprint of the development plan that will shape Haiti's reconstruction over the next decade.

``It moves it in the right direction,'' Mark Schneider, senior vice president of the Washington D.C.-based International Crisis Group, said of the plan, which he has seen. ``I've said, the first phase of reconstruction is a decade. The real test is a generation and hopefully with partnerships both inside and outside of Haiti, it will continue for that time period.''

The plan includes creation of an Interim Haitian Recovery Commission that will -- for the first time -- seek to guide how and where aid is spent by giving both Haitians and foreigners a vote in reconstruction priorities and projects over the next 18 months. Haiti's president will retain veto power and there's a starring role for former U.S. President Bill Clinton if he wants it.

The blueprint is certain to come under plenty of scrutiny in Haiti, a country plagued and in-fighting among donors. Over the years, billions of dollars in aid -- often delivered after hurricanes or political coups -- has failed to produce any signs of lasting progress in a country that remains the poorest in the Western Hemisphere.

Clinton, who is to visit Haiti Monday along with former President George W. Bush, will be asked to help lead Haiti's reconstruction planning over the short-term as co-chair -- along with the Haitian prime minister -- of the commission, several sources confirmed to The Miami Herald.

Clinton, who is already in charge of the international relief effort for the United Nations, has not said whether he'll accept the job as Haiti's reconstruction czar but he has championed the strategy, saying the goal is to provide to Haitians the success that has long eluded them.He and Bush are visiting Haiti, where more than 200,000 people were killed in the quake, in their roles as co-chairs of the Clinton Bush Haiti Fund. The private U.S. fundraising effort, initiated by President Obama, has raised more than $36 million.

The commission's goal will be to plan and coordinate reconstruction priorities and projects over the next 18 months with recommendations from a 20-member board made up of Haitians and foreign donors. Eventually, the commission would morph into the Haiti Development Authority (HDA), a central planning agency tasked with approving all reconstruction projects in Haiti regardless of which country or aid agency is funding it.

The authority's executive director, like that of the commission, likely would be a well-respected Haitian.

``Haitians must have the chance to lead the rebuilding of Haiti,'' said U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's chief of staff Cheryl Mills, a key person in talks. ``Development authorities have helped other countries that have large donor communities to accomplish their visions -- we want no less for Haiti and its citizens.''

The original plan, first reported by The Herald last month, was modeled on the successful reconstruction authority created in Indonesia after the 2004 tsunami and presented by Mills to Préval and top Haitian officials last month. Other countries and multilateral institutions also presented plans to the Haitian government.

The U.S. plan has since undergone several revisions at Préval's urging.

Among them: offering a voting seat on the commission's board to each donor pledging $100 million or more over the next two years and donors who provide $200 million in debt cancellation. As a result, Venezuela is among the likely donors to help review and approve projects. Initially 16 members, the board was expanded to give a say-so to Haiti's private sector and labor unions and the 15-nation sub-regional Caribbean Community (CARCIOM). The plan also establishes a Multi-donor Trust Fund, administered by the World Bank, to possibly pool donors' dollars for reconstruction projects.

For decades, Haiti has been plagued by a lack of planning and coordination among donor nations and aid groups as they battled among each other in the poverty-stricken country.

Using the Indonesian model employed in Indonesia after the Asian tsunami, plan supporters say the reconstruction commission offers Haiti the best chance to lead its own redevelopment and to change the way donors do business, ending an era where aid groups spend budgets larger than Haitian ministries without any accountability to the Haitian people. But that can only be achieved in Haiti, say supporters, if donors and their projects are coordinated, and in line with Haiti's vision and post-disaster reconstruction needs, which will be presented at the March 31 New York conference and remains a work in progress while the government seeks input from various Haitian groups, including the Diaspora. Also Haiti's parliament must vote on the creation of the Interim Haitian Recovery Commission.

Still, the idea of putting Haiti's reconstruction into the hands of one central authority -- or having some donors channel their money into a trust fund -- is not without detractors. Some argue that the authority could render government ministries obsolete because projects would now bypass them, while others point out that

a similar World Bank fund in the Sudan has been troubled by rules leaving schools and healthcare facilities undone as hundreds of millions of dollars remain unspent.

Meanwhile, Haitian government officials worry that donors may not want to change the way they do business with Haiti, rendering the reconstruction a failure before it gets started.

``The creation of the [trust fund] or the [Haiti Development Authority] are improvements to changing the paradigm if and only if everybody plays the game -- putting most of their money in the fund -- and access to the funds is more flexible than the usual process of disbursing from the international donors,'' Haitian Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive told The Herald.

In the past, donors have pledged hundreds of millions of dollars to assist Haiti but have fallen short in disbursing those dollars -- or at times spent the money on projects without consulting the Haitian government about whether the projects were needed.

Last week, as representatives of the Haitian government and others met to prepare for the New York conference, Bellerive warned that ``New York could be a failure if we don't reach an agreement on the structure for the coordination and the organization of the trust fund...(and) don't manage to establish together the priorities for immediate investments,'' to begin reconstructing the country.

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http://www.miamiherald.com

Read more: http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/03/21/v-print/1540944/haiti-recovery-blueprint-includes.html#ixzz0iu6nDynD

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 10:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call with Secretary Clinton

---

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl,

Thanks for your trademark prompt, clear and courteous response. As always, it and you are appreciated knowing the demands of your responsibilities.

I fully realize that the Secretary is engaged (understatement of the year), so I will wait on and anticipate her call as soon as she has a convenient window to do so. The matters I would like to discuss with Hillary are very timely and important but not urgent.

I will be available on my cell phone or through my assistant who will be traveling with me. Coordinates in London are as follows.

Claridge's: 020-7629-8860

Thank you.

Mack

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** Thomas F. McLarty
**Subject:** RE: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Mack:

Thank you for following up on this matter. I know she appreciated your conversation and has been concerned about this matter.

I will flag for Lona – this week is relatively hectic so it may be a weekend or next week call but will flag now as this issue is ripe.

Best.

cdm

---

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl,

Good morning on a consequential and indeed historic week in the life of our country given the passage of health care reform. President Obama was courageous, persevering and skilled in his leadership and efforts. Having said that, in my humble opinion, he would not have been successful had it not been for President Clinton's, Hillary's and our efforts in 1994. That's my story and I'm sticking to it, and I believe it's true.

I know this has been a particularly demanding week in the life of the Secretary and in your life as well. Having Netanyahu, AIPAC and a major trip to Mexico to fight the narco-traffickers is a formidable task even for Hillary Clinton.

Cheryl, I would like to respectfully request a brief meeting or phone call with Secretary Clinton following up on the conversation she initiated with me at the Vital Voices event regarding the IDB. It's my sense and belief that this matter needs to be carefully handled for a number of reasons including the longstanding friendship that both the Secretary and President Clinton have with Luis Alberto Moreno. I also have another important and timely matter (personal not business) that I would like to discuss with Hillary in our time together.

As I think you know, I try to be very judicious about these types of requests. I think 15 minutes either in person or by phone will be adequate to cover both of these subjects. As always, I appreciate your consideration relating to my request. Thank you and I'll await your guidance and direction.

Personally,
Mack

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 11:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Tomorrow

Thank you for your message. I am currently traveling on official business and can be reached on my Blackberry. If you need assistance with a scheduling matter please reach out to my Scheduler, Eric Woodard, at 202-647-1522.

For all other issues needing immediate attention please contact my Chief-of-Staff, Simon Limage, at 202-647-1749.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 10:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** message from Jerry Hauer re Haiti coordindation

Jerry, as you may recall, was Guiliani's homeland security guy in NYC [redacted] and became one of the world's experts. He also worked for Clinton Admn and helped with disaster relief (including earthquakes) around the world. He called me today with some suggestions (some of which may be moot), so I asked him to put them into a memo. Here it is, for what it's worth: B6

I think the fundamental issue is that no one seems to be in charge and no one person has been tasked with trying to pull all of the pieces together into a short term and long term plan. Obviously in the short term, search and rescue and food and water are the main priorities. There seems to be little communication between the various areas where people have congregated and a central command post where agencies can call or radio for additional supplies including food, water and medical.

I don't recommend DoD be put in charge of this. They rarely have the kind of touch that brings together all the necessary agencies under one roof. I would set up a central command that has representatives from all federal agencies in one place. There is no reason things should be this disorganized. I would break the island into grids and assign one person to be the coordinator for each of the grids. That person will be responsible for all activities within their grid and will report activities to the island on-scene coordinator. We should get a radio company like Motorola to set up temporary towers and give the State Department several hundred radios so everyone involved in the response is able to communicate with the command post and with each other.

I think one of the most important roles for DoD is to provide security for the rescue teams and medical teams. They also should be responsible for the operation of the airport, for off loading planes and for scheduling all incoming flights so there is no lost time waiting for planes to land. I also think DoD should be responsible for airlifting supplies that are requested by each one of the grid coordinators. Additionally, the helicopters should be used to move critical patients to the hospital ship on the way and to the aircraft carrier currently on station. At least once a day, the coordinator assigned by the President and the Secretary of State should be responsible for getting situation reports from all agencies on site, particularly regarding food and water, security, medical and search and rescue.

The lack of command and control is allowing the situation to become more chaotic rather than more coordinated. I believe that if the Secretary were to talk to the other nations involved through the UN, they would be supportive of better coordination.

Bottom line is that there is no order to the operation and you need strong people in there who can speak on behalf of the President and the Secretary and get things under control quickly.

I hope this is helpful. If you or the Secretary have any questions please feel free to call me on my cell [redacted]. We leave for Tokyo at 7:15 am tomorrow and transfer to a United flight due back in DC at 2:30 pm tomorrow. B6

Please give the Secretary my best regards. I hope to see you soon.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 8:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: French Communique re: U.S. role in Haiti
**Attachments:** 01.19 Haiti.doc

FYI below on French statement on Haiti and U.S. support:

Paris, January 19, 2010

COMMUNIQUÉ

During their telephone conversation last week, the President of the Republic and President Obama expressed the resolute commitment of our two countries in Haiti, and decided to combine their efforts in order to deal with the urgent humanitarian situation and to respond, in the future, to the enormous reconstruction requirements.

The French authorities have, since then, been entirely satisfied with the cooperation between our two countries and, beyond that, the continuous coordination between the Crises Centers of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and the U.S. Department of State. They want to pay tribute to the United States' extraordinary mobilization efforts in support of Haiti and the vital role it is playing on the ground.

---

**From:** Gonzalez, Juan S
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 7:42 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1; Haiti DLC Distro
**Subject:** French Communique re: U.S. role in Haiti

Positive statement by the French.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** LECHEVALLIER Aurelien [mailto: [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** Gonzalez, Juan S
**Cc:** Lorenz, Andrew R; Martin, Elizabeth K
**Subject:** TR: Haiti/US/France

Juan:

Please circulate the attached document as much as needed.

Could I give you a quick call regarding the longer term reconstruction Conference initiative?

Thanks,

aurélien

[redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: reception invitation

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Sat Mar 13 10:31:21 2010
Subject: Fw: reception invitation

Pls regret.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 12 21:08:27 2010
Subject: FW: reception invitation

fyi

From: Lomellin, Carmen
Sent: Friday, March 12, 2010 7:02 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: reception invitation

Hi Cheryl – hope you're holding up ok with all of the Haiti work.

I'm having a little reception on 3/22 6pm over at the OAS to celebrate my swearing-in. I'd love it if you could come by for a glass of champagne and a little jazz music!

I'd love to invite the Secretary. Is that even proper protocol? Although she probably couldn't attend, I'd like to share it with her. Your thoughts?

Ambassador Carmen Lomellin

U.S. Permanent Representative to the OAS

2201 C. St, NW #5914

Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FT: Google to shut China search engine

FYI

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**From:** Shear, David B
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 2:31 PM
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: FT: Google to shut China search engine

Fyi

# Google to shut China search engine

By Richard Waters in San Francisco and Kathrin Hille in Beijing

Published: March 12 2010 20:11 | Last updated: March 13 2010 02:16

Google has drawn up detailed plans for the closure of its Chinese search engine and is now "99.9 per cent" certain to go ahead as talks over censorship with the Chinese authorities have reached an apparent impasse, according to a person familiar with the company's thinking.

In a hardening of positions on both sides, the Chinese government also on Friday threw down a direct public challenge to the US search company, with a warning that it was not prepared to compromise on internet censorship to stop Google leaving.

The signs that Google was on the brink of closing Google.cn, its local search service in China, came two months after it promised to stop bowing to censorship there. But while a decision could be made very soon, the company is likely to take some time to follow through with the plan as it seeks an orderly closure and takes steps to protect local employees from retaliation by the authorities, the person familiar with its position said.

Google is also seeking ways to keep its other operations in China going, although some executives fear that a backlash from the Chinese authorities could make it almost impossible to keep a presence in the country.

When the search giant first promised to end censorship in response to what it claimed were a series of cyber-attacks mounted from inside China, many China-watchers warned that its public defiance of Beijing would provoke a stern response.

On Friday, Li Yizhong, minister for industry and information technology, said: "If [Google] takes steps that violate Chinese laws, that would be unfriendly, that would be irresponsible, and they would have to bear the consequences."

One person close to the search company, meanwhile, said that its senior executives remained "adamant" about ending the censorship. The company has also ruled out keeping the search service going by handing majority control, or even the entire business, to a local player, this person said.

Google's executives have made it clear that they still hope to stay in the country, whatever the fate of Google.cn. "It's very important to know we are not pulling out of China," Eric Schmidt, Google's chief executive, told the Financial Times at the time. "We have a good business in China. This is about the censorship rules, not anything else."

The company's other operations, which pre-date the launch of Google.cn four years ago, include its research centre in Beijing and a sales force that sells advertising on the Chinese-language Google.com search service, based outside China, to advertisers inside the country.

Mr Li encouraged Google to continue its operations in the country. "[Google] has taken 30 per cent of the Chinese search market.

"If you don't leave, China will welcome that, if you don't leave, it will be beneficial for the development of the internet in China."

--
**********
Evan S. Medeiros
Washington, DC 20010

B6

**********

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (AP) Israel to investigate settlement announcement during Biden visit

fyi

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**From:** O'Neill, Douglas S
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 6:07 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Subject:** (AP) Israel to investigate settlement announcement during Biden visit

JERUSALEM - (AP) Israel's premier has ordered an investigation into how government officials announced plans for a new Jewish housing project in east Jerusalem during a visit by Vice President Joe Biden. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's office said he ordered the probe late Saturday after he met with top Cabinet ministers. While Biden was visiting earlier this week, Israel's Interior Ministry said it approved plans to build 1,600 homes for Jews in disputed east Jerusalem. Biden condemned the announcement, which overshadowed his visit. Netanyahu has apologized for the poor timing of the announcement, but given no sign he will cancel the construction orders. The Palestinians claim east Jerusalem as their capital, and Israel's annexation of the area is not internationally recognized.

*Doug O'Neill*
*Watch Officer*
*Operations Center*
*Department of State*
*(202) 647-1512*

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 11:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RCH

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 10:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: UPDATE: LES incident in Ciudad Juarez

**From:** Syed, Zia S
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** Macmanus, Joseph E; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** UPDATE: LES incident in Ciudad Juarez

Further to my e-mail below on the killing of an LES, her spouse, and another LES spouse from our Consulate in Ciudad Juarez, names have now been released and a few more details:

From: Macris, Gregory P
Sent: Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:57 PM
Subject: RE: LES incident in Ciudad Juarez

Colleagues –

Passing on the latest information (received at 2150) from PO McGrath. The name of the deceased American Citizen Services LES is Lesley Enriquez. Her husband, killed in the same attack, was U.S. citizen Arthur Haycock Redelfs. The name of the surviving Fraud Prevention Unit LES is Hilda Antillon. The name of her deceased husband is Alberto Salcido Cisneros.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS REPRODUCED FROM THE CONSUL GENERAL'S EMAIL: RSO Greg Houston is seeking to make arrangements to return to post tomorrow. Post management will try to schedule a town hall meeting for all staff, the meeting to be held at the Consulate at the earliest feasible time tomorrow or Monday (a Mexican holiday).

We just held a town hall meeting yesterday afternoon to discuss the anticipated Mexican travel warning/authorized departure/compensation issues. We also briefed the staff on a Wardens Message we were making yesterday about trouble anticipated this weekend at what is believed to be a cartel-owned or –associated nightclub located very close to the Consulate General. There is concern within the Consulate community that the attacks today were a cartel response to the Wardens Message. At this time we have no indication that this linkage with the Wardens Message exists, and there is information that in the case of Ms. Enriquez and her husband the attack was a case of mistaken identity on the part of the cartel hit squad.

Our information on the Salcido/Antillon incident is still largely incomplete. Although the fact that both families had attended the same social event earlier in the afternoon suggests some kind of linkage between the two attacks, so far we have not been able to make a determination one way or the other as to whether such a linkage exists.

**From:** Syed, Zia S
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** Macmanus, Joseph E; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** FW: LES incident in Ciudad Juarez

See below for a developing story coming out of Ciudad Juarez -- one LES (locally engaged staff working for the consulate), her spouse, and another LES spouse were killed today, apparently by a drug cartel. The details we have are below, but more are coming.

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**From:** Macris, Gregory P
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 9:47 PM
**To:** SES-O_SWO-Only; S_SpecialAssistants; D(L); D(S)_Officers; P; WHAStaffers; WHA-FO; CA-OCS-Duty-Principals; CA-Staffers Mailbox; M_SpecialAssistants; SES_DutyDeputies; DS Command Center
**Subject:** FW: LES incident in Ciudad Juarez

Colleagues,

Ciudad Juarez Principal Officer Ray McGrath called Ops at 2050 to report two killings involving LES employees.

Earlier on March 13, drug cartel hit teams fired upon two separate privately owned vehicles at two separate locations. The incidents happened between 1400 and 1700 local. In one vehicle, the husband of a LES was killed. In the second, the LES and her husband were killed. Both LES were at the same social event before the hit. The PO is working to find out if anyone else is at risk.

PO McGrath said colleagues in El Paso state there are some indications that the attack was a case of mistaken identity. A vehicle of similar make & model is being targeted by the cartels.

RSO Greg Houston is currently in Monterrey, but is working with his A/RSO to send a spot report. RSO Houston's is reachable in Monterrey at [redacted] B6

Both LES were State FSNs. Ops is attempting to obtain their names.

Gregory Macris
Senior Watch Officer

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 11:21 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** RE: RCH

agree

-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thursday, March 25, 2010 11:17 PM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RCH

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 12:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Please Pass to the Secretary

Per the earlier email

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
Sent: Sunday, March 14, 2010 12:15 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A
Subject: Please Pass to the Secretary

Madam Secretary -

One of our Mexican staff and the husbands of two Mexican employees were killed last night in Juarez.

In one case a Mexican employee and her husband were leaving a party hosted by another Mexican employee. They were in separate vehicles. He was stopped by a hit squad and killed before her.

In a second case a Mexican employee and her husband were killed leaving the same party. Their 3 month-old baby was left alive in the back seat.

We have activated all investigative and intelligence channels to learn all we can. The head of Mexico's intelligence service called to express President Calderon's condolences and to offer any support we need. Patricia Espinosa is aware. She may call you. We will let you know if there are any leads on why this tragedy occurred.

Carlos Pascual

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This message has been sent via BlackBerry

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RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 5:54 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

Will ask.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Mar 26 05:49:52 2010
Subject: Tonight

Is it too late to get a plane for tonight? (I have too much stuff!) If it is, I may prefer to shuttle back Sunday and fly to Ottawa straight from DC on Monday in order to get better organized for next week.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 6:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Question

Absolutely. That's what you have a think tank for! On a related note, while it may not be useful for Pakistan, I think we shd find ways to work qddr briefings/discussions into our strategic dialogues w/ india and china, to talk about how we are rethinking both diplomacy and development -- maybe also w/ South Africa. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Mar 13 17:47:24 2010
Subject: Question

Can you have S/P prepare a comparison of India, Pakistan and Banghladesh over the last 20-30 years on as many factors reflecting their respective economic and social development as you can muster? I suspect it will prove useful in my meetings w Pak leaders in ten days.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Carlos

Did cheryl pass this message from carlos pascual to you? Wanted to make sure u saw

Madam Secretary -

One of our Mexican staff and the husbands of two Mexican employees were killed last night in Juarez.

In one case a Mexican employee and her husband were leaving a party hosted by another Mexican employee. They were in separate vehicles. He was stopped by a hit squad and killed before her.

In a second case a Mexican employee and her husband were killed leaving the same party. Their 3 month-old baby was left alive in the back seat.

We have activated all investigative and intelligence channels to learn all we can. The head of Mexico's intelligence service called to express President Calderon's condolences and to offer any support we need. Patricia Espinosa is aware. She may call you. We will let you know if there are any leads on why this tragedy occurred.

Carlos Pascual

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 10:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: AIPAC speech

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 14 08:57:19 2010
Subject: AIPAC speech

B5

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Carlos

Yes. Any specific window?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Mar 14 10:10:01 2010
Subject: Re: Carlos

Yes. And I'd like to talk w him today. Can you ask ops to set up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 14 09:52:50 2010
Subject: Carlos

Did cheryl pass this message from carlos pascual to you? Wanted to make sure u saw

Madam Secretary -

One of our Mexican staff and the husbands of two Mexican employees were killed last night in Juarez.

In one case a Mexican employee and her husband were leaving a party hosted by another Mexican employee. They were in separate vehicles. He was stopped by a hit squad and killed before her.

In a second case a Mexican employee and her husband were killed leaving the same party. Their 3 month-old baby was left alive in the back seat.

We have activated all investigative and intelligence channels to learn all we can. The head of Mexico's intelligence service called to express President Calderon's condolences and to offer any support we need. Patricia Espinosa is aware. She may call you. We will let you know if there are any leads on why this tragedy occurred.

Carlos Pascual

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 10:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Carlos

Ok calling you with carlos after u r done with rch.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Mar 14 10:39:16 2010
Subject: Re: Carlos

Next hour would be good.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 14 10:35:04 2010
Subject: Re: Carlos

Yes. Any specific window?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Mar 14 10:10:01 2010
Subject: Re: Carlos

Yes. And I'd like to talk w him today. Can you ask ops to set up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 14 09:52:50 2010
Subject: Carlos

Did cheryl pass this message from carlos pascual to you? Wanted to make sure u saw

Madam Secretary -

One of our Mexican staff and the husbands of two Mexican employees were killed last night in Juarez.

In one case a Mexican employee and her husband were leaving a party hosted by another Mexican employee. They were in separate vehicles. He was stopped by a hit squad and killed before her.

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We have activated all investigative and intelligence channels to learn all we can. The head of Mexico's intelligence service called to express President Calderon's condolences and to offer any support we need. Patricia Espinosa is aware. She may call you. We will let you know if there are any leads on why this tragedy occurred.

Carlos Pascual

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Kabul IG report

Yes. I will be finished going through it this morning before your meeting. Happy to discuss/report when you come in.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Mar 26 07:23:02 2010
Subject: Kabul IG report

Were you able to get a copy of it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 3/26/10 Friday

7:30 am **PHONE CALL w/LEBANESE PRIME MINISTER SAAD HARIRI**
Private Residence

8:45 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route White House

8:55 am **ARRIVE** White House

9:00 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/POTUS**
9:30 am Oval Office

9:35 am **DEPART** White House *En route State Department

9:40 am **ARRIVE** State Department

9:45 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:15 am Secretary's Office

10:20 am **DEPART** State Department *En route White House

10:25 am **ARRIVE** White House

10:30 am **POTUS STATEMENT ON START TREATY AGREEMENT**
11:15 am (t) Oval Office/White House Briefing Room

11:20 am (t) **DEPART** White House *En route State Department

11:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

11:30 am **MEETING w/SE SCOTT GRATION**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **BILATERAL w/CYPRIOT FM MARKOS KYPRIANOU**
12:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray in Treary Room preceding.

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **PHOTOS**
1:10 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **INTERVIEW w/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC**
2:00 pm Monroe Room, 8th Floor

2:00 pm **DROP BY w/KEN MILLER**
2:20 pm Secretary's Office

2:20 pm **DROP-BY w/LISSA**
2:40 pm Secretary's Office

2:45 pm **REMARKS TO STATE DEPARTMENT SPRING INTERNS,**
3:15 pm **STAY-IN-SCHOOL AND CO-OP STUDENTS, CIVIL SERVICE CAREER ENTRY PROFESSIONALS, AND PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT FELLOWS** Loy Henderson Conference Room

3:30 pm **CONFERENCE CALL w/SENATORS MAX BAUCUS AND JON TESTER**
3:45 pm Secretary's Office

3:45 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:15 pm Secretary's Office

5:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

5:25 pm **PHONE INTERVIEW w/JESSIE LICHTENSTEIN,** ***NYT MAGAZINE***

5:35 pm En route Washington National Airport

5:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

6:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2182
En route New York, NY

7:24 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

7:30 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport
En route Private Residence

8:20 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

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RELEASE IN PART B6

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cong. John Larsen

Has a call into to you. It's on your grid. His staff would not provide a subject matter. Rich is aware of this call.
**202-225-2265 w Asst: Marvene**
[redacted] **c** B6
**###**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** d.cheng [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Dara

Dennis, what is dara's last name?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, March 26, 2010 5:43 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: Dara

More info for Dara call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dennis Cheng [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 16:53:45 2010
Subject: Re: Dara

Just in case, her home # is [redacted]

On Mar 20, 2010, at 3:51 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> What are her numbers so I can call [redacted]?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Afghanistan & Pakistan Morning News Highlights March 26

FYI, early read out of Pakistan media reaction to strategic dialogue. Not bad overall at this point.

***Pakistan Media:***

Coverage of the final round of the U.S.-Pak Strategic Dialogue dominated the front pages of all newspapers and hourly bulletins of TV networks on Friday morning. Media highlighted reports that the U.S. and Pakistan sought "wide-ranging, long term and substantive partnership," and "established a policy steering group for further talks on strategic issues." The signing of a letter of intent between the U.S. and Pakistan to help reconstruction of priority roads in Malakand division also received prominent display. Secretary of Defense Gates' meeting with his Pakistani counterpart, and his comments that the "U.S. wants to increase the military funding of Pakistan" received coverage. Pak Army Chief General Kayani's remarks that the "military is willing to forgo its requests for hardware to ensure that Pakistan's energy and economic needs are met" were also reported. Reports that GOP and the opposition are not on same page regarding talks with the U.S. received front-page display. The civilian nuclear deal issue made news as "The News," reported that the "FO seeks to hide unease over nuclear snub" and "The Nation," reported on front-page that "U.S. affirms durable partnership but no civilian N-deal." However Foreign Office spokesman's remarks, that the "government is optimistic about a positive outcome" was also reported. Terming the U.S. commitment of $125 million for the power sector, as "crucial," "The News," noted in its editorial that "it needs to be translated into action urgently." Its sister mass-circulated Urdu daily, "Jang," however noted with a word of caution, that "we think that the present U.S. overtures to woo Pakistan are not completely altruistic. It remains to be seen what Washington wants from Islamabad." A prominent columnist, Ayesha Siddiqa noted in "Dawn," that "the U.S. might have realized that it will have to listen to Pakistan and feel concerned about its inherent insecurity vis-à-vis India's role in Afghanistan."

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: How's the weekend gone?

On my way home. The conference was a big success. I met with Cherie Blair on the gender gap in cell phones - technology that may be even be more tramsformative than microcredit. Phil was with GSMA for the release of their study so we're going to figure out how we van get industry on board, etc. Cherie was involved in the GSMA study as well. We'll both be at CGI retreat later this week where we'll raise it as well. She sends her love.
The conference referenced you over and over. Dr Mukwege personally thanked you for your leadership. Some ofthe congolese women parliamentarians want to see if they can raise theirvoices to some good end the way the Liberians did. We will see what we can do to help them.
DVF had an incredible awards ceremony last night. Our Haitian activist got one of the 50K prizes. DVF went on and on about how your leadership was really responsible for the evening and what it represented.The awardees all mentioned you. I talked to last night. I think we can get. him to fund college scolarships for afghan women.
Another awardee was one of our afghan women who's bldg schools.
I can't thank you enuf for Friday. I thought your legacy was manifested in every way.
BTW, Paul Charron was there last night and sends his best. He's such a good guy.

I'm heading home exhausted but gratified by what we've been able to do.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'pverveer
Sent: Mar 14, 2010 11:15 AM
Subject: How's the weekend gone?

I thought Friday was fabulous and thank you, as always, for all you do and are. Kudos, my friend.

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Mar 14 14:17:57 2010
Subject: Call list

Take off:

Miliband
Carson
Netanyahu
Mubarak
Powell
Rice
Lautenberg--but ask Rob to do note
Pascual

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 5:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

Does this work for you?

Statement by the Secretary

Murders in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico

Today the men and women of the Department of State are mourning the murder of three people connected to the United States Consulate General in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. One American consulate employee was killed along with her husband, and the husband of a Mexican employee was also killed. I offer my deepest sympathies to the family, loved ones and colleagues of these victims. The safety and security of our personnel and their families in Mexico and at posts around the world is always our highest priority. I have spoken with our Ambassador in Mexico and we are working with the Government of Mexico to do everything necessary to protect our people and to ensure that the perpetrators of these horrendous acts are brought to justice.

These appalling assaults on members of our own State Department family are, sadly, part of a growing tragedy besetting many communities in Mexico. They underscore the imperative of our continued commitment to work closely with the Government of President Calderón to cripple the influence of trafficking organizations at work in Mexico. This is a responsibility we must shoulder together, particularly in border communities where strong bonds of history, culture, and common interest bind the Mexican and the American people closely together.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: UN speech

Thank you for the kind words! It meant so much to see you speak, and was wonderful to witness that room full of energetic women and men clapping and nodding--a microcosm of the global movement. I loved the additional stories you told, esp the women working in the fields and how they could shut down the economy on their own in one swoop.

I'm hard at work on Ireland -- feeling my nationalism stirring!

Thank you again for the email and the chance to join you in NY.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Sent: Sun Mar 14 18:30:18 2010
Subject: UN speech

Thx for all you did to make it work. I thought it went very well and I was so pleased you could be there. Now, onto the Irish!

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Please Pass to the Secretary

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Mar 14 19:57:53 2010
Subject: Fw: Please Pass to the Secretary

Note also reference to travel

----- Original Message -----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Sun Mar 14 19:45:54 2010
Subject: Re: Please Pass to the Secretary

Madame Secretary,

Thank you again for your call this morning. Following our discussions, we've had a number of conference calls with our security teams in Mexico and Washington. We would like to take you up on your willingness to stay directly involved.

Our recommendation is that

B5

Thank you for guidance and support on this matter.

Carlos Pascual

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This message has been sent via BlackBerry
---

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City); Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A
Sent: Sat Mar 13 23:17:01 2010

Subject: RE: Please Pass to the Secretary

done

-----Original Message-----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
Sent: Sunday, March 14, 2010 12:15 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A
Subject: Please Pass to the Secretary

Madam Secretary -

One of our Mexican staff and the husbands of two Mexican employees were killed last night in Juarez.

In one case a Mexican employee and her husband were leaving a party hosted by another Mexican employee. They were in separate vehicles. He was stopped by a hit squad and killed before her.

In a second case a Mexican employee and her husband were killed leaving the same party. Their 3 month-old baby was left alive in the back seat.

We have activated all investigative and intelligence channels to learn all we can. The head of Mexico's intelligence service called to express President Calderon's condolences and to offer any support we need. Patricia Espinosa is aware. She may call you. We will let you know if there are any leads on why this tragedy occurred.

Carlos Pascual

---
This message has been sent via BlackBerry
---

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 11:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H; fyi. Sid

H: Assume you have seen the "Petraeus briefing story" or otherwise are familiar with its contents. In any case, here it is. It was blazoned atop the Foreign Policy website, the most widely read site on international affairs daily, owned and published by the Washington Post. Below the piece is a note by its writer about his sourcing that appeared on a small website elsewhere. Also, I've included an article by Max Blumenthal, who spends his time on this issue and plans to move to Israel for about 6-8 months to write a book. He tracks a lot of things that do not appear in the mainstream press. Sid

http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/03/14/the_petraeus_briefing_biden_s_embarrassment_is_not_the_whole_story

# The Petraeus briefing: Biden's embarrassment is not the whole story

## Posted By Mark Perry Saturday, March 13, 2010 -

On Jan. 16, two days after a killer earthquake hit Haiti, a team of senior military officers from the U.S. Central Command (responsible for overseeing American security interests in the Middle East), arrived at the Pentagon to brief Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Adm. Michael Mullen on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The team had been dispatched by CENTCOM commander Gen. David Petraeus to underline his growing worries at the lack of progress in resolving the issue. The 33-slide, 45-minute PowerPoint briefing stunned Mullen. The briefers reported that there was a growing perception among Arab leaders that the U.S. was incapable of standing up to Israel, that CENTCOM's mostly Arab constituency was losing faith in American promises, that Israeli intransigence on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was jeopardizing U.S. standing in the region, and that Mitchell himself was (as a senior Pentagon officer later bluntly described it) "too old, too slow ... and too late."

The January Mullen briefing was unprecedented. No previous CENTCOM commander had ever expressed himself on what is essentially a political issue; which is why the briefers were careful to tell Mullen that their conclusions followed from a December 2009 tour of the region where, on Petraeus's instructions, they spoke to senior Arab leaders. "Everywhere they went, the message was pretty humbling," a Pentagon officer familiar with the briefing says. "America was not only viewed as weak, but its military posture in the region was eroding." But Petraeus wasn't finished: two days after the Mullen briefing, Petraeus sent a paper to the White House requesting that the West Bank and Gaza (which, with Israel, is a part of the European Command -- or EUCOM), be made a part of his area of operations. Petraeus's reason was straightforward: with U.S. troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. military had to be perceived by Arab leaders as engaged in the region's most troublesome conflict.

[**UPDATE:** A senior military officer denied Sunday that Petraeus sent a paper to the White House. "CENTCOM did have a team brief the CJCS on concerns revolving around the Palestinian issue, and CENTCOM did propose a UCP change, but to CJCS, not to the WH," the officer said via email. "GEN Petraeus was not certain what might have been conveyed to the WH (if anything) from that brief to CJCS."

(UCP means "unified combatant command," like CENTCOM; CJCS refers to Mullen; and WH is the White House.)]

The Mullen briefing and Petraeus's request hit the White House like a bombshell. While Petraeus's request that CENTCOM be expanded to include the Palestinians was denied ("it was dead on arrival," a Pentagon officer confirms), the Obama administration decided it would redouble its efforts -- pressing Israel once again on the settlements issue, sending Mitchell on a visit to a number of Arab capitals and dispatching Mullen for a carefully arranged meeting with the chief of the Israeli General Staff, Lt. General Gabi Ashkenazi. While the American press speculated that Mullen's trip focused on Iran, the JCS Chairman actually carried a blunt, and tough, message on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: that Israel had to see its conflict with the Palestinians "in a larger, regional, context" -- as having a direct impact on America's status in the region. Certainly, it was thought, Israel would get the message.

Israel didn't. When Vice President Joe Biden was embarrassed by an Israeli announcement that the Netanyahu government was building 1,600 new homes in East Jerusalem, the administration reacted. But no one was more outraged than Biden who, according to the Israeli daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*, engaged in a private, and angry, exchange with the Israeli Prime Minister. Not surprisingly, what Biden told Netanyahu reflected the importance the administration attached to Petraeus's Mullen briefing: "This is starting to get dangerous for us," Biden reportedly told Netanyahu. "What you're doing here undermines the security of our troops who are fighting in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. That endangers us and it endangers regional peace." *Yedioth Ahronoth* went on to report: "The vice president told his Israeli hosts that since many people in the Muslim world perceived a connection between Israel's actions and US policy, any decision about construction that undermines Palestinian rights in East Jerusalem could have an impact on the personal safety of American troops fighting against Islamic terrorism." The message couldn't be plainer: Israel's intransigence could cost American lives.

There are important and powerful lobbies in America: the NRA, the American Medical Association, the lawyers -- and the Israeli lobby. But no lobby is as important, or as powerful, as the U.S. military. While commentators and pundits might reflect that Joe Biden's trip to Israel has forever shifted America's relationship with its erstwhile ally in the region, the real break came in January, when David Petraeus sent a briefing team to the Pentagon with a stark warning: America's relationship with Israel is important, but not as important as the lives of America's soldiers. Maybe Israel gets the message now.

*Mark Perry's newest book is Talking To Terrorists*

http://warincontext.org/2010/03/14/israel-is-putting-american-lives-at-risk/

My piece on the briefing of Admiral Mullen by CENTCOM senior officers has occasioned a great deal of comment, as well as some skepticism: how accurate is the account? Was it told to me by direct participants in the briefing? Is there any basis for imagining that Petraeus has any kind of hidden agenda, whether that is a desire to expand CENTCOM – or even hostility towards Israel.

I won't name my sources, even though it's clear to people in the Pentagon – and certainly to General Petraeus – who they are. Was I told of the briefing by the briefers themselves? I will only say that there were four people in the briefing – the two briefers, Admiral Mullen, and Admiral Mullen's primary adviser on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I know two of the people involved in the briefing. Whether or not they are my sources is something for the reader to determine. The account is not only accurate, it's a precis of what actually happened. There is a lot more to it. The White House, State Department and Pentagon have not denied the account, and for good reason: it's true.

Is there any basis for imagining that Petraeus has any kind of hidden agenda in ordering the briefing?

I have been reporting on the American military for thirty years. My work on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Four Stars*, is the authoritative account on the subject. I have deeply rooted contacts in the military that go back thirty years. I have never met a senior military officer whom I do not admire. There is no greater insult than to believe that General Petraeus or any other senior American military officer would use the lives of American soldiers as a lever to enhance their own political future. My sense is that General Petraeus neither likes nor dislikes Israel: but he loves his country and he wants to protect our soldiers. The current crisis in American relations with Israel is not a litmus test of General Petraeus's loyalty to Israel, but of his, and our, concern for those Americans in uniform in the Middle East.

It is, perhaps, a sign of the depth of "the Biden crisis" that every controversy of this type seems to get translated into whether or not America and its leaders are committed to Israel's security. This isn't about Israel's security, it's about our security.

# http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/03/pastor-hagee-and-netanyahus-lovefest-on-eve-of-bidens-arrival-in-israel/

# Netanyahu and Pastor Hagee's Lovefest on Eve of Biden's Arrival in Israel

*On 03.09.10, By Max*
*(Videos recorded by Rachel Tabachnick; more videos coming shortly.)*
Vice President Joe Biden was greeted in Jerusalem with the announcement that the Israeli Interior Ministry approved the construction of 1600 new homes in Occupied East Jerusalem contrary to U.S. wishes and complicating Biden's mission to help jump start the peace process. But Biden should have known that Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu intended to upset his plans by Netanyahu's appearance with John Hagee.
The day after a series of talks between US Special Envoy for the Middle East George Mitchell and Netanyahu, and a day before Biden's arrival, Netanyahu appeared onstage with Pastor John Hagee in Jerusalem. The occasion was Hagee's Night To Honor Israel, an event the far-right Texas-based preacher arranged to tout his ministry's millions in donations to Israeli organizations and to level bellicose rhetoric against Israel's perceived enemies.
At the gathering, Hagee called Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad "the Hitler of the Middle East" and denounced the Goldstone Report as "character assassination by an unbiased and uninformed committee."
Netanyahu welcomed the crowd of 1000 American evangelicals to Jerusalem, a city he described as "the undivided, eternal capitol of the Jewish people. Then, he told them, "I salute you! The Jewish people salute you!" He used the rest of his speech to call for "tough, biting sanctions" against Iran that "bite deep into its energy sector."
*Hagee and Netanyahu appear together on stage:*
×
In the audience were top-level members of the Israeli government, from Ambassador Michael Oren to Jerusalem Mayor Nir Barkat to Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon. Also present was Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, the chief rabbi of the illegal West Bank settlement of Efrat who gained notoriety for lobbying President Bill Clinton to pardon his friend, fugitive billionaire Marc Rich. Ayalon had stirred controversy days before when he refused to meet with a US congressional delegation brought to Israel by the progressive Jewish group J Street.
*Part One of Hagee's speech:*
×
*Part Two:*
×
Pastor Hagee in Jerusalem 3/8/10 (Part II) from Max J Blumenthal on Vimeo.
Hagee's ceremony featured a 15-minute film highlighting the recipients of donations from John Hagee Ministries that totaled $58 million since 2001. The recipients included Jewish settlements from the West Bank like Gush Etzion and Shomron, which was involved in promoting an "Obama Hilltop project" that promoted more settlement building and compared Obama to Pharoah. Hagee also announced funding for a pressure group run by the settlers evacuated from Gush Katif in Gaza in 2005. During Israel's assault on Gaza in 2009, a group of Gush Katif residents lobbied the Israel government to allow them to resettle the Palestinian coastal region.
*Who is Hagee funding in Israel?*
×
Who Is Hagee Funding In Israel? from Max Blumenthal on Vimeo.
The most notable of Hagee's funding recipients was an organization called Im Tirtzu. A student representative of this group appeared in the film to thank Hagee for "help[ing] us to ensure that students in Israel are on the right path, the path of Zionism, the love of Israel, the path of solidarity." Another student called for "the second revolution in Israel."
In February, Im Tirtzu funding a smear campaign against former Knesset member and New Israel Fund Director Naomi Chazan that included posters caricaturing her with a horn on her head. The group misleadingly accused the New Israel Fund of bankrolling 16 human rights organizations that contributed documentation to the Goldstone Report.
The smear campaign led to unsuccessful legislation in the Knesset designed to further cripple already marginalized Israeli human rights groups. Meanwhile, the Jerusalem Post fired Chazan as a columnist without explanation. Gideon Levy, a columnist for Ha'aretz, called Im Tirtzu "a McCarthyite movement" for its attacks on Chazan.
Although CUFI attempted to distance itself from Im Tirtzu's campaign, the organization's appearance during CUFI's Jerusalem ceremony suggested that Hagee would continue to provide it with funding well into the future.
Republican Senator John McCain repudiated the endorsement of Hagee during his 2008 presidential campaign after Hagee's statements describing the Holocaust as a fulfillment of divine prophecy came to light. Hagee has also said that

he believed the anti-Christ was "partially Jewish, as was Adolph Hitler." However, none of Hagee's comments have deterred Israeli government officials from embracing him or accepting his millions in annual charity.

During Hagee's speech, he made no secret of his support for the illegal settlement enterprise that has been the source of difficulties between the US and Israel. "The settlements are not the problem," he boomed from the podium. "The problem is the refusal of Arab leaders to respect the right of Jewish people to live anywhere in the Middle East."

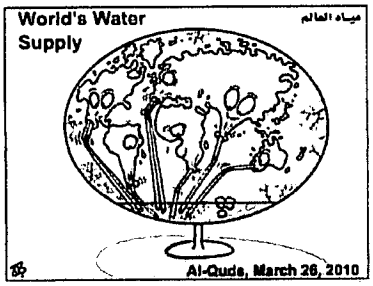
Hagee received a rousing ovation from the crowd and the Israeli government officials seated beside the podium when he proclaimed, "World leaders do not have the authority to tell Israel and the Jewish people what they can and cannot do in the city of Jerusalem. They don't have the authority to tell them what they can and cannot build, who can and and cannot live there."

The following day, on March 9, Vice President Joseph Biden arrived in Israel to meet with Netanyahu and officials from the Palestinian Authority. He told reporters after touching down that he saw "a moment of real opportunity."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 8:11 AM
**To:** Otero, Maria; Waxman, Sharon L; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** FW: Pan Arab Press Cartoons for Friday, March 26, 2010 from the London-based Media Outreach Center
**Attachments:** Al-Quds, March 26, 2010.jpg

From Al Quds should be the front piece of all our presentations !



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 3:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Madam Secretary,
Thanks so much for the experience of a life time. It is my honor to work for you and learn from you.
See you this morning,
Best,
Ellen

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Thu Mar 25 22:59:25 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

B6

Ellen--I enjoyed our time together tonight and am looking forward to you and Jim T coming w me to the WH tomorrow. Come up to my office and we'll leave the State Dept around 10:15. See you then. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 1:56 PM
**To:** LGraham [redacted] Doug Band; jcooper [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** IRHC Press release

I think coming out in next few hours so prepare WJC.

Cdm

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769040 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

Paris, January 19, 2010

COMMUNIQUÉ

During their telephone conversation last week, the President of the Republic and President Obama expressed the resolute commitment of our two countries in Haiti, and decided to combine their efforts in order to deal with the urgent humanitarian situation and to respond, in the future, to the enormous reconstruction requirements.

The French authorities have, since then, been entirely satisfied with the cooperation between our two countries and, beyond that, the continuous coordination between the Crises Centers of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and the U.S. Department of State. They want to pay tribute to the United States' extraordinary mobilization efforts in support of Haiti and the vital role it is playing on the ground.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769040 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Year-end report

A draft of the year-end report is coming your way with Huma. It definitely needs your magic touch. I've done my best to craft something readable (and useful) in the midst of all the craziness.

Derek has read and commented. Cheryl will give her comments tomorrow. I'd be happy to circulate it to others who you would like to have weigh in.

Look forward to discussing tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 8:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti
**Attachments:** 2010-01-19 Aid to Haiti.PDF

**Importance:** High

FYI – I think we should do

---

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:46 PM
**To:** Haiti DLC Distro; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E; O'Neill, Maura (AID/A)
**Subject:** Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti
**Importance:** High

Interesting offer to cooperate re Haiti by Cuban Govt. FYI. Julissa

---

**From:** Zuniga, Ricardo F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1
**Cc:** 'Gray, Eugene'; Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Webster, Christopher W; De Pirro, Velia M
**Subject:** FW: Haiti Note
**Importance:** High

Task Force – the attached diplomatic note was shared with PDAS Kelly by Cuban Interests Section Chief of Mission Jorge Bolaños today at 2:30 pm. It is an offer to cooperate in Haiti relief work, information regarding Cuban relief efforts in Haiti, and a request for info regarding USG relief operations on the ground in Haiti. WHA is following up on this matter, but pls convey this information to appropriate USAID and Task Force officials. We are prepared to offer medicine and other humanitarian supplies to Cuban relief personnel and have conveyed this to the Cuban government.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769047 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

Cuba has publicly expressed its willingness to cooperate, without any exception, with all countries that are offering assistance to the Haitian people in the midst of the tragedy facing them.

We wish to know what kind of cooperation would be that which is being suggested by the US authorities.

At this moment we have more than 400 health cooperation workers in Haiti. This medical staff is made up by specialists in General Comprehensive Medicine (MGI), surgeons, orthopedic doctors, intensivists, anesthesiologists, pediatricians, clinicians, radiologists, nurses, and other health technicians. They are currently working in all ten Departments of the country. The number of health specialists will increase as new medical assistance centers are open.

Added to these, hundreds of Haitian doctors graduated in Cuba, residents and fifth-year medicine students who are being mobilized both in Haiti and in Cuba will immediately join the staff that is assisting the emergency cases and the population in general.

More than two hundred health cooperation workers are offering their services in four centers of Port-au-Prince: Peace Hospital (Delmas

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769047 Date: 08/31/2015

33); Renaissance Hospital, Ofatma Hospital, Leoganne Hospital. We have also an Itinerant Primary Health Care Brigade that is assisting the crowds gathered in the down-town area who have not been able to get to the medical assistance posts, as well as in some outskirts villages such as Arcahaie, Lagonave Island, Carrefour and Petit Goave, including other regions such as Les Cayes and Nippes.

Besides, emergency services are also offered in five Comprehensive Diagnostics Centers -hospitals equipped with adequate technology- located in Mirebalais, Aquin, Grand Goave, Anse-a-Veu and Raboteau.

At this moment, medical doctors and paramedics from Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Spain and Canada, as well as members of the religious orders "Daughters of Charity" and "Missionaries of the Risen Christ" are working together with the Cuban medical staff.

We are also cooperating with Namibia and Norway to convey assistance to Haiti.

Members of MINUSTAH have been taking care of security at the Peace Hospital (Delmas 33), and the Pan-American Health

Organization (PAHO) has supplied our Medical Brigade with a number of medicines.

Our aid operations are being coordinated on the ground directly by our Ambassador to Haiti and the Head of the Cuban Medical Brigade.

Until January 18, the Cuban doctors had assisted 11 123 patients and performed 877 surgeries.

We need to know the location of the US hospitals or medical assistance centers installed in Port-au-Prince as well as their characteristics.

Cuba is concerned about the high number of persons affected who will require rehabilitation later on, and believes that this is one of the important aspects that need to be considered.

In the midst of the most tragic circumstances, there is a very dynamic process going on in Haiti. Cuba is trying to respond with utmost urgency to the additional needs and problems that are emerging. Any inaccuracy or change in data, which may result from

the need to urgently respond to the situation created, will be rectified and notified.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

[redacted] B5

**From:** Balderston, Kris M
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Mar 26 17:25:30 2010
**Subject:** FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

CM

[redacted] B5

Thghts

Kris

---

**From:** Haynie, Robert R
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 3:51 PM
**To:** Balderston, Kris M
**Subject:** FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

What do you think?

---

**From:** TJ Woodley [mailto[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** Haynie, Robert R
**Subject:** Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

Robert,

Are you sure that the USA Pavilion would not be in a sponsorship by Wynn Resorts (specifically Wynn Macau)? There CFO, Matt Maddox, has expressed strong interest.

The Wynn Macau well known brand in China and Steve Wynn is an extremely popular figure in China. In addition, he is well respected and well though of by the Chinese leadership and business leaders. A sponsorship by Wynn would be well received.

I should be able to get an answer by early next week, but don't want to look foolish if they would be rejected.

TJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Border Issues Update

fyi

---

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** Haiti DLC Distro; Schwartz, Eric P; Robinson, David M; Powell, Catherine
**Cc:** De Pirro, Velia M
**Subject:** FW: Border Issues Update

Border still functional and migration apparently under control. Julissa

---

**From:** Norman, Alain G
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 4:47 PM
**To:** Reynoso, Julissa; De Pirro, Velia M; Smith, Willard T; Schadrack, Geoffrey F
**Cc:** Schimmel, Mike R; Lambert, Christopher A; Fitzgibbons, Timothy T
**Subject:** Border Issues Update

The latest regarding border issues:

a) Per EmbOff, border at Jimani remained disorganized but functional as in recent days.

b) The flow of persons across the border is constant, but no mass influx. However, official figures under-report the numbers of people crossing, as the data reflect only those being processed correctly. Some Haitians are sneaking across the border, per USG official. Haitian media also report "tens of thousands" leaving Port-au-Prince, some for the DR border. However, police officials say they have not seen increased illegal entry attempts in the mountains around the Jimani crossing.

c) A Haitian immigration official said that as of 1pm on 1/19 he had issued approximately 600 laissez-passes to travelers without documents. Dominican authorities at the other side of the border crossing are generally turning away travelers without a valid visa or official travel document. Medical emergency cases continue being allowed in.

d) The border crossing at Jimani was closed for 45 minutes after the Haitian colonel in charge of customs on the Haitian side began demanding "manifests" from vehicles trying to bring assistance across. GODR officials managed to talk the colonel into backing down, but plan to seek his removal. (Note: It is unclear whether this was an attempt at rent-seeking by the Haitian official, but some reporting implied that. End Note).

e) As the next Market Day in Jimani will be Thursday, efforts are already underway to see if market activities that day can be organized so as not to block/hamper through-put of assistance / evacuation vehicles.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED based on the definitions provided in E.O.12958.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Border Issues Update

Not now - calling [redacted] then going to bed. B6

XO

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Jan 19 21:24:50 2010
Subject: Re: Border Issues Update

Ok. Anything else to discuss? Hope you get some sleep.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 19 21:00:00 2010
Subject: FW: Border Issues Update

fyi

From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:40 PM
To: Haiti DLC Distro; Schwartz, Eric P; Robinson, David M; Powell, Catherine
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: FW: Border Issues Update

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SBU

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

I am traveling outside of the country, with intermittent access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv, Toivnf@state.gov, 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, 202-647-5548.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti

---

**From:** Kelly, Craig A
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Jan 19 21:38:15 2010
**Subject:** Re: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti

Hi Cheryl. We already are. This note is a response to our offer to help get supplies to Cuban doctors. We are following up on the ground. Note delivered by Cuban Interests Section chief to me today, and we have informed Cubans that we will reach out in PaP. It's a good way to ibcrease emergency med care to Haitians. Best, ck

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Reynoso, Julissa; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kelly, Craig A
**Sent:** Tue Jan 19 20:58:16 2010
**Subject:** RE: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti

I think we should consider doing

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:46 PM
**To:** Haiti DLC Distro; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E; O'Neill, Maura (AID/A)
**Subject:** Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti
**Importance:** High

Interesting offer to cooperate re Haiti by Cuban Govt. FYI. Julissa

---

**From:** Zuniga, Ricardo F
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1
**Cc:** 'Gray, Eugene'; Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Webster, Christopher W; De Pirro, Velia M
**Subject:** FW: Haiti Note
**Importance:** High

Task Force – the attached diplomatic note was shared with PDAS Kelly by Cuban Interests Section Chief of Mission Jorge Bolaños today at 2:30 pm. It is an offer to cooperate in Haiti relief work, information regarding Cuban relief efforts in Haiti, and a request for info regarding USG relief operations on the ground in Haiti. WHA is following up on this matter, but pls convey this information to appropriate USAID and Task Force officials. We are prepared to offer medicine and other humanitarian supplies to Cuban relief personnel and have conveyed this to the Cuban government.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:58 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** NYT Mag

That was great, thank you for doing

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 6:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Are you up?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls confirmed

730 Afghan FM Rasoul
745 Maldivian President Nasheed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 9:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** On the ground in miami

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: It Never Rains.....

fyi

**From:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 10:53 PM
**To:** Smith, Daniel B; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** 'Susan Merten'
**Subject:** It Never Rains.....

I just got called by the French Ambo. [redacted] has had a cerebral haemmorage and needs to be medivaced. We're working on getting [redacted] on a plane to Miami. [redacted] was medivaced today. Army doctors tell me they just did their 100th operation in our multi-purpose (aptly named) conference room -- including 4 amputations. They joked: "Sorry, but you're gonna need a new carpet sir." B6

Let's see what tomorrow brings....

Kenneth Merten
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti
Tel: 509-2-229-8000

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

---

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:29 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

Cheryl

I have been telling them for the last several days that they need to do rotations

Glad to see t hat they have come to the same conclusion

My ExecAsst is already working with WHA Mgt Director to plan this out

Regards

pat

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:19 AM
**To:** Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** RE: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

Adding Pat so we start planning for this.

---

**From:** Lindwall, David E
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

The regional psychiatrist is coming in tomorrow. I will meet with him as soon as he arrives and lay out the situation for him and ask for his advice. It is clear that we need to start rotating personnel out soon even if it is just for a couple of days. I will work on Consular and the Control Room team to start these rotations. We will need to see if our medevacuees will become permanent before looking for replacements.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 10:35 PM

**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** Lindwall, David E
**Subject:** RE: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

In the end they only medivaced one today. The other two still under observation. We could probably use good replacements. David? KM

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

What about us rotating some other folks down and letting them come home?

---

**From:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 11:19 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** FW: Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

FYI. KM

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 11:16 AM
**To:** Yun, Thomas W; Penner, Gary D; David, Panakkal
**Cc:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Smith, Daniel B; Zareski, Karen B
**Subject:** Need Psychological Professional(s) Please

Gentlemen,

I believe we need a psychological specialist sent here as soon as possible. We're having to medivac two folks due to nerves and high blood pressure and another one is simply not able to function (psychevac). [redacted] I am worried about the Consular staff as well: very tired, stressed and overworked. I hope you could get someone down here tomorrow if possible. B6

We also need to get some people out of this building (my problem, I know). It's a real ant farm and a health disaster waiting to happen.

Thanks.

Kenneth Merten
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti
Tel: 509-2-229-8000

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

K

Taking off

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 19:26:55 2010
Subject: Re: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Mar 26 18:33:24 2010
Subject: Fw: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

[redacted]

---

From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 17:25:30 2010
Subject: FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

CM

[redacted]

Thghts

Kris

From: Haynie, Robert R
Sent: Friday, March 26, 2010 3:51 PM
To: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

What do you think?

From: TJ Woodley [mailto] B6
Sent: Friday, March 26, 2010 3:02 PM
To: Haynie, Robert R
Subject: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

Robert,

Are you sure that the USA Pavilion would not be in a sponsorship by Wynn Resorts (specifically Wynn Macau)? There CFO, Matt Maddox, has expressed strong interest.

The Wynn Macau well known brand in China and Steve Wynn is an extremely popular figure in China. In addition, he is well respected and well though of by the Chinese leadership and business leaders. A sponsorship by Wynn would be well received.

I should be able to get an answer by early next week, but don't want to look foolish if they would be rejected.

TJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 1:06 PM
**To:** H; McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** RE: US radio

Already doing so; will intensify.

PJ

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 12:19 PM
To: McHale, Judith A; Crowley, Philip J
Subject: US radio

Can you also put people on domestic radio, including talk shows getting out info and answering questions?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jeffrey L Farrow [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 3:17 PM
**To:** Jake Sullivan
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Lew call to Palau Pres. Today

**Importance:** High

Jake, Jack is to call Palau's president later today, presumably to unveil and push a new free association aid proposal. The proposal can succeed or fail depending upon how it is handled and flexibility in working out details.
The amount has been discussed as $250 million thru FY24 -- and I think that amount could be made to work -- but it is handicapped by a plan to take out of that up to $18.75 m for the other two freely associated states and count $13.3 m in already appropriated funding. Most
important is a willingness to sit down and mutually work out terms.
As I've said, I think the Compact Review can succeed if there is real
dialogue vs. 'This is it' proposals. It is also critical to
understand Pres. Toribiong astutely set up a small team of key Palau leaders for the Review to ensure that a proposal can gain full approval in Palau and he and they are working in complete unison. Jeff

Jeff

Jeffrey L. Farrow
[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 9:09 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk this am?

Will call after 1pm - on calls until 11am to get legislation

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Sat Mar 27 08:25:24 2010
Subject: Can you talk this am?

I'm free until 10:30 and after 1. Sorry I couldn't get back to you last night.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 4:08 PM
To: H
Subject: just one quick thought especially in light of recent events... Sid

Your speech tomorrow should be crystal clear, explicit and tough on China and spell out the economic consequences not just for the Chinese and their future but for the economic future of ordinary working people in the USA and their stake in successful diplomacy on the issue and why their future is the basis of our national interest. The future of the middle class is the future of the United States; the interests of the middle class are at the heart of the national interest, etc. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Dorothy Height

Madame Secretary, April Ryan asked me to pass along to you that Dorothy Height has taken a turn for the worse and is not expected to survive long.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; H; Reines, Philippe I
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Dorothy Height

Thx pj.
Adding philippe too cause a joint draft statement is in the works.

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Mar 27 10:51:11 2010
**Subject:** Dorothy Height

Madame Secretary, April Ryan asked me to pass along to you that Dorothy Height has taken a turn for the worse and is not expected to survive long.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 2:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

Want to let you know about an ops alert we just got, will keep u updated:
Ahmed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, younger brother of UAE President Khalifa bin Zayed al Nahyan, is presumed dead following a glider crash in a Moroccan lake on Friday. Sources close to embassy report UAE authorities will make the formal announcement after the conclusion of a significant horse racing event in Dubai later on March 27.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Lavrov

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Lavrov

Yep.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 20 09:55:48 2010
Subject: Re: Lavrov

Can you run the traps [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 20 09:27:19 2010
Subject: Lavrov

[redacted]

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 10:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Follow up

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 11:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Follow up

B5

Bill and I discussed [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 20 10:58:55 2010
Subject: Re: Follow up

Ok but [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 10:54:07 2010
Subject: Follow up

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 1:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

This is what we propose to put out, with Rs putting out similar:

Today, Secretary Clinton spoke by telephone with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov. They discussed preparations for the upcoming June 24 summit between President Obama and President Medvedev. Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Lavrov reveiwed developments in Kyrgyzstan and stressed their shared concern over the recent violence and continuing interethnic tensions. The ministers agreed that the issue of the upcoming referendum us the sovereign decision of Kyrgyzstan to make and agreed to encourage the authorities of Kyrgyzstan to conduct it according to international standards with the monitoring support of OSCE and others. The ministers also discussed coordination of U.S. and Russian humanitarian assistance and other support to Kyrgyzstan to help its authorities restore security, stability, and reconciliation among all citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 1:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Roger that.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 20 13:13:07 2010
Subject: Re: Statement

Ok but be sure it's proofread

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 13:07:04 2010
Subject: Statement

This is what we propose to put out, with Rs putting out similar:

Today, Secretary Clinton spoke by telephone with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov. They discussed preparations for the upcoming June 24 summit between President Obama and President Medvedev. Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Lavrov reveiwed developments in Kyrgyzstan and stressed their shared concern over the recent violence and continuing interethnic tensions. The ministers agreed that the issue of the upcoming referendum us the sovereign decision of Kyrgyzstan to make and agreed to encourage the authorities of Kyrgyzstan to conduct it according to international standards with the monitoring support of OSCE and others. The ministers also discussed coordination of U.S. and Russian humanitarian assistance and other support to Kyrgyzstan to help its authorities restore security, stability, and reconciliation among all citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 1:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Russian MFA plans to release a parallel press statement shortly and is faxing us the text.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 20 13:13:07 2010
Subject: Re: Statement

Ok but be sure it's proofread

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 13:07:04 2010
Subject: Statement

This is what we propose to put out, with Rs putting out similar:

Today, Secretary Clinton spoke by telephone with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov. They discussed preparations for the upcoming June 24 summit between President Obama and President Medvedev. Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Lavrov reveiwed developments in Kyrgyzstan and stressed their shared concern over the recent violence and continuing interethnic tensions. The ministers agreed that the issue of the upcoming referendum us the sovereign decision of Kyrgyzstan to make and agreed to encourage the authorities of Kyrgyzstan to conduct it according to international standards with the monitoring support of OSCE and others. The ministers also discussed coordination of U.S. and Russian humanitarian assistance and other support to Kyrgyzstan to help its authorities restore security, stability, and reconciliation among all citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 12:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI, Sid

- Close Window

- Print this page

From The Sunday Times
March 28, 2010

# It's over: MPs say the special relationship with US is dead

Winston Churchill, Franklin D Roosevelt and Josef Stalin
Michael Smith

BRITAIN'S special relationship with the US — forged by Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt in the second world war — no longer exists, says a committee of influential MPs.

Instead, America's relationship with Britain is no more special than with its other main allies, according to a report by the Commons foreign affairs committee published today.

The report also warns that the perception of the UK after the Iraq war as America's "subservient poodle" has been highly damaging to Britain's reputation and interests around the world. The MPs conclude that British prime ministers have to learn to be less deferential to US presidents and be "willing to say no" to America.

The report, entitled Global Security: UK-US Relations, says Britain's relationship with America is "extremely close and valuable" in a number of areas, particularly intelligence co-operation. However, it adds that the use of the phrase special relationship, in its historical sense, "is potentially misleading and we recommend that its use should be avoided".

It does not reflect the "ever-evolving" relationship between the two countries and raises unrealistic expectations, the MPs say.

"Over the longer term, the UK is unlikely to be able to influence the US to the extent it has in the past," the committee adds.

In an apparent rebuke to Tony Blair and his relationship with President George W Bush, the report says there are "many lessons" to be learnt from Britain's political approach towards the US over Iraq.

"The perception that the British government was a subservient poodle to the US administration is widespread both among the British public and overseas," the MPs say. "This perception, whatever its relation to reality, is deeply damaging to the reputation and interests of the UK."

While the relationship between the American president and the British prime minister was an important part of dealings between the two countries, the cabinet and parliament also had a role to play. "The UK needs to be less deferential and more willing to say no to the US on those issues where the two countries' interests and values diverge," the MPs say.

They are also critical of the US use of extraordinary rendition and torture. The report calls for a comprehensive review of the use by the CIA of British bases, such as that on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia, to carry out extraordinary rendition.

"The issues relating to rendition through Diego Garcia to which we have previously drawn attention raise disturbing questions about the uses to which US bases on British territory are put", the MPs say.
They express regret at "considerable restraints" on the ability of both the government and parliament to scrutinise US activities carried out on British territory.
"We recommend that the government should establish a comprehensive review of the current arrangements governing US military use of facilities within the UK and in British overseas territories." The review should "identify shortcomings in the current system of scrutiny and oversight ... and report to parliament on proposals to remedy these".
The report also demands a statement from the government on the implications of the Court of Appeal judgment regarding the alleged collusion of MI5 in the torture of Binyam Mohamed, a British resident.
Last month the court ordered the government to release evidence from American intelligence reports which showed that MI5 was aware of the torture.
Senior US officials subsequently suggested that releasing such evidence might prevent the US from sharing some intelligence with Britain.
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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 3:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Mo9rt Zuckerman

From haim.

**From:** Haim Saban [redacted] B6
**To:** Doug Band [redacted] Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sun Jun 20 13:23:55 2010
**Subject:** Mo9rt Zuckerman

This is a must read,,,,and your bosses too.

WOW!!!! What a hatchet job,,,this is the very strong "Coffeee party",,,,forget the tea party,,,, they're chicken sh,,,, compared to this.Just the tilte,,,,

Mort Zuckerman: World Sees Obama as Incompetent and Amateur
The president is well-intentioned but can't walk the walk on the world stage
By Mortimer B. Zuckerman
Posted June 18, 2010

President Obama came into office as the heir to a great foreign policy legacy enjoyed by every recent U.S. president. Why? Because the United States stands on top of the power ladder, not necessarily as the dominant power, but certainly as the leading one. As such we are the sole nation capable of exercising global leadership on a whole range of international issues from security, trade, and climate to counterterrorism. We also benefit from the fact that most countries distrust the United States far less than they distrust one another, so we uniquely have the power to build coalitions. As a result, most of the world still looks to Washington for help in their region and protection against potential regional threats.

Yet, the Iraq war lingers; Afghanistan continues to be immersed in an endless cycle of tribalism, corruption, and Islamist resurgence; Guantánamo remains open; Iran sees how North Korea toys with Obama and continues its programs to develop nuclear weapons and missiles; Cuba spurns America's offers of a greater opening; and the Palestinians and Israelis find that it is U.S. policy positions that defer serious negotiations, the direct opposite of what the Obama administration hoped for.

The reviews of Obama's performance have been disappointing. He has seemed uncomfortable in the role of leading other nations, and often seems to suggest there is nothing special about America's role in the world. The global community was puzzled over the pictures of Obama bowing to some of the world's leaders and surprised by his gratuitous criticisms of and apologies for America's foreign policy under the previous administration of George W. Bush. One Middle East authority, Fouad Ajami, pointed out that Obama seems unaware that it is bad form and even a great moral lapse to speak ill of one's own tribe while in the lands of others.

Even in Britain, for decades our closest ally, the talk in the press—supported by polls—is about the end of the "special relationship" with America. French President Nicolas Sarkozy openly criticized Obama for months, including a direct attack on his policies at the United Nations. Sarkozy cited the need to recognize the real world, not the virtual world, a clear reference to Obama's speech on nuclear weapons. When the French president is seen as tougher than the American president, you have to know that something is awry. Vladimir Putin of Russia has publicly scorned a number of

Obama's visions. Relations with the Chinese leadership got off to a bad start with the president's poorly-organized visit to China, where his hosts treated him disdainfully and prevented him from speaking to a national television audience of the Chinese people. The Chinese behavior was unprecedented when compared to visits by other U.S. presidents.

Obama's policy on Afghanistan—supporting a surge in troops, but setting a date next year when they will begin to withdraw—not only gave a mixed signal, but provided an incentive for the Taliban just to wait us out. The withdrawal part of the policy was meant to satisfy a domestic constituency, but succeeded in upsetting all of our allies in the region. Further anxiety was provoked by Obama's severe public criticism of Afghan President Hamid Karzai and his coterie of family and friends for their lackluster leadership, followed by a reversal of sorts regarding the same leaders.

Obama clearly wishes to do good and means well. But he is one of those people who believe that the world was born with the word and exists by means of persuasion, such that there is no person or country that you cannot, by means of logical and moral argument, bring around to your side. He speaks as a teacher, as someone imparting values and generalities appropriate for a Sunday morning sermon, not as a tough-minded leader. He urges that things "must be done" and "should be done" and that "it is time" to do them. As the former president of the Council on Foreign Relations, Les Gelb, put it, there is "the impression that Obama might confuse speeches with policy." Another journalist put it differently when he described Obama as an "NPR [National Public Radio] president who gives wonderful speeches." In other words, he talks the talk but doesn't know how to walk the walk. The Obama presidency has so far been characterized by a well-intentioned but excessive belief in the power of rhetoric with too little appreciation of reality and loyalty.

In his Cairo speech about America and the Muslim world, Obama managed to sway Arab public opinion but was unable to budge any Arab leader. Even the king of Saudi Arabia, a country that depends on America for its survival, reacted with disappointment and dismay. Obama's meeting with the king was widely described as a disaster. This is but one example of an absence of the personal chemistry that characterized the relationships that Presidents Clinton and Bush had with world leaders. This is a serious matter because foreign policy entails an understanding of the personal and political circumstances of the leaders as well as the cultural and historical factors of the countries we deal with.

Les Gelb wrote of Obama, "He is so self-confident that he believes he can make decisions on the most complicated of issues after only hours of discussion." Strategic decisions go well beyond being smart, which Obama certainly is. They must be based on experience that discerns what works, what doesn't—and why. This requires experienced staffing, which Obama and his top appointees simply do not seem to have. Or as one Middle East commentator put it, "There are always two chess games going on. One is on the top of the table, the other is below the table. The latter is the one that counts, but the Americans don't know how to play that game."

Recent U.S. attempts to introduce more meaningful sanctions against Iran produced a U.N. resolution that is way less than the "crippling" sanctions the administration promised. The United States even failed to achieve the political benefit of a unanimous Security Council vote. Turkey, the Muslim anchor of NATO for almost 60 years, and Brazil, our largest ally in Latin America, voted against our resolution. Could it be that these long-standing U.S. allies, who gave cover to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Iran's nuclear ambitions, have decided that there is no cost in lining up with America's most serious enemies and no gain in lining up with this administration?

The end result is that a critical mass of influential people in world affairs who once held high hopes for the president have begun to wonder whether they misjudged the man. They are no longer dazzled by his rock star personality and there is a sense that there is something amateurish and even incompetent about how Obama is managing U.S. power. For example, Obama has asserted that America is not at war with the Muslim world. The problem is that parts of the Muslim world are at war with America and the West. Obama feels, fairly enough, that America must be contrite in its dealings with the Muslim world. But he has failed to address the religious intolerance, failing economies, tribalism, and gender apartheid that together contribute to jihadist extremism. This was startling and clear when he chose not to publicly support the Iranians who went to the streets in opposition to their oppressive government, based on a judgment that our support might be counterproductive. Yet, he reaches out instead to the likes of Bashar Assad of Syria, Iran's agent in the Arab world, sending our ambassador back to Syria even as it continues to rearm Hezbollah in Lebanon and expands its role in the Iran-Hezbollah-Hamas alliance.

The underlying issue is that the Arab world has different estimates on how to deal with an aggressive, expansionist Iran. The Arabs believe you do not deal with Iran with the open hand of a handshake but with the clenched fist of power. Arab leaders fear an Iran proceeding full steam with its nuclear weapons program on top of its programs to develop intermediate-range ballistic missiles. All the while centrifuges keep spinning in Iran, and Arab leaders ask whether Iran will be emboldened by what they interpret as American weakness and faltering willpower. They did not see Obama or his administration as understanding the region, where naiveté is interpreted as a weakness of character, as amateurism, and as proof of the absence of the tough stuff of which leaders are made. (That's why many Arab leaders were appalled at the decision to have a civilian trial of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in New York. After 9/11, many of them had engaged in secret counterterrorism activities under the umbrella of an American promise that these activities would never be made public; now they feared that this would be the exact consequence of an open trial.)

America right now appears to be unreliable to traditional friends, compliant to rivals, and weak to enemies. One renowned Asian leader stated recently at a private dinner in the United States, "We in Asia are convinced that Obama is not strong enough to confront his opponents, but we fear that he is not strong enough to support his friends."

The United States for 60 years has met its responsibilities as the leader and the defender of the democracies of the free world. We have policed the sea lanes, protected the air and space domains, countered terrorism, responded to genocide, and been the bulwark against rogue states engaging in aggression. The world now senses, in the context of the erosion of America's economic power and the pressures of our budget deficits, that we will compress our commitments. But the world needs the vision, idealism, and strong leadership that America brings to international affairs. This can be done and must be done. But we are the only ones who can do it.

http://www.usnews.com/articles/opinion/2010/06/18/mort-zuckerman-world-sees-obama-as-incompetent-and-amateur.html

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** H

MS -- As you may recall, [redacted] B6

[redacted] Do you think that would work?

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct)

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 5:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mitchell-Ashton

Below is a readout of Mitchell's meeting with Ashton. Recommendation is for you to [redacted] I've sent points to Huma.

David followed up with Russian envoy who hadn't heard from Lavrov, but David feels comfortable having you [redacted] B5

[redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 06/19/2035**

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 11:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Davut

Here's where things stand, from Jeffrey:

Called Davut when efforts to get Sinir failed (on plane prob). Davut confirmed substance of Jake S's comments to me, said he Davut had one hour to get statement out to meet TU press cycle, and said Namik Tan would contact me asap with proposed text. That said Davut then described substance of what he thought should be in it (he also was not clear on whether it to be a joint statement, coordinated sep statements or just a TU statement that we'd OK and thus support once out). However he did say he wanted to put in statement [redacted] B5

[redacted] We went back and forth on that and both conluded Namik and I would work out. Will get back asap. Jim

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 10:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Am up and availabe until 1030pm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 7:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Gay) International News #843- 21 June 2010

FYI

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS #843
June 21, 2010
by Rex Wockner
==========

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Iceland legalizes same-sex marriage

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The Icelandic parliament, Alþingi, legalized same-sex marriage June 11. The vote was 49-0. Fourteen MPs skipped the vote.

Same-sex couples will be able to marry starting June 27.

The registered-partnership apparatus that gay couples used in the past will no longer be available.

The national LGBT association, Samtökin 78, said Iceland had removed the last obstacle to equal rights for all.

Iceland is the ninth nation where same-sex couples can marry nationwide and the 11th nation where same-sex marriage is possible.

Icelandic Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir is openly lesbian.

Gay marriage also is legal in Belgium, Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Mexico City, Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Washington, D.C.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Quartet statement

Below is the final text of the Quartet statement, which Lavrov, Ban, and Ashton have now agreed to release *without a call.* Sounds like your discussion with Lavrov did the trick:

The Quartet re-affirms that the current situation in Gaza, including the humanitarian and human rights situation of the civilian population, is unsustainable, unacceptable, and not in the interests of any of those concerned. The Quartet reiterates its call for a solution that addresses Israel's legitimate security concerns, including an end to weapons smuggling into Gaza; promotes Palestinian unity based on the Palestine Liberation Organization commitments and the reunification of Gaza and the West Bank under the legitimate Palestinian Authority; and ensures the unimpeded flow of humanitarian aid, commercial goods and persons to and from Gaza, consistent with United Nations Security Council resolution 1860 (2009). The Quartet declares its readiness to work closely with Israel, the Palestinian Government and international donors in order to achieve sustainable economic development on the basis of the full implementation of the Agreement on Access and Movement of 2005 and in the broader perspective of the two-state solution.

Consistent with these objectives, the Quartet and the Quartet Representative have worked with Israel, as well as consulting the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, and other concerned parties, to effect a fundamental change in policy in Gaza. The new policy towards Gaza just announced by the Government of Israel is a welcome development. The Quartet notes that the elaboration of further details and modalities of implementation will be important in ensuring the effectiveness of the new policy. Full and effective implementation will comprise a significant shift in strategy towards meeting the needs of Gaza's population for humanitarian and commercial goods, civilian reconstruction and infrastructure, and legitimate economic activity as well as the security needs of Israel. The Quartet will continue to work with Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and other concerned parties to ensure these arrangements are implemented as quickly as possible. The Quartet affirms that much work remains to achieve fully the solution stated above, and, in consultation with the concerned parties, it will monitor closely the implementation of the policy in all its aspects. It will actively explore additional ways to improve the situation in Gaza, encourage involvement of the PA at the crossings and promote greater commerce between the West Bank and Gaza.

The Quartet stresses the importance of United Nations and other international interventions, as well as the work of local non-governmental organizations, to be expanded in Gaza to meet urgent civilian needs, and calls on all parties to fully enable this work.

The Quartet recognizes that Israel has legitimate security concerns that must continue to be safeguarded, and believes efforts to maintain security while enabling movement and access for Palestinian people and goods are critical. The Quartet commits to work with Israel and the international community to prevent the illicit trafficking of arms and ammunition into Gaza. It urges all those wishing to deliver goods to do so through established channels so that their cargo can be inspected and transferred via land crossings into Gaza. The Quartet emphasizes that there is no need for unnecessary confrontations and calls on all parties to act responsibly in meeting the needs of the people of Gaza.

The Quartet also calls for an end to the deplorable detention of Gilad Shalit in advance of the fourth anniversary of his capture on June 25; it further condemns the violation of Hamas' international obligation to provide him access by the International Committee of the Red Cross and demands that Hamas immediately remedy the situation.

The Quartet also reiterates its support for proximity talks toward the resumption, without pre-conditions, of direct bilateral negotiations that resolve all final status issues as previously agreed by the parties. The Quartet believes these

negotiations should lead to a settlement, negotiated between the parties within 24 months, that ends the occupation which began in 1967 and results in the emergence of an independent, democratic, and viable Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 12:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged (for S)

Article from cdm

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Mon May 03 12:26:16 2010
**Subject:** Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged (for S)

The Washington Post

# Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged

By Jackson Diehl
Monday, May 3, 2010; A15

Barack Obama's foreign policy has been defined so far by his attempts to "engage" with adversaries or rivals of the United States, such as Ayatollah Ali Khamenei of Iran and Dmitry Medvedev of Russia. The results have been mixed. But now the president's focus is visibly shifting. In the next 18 months, Obama's record abroad will be made or broken by his ability to do business with two nominal U.S. allies: Hamid Karzai and Binyamin Netanyahu.

Karzai has become the hardest problem in Obama's Afghanistan surge, one that might be summed up as "can't win with him, can't win without him." Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu holds the key to whether Israel will be prepared to accept a Palestinian state within the two-year time frame Obama has established -- and also, perhaps, whether Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons will lead to war.

Both men are prickly and somewhat inscrutable. Both know their countries and their own careers depend on support from the United States, but both are also resistant to key elements of Obama's policies. Handling them well requires skillful and subtle diplomacy by the U.S. president and by those who carry out his policies.

And Obama has not done well. In fact, his treatment of the Israeli and Afghan leaders during one week in late March -- immediately after his victory on health care -- marked a low point of his performance as president.

First, Obama seized on an errant Israeli announcement about housing construction in East Jerusalem to reopen a pointless battle with Netanyahu. During a disastrous March 23 meeting at the White House, Obama demanded -- in vain -- that Israel stop all building in Jerusalem; and at one point he left Netanyahu and his delegation to stew in the Roosevelt room while he retired to the second-floor residence for dinner.

Five days later, Obama flew to Kabul for another cold meeting, this time with Karzai. In a briefing for reporters on the plane, national security adviser James Jones made it clear that Obama was displeased with Karzai's lack of progress since beginning a new term as president last fall. In case there was any doubt, Obama spelled out that dissatisfaction in a television interview a day after his return.

Was it hubris from health care that brought on this burst of presidential imperialism? Whatever the cause, the results were disastrous. Netanyahu retreated to Jerusalem, where, after a couple of weeks of sulking, he defiantly announced that settlement construction in Jerusalem would continue. Karzai summoned Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to Kabul, then delivered a tirade against Western interference that concluded with a threat to join the Taliban.

The administration has spent the past month cleaning up this mess. Obama abruptly changed his approach, sending a note to Karzai in early April thanking him for the Kabul visit and confirming his invitation to visit Washington in May -- a trip that, just days earlier, the White House had hinted at canceling. Meanwhile, the president and a good part of his Cabinet have been heaping love on Israel -- if not precisely Netanyahu -- by proclaiming their commitment to the relationship in speech after speech before pro-Israel groups.

The result is that the administration now has a detailed plan for working with Karzai over the next several months. Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, which have been delayed for two months by the flap over Jerusalem, might finally begin this week. Quiet diplomacy by the administration's special envoys in the Middle East and Afghanistan, George Mitchell and Richard Holbrooke, has achieved what presidential lectures did not.

The underlying problems, however, haven't changed. Karzai still has little appetite for attacking the corruption in his government or rallying support for U.S. military campaigns against the Taliban. Netanyahu remains wedded to a right-wing coalition that would not allow him to make significant concessions in peace negotiations, even if he wanted to.

Obama has to find a way to coax each of them toward a change of course. Public bullying won't do it. Assurances of U.S. support and stroking by special envoys go only so far. What's missing is personal chemistry and confidence, the construction of a bond between leaders that can persuade a U.S. ally to take a risk; in other words, presidential "engagement." Isn't that what Obama promised?

Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 3:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Information about [redacted] of Little Rock B6

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**From**: Carland, John M <CarlandJM@state.gov>
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Sun Mar 28 12:34:01 2010
**Subject**: RE: Information about [redacted] of Little Rock

I read Secretary Clinton's very nice 22 March statement about [redacted]. The Secretary's remarks were just right. I am certain that Cal and the children greatly appreciated them.

No need to respond. You guys are busy enough.

John

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 5:04 PM
**To:** Carland, John M
**Subject:** Re: Information about [redacted] of Little Rock

John

Thank you for sharing this infor w/ me. I will share it w/ the secretary and president clinton.

**From**: Carland, John M <CarlandJM@state.gov>
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Mon Mar 15 14:05:46 2010
**Subject**: Information about [redacted] of Little Rock

Dear Ms. Mills:

It may be inappropriate for me to do this and if so I apologize in advance but I thought Secretary Clinton might want to know, and probably didn't, about [redacted] terminal illness. My understanding is that the Clintons' and [redacted] paths crossed in Arkansas politics in the past and in a friendly way.

I know all of this because I am originally from Little Rock, and have been told of [redacted] turn for the worse by a friend who teaches at UALR and knows [redacted] Additionally, [redacted] who served in the state legislature for a decade or so, was my undergraduate advisor at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock in the 1960s. B6

I am emailing you in your capacity as the Secretary's chief of staff.

Again, my apologies if this is something I shouldn't have done.

Sincerely,

John M. Carland
Senior Historian
Office of the Historian
Department of State

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 12:49 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Tauscher, Ellen O
**Subject:** The Walk Out

We are characterizing it this way. Our only rep in the chair, a working-level officer, walked out with many other countries in solidarity over the first of a series of accusations in his speech. We are trying to keep our first response limited. Later we can add more specificity.

PJ

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 3:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Cathy Ashton

As I mentioned last week, I was on a panel at the Brussels forum with Lady Ashton (who insisted everyone call her Cathy), Estonian president Toomas Ilves, and Senator Voinovich. Ashton and I essentially reinforced each other at every turn and presented a very positive vision of US-EU partnership. She has scored some significant victories lately, most notably that development will be included in the European Action Service (EAS) rather than sitting at a separate desk (the formula we are seeking rather than the DFID formula). EU defense staff will also be included in the EAS. Indeed, Ashton chairs the European Council whenever the 27 foreign ministers, development ministers, or defense ministers meet -- the ultimate integrated frame. She also has control over a number of the smaller development and state-building budgets, though I gather the biggest development fund is still in dispute between her and the development commissioner. Apparently, however, the enlargement commissioner took his cues from her on strategy and policy and then presented his implementation plans to the Council, which is the role she wants. We should be able to build on the way the EU is organizing in pushing pushing our own integrated frame here.

B5

I hope everything goes well on Ottawa and NY. Bob Hormats and I will send a note on other aspects of Brussels forum, where US was well represented. AM

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: FW: Recruit Afghan women to sell war to Europeans: CIA report

Interesting.

Recruit Afghan women to sell war to Europeans: CIA report

WASHINGTON, March 27, 2010 (AFP) - A CIA expert has called for recruiting Afghan women in a public relations bid to persuade skeptical Europeans to support the NATO-led war effort, according to a document leaked Friday.

"Afghan women could serve as ideal messengers in humanizing" the mission for European audiences, particularly in France, according to the CIA analysis, posted on WikiLeaks, a whistleblower website.

The views of Afghan women would carry special weight as they could express "their aspirations for the future, and their fears of a Taliban victory," it said.

The Central Intelligence Agency declined to confirm or deny if the document was genuine. But WikiLeaks has previously posted government and corporate documents that were later verified.

The report by a CIA expert on "strategic communications" and State Department analysts of public opinion warned that popular support for the war in Europe was weak and could easily collapse, citing the recent fall of the Dutch government over the issue.

"The tone of previous debate suggests that a spike in French or German casualties or in Afghan civilian casualties could become a tipping point in converting passive opposition into active calls for immediate withdrawal," it said.

The analysis, dated March 11, suggested public relations strategies to drum up support for the war in Germany and France, which maintain the third and fourth largest troop deployments in Afghanistan.

"Outreach initiatives that create media opportunities for Afghan women to share their stories with French, German, and other European women could help to overcome pervasive skepticism among women in Western Europe toward the ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) mission," it said.

Public relations efforts could "tap into acute French concern for civilians and refugees," the report said, suggesting highlighting polls that show most Afghans support the presence of coalition troops.

Such an approach could stress the potential dangers facing Afghan civilians if NATO-led troops were defeated and "leverage French (and other European) guilt for abandoning them."

"The prospect of the Taliban rolling back hard-won progress on girls' education could provoke French indignation, become a rallying point for France's largely secular public, and give voters a reason to support a good and necessary cause despite casualties."

For German audiences, marketing efforts should underline how Afghans are reportedly optimistic about the NATO mission and how an international retreat would damage Germany's interests.

"For example, messages that illustrate how a defeat in Afghanistan could heighten Germany's exposure to terrorism, opium, and refugees might help to make the war more salient to skeptics," it said.

The report also suggested taking advantage of President Barack Obama's popularity in France and Germany,

arguing that appeals from the US president on the importance of the allied role in the war could have a positive effect.

The memorandum is titled: "Afghanistan: Sustaining West European Support for the NATO-led Mission -- Why Counting on Apathy Might Not Be Enough."

Media Analysis and Watch Center
USSTRATCOM Foreign Media Analysis Program
SOS International Ltd.
www.sosiltd.com

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Putin trip

Will do. I'll talk to Ryabkov in the morning. Bill

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:19 PM
To: Burns, William J; 'wburns66 [redacted] B6
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Putin trip

Bill--My husband cannot go w PM Putin in mid-April because of his schedule, but he would be very interested in doing such events w the PM in the future. Will you pls pass on to the Russians? Thx. HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NPR

Will follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 28 21:26:42 2010
Subject: NPR

I've reviewed the memo from Bob and Derek and can agree w its comments but would like to know what Jim thinks.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 9:05 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** FW: INR Russian Public Opinion in Perspective
**Attachments:** 6-21-10_Public_Opinion_in_Perspective_Russia.pdf

FYI. Good news on at least one front.

jm

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**From:** Shema, Alexandra G
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 8:23 AM
**To:** Black, David(DCHA/DG); Abramson, David M; Andrew, Robert B (San Jose); Armstrong, John L; Balian, John O; 'Barry Keith'; Bartoletti, Marietta; Bennett, Kirk; Biedlingmaier, Mark J; Bistransky, Sheryl J; Bodoin, Suzanne L (Basrah); Boehme, Robert W; [redacted] (EUCOM)'; 'Brian'; 'Brocking, Elisabeth'; Bryza, Matthew J; 'Burghart, Daniel '; Cameron, Mark M; [redacted] (EUCOM)'; Chang, Charles; Cleary, Colin M; Cook, Nerissa J; Countryman, Mary E; Crowley, Philip J; Danies, Joel D; Davidson, Terry R; 'Davis, Toby'; de la Rambelje, Laura L (DRL); Denig, Paul; DiCarlo, Rosemary A (USUN); Dille, Benjamin B (Basrah); DiMartino, Kitty; Dorsey, Liane R; ECA_A_E_EUR ; ECA-Eurasia; 'Ellison, Janine'; EUR-RUS-DL; Faucher, Robert J; Feinberg, Susan R; Fitzgerald, Christopher; [redacted] (DNI) '; Flannigan, Matthew J; 'Frank, Jose'; Fried, Daniel; Friedt, Anita E; Furst, Colin P; Garber, Judith G; Goldberg, David B; Grauer, Kristen K (Baghdad); Greenberg, Allen S; Grutz, Rebecca; 'Hagen, Julia'; [redacted] ; Hays, Clayton P; Henick, Jonathan D; Hollister, Robert M; Hultman, Darren W; IIP_G_EUR Russian List; James, William A; 'Jenny Urizar (NSC)'; Johnson, Marquita L; Jones, Deborah A; Kanarek, Deborah J; 'Karen'; Kenna, Corley; Kilian, Janet M; 'Kivler, Kelly'; Klepp, Deborah E; Kolankiewicz, Anthony M; Kux, Sally; Land, James G; Larsen, Jon A; 'Lemarck, Grant'; Logsdon, Michelle; Logsdon, Michelle R; Lorenz, Andrew R; Lucas, William; McHale, Judith A; Mittnacht, Thomas; Moore, Jonathan M; Moscow PA Americans; Nash, Mary M; Nelson, Ellen Y; Nystrom, Dwight D; Patterson, Martha E; Pekala, Mark A; Perez, Lea; Peterson, Calvin "Pete" (EUR/SCE); Pilz Harbin, Mica L; [redacted] (EUCOM)'; 'Rie, Andrew'; Rieff, Jason B; Rofman, Amy J; [redacted] (EUCOM)'; Rood, Elizabeth H; Rosenblum, Daniel N; Russell, Daniel A; Russell, Melissa H ; Schaefer, Katherine T; Sears, Michael J; Sen, Priyadarshi (Asuncion); Sexton, Jeffrey R; Shinagel, Eva; Siefkin, David R; Sloan, Victoria; Stavropoulos, Daphne Z; Strassberger, William R; 'Susan'; Szpila, Kathleen S; [redacted] (EUCOM)'; Tuminaro, Kim V; Viguerie, Lesslie C; Warlick, Mary B (BELGRADE); Watson, Samuel R; 'Welch, Scott'; Wells, Alice G; Whiddon, David J; Witmer, Kami A; Witters, Joseph B; Wohlauer, Benjamin V; Wohlers, Paul; Youth, Marta C (Quito)
**Subject:** INR Russian Public Opinion in Perspective

B6

Dear Colleagues,

Attached please find a one page summary of Russian opinions of cooperation with the U.S. in the run up to President Medvedev's visit. This report focuses on Russian views of U.S.-Russian relations since the "reset," and their outlook on further cooperation in the future. If you have any specific questions or would like more information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thanks,

Alex

Alexandra Shema
Eurasia Analyst
Office of Opinion Research

Department of State
202-736-4289
Shemaag@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 1:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ajad speech

Here's a basic summary:

It focused on citing the illegitimacy of US nuclear and nonproliferation policy, and on highlighting that it is the nuclear weapons states which are to blame for both proliferation and global instability. The speech suggested that US nonproliferation efforts are a cynical attempt to divert attention from our aim to keep nuclear weapons for ourselves and that even things like the Nuclear Summit are nothing more than such a veil. The speech made several pointed attacks on the USG, from the USAF's security issue a few years ago to our use of nuclear weapons in WWII (making us "the most hated" in history) to allegations of support for terrorism (including that only states who have and have used nuclear weapons could support nuclear terrorism). The speech offered 11 "proposals", most of which were previewed in Tehran press today. These include legally binding NSAs, suspension of IAEA membership for those who threaten with nuclear weapons, disarming all US nuclear bases, support for a ME w/o nuclear weapons and restructure of the UNSC. The US del walked out -- with many partners -- in response to this speech.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769137 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL



## Appendix

### Table. West European Views of International Assistance for Haiti

*Q. I'm going to read you a list of countries and organizations. For each one, please tell me whether you think they generally have done a very good job, a good job, a poor, or a very poor job in helping Haitians after the earthquake, or have you not heard enough to say?*

***(% Among those who have heard at least a fair amount about the Haiti earthquake)***

**Our country**

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy | Spain |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 20 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 20 |
| Good job | 50 | 66 | 52 | 64 | 54 |
| ***Good job overall*** | ***70*** | ***86*** | ***72*** | ***83*** | ***74*** |
| Poor job | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 11 |
| Very poor job | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| ***Poor job overall*** | ***4*** | ***2*** | ***2*** | ***4*** | ***13*** |
| Haven't heard enough to say | 19 | 12 | 23 | 9 | 11 |
| Don't know | 6 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| ***Unsure*** | ***25*** | ***12*** | ***26*** | ***13*** | ***13*** |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**The United States**

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy | Spain |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 23 | 18 | 21 | 19 | 14 |
| Good job | 42 | 62 | 42 | 56 | 39 |
| ***Good job overall*** | ***64*** | ***80*** | ***63*** | ***75*** | ***53*** |
| Poor job | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 18 |
| Very poor job | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| ***Poor job overall*** | ***6*** | ***5*** | ***3*** | ***5*** | ***22*** |
| Haven't heard enough to say | 23 | 15 | 30 | 14 | 22 |
| Don't know | 6 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| ***Unsure*** | ***30*** | ***15*** | ***33*** | ***19*** | ***25*** |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**France**

| | Britain | Germany | Italy | Spain |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Good job | 18 | 17 | 25 | 25 |
| ***Good job overall*** | ***22*** | ***19*** | ***28*** | ***27*** |
| Poor job | 6 | 2 | 4 | 17 |
| Very poor job | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| ***Poor job overall*** | ***7*** | ***2*** | ***5*** | ***19*** |
| Haven't heard enough to say | 60 | 73 | 51 | 49 |
| Don't know | 11 | 5 | 16 | 5 |
| ***Unsure*** | ***71*** | ***78*** | ***67*** | ***53*** |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769137 Date: 08/31/2015

**The Red Cross**

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy | Spain |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 34 | 29 | 25 | 25 | 29 |
| Good job | 35 | 50 | 50 | 54 | 53 |
| ***Good job overall*** | ***69*** | ***79*** | ***74*** | ***78*** | ***81*** |
| Poor job | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Very poor job | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ***Poor job overall*** | ***1*** | ***1*** | ***1*** | ***1*** | ***3*** |
| Haven't heard enough to say | 22 | 21 | 22 | 15 | 14 |
| Don't know | 7 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| ***Unsure*** | ***30*** | ***21*** | ***25*** | ***21*** | ***16*** |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**The United Nations**

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy | Spain |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very good | 12 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 6 |
| Good job | 39 | 46 | 39 | 50 | 42 |
| ***Good job overall*** | ***51*** | ***57*** | ***49*** | ***57*** | ***48*** |
| Poor job | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 16 |
| Very poor job | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| ***Poor job overall*** | ***7*** | ***4*** | ***5*** | ***4*** | ***18*** |
| Haven't heard enough to say | 32 | 39 | 41 | 28 | 29 |
| Don't know | 9 | 0 | 6 | 11 | 4 |
| ***Unsure*** | ***42*** | ***39*** | ***46*** | ***39*** | ***34*** |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NPR

Jim concurs in the memo recommendations.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 28 21:26:42 2010
Subject: NPR

I've reviewed the memo from Bob and Derek and can agree w its comments but would like to know what Jim thinks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 9:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call list

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, March 29, 2010 8:48 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Call list

Pls put the following on the list:

Walter Pincus (move him up from 12/9/08) Derek Harvey (move him up) Mona Ackerman (move from 9/24/08)

And take off the following:

Belgian FM
Height
Turkish FM
Lowey
Cannon
Rosen
Goldberg
McLarty (the 1/4 entry
Frist
Foxman
Stern
Rhodeen
Osteen
Straley
Jacobs
Magee

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 9:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

Bombings in Moscow

Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims of this morning's bombings in Moscow, their families, and all the people of Russia. This brutal assault on innocent civilians is another reminder that terrorism is a threat to peace-loving people everywhere and must be met with unwavering resolve. I will offer my personal condolences to Foreign Minister Lavrov later today in Ottawa. Together with our G8 partners, we will discuss how to improve international counterterrorism coordination and cooperation. I was in Moscow earlier this month, and I know the resilience and determination of the Russian people. The United States stands with them today and everyday in solidarity against violent extremism in all its forms.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band
**Subject:** FW: IHRC in Haitian Press

Finally.

For wjc

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**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:28 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; 'Steve Radelet'; 'Laura Graham'; 'Amitabh Desai'
**Subject:** IHRC in Haitian Press

Below a short clipping from Haiti's major radio news site. I also posted today's piece in the LA Times, which is broadly positive.

Monday, March 29, 2010 11:54 (PaP time)

## Bill Clinton and Jean Max Bellerive to head the reconstruction committee

An Interim Committee for the Reconstruction of Haiti will be implemented in the coming days. It will be headed by former U.S. President Bill Clinton and the current Prime Minister of Haiti Jean Max Bellerive.

This committee could be composed of 16 members including 9 foreigners. It should have the flexibility to make important decisions in the context of rebuilding the country devastated by a powerful earthquake last January 12.

During 18 months, this new entity will manage the funds available to carry out all operations related with the reconstruction of Haiti.

Under a plan presented by the Haitian authorities at a technical meeting held last week in the Dominican Republic, 11.5 billion would be needed to rebuild Haiti.

http://www.metropolehaiti.com/metropole/full_une_fr.php?id=17350

\http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/editorials/la-ed-haiti30-2010mar30,0,3336688.story

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** If you get a chance it wd be great to raise the integrated power issue re the PSD w/ Sec. Gates

He advances a powerful vision of integrated civilian power w/ State and USAID under you in his Foreign Affairs article. I don't think you need to get into the State/AID details w/ him, but it wd be great to give him a heads up that you think that the PSD as written moves toward 3 separate pillars of defense, development, and diplomacy rather than reinforcing the integrated power frame of the Nat. Security Strategy. AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 12:59 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne; Smith, Jeannemarie E; Lew, Jacob J; Mull, Stephen D; Curtis, Meghann A; Warnholz, Jean-Louis; karamcdonald[redacted]Reynoso, Julissa; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E B6
**Subject:** CDM Travel this Summer

This is just fyi for my out of office planning/scheduling purposes:

22 June (T): afternoon in NY

2Jul – 9Jul: annual leave

19Jul – 23Jul: travel with S

25Aug – 27 Aug/1 Sep – 3Sep (T): out of office

1 Sep: Haiti travel

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S-Ashton Update

Fyi

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**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Montgomery, Molly C; Baxter, Shawn; Lang, Alan; Waller, Robert P; P-NEA Duty; Waser, Tamir G
**Sent:** Tue Mar 30 12:45:10 2010
**Subject:** S-Ashton Update

Hi Jake,

You'll see that the Secretary's points for Ashton mention the idea of our sending an inter-agency expert team to Brussels for the next few months to improve US-EU coordination on Iran sanctions prep. EU officials had been receptive, but now the bureaucrats are saying this would be "counter-productive", and instead prefer more regular videoconferences. Which is probably OK. Anyway, I just wanted you to know the background, in case it comes up in the Ashton meeting.

Steve

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/03/2020

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 2:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Summary of 5/3 0845 and 0915 meetings

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**From:** Wohlers, Paul
**Sent:** Monday, May 03, 2010 1:56 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Smith, Daniel B
**Subject:** Summary of 5/3 0845 and 0915 meetings

**Summary of 8:45 meeting, May 3, 2010:**

Cheryl Mills chaired, with D(S) Jim Steinberg, D(L) Jacob Lew, (P) Bill Burns, (M) Pat Kennedy, (H) Rich Verma, (L) Harold Koh, (PA) Gordon Duguid, (S/P) Ann-Marie Slaughter, and (S/ES)Paul Wohlers attending.

M, P, and S/P passed.

D(S):
-- Emilio Estefan would like to speak with the Secretary about possible people-to-people ideas for Cuba.

D(L):
-- DoD wants to move money (that is actually State money) to State accounts; checking to see what Hill appropriators will say.
-- From meeting with AIPAC, should not assume they will push for Ros-Lehtinen language in the Russia 123 agreement.
-- Rep. Norm Dicks wants to discuss civ-mil issues.

H:
-- A number of Senators have written to President Medvedev asking that adoptions to the US not be halted. It appears that adoptions already in the pipeline have not been halted; unclear about new adoptions.
-- Preparing for the Karzai visit next week; he will have a number of Hill meetings. Frank Ruggiero meets with SFRC this week; the Secretary will meet with Blue Dogs on the budget on Wednesday; the Secretary and Secretaries Gates and Chu will do an All-Members briefing on START on Thursday afternoon; discussions continue on Iran sanctions legislation, with the Secretary and Susan Rice calling some senators and discussing who else should be called.

PA:
-- No briefing today.

L:

B5

-- L will be meeting with PA to discuss points to use on International Criminal Court policy.

**Summary of 9:15 A/S Meeting, May 3, 2010:**

Deputy Secretary Steinberg chaired.

D(L):
-- Budget process going into high gear in May/June. Will change process from last year; Senior Review process was not that useful. Will start with conversations with A/Ss; also trying to include more inter-agency aspects. Will be more steps this year but better product. Should be done by end of summer.
-- Evaluation process underway; OPM will use State process as model for civil service reform.

OES (A/S Jones):
-- Discussed the Gulf oil spill, noting 12 foreign offers of assistance so far; US has not accepted any yet. Ops Center is maintaining a matrix of international offers. There will be daily DCs this week. Jim Steinberg noted the need to monitor developments that could affect Mexico, especially as the Calderon visit approaches.

NEA (A/S Feltman):
-- Baghdad recount going well so far. Kurds dropped recount request in Kirkuk; Allawi dropped request for southern Iraq. Bus in Mosul carrying Christians was bombed this morning, several dead.

USUN/W: (Barks-Ruggles)
-- Ahmadinejad speaking this morning at NPT Revcon at UN; the Secretary speaks this afternoon.

SCA: (DAS Krol)
-- In Nepal, Maoist street demonstrations brought tens of thousands out, no violence so far. Embassy closed today but doesn't think situation will deteriorate greatly. Maoist goal is to maintain pressure until PM Nepal resigns.

AF: (A/S Carson)
-- Weekend attack on Somali mosque believed work of ASJ – group is Ethiopia-supported and affiliated with TFG. Targeted senior al-Shabab leaders, at least one killed.
-- VP Biden going to Egypt, Kenya, and South Africa first week of June; will be at opening US match in soccer World Cup.

-- From DROC, reports of new LRA massacre in Feb in eastern Congo; details just now coming out, appears over 100 killed.
-- Scott Gration in Khartoum today.

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

PM: (A/S Shapiro)
-- Sending Note to S about Saudi request for arms sales by US. Don't want publicity now; need to develop Hill strategy.

INL:
-- A/S Johnson is in Iraq this week.

S/SRMC:
-- Farah Pandith thanked all at State involved in last week's Entrepreneurship Summit; said was well done and can be used to encourage young Muslim populations around the world.

S/CT: (Coordinator Benjamin)
-- Times Square bomb incident being classified as possible international incident due to al-Qaida video claiming responsibility.

EUR: (A/S Gordon)
-- Greece came up with improved austerity package; PM Papandreou gave good speech to the country; Germans coming up with support funds; markets mixed today.

pw

Paul D. Wohlers
Deputy Executive Secretary
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224
202-647-5302

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 5:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Trieste

Below is the Iran section of the chair's statement from Trieste. There is strong language on human rights; is that what Miliband was referring to? The language on the nuclear issue reflects where we were last summer -- still on the first track.

Iran
We are concerned about the aftermath of Iranian Presidential elections. We fully respect the sovereignty of Iran. At the same time, we deplore post-electoral violence, which led to the loss of lives of Iranian civilians. We express our solidarity with those who have suffered repression while peacefully demonstrating and urge Iran to respect fundamental human rights, including freedom of expression, as ensured by the international treaties it has ratified. The crisis should be settled soon through democratic dialogue and peaceful means on the basis of the rule of law. We call on the Iranian government to guarantee that the will of the Iranian people is reflected in the electoral process.

We remain committed to finding a diplomatic solution to the issue of Iran's nuclear program and support renewed efforts to that effect, such as the readiness of the U.S. to enter into direct talks and the invitation from China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States to Iran to restart negotiations, as well as the constructive involvement of other G8 partners in the process. We stress the need for unity of action on the basis of agreed policy. We sincerely hope that Iran will seize this opportunity to give diplomacy a chance to find a negotiated solution to the nuclear issue. At the same time we remain deeply concerned over proliferation risks posed by Iran's nuclear programme. We recognise that Iran has the right to a civilian nuclear programme, but that comes with the responsibility to restore confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of its nuclear activities. We strongly urge Iran to cooperate fully with the IAEA and to comply with the relevant UNSC Resolutions.

Our meeting on the margin of the United Nations General Assembly opening week next September, will be an occasion for the G8 to take stock of the situation.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Canada

Just the stuff from yesterday. Maybe one of the cable nets or talking heads made a to do about it.

But I'm surprised because it didn't seem anyone here cared, was all Canada

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
Subject: Canada
Sent: Mar 30, 2010 6:59 PM

A friend just emailed me telling me she was so sorry I had such a tough day in Canada. What's the news that suggests that back here?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** preines H
**Subject:** Re: Canada

I haven't seen anything real in our press.

------Original Message------
From: PIR
To: Evergreen
Cc: Jake Sullivan
ReplyTo: preines
Subject: Re: Canada
Sent: Mar 30, 2010 7:01 PM

Just the stuff from yesterday. Maybe one of the cable nets or talking heads made a to do about it.

But I'm surprised because it didn't seem anyone here cared, was all Canada

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
Subject: Canada
Sent: Mar 30, 2010 6:59 PM

A friend just emailed me telling me she was so sorry I had such a tough day in Canada. What's the news that suggests that back here?

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 3:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged (for S)

fyi

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**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Monday, May 03, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged (for S)

The Washington Post

# Obama's diplomacy, not fully engaged

By Jackson Diehl
Monday, May 3, 2010; A15

Barack Obama's foreign policy has been defined so far by his attempts to "engage" with adversaries or rivals of the United States, such as Ayatollah Ali Khamenei of Iran and Dmitry Medvedev of Russia. The results have been mixed. But now the president's focus is visibly shifting. In the next 18 months, Obama's record abroad will be made or broken by his ability to do business with two nominal U.S. allies: Hamid Karzai and Binyamin Netanyahu.

Karzai has become the hardest problem in Obama's Afghanistan surge, one that might be summed up as "can't win with him, can't win without him." Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu holds the key to whether Israel will be prepared to accept a Palestinian state within the two-year time frame Obama has established -- and also, perhaps, whether Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons will lead to war.

Both men are prickly and somewhat inscrutable. Both know their countries and their own careers depend on support from the United States, but both are also resistant to key elements of Obama's policies. Handling them well requires skillful and subtle diplomacy by the U.S. president and by those who carry out his policies.

And Obama has not done well. In fact, his treatment of the Israeli and Afghan leaders during one week in late March -- immediately after his victory on health care -- marked a low point of his performance as president.

First, Obama seized on an errant Israeli announcement about housing construction in East Jerusalem to reopen a pointless battle with Netanyahu. During a disastrous March 23 meeting at the White House, Obama demanded -- in vain -- that Israel stop all building in Jerusalem; and at one point he left Netanyahu and his delegation to stew in the Roosevelt room while he retired to the second-floor residence for dinner.

Five days later, Obama flew to Kabul for another cold meeting, this time with Karzai. In a briefing for reporters on the plane, national security adviser James Jones made it clear that Obama was displeased with Karzai's lack of progress since beginning a new term as president last fall. In case there was any doubt, Obama spelled out that dissatisfaction in a television interview a day after his return.

Was it hubris from health care that brought on this burst of presidential imperialism? Whatever the cause, the results were disastrous. Netanyahu retreated to Jerusalem, where, after a couple of weeks of sulking, he defiantly announced that settlement construction in Jerusalem would continue. Karzai summoned Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to Kabul, then delivered a tirade against Western interference that concluded with a threat to join the Taliban.

The administration has spent the past month cleaning up this mess. Obama abruptly changed his approach, sending a note to Karzai in early April thanking him for the Kabul visit and confirming his invitation to visit Washington in May -- a trip that, just days earlier, the White House had hinted at canceling. Meanwhile, the president and a good part of his Cabinet have been heaping love on Israel -- if not precisely Netanyahu -- by proclaiming their commitment to the relationship in speech after speech before pro-Israel groups.

The result is that the administration now has a detailed plan for working with Karzai over the next several months. Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, which have been delayed for two months by the flap over Jerusalem, might finally begin this week. Quiet diplomacy by the administration's special envoys in the Middle East and Afghanistan, George Mitchell and Richard Holbrooke, has achieved what presidential lectures did not.

The underlying problems, however, haven't changed. Karzai still has little appetite for attacking the corruption in his government or rallying support for U.S. military campaigns against the Taliban. Netanyahu remains wedded to a right-wing coalition that would not allow him to make significant concessions in peace negotiations, even if he wanted to.

Obama has to find a way to coax each of them toward a change of course. Public bullying won't do it. Assurances of U.S. support and stroking by special envoys go only so far. What's missing is personal chemistry and confidence, the construction of a bond between leaders that can persuade a U.S. ally to take a risk; in other words, presidential "engagement." Isn't that what Obama promised?

Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 8:28 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Morales

Morales blasted the U.S. efforts in Haiti today. See below. Craig Kelly and I agree that you should consider a call to Morales. Perhaps we could discuss tomorrow.

**From:** Rocha, Barbara
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 1:26 PM
**To:** Roberts, Asel K
**Subject:** FW: Garcia Linera on Haiti

Rough translation of the points below:

- Evo Morales announced today that his government will ask for an emergency meeting at the UN to "reject the U.S. military occupation" in Haiti, according to Spanish news agency EFE.
- "It is not possible that the U.S. is using a natural disaster to invade and occupy Haiti," said Morales, who qualified as "inhumane, savage, and opportunist" the deployment of troops in the Caribbean island.
- "We'll ask the UN, via our Foreign Ministry, for an emergency meeting to reject this military occupation of the U.S. in Haiti," announced Morales.
- Morales recalled that President Obama has guaranteed in international fora that he wants partners and respectful diplomatic relations with other countries. "You don't achieve this (partners, diplomatic relations) with military occupation, or troops, or bases," he said and expects "a pronouncement by the peoples of the world and social forces rejecting this intervention and military occupation in Haiti."
- Morales also asked "how much money, food and water" will be destined to the 12,000 soldiers the U.S. sent to Haiti and noted that this money "should be spend on the victims."
- He trusted that the American people will reject "the abusive use" of their economic resources for what he insisted on qualifying as "military intervention."
- "The times of empire have ended: these are times of the people."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Rocha, Barbara
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** Roberts, Asel K
**Subject:** FW: Garcia Linera on Haiti

Following up on this, President Morales has now said he will call for an emergency meeting at the UN to "reject the U.S. military occupation of Haiti." I've alerted IO. I'll reach out to Labor and G staff to offer a briefing, will keep you looped in.

**EVO MORALES PIDE REUNION DE EMERGENCIA PARA REPUDIAR Y RECHAZAR A EEUU EN HAITI, INFORMA EFE**

- Evo Morales anunció hoy que su Gobierno pedirá a Naciones Unidas una reunión de emergencia para "repudiar y rechazar la ocupación militar de Estados Unidos" en Haití, informa la agencia española EFE.
- "No es posible que Estados Unidos use una desgracia natural para invadir y ocupar militarmente Haití", dijo Morales, quien calificó de "inhumano, salvaje y oportunista" el despliegue de las fuerzas armadas estadounidenses en la isla caribeña.
- "Vamos a pedir mediante la cancillería a las Naciones Unidas una reunión de emergencia para repudiar y rechazar esta ocupación militar de Estados Unidos hacia Haití", anunció Morales.
- Morales recordó que el mandatario de Estados Unidos, Barack Obama, ha garantizado en foros internacionales que desea tener socios y relaciones diplomáticas de respeto mutuo con el resto de países. "Ser socios o tener relaciones diplomáticas no se hace con ocupación militar, ni con tropas militares, ni con bases militares", dijo y espera "un pronunciamiento de todos los pueblos del mundo y de las fuerzas sociales rechazando esta intervención y ocupación militar en Haití".
- Morales se preguntó también "cuánta plata, cuántos alimentos o cuánta agua" se van a destinar para abastecer a los 12.000 soldados que Estados Unidos ha mandado a Haití y consideró que ese dinero "debería gastarse en los damnificados" por el terremoto y no en los militares.
- Confió en que el propio pueblo estadounidense rechace "el uso abusivo" de sus recursos económicos para lo que insistió en calificar como "intervención militar".
- "Los tiempos de imperio se terminan: son tiempos de pueblos", sentenció.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:26 PM
**To:** H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Speech ETA?

Should have been faxed
Checking now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:23:05 2010
Subject: Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 3:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** a thought before our call tonight (2 sentences!)

Just fyi, thought you might be interested in the opening line of a pamphlet that the British policy planning office put out on "Better International Policy." The Introduction, written by the Permanent Under-Secretary of States, opens: "The FCO is at the centre of policy making on international issues in Whitehall. We are the experts in government at analyzing and influencing what is happening overseas and in turning this into clear and well-judged policy advice for Ministers."

B5

I have sent this to Jack, Jim, Jake, and Cheryl. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:27 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Speech ETA?

It's on its way with the book but someone will fax now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:23 PM
To: Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Speech being faxed right now.

Book will be there in 10 minutes.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 5:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 6:00 PSD call

Sorry - first I've heard of it. Philippe and I are sitting on the shuttle which takes off at 6. I'll catch up w Cheryl after.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 03 17:47:15 2010
Subject: 6:00 PSD call

Will you be on it?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nice job today....

----- Original Message -----
From: Solomon, Jay [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 03 19:25:44 2010
Subject: Nice job today....

Thought HRC KOd Mahmoud. He looked crazy and zealous. She looked conciliatory but strong. Best, Jay

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 7:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nice job today....

Meant to write that Solomon is a tough critic.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon May 03 19:44:19 2010
Subject: Fw: Nice job today....

----- Original Message -----
From: Solomon, Jay [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 03 19:25:44 2010
Subject: Nice job today....

Thought HRC KOd Mahmoud. He looked crazy and zealous. She looked conciliatory but strong. Best, Jay

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 6:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Reuters / Haiti humanitarian need competes with recovery plan

I really like Rick

See b/l in case you get ques at press conf re urgent needs being crowded out by recovery

Cdm

**From**: Barton, Rick (USUN)
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Barton, Rick (USUN); DeMarcellus, Roland F
**Sent**: Tue Mar 30 16:48:08 2010
**Subject**: FW: Reuters / Haiti humanitarian need competes with recovery plan

Cheryl, I thought the meeting and the press conference went well.

Below is an interesting analysis done by Doug Mercado that relates to one of the questions you were asked about the flash appeal. Good background (for when you have a minute), as well as a reminder that there is a great deal of liquidity in the NGO community that needs creative guidance.

Please let us know if there is anything you need.

Best, Rick

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Mercado, Douglas E
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 5:46 PM
**To:** Ventrell, Patrick H (USUN); Rice, Susan E (USUN); Anderson, Brooke D (USUN)
**Cc:** Cousens, Elizabeth (USUN); Ahmed, Salman (USUN); Tekach, Mara (USUN); Vadino, Carolyn; Sammis, John F (USUN); Barton, Rick (USUN)
**Subject:** RE: Reuters / Haiti humanitarian need competes with recovery plan

Hi All,

Just to put this into perspective....yes, the UN Flash Appeal for Haiti is only funded at 48% ($718 million). Just for comparison, here are figures for other UN humanitarian appeals: DRC is funded at 5%, Sudan at 23%, Afghanistan at 31%, Kenya at 18%, Chad at 4%. Clearly, not all disasters/responses are the same. Perhaps the scenario that most closely approximates the needs generated by the Haiti earthquake is that of the Indian Ocean tsunami (2004/2005). Oddly enough, the UN Flash Appeal for the Indian Ocean Tsunami ran to $1.4 billion (the exact same figure as for the Haiti Flash Appeal). In the end, the UN humanitarian appeal for the Indian Ocean tsunami stood at $1.2 billion (a coverage rate of 85%). In the worst of disasters, the funding for UN humanitarian appeals never reaches 100%.

We should not forget that there is an enormous amount of money being funneled through channels outside the UN appeal system. For example, the Red Cross movement (including IFRC, ICRC and the national societies) has raised between $700 and $800 million for Haiti. The American Red Cross alone raised $400 million (they project that it will take them five years to spend this money on relief and recovery activities in Haiti). InterAction, the consortium of US-based NGOs has announced that its members have raised nearly $700 million for relief and early recovery activities in Haiti. I met with two NGOs today: OXFAM has raised over $100 million. World Vision has raised $250 million specifically for its earthquake response in Haiti (on top of its regular budget of $50 million for Haiti). We haven't been able to get reliable figures on what non-US NGOs have raised, but I would imagine it to be considerable (at least over $500 million as a conservative estimate).

[redacted] Clearly, there is an enormous amount of money raised for Haiti relief and recovery efforts through the UN system and outside the UN system. The challenge is to get an accurate tally of the funding available from UN agencies, IOs and NGOs (perhaps a tasking for the OSE and/or OCHA) and maximize coordination among the various agencies holding this money to improve allocation of resources. There very well may be underfunded sectors and overfunded sectors in terms of the humanitarian response. Information sharing among donors and aid agencies sitting on funding is critical to avoid spending too much money in some sectors/geographic areas and spending too little in others. B5

[redacted] B5

Doug Mercado
Adviser - Humanitarian Affairs
United States Mission to the United Nations
Tel. +1-212-415-4398
Mob. [redacted] B6
Fax +1-212-415-4141
E-mail: mercadode@state.gov
E-mail: [redacted]
www.usun.state.gov
Follow us on Twitter and Facebook

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Ventrell, Patrick H (USUN)
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 5:16 PM
**To:** Rice, Susan E (USUN); Anderson, Brooke D (USUN)
**Cc:** Cousens, Elizabeth (USUN); Ahmed, Salman (USUN); Tekach, Mara (USUN); Vadino, Carolyn; Mercado, Douglas E; Sammis, John F (USUN); Barton, Rick (USUN)
**Subject:** Reuters / Haiti humanitarian need competes with recovery plan

# Haiti humanitarian need competes with recovery plan

Mon Mar 29, 2010 4:55pm EDT

* Haiti humanitarian aid 52 percent short of $1.4 bln goal

* Time and money running out for humanitarian effort - UN

By Michelle Nichols

UNITED NATIONS, March 29 (Reuters) - As donors are being asked to dig deep for Haiti's reconstruction, they also need to address the country's immediate humanitarian need as hurricane season looms and quake survivors face increasing violence, U.N. officials said on Monday.

While a U.N. summit in New York on Wednesday will aim to raise an initial $3.8 billion for the impoverished Caribbean nation's recovery, an appeal by the world body for $1.4 billion in humanitarian aid is 52 percent short of its goal.

The initial appeal by the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for $575 million was met within a month, but when the call for funding was later more than doubled, the donations slowed to a trickle.

"Perhaps the extension of the flash appeal has got a little bit crowded by the fact that this conference -- with a big ask for recovery -- is coming, so maybe donors have held back a little," said U.N. Development Program chief Helen Clark.

"Obviously this medium/long term reconstruction recovery is incredibly important but ... if we don't get the humanitarian relief side right as well you don't have the foundation for the successful longer term recovery," she told a news conference.

Possibly more than 300,000 were killed when a magnitude 7.0 earthquake struck Haiti's capital Port-au-Prince on Jan. 12 in what some experts are calling the deadliest natural disaster of modern times. Haiti's economy and infrastructure were decimated and more than 1 million survivors left homeless.

"We should not think that the humanitarian crisis is over. The rain and the hurricane season will start soon," said Edmond Mulet, acting head of the U.N. mission in Haiti.

"This may cause hundreds of thousands of Haitians who now live in tents -- some made of sticks and cardboard -- to once again lose everything," he said. "Lives are at stake; we need to urgently build more durable shelter."

He also said protection of the vulnerable, particularly the women and children in camps, needed to be strengthened. "But time and money is running out," Mulet said.

Violence is also increasing, he said, with the National Hospital, morgue and aid group Doctors Without Borders reporting an increase in gunshot wounds. Mulet said there had also been a rise in sexual violence.

Mulet gained notoriety for wielding an iron fist during a previous stint as head of the U.N. mission when he led mostly Brazilian "blue helmet" troops in a successful crackdown on Haiti's heavily armed gangs.

"Now they are outside on the streets so now we have to start all over again from zero," he said of the thousands of gang members who escaped from jail after the earthquake.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** postmaster@state.gov
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Undeliverable: Speech ETA?
**Attachments:** details.txt; Re: Speech ETA? (2.50 KB)

## Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

tillemnants@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

**Diagnostic information for administrators:**

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu

tillemnants@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

```
Received: from vance3.state.gov ([10.4.16.249]) by
 MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959);         Wed, 20
 Jan 2010 22:30:18 -0500
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
        by vance3.state.gov  with ESMTP id o0L30mHN011693;
        Wed, 20 Jan 2010 22:00:48 -0500
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
 CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Wed, 20
 Jan 2010 22:30:16 -0500
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'sullivanjj@state.gov'" <sullivanjj@state.gov>, "'tillemnants@state.gov'"
        <tillemnants@state.gov>
Date: Wed, 20 Jan 2010 22:30:15 -0500
Subject: Re: Speech ETA?
Thread-Topic: Speech ETA?
Thread-Index: AcqaQKnfjAE7BOKaQrSapf9ApC4jcQAAH0QQAAI5Unk=
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B404488036430B867@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
```

X-OriginalArrivalTime: 21 Jan 2010 03:30:18.0482 (UTC) FILETIME=[0DE48D20:01CA9A4A]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4125-6.000.1038-17134.000
X-TM-AS-Result: No--12.277300-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:34 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Tillemann, Tomicah S
**Subject:** RE: Tomicah

Added here.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:33 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Tomicah

Do you have his email address? The email I sent to you both came back undelivered.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Speech ETA?

On the phone with Bader, [redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:30 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'tillemnants@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Speech ETA?

Thank you TT for a very good speech. I have a few questions:

[redacted]

Also, pls be sure the text is carefully proofread since there are a number of typos and missing words.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:26:43 2010
Subject: RE: Speech ETA?

It's on its way with the book but someone will fax now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:23 PM

To: Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: The speech

B5

little has changed in substance or language.

Still working on it, though.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:32 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: The speech

Jake-

What's your take on the impact of this version?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 11:08 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ashton meeting

No problem.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 23:05:33 2010
Subject: Ashton meeting

I'd like to invite two EUR staffers--Jeremy Shapiro and Siddharth Mohandas-- who wrote a good memo about US-EU to come by and meet Lady Ashton tomorrow. Or even sit in on the mtg if ok w Phil Gordon.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 7:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Did u hear anything from [redacted]?

Fyi [redacted]

---

**From:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A) [redacted] B6
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** 'Shah, Shivam Mallick' <[redacted]
**Sent:** Tue Mar 30 12:13:27 2010
**Subject:** RE: Did u hear anything from [redacted]?

Hi Huma,

[redacted]

Raj

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Subject:** Did u hear anything from [redacted]?

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 11:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Speech ETA?

Thanks very much. On your questions:

B5

[redacted] B5

Also, pls be sure the text is carefully proofread since there are a number of typos and missing words.

Absolutely -- sorry about that.

Thanks,
Tomicah
----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:26:43 2010
Subject: RE: Speech ETA?

It's on its way with the book but someone will fax now.

Tomicah Tillemann, Ph.D.
Speechwriter to the Secretary
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

S/P Main: 202.647.2372 [redacted] B6
Fax: 202.647.0844 | Room 7311 (S/P) | 2201 C Street NW | Washington, DC 20520

-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 11:06 PM
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Subject: FW: Speech ETA?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:30 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'tillemnants@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Speech ETA?

Thank you TT for a very good speech. I have a few questions:

[redacted] B5

B5

Also, pls be sure the text is carefully proofread since there are a number of typos and missing words.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:26:43 2010
Subject: RE: Speech ETA?

It's on its way with the book but someone will fax now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:23 PM
To: Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 12:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** speech

You'll have a new draft when you wake up. I think it's getting close but can use one more pass from you.

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 9:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: NI fallout continues. Sid

# New blow for Conservative alliance with UUP as assembly member quits party

Alan McFarland follows MP Lady Hermon in resigning from Ulster Unionists to sit as independent

- Henry McDonald, Ireland correspondent
- guardian.co.uk, Wednesday 31 March 2010 09.48 BST

The Conservatives' alliance with the Ulster Unionists has sustained a second blow in North Down after last week's resignation of the sitting MP Lady Hermon.
Assembly member and former army major Alan McFarland announced today that he was leaving the UUP in protest at its pact with the Tories.
It is expected McFarland will now work for Hermon's re-election as an independent against the official UUP-Tory candidate.
A UUP statement said the timing of McFarland's announcement was "disappointing". He has been a UUP member of the Stormont assembly for 12 years and was once a loyal ally of Lord Trimble, Northern Ireland's former first minister.
Trimble has been one of the driving forces behind the UUP-Conservative alliance.
Last night McFarland resigned his membership of the party and said he would now sit as an independent member of the assembly.
"With the recent confirmation of candidates, including the imposition of a Conservative candidate in my own North Down constituency, it is clear that the party is determined to continue down the Conservative road," he said in a statement.
"I do not wish to join them. I am sorry to leave a party that contains many good friends, and greatly regret that events have developed in the way they have."
Last week Hermon, the MP for North Down, said she would run in the general election as an independent unionist.
In a statement, the Ulster Unionist party thanked McFarland for his service, but said the "electoral pact has the potential to transform politics in Northern Ireland in a manner not previously witnessed" in Ulster.

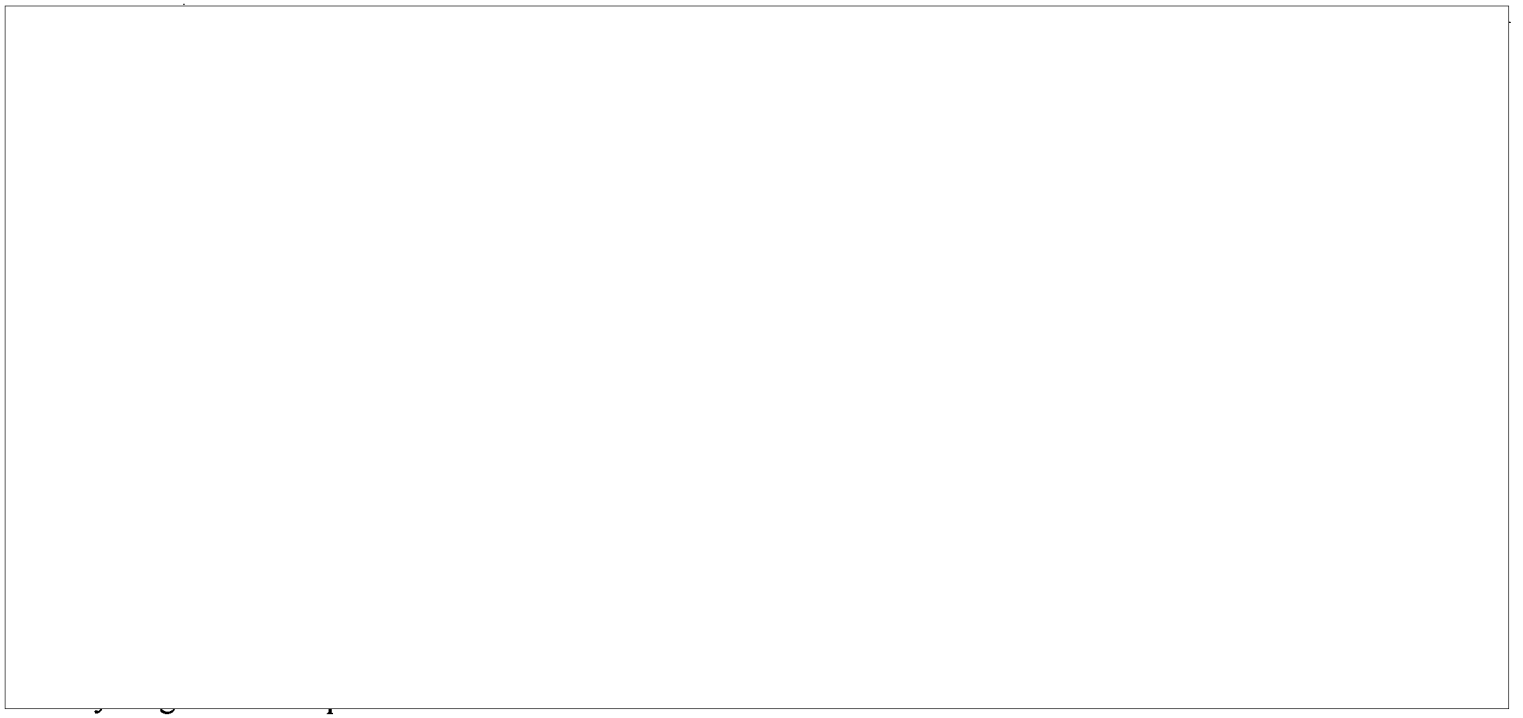
RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 5:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thoughts re Haiti

Madame Secretary:

Pardon the early morning email, but I am responding to your invitation to send you our thoughts on Haiti. You probably have already had all the thoughts below, but I wanted to put mine in writing. First, and most important, thanks for what you have done thus far, which has been remarkable. One week in, we have reacted most admirably to the Haiti crisis. State and AID are firmly in the lead; you, Cheryl, Raj, and Jake have done a heroic job; and the most urgent humanitarian challenges seem in hand. Although I have not participated in many of the departmental conversations about Haiti, based on my years thinking about that country, I wanted to offer suggestions that might prove helpful on the next round of interrelated challenges:

B5



B5

Best,

Harold

--
Harold Hongju Koh

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Great to see you and President Clinton sitting on either side of Ban Ki Moon!

And the speech was excellent.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 6:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Isabelle confirmed for 8:15

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 6:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Final speech about to be faxed to house.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Verma, Richard R
**Sent**: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
**Subject**: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Not much of a surprise. Later this morning KBH will announce that she will NOT resign her Senate seat.

You'll recall that she had had promised during her gubernatorial campaign that, win or lose, she'd give up her seat.

**Miguel E. Rodríguez**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:20:18 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:09:09 2010
Subject: Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
Subject: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

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Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Troika on Sudan

Team would like to release following statement. Okay by you?

MEDIA NOTE
Joint Statement on the Upcoming Sudan National Elections

Following is the text of a joint statement by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Støre, and United Kingdom Foreign Secretary David Miliband on the upcoming national elections in Sudan.

Begin Text:

National elections in Sudan this month will represent a major milestone in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended Sudan's twenty-two year civil war, and are an important opportunity for the people of Sudan to participate in the political process.

We urge all parties in Sudan to work urgently to ensure that elections can proceed peacefully and credibly in April. We are deeply concerned by reports of continued administrative and logistical challenges, as well as restrictions on political freedoms. We call on the Government of Sudan, the National Elections Commission, and all political parties to engage in further dialogue to resolve practical obstacles, procedural impediments, and address allegations of intimidation, harassment, and safety concerns, and other legitimate concerns raised by various political parties. We continue to urge the parties to improve conditions on the ground in Darfur and create a secure environment conducive to Darfuri participation.

Irrespective of the outcome of elections, it is essential that work continues and is accelerated to meet remaining CPA deadlines. Progress is needed urgently to complete border demarcation, to establish the commissions that will supervise the referenda for the South and Abyei, to conduct popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, and to negotiate sustainable post-CPA arrangements in areas such as wealth-sharing, citizenship and assets, and liabilities.

We reiterate our commitment to ensure that the referenda must happen on schedule and that their outcomes need to be respected. It is time to redouble efforts to achieve these ends. We urge all parties in Sudan and all regional and international partners to work together to achieve the peaceful future that the people of Sudan deserve.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Troika on Sudan

I did. I had been told it was a wet kiss to the NSC. It wasn't. You and Gates look good.

What did you think?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:50:22 2010
Subject: Re: Troika on Sudan

Ok. Did you see the latest FT article?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:49:10 2010
Subject: Troika on Sudan

Team would like to release following statement. Okay by you?

MEDIA NOTE
Joint Statement on the Upcoming Sudan National Elections

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and to negotiate sustainable post-CPA arrangements in areas such as wealth-sharing, citizenship and assets, and liabilities.

We reiterate our commitment to ensure that the referenda must happen on schedule and that their outcomes need to be respected. It is time to redouble efforts to achieve these ends. We urge all parties in Sudan and all regional and international partners to work together to achieve the peaceful future that the people of Sudan deserve.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:52:28 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:23:59 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:20:18 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:09:09 2010
Subject: Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
Subject: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Not much of a surprise. Later this morning KBH will announce that she will NOT resign her Senate seat.

You'll recall that she had had promised during her gubernatorial campaign that, win or lose, she'd give up her seat.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HbJ

In case u see hbj

----- Original Message -----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
Sent: Wed Mar 31 07:30:16 2010
Subject: HbJ

Hi. I'm in NYC too, but on leave. Hamad bin Jassim has asked to see me today at 11 a.m., after S speech. I don't know the subject.

B5

Jeffrey Feltman

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 9:16 PM
**To:** H; Doug Band
**Subject:** Fw: Thank You

For wjc fyi too

----- Original Message -----
From: rene.preval [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Apr 02 20:40:25 2010
Subject: Thank You

Cheryl,
I would like to personnaly thank you for the tremendous work you have done and your total commitement which have contributed to make this historical summit a succes.Nonetheless this is just the starting point and you can count on my full support for all upcoming task to be performed. On behalf of the haitian thank you again.

Best regards.

Rene Preval
Sent from my BlackBerry® device from Digicel

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Barbara bush

HOUSTON – (March 31, 2010) - Former First Lady Barbara Bush was discharged Wednesday from The Methodist Hospital in Houston after undergoing a series of tests. Doctors believe Mrs. Bush, 84, may have had a mild relapse of her Graves disease, a thyroid condition for which she was treated in 1989. As a result, her physicians at Methodist have adjusted her medication. Upon discharge she was alert, talkative and appeared to be getting stronger as she prepared to return home.

Mrs. Bush arrived Saturday at the hospital, where she received a number of tests including blood tests and imaging studies. Just over a year ago Mrs. Bush received a replacement aortic valve at Methodist, which doctors said is working very well.

Mrs. Bush is expected to make a full recovery and should soon return to her normal activities.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 12:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: In case S calls S. Africa Foreign Minister

This is further background on the Mashabane call, [redacted] B5

**From:** Seiden, Maya D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Ashraf, Madeeha S; Park, Pamela P; Butte-Dahl, Jennifer X; Beale, Courtney A Kramer; Syed, Zia S
**Sent:** Tue Mar 30 15:38:52 2010
**Subject:** In case S calls S. Africa Foreign Minister

I understand that South African Foreign Minister has placed a call to the Secretary on the proposed World Bank loan for a coal-fired power plant. Wanted to give you some background on that (beyond what will be in the call sheet), in case the Secretary ends up returning the call. I've pasted below a DRAFT IM that was prepared for the two Ds. It gives more substantive background on the project, which I thought might be helpful. It does not yet fully reflect building views, so I've tried to summarize those here.

[redacted]

B5

Don't hesitate to reach out if you want more information on any of this.

MS

**INFORMATION MEMO FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY STEINBERG AND DEPUTY SECRETARY LEW**

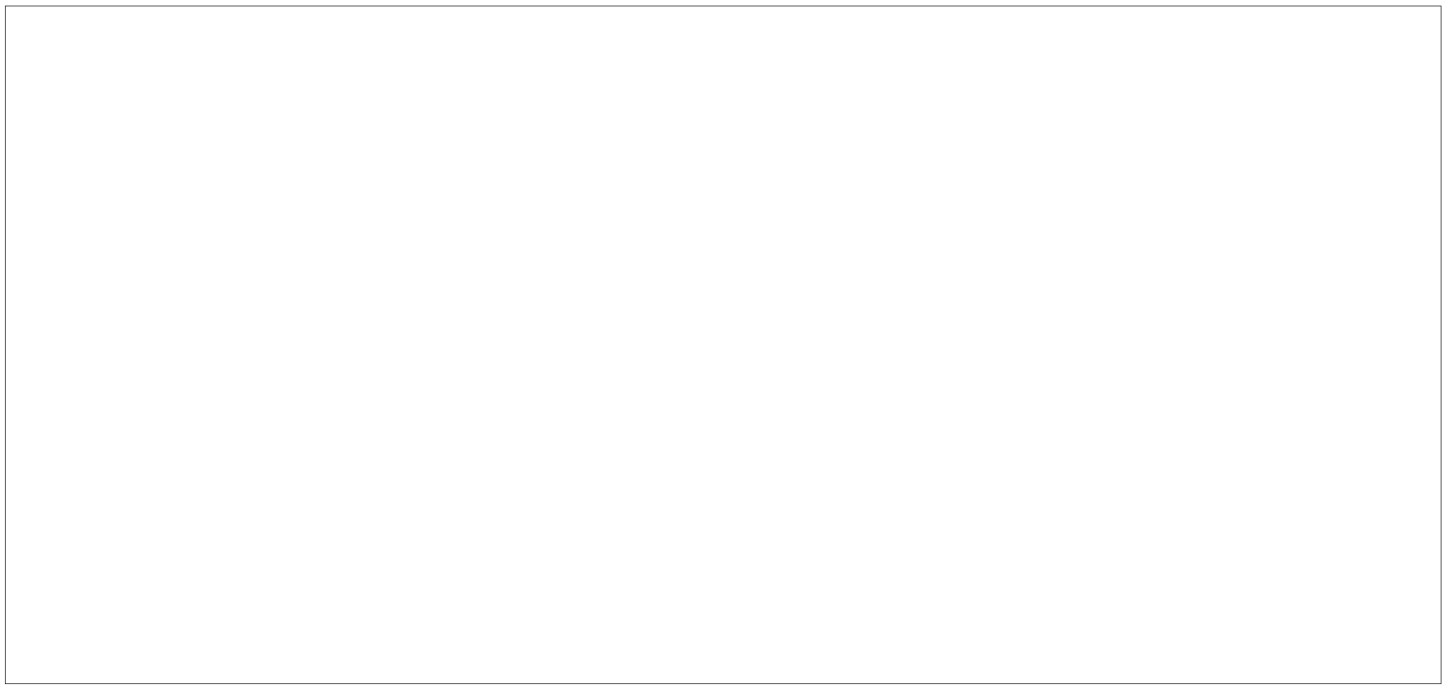
FROM: E – Robert Hormats
S/SECC – Todd Stern
S/CIEA – David Goldwyn
AF – Johnnie Carson

SUBJECT: Proposed World Bank Loan for South African Coal-fired Power Plant

On April 8 the World Bank Board is expected to consider whether to approve a $3.75 billion loan for a 4,800 megawatt (MW) coal-fired power plant in South Africa (the "Medupi project"). The project, by South Africa's state-owned Eskom utility, is intended to address a worsening power shortage. The loan is controversial due to the 26 million tons of CO2 emissions per year that the plant will emit when completed, making it one of the largest single sources of carbon emissions in the world. South Africa has sought U.S. support for the project from senior levels at the Department and our Ambassador in Pretoria.

B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: In case you haven't seen this in today's FT. Sid

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/df53a396-3c2a-11df-b40c-00144feabdc0.html




# Financial Times FT.com

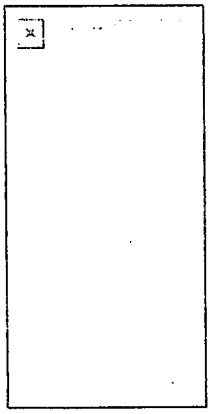
COMMENT

## Analysis




# US foreign policy: Waiting on a sun king

By Edward Luce and Daniel Dombey
Published: March 30 2010 22:22 | Last updated: March 30 2010 22:22



Barack Obama at the Great Wall of China last year. Unlike his predecessor Richard Nixon, who turned to Henry Kissinger for advice, the US president has no big foreign policy strategist

For better or for worse, Washington has grown used to the fact that Barack Obama runs the most centralised – or "White House-centric" – administration since Richard Nixon. When Nixon wanted foreign policy advice, everyone knew where he got it from: Henry Kissinger, variously his national security adviser and secretary of state.

In contrast, Mr Obama has no big foreign policy strategist. Even insiders give different answers when asked to whom he turns for advice on the big international questions. But almost all agree with the following observation. "The truth is that President Obama is his own Henry Kissinger – no one else plays that role," says a senior official. "Every administration reflects the personality of the president. This president wants all the trains routed through the Oval Office."

Fifteen months after he took office, the character and structure of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is still evolving. But from interviews with dozens of insiders and outsiders, including senior officials both authorised and unauthorised to speak, and three former national security advisers, it is clear the buck not only stops with, but often floats for quite a long time around, Mr Obama himself.

Foreigners have complained about the tendency of his domestic agenda to crowd out the international one – the passage last week of healthcare reform was greeted with an audible sigh of relief among US allies. But within foreign policy itself,

his centralised structure can also result in many issues being left on the back burner awaiting presidential attention, say critics.

"On the positive side, we have a very conscientious president who takes advice widely," says the official. "On the debit side, for all the president's intelligence, Barack Obama came to office with very little experience. He just doesn't have much depth on some issues."

The core of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is in the White House-based National Security Council, which advises the president and co-ordinates activities across an increasingly complex alphabet soup of Washington departments, military commands and intelligence agencies. The most widely questioned link in the chain is Jim Jones, whom, to many people's surprise, Mr Obama brought in as his national security adviser.

Only briefly acquainted with Mr Obama beforehand, General Jones, a retired four-star marine corps general, shows little interest in running the "inter-agency" process – a key part of the job. Somewhat unconventionally, Gen Jones travels frequently and is thus often out of town. Unusually, it is Mr Obama himself who usually chairs the weekly National Security Council, known as the "principals meeting", not Gen Jones.

Rahm Emanuel, Mr Obama's chief of staff, is also a key part of it. "If you were to ask me who the real national security adviser is, I would say there were three or four, of whom Rahm is one and of which Gen Jones is probably the least important," says another official.

Anyone who has dealt with Gen Jones speaks highly of his matter-of-factness, his geniality and the respect many foreign governments have for him – Pakistan and Israel among them. But as he himself admitted rather disarmingly last year, he does not have a taste for bureaucracy. Speaking at the Atlantic Council, a think-tank where he previously worked, Gen Jones provoked laughter when he said: "I fondly remember [the Atlantic Council] as a place where people actually did what you asked them to do. In my new role I'm finding out that an order is a basis for negotiation."

The lack of a strong national security adviser has created recurring difficulties. Perhaps the best example is the Arab-Israeli peace process, which Mr Obama launched on his second day in office when he appointed George Mitchell as his envoy. Three months later, Mr Obama insisted Benjamin Netanyahu freeze all settlements activity in order to boost Arab confidence in the talks.

In a heated showdown in the Oval Office last May, in which Mr Netanyahu refused to accede to Mr Obama's demand, the only officials present were Mr Emanuel and David Axelrod, senior adviser to Mr Obama in office and during the campaign. Gen Jones was not there. The fallout put the talks in abeyance and damped high Arab hopes for Mr Obama.

"The question is, which bright spark advised the president to demand a settlements freeze without working out what the next step should be when Netanyahu inevitably said 'No'?" says Leslie Gelb, an official in the Carter administration and former head of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Why wasn't George Mitchell in the room? Where was Jones?"

Mr Obama's character is also stamped on the inter-agency process, set up and managed by Tom Donilon, deputy national security adviser. The nitty-gritty of foreign policy-making is done at these frequent "deputies' meetings", which can sometimes consume four to six hours a day.

Described by one insider as "the most powerful man in the White House whose name isn't widely known", Mr Donilon, who was an official in the Clinton administration, is the man who keeps Mr Obama's trains running on time. And there are a lot of trains. Last year, Mr Donilon held 270 deputies meetings – a workload described as "clinically insane" by a former senior diplomat under Bill Clinton.

But as time goes on, it is becoming streamlined – now taking up roughly two to three hours a day, say officials. "People forget that we inherited two wars, terrorism threats, and perhaps the biggest single eight-year decline [George W. Bush's two terms] in America's power and reputation in our history," says a senior official. "It took time to put in place a process that could deal with the very complex decisions we had to take."

Also the organiser of Mr Obama's 9.30am national security briefing, Mr Donilon reinstated the paper trails needed to prevent intra-governmental anarchy, using the model devised by Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to George Bush senior and Gerald Ford. Vice-president Joe Biden's team was also incorporated to prevent the kind of "parallel process" Dick Cheney used to circumvent the bureaucracy under George W. Bush.

"If you look for the 2002 or 2003 meeting where the decision to go to war in Iraq was taken, you cannot find it," says the senior official. "By getting the process right, we are improving the quality of decisions."

The deputies' ties go back years. For example, the families of Mr Donilon and Jim Steinberg, deputy secretary of state, often go on holiday together. Mr Donilon's wife, Cathy Russell, is chief of staff to Jill Biden, the vice-president's wife. Mr Steinberg's wife, Sherburne Abbott, is deputy to John Holdren, Mr Obama's chief scientific adviser.

All those who regularly attend, including Michèle Flournoy, a senior Pentagon official, and Susan Rice, the US ambassador to the United Nations, have known each other since at least 1993, when they started off in the Clinton administration. This is just as well, since they spend half their lives together: "A lot of work gets done in that group," says Ms Flournoy. "Sometimes it feels like shovelling coal to keep the fires going."

The refurbished machinery was perhaps most in evidence during the build-up to Mr Obama's decision in December to send another 30,000 US troops to Afghanistan – a journey that took four months and involved him in 40 hours of Oval Office meetings.

But the very diligence of the process crowded out Mr Obama's time to focus on other crises – of which there are many. "Time is the most precious commodity a president has," says a former national security adviser. "On average he is only going to have 45 minutes a day for foreign policy, so you want to make sure it is well spent."

The widely expected departure of Gen Jones before the end of the year has also created rivalries within the engine room. Those who are thought to have ambitions to replace him include Mr Steinberg, Ms Rice, Mr Donilon and Denis McDonough, NSC chief of staff and the foreign policy official who is personally closest to Mr Obama. Although all are widely respected, none is considered a big strategic thinker in the Kissinger or Scowcroft mould.

Described by Mr Gelb as Mr Obama's "Lord High Executioner", Mr McDonough "has appended himself to the Chicago crowd", says another official. Mr McDonough's widely feared role highlights some of the contradictions of Mr Obama's foreign policy apparatus.

Once an adviser to former Senate majority leader Tom Daschle, Mr McDonough was frequently at Mr Obama's side during the campaign. Insiders describe him as the "enforcer" and as the keeper of "message discipline", a key element of any campaign but something that can drastically slow the wheels of government.

"McDonough is the guy from the campaign and the one who plays basketball with the president – they're very close," says an official. "Instead of Jim Jones telling McDonough what the president thinks, it is the other way round."

Indeed, if Mr Obama's highly centralised foreign policy machine had a face, it would be Mr McDonough's. "Donilon has been perceived to make the process inclusive and give everyone a seat at the table," says David Rothkopf, a former Clinton official and scholar on the NSC. "Fairly or not, McDonough has been perceived as representing a process that was taking place in another room, among the inner circle, at a table to which most weren't invited."

Mr Obama has built a machine in which all roads lead to and from him. On the minus side, that means a lot of lower-level meetings without decisions. It also means neglecting issues that cannot be squeezed into his diary, such as trade policy, which continues to drift; or relations with India, which are unnecessarily tense.

And it means that the fingerprints of Mr Obama's political inner circle are detected by the rumour mill even when they are absent, such as on the president's decision to begin the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in July 2011 – a recommendation that came from Robert Gates, secretary of defence.

On the plus side, Mr Obama has a sharp learning curve, which means his administration continues to evolve. On the plus side also, if it has to be White House-centric, it is perhaps better with him as the Sun King than, say, Nixon or George W. Bush.

"At the end of each meeting, the president summarises what everyone has said and the arguments each has made with a real lawyer's clarity," says a participant to the NSC principals meeting, which includes Mr Gates and Mrs Clinton. "When the president finally makes a decision, it is with the full facts and usually shows a high calibre of judgment."

*When* Mr Obama makes a decision, that is.

STATE AND DEFENCE DEPARTMENTS

An 'alliance of the unsackables' finds it can confront the inner circle

If there is a caveat to the depiction of the Obama administration as White House-centric, it is in the alliance between Hillary Clinton and Robert Gates, the president's secretaries of state and defence.

Mrs Clinton has proved one of the surprises of Barack Obama's tenure, forging a strong working relationship with her former rival and establishing herself as his chief foreign policy spokesperson internationally – if not at home, where Mr Obama's inner circle often seems to monopolise the explaining.

Mr Gates, who recently decided to stay for at least another year, is seen as unsackable, not least for the credibility he lends on issues ranging from missile defence to Guantánamo Bay and Afghanistan. As a holdover from the Bush administration, his national security bona fides are hard to dispute. It is no coincidence that Mrs Clinton is probably the only other unsackable cabinet member.

The combination has made itself felt in some of the administration's most significant debates, notably on Afghanistan, where both successfully urged the deployment of more troops.

"Gates and Clinton happen to like each other, which no one really predicted," says one official, who notes that while the traditional role of the NSC is to "play referee" between the state and defence departments, it is as often nowadays a combination of the two against the White House. This is very different from how it worked when Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell held those positions.

"We work together well," Mr Gates said at an appearance with Mrs Clinton on CNN last year. "I think it starts with, frankly, based on my experience, the secretary of defence being willing to acknowledge that the secretary of state is the principal spokesperson for United States foreign policy."

Their outlooks often overlap. From the Pentagon, Mr Gates has long called for more US spending on diplomacy. As chief diplomat, Mrs Clinton has adopted a muscular approach. On Iran, both favour tough sanctions; on Russia, both have sought to reassure Moscow's neighbours even while improving relations with the Kremlin.

But for all their workmanlike co-operation, there is no escaping the fact that Mrs Clinton is not part of the Obama inner circle – a traditionally helpful feature in that job. There is also a constant "residue of friction" between Mr Obama's and Mrs Clinton's teams, according to insiders. For example, Cheryl Mills, Mrs Clinton's chief of staff, has had several run-ins with others in the administration.

One official describes Mrs Clinton as "totally loyal" to Mr Obama. He adds: "She and the president are not the best of friends – how could they be? But she totally respects the presidency – she was married to a president and she wanted to be one ... She still might be."

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 10:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S stop in Ecuador

Fyi - Arturo making a renewed pitch for ecuador. We haven't discussed further yet [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Kelly, Craig A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Reynoso, Julissa; Drucker, Milton K; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Fuchs, Michael H; Bennett, Virginia L
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S
Sent: Mon May 03 10:36:36 2010
Subject: S stop in Ecuador

Would like to make a renewed pitch for stop in Ecuador. [redacted] B5

Best, Arturo

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 9:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mack called back

He landed and is home [redacted] He will also be in the office for the entire day tomorrow. 202 419 1420. B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: speech

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jan 21 07:44:59 2010
Subject: Re: speech

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 00:10:57 2010
Subject: speech

You'll have a new draft when you wake up. I think it's getting close but can use one more pass from you. [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 5:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Preval rejects US Advice on Presidential election and respond to Lugar's report

B6

**From:** Guy Noel
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Jun 30 22:44:31 2010
**Subject:** Preval rejects US Advice on Presidential election and respond to Lugar's report

## A PALI PAPA..PONYET PREVAL GONFLE

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Preval rejects US advice on presidential election

By JONATHAN M. KATZ (AP) – 2 hours ago

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Haiti's president on Wednesday rejected U.S. Senate recommendations on holding an election for his successor, brushing off criticism that the current process will leave the shattered country without a credible leader.

A report issued this month by Sen. Richard Lugar, the ranking Republican on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "strongly encourages" Haiti to let its international partners help restructure the eight-member Provisional Electoral Council, which has been accused of corruption.

The report also recommends ensuring the participation of the key opposition party of ousted former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, which was blocked from participating in 2009 legislative contests because of a dispute over rival candidate lists.

On Tuesday, President Rene Preval fulfilled one recommendation of the report by issuing a signed decree setting election day for Nov. 28.

But speaking at a news conference in an open-air gazebo alongside the broken remains of the national palace a day later, Preval told reporters he had no intention of complying with the rest, including changing the election body, known as the CEP.

"I'm not doing the CEP with international partners. I'm doing the CEP with national partners," Preval said. "The senator's proposition is inadmissible."

Seeking to show the council was not "hand-picked," as he said in English, Preval handed out copies of nomination letters for the panel's members submitted by various national and religious organizations, including the National Council of Political Parties, Roman Catholic Church and National Confederation of Haitian Vodou.

He also defended the prohibition on the exiled Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party in last year's elections, a ban that came after rival factions of the party submitted competing lists of candidates.

"International donors need to look for an accord with the CEP and the political parties and the factions of Fanmi Lavalas," Preval said. "We are giving (the parties) the support that they need, and the factions need to figure it out (for themselves)."

Preval did not discuss the forced resignation of an electoral council member accused of stealing a staffer's pay or opponents' allegations that the council gave special privileges to the president's newly formed Unity Party ahead of planned Feb. 28 legislative elections, which were postponed because of the Jan. 12 earthquake that devastated the capital.

He also declined to answer questions about another U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee report that criticizes Haiti's earthquake recovery, saying he would address that issue at a news conference on reconstruction next week.

Elections have never been easy in Haiti, a country whose founding president crowned himself emperor. It took 186 years to hold what the international community considered a democratic election in 1990, which was then closely followed by a coup d'etat.

Preval, in fact, is the only Haitian ever to be elected president, serve a full term and hand off power to an elected successor. Unable to run for re-election in the November contest, he pledged to relinquish power again as he did in the 1990s — after protesters alleged earlier this year that he was dragging his feet on holding presidential the election.

Doing so will require significant help. The electoral council's headquarters were destroyed and its records lost in the quake, while millions of voters were either killed, made homeless or displaced. Its new headquarters is a former Gold's Gym seized by drug agents.

The election will also be a cost burden for this grindingly poor Caribbean nation: $29 million according to electoral officials at the news conference with Preval, $38 million according to the U.S. Senate report.

The Organization of American States and United Nations have pledged support. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon issued a statement Wednesday praising the decree setting the election date and pledged the help of U.N. peacekeepers and advisers in preparing and supporting the ballot. Ban urged member states to quickly provide the money needed to run the vote.

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 9:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Urgent -- Rep. Loretta Sanchez Re Vietnam HR

**Importance:** High

Loretta will be at speech.

---

**From:** Marciel, Scot A
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Gatz, Karen L
**Sent:** Thu Jan 21 09:19:22 2010
**Subject:** Urgent -- Rep. Loretta Sanchez Re Vietnam HR

In case Rep. Loretta Sanchez engages the Secretary on the margins of her internet freedom speech, here is some quick background and a few suggested points – we didn't have time to clear it with anyone, but I thought better something than nothing. Scot

Background:

Representative Loretta Sanchez asked yesterday to speak with you regarding her concerns that the Administration is moving too fast in the direction of providing economic benefits to Vietnam -- for example, granting access to the General System of Preferences (GSP), permitting participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as an associate member -- even as the human rights situation deteriorates. Sanchez may try to button-hole you at your Internet speech today.

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Byrd family

Not sure who will be there but here is possibility:

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ashton meeting

We have a lot of people in meeting but we talked and will bring them to end of meeting so she can specially meet them.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 23:05:33 2010
Subject: Ashton meeting

I'd like to invite two EUR staffers--Jeremy Shapiro and Siddharth Mohandas-- who wrote a good memo about US-EU to come by and meet Lady Ashton tomorrow. Or even sit in on the mtg if ok w Phil Gordon.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 11:07 AM
**To:** H

After Afghan Shift, Top U.S. Civilians Face Tricky Future By MARK LANDLER WASHINGTON — As General David H. Petraeus takes command in Afghanistan, the two top American civilian officials in the war face an uncertain and tricky future, working with a newly empowered military leader, under the gaze of an impatient president who has put them on notice that his fractious war council needs to pull together.Richard C. Holbrooke, the Obama administration's special representative to the region, and Karl W. Eikenberry, the ambassador to Afghanistan, both hung on to their jobs in the uproar that followed Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal's career-ending quotes in Rolling Stone magazine.But privately, at least one senior White House official suggested using General McChrystal's exit as an excuse for a housecleaning, according to senior officials. That was rejected as too disruptive during a military campaign that relies heavily on civilian support, these people said.In recent days, other administration officials have begun floating the idea that Ambassador Eikenberry might be replaced by Ryan C. Crocker, the highly regarded former ambassador in Iraq who forged a close partnership with General Petraeus during the successful Iraq troop increase. Such a prospect is viewed as remote, given Mr. Crocker's prestigious new post at Texas A&M University. But the fact that his name is being invoked underlines the challenges that confront Ambassador Eikenberry, as he adapts to a new partner — one who has strong ideas about how soldiers and diplomats should work together in war.It also illustrates the remarkably powerful role that General Petraeus will assume in the nine-year-old war, setting him up as almost a viceroy in Afghanistan and a key broker in negotiations between President Hamid Karzai and Pakistan over an eventual political settlement.Before General Petraeus's arrival, some critics said the White House had created a problem by recruiting several forceful, ambitious personalities and giving them jobs with overlapping responsibilities. Administration officials acknowledge that, as one said, "there are obviously a number of substantial personalities on the team." But the White House believes that the current lineup can mesh, and that a difficult war demands this much talent. Still, the McChrystal blow-up has reverberated through the State Department. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton instructed Ambassador Eikenberry and Mr. Holbrooke to take a hard look at the civilian team, two officials said. She is not wedded to the current lineup if it continues to bog down in internecine battles, they said."You can't have a major shift in a civ-mil structure without having the civilian side take a step back and look at everything," said a senior State Department official, using the jargon for a civilian-military campaign.General Petraeus, whose appointment was approved 99-0 by the Senate on Wednesday, took pains at his confirmation hearing on Tuesday to back a unified civilian and military effort. He noted then that he had telephoned Mr. Holbrooke and would rendezvous with Ambassador Eikenberry in Brussels, so the two could land in Kabul together."Holbrooke has been my wingman, to a great degree," General Petraeus said in an interview. "We have had, and do have, a very good relationship." That role, he said, will now fall to Ambassador Eikenberry.Ambassador Eikenberry was highly critical of the Pentagon's proposal last year to send 60,000 additional troops to Afghanistan, which led to a difficult relationship with General McChrystal. But in fact General Petraeus was the true architect of the plan.The ambassador, a retired lieutenant general and former commander in Afghanistan, graduated from West Point in 1973, a year ahead of General Petraeus, but they did not know each other at the academy. The two share a scholarly bent: General Petraeus holds a Ph.D. from Princeton, while Ambassador Eikenberry has master's degrees from Harvard and Stanford.While they were never assigned together, their careers intersected twice. In Iraq, General Eikenberry led an assessment of Iraqi security forces while General Petraeus was commanding the 101st Airborne Division in Mosul. When General Eikenberry was commander in Afghanistan, General Petraeus led an assessment of Afghan National Security Forces.General Petraeus declined to discuss personnel issues, while Ambassador Eikenberry and Mr. Holbrooke turned down requests for an interview. Mr. Crocker, now the dean of the George Bush School of Government at Texas A&M, did not return a call for comment.For Mr. Holbrooke, the new landscape is challenging in other ways. Officials said his job security was less in doubt than it was six months ago, when his ouster was the subject of Washington chatter. Yet he has arguably become a less central player: Jacob J. Lew, a deputy secretary of state, manages much of the civilian influx in Afghanistan that Mr. Holbrooke helped shape, while the embassy in Kabul is carrying it out. Mr. Holbrooke's current portfolio has played to his weaknesses, his own allies admit. He is best as a high-level negotiator, and not as comfortable with the nitty-gritty work of helping Afghanistan build an

economy.These days, Mr. Holbrooke has become a globe-trotting diplomat, trying to retain flagging European allies while seeking to draw influential Muslim countries like Egypt into helping Afghanistan. At a recent conference of 35 countries in Madrid, Mr. Holbrooke drummed up more support from allies for the Afghan government's campaign to reintegrate Taliban fighters into mainstream society.Mr. Karzai's longer-term effort to reconcile with Taliban leaders, and his negotiations with Pakistan, could propel Mr. Holbrooke back into a central role. Were these talks to become more serious, several officials said, Mr. Holbrooke's negotiating skills could be put to use, as a broker and guardian of American interests. For now, though, as evidence of General Petraeus's influence, he will do most of the shuttling between Kabul and Islamabad, the Pakistani capital.On his last visit to the region, Mr. Holbrooke met with Mr. Karzai and with senior Pakistani officials, including the army chief of staff, Ashfaq Parvez Kayani. Mr. Holbrooke's past run-ins with Mr. Karzai, several officials said, have not hindered his ability to deal with the Afghan leader, and Pakistani officials said they trusted him. Husain Haqqani, Pakistan's ambassador to Washington, said that Mr. Holbrooke took time to understand Pakistan's concerns. "Ambassador Holbrooke is liked by some, admired by others and seen as effective, even by those who may not like him," Mr. Haqqani said.Still, General Petraeus is indisputably the key player, and he has wasted no time asserting his control. On a secure videoconference call last Saturday, a person familiar with the call said, General Petraeus threw his support behind a costly, and controversial, plan to install temporary generators to supply more electricity to Kandahar, the Taliban stronghold that is the next major American military target.Mr. Holbrooke and Ambassador Eikenberry swiftly assented.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: fyi

This is the paper - see below.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Thursday, July 01, 2010 12:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: fyi

Maariv: Hebrew language daily tabloid

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maariv

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, July 01, 2010 11:54 AM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: FW: fyi

What paper is this from?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 01, 2010 11:09 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: fyi

Let's discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted] <cheryl.mills [redacted]
Sent: Thu Jul 01 11:06:04 2010
Subject: fyi

<http://coteret.com/author/didiremez/>
Maariv: Netanyahu won't meet Clinton; 'sources' say she "isn't relevant" <http://coteret.com/2010/07/01/maariv-netanyahu-wont-meet-clinton-sources-say-she-isnt-relevant/>

Didi Remez <http://coteret.com/author/didiremez/> | July 1, 2010 at 15:25 | Categories: Diplomacy <http://coteret.com/category/diplomacy/> | URL: http://wp.me/pHlQV-Ep

Do they honestly think that publicizing a quote like this, on record or off, works to their advantage?

Israeli diplomatic [euphemism for Prime Minister's Office -- DR] sources said: "Clinton isn't relevant and is out of the circle of influence. Mitchell has taken over the peace process to a great extent and Obama, in any event, is the important person in this story because he is the one who decides."

---

<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif>
<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif>
<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif> Netanyahu to meet Obama, but not Clinton
Eli Bardenstein, Maariv, July 1 2010 [page 7; Hebrew original here and at bottom of post]
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton>
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton>
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton> Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is to leave next week for Washington, where he will meet with US President Barack Obama. Rather curiously, he is not scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the course of his visit to Washington.

Contrary to his previous visit in March, this time the US administration intends to create the impression, outwardly at least, that the severe crisis in the relationship has passed and that the relations between the two countries are as strong as ever. In order to bolster that impression, the two leaders will meet the media together and will be photographed. As opposed to the previous time, Netanyahu will also be put up at Blair House, the official White House guesthouse, and not at a hotel.

That said, officials in Washington are waiting apprehensively for the answers that Netanyahu will provide in the course of the meeting, which is expected to address the transition from the proximity talks that are at an impasse to direct negotiations. Obama, apparently, will demand that Netanyahu agree to extend the construction freeze in Judea and Samaria beyond the September 26 expiration date in hope of securing PA Chairman Abu Mazen's consent to begin direct talks with Israel. For the time being, the forum of seven is divided over this issue.

Read more of this post <http://coteret.com/2010/07/01/maariv-netanyahu-wont-meet-clinton-sources-say-she-isnt-relevant/#more-2505>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pending Calls

MS, when you ready, we have three calls that are pending from the last 60/90 minutes – Jones (unsecure), Cheryl and Mullen (secure).
Jake recommends speaking to Cheryl first.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: [redacted] family have asked Jim to accompany them to Haiti B6

fyi

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** 'Buhl, Cindy'; Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc:** Philbin, Christopher; Kennedy, Patrick F; Verma, Richard R
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] family have asked Jim to accompany them to Haiti

Cindy – please call me so you appreciate the impact of this trip on others who would be being used to do search and rescue and transport goods and services and so that you have realistic expectations as we cannot support this in the fashion folks ordinarily are accommodated in non-disaster areas.

202-647-5548.

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy; Philbin, Christopher
**Subject:** [redacted] family have asked Jim to accompany them to Haiti

Dear Cheryl and Ambassador Jacobs,

[redacted] and his family have asked Jim to accompany them, the president of Lynn University (Kevin M. Ross) and others to Haiti this weekend. They intend to go to the Hotel Montana to look at the USAR operations and [redacted] Jim has to accept this invitation, so he is going with them. It's our understanding that Senator Kerry has been or will be invited, as well. It's also our understanding that Lynn University will be providing the air transport to Haiti.

Jim, first and foremost, wanted you to know this is happening. Second, he asks that whatever permissions he and the [redacted] Family/Lynn University delegation might need to enter Haiti, for Lynn University to land their aircraft, and for them to go to and review the Hotel Montana USAR operation be granted and expedited.

**The primary contact in our office on this matter is our Chief of Staff, Chris Philbin.**
Our general office phone is 202-225-6101.
Chris's cell phone # is [redacted]
And I have copied him on this email so that you have his email/blackberry address
[redacted]

I am, of course, here to help in any way I can.

Cindy

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 6:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:07:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Jake please pass to hillary. I will call. She may want to, especially given forthcoming trip. R PS--tell her I had a good (I think)u talk with Misha S today. Hope it helps trip.

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jul 01 17:32:48 2010
Subject: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Richard

3 bombs devastated the shrine of Data Ganjbakhsh (the most sacred Muslim place in all of South Asia, and the shrine S was supposed to go to). Aside from loss of life, this is a major blow to Pakistan. I recommend that you call Qureshi, Nawaz and Pasha (who will be here tomorrow). This will either break Pakistanis or will get them into the fight. This shrine is deeply tied to the foundation of Islam in Pakistan.
Vali Nasr

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Pakistan detains man over Times Square bomb

**From**: Packer, Adam D
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Pakistan; NEWS-SCT
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Tue May 04 12:44:43 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Pakistan detains man over Times Square bomb

KARACHI (AP) - Pakistan intelligence officials say at least one man has been detained in the southern city of Karachi in connection with the Times Square bombing attempt. The official said the man was named Tauseef and was a friend of Faisal Shahzad, the American of Pakistani descent who is in custody in the United States over the failed attack. He did not say when the man was picked up. Another official said several people had been taken into custody since the failed attack Saturday. Both officials spoke on condition of anonymity because of the sensitive nature of their work.

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 6:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Yep

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:25:22 2010
Subject: Re: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Can you get me more info about the shrine?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:24:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:07:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Jake please pass to hillary. I will call. She may want to, especially given forthcoming trip. R PS--tell her I had a good (I think)u talk with Misha S today. Hope it helps trip.

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jul 01 17:32:48 2010
Subject: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Richard

3 bombs devastated the shrine of Data Ganjbakhsh (the most sacred Muslim place in all of South Asia, and the shrine S was supposed to go to). Aside from loss of life, this is a major blow to Pakistan. I recommend that you call Qureshi, Nawaz and Pasha (who will be here tomorrow). This will either break Pakistanis or will get them into the fight. This shrine is deeply tied to the foundation of Islam in Pakistan.
Vali Nasr

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Miliband mtg

Pls raise Afghan women's participation in the London meeting. I'm looking at the draft document to come out of the London conference and there's no mention of women. I'm working on a few suggestions and going to meet shortly with one of Miliband's colleagues.

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 8:10pm

MS, the crew is asking if you would like dinner soon -- I wanted to check with you before they interrupted you in the cabin.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) Pakistan makes arrests connected to NYC bomb attempt

---

**From:** Packer, Adam D
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 04, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Pakistan; NEWS-SCT
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** (Reuters) Pakistan makes arrests connected to NYC bomb attempt

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Pakistan on May 4 made several arrests in connection with the failed Times Square car bomb attack in New York, security sources said.

"We have picked up a few family members" related to Faisal Shahzad, the chief suspect in the attempted attack, a security official in Karachi said. A friend of Shahzad was also arrested.

Shahzad, a 30-year-old Pakistani-American, was arrested late on May 3 at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York after being removed from a plane as it was about take off for Dubai, American officials said.

Another intelligence official in Pakistan said Shahzad received militant training in northwest Pakistan near the garrison town of Kohat. The area around Kohat is a stronghold of Tariq Afridi, the main Pakistani Taliban commander in the region.

Pakistan, which could come under renewed U.S. pressure to crack down harder on militants after the Times Square incident, vowed to help the United States bring Shahzad to justice

Shahzad will appear in Manhattan federal court to face charges "for allegedly driving a car bomb into Times Square on the evening of May 1", according to a statement by U.S. Attorney Preet Bharara, FBI agent George Venizelos and New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly.

"We will cooperate with the United States in identifying this individual and bringing him to justice," Interior Minister Rehman Malik told Reuters.

U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Anne W. Patterson met Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Malik and talked about the issue, Pakistani government officials and the U.S. Embassy said.

"We have an ongoing cooperation with the United States on anti-terrorism efforts. If required by the United States, we will extend full cooperation to them in this regard," Pakistani Foreign Ministry spokesman Abdul Basit said.

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 12:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: CNN on Syria

----- Original Message -----
From: Alec Ross [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Chollet, Derek H; Crowley, Philip J; (U) Benton, Cheryl A
Cc: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Thu Jul 01 19:44:47 2010
Subject: CNN on Syria

Washington (CNN) -- Sometimes foreign policy isn't best digested 140 characters at a time.

That's what a pair of young State Department officials found in Syria, where they were leading a trade delegation of Silicon Valley executives. Their bosses back in Washington were mortified when media blogs picked up the musings of Alec Ross and Jared Cohen on Twitter about which Syrian cafes serve the greatest frappuccino (Kalamoon University) and their challenge to the Syrian telecom minister for a cake-eating contest (called "Creative Diplomacy.") Creative, indeed.

It was a mild, but unfortunate distraction from what was widely considered an otherwise productive mission. The delegation of senior executives, from tech heavyweights like Microsoft, Cisco Systems and Dell, met with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and other officials, as well as businessmen, civil society groups and academics battling their government's tight-fisted control on the internet.

The visit illustrated both the opportunities and the landmines Hillary Clinton's State Department has to navigate as it logs into the digital age.

In Foggy Bottom, one needs to be fired up about being wired up.
Blogging and tweeting are now part of every diplomat's job description. At any given moment you can find someone like the top official on Latin America tweeting in Spanish about his latest trip to Peru, or Secretary Clinton herself posting podcasts on the State Department website and soliciting questions from the public on the State Department's blog, Dipnote.

Beneath the web atmospherics is what Ross, Clinton's "innovation"
guru, calls "21st century statecraft."

Ross, a 38-year-old former technology adviser to the Obama campaign, and his partner in crime, Jared Cohen, a 28-year-old author on genocide, youth and jihad who joined the State Department during the Bush administration, are at the forefront of a new push by Clinton to use technology and social media as a diplomatic tool. Since taking office, Clinton has made the spread of information technology and internet freedom a cornerstone of her foreign policy, hoping both will serve as catalysts for spreading democracy.

It used to be one of the biggest carrots the State Department could dangle before a country was a visit by the secretary of state. Now it is a delegation of Silicon Valley heavyweights led by Ross and Cohen, which might include executives from Microsoft, Google or Facebook.

Since the Obama administration took office, they have led delegations with executives from tech giants such as Google, Facebook and Twitter to Iraq, Russia and Mexico with some tangible results. In Iraq, Google created a project to make digital copies of 14,000 antiquities in Iraq's National Museum. And in Mexico, the delegation helped develop a network for Mexicans to report drug-related crimes by cell phone.

The visit to Syria came as the Obama administration takes baby steps toward engagement with that nation. The United States had not had an ambassador in Damascus for five years and the administration's efforts to fill that post have been stymied by Congress.

The U.S. delegation was requested by President Assad himself earlier this year in meetings with senior U.S. officials. The United States hopes playing to Assad's desire to modernize his economy and stated willingness for better diplomatic and trade ties with the Obama administration could drive a wedge between Syria and Iran, its closest ally.

Moreover, the United States hopes facilitating the flow of information into Syria will create a more open political climate there. While in Syria, the delegation was surprised to find many young entrepreneurs with a widely different attitude about the outside world and a desire to network into it, including one young woman who, during a session with the deputy IT minister, looked him straight in the eye and asked for more access to the internet.

"Syria's population is going to double in the next 17 years," Cohen said. "And young people in Syria are going to become increasingly digital and connected or increasingly isolated. It is in our interest to see they are digital and connected."

Strict U.S. sanctions against Syria for its support for terrorist groups in Lebanon, Iraq and the Palestinian territories ban the sale of most technology to Syrian markets, but the White House does have waiver authority to sell certain products to Syria, and the purpose of the trip, in part, was to help facilitate American technology companies to enter the Syrian market.

The Obama administration has eased exports of certain telecommunication products in countries where they were once banned, including Cuba, Iran, Sudan and China, out of fears repressive regimes would use them to oppress their people.

"We are not naive," Ross said. "... Syria says it needs this technology for it's economic development. We understand that, but we were very careful about the companies we selected for this delegation.
We won't support technology being reverse-engineered."

The Syrian government has blamed the sanctions for its economic stagnation. But the executives, whose companies have a combined market value of close to a half a trillion dollars, delivered a blunt message to the regime in Damascus -- one which can't be delivered credibly by the US government: Our companies won't do business in a country without internet freedom or protections for intellectual property.

"They painted a picture of what Syria could have," Cohen said of the delegation. "What they could invest in if Syria took certain steps."
During the visit both Cisco and Microsoft raised the possibility of training in Syria under the right conditions.

As a result of the visit, the Syrians pledged to pass an e-commerce law that would provide safeguards against government censorship or infiltration of internet sites, something the Obama administration had pushed for. But U.S. officials made clear further steps would be based on Syria's actions on loosening the information chokehold, rather than its promises. Ahmed Salkini, a spokesman for the Syrian Embassy in Washington, said his government is dedicated to "creating an environment conducive for the work of IT companies and hopes to pass the e-commerce law "in the very near future"

Salkini said the Syrian government found the delegation was successful in scoping opportunities for future cooperation.

"We constantly encourage private sector interaction between the U.S.

and Syria," he said. But he added, "We think the only way for this type of cooperation to succeed is with a lack of governmental interferences and lack of political agenda from both sides."

This month Ross and Cohen will lead a delegation to Colombia and later this year, it's on to India.

They are a couple of virtual and diplomatic soul mates, virtually attached at the hip and finishing each other's sentences. Both have become Twitterati (celebrities on Twitter) in their own right, as they tweet their way around the world spreading the gospel of 21st century statecraft. Ross has some 287,000 followers on Twitter, while Cohen -- who gained notoriety last year when he asked Twitter to delay scheduled maintenance to allow the Iranian opposition to continue to use it to organize after the disputed election -- has about 305,000.

They are the public face of an effort at the State Department to wire the unwired. Clinton recently told a group of Russian civil society groups visiting Washington, "We have a great team of really dedicated young people -- primarily young people -- who care deeply about connecting people up. And I'm very proud of the work they're doing."

If they have a corner on the 21st century statecraft market now, it won't be for long. Recently Ross trained 50 European ambassadors on how to implement the concept in their own countries. His goal, he says, is to create a community in which countries can share their technology innovations among each other. For example Kenya, a pioneer in mobile banking, could help spread the concept to its neighbors and beyond.

After their Syrian adventures in Twitterville, Ross and Cohen were advised to continue to use the technology, but avoid the minutiae.
Still, State Department officials believe the digital duo is good for business, drawing in a new generation of individuals interested in U.S. foreign policy.

"What they do has tremendous value," said Assistant Secretary P.J.
Crowley, the State Department's spokesman. "Whatever they put in their tweets, they have 600,000 Twitters followers that are now connected in some way to the State Department. And I will take that to the bank."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** startegic communications

Greetings from Nairobi. I'm at the end of week-long trip to Kampala, Kinshasa and now Nairobi. The trip has been very productive and I will fill you in on some of the discussions I have been having when I return. In the meantime, I know that there are a number of discussions with Dan Benjamin and others relating to a new more aggressive approach to CVE and I wanted to update you on my thoughts in terms of how those critical discussions fit in with our overall approach to strategic communications around the globe.

As you and I have discussed, it is essential that we become much more pro-active in all our communications efforts. To put it bluntly, we are in an "information war" on all fronts. With the proliferation of media outlets and opportunities around the world, we must fight aggressively to get, and maintain, our fair share of "consumer share of mind." Both our adversaries and allies recognize the importance of this aspect of foreign policy and are adopting new ways of communicating with foreign publics. Consumers everywhere are constantly facing a barrage of information and in some cases misinformation and dis-information. In order to get our messages across and confront the threats posed by our adversaries, we must develop a new sense of urgency in all our communications efforts. Much has been said and written about the concept of "soldier diplomats". In the same vein, I believe we must empower a corps of "diplomat soldiers" to help us gain ground in this new war.

While countering violent extremism is, and will remain, a key objective of our communications efforts we must apply the same level of determination with respect to all communications. We must both aggressively promote positive stories about the US and rapidly respond to attacks against us. In the past, our failure to respond to attacks and distortions has diminished our credibility and undermined our ability to combat our adversaries. For example, had we not responded to all the rumors and innuendos surrounding our relief efforts in Haiti, I believe we would have provided a fertile field for AQ and others to continue to perpetuate the image of the US as an "invader".

Before I left for this trip, I convened a meeting of our top PD officers and told them that we must become much more aggressive in our strategic communications programs and initiatives. We plan to implement daily calls between our new regional PD DAS's and PAO's in the regions so we can monitor on a daily basis all stories about the USG. We will work with the Posts to ensure that they have strategies for dealing with stories as they develop. I would also like to request that you send a cable to all Chiefs of Mission informing of the new strategy and reminding them of their responsibilities in this critical area. We will work on a draft for your review when you return.

Finally, we are developing new organizational solutions, modeled on an approach I saw at our Mission in Uganda, which I think will greatly clarify roles and responsibilities with respect to in country communications not only within the Mission, but across all government agencies within particular countries.

I will continue to update you as we move forward.

Hope your trip is going well. Look forward to greeting together when we are both back in DC.

JM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Micheletti Stepping Aside

fyi

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**From**: Kelly, Craig A
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Cue, Lourdes C; Aguilera, Patricia; Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Gonzalez, Francisco J
**Cc**: Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent**: Thu Jan 21 12:24:05 2010
**Subject**: Micheletti Stepping Aside

Following is close-hold please.

You will have seen press reports that Micheletti is stepping down – reportedly it will be a "leave of absence" for legal reasons. If this holds, it is an important development that we have been pushing to allow space for Pepe Lobo to get off to a good start and encourage greater attendance at the Jan 27 inauguration. This was the point of my Jan 5-6 trip to Tegucigalpa, Hugo's consistent efforts and our follow-up visa revocations. Two nights ago President Martinelli of Panama called me saying Micheletti wanted to find a way out and would he, Martinelli, talk to me. I spoke with Martinelli about ten times over the last two days to discuss specifics. Micheletti wanted to depart Friday but I told Martinelli that it had to be today because regional leaders need time to make their plans. Micheletti wanted assurances that visas would be restored, but we simply forward to Martinelli our standing press guidance that we continuously review visa decisions based on the situation on the ground. ck

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: great job

nice

---

**From:** Ann O'Leary [mailto [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 6:57 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** great job

Dearest Cheryl -

You are so good at what you do. I was reminded of it this morning when I heard you on NPR. You're the perfect person to be on the ground dealing with the operation and also translating for the public what is going on. I know you don't enjoy doing press, but you are very good at it and I think it is important for the American public to understand the mission of the U.S. government and the high respect and deference you are giving to the Haitian government. You really got that across this morning.

Sending you lots of love and good luck in your incredibly important mission.

xo,
Ann

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: great job

At the foot of the master.

I learned.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:25 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: great job

And well-deserved. You're a rock star!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:21:57 2010
Subject: FW: great job

nice

From: Ann O'Leary [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 6:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: great job

Dearest Cheryl -

You are so good at what you do. I was reminded of it this morning when I heard you on NPR. You're the perfect person to be on the ground dealing with the operation and also translating for the public what is going on. I know you don't enjoy doing press, but you are very good at it and I think it is important for the American public to understand the mission of the U.S. government and the high respect and deference you are giving to the Haitian government. You really got that across this morning.

Sending you lots of love and good luck in your incredibly important mission.

xo,
Ann

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Cultural Letters
**Attachments:** Congress, Olver Culture Letter, v. 2.docx

Fyi, a bit of Congressipnal outreach.

Jm

---

**From**: Pally, Maura M.
**To**: McHale, Judith A
**Cc**: Stock, Ann; DiMartino, Kitty; Maughan, Chelsea V
**Sent**: Fri Jul 02 10:14:24 2010
**Subject**: Cultural Letters

Following up on your great recommendation during the cultural working group debrief to notify Members of Congress when we send their constituents on our cultural programs, we have implemented a correspondence system to notify Members upon the return of their constituents. Each week, we will review our cultural program participant list and send letters accordingly. The basic letter template which will be personalized as needed (see attached for an example) has been cleared by H and R to expedite the process. We will also periodically review how many participants we have from each state and send letters to Senators as appropriate.

Today, we sent our first batch of letters out to:
Congressman Robert Brady (D-PA1)
Congresswoman Yvette Clarke (D-NY11)
Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY17)
Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC)
Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX18)
Congressman Jerrold Nadler (D-NY8)
Congressman John Olver (D-MA)
Congressman Charlie Rangel (D-NY15)
Congressman Brad Sherman (D-CA27)

If this process proves as successful as we think it will, we can work towards broadening it to our other programs as well. It's a great idea and a wonderful way to share all that we are doing with those who might not even know they are benefiting!

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769270 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

June 30, 2010

Dear Mr. John Olver:

We thought you would be interested to know that three members of Kaleidoscope Trio, located in your district, recently traveled to Mali and throughout Cote d'Ivoire as part of the Performing Arts Initiative, a cultural exchange program supported by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. This program is an important way to engage foreign audiences by providing U.S. embassies financial support for presentations of American performing arts and artists.

We received excellent feedback on the Kaleidoscope Trio. This outstanding jazz ensemble delighted hundreds of people in Mali through concerts and many thousands more through feature programming on nationwide radio and TV outlets. During stops in Yamoussoukro, Tiassele, and Abidjan, the group conducted participatory workshops and discussions for nearly 475 students.

The ensemble's packed schedule included workshops at the Bamako School for the Blind as well as music and high schools throughout the capital; an outdoor concert for 500 in a town in southwest Mali; and, a joint performance with Grammy-nominated Malian artist Bassekou Kouyate. The Trio members' willingness to provide free music lessons during their downtime deeply impressed Malian audiences. Perhaps the greatest cultural exchange occurred in Abidjan when group member, Gilad Dobrecky, was presented with an "ahoko," an African percussion instrument, and to the surprise and enjoyment of the audience seamlessly incorporated it into the trio's repertoire.

We are thrilled to have the opportunity to showcase America's accomplished and talented artists through our cultural projects. Your constituents' willingness to undertake the rigors of international travel to engage foreign audiences, foster goodwill and provide insight into our culture and values makes them true citizen diplomats. We are grateful to them for helping us accomplish our country's foreign policy objectives.

Sincerely,

Maura M. Pally
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Professional and Cultural Exchanges

The Honorable
John Olver,
House of Representatives.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769270 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 12:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pakistan bombing

FYI we are putting out the following statement.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Bombing of the Shrine of Syed Ali Hujviri in Lahore

I was shocked and saddened by yesterday's attack on one of Pakistan's most popular places of worship, the Shrine of Syed Ali Hujviri (Data Ganjbakhsh) in Lahore, which claimed the lives of many innocent Pakistanis.

The extremists have shown that they respect neither human dignity nor the fundamental religious values of Pakistani society. Violating the sanctity of this revered shrine is a particularly sinister attempt to destabilize Pakistan and to intimidate its people. The attackers will not succeed, as the Pakistani public refuses to be cowed by such violence.

We condemn this brutal crime and reaffirm our commitment to support the Pakistani people in their efforts to defend their democracy from the violent extremists who seek to destroy it. Our thoughts and prayers are with the families of the victims and with all the people of Pakistan.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: A potential climate call tomorrow
**Attachments:** S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx

FYI. I'm following up with Kurt to get his thoughts.

---

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
**Subject:** A potential climate call tomorrow

Jake – it would be useful if HRC could call Wen Jiabao [redacted] B5

<<S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx>>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Pick Tefft's brain about Georgia!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pick Tefft's brain about Georgia!

And also pls pass the salt
Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Jul 02 13:59:11 2010
Subject: Pick Tefft's brain about Georgia!

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: A potential climate call tomorrow

Froman has encouraged this call. I will also check in with Bader.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:01 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: A potential climate call tomorrow

Let me know what you find out. Probably need to talk w Bader and Froman too.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:46:34 2010
Subject: FW: A potential climate call tomorrow

FYI. I'm following up with Kurt to get his thoughts.

---

From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:09 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: A potential climate call tomorrow

Jake – it would be useful if HRC could call Wen Jiabao [redacted] B5

B5

<<S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx>>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tomorrow

MS, [redacted] B6

[redacted] Your appointment is scheduled for 7:00am, and we are scheduled to depart the hotel at 8:30am. Monica and I will be ready by 6:00am for anything you need. Thank you!

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: RADM David M. Stone

I will be out of the office until Tuesday, July 6th on official travel with the Secretary. I will be checking my email during this time. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572. Thank you!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 2:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** E3+Ashton

Steve Mull is proposing that you do a conference call with the E3 FMs and Ashton sometime this week. Here is the rationale and background:

The European Union Foreign Affairs Council, comprised of all 27 EU Foreign Ministers, will next meet on May 10. In a conversation April 26, Bill Burns persuaded the E3 and European Commission to support adding to the agenda of that meeting a discussion of preparations for the sanctions the EU will impose following passage of a UNSCR.

The European Council, comprised of the EU's heads of government, will meet on June 16-17 – a meeting which could direct the imposition of such sanctions if we succeed in passing an UNSCR by then.

The purpose of your teleconference would be to hear from the E3 and Ashton a status report on the EU's preparations to impose such sanctions, and to discuss how the U.S. could best support the EU's forward progress. It would supplement experts' level consultations we have been conducting for several weeks, including meetings on May 3 and May 6.

The measures the Europeans are considering include bans on new Iranian bank branches in the EU, correspondent banking relationships, new investment in the Iranian energy sector, and on access for Iranian ships to European ports.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: RADM David M. Stone

On your schedule

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Jul 02 16:28:13 2010
Subject: Fw: RADM David M. Stone

Can I go?

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Jul 02 12:44:47 2010
Subject: Fw: RADM David M. Stone

Burns Strider

---

From: Steve Abbot [redacted]
Date: Fri, 2 Jul 2010 12:35:50 -0400
To: Steve Abbot [redacted]
Subject: RADM David M. Stone

There will be a funeral mass for RADM David M. Stone at the Fort Myer Old Post Chapel, at 12:45 pm, Wed, Jul 14, 2010. Interment service will follow at the Arlington National Cemetery. There will be a reception at the Army Navy Country Club, Arlington, VA, immediately after. Directions to Fort Myer are provided below, as well as directions to the Army Navy Country Club. Please note that cars without a DOD decal will normally be inspected at the Fort Myer gate, so you should plan on arriving at the gate approximately 30 minutes prior to the service. Each individual in the car is required to have a photo ID.

If entering through the Hatfield Gate off Washington Blvd, once you are on post, proceed straight ahead to the three way stop sign and turn left on McNair Road. The Post Exchange will be on your left and the Memorial Chapel on your right. Travel 0.5 miles on McNair Road until you see the Old Post Chapel ahead on your right. Park in the parking lot in front of the chapel, or, if that is full, in one of the adjacent lots.

If entering through the Wright Gate off Rte 110, once you are on post, proceed straight ahead on Marshall Dr. After 0.3 miles take a left onto McNair Road, and proceed straight ahead 0.3 miles until you see the Old Post Chapel on your left. Park in one of the parking lots near the chapel.

If you use GPS, enter 500 McNair Rd, Fort Myer, VA 22211-1302.

Following the service, if you are continuing to the interment, proceed to your car and form a line behind the caisson in front of the chapel. Follow the caisson into the cemetery and park on the road near the gravesite, which is in Section 36.

After the interment service, exit via the Arlington Cemetery Main Gate which is close to the gravesite. Turn onto Memorial Drive toward the Memorial Bridge.

To reach the Army Navy Country Club, proceed 0.2 miles down Memorial Drive, just past the walkway and stop sign, and take a hard left onto the on ramp for Rte 110. It is not marked as such. If you get to the traffic circle before Memorial Bridge, you have gone too far. Go around the traffic circle and come back toward the cemetery and make the right onto the ramp for Rte 110. On Rte 110 stay in the right lane and take the first exit toward I-395 South and Washington Blvd. Stay to the right and take the first exit toward Columbia Pike/Rte 244. Take a left at the first light onto Southgate Rd/S Joyce St. You will pass the NEX gas station on your left. Go to the light and take a right on Army Navy Drive. Go 0.6 miles and take a right into the Country Club. For use in a GPS, the address is 1700 Army Navy Drive, Arlington, VA 22202. Drive up the hill to the clubhouse and parking.

Directions to Fort Myer

Fort Myer, Virginia, is located across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C., adjacent to Arlington National Cemetery. Fort Myer has two gates for use by visitors:

Hatfield Gate on Washington Blvd at South 2nd Street -- Main gate, open at all times;

Wright Gate on Marshall Dr at Meade St just off Rte 110 --
Open from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m. seven days a week

FROM THE SOUTH ON INTERSTATE 95:

Inside the Capital Beltway, I-95 becomes I-395. Proceed north toward Washington. Take Exit 8A (7 miles inside the Beltway), marked "Washington Blvd., Route 27." Bear left on the ramp, following the signs. Exit Washington Blvd. to the right at the exit marked "Fort Myer Only" to the Hatfield Gate.

FROM THE WEST ON INTERSTATE 66:

Proceed on I-66 inside the Capital Beltway. Take Exit 26 (7 miles inside the Beltway) marked "Route 110 South, Pentagon, Alexandria." Pass the Iwo Jima Memorial on your right, then immediately turn right onto Marshall Drive and continue 3/4 miles to Fort Myer Wright Gate.

FROM THE NORTH ON THE CAPITAL BELTWAY (I-495):

Immediately after crossing the American Legion Bridge into Virginia, exit to the right onto the George Washington Memorial Parkway, toward Washington, Exit 43-44. Merge onto the Parkway, then take exit toward US-50. Merge onto Arlington Blvd/US-50. Proceed west in the right lane to a ramp for Ft. Myer Drive/Meade Street. Make a left turn, pass by the Iwo Jima Memorial on your left, proceed to the stop sign and turn right into Ft. Myer.

FROM D.C.:

Take I-395 out of the city and into Virginia. Pass the Pentagon and take Exit 8A for Washington Blvd. Proceed on Washington Blvd and take exit marked "Fort Myer Only" on the right.

<https://webmail.nmcrs.org/OWA/redir.aspx?C=a22c35b9dc9847beb9471b435a4b928c&URL=http%3a%2f%2fwww.fmmc.army.mil%2fsites%2fabout%2fdirections.asp%23top>

http://www.mapquest.com/mq/9-jxcZ

http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/mrp-map.htm

ADM Charles S. Abbot, USN (Ret)

President, Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society

875 N. Randolph St., Suite 225

Arlington, VA 22203

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 4:30 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: RADM David M. Stone

Yes, it is on your line block for that day.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Jul 02 16:28:13 2010
Subject: Fw: RADM David M. Stone

Can I go?

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider [redacted]
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Burns Strider

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From: Steve Abbot [redacted]
Date: Fri, 2 Jul 2010 12:35:50 -0400
To: Steve Abbot [redacted]
Subject: RADM David M. Stone

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Open from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m. seven days a week

FROM THE SOUTH ON INTERSTATE 95:

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Arlington Blvd/US-50. Proceed west in the right lane to a ramp for Ft. Myer Drive/Meade Street. Make a left turn, pass by the Iwo Jima Memorial on your left, proceed to the stop sign and turn right into Ft. Myer.

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http://www.mapquest.com/mq/9-jxcZ

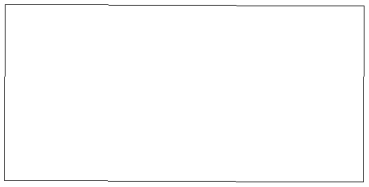
http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/mrp-map.htm

ADM Charles S. Abbot, USN (Ret)

President, Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society

875 N. Randolph St., Suite 225

Arlington, VA 22203



B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 9:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Griot education project in Haiti - anothter idea -- much quicker ramp-up

fyi

---

**From:** David Domenici [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Griot education project in Haiti - anothter idea -- much quicker ramp-up

Cheryl:

After watching scenes on TV, talking w/ you and others, here is idea for nearly immediate way to get kids back 'in school' or into school for the first time. It would be very cheap, could get started very soon—say mid-February, could be linked to other distribution networks (food/medical supplies), and would be quite organic and grassroots. I'll call it the Griot education project (in the west African tradition of a streetside storytellers).

Context/Understanding:
Looks like there are a few hundred thousand kids in Port-au-Prince who pretty soon will be (already are) sitting around day-to-day w/ more or less nothing to do. Their schools got destroyed, their neighborhoods in rough shape. These are young kids who would be best served if they could get out of the house for a few hours a day (possibly even freeing up parents to do rebuilding or other work), and not spend their time getting caught up in crime, or desperately searching through rubble for a mal to eat...and get back to school, and engage their naturally curious brains.

The goal of this program is to immediately give them a place to go, a chance to interface with an energetic educator, and at least expose them to relevant, skill-enhancing academic work that engages them while we rebuild education infrastructure. It also would likely get them 1 meal each day, and if needed a way to get referred for immediate medical attention.

Griot Educators:
We recruit and equip a cadre of teachers who will go out into communities with a set of portable materials each morning—educators who after a few days will find a place to teach, and will have attracted class of students. This is modeled off the street artist/storyteller.

We flyer the neighborhoods, advertising teaching positions. We work w/ whoever we can find who can help us identify people who were good teachers prior to the earthquake and/or people who have the abilty to attract kids (appropriately).

We select teachers. We agree to pay them a daily/weekly stipend. We want people who know their communities, who don't need a lot of direction, who will take a cart full of educational materials, find a corner, or abandoned building and start teaching to whoever shows up. People who will do anything to get some young kids to try to read or do some math problems or sing songs and write poetry...

Education Supply Centers
We set up education supply centers and a distribution system. Each center is staffed by small team—1 lead person is an education-leader, others are admin and support. Griots come the center in the morning, they get a day's worth of educational materials (we select it, we photocopy it, we give them 50 pencils, etc.). We agree to send over 50 meals two hours later. Each Griot wheels his portable classroom to his/her spot and sets up shop...Kids come, and he/she teaches. It builds momentum and kids get off the streets, out of their homes and come to the morning 'school' site. Kids who come get a meal. Maybe we end up w/ 3 tiers of Griots—1 who works w/ 4, 5, 6 year olds, 1 with 7, 8, 9 year olds, 1 with 10, 11, 12 year olds. Each one picks up a packet of material that is more or less appropriate for that age group. All this is incredibly flexible and fluid. Maybe one morning session and then an after lunch session.

The education supply centers are warehouses we set up. They have copiers, lots of paper, basic school supplies, some art supplies, etc. (Over time, maybe people donate a bunch of books or magazines, etc—they become ways for artists, volunteers, entertainers to connect w/ kids, as well.) Each morning a group of Griots go to their supply centers and pick up materials, and fill up their cart...and roll down the block, or blocks and set up their 'school' for the day. Maybe someone wants to donate a bunch of art supplies, or harmonicas—who knows—whatever it takes to get kids to show up and do some academic and enrichment activities. These education supply centers likely get linked to other distribution hubs. This way they can get linked w/ food or other supplies.

Longer-term/setting the stage for longer-term ramp up
Over time, some of the Griots will end up running little schools that start to feel permanent. Kids will bring in chairs and stools...maybe some of the teaching material ends up staying at the school sites, and the end up as likely places for folks to build/rebuild schools. But in the near term, the 'school' is whatever spot the Griot goes to where he/she can attract a cadre of kids—and the good news is that can be almost anywhere.

This program is cheap -- as costly as it is to pay stipends to the Griots, plus the cost of supplies, delivery, and some human capital to man the supply centers, develop/acquire high interest, high educational value material. I think quite cheap, and could easily be costed out once we knew about how much we need to pay a Griot for a day of teaching.

It also gets some folks working, immediately.

Some Griots would take stipend and not teach; some wouldn't do it well; some would pawn off the food/biscuits...But we could weed much of that out and w/ this sort of approach, you don't let a few bad apples spoil the larger program (or fear of them stop it from getting started). This program is about planting the seeds for the future schools to come, about getting young kids off streets and stoops and into a fun/learning environment, about empowering talented teacher-artists to go out into their communities armed w/ some basic materials, their good will, their creativity (and a paycheck)—together the kids and the Griots will find local places to call and claim as their schools.

And while this is going on, we have time to build out infrastructure (human capital, facilities, instructional/curricular materials) for more robust ramp-up over time.

Per usual, feel free to ignore or pass on.

dd

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: early review. Sid

H: Jim Fallows told me he was at your speech and thrilled by it. He's just returned from three years in China. He didn't expect you would be so frank. Here's his post on The Atlantic website. Sid

http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/a_momentous_40_hours.php#more

« Hillary Clinton's "Internet freedom" speech | Main

## A momentous 40 hours, leading to Clinton/China/Internet

21 Jan 2010 04:12 pm
Apart from two obvious pieces of momentous news in the past day-and-a-half -- the new junior Senator from Massachusetts, and the new Buckley v. Valeo (by which I mean today's lamentable, straight-party-line Supreme Court ruling that removes limits from direct corporate underwriting of political campaigns) -- there is one other event today that will have big ripple effects. I mean SecState Hillary Clinton's speech this morning about "Internet Freedom," mentioned here and with a prelude discussion here.

I'm not going to take time for a thorough gloss of the speech. Instead I highly recommend reading the full text, here, or watching the official video, here. And for now some of the main points while listening (and noting main points down in real time with the handy LiveScribe pen.)

- In contrast to the dreamy Internet optimism of a decade or so ago -- I'm not naming names, but I remember! -- when many people imagined that info technology, by itself, would undermine oppression and bring the world together, Clinton started off with a very astringent reminder that this technology, like others, was neither good or bad in itself and is already being used in both helpful and destructive ways:

> "Amid this unprecedented surge in connectivity, we must also recognize that these technologies are not an unmitigated blessing. These tools are also being exploited to undermine human progress and political rights. Just as steel can be used to build hospitals or machine guns, or nuclear power can either energize a city or destroy it, modern information networks and the technologies they support can be harnessed for good or for ill. The same networks that help organize movements for freedom also enable al-Qaida to spew hatred and incite violence against the innocent. And technologies with the potential to open up access to government and promote transparency can also be hijacked by governments to crush dissent and deny human rights."

And a very nice pivot out of this section, effective because it's so blunt and plain:

> "On their own, new technologies do not take sides in the struggle for freedom and progress, but the United States does."

- Underscoring the "this is a big deal" tone of the speech, she enumerated the "Four Freedoms" that FDR proclaimed in 1941, as part of the struggle for the world's future, and said there were a comparable set of Four Freedoms for the Internet age. Check out the speech yourself for details.

- The China surprise: the speech was a more frontal challenge to Chinese internet and overall censorship policy than I expected, and than I recall in other US-China interactions in a very long time. For instance, early in the speech, an itemization of the places where suppression is getting worse:

> "In the last year, we've seen a spike in threats to the free flow of information. China, Tunisia, and Uzbekistan have stepped up their censorship of the internet. In Vietnam, access to popular social networking sites has suddenly disappeared. And last Friday in Egypt, 30 bloggers and activists were detained."

Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Egypt -- this is not the grouping of countries that the Chinese government, in its recent sense of rise to superpower status, is used to being lumped with. Compared to the US as a financial power, OK; overtaking Japan in economic size, yes; being a crucial player in environmental negotiations... all that is one thing. Bracketed in the same sentence with Tunisia and Uzbekistan is different. Sentences like this don't appear in formal, big-deal SecState addresses by accident.

Other passages to the same effect:

> "As I speak to you today, government censors somewhere are working furiously to erase my words from the records of history. But history itself has already condemned these tactics....
>
> "Those who disrupt the free flow of information in our society or any other pose a threat to our economy, our government, and our civil society. Countries or individuals that engage in cyber attacks should face consequences and international condemnation...."

And then the Google section itself.
I had wondered whether the speech would mention Google by name -- and had reason to think it might not. (Main argument for leaving it implicit rather than referring directly to the Google case: in the company's ongoing efforts to find a "win-win-win" acceptable way to remain in China, rather than a lose-lose-lose permanent split, it's not necessarily a help to have the U.S. government standing officially by its side. ) But the way Sec. Clinton introduced the point was significant: as a proxy for China's own ability to fulfill its potential and sustain its economic rise:

> "To use market terminology, a publicly listed company in Tunisia or Vietnam that operates in an environment of censorship will always trade at a discount relative to an identical firm in a free society. If corporate decision makers don't have access to global sources of news and information, investors will have less confidence in their decisions over the long term. Countries that censor news and information must recognize that from an economic standpoint, there is no distinction between censoring political speech and commercial speech. If businesses in your nations are denied access to either type of information, it will inevitably impact on growth.
>
> "Increasingly, U.S. companies are making the issue of internet and information freedom a greater consideration in their business decisions. I hope that their competitors and foreign governments will pay close attention to this trend. The most recent situation involving Google has attracted a great deal of interest. And we look to the Chinese authorities to conduct a thorough review of the cyber intrusions that led Google to make its announcement. And we also look for that investigation and its results to be transparent.
>
> "The internet has already been a source of tremendous progress in China, and it is fabulous. There are so many people in China now online. But countries that restrict free access to information or violate the basic rights of internet users risk walling themselves off from the progress of the next century. Now, the United States and China have different views on this issue, and we intend to address those differences candidly and consistently in the context of our positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship."

There's a lot more in the speech, including about terrorism, disaster relief, religion, etc -- but it's there for the reading. Back to the to-do list for me now.
Permalink ::
Share This

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 11:23 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Dartmouth

You are getting a memo on universities.

FYI on this from Jim Kim

**From:** Jim Y. Kim [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:**

Hi Cheryl,

Hate to bother you with so much else going on but was wondering if the Secretary had made any decisions about coming to Dartmouth. We're holding our breath and not inviting anyone else until we hear.

We're heavily into the Haiti response and very proud of how Dartmouth has responded. The community is now well over 5 million dollars in aid and we've sent two large teams to support Partners In Health already. This is so, so heartbreaking!

Hope you're well!

Jim

Jim Yong Kim
President
Dartmouth College

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update for Davut call

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Kaidanow, Tina S; O'Brien, Vincent J; Fitzpatrick, Kathleen M; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Jan 22 06:18:42 2010
Subject: Update for Davut call

Armenian FM Nalbandian made comments below in a news conference today. S shd be made aware before call w/ Davutoglu today [redacted] B5

"Armenia is committed to the letter and spirit of the protocols and ready to go forward, to implement the protocols without preconditions. We hope that Turkish side as well, will respect the agreements, which we have reached and which are reflected in these protocols. We also hope, that Turkish side will head to the ratification and implementation of the agreements without preconditions, swiftly and without delays."

He said that later on he said that the court decision did not attach preconditions to the protocols.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Commencements

Yes we agree
Lona wanted to make sure you knew what was out there in case [redacted] There are one or 2 we want to discuss with u.

----- Original Message -----
From: H B5
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Jan 22 07:30:06 2010
Subject: Commencements

Shall we wait until we make decisions [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:54 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Re: Commencements

Exactly -- in case you wanted to factor any into May/June planning.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin [redacted]
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Jan 22 07:36:05 2010
Subject: Re: Commencements

Yes we agree
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----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Jan 22 07:30:06 2010
Subject: Commencements

Shall we wait until we make decisions [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 1/22/10 Friday

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:15 am **MEETING w/S&ED TEAM**
10:45 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:45 am **STAFF MEETING**
11:15am Secretary's Outer Office

11:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **BILATERAL w/MOLDOVAN PM VLADIMIR FILAT**
12:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

12:30 pm **MCC SIGNING CEREMONY w/GOVERNMENT OF MOLDOVA**
12:50 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

1:00 pm **MEETING w/HAITI TEAM**
1:30 pm Secretary's Office

1:30pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:00pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **REMARKS TO THE WHA CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE**
2:30 pm George C. Marshall Conference Center

2:30 pm **BILATERAL w/CANADIAN FM LAWRENCE CANNON**
3:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Press avail following.

3:05 pm **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
3:10 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:15 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/FM CANNON**
3:35 pm Madison Room

4:00 pm **MEETING w/UNESCO DIRECTOR-GENERAL IRINA BOKOVA**
4:15 pm Secretary's Office *Official photo in anteroom preceding.

4:15pm **MEETING w/MIKE FUCHS AND CHERYL MILLS**
4:30pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:00 pm Secretary's Office

5:05 pm **PRIVATE MEETING w/ SARA EHRMAN**
5:15 pm Secretary's Office

5:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

5:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

6:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2182
En route New York, NY

7:24 pm **ARRIVE** New York LaGuardia Airport

7:30 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport
En route Private Residence

8:15 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**

4:00 pm SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR LESLIE ROWE, US AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE Treaty Room

4:00 pm SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR RICK BARTON, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.S. ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS Benjamin Franklin Room

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: A potential climate call tomorrow

They're still not as good as the DPRK at these barbs.

Amb Zhou saw Kurt and Jeff yesterday. Will download.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jan 22 06:15:18 2010
Subject: Re: A potential climate call tomorrow

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:46:34 2010
Subject: FW: A potential climate call tomorrow

FYI. I'm following up with Kurt to get his thoughts.

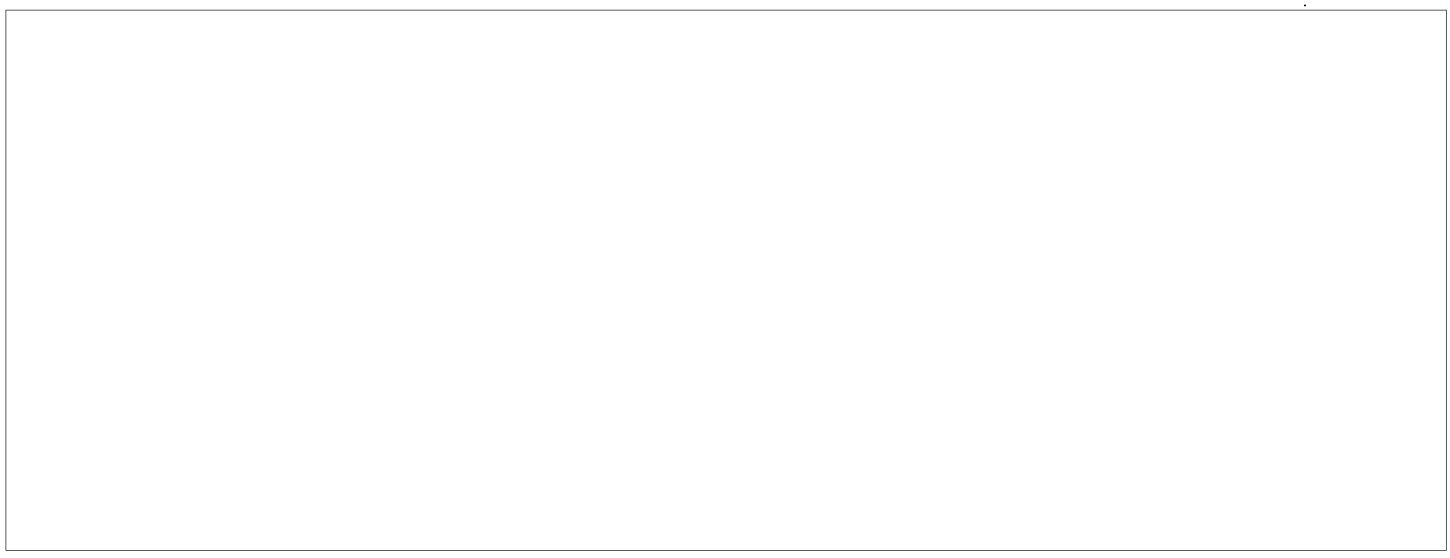
---

From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:09 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: A potential climate call tomorrow

Jake – it would be useful if HRC could call Wen Jiabao [redacted]

[redacted]

B5



<<S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx>>

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 1:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Lady Ashton

I just want to underline how valuable and important it is for you to be building the relationship with her that you are.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** news report on missing kids in Haiti

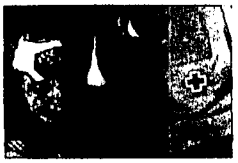
This is an AFP report from today.

Also, GTIP is working on a memo for you and Cheryl about child trafficking dangers in Haiti.

# Trafficking fears as Haiti children go missing

Posted 5 hours 47 minutes ago
Updated 5 hours 46 minutes ago

Slideshow: Photo 1 of 2



The UN has warned countries not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the wake of the disaster. (AFP: Matthew Marek

United Nations officials say children have gone missing from hospitals in Haiti since the devastating January 12 earthquake, raising fears of trafficking for adoption abroad.

"We have documented around 15 cases of children disappearing from hospitals and not with their own family at the time," said UNICEF adviser Jean Luc Legrand.

"UNICEF has been working in Haiti for many years and we knew the problem with the trade of children in Haiti that existed already beforehand.

"Unfortunately, many of these trade networks have links with the international adoption market."

The agency said it had warned countries during the past week not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the immediate wake of the quake.

However several are fast-tracking adoption procedures already under way, including Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the United States.

Mr Legrand said the situation was similar to the aftermath of the tsunami in Asia five years ago.

Trafficking networks were springing into action immediately after the disaster and taking advantage of the weakness of local authorities and relief coordination "to kidnap children and get them out of the country".

Rupert Colville, a spokesman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, said child enslavement and trafficking in Haiti was "an existing problem and could easily emerge as a serious issue over the coming weeks and months".

The UN mission in Haiti has stepped up surveillance of roads, UNICEF officials said.

Mr Legrand said there was separate but only anecdotal evidence of people taking children by road to the neighbouring Dominican Republic and loading children on to planes.

"We have seen over the past years many children being taken out of the country without any legal procedure," he said.

"This is going on. This is happening now. We are starting to have the first evidence of that, this is unquestionable."

He was unable to give details on the 15 missing children or their condition or clearly connect the anecdotal observations in Haiti's chaos with trafficking.

The cases were documented by social workers and by partner non-governmental organisations working for UNICEF in hospitals.

**- AFP**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 3:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** internet freedom

If you have the time or inclination, it would be really nice if you could send an email to Tomicah, or phone him. He went for almost 100 hours without sleep to get the speech done, under unusually trying circumstances. He deserves some recognition for grace under pressure and a job well done.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 11:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call to Cheryl Mills from Dr. Muhammad Daoud Miraki.

---

**From:** Pauli, Rosemarie
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** FW: Call to Cheryl Mills from Dr. Muhammad Daoud Miraki.

Barney Rubin knows him so I asked him to call back on your behalf—here is the feedback no need to call him back. . .

He was calling Cheryl because he wanted to tell the Secretary of State that he has been contacted by tribes and ulama from both sides of the border. They have proposals for the US strategy and also a message about the interest in peace of some of the insurgents. I told him that our office handled those issues on behalf of the Secretary of State and that we would schedule an appointment with him the week after the Karzai visit.

I have been in touch with him most recently because he is doing research on corruption in Afghanistan and wrote to tell me [redacted] he asked me to set up a meeting with the Secretary of State. I said I could not do that. I made clear that [redacted] He had written to me to say that he would keep my interests in mind, and I wrote back to say [redacted] He wrote back to say I had misunderstood. Then he made the contact with the secretary's office directly. B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 3:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: May head your way, you might be asked, and you might develop a response give that many firms are owned by nations. Sid

http://blog.newsweek.com/blogs/thegaggle/archive/2010/01/22/should-foreign-corporations-spend-money-on-u-s-political-candidates.aspx

Posted Friday, January 22, 2010 1:05 PM
Newsweek

## Should Foreign Corporations Spend Money on U.S. Political Candidates?

Krista Gesaman

Foreign businesses might be the real winners in *Citizens United v. Federal Elections Commission,* the landmark case that allows corporations and unions to spend limitless amounts of money on presidential and congressional political campaigns. A majority of large businesses are now owned by foreign entities, and this means international corporations could pour tons of money into the United States political scene, potentially swaying the political climate.

The biggest questions with this ruling is the scope of the term "corporation," says Edward Foley, law professor at the Ohio State University College of Law and director of the election-law program. Does the high court want this decision to apply to foreign corporations as well as domestic ones, he ponders? The truth is, the court didn't make a decision one way or the other.

Foley best explains the potential issues by talking about the electronic, video, and communication giant, Sony. The corporation is headquartered in Japan, but a large number of its shareholders reside in the United States. In fact, people can even buy and trade Sony's stock on the New York Stock Exchange. The issue is whether this corporation, with strong ties to a foreign country and the United States, should be permitted to independently contribute money to presidential and congressional campaigns.

The court sought to expand First Amendment protection for corporations, but did it really mean to promote the free flow of ideas from Russian or Chinese corporations, Foley asks? Justice John Paul Stevens focused on the same concerns in his dissenting opinion. The majority's position "would appear to afford the same protection to multinational corporations controlled by foreigners as to individual Americans," he writes.

This afternoon, President Obama asked Congress to "develop a forceful response" to the ruling. But with Congress juggling so many other important issues, it's unlikely that a change will be made in the immediate future. This could mean that foreign cash could be supporting political candidates in next year's congressional midterm elections.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office Re: Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti

I am traveling overseas and only have sporadic access to my email. If you need immediate assistance, please call State Department Operations at 202-647-1512 and ask for Nora Toiv who can assist you.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: internet freedom

Great. Thanks. I know he will appreciate it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 22, 2010 5:27 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Re: internet freedom

I did once before speech and will do again. Thx to all.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:59:34 2010
Subject: internet freedom

If you have the time or inclination, it would be really nice if you could send an email to Tomicah, or phone him. He went for almost 100 hours without sleep to get the speech done, under unusually trying circumstances. He deserves some recognition for grace under pressure and a job well done.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Thank you!

The little things go a long way. Thanks for being in touch with him.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 22, 2010 5:36 PM
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Cc: Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Thank you!

TT (As prepared)--Thank you for all you did to make the speech yesterday so effective and powerful. We've gotten many positive comments and laid a solid foundation for future action.
Please get caught up on sleep! All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa
**Subject:** RE: Thank you!

You're very kind. The delivery was flawless and your idea to focus on the girl rescued from the rubble in Haiti wove it all together. It was an honor to help out -- and I think we did some real good. Onward, onward...

Best,
Tomicah

Tomicah Tillemann, Ph.D.
Speechwriter
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

S/P Main: 202.647.2372 | Direct: [redacted] | Blackberry: [redacted] (urgent calls only)
Fax: 202.647.0844 | Room 7311 (S/P) | 2201 C Street NW | Washington, DC 20520

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 22, 2010 5:36 PM
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S
Cc: Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Thank you!

TT (As prepared)--Thank you for all you did to make the speech yesterday so effective and powerful. We've gotten many positive comments and laid a solid foundation for future action.
Please get caught up on sleep! All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: news report on missing kids in Haiti

Thanks. Printing for her.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 22, 2010 5:28 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti

Pls show to Cheryl.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:55:39 2010
Subject: news report on missing kids in Haiti

This is an AFP report from today.

Also, GTIP is working on a memo for you and Cheryl about child trafficking dangers in Haiti.

Trafficking fears as Haiti children go missing

Posted 5 hours 47 minutes ago
Updated 5 hours 46 minutes ago

<javascript:slideshowPrev();> <javascript:slideshowNext();> Slideshow: Photo 1 of 2

<http://www.abc.net.au/reslib/201001/r498072_2617306.jpg>

The UN has warned countries not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the wake of the disaster. (AFP: Matthew Marek

United Nations officials say children have gone missing from hospitals in Haiti since the devastating January 12 earthquake, raising fears of trafficking for adoption abroad.

"We have documented around 15 cases of children disappearing from hospitals and not with their own family at the time," said UNICEF adviser Jean Luc Legrand.

"UNICEF has been working in Haiti for many years and we knew the problem with the trade of children in Haiti that existed already beforehand.

"Unfortunately, many of these trade networks have links with the international adoption market."

The agency said it had warned countries during the past week not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the immediate wake of the quake.

However several are fast-tracking adoption procedures already under way, including Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the United States.

Mr Legrand said the situation was similar to the aftermath of the tsunami in Asia five years ago.

Trafficking networks were springing into action immediately after the disaster and taking advantage of the weakness of local authorities and relief coordination "to kidnap children and get them out of the country".

Rupert Colville, a spokesman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, said child enslavement and trafficking in Haiti was "an existing problem and could easily emerge as a serious issue over the coming weeks and months".

The UN mission in Haiti has stepped up surveillance of roads, UNICEF officials said.

Mr Legrand said there was separate but only anecdotal evidence of people taking children by road to the neighbouring Dominican Republic and loading children on to planes.

"We have seen over the past years many children being taken out of the country without any legal procedure," he said.

"This is going on. This is happening now. We are starting to have the first evidence of that, this is unquestionable."

He was unable to give details on the 15 missing children or their condition or clearly connect the anecdotal observations in Haiti's chaos with trafficking.

The cases were documented by social workers and by partner non-governmental organisations working for UNICEF in hospitals.

- AFP

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: haiti comments

**From:** Mark Schneider [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Brigety, Reuben; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: haiti comments

That number--I think it has to be over $1 b. tho because people will compare it to Mitch--sounds right to me altho not only will the destruction likely go higher than the final numbers of I believe $8.5 b. for Mitch/George but the cost of reconstruction if the aim is modern buildings, modern systems, decentralized development is also likely to be higher.

A separate question, beyond the money are the people who can be committed, which goes to USAID ramping up its staff and capabilities, the civilian response corps and I suspect your QDDR recommendations, on how to imagine a sector by sector renewal with international partners on the ground able to work side-by-side with Haitians in every ministry (starting with those that are priorities, which have to be justice [police, judiciary and prisons], education, agriculture, energy/public works/environment, etc. in PAP but also in those department capitals where you want regional development to be launched--Cap Haitian, Gonaives, Jacmel, Hinche, etc. If it were done as part of an international support team, under UN coord (?), and sign-off upfront from the Haitian government, it might work.
Three last points: 1) the Crisis Corps of the Peace Corps--I know that every RPCV who served in Haiti will be desperate to help. Many of them have professional capabilities. Ask Aaron to locate them.
2) As part of what announcement is made on Monday, this might be the time to add some number of US Haitian-American Creole-speaking police to the UNPolice force, particularly those with community policing experience, say 100.
3) Finally, what about an emergency lifting of whatever restrictions (quotas, tariffs, etc.) that may still impinge on Haitian agricultural products coming to US, an emergency provisions of phytosanitary expertise to enable their farmers to meet our standards and remove any restrictions (which exist) on their subsidizing their rice farmers for their domestic production.

I know that you all are working 24/7 on this so I apologize to some degree for accepting your offer to send advice. But that probably won't stop me from sending!! Warm regards, Mark

Mark L. Schneider
Sr. Vice President
International Crisis Group
1629 K St. NW Suite 450
Washington, DC 20006
(fax)

www.crisisgroup.org
Crisis Group - the international conflict prevention organization

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 10:12 AM
**To:** mschneider[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Brigety, Reuben; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: haiti comments

Working on the supp now with a similar number.

Keep the advice coming.

Many thanks.

cdm

---

**From:** Mark Schneider [mailto:[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Brigety, Reuben
**Subject:** RE: haiti comments

Hi Cheryl,
Heard you yesterday on NPR. Right on the money in terms of emphasizing coop with GoH and coord with UN et. al. One thing I am not sure that I mentioned. I looked back and relatively early--4 weeks after Mitch at end Oct 98--we made the estimate that the US contribut would have to be about $1 b. (when early damage estimate was $6 b.) and that was the general amount mentioned in the first formin meeting by Madeleine here in early Dec and then the supplemental went to Congress with more of a breakdown from USAID in early Feb. As soon as you can get an early supplemental to the Hill while the focus is on Haiti, and our forces are on the ground there, the better chances that it will receive early action. Best, mark

Mark L. Schneider
Sr. Vice President
International Crisis Group
1629 K St. NW Suite 450
Washington, DC 20006
[redacted] (fax)
[redacted]

www.crisisgroup.org
Crisis Group - the international conflict prevention organization

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 10:12 PM
**To:** mschneider[redacted]
**Cc:** Brigety, Reuben
**Subject:** RE: haiti comments

Great – thanks so much. Love that you are focused on how we rebuild their police force

---

**From:** Mark Schneider[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 3:40 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Brigety, Reuben
**Subject:** haiti comments

Just in case some of this might be of use as you plan for moving forward. Best, Mark

Mark L. Schneider
Sr. Vice President
International Crisis Group
1629 K St. NW Suite 450
Washington, DC 20006
[redacted] fax)
[redacted]

www.crisisgroup.org
Crisis Group - the international conflict prevention organization

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Dan Glickman to depart MPAA in April; Bob Pisano to be Interim CEO

**From:** Howard_Gantman [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Dan Glickman to depart MPAA in April; Bob Pisano to be Interim CEO

Dan asked me to forward this to you:

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**
January 22, 2010

# GLICKMAN STEPPING DOWN FROM MPAA

*Will become President of Refugees International in April; Pisano named as Interim CEO*

Washington, D.C. – Dan Glickman, Chairman and CEO of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (MPAA) today announced that he will be leaving the MPAA beginning April 1, to become President of Refugees International, the leading advocacy organization on refugee crises worldwide. Bob Pisano, President and Chief Operating Officer at the MPAA since 2005, will become interim CEO, while the search continues for Glickman's replacement.

"In making this announcement, I want to thank Barry Meyer, Jim Gianopulos, Brad Grey, Bob Iger, Michael Lynton, Ron Meyer, and the entire MPAA Board of Directors, for their guidance and leadership. It has been an honor to have worked so closely with them. I also want to thank Bob Pisano and all the MPAA staff for their dedication during a time of major transition in our business," Glickman said. "As I look forward to returning to public service and joining Refugees International, I am proud to look back at what the MPAA has accomplished since I took this job in 2004. We have fought vigorously on behalf of the 2.4 million Americans and other workers throughout the world whose jobs are based on a vibrant film and television business. This is a powerful medium that can help make a difference, and I will always value my time here. For me, perhaps the best thing about the job was the movies. I love movies. And as far as I am concerned, we make the best movies in the world."

Barry M. Meyer, Chairman and CEO, Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc., praised Glickman's leadership. "Dan has demonstrated great leadership in his role as Chairman of the MPAA. He has guided the organization during a time of historic changes and unprecedented challenges throughout the entertainment industry," said Mr. Meyer. "We thank Dan for his tireless support of the issues facing our businesses, particularly in protecting intellectual property rights in the United States and around the world. We wish him every success in his new position."

Mr. Meyer continued: "We would also like to express our gratitude to Bob for agreeing to be interim Chairman and have every confidence in his abilities to continue the crucial work of the MPAA."

"Throughout his tenure at the MPAA, Dan served as an incredibly skillful and dedicated advocate for the issues that are most important to the film and television industries – global market access, copyright protection and ensuring an overall healthy future for our collective businesses," said Jim Gianopulos, Chairman and CEO of Fox Filmed Entertainment. "Furthermore, we look forward to working with Bob and are grateful that he's agreed to serve as interim CEO over the near term."

"Our industry has been well served by Dan's efforts and advocacy worldwide and we appreciate the job he has done on our behalf. He is a great humanitarian and will be very effective in his new role," said Bob Iger, president and CEO, The Walt Disney Company.

Glickman, who has held the top position at the MPAA since 2004, had previously announced that he would not be seeking a renewal of his contract beyond September 2010 and has been working with the MPAA board during its search process for a new chief.

Glickman presided over the MPAA during a period of unprecedented transition in the film and television industry. The rise of digital technology has presented both challenges in the form of massive copyright theft and innovative opportunities for filmmakers to share their work around the world.

Through his leadership, Glickman helped raise awareness of the economic consequences of copyright theft. He also worked with a broad labor and business coalition to secure passage of the Pro-IP Act, which increased resources and enforcement to protect intellectual property. And he has vigorously promoted a myriad of legitimate ways for consumers to view movies and TV shows on the Internet.

Glickman also helped lead the effort to win passage of legislation banning camcording in movie theaters throughout the United States and around the world. And he worked to modernize the movie rating system, increasing its transparency and launching a free weekly Red Carpet Ratings email service that makes this resource more accessible to parents.

Bob Pisano has served as President and Chief Operating Officer of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (MPAA) since October 2005 and brings to the MPAA a wealth of diversified experience in business and legal practice. Pisano is responsible for all day-to-day worldwide operations of the motion picture and television industry trade association, and a member of the Board of Directors.

Prior to joining the MPAA, he was National Executive Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Screen Actors Guild. Before his tenure with the Screen Actors Guild, Pisano served for six years at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) where he was first appointed Executive Vice President and then Vice Chairman and a member of the studio's Board of Directors. Prior to that, he served as Executive Vice President and General Counsel and Member of the Office of the Chairman of Paramount Pictures.

**About the MPAA**

*The Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (MPAA) serves as the voice and advocate of the American motion picture, home video and television industries from its offices in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. Its members include: Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures; Paramount Pictures Corporation; Sony Pictures Entertainment Inc.; Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation; Universal City Studios LLLP; and Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc.*

# # #

**For more information, contact:**

**MPAA Washington, D.C.**
Howard Gantman
(202) 293-1966

**MPAA Los Angeles**
Elizabeth Kaltman
(818) 995-6600

*Howard S. Gantman*
*Vice President, Corporate Communications*
*Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA)*
*1600 "Eye" Street NW*
*Washington, DC 20006*

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Cannon and Honduras Inauguration

FYI.

Still gathering info [redacted] B5 B6

**From**: Kelly, Craig A
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Fri Jan 22 19:24:28 2010
**Subject**: Cannon and Honduras Inauguration

Jake:

I understand that Cannon told S they were still weighing the level of their participation because Micheletti had stepped "sideways but not down." That's a nice metaphor, but a little misleading. Micheletti took " a leave of absence." That is a legal construct to protect himself from prosecution (coup-related) since there is no amnesty yet. But he is gone from the Presidential Palace and has promised not to speak out.

I think Canada will send its Minister of State for the Americas, Peter Kent. That's a serious level.

ck

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:**

Matt passed along the following barebones intel from Lute and Samantha on [redacted] (he made clear that everyone is groping through the dark on this search):

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted]

[redacted]

Will let you know if I learn more.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Note to S on Haiti TIP.docx -- resending
**Attachments:** Note to S on Haiti TIP.docx

FYI:

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED January 22, 2010

**NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY**

FROM: G/TIP – Luis CdeBaca

SUBJECT: Child Trafficking in Haiti

G/TIP is gravely concerned about the potential for human trafficking (TIP) in the wake of the earthquake, both as a result of the displacement of the population and the influx of troops and aid workers. Even before the earthquake, there were in Haiti up to 300,000 *restaveks* (children given away or sold by their parents and enslaved as domestic servants), as well as reports that members of MINUSTAH used trafficked women in prostitution. In the 2009 TIP Report Haiti was classified as a Special Case country with governance so dysfunctional it could not be ranked.

The initial disaster response is focusing on immediate needs of food, shelter, and medical care, but has thus far not addressed TIP prevention and protection issues. While attention is being paid to the problems of orphans and adoptees, TIP was not adequately addressed in the UN's initial flash appeal, so it is unclear which agency in the international system has the lead on the ground. UNICEF has the child protection lead, UNFPA leads prevention of sexual and gender-based violence, and IOM is tasked with shelter and camp management. We will work to remedy, in a subsequent appeal, the omission of TIP from the operational plan.

We are moving to redirect $1 million of program funds that G/TIP has on Hispaniola and to reprogram an additional $550,000; we will work with PRM to identify other funding possibilities. Working through existing grantees and other experienced NGOs, it is our intention to help resuscitate police child protection brigades that already exist in Haiti, to rebuild capacity of Haitian organizations that protect *restaveks*, to prevent traffickers in the Dominican Republic from enslaving displaced Haitians on farms and in prostitution, and to educate Haitian parents of the risks of giving their children away in this time of crisis. We will consult with partner agencies to ensure that the U.S. presence does not contribute to

trafficking. It will be important for the Department's messaging to convey our commitment to fighting human trafficking in both the immediate and long term.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** CdeBaca, Luis
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Burns, Jillian L
**Subject:** FW: Note to S on Haiti TIP.docx -- resending

**Hello folks. We just sent this up, through the Line.**

**LOU**

Ambassador Luis CdeBaca
Office to Monitor & Combat Trafficking in Persons
U.S. Department of State
1800 G. Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520
(202) 312-9640
CdeBacaL@state.gov

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769375 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED January 22, 2010

**NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY**

FROM: G/TIP – Luis CdeBaca

SUBJECT: Child Trafficking in Haiti

G/TIP is gravely concerned about the potential for human trafficking (TIP) in the wake of the earthquake, both as a result of the displacement of the population and the influx of troops and aid workers. Even before the earthquake, there were in Haiti up to 300,000 *restaveks* (children given away or sold by their parents and enslaved as domestic servants), as well as reports that members of MINUSTAH used trafficked women in prostitution. In the 2009 TIP Report Haiti was classified as a Special Case country with governance so dysfunctional it could not be ranked.

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769375 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Another Rescue--22 year old man by Israeli SAR

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**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:29 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Another Rescue--22 year old man by Israeli SAR

From Ha'aretz (NYT also reporting this, but quote about American and French teams failing is of concern):

An Israel Defense Forces search and rescue team extricated a 22-year-old Haitian man on Friday from the rubble of a three-story building which collapsed as a result of last week's devastating earthquake.

The man was being treated at an IDF field hospital and is currently in stable condition.

Local residents directed the IDF crew to the trapped victim, the IDF said.
"American and French doctors were unable to rescue the trapped man and called upon the Israeli Advertisement delegation's search and rescue teams who rescued the man within half an hour, from a tunnel, 2.5-3-meters long and were able to release him whole and healthy," said Maj. Zohar Moshe, a member of the rescue team.

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted] (blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** Grantham, Suzanne L; Coley, Theodore R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Bernier-Toth, Michelle; Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: UPDATE: Saturday Lynn University/Rep McGovern Trip

All:

See below for appreciation for all your efforts – congrats and thanks.

Please pass along to whomever I missed.

cdm

**From:** Matthew Chaloux [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: UPDATE: Saturday Lynn University/Rep McGovern Trip

Dear Ms. Mills,

On a personal note, pls allow me to express my thanks for you and your team's long hours, hard work and dedication to all Americans. As you well know, no family in grief can possibly think anything being done is enough for their loved one.

You and I both know that the efforts of everyone involved in the rescue/relief efforts, from the ramp loader to Secretary Clinton has been nothing but 110%.

Thank you is not something you and your colleagues have likely heard a great deal in the last 9 days, so allow me to say, THANK YOU.

Matt Chaloux
Proud American

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** Matthew Chaloux
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy; Kennedy, Patrick F; Grantham, Suzanne L; Coley, Theodore R
**Subject:** RE: UPDATE: Saturday Lynn University/Rep McGovern Trip

We have seen a UN statement indicating that GOH has advised that but we have not had confirmation from GOH though we are seeking that.

As you know, we still have a team at the Montana working.

On your second question, that is a larger issue we are working through for the entire disaster area which we'll update publicly as we make assessments.

cdm

**From:** Matthew Chaloux [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy; Kennedy, Patrick F; Grantham, Suzanne L; Coley, Theodore R
**Subject:** Re: UPDATE: Saturday Lynn University/Rep McGovern Trip

Very well. Got that from his office last night. Thanks

Media outlets report Haitian government has declared rescue over. Can you confirm that. Also do you have any info on committment on remain retreival?

Matt

Matthew P. Chaloux, MBA
Director of Auxilary Services
Lynn University

On Jan 23, 2010, at 6:55 AM, "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> Matt
>
> Please find below and updated schedule for today's travel.
>
> Rep McGovern is now going commercially to Santo Domingo.
>
> Best.
>
> cdm
> <Expanded Jan. 23 Schedule.docx>

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief
**Attachments:** Lessons from Aceh Multi Donor Trust Fund.docx

FYI

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**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

From Jean-Louis on Aceh Multi Donor Trust Fund. It's interesting.

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

Meghann

Please see attached a few quick notes based largely on the Trust Fund's progress report and an independent evaluation commission by the World Bank, DFID, NORAd and others.

I spoke to Kathleen. I did have to cancel a piece for Canada's main evening news at CBC, which they plan to air on Sunday before the Montreal Summit. I understand that media appearances, especially if higher profile, can cause sensitivities.

Best wishes

Jean-Louis

## Lessons from the Aceh and Nias Multi-Donor Trust Fund

1. The Government of Indonesia (GOI) responded to the Tsunami by issuing a series of government decrees, and immediately organized both overview and relief efforts to ensure a rational and coordinated response. The first task was to produce a Damage and Loss Assessment (DLA). The DLA was followed by a more detailed Master Plan for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (MPRR). The MPRR provided in-depth sector plans, spatial planning, the governance and supervision arrangements of finances with considerable attention to how to avoid or minimize corruption. The process behind the MPRR was consultative, with a wide range of local stakeholders and public offices being heard. The MPRR was presented on 26 March, only 3 months after the Tsunami.

2. The MPRR was to form the basis for a general three-stage strategy. The *Relief phase* was originally set to six months, but was then reduced to three: January- March 2005. The *Rehabilitation phase* is to run for

about 21 months, through December 2006, and the *Reconstruction phase* from July 2006 through December 2009. The MPRR provides a well defined phasing of interventions.

3. The objectives for the Relief efforts were *humanitarian relief*: rescue; food and medicine; emergency infrastructure and temporary shelter; and burying the dead. The Rehabilitation phase is to *restore services to minimum level*: public services; economic facilities; banking and financial institutions; trauma treatments; secure land rights; law and order; and temporary shelter. Finally, Reconstruction is to *rebuild the region*: rebuilding the economy (production, trade and banking); the transportation, telecommunications, and social and cultural systems; improving institutional capacity; and housing.

4. The Government set up a ministerial-level agency to manage the MPRR program from Aceh itself, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency for Aceh and Nias. The BRR was formally established end April 2005 and became operational early May. The World Bank Board on 30 March 2005 formally established the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDF) with a Steering Committee comprised of BRR, GOI, donors and civil society. Having a credible local coordinators was key to success.

5. The EC channels nearly 93% of its funds through the MDF, while only 2.5% of USD 400 million from the US goes to the MDF. While payments into the fund were slow, disbursements out of it were to begin with even slower. By October 2005, project agreements for about USD 200 million had been signed, but only USD 3 million had actually been disbursed. Disbursements picked up the pace thereafter. The delay was caused by two principal impediments: first, donors were quick to pledge funds, but getting all the exact written agreements in place took time. This points to the need for donors to be flexible regarding formal agreements, and accept simple, generic paragraphs that can contribute to speedy resolution of slightly differing phrasings and concerns. Second, the processing time for project approval and implementation was a concern. Since the MDF was to have funded projects on-budget, they had to be implemented by government institutions. This crated bottlenecks.

6. Smaller donors joined because they wished to support the reconstruction efforts in Aceh but do not have own capacity and often not strong views on how best to pursue this. They want the Bank to assume fiduciary responsibilities for the funds in a high-risk environment, and also to take a lead in ensuring that the funds go to prioritized activities. The MDF is thus seen a well-managed bank account with some paid-for administrative services. However, the all-inclusive Steering Committee made membership large and to some extent unwieldy, and forced it to discuss both policy and operational issues.

7. The Multi Donor Fund Secretariat has developed an Outreach Strategy that includes regular radio talk shows, field visits to meet and discuss with beneficiaries and communication through advertisements as well as a telephone hotline.

8. MDF received praise for engaging the Government of Indonesia (GOI) in policy dialogue. The MDF is thus an entry point for engaging on conditions for sustainability, relevance and impact.

9. Because the MDF does not accept strict ear marking of donor contributions – though it does allow for preference indications – it means that the funds are freely available for programming according to the

criteria and priorities that the MDF agrees to. Given strong GOI participation, the MDF is seen as the most successful instrument for harmonization and coordination in an environment that has been criticized for a lack of coordination. The MDF's Mid Term Review conducted in 2008-2009 found that the MDF had made a positive contribution to harmonizing donor efforts and to increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the reconstruction effort.

10. The MDF did not sufficiently engage the private sector and did not have a coherent job creation strategy. The MDF lacked executive rights, but GOI and BRR are credited with leveraging a decisive response.

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A [mailto:CurtisMA@state.gov]
**Sent:** 22 January 2010 16:27
**To:** Jean-Louis Warnholz
**Subject:** RE: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

No official deadline. I just ran off an FAQ and gave it to her. But would be interested to know if you have insights into what worked and what didnt

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 4:24 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

Best wishes, JL

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A [mailto:CurtisMA@state.gov]
**Sent:** 22 January 2010 14:49
**To:** Jean-Louis Warnholz
**Subject:** RE: Talking points on Haiti Fund - pls confirm

New tasking directly from the Secretary to me (and you now!). She wants information about how the Aceh fund worked and how we can replicate it and what did or didn't work. I was going to start doing some research now but would welcome your help on that too.

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 1:04 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: Talking points on Haiti Fund - pls confirm

Thanks for the feedback. I really hope Monday will break sufficient ground to move forward swiftly. There will only be broad global public support for a limited time, in which decisions have to be set in stone. I looked back at all these Haiti donor conferences after the countless disasters. More of the same will only mean more big catastrophes.

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A [mailto:CurtisMA@state.gov]
**Sent:** 22 January 2010 12:52
**To:** Jean-Louis Warnholz
**Subject:** RE: Talking points on Haiti Fund - pls confirm

Excellent points. Thanks so much.

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted]]
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 10:45 AM

**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** Talking points on Haiti Fund - pls confirm
**Importance:** High

Meghann

Please see below and attached.

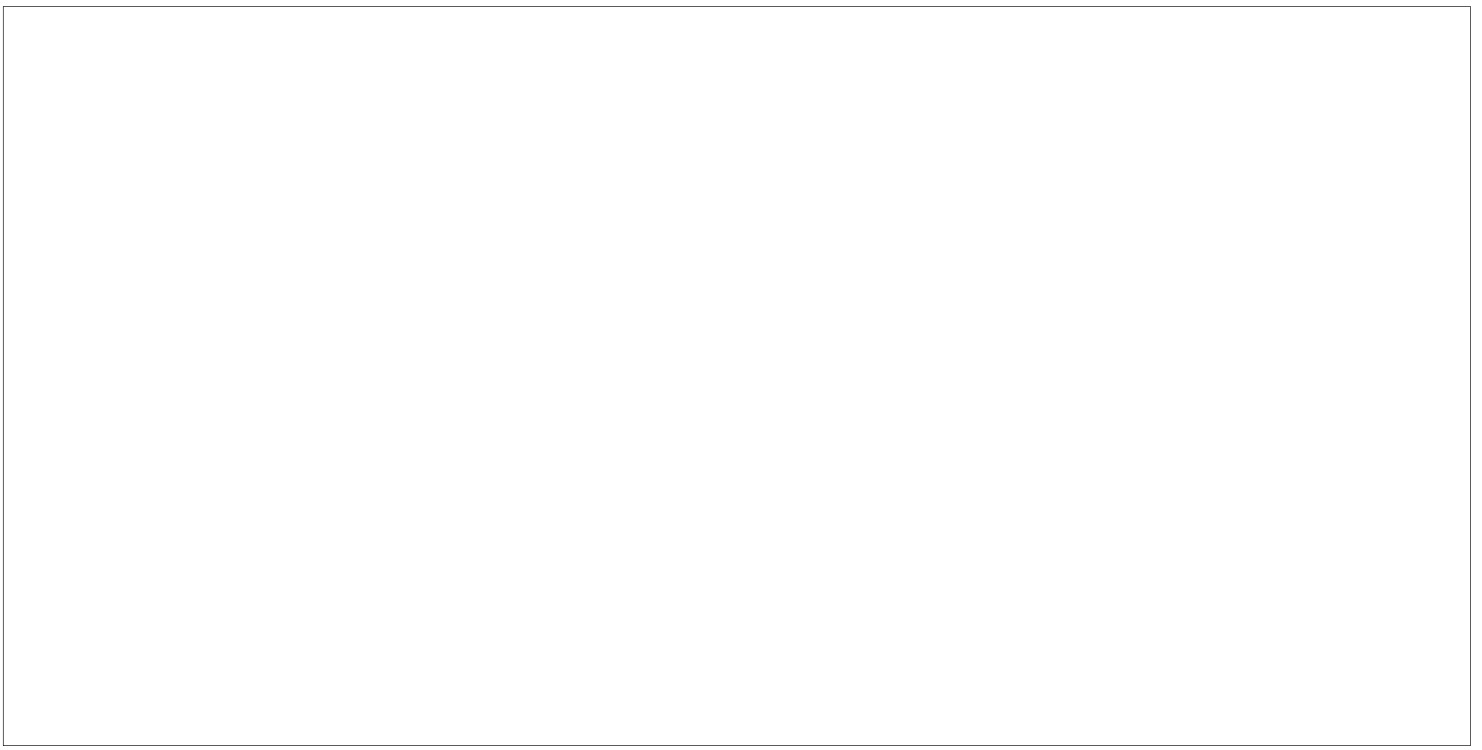
Best wishes

Jean-Louis

Private Talking Points on Haiti Fund

B5

B5



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769380 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769380 Date: 08/31/2015

actually been disbursed. Disbursements picked up the pace thereafter. The delay was caused by two principal impediments: first, donors were quick to pledge funds, but getting all the exact written agreements in place took time. This points to the need for donors to be flexible regarding formal agreements, and accept simple, generic paragraphs that can contribute to speedy resolution of slightly differing phrasings and concerns. Second, the processing time for project approval and implementation was a concern. Since the MDF was to have funded projects on-budget, they had to be implemented by government institutions. This crated bottlenecks.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: INR's Latest Media Analysis: Americas: Don't Blame U.S. for Taking Lead in Haiti
**Attachments:** 1-22 Americas--Don't Blame U.S. for Taking Lead in Haiti.pdf

**From:** McLean, Andrew J **On Behalf Of** Media, Reaction 1
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 2:34 PM
**Subject:** INR's Latest Media Analysis: Americas: Don't Blame U.S. for Taking Lead in Haiti

Attached please find the latest INR media analysis:

## Americas: Don't Blame U.S. for Taking Lead in Haiti

*(January 22, 2010) Most Western Hemisphere media commend U.S. relief efforts as "sincere," with some rejecting allegations of U.S. imperialist intent. Several hope the international community will turn current aid into a long-term sustainable development plan for Haiti.*

**Andrew J. McLean**
*Foreign Media Analyst, EUR/WHA*
Office of Opinion Research
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
(202) 736-4330

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769383 Date: 08/31/2015

FOR OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT USE ONLY

RELEASE IN FULL

Media Analysis

January 22, 2010

Office of Research

# Americas: Don't Blame U.S. for Taking Lead in Haiti

*Most Western Hemisphere media commend U.S. relief efforts as "sincere," with some rejecting allegations of U.S. imperialist intent. Several hope the international community will turn current aid into a long-term sustainable development plan for Haiti.*

Regional media are quick to reject allegations of a hidden agenda behind U.S. assistance to Haiti. Criticism of U.S. leadership on relief has come in part from leaders such as Venezuelan President Chavez and associated media outlets. When pro-Chavez *Ultimas Noticias* called U.S. efforts "an invasion presented as relief assistance," the Dominican Republic's *Diario Libre* labeled such statements "silliness." Ecuador's popular *Diario Expreso* comments, "To provide assistance is not an invasion, it falls within the scope of humanitarian law."

Criticism also has come from countries, primarily Brazil and Jamaica, which see themselves as rightful leaders of Haitian assistance. Brazil's command of the U.N. peace mission led some Brazilian officials to see it as the "natural candidate to coordinate efforts to help the Haitian nation rise from the ruins." Jamaica's *Sunday Gleaner* argues Jamaica, as the "natural leader" of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and coordinator of its efforts in Haiti, "must spearhead" the nation's rebuilding.

**U.S. must take the lead now...**

Some media in both Brazil and Jamaica, however, argue that the United States alone is able to lead efforts in Haiti. Brazil's center-right *O Estado de S. Paolo* scolds Brazilian authorities for their "less than awkward" initial reaction to U.S. operations in Haiti. The same paper argues "the Brazilian reaction ignored the basic reality, which was clear to President Preval, that no other country had comparable means to help Haiti other than the U.S." The *Jamaica Observer* concedes the United States "is probably in the best condition" to "take charge of the situation," but argued it should do so with the support of the U.N. and the CARICOM Secretariat.

**...Global community for the long haul**

Several outlets note that Haiti has long lacked the infrastructure and institutions that could give its citizens "political, intellectual, and economic freedom." As a result, media, regardless of attitudes toward U.S. relief efforts, now call for the international community to take a more comprehensive approach to aiding Haiti. Chile's conservative *La Tercera* wants the international community, especially Latin America, to maintain a "long-term focus" on Haiti. Both Canada's *Toronto Star* and Jamaica's *Sunday Gleaner* want a "Marshall Plan" for Haiti, not as a U.S. initiative, but as part of a "global effort."




**Canada's liberal *Toronto Star***
**January 16, 2010**

***This product analyzes commentary from the Western Hemisphere January 14-22, 2010 reacting to the international relief effort in Haiti. Reports are selected by post for their relevance to U.S. policy and public diplomacy efforts. Prepared by the Office of Opinion Research, Media Reaction Division, rmrMail@state.gov; (202) 736-4330. Drafted by Andrew J. McLean and Julianne Paunescu.***

*The findings presented do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Government.*

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769383 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: London

No problem

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Jan 23 08:59:27 2010
Subject: London

I have to find time to meet w Rasmussen while I'm there. Maybe 20 minutes but I will give him whatever time he wants.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election

# Hugo Chavez's state-owned Petroleos Corp set to spend on your U.S. election

By John Tomasic 1/22/10 3:58 PM

Blogging on the Citizens United Supreme Court ruling is more of what we love about the web. It's the kind of typical collective dissection we have now come to expect but that never really existed before: serious, speculative, arcane, funny, brilliant, baked, etc. The Sunlight Foundation blogging is predictably good. Paul Blumenthal dips into the multinational dimension of the new "corporation as full citizen-person" framework, drawing on blogging going on at Newsweek and the Center for Public Integrity.

"Looks like [the Court] might support allowing foreign companies to spend freely in elections in the United States. I guess this would be the corporate globalization of the U.S. electoral system." So you gotta ask yourself: Who does Hugo Chavez want for President?

Blumenthal excerpting the Center for Public Integrity:

> The Center for Public Integrity looks at this closer and shows what kind of foreign influence we are looking at:
>
> > One prominent examples is CITGO Petroleum Company — once the American-born Cities Services Company, but purchased in 1990 by the Venezuelan government-owned Petróleos de Venezuela S.A. The Citizens United ruling could conceivably allow Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, who has sharply criticized both of the past two U.S. presidents, to spend government funds to defeat an American political candidate, just by having CITGO buy TV ads bashing his target.
> > And it's not just Chavez. The Saudi government owns Houston's Saudi Refining Company and half of Motiva Enterprises. Lenovo, which bought IBM's PC assets in 2004, is partially owned by the Chinese government's Chinese Academy of Sciences. And Singapore's APL Limited operates several U.S. port operations. A weakening of the limit on corporate giving could mean China, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, and any other country that owns companies that operate in the U.S. could also have significant sway in American electioneering.
>
> I really can't see Americans being too happy about this.

Dahlia Lithwick reported for Slate from the Supreme Court as the opinions were being read. She offered this aside:

> While Stevens is reading the portion of his concurrence about the "cautious view of corporate power" held by the framers, I see Justice Thomas chuckle softly.

Was it a disdainful chuckle at the impotence of his colleague? Was it merely a chuckle of disagreement, of good-natured exasperation? Was it a chuckle at an anachronistic vision of the framers set beside today's modern corporate silicon and steel behemoths? I doubt he was thinking about Hugo Chavez.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** more...

Justice Ginsburg's questions in the Citizens United case to its attorneys focused on foreign owned corporations spending in US elections. Ted Olson, attorney for CU, told her he opposed congressional restrictions on such spending.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Honduras

I spoke with Arturo this morning about the delegation to Honduras.

B5

They are proposing one of two alternatives: (1) Arturo, Jose F, Craig, and Dan R. or

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Honduras

Roger.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 23 10:17:27 2010
Subject: Re: Honduras

I prefer (1) and they can all stay the next day for meetings if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 10:14:04 2010
Subject: Honduras

I spoke with Arturo this morning about the delegation to Honduras. [redacted] B5

They are proposing one of two alternatives: (1) Arturo, Jose F, Craig, and Dan R. or [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Napolitano

Yes ops is reaching out to her soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 24 09:56:19 2010
Subject: Napolitano

Am I scheduled to talk w her this morning?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: feedback on the internet speech

You must read this -- a Chinese blogger said that the Internet speech "was like a song to his heart."

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**From**: Chollet, Derek H
**To**: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Ross, Alec J; Cohen, Jared A; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Sat Jan 23 06:23:11 2010
**Subject**: Fw: feedback on the internet speech

Pretty cool

---

**From**: Heather Hurlburt < > B6
**To**: Chollet, Derek H
**Sent**: Fri Jan 22 16:04:00 2010
**Subject**: feedback on the internet speech

Several NSN staff went to a CAP forum with some Chinese bloggers today, and came back emotionally overwhelmed by the bloggers' positive response to her speech. One of them apparently said the speech was like "a song to his heart" and my hard-bitten 20-something staffer said he almost cried when the guy said it. Nice work.

**Heather Hurlburt**
**Executive Director**
**National Security Network**

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 1:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Aceh Background
**Attachments:** Lessons from Aceh Multi Donor Trust Fund.docx

FYI: From one of the folks we hired who had been working with Pierre Louis:

**Lessons from the Aceh and Nias Multi-Donor Trust Fund**

1. The Government of Indonesia (GOI) responded to the Tsunami by issuing a series of government decrees, and immediately organized both overview and relief efforts to ensure a rational and coordinated response. The first task was to produce a Damage and Loss Assessment (DLA). The DLA was followed by a more detailed Master Plan for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (MPRR). The MPRR provided in-depth sector plans, spatial planning, the governance and supervision arrangements of finances with considerable attention to how to avoid or minimize corruption. The process behind the MPRR was consultative, with a wide range of local stakeholders and public offices being heard. The MPRR was presented on 26 March, only 3 months after the Tsunami.

2. The MPRR was to form the basis for a general three-stage strategy. The *Relief phase* was originally set to six months, but was then reduced to three: January- March 2005. The *Rehabilitation phase* is to run for about 21 months, through December 2006, and the *Reconstruction phase* from July 2006 through December 2009. The MPRR provides a well defined phasing of interventions.

3. The objectives for the Relief efforts were *humanitarian relief*: rescue; food and medicine; emergency infrastructure and temporary shelter; and burying the dead. The Rehabilitation phase is to *restore services to minimum level*: public services; economic facilities; banking and financial institutions; trauma treatments; secure land rights; law and order; and temporary shelter. Finally, Reconstruction is to *rebuild the region*: rebuilding the economy (production, trade and banking); the transportation, telecommunications, and social and cultural systems; improving institutional capacity; and housing.

4. The Government set up a ministerial-level agency to manage the MPRR program from Aceh itself, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency for Aceh and Nias. The BRR was formally established end April 2005 and became operational early May. The World Bank Board on 30 March 2005 formally established the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDF) with a Steering Committee comprised of BRR, GOI, donors and civil society. Having a credible local coordinators was key to success.

5. The EC channels nearly 93% of its funds through the MDF, while only 2.5% of USD 400 million from the US goes to the MDF. While payments into the fund were slow, disbursements out of it were to begin with even slower. By October 2005, project agreements for about USD 200 million had been signed, but only USD 3 million had actually been disbursed. Disbursements picked up the pace thereafter. The delay was caused by two principal impediments: first, donors were quick to pledge funds, but getting all the

exact written agreements in place took time. This points to the need for donors to be flexible regarding formal agreements, and accept simple, generic paragraphs that can contribute to speedy resolution of slightly differing phrasings and concerns. Second, the processing time for project approval and implementation was a concern. Since the MDF was to have funded projects on-budget, they had to be implemented by government institutions. This crated bottlenecks.

6. Smaller donors joined because they wished to support the reconstruction efforts in Aceh but do not have own capacity and often not strong views on how best to pursue this. They want the Bank to assume fiduciary responsibilities for the funds in a high-risk environment, and also to take a lead in ensuring that the funds go to prioritized activities. The MDF is thus seen a well-managed bank account with some paid-for administrative services. However, the all-inclusive Steering Committee made membership large and to some extent unwieldy, and forced it to discuss both policy and operational issues.

7. The Multi Donor Fund Secretariat has developed an Outreach Strategy that includes regular radio talk shows, field visits to meet and discuss with beneficiaries and communication through advertisements as well as a telephone hotline.

8. MDF received praise for engaging the Government of Indonesia (GOI) in policy dialogue. The MDF is thus an entry point for engaging on conditions for sustainability, relevance and impact.

9. Because the MDF does not accept strict ear marking of donor contributions – though it does allow for preference indications – it means that the funds are freely available for programming according to the criteria and priorities that the MDF agrees to. Given strong GOI participation, the MDF is seen as the most successful instrument for harmonization and coordination in an environment that has been criticized for a lack of coordination. The MDF's Mid Term Review conducted in 2008-2009 found that the MDF had made a positive contribution to harmonizing donor efforts and to increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the reconstruction effort.

10. The MDF did not sufficiently engage the private sector and did not have a coherent job creation strategy. The MDF lacked executive rights, but GOI and BRR are credited with leveraging a decisive response.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:16 AM
**To:** Thessin, James H
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A; 'Alexandre, Carl'
**Subject:** Aceh Background

Jim

See below.

Meghann

B5

[redacted] B5

cdm

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

From Jean-Louis on Aceh Multi Donor Trust Fund. It's interesting.

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: What is the deadline on Aceh Fund brief

Meghann

Please see attached a few quick notes based largely on the Trust Fund's progress report and an independent evaluation commission by the World Bank, DFID, NORAd and others.

I spoke to Kathleen. I did have to cancel a piece for Canada's main evening news at CBC, which they plan to air on Sunday before the Montreal Summit. I understand that media appearances, especially if higher profile, can cause sensitivities.

Best wishes

Jean-Louis

**Lessons from the Aceh and Nias Multi-Donor Trust Fund**

11. The Government of Indonesia (GOI) responded to the Tsunami by issuing a series of government decrees, and immediately organized both overview and relief efforts to ensure a rational and coordinated response. The first task was to produce a Damage and Loss Assessment (DLA). The DLA was followed by a more detailed Master Plan for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (MPRR). The MPRR provided in-depth sector plans, spatial planning, the governance and supervision arrangements of finances with considerable attention to how to avoid or minimize corruption. The process behind the MPRR was consultative, with a wide range of local stakeholders and public offices being heard. The MPRR was presented on 26 March, only 3 months after the Tsunami.

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14. The Government set up a ministerial-level agency to manage the MPRR program from Aceh itself, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency for Aceh and Nias. The BRR was formally established end April 2005 and became operational early May. The World Bank Board on 30 March 2005 formally established the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDF) with a Steering Committee comprised of BRR, GOI, donors and civil society. Having a credible local coordinators was key to success.

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769392 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

This is from Justice Stevens' dissent in the Citizens United case:

If taken seriously, our colleagues' assumption that the identity of a speaker has *no* relevance to the Government's ability to regulate political speech would lead to some remarkable conclusions. Such an assumption would have accorded the propaganda broadcasts to our troops by "Tokyo Rose" during World War II the same protection as speech by Allied commanders. More pertinently, it would appear to afford the same protection to multinational corporations controlled by foreigners as to individual Americans: To do otherwise, after all, could " 'enhance the relative voice' " of some ( *i.e.* , humans) over others ( *i.e.* , nonhumans). *Ante* , at 33 (quoting *Buckley* , 424 U. S., at 49). [51] Under the majority's view, I suppose it may be a First Amendment problem that corporations are not permitted to vote, given that voting is, among other things, a form of speech.

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/08-205.ZX.html

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Jan 23, 2010 3:51 pm
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

B6

This is unbelievable. Or maybe totally so given the forces at work.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 23 09:26:25 2010

Subject: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a

"person" under US law. S

http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election

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Digg <http://digg.com/submit?url=http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election&title=Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election&bodytext=Blogging+on+the+Citizens+United+Supreme+Court+ruling+is+more+of+what+we+love+about+the+web.+It%26%239217%3Bs+the+kind+of+typical+collective+dissection+we+have+now+come+to+expect+but+that+never+really+existed+before%3A+serious%2C+speculative%2C+arcane%2C+funny%2C+brilliant%2C+baked%2C+etc.+The+Sunlight+Foundation+blogging+is+predictably+good.+Paul+Blumenthal+dips+into+the+%5B...%5D&media=news&topic=politics>

Tweet <http://twitter.com/home?status=RT%20@COindependent%20-%20Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election%C2%A0%20http://bit.ly/7duhoY>

By John Tomasic <http://coloradoindependent.com/author/johntomasic/> 1/22/10

3:58 PM

Blogging on the Citizens United Supreme Court ruling is more of what we love about the web. It's the kind of typical collective dissection we have now come to expect but that never really existed before: serious, speculative, arcane, funny, brilliant, baked, etc. The Sunlight Foundation blogging <http://blog.sunlightfoundation.com/2010/01/22/wait-can-foreign-companies-now-spend-on-us-political-elections/> is predictably good. Paul Blumenthal dips into the multinational dimension of the new "corporation as full citizen-person" framework, drawing on blogging going on at Newsweek <http://blog.newsweek.com/blogs/theqaggle/archive/2010/01/22/should-foreign-corporations-spend-money-on-u-s-political-candidates.aspx> and the Center for Public Integrity <http://www.publicintegrity.org/articles/entry/1913/>.

"Looks like [the Court] might support allowing foreign companies to spend freely in elections in the United States. I guess this would be the corporate globalization of the U.S. electoral system." So you gotta ask yourself: Who does Hugo Chavez want for President?

Blumenthal excerpting the Center for Public Integrity:

<http://coloradoindependent.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Picture-142.png>

The Center for Public Integrity looks at this closer and shows what kind of foreign influence we are looking at:

One prominent examples is CITGO Petroleum Company – once the American-born Cities Services Company, but purchased in 1990 by the Venezuelan government-owned Petróleos de Venezuela S.A. The Citizens United ruling could conceivably allow Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, who has sharply criticized both of the past two U.S. presidents, to spend government funds to defeat an American political candidate, just by having CITGO buy TV ads bashing his target.

And it's not just Chavez. The Saudi government owns Houston's Saudi Refining Company and half of Motiva Enterprises. Lenovo, which bought IBM's PC assets in 2004, is partially owned by the Chinese government's Chinese Academy of Sciences. And Singapore's APL Limited operates several U.S. port operations. A weakening of the limit on corporate giving could mean China, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, and any other country that owns companies that operate in the U.S. could also have significant sway in American electioneering.

I really can't see Americans being too happy about this.

Dahlia Lithwick reported for Slate <http://www.slate.com/id/2242208/> from the Supreme Court as the opinions were being read. She offered this aside:

While Stevens is reading the portion of his concurrence about the "cautious view of corporate power" held by the framers, I see Justice Thomas chuckle softly.

Was it a disdainful chuckle at the impotence of his colleague? Was it merely a chuckle of disagreement, of good-natured exasperation? Was it a chuckle at an anachronistic vision of the framers set beside today's modern corporate silicon

and steel behemoths? I doubt he was thinking about Hugo Chavez.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

Getting a legislative fix might be a good initiative for SOTU. Let the Republicans try to oppose it. S

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Tweet <http://twitter.com/home?status=RT%20@COindependent%20-%20Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election%C2%A0%20http://bit.ly/7duhoY>

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RELEASE IN PART B6

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**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front companybecomes a "person" under US law. S

Me, too. He shouldn't retire
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 23 Jan 2010 16:08:57
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

B6

Good for him. I wish he were 50 instead 90!

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By John Tomasic <http://coloradoindependent.com/author/johntomasic/> 1/22/10

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RELEASE IN PART B6

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**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front companybecomes a "person" under US law. S

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**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 5:14 PM
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**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a frontcompanybecomes a "person" under US law. S

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: UN Haiti Operation

FYI

---

**From:** Schwartz, Eric P
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** UN Haiti Operation

Cheryl:

FYI. I understand that Susan Rice and the Secretary discussed UN Haiti operation. Susan subsequently asked me for my views on the organization of the UN tsunami operation, with a view toward enhancing the effectiveness of the current effort on Haiti. I have lots of thoughts – as the operation needs to be much, much stronger institutionally – which I will share with her on Monday.

Eric

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: update on Montana Hotel visit

FYI

---

**From:** Callaghan, Tim [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 9:30 PM
**To:** Harris, Elizabeth J; Lindwall, David E; Cantrell, Paul M; Callaghan, Tim (DCHA/OFDA/LAC); Rex, Gary L; Mayer, Paul O
**Subject:** Re: update on Montana Hotel visit

The family visit was Respectful and alowed the families to have some closure.

Very shortly after arriving at the site I believe the families understood the magnitude of the devastation at the Hote Montana and the reality of surviving such devastaion.

They thanked the Ambassador and Rescue teams, Consulate, etc who were Searching for their loved ones.

Given the sad situation - the families were greatful to speak with people who were searching for their children.

I am around tomorrow if you have any questions.

Tim
**********
Tim Callaghan
DART Team Leader

---

**From**: Harris, Elizabeth J <HarrisEJ@state.gov>
**To**: Lindwall, David E <LindwallDE@state.gov>; Cantrell, Paul M <CantrellP@state.gov>; Callaghan, Tim (DCHA/OFDA/LAC) [USAID]; Rex, Gary L <RexGL@state.gov>; Mayer, Paul O <MayerPO@state.gov>
**Sent**: Sat Jan 23 21:09:38 2010
**Subject**: update on Montana Hotel visit
State Ops is calling for an update on how the Lynn University/McGovern visit to the Hotel Montana went. Gary Rex is still at the airport with the group and my cell phone call is not going through. Can one of you please provide an urgent update to Ops at 202-647-1512?

Thank you,
Liz

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Lynn University

FYI
----- Original Message -----
From: Lindwall, David E
To: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Sat Jan 23 21:30:45 2010
Subject: RE: Lynn University

Pat,
I heard it went well. They got to the Montana when there was still about a half hour of light. [redacted] B6
[redacted] American SAR personnel discussed each specific site within the Montana with the families and they could see the immense challenge of doing more than had already been done. [redacted] Recovery operations had already begun and seven bodies (if I remember the number correctly) were extracted this afternoon, including a number of Amcits. [redacted]
[redacted] Cheers, David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:53 PM
To: Lindwall, David E
Subject: Lynn University

David

Any feedback on atmospherics?

Regards

Pat

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Trust Fund

The trust fund

---

**From:** Schwartz, Eric P
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:26 PM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A; Mills, Cheryl D; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** RE: Trust Fund

To all:

In response to the query to me from Meghann, below, here are some key issues that the Administration should consider regarding a trust fund:

B5

B5

Best,
Eric

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** Drew, Elizabeth I; Schwartz, Eric P
**Subject:** Trust Fund

Eric, Elizabeth,

Attached is what I drafted for the Secretary. It is pretty straightforward; lifted more or less from their website. To the extent that you have editorial commentary, please send it our way. I'll be traveling with S on Monday for the Montreal conference and we expect the trust fund concept to be a big topic of conversation. S is very interested in using Aceh Fund as a model.

Meghann

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: From Paul Collier
**Attachments:** Final version of Dubai Report Fragile States[1].doc; Rethinking the Provision of Public Services in Post-1[1].doc

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**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 2:31 PM
**To:** Brigety, Reuben; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** From Paul Collier

Have not had a chance to read yet but wanted to share asap. Paul and Jean-Louis are still working on scrubbing our strategy for adds and drops.

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**From:** Paul Collier [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** modalities for Haiti

Meghann,

A couple of ideas.

1. To avoid a coordination nightmare, try to get a structure in which there is a single authority with some temporary power - e.g. a senior Haiti figure (ex-PM would be ideal) + Bill Clinton, as co-CEOs, supported by a council where you can put the key parties on so they dont feel excluded (e.g. EU which will otherwise sulk). It could start from the April Plan and the US Plan.

2. To scale up basic service provision without doing a total bypass of the state, I suggest the Public Service Agencies model that I have been working up for the OECD. Essentially, centralized funding of decentralized provision. Fortuitously, this has just been endorsed by the Davos Global Agenda Council for Fragile States and will be pitched as one of the key ideas at Davos. I attach the brief Davos write-up of the idea, and a fuller paper that I did recently for the OECD. Please circulate as you think fit.

If you need anything from me I will be happy to help. I will be in Davos late next week.

Paul

CSAE Department of Economics, Manor Rd Oxford OX13UQ
phone (44)1865-271084 gen; [redacted]
http://users.ox.ac.uk/~econpco

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[redacted]

## Council Report – Issue Overview (page 1)

Council Name: GAC on Fragile States

States suffering fragility are those states where the national public authority is not providing the basic public goods that allow their societies to live in peace and improve their prospects for the future. These are states that do not provide (1) accountable and effective security and social protection; (2) predictable and enforced laws that are generally accepted as legitimate; (3) revenue collection and management of external aid to ensure the delivery of basic social and economic services to society; (4) mechanisms of accountability of state authorities to society.

These states are vulnerable to both internal and external shocks and thus their populations are likely to suffer the most from the vagaries of climate change and the impact of droughts and flooding, regional insecurity, and regional and international economic crises. They are marked by low food security, high crime rates and high youth unemployment and are susceptible to the mobilisation efforts of entrepreneurs of violence of all sorts. In all these respects they represent the weakest links in the global community.

The causes of state fragility are varied and historically and context specific, so action by the international community needs to be based on an understanding of the particularities of each fragile situation. While not all states marked by poverty and underdevelopment are fragile, almost all fragile states are poor and underdeveloped, so international action needs to be concerned with the reduction of poverty and the creation of wealth in these societies.

The past half century of experience underscores that reforming the institutions and organisations of the state in fragile states is a decadal, possibly even generational challenge. The international community must consider what needs to be done today or tomorrow to create the stability and breathing space that will allow these longer term efforts to take root and flourish

In recent years the international community has increasingly recognised that to ensure a prosperous and secure global community there is a need to increase foreign assistance to fragile states and to support processes of state-building. We follow the OECD in recognizing that state-building is "an endogenous process to enhance capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state driven by state-society relations".

Important analytical work on understanding the conditions of fragility and the requirements of external assistance to state-building has been undertaken by the OECD, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and by individual bilateral development agencies. The Council wishes to build on these initiatives, avoid duplication and draw attention to areas that have not received enough attention.

## Council Report – Summarized Proposal(s) (page 2)

Council Name: GAC on Fragile States

**Innovating in Governance in fragile states: A New System of Mutual Responsibility in Delivering Basic Economic and Social Services**

In fragile states, there is a challenge to meet the urgent needs of the population through the delivery of essential social and economic services, while building sustainable and accountable systems of public authority. Often states are heavily dependent on external resources to finance such services and the challenge is to put these to good use without undermining incentives to raise domestic revenue that can eventually replace external assistance. Donors in a hurry to see that funds are spent effectively often channel them outside state systems, which can undermine or pre-empt the consolidation of viable and accountable state organisations. At the same time, for understandable reasons, donors are cautious about budget support, where blank cheques are written to governments without assurances that accountability standards will be met.

The existing tools of development assistance, however appropriate for delivering aid to poor but stable and relatively well functioning states, are not adequate for confronting the conditions of state fragility:

- where people have a deep distrust of states
- where states are often weak and repressive
- where societies nonetheless have considerable resilience

The costs of donor mistakes in delivering aid are high everywhere, but in fragile states the costs can be catastrophic, leading to state collapse, violence and in the worst cases regional instability and war.

The existence of fragile states compels us to look for imaginative solutions.

An innovative approach will ensure:

- Mutual responsibility between donors and states in spending public resources
- Accountability to local communities in how public resources are spent
- Building upon existing local capacities and drawing on capacities at the regional and national levels
- Delivering resources in ways perceived as equitable and just
- Long term commitment by donors that matches the long term task of overcoming fragility

Objectives:

A New Aid Delivery Mechanism would:

1. Allow for domestic resources to be collected and donor moneys channelled according to a set of accountability mechanisms that would be transparently measured and reported upon; and
2. Key policies and services to be implemented through "National Programs" that would implement specific functions at the appropriate level of governance, through a system of implementation within state systems, thereby avoiding the creation of parallel organisations outside the state and instead contributing to developing state systems that can eventually replace external aid with domestic revenue;
3. Ensure that representative organisations in society have the opportunity and means to participate in, monitor and supervise the exercise of power and dispensation of public resources.

Means:

1. A set of Accountability Standards across the key state functions should be agreed, and the state required to report on and make transparent all revenues, procurement and licensing decisions, asset disposal and acquisition, budgets, expenditures, accounts and audits.
2. The integrity of spending would be guaranteed through a dual-oversight agency where responsibility is shared between state authorities and external funders. A range of instruments could be deployed, including IMF/ World Bank monitoring, trust funds that pool donor resources against these standards, and linking of use of the sovereign guarantee to a government's meeting those standards. GEMAP in Liberia provides one example.
3. A set of National Programs should be designed and launched through a partnership of government, civil society and international oversight, whereby the ministry provides the policy framework; the trust fund and / or domestic revenue provides the funding flow; monitoring and oversight by the civil service in partnership with international representatives; and implementation by the combination of communities, private sector, NGOs and civil service appropriate to the context and the available

capacities. The National Solidarity Program and other national programs in Afghanistan provide examples of such mechanisms.

4. Establish regular reporting on activities to representative organisations however constituted through domestic political processes (inclusive of all regions and social groups).
5. A consortium of Private businesses could be established to link investment to meeting of Accountability standards.
6. As a country develops capacity to raise revenues to replace external aid the shared responsibility with donors can pass to shared responsibility between the state and its citizens (through parliamentary committees and the like), while states developed also shared responsibility in their regions.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769411 Date: 08/31/2015

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# Rethinking the Provision of Public Services in Post-Conflict States

Paul Collier

Centre for the Study of African Economies,

Department of Economics,

University of Oxford

September 2009

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769411 Date: 08/31/2015

## Introduction

The provision of basic social services is inherently difficult. Considerations of equity demand that a minimum provision be available to all citizens regardless of ability to pay. But if provision is through non-market mechanisms how are resources to be allocated and what are the incentives for effort? There is no universally ideal organizational solution to these problems and approaches differ considerably between countries.

African governments inherited a common model of public service provision from colonial times. That model was rooted in how British and French governments were themselves providing public services during the 1950s. For the following half-century African governments struggled to make this model work. In many of them, and most particularly in those with the social stresses associated with being post-conflict, that model has proved to be inappropriate. It is high time to try delivery systems which are better suited to the local context.

## The Inherited Model

The 1950s European model was for a government ministry to take responsibility for an entire service, such as health or education. Such ministries combined the potentially distinct functions of planning, resource allocation, on-the-ground service delivery, and evaluation. Further, they held a national monopoly over the provision of the service.

African governments tended to assume that this was the appropriate way for a developed society to deliver public services, so that it was the system to which they should aspire. In fact, in many respects this organizational approach was not an encompassing model for a developed society, but was rooted in its highly unusual time, namely the aftermath of the Second World War. One legacy of the war was a belief in planning. In wartime Britain national planning had been successful and it was now applied to the problem of service delivery. Delivering social services through centralized planning requires information: the war had taught the civil service how to gather and marshal it for military objectives and initially this worked well for service provision. Another legacy of the war was a strong sense of nationhood and public-spiritedness. This spirit resolved the problem of motivating public sector workers: they had internalized the norms of serving the society and so did not need either close monitoring or large financial incentives. The combination of information-guided central planning and a motivated workforce was highly cost-effective.

In ideal conditions the European model of the 1950s is by far the most cost-effective system. Both post-war Britain and modern Scandinavia met these conditions. Scandinavia combines a self-motivated public sector workforce with a comprehensive system of centralized social information. But these advantages are underpinned by an unusually homogenous population with a strong sense of national identity and a belief in social equity. In Britain, neither aspect of the

system proved to be sustainable. Gradually, the helpful norms of public sector workers eroded. For example, after three decades British nurses abandoned their policy of not threatening to strike. As service delivery became more complex, it became more information-intensive and so less much more demanding for the command-and-control approach that had worked well for military objectives. As conditions became less suited to the 1950s model it became unwieldy. Ministries grew far beyond the size originally envisaged: for example, the National Health Service became the largest employer in Europe. In response, reliance upon self-motivation through internalized norms has gradually been replaced through ad hoc reforms by increasingly detailed targets combined with high levels of pay. The system of central planning has been partially replaced by resource allocation that is guided by simulated 'internal' markets.

**Why the Inherited Model is often unsuited to Fragile States**

Fragile states are far removed from the conditions in which the 1950s European model works well. Public sector employees have long ceased to internalize the norms of public-spiritedness. Further, social information is neither detailed nor up-to-date. Unfortunately, in the absence of these conditions the model works extremely badly. Most workers are not self-motivated to serve the public interest but the system lacks the means either to rebuild the norms of public service, or to motivate workers with financial incentives.

***Prevailing norms of public service***

In the fragile states the prevailing norms of public sector workers are radically different from those in Scandinavia. People are more heterogeneous and conflicted and so have a weaker sense of the national public interest. Shirking, as instanced by high rates of absenteeism, is common, as is minor corruption. Often the collapse in the norm of public service was due to the erosion in salaries. If public sector workers are not paid enough to live then they have no choice but to abuse their positions for personal gain. However, once the new norms of self-interest become established they become very difficult to change: the new pattern of behaviour is an equilibrium in which the conduct of each worker is rational given the expected conduct of other workers. Prevailing dysfunctional norms are thereby collectively self-reinforcing. For example, many public service jobs depend upon teams so that the return to individual effort depends upon that of others. Individually each worker is locked into prevailing norms unless there is a credible reason to believe that the norms of other workers have changed. Large and coordinated changes in norms of work among staff are very difficult for management to achieve. Simply reversing the salary decline is unlikely to restore the norms of public service. The more likely outcome is that what was a badly performing but low-cost delivery system is replaced by a badly performing but more expensive delivery system.

Dysfunctional norms are passed on between generations of public sector workers. By its nature public service tends to attract young people with a degree of idealism. For example, survey evidence from Ethiopia shows that newly trained nurses enter the profession with a strong sense

of public spiritedness. However, once placed into clinics where the prevailing norm is self-interest over the next three years their initial public-spiritedness is replaced by the dysfunctional norms of their elders. Hence, the current model of service delivery is repeatedly destroying the asset of self-motivation in the young workforce.

***Limited Alternatives to Self-Motivation***

Even if workers have not internalized the norms of the organization, it may nevertheless be possible to motivate them to good performance by means of financial incentives. However, the 1950s European model is ill-suited to this approach. Being within the civil service, the range of financial rewards and penalties that can be deployed is extremely limited. Virtually everywhere civil servants have very strong job security so that the threat of dismissal is not credible. Demotion is very rare and constrained by cumbersome systems of appeal. Hence, the only scope for incentives is through rewards. Even here the civil service is heavily constrained by the need for perceived equity among staff and pay scales that are tied to seniority, age, and rank. In post-conflict conditions these generic problems of discretionary rewards and penalties for civil servants are further complicated by the history of conflict. In the contest for control of the state, public sector employment comes to be regarded not merely as an input into service delivery, but as a valued prize in itself. This leaves a legacy of pervasive suspicions that discretionary rewards reflect patronage and favour rather than performance. The post-conflict imperative of achieving perceived equity in public employment between rival political factions may make performance-related incentives infeasible.

Even where incentives are politically feasible, they can only be effective to the extent that they can be linked to observable aspects of performance. Yet in post-conflict conditions the information needed to assess performance on public service delivery is simply not being generated. This is partly due to the larger problems endemic to post-conflict situations such as broken local administrations. But it is also itself an instance of the incentive problem: if prevailing performance is generally poor, civil servants have an incentive not to collect timely evidence by which it could be measured. Yet the same information that would be needed to measure performance would also be needed for overall resource allocation through central planning to be effective. Starved of information, central planning is blind and an easy prey to crude political pressures.

***The consequence for service delivery***

The result is that the same system which in Scandinavia produces the best and most cost-effective social services on earth, in African post-conflict conditions produces the worst. Workers are motivated neither by internalized norms of public service, nor by financial incentives. Central planning without information inevitably grossly misallocates resources. As a result services are inevitably very bad.

Faced with a delivery system that is manifestly dysfunctional, donors starve it of finance. This produces the very bad, but very inexpensive systems that prevail in the public sector in fragile states. Without question, adequate social provision will require substantially more international funding than has been provided to date. However, the root of the problem is not the lack of funding, but the lack of a delivery system that could productively use enhanced funding.

**Donor bypass of the state**

Faced with the overwhelming case for responding to social needs, donors have usually resorted to bypassing the state, channelling finance through NGOs and the UN agencies. This has advantages and disadvantages.

***Advantages of non-government provision***

Unlike government provision, non-government provision is not a uniform model and there is considerable variation. Two different approaches can both achieve good organizational performance. One approach, typified by mission-run hospitals and schools, achieves good performance by maintaining a high level of organizational commitment on the part of its workers. Given the high intrinsic satisfaction from activities such as healing the sick and teaching children, and the highly visible needs in post-conflict societies, it is possible to create islands of self-motivation even where in the public sector norms of service have collapsed. The other approach, typified by some for-profit organizations, achieves good performance by solving the difficult problem of linking financial incentives to observable performance. In many aspects of service delivery individual performance is not readily observable and so effective monitoring is difficult. The two approaches are not easily combined and so tend to be alternatives. Norms of self-motivation, or working for the common good, thrive on trust and equity among staff. In contrast, the essence of addressing motivation by means of financial incentives is that trust is replaced by monitoring, and equity is replaced by income differences based on differential performance. Field evidence suggests that where strong financial incentives are introduced into service delivery organizations norms of service and worker cohesion are undermined.

According to the type of service, the local context, and the personal characteristics of managers, either approach can be more effective. However, while some non-government organizations solve the service delivery problem by one or other of the above approaches, others fail. Some rely upon trust but have unmotivated staff; others rely on financial incentives but monitor aspects of behaviour which are not sufficiently related to performance. Hence, donors cannot tell simply by observing the type of organization whether it is efficient. The implication is that by bypassing the state donors will sometimes be financing organizations that are considerably more efficient, but that there will be considerable variation.

***Disadvantages of bypassing the state***

The most obvious drawback of donors bypassing the state is that, while unsustainable, it does not lead to an exit strategy. The bypass of the state does not build state capacity and may further undermine it. Yet it is acknowledged that the complete bypass cannot itself be the long-term solution to service delivery. If the state is not involved in providing basic services to citizens it will be very difficult for it to establish a claim to legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens.

The total bypass has a further serious drawback which donors are less willing to recognize: the lack of coordination and continuity. The services funded by donors are usually localized and often specific to a particular aspect of service delivery. Given this approach there is no systematic scope for a nation-wide and sector-wide approach to resource allocation. Donor financing of any particular service provider is likely to be temporary. Field staff are typically rotated every three years and the priorities of individual donors change as ministers change. Given the natural human inclination to make a difference, this is a recipe for continuous turmoil.

However, the most serious drawback is the lack of accountability to the ordinary people who are the users of services. Generically, there are two mechanisms for such accountability: political and commercial. By definition, as a result of the donor bypass of the state, political accountability to users is not possible. The alternative of commercial accountability is dependent upon donor financing of service providing agencies being conditional upon their observed performance. However, other than for the most rudimentary aspects of performance, donors lack the monitoring capacity with which to hold agencies to account.

**Public Service Authorities**

An alternative to the 1950s model of the monopoly government ministry and the total bypass of the state is to unbundle the functions that in the 1950s model are all performed by a single ministry. Some of these functions are intrinsic to the responsibilities that a state should undertake. For other functions the state can achieve its objectives better by purchasing the function from other providers. Even in the most centralized and efficient of European states this approach is now standard: for example, in France both blood-testing and ambulance services are financed publicly but provided privately.

A Public Service Authority (PSA) is a design of public service delivery which may be particularly appropriate for post-conflict conditions. It need not be merely a temporary measure: it may evolve into a permanent organization much as Independent Revenue Authorities have become permanent in many fragile states. Although all PSAs have some core features in common, they can take many different forms. For example, at one extreme a single PSA could have a national mandate for many different types of service, while at the other, each district might have several PSAs, one for each type of service. Such choices should vary country-by-country, according to local capacity. Here I focus on the core principles of a PSA rather than on such choices.

A PSA is a public agency: it is an implementing agency of government but is independent of the civil service, analogous to central banks and revenue authorities. While it is an agency of government, its board of directors can include a minority of non-government appointees. In post-conflict conditions these should include the main donor agencies and key components of civil society. The primary purpose of such representation is to provide equal and unrestricted access to information on the decisions and performance of the PSA for government, donors and civil society. As a result, a PSA is *structurally transparent.*

The government ministries responsible for service provision have representation on the board of the PSA and set policy guidelines by which the PSA must operate. For example, they may set minimum standards of provision, and require the PSA to allocate resources so as to ensure geographic equity. Ministries will also continue to provide state services directly. Since in post-conflict conditions service provision is invariably inadequate, the PSA should constitute an expansion in provision not a change in the management of existing services. Over time, if the PSA-provided services proved to be better value that those directly provided by the ministries then it would be a matter for the government to decide whether to reorganize the directly provided services.

A PSA receives funds from donors and government for the purchase of services from primary providers. Since the PSA is an implementing agency of government, the money allocated to the PSA, including that from donors, appears in the government budget as an expenditure. Hence, donor funding of services through the PSA is somewhat analogous to ring-fenced budget support.

The PSA enters into contracts with primary service providing agencies but does not provide services directly. This avoids a conflict of interest and focuses the PSA exclusively on negotiating and monitoring the performance of the primary providers. These providers can be NGOs, local communities, local governments, or private for-profit organizations. Ideally, the PSA will experiment with multiple channels of provision for the same service to maximize the scope for variation in performance.

The PSA devotes most of its resources to monitoring performance and comparing it. The evidence on comparative performance is provided to the board of the PSA on a regular basis. The board uses this information to reallocate resources from less-efficient providers to more-efficient providers.

The PSA can also experiment with distributing vouchers to households rather than money to service providers. This reduces the need for monitoring of performance but introduces other problems. To take a trivial example, in health care the prescription of glucose will produce a short-term improvement in the patient without addressing the causes of the illness. Users can easily misinterpret this effect as indicating that they need repeated treatment rather than different treatment. Hence, in the absence of good ethical standards among practitioners in this instance

vouchers could be dysfunctional. More generally, the balance of whether service providers are more effectively monitored by professions or by users will vary according to type of service and local context and is best determined by experiment.

**Why a PSA should improve service delivery**

A PSA is a design that is based on modern economic principles and the evidence from fieldwork (see Bold, Collier and Zeitlin (2009) for a discussion of how a PSA fits with theory and evidence). This does not guarantee that it is appropriate, but there are clear reasons to expect it to work considerably better than either the 1950s model or the donor bypass.

***Variation, competition and selection***

A PSA builds in variation in approaches to service delivery: different providers will be attempting to solve the problem worker motivation in different ways. Since the core function of the PSA is to evaluate these different approaches it enables gradual improvement in overall efficiency. The increase in efficiency comes about through two different mechanisms.

The most obvious is through the awareness of competition acting as a disciplining device on providers. Through this mechanism, the performance of the typical service provider might be expected to improve. However, this is probably not the most important.

The more important mechanism is that resources can gradually be reallocated from inefficient providers to efficient providers. Since the variation in efficiency between different providers is likely to be considerable, simply by reallocating money between them the PSA can raise the efficiency of the average dollar spent on service provision. Note that this does not depend upon any improvement in efficiency in each organization.

***Branding***

Unlike the donor bypass of the state, with a PSA donor money is routed through a state organization. A condition of for a non-government service provider receiving money from the PSA should be that the services delivered are co-branded by government. While the visibility of donor operations is reduced, that of government is increased. Ordinary citizens are able to see that the government is doing something that is beneficial.

***Scaling up because of donor confidence***

By design, the PSA generates information on the performance of the organizations that it funds, and hence on its own performance. Since donors are represented on the management board of the PSA they have full access to this information. Transparency of information for donors is crucial in post-conflict conditions to enable donors to scale up financing beyond the immediate post-conflict period. During the first few years donors give governments are the benefit of the doubt, but this rapidly erodes. In its place governments need rapidly to build donor confidence. This

cannot be done either by declarations or by comprehensive improvements in governance. Declarations of good practice can be made equally well by those governments that have no intention of adhering to them and so, despite a deceptively courteous reception, cut no ice with donors. Comprehensive improvements in governance simply take too long to achieve to stave of reductions in donor funding. A PSA provides a quick institutional solution to the problem of building credibility with donors: transparency and design substitute for the lack of trust. As quantitative evidence of performance builds up, the local offices of donor agencies are in a much stronger position to press their headquarters for a larger share of the budget.

***Centralized resource allocation***

The PSA retains the key benefit of central planning: resource allocation can be coordinated rather than being simply the aggregation of individual donor decisions. Further, since the PSA is designed to generate information, the precondition for central planning to be effective is met. However, while overall resource allocation is centrally determined, the incentive problem is not micro-managed. The PSA does not attempt to motivate or monitor the workers who deliver services. That task is decentralized to individual service providers to solve as best they can. The PSA faces the less daunting task of monitoring the overall performance of each delivery organization.

***Motivating the PSA***

The Board of the PSA faces the task of motivating the staff of the PSA. Why might this be any easier than the task of motivating civil servants in the service delivery ministries? In part it is easier because, being a new organization outside the civil service the PSA can start with higher pay structures that are credibly linked to rewards and penalties. Recruits have some reason to expect that the behaviour of their colleagues will not be the same as civil service behaviour. Perhaps more importantly, the remit of the PSA is more narrowly defined than the remit of a ministry. It is not trying to do everything from policy design to on-the-ground delivery of services. It is allocating money between providers and evaluating their performance. Finally, it is subject to day-to-day scrutiny by donors and civil society who as members of the management board receive a continuous flow of information about the performance of managers.

**How can a PSA be established?**

A PSA does not need to start with a 'big bang'. It can start small, with one or two donors cooperating with a particular government ministry to finance an expansion in the delivery of a particular service. It should be viewed as an experiment in the architecture of public service delivery. As an experiment it should be evaluated, but, by design, such evaluation is automatic. If it succeeds it can be scaled up virtually without limit. Ultimately, the government might decide that the PSA, or a series of PSAs, is the most cost-effective and politically effective way of

delivering services for the society. If it fails then it can readily be closed: donors are used to running projects which terminate. Nor is failure likely to have high costs. Unfortunately, in there is currently no successful model of large scale service delivery in post-conflict conditions, so that the opportunity cost of failure is likely to be modest.

**Conclusion**

Post-conflict societies have been attempting to deliver basic services using an inherited colonial model that has little prospect of success in the context of their own societies. Given the acute needs of their citizens, it is high time for governments to experiment with other designs. The key desiderata are that a new system should be capable of being rapidly scaled up, while leading to something that is politically sustainable. A PSA is not as good as the 1950s model when that model is deployed in ideal conditions. However, based on theory and evidence, it is likely to be more successful than the centralized ministerial approach in the conditions that actually prevail in post-conflict societies. Given the enormous attention that post-conflict societies and other fragile states are now rightly receiving, there is a strong case for experimenting with the PSA design on a pilot basis.

**Reference:**

Tessa Bold, Paul Collier, and Andrew Zeitlin, 2009, Public Service Authorities, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

See traffic at bottom which Bob Maquire (Haiti expert) sent to Leslie Voltaire (Haiti's rep to WJC Envoy office and UN) who also forwarded to PM Bellerive.

[redacted] B5

cdm

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**From:** remaguire [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

Cheryl - See below the response of Leslie Voltaire and PM Jean Max Bellerive to talking points for tomorrow's Montreal meeting I proposed yesterday. Talking points at the end. Response positive. I have also shared these with Paul Farmer. Same response. Sources at the UN fear, however, that the donors will focus on PAP and miss this historic opportunity. - Bob
(email sent also to Patrick G.)

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** Jean Max Bellerive <[redacted]
**À :** Leslie Voltaire [redacted]
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 19 h 33 min 51 s
**Objet :** Re: Montreal - talking points - urgent

Thanks ! En ligne avec ce que je pense dire [TRANLATION – IN LINE WITH WHAT I AM THINKING OF SAYING]

*JMB*

---

**From:** Leslie Voltaire <[redacted]>
**To:** Jean-Max Bellerive <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sat, January 23, 2010 10:23:24 PM
**Subject:** Montreal - talking points - urgent

PM
Reflexions de Bob Maguire
Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** "remaguire[redacted] B6
**À :** lvoltaire[redacted]
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 13 h 22 min 27 s
**Objet :** Montreal - talking points - urgent

Leslie - First, thank god you were in NYC on Jan 12th. I hope your personal losses were minimal. Surely, Haiti has lost much. We all have...

Thoughts for Montreal:

1. This offers an opportunity to 'rebalance' Haiti.
2. Pay attention to the exodus from PAP and catch up with it. (The migration to PAP over the past 30 years was an unnatural development, spurred by rural neglect and urban concentration.)
3. A decentralized system of 'welcome centers' in town and villages can assist returnees re-integrate. Medical and continuing education services should be a part of them. NEED TO ACT NOW.
4. More important, the centers must be equipped to provide work - make them the basis for organizing the civic service corps. Higly decentralized: work for cash; public works/environmental restoration/food production; restoration of human dignity; rural-urban partnerships through work;e in *Haiti's* real future. Also a chance to begin repairing the social fabric. Will need a 'tough love' approach; disciplined management. Not the work for NGOs.
5. No investment in rural areas and no response to this opportunity will = back to the future re. crowded PAP. People will trickle back to the city to replicate past problems.
6. The damage was done before the earthquake by development/investment policies that ignored the rural areas; saw Haitians simply as sources of cheap labor; denigrated human dignity; failed to strengthen local institutions.
7. This must stop; can't happen again.
8. This is the time to move forward with the Civic Service Corps - quickly.

kenbe. Pa lage. - Bob

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:26 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Napolitano

I don't believe so but Huma would have a better update than I would.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin [redacted] Valmoro, Lona J B6
Sent: Sun Jan 24 09:56:19 2010
Subject: Napolitano

Am I scheduled to talk w her this morning?

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:21 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Yang

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jan 24 10:49:17 2010
Subject: Re: Yang

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 10:46:07 2010
Subject: Yang

Jake said he spoke to you about making yang call. U willing to do tonite? Tomorrow morning?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** On the Ground Intelligence

Ruh-roh

---

**From:** remaguire [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

General and specific concerns: Specifically heard from Haiti is that Preval has acceded too much authority to the Vorbe family.

Second, more general, is that the BAMBAM families (the term, I understand, created from the initials of the 6 leading elite families) are gearing up to inflate costs of doing things and to try to monopolize to the extent they can. Will forward in a separate email one or two articles I've seen on this.

I'm off to Trinity to prepare my classes for this week. (A reality of my full-time teaching load). While check email later. Thanks for this opportunity to share thoughts. Am very anxious to do this.

Can't miss the NFC game, even though the Eagles (I'm from Philly) already collapsed. I also lived in S.W. Louisiana during the N.O. "Aints" years.

Best - Bob

On Jn 24, 2010, **Mills, Cheryl D** <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> You and our secretary share similar concerns about making sure Haiti's future is decided by Haiti.
>
> When we met with PM and P, they both indicated they wanted US to play a large coordination role on their behalf to ensure their voice, plans and goals were accomplished. We are committed to doing that as they requested.
>
> I do think fast will mean some will make money they shouldn't – but goal is to have balance so we move with enough alacrity to build confidence that things are getting done.
>
> Who are the Haiti "operator" types of which this concern is being spoken?

B6

**From:** remaguire
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

I hope the GOH has back-up to hold firm to its positions. Some will want to push it around. Also, while urgent need for tent cities clear PAP is clear, definitely not part of solution. Fearful of potential permanance of them unless alternates for rural resettlement along lines of talking points exist.

Am hearing that lots of concern that Haiti's "operators" are licking their chops to make lots of money off this. Fact of life or need to expand circle of actors?

Hang in there. - Bob

On Jan 24, 2010, **Mills, Cheryl D** <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> Great – right in line with our thinking so this is great.
>
> Thanks for forwarding – anything else of note?
>
> cdm

---

**From:** remaguire
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

Cheryl - See below the response of Leslie Voltaire and PM Jean Max Bellerive to talking points for tomorrow's Montreal meeting I proposed yesterday. Talking points at the end. Response positive. I have also shared these with Paul Farmer. Same response. Sources at the UN fear, however, that the donors will focus on PAP and miss this historic opportunity. - Bob
(email sent also to Patrick G.)

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leslie Voltaire**
Date: Jan 23, 2010
Subject: Tr : Montreal - talking points - urgent
To: remaguire

Komisyon pa chaj

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** Jean Max Bellerive
**À :** Leslie Voltaire
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 19 h 33 min 51 s
**Objet :** Re: Montreal - talking points - urgent

B6

Thanks ! En ligne avec ce que je pense dire

*JMB*

---

**From:** Leslie Voltaire
**To:** Jean-Max Bellerive
**Sent:** Sat, January 23, 2010 10:23:24 PM
**Subject:** Montreal - talking points - urgent

PM

Reflexions de Bob Maguire

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** "remaguire
**À :** lvoltaire
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 13 h 22 min 27 s
**Objet :** Montreal - talking points - urgent

Leslie - First, thank god you were in NYC on Jan 12th. I hope your personal losses were minimal. Surely, Haiti has lost much. We all have...

Thoughts for Montreal:

1. This offers an opportunity to 'rebalance' Haiti.
2. Pay attention to the exodus from PAP and catch up with it. (The migration to PAP over the past 30 years was an unnatural development, spurred by rural neglect and urban concentration.)
3. A decentralized system of 'welcome centers' in town and villages can assist returnees re-integrate. Medical and continuing education services should be a part of them. NEED TO ACT NOW.
4. More important, the centers must be equipped to provide work - make them the basis for organizing the

civic service corps. Higly decentralized: work for cash; public works/environmental restoration/food production; restoration of human dignity; rural-urban partnerships through work;e in *Haiti's* real future. Also a chance to begin repairing the social fabric. Will need a 'tough love' approach; disciplined management. Not the work for NGOs.
5. No investment in rural areas and no response to this opportunity will = back to the future re. crowded PAP. People will trickle back to the city to replicate past problems.
6. The damage was done before the earthquake by development/investment policies that ignored the rural areas; saw Haitians simply as sources of cheap labor; denigrated human dignity; failed to strengthen local institutions.
7. This must stop; can't happen again.
8. This is the time to move forward with the Civic Service Corps - quickly.

kenbe. Pa lage. - Bob

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Multi-Donor Trust Fund Background Memo
**Attachments:** FINAL MDF IM for the Secretary.docx

This document in text below is coming up the line to you as material for your trip. This is separate (but related) to what we discussed earlier today. This focuses on the MDTF, using the tsunami model as a guide.

I also have tasked Jean-Louis to put together a think piece for this evening that we can look at re: the larger issue of ensuring efficient, effective coordination of: bi-lateral donors investment, MDTF, and private fund/NGO efforts that all must come together in a coherent fashion. Of not in this memo is fact that in tsunami, there was a GOI reconstruction plan

B5

See below on the Mult-Donor Trust Fund

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED** January 24, 2010

**INFORMATION MEMO FOR THE SECRETARY**

**From: C – Cheryl Mills**
**Re: Creation of a Multidonor Reconstruction Fund (MDF) for Haiti**

This memo provides a summary of key issues related to the creation of a multidonor reconstruction fund for Haiti (MDF), incorporating lessons learned from reconstruction efforts following the 2004 tsunami.

B5

B5

**Lessons from Aceh:**

- **MDFs encourage greater donor participation:** Smaller donors joined the Aceh fund because they wished to support reconstruction efforts but lacked independent capacity and often did not have strong views on how to pursue reconstruction. They wanted the Bank to assume fiduciary responsibilities for the funds in a high-risk environment, and also to take a lead in ensuring that the funds go to prioritized activities.

- **Develop an outreach strategy:** The Aceh MDF Secretariat developed an Outreach Strategy that includes regular radio talk shows, field visits to meet and discuss with beneficiaries, and communication through advertisements as well as a telephone hotline.

- **Engage the government in dialogue:** The Aceh MDF received praise for engaging the GoI in policy dialogue. The MDF was an entry point for engaging on conditions for sustainability, relevance and impact.

- **Appointment on Envoy:** The appointment of a high-profile UN Special Envoy (former President Clinton) increased the availability of funding and willingness of international agencies to try new approaches. It also could provide one forum for coordination among donors, if the Envoy's office is adequately supported.

- **Disaster prevention:** The tsunami underscored the critical role of disaster prevention in "building back better." It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of embedding risk reduction into recovery, especially in Haiti, where natural disasters have caused enormous human suffering.

- **Coordinate proliferating aid agencies:** Large numbers of both public and private aid agencies are likely be active in Haiti for some time. It is important to develop effective coordinating mechanisms and work to ensure that agencies bring actual expertise to the country, reduce turnover of international staff, and seek staff with appropriate language skills.

- **Authoritative Assessment:** Authoritative joint assessments involving the UN, the Red Cross, and national governments could have a beneficial impact on the decision making process and ensure broad buy-in.

**Drafted:**

**Peter Harrell, S/P – x. 7-0724; [redacted] (cell)** B6
**Ted Andrews, S/P**

**Cleared:**

**WHA – Julissa Reynoso (ok)**
**PRM – Eric Schwartz (ok)**
**L – Harold Koh (ok)**

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**From:** Harrell, Peter E
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A; Reynoso, Julissa
**Subject:** RE: Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

Cheryl,

Do you want to take a last look at this final version before I send it on for inclusion in S's book?

Peter

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** Harrell, Peter E
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A; Schwartz, Eric P
**Subject:** RE: Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

Great - thanks

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**From:** Harrell, Peter E
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Curtis, Meghann A; Schwartz, Eric P
**Subject:** RE: Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

I am proofreading now and hope to have final w/in about 20 minutes.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:21 AM
**To:** Schwartz, Eric P; Harrell, Peter E
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

This is looking good.

Can you also catch the typos in it.

What is timeline for a final draft?

cdm

---

**From:** Schwartz, Eric P
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** Harrell, Peter E; Reynoso, Julissa; Brigety, Reuben; Curtis, Meghann A; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Mills, Cheryl D; Andrews, Theodore H; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Koh, Harold Hongju; Eichensehr, Kristen E; Townley, Stephen G
**Cc:** Nagy, Eleanor
**Subject:** RE: Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

Peter:
With edits in track changes. Most are self-explanatory, but call if you have questions – I'm in the office.
I've also made two marginal comments that you should consider.
Best,
Eric

---

**From:** Harrell, Peter E
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** Reynoso, Julissa; Brigety, Reuben; Schwartz, Eric P; Curtis, Meghann A; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Mills, Cheryl D; Andrews, Theodore H; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Koh, Harold Hongju; Eichensehr, Kristen E; Townley, Stephen G
**Subject:** Urgent: Revised IM on MDFs

Eric,

I have revised the IM per your extremely helpful comments--I am hardly the expert on these issues, but I am the body available to draft today... Please take a look at these revisions.

[redacted] B5

Peter Harrell
S/P

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**From:** Peter Harrell <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Harrell, Peter E
**Sent:** Sat Jan 23 20:25:15 2010
**Subject:** Revised IM on MDFs

--
Peter E. Harrell
[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED** January 24, 2010

**INFORMATION MEMO FOR THE SECRETARY**

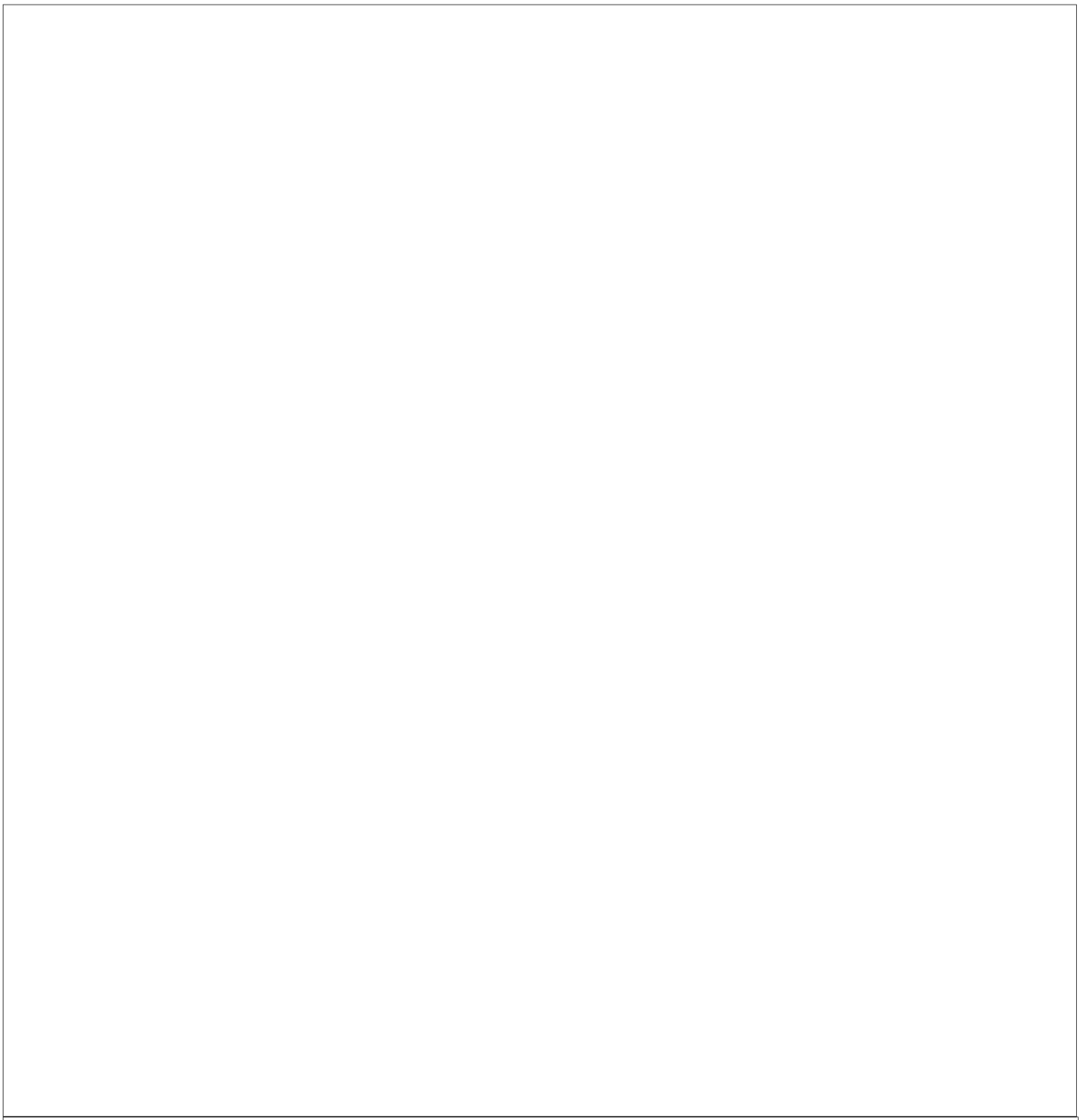
**From: C – Cheryl Mills**
**Re: Creation of a Multidonor Reconstruction Fund (MDF) for Haiti**

This memo provides a summary of key issues related to the creation of a multidonor reconstruction fund for Haiti (MDF), incorporating lessons learned from reconstruction efforts following the 2004 tsunami.

B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

B5





B5

**Lessons from Aceh:**

- **MDFs encourage greater donor participation:** Smaller donors joined the Aceh fund because they wished to support reconstruction efforts but lacked independent capacity and often did not have strong views on how to pursue reconstruction. They wanted the Bank to assume fiduciary responsibilities for the funds in a high-risk environment, and also to take a lead in ensuring that the funds go to prioritized activities.

- **Develop an outreach strategy:** The Aceh MDF Secretariat developed an Outreach Strategy that includes regular radio talk shows, field visits to meet and discuss with beneficiaries, and communication through advertisements as well as a telephone hotline.

- **Engage the government in dialogue:** The Aceh MDF received praise for engaging the GoI in policy dialogue. The MDF was an entry point for engaging on conditions for sustainability, relevance and impact.

- **Appointment on Envoy:** The appointment of a high-profile UN Special Envoy (former President Clinton) increased the availability of funding

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769420 Date: 08/31/2015



and willingness of international agencies to try new approaches. It also could provide one forum for coordination among donors, if the Envoy's office is adequately supported.

- **Disaster prevention:** The tsunami underscored the critical role of disaster prevention in "building back better." It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of embedding risk reduction into recovery, especially in Haiti, where natural disasters have caused enormous human suffering.

- **Coordinate proliferating aid agencies:** Large numbers of both public and private aid agencies are likely be active in Haiti for some time. It is important to develop effective coordinating mechanisms and work to ensure that agencies bring actual expertise to the country, reduce turnover of international staff, and seek staff with appropriate language skills.

- **Authoritative Assessment:** Authoritative joint assessments involving the UN, the Red Cross, and national governments could have a beneficial impact on the decision making process and ensure broad buy-in.


UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769420 Date: 08/31/2015

**Drafted:**

**Peter Harrell, S/P – x. 7-0724; [redacted] (cell)** B6
**Ted Andrews, S/P**

**Cleared:**

**WHA – Julissa Reynoso (ok)**
**PRM – Eric Schwartz (ok)**
**L – Harold Koh (ok)**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Public Afghanistan Strategy

fyi

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:27 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Jones, Paul W
**Subject:** Re: Public Afghanistan Strategy

[redacted] A separate section on women was never created. [redacted]

B5

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Jones, Paul W
**Sent:** Sun Jan 24 08:58:55 2010
**Subject:** Public Afghanistan Strategy

Barbara Boxer apparently sent a letter to saying there is nothing about women in the Afghan strategy. There is nothing in the table of contents.

Is this accurate? Seems odd given that I know that AMS had flagged this and I b/l Jake you had.

Can you advise.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

Yes it is eikenberry, my automatic spell check make it eugenie!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 24 11:43:24 2010
Subject: Re: Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

Who? I thought Eikenberry.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 11:42:34 2010
Subject: Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:56 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Doug Band; Justin Cooper
**Subject:** FW: Thoughts on Haiti
**Attachments:** Beyond the Earthquake.doc

HRC/WJC: Read below - worth the read

-----Original Message-----
From: Robert Maguire [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:57 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thoughts on Haiti

Cheryl - This essay from Haitian-American scholar (and friend) Alex Dupuy has been publiished on Alterpresse today. It is a good summation of concerns and prospects. - Bob

---

Beyond the Earthquake:
A Wake-Up Call for Haiti

Alex Dupuy
Department of Sociology
Wesleyan University
Middletown, CT 06457

Long before the powerful 7.0 magnitude earthquake (and several aftershocks) struck Haiti on January 12 and leveled the metropolitan capital city of Port-au-Prince and surrounding areas, that city was already a disaster waiting to happen. With a population of more than 2 million in a city whose infrastructure could at best sustain a population of 100,000, the local and national public administrations simply abandoned the city to itself. Neither provided meaningful services of any kind-schools, healthcare, electricity, potable water, sanitation, zoning and construction regulations-and what they did provide was poorly administered, or primarily served the needs of the wealthier or better off sectors of the population who could afford to pay for them. Consider, for example, that only about 28 percent of Haitians have access to health care, 50 percent have access to potable water, and 10 percent have electrical services. In short, the Haitian state-i.e., the government-long ago abdicated its responsibilities to the majority of Haitian citizens, and at least since the Duvalier era, deferred to bilateral and multilateral aid donors, non-governmental agencies (NGOs) to provide services to the population. More NGOs per capita operate in Haiti than in any other country in the world, and they provide 70 percent of healthcare in rural areas and 80 percent of public services. This, in turn, has led to an extreme laissez aller and the near total privatization of all basic services. Except for a brief seven month attempt in 1991 that ended in a bloody coup d'état against the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the turn to democratic governance has not changed that basic reality. It is therefore no accident that while the earthquake caused death and destruction among all social classes, the high death toll-estimates run from as low as 10,000 to a high of 200,000 so far, which means no one really knows-is also a direct consequence of the poor infrastructure, inferior housing construction, and the long-standing disregard for the basic needs and rights of the population.

What's more, geologists had warned the government of the probability of a seismic eruption for years, but as with previous massive destructions and loss of lives caused by hurricanes and tropical storms, the government took no

measures to prepare for that possibility. It comes as no surprise, then, that the Haitian people have to rely entirely on the international community to come to its rescue. This would have been the case even if the symbols of government authority-the National Palace, the Parliament, the headquarters of the National Police, and other ministries-had not been destroyed for the simple reason that the capacity of the Haitian state to respond to a crisis of this magnitude-or even to less severe ones-is non existent due primarily to shortsighted practices and policies-political, economic, and social-that prioritized the interests of the few-the 4 percent of the population who hold 66 percent of total assets and the 1 percent who appropriate 55 percent of the national income-at the expense of the 75 percent of the population who live on less than $2/day and the more than half who live on less than $1/day.

There is no doubt that the dominant economic and political classes of Haiti bear great responsibility for the abysmal conditions in the country that exacerbated the impact of the earthquake (or of hurricanes or tropical storms). However, these local actors did not create these conditions alone but did so in close partnership with foreign governments and economic actors with long-standing interests in Haiti, principally those of the advanced countries-the United States, Canada, and France-and their international financial institutions (IFIs)-the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank. Since the 1970s and under various free market mantras, these international actors and institutions sought to and succeeded in transforming Haiti into a supplier of the cheapest labor in this hemisphere for foreign and domestic investors in the export assembly industry; in dismantling all obstacles to free trade; in privatizing public enterprises; and in weakening further the institutions of the state through policies that reinforced Haiti's dependence on foreign aid organizations-governmental and non-governmental.

These policies had drastic consequences for the Haitian economy. Locating the assembly industries primarily in Port-au-Prince encouraged migration from the rural areas to the capital city, contributed to its bloated population and sprawling squalor, and provided a never ending supply of cheap labor for those industries. At the same time, removing tariffs on food imports were detrimental to Haitian agriculture. Whereas in the 1970s Haiti produced most of the rice it consumed and imported only 10 percent of its food needs, by the end of the 1990s it was importing more than 42 percent of its food needs, had become the highest per capita consumer of subsidized US imported rice in the Western Hemisphere, and the largest importer of foodstuffs from the US in the Caribbean. Thus, US farmers benefitted at the expense of Haitian producers. These policies, too, propelled rural-to-urban migration, with Port-au-Prince as the primary destination, as well as emigration to the neighboring Dominican Republic, the Caribbean, and North America. Haiti is becoming increasingly dependent on remittances from its immigrants, which now represent 35 percent of Haiti's GDP.

What, then, is to be done? The response of the international community-from governments, the UN, and NGOs around the world-for medical treatment, food, water, temporary shelter, and road and communication repairs-has been immediate and massive, but will need to be sustained for a longer time span if it is to help Haiti recover economically in the short and medium term. Pressure is also mounting on bilateral and multilateral aid donors to cancel Haiti's debt of some $1.15 billion.

But to be effective and long lasting, future aid must be unconditional and be given more in the form of grants than loans. To that end, the Haitian people need to rethink how the country relates to the international community, in particular the major powers and the IFIs. Basically, I would argue, Haiti needs to break with the policies advocated by the major powers and IFIs that have proved disastrous for the Haitian economy. These policies are predicated on the belief that Haiti can develop only if it remains open to the world market, relies on its comparative advantage of low-cost labor to attract foreign investments in the export assembly industry, and prioritizes the production of selected agricultural goods, such as mangoes, for export. Despite the failure of these policies to generate sustainable development, reduce unemployment and improve the standard of living of the majority of Haitians, the major powers and IFIs continue to advocate them as the solution to Haiti's chronic underdevelopment and poverty. This is shown, for example, by the report written by former World Bank economist Paul Collier for UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2008, and the latter's appointment of former US President Bill Clinton to spearhead that strategy in Haiti. Ignoring the evidence of the last 38 years, Collier's report calls for establishing a cluster of free trade zones for garment production beyond the two that currently exist in Port-au-Prince and Ouanaminthe, and creating such zones for the production and export of mangoes.

It is time for the Haitian people to mobilize as they did in 1990 to change the status quo, but this time by learning from the mistakes of the past and avoiding placing their faith in false prophets. As it did in 1990, an agenda for change would need to include the following:

1. Reject all the different versions of the structural adjustment policies of the IFIs that require that Haiti remove tariffs on food and other imports, privatize public enterprises, exempt foreign investors from taxes on their profits in the assembly industries, and curb social spending. Haiti could instead negotiate bilateral or multilateral agreements with those countries that are willing to provide aid without tying them to the implementation of specific economic or social policies.

2. Launch an immediate large-scale and national public works project to rebuild or expand Haiti's infrastructure, communication, transportation, public schools, public health facilities, and public housing. Here, too, Haiti could rely on bilateral or multilateral agreements to sustain this effort beyond the immediate post-crisis reconstruction now underway with foreign assistance that will focus primarily on the quake-ravaged areas.

3. Prioritize Haiti's food security and sovereignty by launching an agrarian reform, and subsidizing production for the local market as well as for export.

4. Promote the development of local and national agro-industries that use domestic inputs to produce consumer and durable goods; and support the national handicraft industry and promote its expansion on the international market.

5. Protect workers' rights, such as the right to form trade unions and the right to strike, and provide a living wage to all workers, especially in the export assembly industries.

It is obvious that these goals cannot be implemented all at once or immediately. But they must serve as the basis for a large scale popular mobilization to hold the elected representatives of the people to account and to renegotiate Haiti's relations with the international community.

Alex Dupuy is the Class of 1958 Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Wesleyan University. His most recent book is The Prophet and Power: Jean-Berttrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti (2007).

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769426 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# Beyond the Earthquake: A Wake-Up Call for Haiti

Alex Dupuy
Department of Sociology
Wesleyan University
Middletown, CT 06457

Long before the powerful 7.0 magnitude earthquake (and several aftershocks) struck Haiti on January 12 and leveled the metropolitan capital city of Port-au-Prince and surrounding areas, that city was already a disaster waiting to happen. With a population of more than 2 million in a city whose infrastructure could at best sustain a population of 100,000, the local and national public administrations simply abandoned the city to itself. Neither provided meaningful services of any kind—schools, healthcare, electricity, potable water, sanitation, zoning and construction regulations—and what they did provide was poorly administered, or primarily served the needs of the wealthier or better off sectors of the population who could afford to pay for them. Consider, for example, that only about 28 percent of Haitians have access to health care, 50 percent have access to potable water, and 10 percent have electrical services. In short, the Haitian state—i.e., the government—long ago abdicated its responsibilities to the majority of Haitian citizens, and at least since the Duvalier era, deferred to bilateral and multilateral aid donors, non-governmental agencies (NGOs) to provide services to the population. More NGOs per capita operate in Haiti than in any other country in the world, and they provide 70 percent of healthcare in rural areas and 80 percent of public services. This, in turn, has led to an extreme *laissez aller* and the near total privatization of all basic services. Except for a brief seven month attempt in 1991 that ended in a bloody coup d'état against the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the turn to democratic governance has not changed that basic reality. It is therefore no accident that while the earthquake caused death and destruction among all social classes, the high death toll—estimates run from as low as 10,000 to a high of 200,000 so far, which means no one really knows—is also a direct consequence of the poor infrastructure, inferior housing construction, and the long-standing disregard for the basic needs and rights of the population.

What's more, geologists had warned the government of the probability of a seismic eruption for years, but as with previous massive destructions and loss of lives caused by hurricanes and tropical storms, the government took no measures to prepare for that possibility. It comes as no surprise, then, that the Haitian people have to rely entirely on the international community to come to its rescue. This would have been the case even if the symbols of government authority—the National Palace, the Parliament, the headquarters of the National Police, and other ministries—had not been destroyed for the simple reason that the capacity of the Haitian state to respond to a crisis of this magnitude—or even to less severe ones—is non existent due primarily to shortsighted practices and policies—political, economic, and social—that prioritized the interests of the few—the 4 percent of the population who hold 66 percent of total assets and the 1 percent who appropriate 55 percent of the national income—at the expense of the 75

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769426 Date: 08/31/2015

percent of the population who live on less than $2/day and the more than half who live on less than $1/day.

There is no doubt that the dominant economic and political classes of Haiti bear great responsibility for the abysmal conditions in the country that exacerbated the impact of the earthquake (or of hurricanes or tropical storms). However, these local actors did not create these conditions alone but did so in close partnership with foreign governments and economic actors with long-standing interests in Haiti, principally those of the advanced countries—the United States, Canada, and France—and their international financial institutions (IFIs)—the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank. Since the 1970s and under various free market mantras, these international actors and institutions sought to and succeeded in transforming Haiti into a supplier of the cheapest labor in this hemisphere for foreign and domestic investors in the export assembly industry; in dismantling all obstacles to free trade; in privatizing public enterprises; and in weakening further the institutions of the state through policies that reinforced Haiti's dependence on foreign aid organizations—governmental and non-governmental.

These policies had drastic consequences for the Haitian economy. Locating the assembly industries primarily in Port-au-Prince encouraged migration from the rural areas to the capital city, contributed to its bloated population and sprawling squalor, and provided a never ending supply of cheap labor for those industries. At the same time, removing tariffs on food imports were detrimental to Haitian agriculture. Whereas in the 1970s Haiti produced most of the rice it consumed and imported only 10 percent of its food needs, by the end of the 1990s it was importing more than 42 percent of its food needs, had become the highest per capita consumer of subsidized US imported rice in the Western Hemisphere, and the largest importer of foodstuffs from the US in the Caribbean. Thus, US farmers benefitted at the expense of Haitian producers. These policies, too, propelled rural-to-urban migration, with Port-au-Prince as the primary destination, as well as emigration to the neighboring Dominican Republic, the Caribbean, and North America. Haiti is becoming increasingly dependent on remittances from its immigrants, which now represent 35 percent of Haiti's GDP.

What, then, is to be done? The response of the international community—from governments, the UN, and NGOs around the world—for medical treatment, food, water, temporary shelter, and road and communication repairs—has been immediate and massive, but will need to be sustained for a longer time span if it is to help Haiti recover economically in the short and medium term. Pressure is also mounting on bilateral and multilateral aid donors to cancel Haiti's debt of some $1.15 billion.

But to be effective and long lasting, future aid must be unconditional and be given more in the form of grants than loans. To that end, the Haitian people need to rethink how the country relates to the international community, in particular the major powers and the IFIs. Basically, I would argue, Haiti needs to break with the policies advocated by the major powers and IFIs that have proved disastrous for the Haitian economy. These policies are predicated on the belief that Haiti can develop only if it remains open

to the world market, relies on its comparative advantage of low-cost labor to attract foreign investments in the export assembly industry, and prioritizes the production of selected agricultural goods, such as mangoes, for export. Despite the failure of these policies to generate sustainable development, reduce unemployment and improve the standard of living of the majority of Haitians, the major powers and IFIs continue to advocate them as the solution to Haiti's chronic underdevelopment and poverty. This is shown, for example, by the report written by former World Bank economist Paul Collier for UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2008, and the latter's appointment of former US President Bill Clinton to spearhead that strategy in Haiti. Ignoring the evidence of the last 38 years, Collier's report calls for establishing a cluster of free trade zones for garment production beyond the two that currently exist in Port-au-Prince and Ouanaminthe, and creating such zones for the production and export of mangoes.

It is time for the Haitian people to mobilize as they did in 1990 to change the status quo, but this time by learning from the mistakes of the past and avoiding placing their faith in false prophets. As it did in 1990, an agenda for change would need to include the following:

1. Reject all the different versions of the structural adjustment policies of the IFIs that require that Haiti remove tariffs on food and other imports, privatize public enterprises, exempt foreign investors from taxes on their profits in the assembly industries, and curb social spending. Haiti could instead negotiate bilateral or multilateral agreements with those countries that are willing to provide aid without tying them to the implementation of specific economic or social policies.

2. Launch an immediate large-scale and national public works project to rebuild or expand Haiti's infrastructure, communication, transportation, public schools, public health facilities, and public housing. Here, too, Haiti could rely on bilateral or multilateral agreements to sustain this effort beyond the immediate post-crisis reconstruction now underway with foreign assistance that will focus primarily on the quake-ravaged areas.

3. Prioritize Haiti's food security and sovereignty by launching an agrarian reform, and subsidizing production for the local market as well as for export.

4. Promote the development of local and national agro-industries that use domestic inputs to produce consumer and durable goods; and support the national handicraft industry and promote its expansion on the international market.

5. Protect workers' rights, such as the right to form trade unions and the right to strike, and provide a living wage to all workers, especially in the export assembly industries.

It is obvious that these goals cannot be implemented all at once or immediately. But they must serve as the basis for a large scale popular mobilization to hold the elected

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769426 Date: 08/31/2015

representatives of the people to account and to renegotiate Haiti's relations with the international community.

Alex Dupuy is the Class of 1958 Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Wesleyan University. His most recent book is *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Berttrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti* (2007).

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769426 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The Broader Donor Coordination and Accountability

His reference to our ppt was to the donor coordination mechanism [redacted] B5

[redacted]

**From:** remaguire [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:43 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: RE: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

Enforced transparency will countermand it.

I thought Collier's earlier idea of an Independent Service Authority was interesting as long as it was transitional (toward a strengthened GOH) and had GOH authority from the get go.

I like your idea. At this point a reconstruction authority with Bellerive at its head makes sense. I like your idea of a donor's coordination mechanism that I saw in your policy review powerpoint, with coordination on 'our' side under the UN Special Envoy mechanism.

Maybe within the authority, there can be a private sector sub-group coordinated and monitored by the larger authority? This sub-group might also include non-Haitians, including Dominicans.

Haiti's private sector will be less interested in decentralized investment, I think, especially if it focuses on intensive labor and providing dignity and liveable wages to Haiti's people. This is a public works/public sector initiative, in conjunction with international public sector organizations.

Sachs idea of the decentralized growth poles is also interesting - perhaps a way to mobilize decentralized investment.

On Jan 24, 2010, **Mills, Cheryl D** <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> So I have many Vikings fans I'm supposed to be supporting today – won't tell them that I've now got divided loyalties.
>
> This is helpful but raises the question, what can we do to countermand this.

I'm going to look to see what businesses these folks are in but this speaks more than ever to the need for a Haitian reconstruction authority with Bellerive at the head with outside key donor or two like in the tsunami that has the plenary authority to make decisions ideally free from this type of influence. What are thoughts you have heard in that regard?

cdm

---

**From:** remaguire [mailto B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

General and specific concerns: Specifically heard from Haiti is that Preval has acceded too much authority to the Vorbe family.

Second, more general, is that the BAMBAM families (the term, I understand, created from the initials of the 6 leading elite families) are gearing up to inflate costs of doing things and to try to monopolize to the extent they can. Will forward in a separate email one or two articles I've seen on this.

I'm off to Trinity to prepare my classes for this week. (A reality of my full-time teaching load). While check email later. Thanks for this opportunity to share thoughts. Am very anxious to do this.

Can't miss the NFC game, even though the Eagles (I'm from Philly) already collapsed. I also lived in S.W. Louisiana during the N.O. "Aints" years.

Best - Bob

On Jn 24, 2010, **Mills, Cheryl D** <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> You and our secretary share similar concerns about making sure Haiti's future is decided by Haiti.
>
> When we met with PM and P, they both indicated they wanted US to play a large coordination role on their behalf to ensure their voice, plans and goals were accomplished. We are committed to doing that as they requested.
>
> I do think fast will mean some will make money they shouldn't – but goal is to have balance so we move with enough alacrity to build confidence that things are getting done.
>
> Who are the Haiti "operator" types of which this concern is being spoken?

B6

**From:** remaguire [mailto:
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

I hope the GOH has back-up to hold firm to its positions. Some will want to push it around. Also, while urgent need for tent cities clear PAP is clear, definitely not part of solution. Fearful of potential permanance of them unless alternates for rural resettlement along lines of talking points exist.

Am hearing that lots of concern that Haiti's "operators" are licking their chops to make lots of money off this. Fact of life or need to expand circle of actors?

Hang in there. - Bob

On Jan 24, 2010, **Mills, Cheryl D** <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> Great – right in line with our thinking so this is great.
>
> Thanks for forwarding – anything else of note?
>
> cdm

---

**From:** remaguire [mailto:
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

Cheryl - See below the response of Leslie Voltaire and PM Jean Max Bellerive to talking points for tomorrow's Montreal meeting I proposed yesterday. Talking points at the end. Response positive. I have also shared these with Paul Farmer. Same response. Sources at the UN fear, however, that the donors will focus on PAP and miss this historic opportunity. - Bob
(email sent also to Patrick G.)

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leslie Voltaire**
Date: Jan 23, 2010
Subject: Tr : Montreal - talking points - urgent
To: remaguire

Komisyon pa chaj

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** Jean Max Bellerive
**À :** Leslie Voltaire B6
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 19 h 33 min 51 s
**Objet :** Re: Montreal - talking points - urgent

Thanks ! En ligne avec ce que je pense dire

*JMB*

---

**From:** Leslie Voltaire
**To:** Jean-Max Bellerive
**Sent:** Sat, January 23, 2010 10:23:24 PM
**Subject:** Montreal - talking points - urgent

PM

Reflexions de Bob Maguire

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
**De :** "remaguire
**À :** lvoltaire
**Envoyé le :** Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 13 h 22 min 27 s
**Objet :** Montreal - talking points - urgent

Leslie - First, thank god you were in NYC on Jan 12th. I hope your personal losses were minimal. Surely, Haiti has lost much. We all have...

Thoughts for Montreal:

1. This offers an opportunity to 'rebalance' Haiti.
2. Pay attention to the exodus from PAP and catch up with it. (The migration to PAP over the past 30 years was an unnatural development, spurred by rural neglect and urban concentration.)
3. A decentralized system of 'welcome centers' in town and villages can assist returnees re-integrate. Medical and continuing education services should be a part of them. NEED TO ACT NOW.
4. More important, the centers must be equipped to provide work - make them the basis for organizing

the civic service corps. Higly decentralized: work for cash; public works/environmental restoration/food production; restoration of human dignity; rural-urban partnerships through work;e in *Haiti's* real future. Also a chance to begin repairing the social fabric. Will need a 'tough love' approach; disciplined management. Not the work for NGOs.
5. No investment in rural areas and no response to this opportunity will = back to the future re. crowded PAP. People will trickle back to the city to replicate past problems.
6. The damage was done before the earthquake by development/investment policies that ignored the rural areas; saw Haitians simply as sources of cheap labor; denigrated human dignity; failed to strengthen local institutions.
7. This must stop; can't happen again.
8. This is the time to move forward with the Civic Service Corps - quickly.

kenbe. Pa lage. - Bob

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tavis Smiley

He asked you about this when you sat down. The press hangs in the Andrews DV lounge and gets on the plane well before you, the Air Force must have had Fox on when he was with us.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Tavis Smiley
Sent: Jan 24, 2010 12:04 PM

I just saw an article he wrote in USA Weekend claiming we had FOX on our airplane screens. What is he talking about? He makes a big deal out of it.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tavis Smiley

I don't know, people make big deals out of nothing, rather than subscribe to Occam's Razor

I have to look it up but I think you said you never noticed, probably because it's when you're not on the plane

I'll double check

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Tavis Smiley
Sent: Jan 24, 2010 12:07 PM

But why did he make such a big deal out of it? And what did I say when he asked?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 12:06:34 2010
Subject: Re: Tavis Smiley

He asked you about this when you sat down. The press hangs in the Andrews DV lounge and gets on the plane well before you, the Air Force must have had Fox on when he was with us.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Tavis Smiley
Sent: Jan 24, 2010 12:04 PM

I just saw an article he wrote in USA Weekend claiming we had FOX on our airplane screens. What is he talking about? He makes a big deal out of it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Public Afghanistan Strategy

FYI

---

**From:** Jones, Paul W
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:07 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Rodriguez, Miguel E; Feldman, Daniel F; Misko, Sean A
**Subject:** RE: Public Afghanistan Strategy

The approach we took was to integrate our emphasis on women throughout the strategy, vice indicating that it was a separate effort. All of our programs benefit women, usually be specific design. Below are a few places under education, health and judicial access where women's issues are highlighted in the strategy. We are completely open to how best to address this.

Page ii - "improving ed opps for all Afghansn regardless of gender, is a top priority"

Page 11 - protecting women's rights in Af cited in context of judicial reform

Page 12 - "emphase on legal aid, gender, and juv justice issues" in enhancing access to justice

Page 18 - "significant gains in...ensuring ed opportunities for all Afghans, regardless of gender"

Page 21 - protecting women in Pak cited as priority

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Rodriguez, Miguel E; Jones, Paul W
**Subject:** Re: Public Afghanistan Strategy

Yes, it is accurate. Unless I am badly mistaken, the report does not have a separate section on women.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Rodriguez, Miguel E; Jones, Paul W
**Sent:** Sun Jan 24 11:41:50 2010
**Subject:** RE: Public Afghanistan Strategy

The real issue is – is it accurate that the strategy does not have a section regarding women, which would seem almost impossible.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 1:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: READ BELOW RE: DONOR COORDINATION AND A HRA

FYI

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:55 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** RE: READ BELOW RE: DONOR COORDINATION AND A HRA

Thanks Cheryl

I am now at my desk. I agree with concerns below. The cementing of the monopoly by Preval for the public container port is a prime example how elite capture runs directly counter to job creation and social welfare.

Assets (land, heavy equipment, cement, petroleum) that are in high demand during a construction boom are in the hands of a few. The risk is that price spikes will severely drive out the potential gains from aid dollars. Dual signatures and injecting foreign experts into a HRA task force to review projects for eligibility will counteract obvious forms of corruption.

The much harder task is to determine realistic benchmarks for project costs, given transfer pricing and de facto cartels. Injecting competition and open bidding is needed to counteract this. The problem is that any Haitian firm will loose business to US or Chinese contractors with much more favorable pricing structures (but limited spillovers to local economy). A middle ground may be to invite joint ventures between Haitian and international companies to build up the local workforce and overall skill base.

Best, JL

---

**From:** remaguire
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:43 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: RE: RE: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

> Enforced transparency will countermand it.
>
> I thought Collier's earlier idea of an Independent Service Authority was interesting as long as it was transitional (toward a strengthened GOH) and had GOH authority from the get go.
>
> I like your idea. At this point a reconstruction authority with Bellerive at its head makes sense. I like your idea of a donor's coordination mechanism that I saw in your policy review powerpoint, with coordination on 'our' side under the UN Special Envoy mechanism.
>
> Maybe within the authority, there can be a private sector sub-group coordinated and monitored by the larger authority? This sub-group might also include non-Haitians, including Dominicans.
>
> Haiti's private sector will be less interested in decentralized investment, I think, especially if it focuses on

intensive labor and providing dignity and liveable wages to Haiti's people. This is a public works/public sector initiative, in conjunction with international public sector organizations.

Sachs idea of the decentralized growth poles is also interesting - perhaps a way to mobilize decentralized investment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 1:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Situation Report No. 34 - Haiti Earthquake (SBU)

Fyi

---

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Sat Jan 23 19:13:19 2010
**Subject:** Situation Report No. 34 - Haiti Earthquake (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SITUATION REPORT No. 34*

## *Haiti Earthquake Task Force TFHA01*

**Saturday, January 23, 2010**
**1900 EST**

## VIP TRAVEL

- (SBU) Representative James McGovern (D-MA) and a group from Lynn University visited the Hotel Montana January 23. Contrary to earlier indications, Senator John Kerry (D-MA), did not travel with the Lynn University group. ***(TF1/DHS e-mail, TF1/OFDA e-mail)***
- (SBU) Senator Bill Nelson (D-FL) was scheduled to arrive January 23 with the non-profit Help Bring Hope for Haiti, Inc. However, difficulties in arranging return transportation precluded the Senator from accompanying the non-profit.
  ***(TF1/DHS e-mail, Tampa Bay Tribune)***

## SEARCH AND RESCUE (SAR)

- (SBU) The Government of Haiti informed Ambassador Merten at 0054 EST January 23 that it has not ceased search and rescue operations. At approximately 1630 EST, media reported a new live rescue in the capital. ***(TF1/Embassy Port-au-Prince e-mail, CNN)***
- (SBU) Six SAR teams are in country, two at the Hotel Montana. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***

## COMMODITY FLOW

- (SBU) U.S. forces facilitated delivery of $2 million in cash to 12 banks around the capital January 23. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***
- (SBU) The UN estimates current fuel supplies will last until the port is rehabilitated to the point where it can receive fuel shipments. ***(USAID SitRep#20)***
- (SBU) JTF-H made adjustments to the aircraft arrival schedule allowing flights from Brazil, China, and Argentina to land January 23 even though they had not arranged landing slots. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***

- (SBU) JTF-H will revise the scheduling of aircraft to make the process more transparent. An Air Force Brigadier General has assumed responsibility for coordinating all air activities supported by JTF-H. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***

## EVACUATIONS/AMERICAN CITIZEN AND LE STAFF WHEREABOUTS

- (SBU) Post reports 489 evacuees departed January 23. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***
- (SBU) Post expects to process 100 orphan cases January 23 and another 100 January 24. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***
- (SBU) Post expects the remains of four private American citizens and three USG family members to be repatriated to Dover AFB January 23. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***
- (SBU) HHS agreed to keep its assessment team in Port-au-Prince until relieved. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***

## MEDICAL RESPONSE

(SBU) As of 1700 EST January 23, USNS Comfort has 243 patients on board and capacity to accommodate another 757. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call, SOUTHCOM DCO)***

## INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION/REQUESTS

(U) No updates at this time.

## DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. GOVERNMENT ASSETS

(SBU) There are currently 19,063 U.S. military personnel in Haiti or on ships nearby, in addition to personnel from OFDA, DHS, HHS, and other agencies.
***(JTF-Haiti SitRep, TF1/OFDA telcon)***

## HUMANITARIAN/SECURITY/INFRASTRUCTURE

- (SBU) The port is still operating at 30 percent capacity (about 150 containers off-loaded in 24 hours) due to damage to the pier, but SOUTHCOM estimates the port's capacity will increase to 400 containers in the next 96 hours. There are 14 ships waiting to unload. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call, USAID SitRep#20)***
- (SBU) Six television stations are operating between six and 12 hours daily; over 30 FM stations are also broadcasting. ***(TF1/Interagency Conference Call)***

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

(SBU) Representatives of MINUSTAH, the Government of Haiti, and the Dominican armed forces will meet in Santo Domingo to arrange for the deployment of about 150 Dominican troops to MINUSTAH. ***(TF1/Embassy Santo Domingo e-mail)***

Additional updates are available through our unclassified Intellipedia portal at http://www.intelink.gov/wiki/Portal:Crisis_Haiti_Earthquake.

Drafted:DSChristensen Approved: RPSanders
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 3, 2010 1:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: S's query

I am currently traveling. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv (ToivNF@state.gov) or Joanne Laszczych, (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

If it is an emergency after business hours, please reach out to our Operations Center to have them reach me.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 3, 2010 12:06 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Verveer, Melanne S

MS, we would like to do one photo at the plane with the local police as you are leaving if that's okay.
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) [redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Cherie Blair
**Sent:** Sunday, July 4, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: confidential

Thank you for that I think it was his office rather than the Crown Prince himself who met your staff.
All is very well and the mobile phone project is really developing in a fantastic way can't wait for you to launch it in the autumn

Cherie Blair

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 03 July 2010 06:54
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

We're setting up a call for next week. He's visited and talked already w the folks leading out food/hunger efforts but I'm happy to discuss w him as well.

Love your work on women and mobile phones. Hope all is well--H

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: H
Cc: dband
Sent: Wed Jun 30 09:00:41 2010
Subject: RE: confidential

Hilary can you give me a telephone number the Qatar Crown Prince can ring you on and he will get in touch.
Alternatively I can get his personal phone number for you. What is the best for you?

Cherie Blair

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 15 June 2010 02:35

To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible [redacted] Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call. B6

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair

[redacted] B6

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 5, 2010 2:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Statement on Syrian human rights activists for review

NEA is asking for a statement from you on the sentencing of Syrian human rights activists. White House released a statement on this. Draft below:

Statement by Secretary Clinton

Syrian Convictions of Human Rights Activists

The sentencing of Syrian lawyer Haitham Maleh to three years in prison is an example of Syria's failure to comply with minimum international human rights standards. Convicting Maleh for exercising free speech and defending universal human rights sends a clear message to the world that Syria does not tolerate peaceful forms of expression. We call on the Syrian government to meet its responsibilities under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It should demonstrate its commitment to international legal norms by releasing Maleh and other Syrian citizens, including Muhannad al-Hassani and Ali Abdullah, who have been imprisoned solely for seeking to exercise their most fundamental human rights.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 5, 2010 3:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

Fyi - happy to give more context.

----- Original Message -----
From: Morningstar, Richard L
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Jul 05 02:06:20 2010
Subject:

Per the subject we discussed, we have a diplomatic, "psychological" issue, not a legal issue. Our friend has to be given a way out. We should recognize his concerns and frame it in terms of a misunderstanding with no malevolent intent and that we will make sure there is no recurrence. Our person won't be able to do anything anyway. If he has to leave so be it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 12:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you

for having me join you for the trip. I can now add the Caucuses to the countries we've traveled to together! You were magnificent. There is clearly much to be done in the region and I'll be following up from my end.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 2:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: From Pat Lang on VMI... Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: Pat Lang
To: sbwhoeop
Sent: Sun, Jan 24, 2010 2:06 pm
Subject: RE: the CIA, etc.

B6

Sidney

On a rainy, gloomy Sunday I write to you in the hope that we will have agreement from Secretary Clinton to accept the "distinguished Diplomat" award at VMI. I am assured by the Superintendent, General JHB Peay, and the department head of International Relations/Political Science, Colonel Jim Hentz that the award is hers if she will accept it. This is a "done deal."

All that is needed for her to receive an official letter from General Peay is for me to know that she will accept the award. They want to
give her the award this year on a suitable day before graduation in late May. The letter will ask her to address the corps of cadets in a suitable on post (campus) setting. I would like to see it in Jackson Memorial Hall, a beautiful medieval revival building. An alternative setting would be the two story atrium in the Marshall Center for Leadership and Ethics. The award would be presented at the end of the address. Media coverage would be welcomed and assisted. She would be honored by being the reviewing person at a regimental review of the corps. A suitable dinner and or luncheon would be arranged.

If this is going to happen it would be a good idea to set the wheels in motion as soon as possible so that the staffs can work out the details.

Best

Pat Lang
VMI '62

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 6:44 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: (Washington Post) Obama's worst foreign-policy mistake

FYI

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**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 06, 2010 6:32 AM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-ISN; NEWS-EUR; T_SpecAssts
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** (Washington Post) Obama's worst foreign-policy mistake

By Mitt Romney
Tuesday, July 6, 2010
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/05/AR2010070502657.html

Given President Obama's glaring domestic policy missteps, it is understandable that the public has largely been blinded to his foreign policy failings. In fact, these may have been even more damaging to America's future. He fought to reinstate Honduras's pro-Chávez president while stalling Colombia's favored-trade status. He castigated Israel at the United Nations but was silent about Hamas having launched 7,000 rockets from the Gaza Strip. His policy of "engagement" with rogue nations has been met with North Korean nuclear tests, missile launches and the sinking of a South Korean naval vessel, while Iran has accelerated its nuclear program, funded terrorists and armed Hezbollah with long-range missiles. He acceded to Russia's No. 1 foreign policy objective, the abandonment of our Europe-based missile defense program, and obtained nothing whatsoever in return.

Despite all of this, the president's New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New-START) with Russia could be his worst foreign policy mistake yet. The treaty as submitted to the Senate should not be ratified.

New-START impedes missile defense, our protection from nuclear-proliferating rogue states such as Iran and North Korea. Its preamble links strategic defense with strategic arsenal. It explicitly forbids the United States from converting intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) silos into missile defense sites. And Russia has expressly reserved the right to walk away from the treaty if it believes that the United States has significantly increased its missile defense capability.

Hence, to preserve the treaty's restrictions on Russia, America must effectively get Russia's permission for any missile defense expansion. Moscow's vehemence over our modest plans in Eastern Europe demonstrate that such permission would be extremely unlikely.

The treaty empowers a Bilateral Consultative Commission with broad latitude to amend the treaty with specific reference to missile defense. New START does something the American public would never countenance and the Senate should never permit: It jeopardizes our missile defense system.

The treaty also gives far more to the Russians than to the United States. As drafted, it lets Russia escape the limit on its number of strategic nuclear warheads. Loopholes and lapses -- presumably carefully crafted by Moscow -- provide a path to entirely avoid the advertised warhead-reduction targets. For example, rail-based ICBMs and launchers are not mentioned. Similarly, multiple nuclear warheads that are mounted on bombers are effectively not counted. Unlike past treaty restrictions, ICBMs are not prohibited from bombers. This means that Russia is free to mount a nearly unlimited number of ICBMs on bombers -- including MIRVs (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles) or multiple

warheads -- without tripping the treaty's limits. These omissions would be consistent with Russia's plans for a new heavy bomber and reports of growing interest in rail-mobile ICBMs.

Under New START, the United States must drastically reduce our number of launchers but Russia will not -- it already has fewer launchers than the treaty limits. Put another way: We give, Russia gets. And more troubling, the treaty fails to apply the MIRV limits that were part of the prior START treaty. Again, it may not be coincidental that Russia is developing a new heavy-load -- meaning MIRV-capable -- ICBM.

New-START gives Russia a massive nuclear weapon advantage over the United States. The treaty ignores tactical nuclear weapons, where Russia outnumbers us by as much as 10 to 1. Obama heralds a reduction in strategic weapons from approximately 2,200 to 1,550 but fails to mention that Russia will retain more than 10,000 nuclear warheads that are categorized as tactical because they are mounted on missiles that cannot reach the United States. But surely they can reach our allies, nations that depend on us for a nuclear umbrella. And who can know how those tactical nuclear warheads might be reconfigured? Astonishingly, while excusing tactical nukes from the treaty, the Obama administration bows to Russia's insistence that conventional weapons mounted on ICBMs are counted under the treaty's warhead and launcher limits.

By all indications, the Obama administration has been badly out-negotiated. Perhaps the president's eagerness for global disarmament led his team to accede to Russia's demands, or perhaps it led to a document that was less than carefully drafted.

Whatever the reason for the treaty's failings, it must not be ratified: The security of the United States is at stake. The only responsible course is for the Senate to demand and scrutinize the full diplomatic record underlying the treaty. Then it must insist that any linkage between the treaty and our missile defense system be eliminated. In a world where nuclear weapons are proliferating, America's missile defense shield must not be compromised. As currently drafted, New START is a non-starter.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 7:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Barak

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Slightly edited Background for Barak call:

[redacted]

On Gaza and the "controlled items" list, Israeli MFA Director General Yossi Gal and Ministry of Defense COGAT General Eitan Dangot briefed Monday in Israel on a release of the new list, and newly announced international projects. (The

[redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/05/2035

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**Concept Note: Haiti 2020 Planning Team**

B5



B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

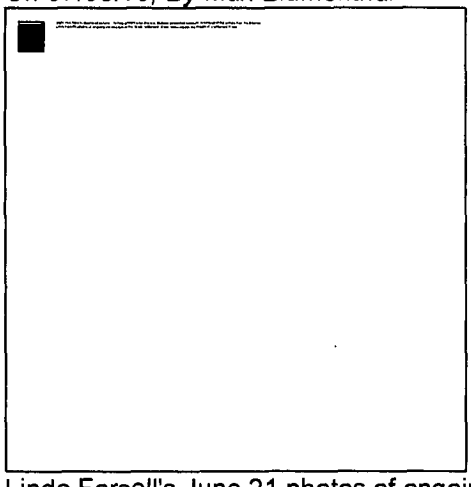
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 7:54 AM
**Subject:** The Settlement Freeze That Never Was, And Never Will Be

http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/07/the-settlement-freeze-that-never-was-and-never-will-be/

# The Settlement Freeze That Never Was, And Never Will Be

*On 07.05.10, By Max Blumenthal*

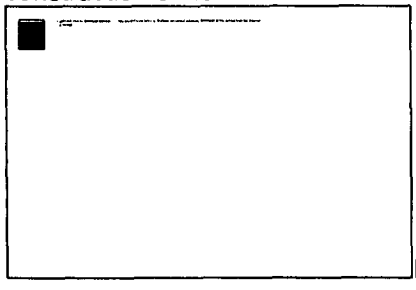


Linda Forsell's June 21 photos of ongoing construction in the Israeli settlement of Har Homa expose the illusion of Netanyahu's settlement freeze

With the Israeli settlement moratorium scheduled to expire on September 26, the right-wing parties in Israel's coalition government are exerting maximum pressure on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to block the policy's renewal. "Let's get rid of the freeze and get back to building," declared Israeli Minister of Public Affairs and the Diaspora Yuli Edelstein on Israel National Radio yesterday. "It's our land anyway!" (Edelstein lives in the settlement of Neve Daniel).

Back in the US, the former Israel lobbyist and ex-Clinton Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk took to the Washington Post's op-ed page to praise Netanyahu and Barack Obama for ensuring that "there were zero building starts in the West Bank settlements."

During the week of June 21, I traveled through the West Bank with Swedish photojournalist Linda Forsell to document new settlement construction and the settlers' theft of water from Palestinian towns. Forsell took a series of photos at Har Homa, a massive Israeli settlement towering over the Palestinian town of Beit Sarhour. Her photos show ongoing construction of hundreds of new settlement units — documents of the settlement freeze sham.



Netanyahu authorized the building of new settlement units just days after he announced the freeze in November 2009. He attempted to disguise new settlement construction by drawing a false distinction between the West Bank and "parts of Jerusalem" like Har Homa that actually lie outside 1967 lines. As Israeli government flack Mark Regev remarked in December 2009, "We've made a clear distinction between the West Bank and Jerusalem. Jerusalem is our capital and will stay as such." With a few exceptions, Obama allowed this scheme to go forward.

According to the Washington Post, Obama's meeting with Netanyahu this week will have more to do with reassuring Jewish Democrats than with halting the wholesale colonization of the West Bank. As the Post's Anne Kornblut reported, "The White House meeting will not dwell on some of the most difficult time-sensitive issues, including the expiration of a

moratorium on Israeli settlement construction in September." This may mean an end to the settlement freeze, but it was only an illusion after all.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: [InsidersOut] Body of Ugandan LGBT volunteer was found beheaded

FYI

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 06, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** Carson, Johnnie
**Cc:** Yamamoto, Donald Y; Baer, Daniel B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H
**Subject:** FW: [InsidersOut] Body of Ugandan LGBT volunteer was found beheaded

Johnnie:

Do we know anything more about this?

Thx

cdm

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Jim Burroway** [redacted] B6
Date: Tue, Jul 6, 2010 at 1:17 AM
Subject: [InsidersOut] Body of Ugandan LGBT volunteer was found beheaded
To: InsidersOut[redacted]

http://www.boxturtlebulletin.com/2010/07/05/24020

# Ugandan LGBT Advocate Found Beheaded

**Jim Burroway**

**July 5th, 2010**

A reader tipped me to this horrible news. The severed head of a volunteer for Integrity Uganda, the pro-LGBT organization founded by Bishop Christopher Senyonjo, was found in a pit latrine on a farm in Makindye Sabagabo, Wakiso District.

> Judith Nabakooba, a police spokesperson, identified the head as that of Pasikali Kashusbe, one of the workers on Kigggundu's farm and a member of Integrity Uganda. Pasikali and his partner Abbey are youth workers with Integrity Uganda charged with the responsibility of mobilising young LGBT people in activities which build community capacity to face up to the challenge of homophobia, especially in the area of attitude change and care through drama and sports activities.

> According to the police, a mutilated torso which was earlier in the week discovered in Kabuuma Zone, about half a kilometre away from Kiggundu's farm was probably Pasikali's The torso was described as belonging to a young man and had no genitals.
>
> Pasikali went missing over three and half weeks ago when the country was celebrating Uganda Martyrs Day. All efforts by his partner Abbey and other family members to find him had been fruitless.
>
> Bishop Christopher Senyonjo, Chairperson of Integrity Uganda lamented the murder of this young man as 'absurd' adding that, 'clearly, the values of tolerance and social inclusion are sadly being sacrificed on the altar of state ignorance, ineptness and good old colonial stupidity'.

Uganda's Martyr's Day, a national holiday, is a particularly dangerous time for LGBT people. The holiday commemorates the death of several Anglican and Catholic missionaries ordered by the Bugandan King Mwanga II, who felt that foreign religious influences posed a threat to his kingdom. In fact, his fears proved correct; the executions prompted Britain to invade Uganda and turn it into a British colony. Popular lore has it that King Mwanga II, who himself was a teenager, killed the martyrs because they refused his homosexual advances. It is unclear how much of that part of the story is true or how much of it is lore that was reinforced by the British colonial government to discredit the king.

The farm where Kashusbe's head was found is reportedly owned by Badru Kiggundu, who is the chairman of Uganda's Electoral Commission. Police found the head while searching for a missing priest, Rev Henry Kayizzi Nsubuga, who disappeared almost two and half weeks ago after delivering a speech at St. Paul's Church in Kanyanya supporting homosexuality in Uganda.

The independent television network NTV Uganda posted this video three days ago, but doesn't mention the circumstances which appear to have led to Pasikali's murder:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBjlbN3gtnQ

*Daily Monitor*, Uganda's largest newspapers, has a few more sparse details here. In this report, the victim is identified as Paschal Kashushu. Amid conflicting reports, it appears that at at least one man has been arrested, possibly a relative. I'm trying to get more information directly from Uganda.

Changing Attitudes has this statement from Rev Erich Kasirye, General Secretary, Integrity Uganda:

> Pasikali and his partner Abbey joined Integrity Uganda in June 2007 and during the last three years, Integrity Uganda has seen an increase in coordination and harmonisation of youth activities. Pasikali emphasized the promotion of the concept of care across the continuum through the formation of voluntary home care groups for young LGBTIs who continue to live in fear. He will be greatly missed by the entire LGBTI fraternity.

As for the missing priest, the only direct news reports that I can find about him appear in the government-owned *New Vision*. There is no mention of Rev. Nsubuga's sermon. Instead, it appears that relatives are painting the missing priest as mentally "stressed." A report by a reporter from *Kamulali Newspaper* and re-published on the virulently anti-gay web site Virtue Online provides more hints about the possible link between Rev. Nsubuga's disappearance and his pro-gay sermon.

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Reminder: This list is an invitation only lists and all posts are OFF THE RECORD.
You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "InsidersOut" group.
To post to this group, send email to InsidersOut

B6

To unsubscribe from this group, send email to InsidersOut-unsubscribe[redacted] B6
For more options, visit this group at http://groups.google.com/group/InsidersOut?hl=en

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** postmaster@state.gov
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano
**Attachments:** details.txt; Followup w Sec Napolitano (2.69 KB)

## Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

scwarzericp@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

**Diagnostic information for administrators:**

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu

scwarzericp@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

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Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.249]) by
 MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959);         Sun, 24
 Jan 2010 16:09:22 -0500
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
        by vance2.state.gov  with ESMTP id o0OKfLRW013222;
        Sun, 24 Jan 2010 15:41:21 -0500
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
 CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sun, 24
 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'cheryl.mills[redacted]" <cheryl.mills[redacted]                                B6
        "'brimmere@state.gov'" <brimmere@state.gov>, "'scwarzericp@state.gov'"
        <scwarzericp@state.gov>
CC: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 24 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
Subject: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Topic: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Index: AcqdOX+x0D6YJ2s7QS+7tLkSF8OrVw==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044880368178E41@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
```

MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 24 Jan 2010 21:09:22.0667 (UTC) FILETIME=[806AF3B0:01CA9D39]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4125-6.000.1038-17148.000
X-TM-AS-Result: No--15.161000-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 11:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thank you

PAGE(S) MISSING

FYI traffic.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 06, 2010 10:59 AM
**To:** Posner, Michael H
**Cc:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** RE: Thank you

You did a great job – I went back and reviewed the outline you provided and this was a very faithful rendition of your thoughts.

I am out this week but let's try for next week.

Copying joanne to find a time.

cdm

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 06, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Thank you

Cheryl

The Secretary's speech in Krakow was a home run. I am getting lots of comments like this one from people in my world. This speech will give us lots of running room to follow up on these issues.

When your schedule permits I would like to come see you. It has been a long time since we've talked and it would be good to catch up on a few things.

Best

Mike

**From:** Douglas Rutzen [mailto [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 06, 2010 10:45 AM
**To:** Posner, Michael H; A/S Posner
**Cc:** Duncan, Dara L; Davidson, Lynne A (DRL)
**Subject:** Thank you

Dear Assistant Secretary Posner:

I am writing to express my deep appreciation to you, Dara, Lynne, and the entire DRL team for your tireless support in connection with the recent Community of Democracies meeting. The Secretary's speech was superb. I was sitting with

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 11:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Blair call

Can be done whenever you are back. His office knows you are running just a few minutes late.
Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: A unique request for your help from Hilary Rosen

I will follow up on this today.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 06, 2010 12:53 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: A unique request for your help from Hilary Rosen

How can we get this done?

----- Original Message -----
From: Rosen And Company <hilary [redacted] B6
To: H; millscd@state.gov <millscd@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jul 04 11:09:52 2010
Subject: A unique request for your help from Hilary Rosen

HRC:

You may remember many years ago when olympic champion swimmer diana nyad tried to swim from cuba to florida and failed. Diana wants to try again as part of an ongoing commitment she has to promoting fitness among older people. As you can see from this email she needs your help to get clearance. I wouldnt ask if i didnt think taking it to your level is the only way to get it done.

Thanks so much in advance for looking into this. I know it is a busy month for you. You are just the best!!!

Hilary Rosen
[redacted]

---

From: Diana Nyad [redacted]

In full appreciation of Hilary's always-hectic life....and particularly her current high-octane stresses with the oil spill work....I thought it easiest for her to simply show her below a letter I wrote this week to hopeufilly be delivered to Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz, dem out of FL, in a desperate plea for help to get me and my expedition cleared

intto Cuba.

The basics for Hilary to know are that CNN is covering the entire summer's event I'm doing live.
24-hour training swim off Key West next week-end.
The Cuba Swim early August, weather dictating.

It's not that I've been flat turned down by the State Dept. But I have been told I won't be approved this summer.....warm water, my training, all of it....there's no other time I can or will do it.

It's going to be a terribly upbeat story to follow (in CLEAN ocean just nearby the oil spill), it's going to be an embraced strong message to redefine middle age as strong and relevant, to see a 60-year old swim 103 miles and walk up onto the shores of her own country.

I have been told by lawyers within Treasury that it will take either Hilary Clinton or Obama himself to clear my event.
I know somebody has the power to green light in an hour's time, if I can just get to the right person.

. Please know that I wouldn't
interrupt either your or HIlary's precious holiday week-end if I hadn't committed a year of hardship training to this and now involved many good people in the adventure.
I just can't let this dream slip away because I can't get into Cuba with State Dept approval.

Here is the Schultz doc below. And next I'm going to send you a link to a short promo video.

Thanks so very, very much,
diana

DIANA NYAD CUBA SWIM

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the end of July, 2010, just a month from now, I will attempt to become the first person in history to swim the 103 miles from Cuba to Florida without the aid of a shark cage.

In 1978, I swam out of Havana into a raging sea. 41hrs, 49mins later, it was not to be.

I'm 60 now. This time, when I do walk up onto the Florida shore, I will send a loud message to all the millions my age that 60 is not irrelevant, that we are still strong, vital, vibrant individuals, that our best days are not by any means all behind us.

For 30 years, I hadn't swum a stroke. I valued physical fitness to an extreme degree, but just hadn't swum at all for 30 years. And now this past year's training is done. It has been intense. Many, many 10, 12, 15 hour swims in the Caribbean. Grueling tests of both body and spirit.

But I was naive to think the training would be the tough part. I am feeling strong and confident. But the government permissions for me to walk off the Cuban shore are keeping me from my Dream.

I first went to the Cuban Interest Section and was told the Cubans would eagerly welcome my event. They remember my first attempt and I have been back many times for clinics and such. But they said I would definitely need to first have approval from the State Department. I was told there that it is a sensitive time politically, that both Obama and Hilary Clinton are very much pro-embargo and it would take perhaps a year to procure State Department clearance.

On advice from three lawyers from Sonnenschein in D.C., I was told that it would take a direct green light from Hilary herself to get this expedition cleared.

Because I have been stymied by Treasury and the State Dept, I let the Cuban Interest Section permissions go so now I don't have permissions from their end, either.

I am going to make one last attempt to get this done legally by contacting Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz. Perhaps in light of a positive story vis a vis Florida Tourism....there is beautifully clean water, not far from the oil disaster.....and the heroic message of a 60-year-old swimming 100 miles and walking up onto the shores of her own country, her own home state, Congresswoman Schultz could champion the project into full legal status, from both the Cuban and the State Department sides.

CNN is the exclusive broadcast coverer of my swim. I am just tonight on the front page of CNN.com.

There will no doubt be much positive news to come from this story...and to Florida....throughout my endeavor.

I will do a 24-hour training swim off Key West the week-end of July 10-11. CNN will cover live.

And then the hope is to go over to Havana on July 23 (or wait at a training camp in Key West starting on July 23) and then get the Cuba swim started whenever Mother Nature gives us a forecast of calm seas.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:18 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano

SchwartzEP@state.gov

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Jan 24 16:13:06 2010
Subject: Re: Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano

What is Eric Scwarz's email?

----- Original Message -----
From: postmaster@state.gov <postmaster@state.gov>
To: scwarzericp@state.gov <scwarzericp@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 24 16:09:23 2010
Subject: Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano

Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

scwarzericp@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

Diagnostic information for administrators:

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu

scwarzericp@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.249]) by
MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959); Sun, 24
Jan 2010 16:09:22 -0500

Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
by vance2.state.gov with ESMTP id o0OKfLRW013222;
Sun, 24 Jan 2010 15:41:21 -0500
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sun, 24 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'cheryl.mills[redacted]'" <cheryl.mills[redacted]>, B6
"'brimmere@state.gov'" <brimmere@state.gov>, "'scwarzericp@state.gov'" <scwarzericp@state.gov>
CC: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 24 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
Subject: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Topic: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Index: AcqdOX+x0D6YJ2s7QS+7tLkSF8OrVw==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044880368178E41@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 24 Jan 2010 21:09:22.0667 (UTC) FILETIME=[806AF3B0:01CA9D39]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4125-6.000.1038-17148.000
X-TM-AS-Result: No--15.161000-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 6, 2010 7:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jack lew asking to talk to u.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:41 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: H: From Pat Lang on VMI... Sid

It's actually not too far past Richmond/Lynchburg so a late afternoon/evening trip is realistic. We can discuss tomorrow and give you a recommendation.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct)

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 24 15:42:49 2010
Subject: Fw: H: From Pat Lang on VMI... Sid

Can we give a date? Should we? Could we do during week?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 14:11:44 2010
Subject: H: From Pat Lang on VMI... Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: Pat Lang [redacted]
To: sbwhoeop [redacted]
Sent: Sun, Jan 24, 2010 2:06 pm
Subject: RE: the CIA, etc.

Sidney

On a rainy, gloomy Sunday I write to you in the hope that we will have agreement from Secretary Clinton to accept the "distinguished Diplomat" award at VMI. I am assured by the Superintendent, General JHB Peay, and the department head of International Relations/Political Science, Colonel Jim Hentz that the award is hers if she will accept it. This is a "done deal."

All that is needed for her to receive an official letter from General Peay is for me to know that she will accept the award. They want to give her the award this year on a suitable day before graduation in late May. The letter will ask her to address the corps of cadets in a suitable on post (campus) setting. I would like to see it in Jackson Memorial Hall, a beautiful medieval revival building. An alternative setting would be the two story atrium in the Marshall Center for

Leadership and Ethics. The award would be presented at the end of the address. Media coverage would be welcomed and assisted. She would be honored by being the reviewing person at a regimental review of the corps. A suitable dinner and or luncheon would be arranged.

If this is going to happen it would be a good idea to set the wheels in motion as soon as possible so that the staffs can work out the details.

Best

Pat Lang
VMI '62

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Previous CTO proposal

Madam Secretary,

Jake mentioned that you asked for more information about a proposal made in 2005 for a global CT organization, and he asked me to find out a little about it. Below is some brief information on the proposal, which was made by Saudi Arabia:

The proposal made by the then crown prince (now king) in Feb. 2005 called for the establishment of an international counterterrorism center "under the auspices of the UN." The purpose of the organization would be to, among other things, "develop a mechanism for exchanging information and expertise between States" on a wide range of non-military counterterrorism issues, encourage the establishment of national and regional centers, and provide assistance to developing countries to deal with crises and terrorist acts. The center, as conceived in 2005, would also allow national counterterrorism coordinators from different countries and regions to meet and share information and experiences.

This proposal was endorsed by the OIC (and OIC countries reaffirm their support for the center each year at the UNGA), but has never received any serious consideration within the UN by non-OIC members. The Saudis continue to be interested in implementing the proposal. Most significantly, recently there have been discussions between the UN and Saudis as to how their proposal could be married with efforts to enhance the UN's capacity to support implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by allowing the UN Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTITF) Office and the different CTITF member entities to engage more actively and directly with CT experts/practitioners in capitals and have multilateral CT consultations wherever necessary.

[redacted] B5
But S/CT mentioned that, if we were to move forward on S/CT's CTO idea, we would hope to work closely with the Saudis.

Please let me know if you would like any further info.

Thanks,
Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted] (cell) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 2 calls:

Strobe talbott returned your call through ops. Also, colombian president uribe has put in a request to speak with you. He would like to thank you for your public statements on the free trade agreement.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 9:36 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Phone call from FM Moratinos

MS, the Spanish FM just called through Ops -- he is boarding a plane from Cuba in about 30-40 minutes and would like to speak with you as soon as possible. Would you like Ops to connect the call to the residence or wait until tomorrow?

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 10:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: 2 calls:

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Jul 07 22:10:16 2010
Subject: Re: 2 calls:

Let's call both tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jul 07 18:05:56 2010
Subject: 2 calls:

Strobe talbott returned your call through ops. Also, colombian president uribe has put in a request to speak with you. He would like to thank you for your public statements on the free trade agreement.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cheryl wants to talk to you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 10:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Phone call from FM Moratinos

Yes, doing now.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct)

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Wed Jul 07 22:09:24 2010
Subject: Re: Phone call from FM Moratinos

Just seeing this. Can you ask Ops to call him and connect him to my house?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jul 07 21:35:30 2010
Subject: Phone call from FM Moratinos

MS, the Spanish FM just called through Ops -- he is boarding a plane from Cuba in about 30-40 minutes and would like to speak with you as soon as possible. Would you like Ops to connect the call to the residence or wait until tomorrow?

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted]direct)

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 7, 2010 11:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi, going around...

# Fire the Mideast Policy Team!
# by Leslie H. Gelb

July 7, 2010 | 2:38pm

**President Barack Obama meets with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the Oval Office of the White House, July 6, 2010. (Gary Fabiano / Sipa Press) Obama's bow to Netanyahu was just the latest in a series of disastrous missteps in U.S. policy toward Israel. Leslie H. Gelb on who's to blame—and how the White House can get back on course.**

Whoever advised President Obama to flay Israel publicly until this week should be fired. Only advisers with no experience in dealing with Israel could have believed that Israeli leaders like Prime Minister Netanyahu would bow to public attacks. And whoever advised Mr. Obama to kneel rhetorically to Mr. Netanyahu in public on Tuesday should also be fired. The only thing accomplished by this embarrassing tactic was to put Israel in a position to call the shots on Mideast policy for the rest of Obama's first term.

The real enemy of a negotiated settlement in the Mideast is not time; it's failure.

Were the culprits the non-foreign policy White House intimates – chief of staff Rahm Emanuel and political honcho David Axelrod? Axelrod knows nothing about this, and worse, Emanuel thinks he does because he lived in Israel. Was George Mitchell, the president's Mideast negotiator, the brains behind the foolishness? Surely, he's had enough experience working with Israelis to know better. Did General James Jones, the National Security Adviser, remain silent, again? And of course, where was Secretary of State Hillary Clinton? Strangely for someone so adept at pleasing Israel's constituents in America, she spent a lot of time this past year publicly beating up on Israeli leaders. Has she been led astray by the pro-Arab contingent of the State Department?

• Martin Indyk: New Hope for Mideast Peace

• Peter Beinart: Netanyahu's Latest Insult Or is the guilty party none other than President Obama himself? The more we find out about who makes decisions in the White House on every subject from nuclear weapons to coloring of Easter eggs, it turns out to be the man in the Oval Office himself. He's the expert. He's the decider. He invites everyone to state his or her piece or peace, then he tells them what to do – and seemingly without question, they do his bidding.

Mr. Obama started his White House tenure from a near-zero base of foreign policy knowledge and no experience in the Middle East. It was easy enough to guess this blissful state from his earliest decisions. He came out of the box demanding that Israel agree to suspend construction on the West Bank as a precondition for direct negotiations with the Palestinians. Anyone who knew anything about this situation surely would have told the president that the chances of Mr. Netanyahu agreeing to this "proposal" were zero, or minus zero. No Israeli leader, even a dovish one, would ever dream of beginning negotiations by conceding his major bargaining card. As the teenagers say, what were Obama and his advisers thinking? And yes, after the Israelis publicly humiliated Vice President Biden during his trip to the Holy Land by announcing they would start new construction in East Jerusalem, Washington had to respond vehemently. The Israelis had been arrogant and stupid on this one. They had weakened American power in the region. No U.S. president could let them get away with it. Clinton and others made strong public statements of criticism, and those were fine. But Mr. Obama then allowed Mr. Netanyahu to come ahead with his planned visit to D.C. – and publicly humiliated him. The U.S. president let the Israeli prime minister cool his heels for hours before meeting with him, then wouldn't shake his hand when he departed. There's no surer way to unite a nation behind its leader, even a controversial one like Netanyahu, than to have a foreign leader humiliate him.

This brilliant tactic – thought of by Obama's advisers or the president himself – accomplished two things. It stiffened Israeli backs even further against being conciliatory about starting talks with the Palestinians. The Israeli government was not about to cave to American pressures. It also galvanized Israeli supporters in the United States – in particular within conservative parts of the Jewish community and the Republican Party. There went Mr. Obama's support for pressing Israel even in private.

To top this all off with Tuesday's meeting, full of smiles and the adoption of Israeli-desired language on almost every topic, only made matters worse. It made the situation look as if the American president had been cowed by Jewish control of

American politics. That certainly pleased American and Israeli hawks, but it did not please others who want to see genuine progress in Mideast talks.

There is a time and place for Washington to put pressure on Israel. Mr. Obama and his team picked every wrong time and place. The right occasion to squeeze is when the negotiations have reached the point where both sides have given and where both must give more to close the deal. Only at that point does pressure make sense. All parties would get a real shot at peace in return for their concessions.

To be sure, many ask at this point – How do you get to that point? The answer is not to browbeat the parties to scurry to the negotiating table. That tactic simply never pays off. The answer is to build conditions beyond the negotiating table, conditions in the political community in both Israel and Palestine, that would support compromises at the table. The British pushed the Catholics and Protestants to make concessions year after year, only to fail time and again, only to further inflame feelings all around and spur greater violence. Finally, London focused on getting Protestant and Catholic women to form common groups to support compromise. London did as much with various business communities that evolved into backers of mutual concessions as well. Only then did parties know that they had support for compromises, their negotiations got somewhere, and they reached agreement. That's what needs to be done between Israel and the Palestinians.

We hear time and again that the enemy of peace in the Middle East is time, and that time is running out. Perhaps that is what has caused Mr. Obama and his team to misstep so badly; they think it's a race against the clock. Do something now or fail. But the real enemy of a negotiated settlement in the Mideast is not time; it's failure. Neither Israel nor the Palestinians nor the United States can afford to fail again. After yet another failure, it could well result in perpetual violence.

To set his Arab-Israeli policy on a sensible course, Mr. Obama needs to search for new advisors who know how to get things done in the Middle East, hire them, and listen to them.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

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For inquiries, please contact The Daily Beast at editorial@thedailybeast.com.

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-07-07/obama-gets-more-bad-advice-on-israel-leslie-gelb/p/

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:53 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** RE: Need a favor

Yes. I'll have them for you before you leave State in the morning.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:33 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Need a favor

Nora--

Cheryl has emailed dozens of memos about Haiti to me this weekend. Can you please print them and organize them in chrono order for me for my trip tomorrow or send to Lauren so she can do? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 8:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** [redacted] cell. Funeral tomorrow. B6

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 8:56 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Doug Band; Justin Cooper
**Subject:** CONCEPT NOTE - donor coordination

HRC

Attached and below is a concept note for how the donor coordination and leadership for Haiti's reconstruction could be established, with key being, given Haitian's critical voice. It is modeled after tsunami entity that was created by GOI.

(Doug/Justin – can you get to WJC this evening?)

[redacted] B5

The assumptions underpinning this approach are at the bottom of the email.

cdm

---

**From:** Jean-Louis Warnholz [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 7:05 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Concept note - pls confirm receipt - TRYING TO REACH YOU

Cheryl

Please see draft attached.

Best, JL

[redacted] B5

Page Denied

Page Denied

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Doctors report from Haiti

Depressing

B5

See not only Mike's email – really see the incoming one.

cdm

---

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Doctors report from Haiti

Cheryl

This came to me through a doctor friend of Harold's and mine. It is a pretty grim snapshot from a group of doctors ( I think from Mt Sinai hospital in NY) who returned from Haiti late last week .Our friend , Michael Hausman , is a terrific hand surgeon who was trying to get down there to help . I was reluctant to send this to you because I know how hard you and many other people have been working to relieve suffering and that you and others are working round the clock. Nonetheless I thought you might be interested in their impressions so I am sending it to you as a data point.

Please feel free to share this with others.

Best

Mike

---

**From:** Hausman, Michael [mailto:

B6

**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** mrhausman
**Subject:** Fw: OR Report - Worth the Read!

From: "Dean Lorich" <
Date: Thu, 21 Jan 2010 00:11:38
To: Christopher Born<
Cc: Helfet<

Subject: Re: Haiti

Chris
Thanks much appreciated.

I believe we went in with a reasonably comprehensive service we wanted to provide acute trauma care in an orthopedic disaster. Our plan was to be at a hospital where we could utilize our abilities as trauma surgeons treat the acute injuries involved in an orthopaedic disaster. We expected many amputations however came with a philosophy that would reasonably start limb salvage in what we thought was a salvageable limb.

David Helfet put a team together which included:
2 orthopaedic trauma surgeons
3 orthopaedic trauma fellows
2 highly skilled anesthiologists
1 general surgery trauma surgeon
2 synthes reps who were also scrub techs
1 trauma nurse practioner to do triage
2 OR nurses

Our equipment including a huge amount of anesth medications and equipment, ability to construct 150 ex fix both small and large, OR equipment including scalpels etc, OR soft goods, splint material, OR prep material.

We also had a plan of physician and equipment replacemnt that was dynamic where w/i 24hrs we could bring in what was necessary on the Synthes private jet.

We thought the plan was a good one.

We were incredibly naïve.

Disaster management on the ground was nonexistent. The difficulties in getting in despite the intelligence we had from people on the ground and david helfet's high political connections with Partner's in Health as well as the Clintons only portended the difficulties we would have once we arrived.

We started out friday morning, got a slot to get in friday that was eventually cancelled when we were on the runway to be rescheduled the next day. We diverted to the DR and planned on arriving in P OP saturday.

Once on the ground the hospital we had intelligence that was up and running with 2 OR's General Hospital was included severely in the earthquake and not capable of running functioning OR's as there was no running water and only a limited electrical supply on generator.

We quickly took our second option
Community Hospital of Haiti. We found approx 750 pt in the hospital upon our initial eval, the hospital had running water, electricity and 2 functional OR's
Our naivette did not expect that the 2 anesth machines would not work, there would be 1 cautery for the hospital, autoclave that fit instruments the size of a cigar box, no sterile saline, no functioning fluoro and no local staff only a ragtag

group of voluntary health providers who like us had made it there on there own.

To summarize we had no clue the medical infrastructure of the country was so poor.

As we got up and running in the OR and organized the patients for surgery we communicated our new needs back to Synthes and more supplies were loaded for a second trip - these included battery operated pulse lavage, a huge supply of saline, soft goods in the OR. This plane landed as planned sunday pm, equipment was loaded on a truck and subsequent hijacked between the airport and the hospital.

At the hospital we had zero security despite promises form NYPD and NYFD to provide that to us.

Our philosophy was to work like this was a marathon run the OR's around the clock with the idea that we would have a defined extraction time of 11pm tues. The plane that extracted us would come in with a new medical staff compliment to replace us. Equipment included urgent things to maximize issues that were nonexistent in the hospital that would enable us to provide better and more efficient care:
2 portable anesth machines
2electrocautery
2 portable monitors for the pacu
2autoclaves
Replacement exfix
Things that didn't arive with the previous flight

That planes slot was cancelled by the military at 6am tues.
We also previously had seen daylight in the remaining patients monday night haviving completed approx 100 surgeries. However on tues morning we found a huge # of new patients. The hospital was forced to undergo lockdown closing its gates to the outside and outside crowd becoming angry.

We also noted tues morning that many of the patients we were operating on were becoming septic.
We finished operating at noon tues, the last surgery our group assisting an obstetrician on a caesarian and resuscitating a baby that was not breathing.

We decided as a group the situation for us at the hospital was untenable supplies were running out, team was exhauted, safety a huge concern, and no extraction plan with resupply. We decided to make our way to airport thru the help of a hospital benefactor. Jamaican soldiers with M-16 were necessary to escort us out with our luggage as the crowd outside saw us abandoning the hospital.

We made it to airport on back of a pickup track, got onto the tarmac, hailed a commercial plane that carried cargo to montreal and had private jet pick us up there.

The issues we were unprepared for and witnessed were
1. The amount of human devastation
2. The complete lack of a medical infrastructure in the country

3. The lack of support of the haitian medical community
4. The complete lack of any organization on the ground. Noone was in charge, we had the first functional up and running hospital in the P OP area yet noone and I me NOONE came to the hospital to assess what we were doing, what we were capable of doing and what we would need, to be more efficient. The fact that the military could not or would not protect the resupply equipment on sunday or let the tues flight come in says it all.
5. Lack of any security at all at the hospital

I would take away that disasters like this need organization on a much higher level than we had with the clear involvement and approval of the military from the beginning.

Currently there is Noone obviously running the show and care is in chaotic at best. MD's are coming in country with no plan of what the are going to do. Surgeons that expect to just show up and operate are delusional as to what there role would be as without a complement of support staff and supplies they would be of limited or no value.

`I hope this helps. We all felt as though we abandoned these patients and that country and feel terrible. Our role now being back in NY is to expose the inadequacies of the system to the media in the hopes of effecting a change in this system immediatly. We feel that the only way to really help now is an urgent programtic change and organization in the support of the medical staff on the ground and what is critically needed to expeditiosly bring in.

Cherrios on the tarmac are not getting it done on these patients which clearly would be savable if good care could urgently be provided.

Please share this email with everyone and anyone you find might help.

Good luck
Dean

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Huffington Post piece on Internet Speech

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Alec Ross [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:05 PM
To: Cheryl Mills; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: one more

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jose-antonio-vargas/internet-freedom-hilla
ry_b_431830.html

Internet Freedom, Hillary Clinton and Being the Web's First Global Diplomat (VIDEO)

When it comes to education and how students learn in the 21st century, when it comes to developing businesses and encouraging entrepreneurship in a flattening digital marketplace, when it comes to forming social connections regardless of geographic, linguistic and cultural borders -- when it comes to promoting democracy and protecting the rights of individuals around the world -- no two words, no other phrase, holds more value. It may sound trite but it's true -- just ask students and activists in Iran and China. With the Internet comes freedom. With freedom comes the Internet. In countless ways, for many people, the Internet is freedom.

Hillary Clinton underlined that reality in a bold, impassioned speech at the Newseum in Washington, D.C. this morning. Words like "bold" and "impassioned" are not usually found in most of the mainstream media's caricature of Clinton. Nevertheless, the Secretary of State gave by far the most important speech about Internet freedom delivered by a top U.S. official. What makes it all the more notable is the fact that it was given by arguably the most recognizable female political figure in the world. In parts of the Middle East, women are beaten and killed by relatives who find out they are using sites like Twitter and Facebook. "Honor" beatings, they're called.

"Given the magnitude of the challenges we're facing, we need people around the world to pool their knowledge and creativity to help rebuild the global economy, protect our environment, defeat violent extremism and build a future in which every human being can realize their God-given potential," said Clinton, who announced a new $15 million project to help more women, young people and citizen groups to get online. (WATCH: Video of her speech is below.)

Clinton, speaking in broad strokes and finer details, outlined what she called the "five key freedoms of the Internet age."
Freedom to connect online anywhere. Freedom of speech. Freedom of worship.
Freedom from fear of cyber attacks. "In an interconnected world," she said, "an attack on one nation's networks can be an attack on all."
Freedom of "want" -- which means that the here-comes-everybody ethos of the Web, the fact that we can bear witness to each other online, can be leveraged in helping relieve suffering worldwide.

On the Twitterverse, where Internet observers and activists commented on Clinton's remarks and her subsequent Q&A in real time, some took note of her "disappointing" answers regarding China's alleged cyber attacks targeted at human rights activists. And inevitably, immediate coverage of the speech in our conflict-driven mainstream media, from the

New York Times to the Associated Press, focused on the China-Google dispute, which is being closely watched by human rights activists, government officials and Internet companies. But the overall meaning and message of her remarks, beyond the China-Google stand-off, cannot be overstated. The Internet, after all, was born in America, created by our researches and funded by our government. With help and input from other countries, the Web's evolving ethos and guiding principles should be shaped by America -- and, naturally, by America's top diplomat.

"Sec. Clinton once and for all established the fact that free speech and free enterprise can no longer be achieved unless we have Internet freedom," Andrew Rasiej, founder of the Personal Democracy Forum, an annual conference on technology's impact on politics and policy, told me shortly after Clinton's remarks. He called her speech nothing short of a "milestone" in the future of American foreign policy. "

"In a world where billions are connected with each other through technology -- through the Internet and mobile phones -- it is imperative that governments recognize that it's easier and faster for people to connect with each other than for governments to connect with their citizens. Any government that fails to understand this dynamic will left in the history books," Rasiej continued."

Less than two weeks ago, Clinton hosted a nearly two-hour dinner for some of the tech industry's leading thinkers and innovators. It was a small, intimate affair, and guests included Twitter creator Jack Dorsey, Google CEO Eric Schmidt and Howcast CEO and co-founder Jason Liebman, who wrote about the event for HuffPostTech in a blog titled "Facebook, YouTube and Twitter Are Tools For Diplomacy." Rasiej was one of the guests. Clinton is interested in how technology can spur innovation within the State Department and in countries that the U.S.
has interest in supporting, Rasiej said. Accompanying Clinton in the dinner was her senior staff and her growing new media department; most recently, Katie Jacobs Stanton, a former Google exec who joined the White House as its director of citizen participation, joined the State Department.

There's a bit of irony at work here. Early in the long, bruising primary campaign that pitted the establishment-backed former first lady turned New York senator against the little-known insurgent junior senator from Illinois, Clinton was considered less Web-savvy than Barack Obama. Hers was a top-down, command-and-control operation, online observers suggested. In fact, the first online attack ad that spread on YouTube and foreshadowed the narrative of their historic fight for the Democratic nomination portrayed Clinton as the old PC and Obama as the shiny new Mac.

"After having lost to Obama, especially to Obama's use of the Internet in attracting and mobilizing supporters," Rasiej pointed out, "Clinton is now leading the way within the Obama administration in recognizing the transformational opportunities that the Internet can provide."

Using DipNote, the State Department's blog, recording videos from all corners of the world, especially where girls and women are considered second-class citizens, leveraging technological tools that, as we're seeing in the response and outpouring of support for Haiti, allow us to become "global citizens," Clinton can be the Web's first global diplomat.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 8, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Maggie Williams called you back

She will be around/reachable the rest of the evening.

B6

Ops also has her phone number on file.
###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Jim's going to call you

fyi

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:32 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** Jim's going to call you

Dear Cheryl -
He's going to call your [redacted] number. We're both hoping, on one had, that you're not there and you're at home. Please feel free to call his cell phone [redacted] -- or he'll call you again on Monday. In the meantime, he asked me to pass along to you this simple but heartfelt comment: "Please tell her I've never been prouder of my government. I mean that. Sincerely." B6

Cindy

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Think I may have sent this but interesting insights and overlapping ones.

**From:** Peter Harrell < > B6
**To:** Harrell, Peter E
**Sent:** Sun Jan 24 14:56:20 2010
**Subject:** Conversation with Bob Maguire

Cheryl,

I had a good conversation with Bob this afternoon. The major points he wanted to emphasize were the ones he had included in his emails to you, including:

- **"Rebalancing" Haitian development:** Redevelopment should occur nationwide and encourage a more even distribution of the Haitian population. The international community should not rebuild Port-au-Prince at the expense of the rest of the country. Bob thinks that nationwide rebuilding will also reduce the chances of elite capture of the rebuilding effort, since elites are strongly concentrated in Port-au-Prince.

- **Transparency:** Bob is cautious about just throwing money at the problem. He thinks the international community should establish a new norm of transparency in Haiti, for example, to ensure that there isn't widespread corruption, price gauging, grants of monopolies, etc.

- **Link the Haitian business community to other business communities:** Bob thinks that if all the rebuilding is done by the usual suspects in the Haitian business community, they'll simply build back the country they had before. He recommends working to bring in foreign investors, and then linking foreign investors and leading Haitian businessmen (e.g., in a business roundtable) to socialize better business practices in Haiti.

- **On the issue of legal authorities for reconstruction:** Bob recommends exploring whether presidential commission-like structures could be empowered to resolve the legal problems likely to arise as barriers to reconstruction.

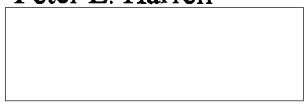
- **Duration of US presence:** Bob cautioned that most Haitians would be happy to see a long-term US military presence in the country, though this would likely have adverse reputational consequences in the hemisphere for the United States. Given that hurricane season will begin in the fall, Bob recommends that when we do draw down, we make clear that we will return if needed.

- **Getting people to work:** Bob argued that NGOs may not be the best vehicles for getting Haitians to work (e.g., through job training, etc.). In short, they're too nice. Many Haitians have never held a regular job, are unfamiliar with showing up on time, etc. They'll need a bit of tough love and discipline. Bob though ex-military might set the right kind of example.

- **Diaspora:** Engaging the diaspora is clearly important, but we do not want to support widespread repatriation of the diaspora as NGO employees, reconstruction experts, etc., at the expense of Haitians who never left. This reinforces wage differentials and social discontent about returnees.

- **Conditional cash transfers:** Bob thinks that conditional cash transfer programs have a lot of potential to improve education and the delivery of health services in Haiti.

--
Peter E. Harrell



B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 8, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** you were a complete star with the Jefferson Fellows

They were very grateful. Thanks.

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Jim's going to call you - MCGOVERN

mcgovern

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:56 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Jim's going to call you

Who's Jim?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 22:32:31 2010
Subject: FW: Jim's going to call you

fyi

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:32 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Jim's going to call you

Dear Cheryl -
He's going to call your [redacted] number. We're both hoping, on one had, that you're not there and you're at home. B6
Please feel free to call his cell phone [redacted] -- or he'll call you again on Monday. In the meantime, he asked me to pass along to you this simple but heartfelt comment: "Please tell her I've never been prouder of my government. I mean that. Sincerely."

Cindy

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** cheryl.mills
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: URGENCE

Agree - it we also have folks who need hosp care for a period; there are several things like this we should consider Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Mon, 25 Jan 2010 07:15:13
To: 'cheryl.mills
Subject: Fw: URGENCE

We should help students whose education has been interrupted finish here or in French speaking countries. See story below.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman <
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 20:13:09 2010
Subject: FW: URGENCE

Dear Hillary,

I just arrived back but my heart and mind are back in Haiti..... I am thankful that you helped me get there and supported the resurrection of the hospital in just one week. General Keen was key in reestablishing the hospital (and I got to appreciate MRE's). When we got there there were 1500 patients and 400 corpses in a deserted hospital — our team of 7 was the only group there.... And slowly over the week we have built a functioning hospital again.

Meeting and working with Paul has been good for the soul---- although when I felt I wanted to meet him – this was not the way...But I think I am in this for the long haul...

Below is an email for President Clinton (it was good to see him and Chelsea and Mark there) I promised to forward this email by a medical student he spoke to in the operating room .... Desperate to find a way to continue his education. Attached is picture of him and I in front of the surgery area. And there were 3 more I met a few nights later who had volunteered since the first days but had not eaten in a week (I managed to gather bag of biscuits from the world food program from behind 3 padlocks after 1 hours of searching – They slept on the hospital grounds because their homes were destroyed.

I am not sure what we can do... But I promised to pass this on!

Thank you for who you are in the world.. God bless you!

Your friend in gratitude,

Mark

------ Forwarded Message
From: [redacted] B6
Date: Sun, 24 Jan 2010 18:22:03 -0600
To: Mark Hyman <[redacted]>
Subject: URGENCE

Dear M. President
My name is [redacted] the young man who took to you on the Hospital in Haiti.
With all my Heart i want to thank you so much for helping Haiti in this terrible situation,... Thank you so much for your visit in the country, we really appreciate that, so thank you so much...
As you know, all the universities are broken, so now we get no way to continue our education... And we are with our family in the streets, so life is become more difficult as we never imagine.... I know that the USA used to help Haiti with Scholarship, but is really sad to tell you that the kind of young man as me, never get chance to benefice a scholarship, just because we are in the last categories in the society (the poor persons)....So, In that Situation we need your help more than ever, Please, please, please M. President we are "3" friends are helping in the hospital since after the catastrophe, and now we are thinking about how to continue to sturdy, So Please, please, please help us have a scholarship in USA... And we promiss to come back after to teach, and help the orders... God will Bless you for that M. President because we are really, really, really in need...
Thank you so much to gave me a chance to talk to you, when you was in the country, and thank you for reading this mail, God bless you...
[redacted]

------ End of Forwarded Message

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 8, 2010 7:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Read-out: Ambassador Eikenberry's phone call with HAC-FO Chairwoman Nita Lowey

FYI.

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**Sent:** Thursday, July 08, 2010 7:01 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Read-out: Ambassador Eikenberry's phone call with HAC-FO Chairwoman Nita Lowey

FYI for you and HRC

Ambassador Eikenberry and Chairwoman Lowey had a positive conversation that lasted more than an hour. He thanked the Chairwoman for her leadership and support and for her willingness and commitment to work with her colleagues to secure the significant amounts of funding that is so essential to the success of our Mission's programs and efforts. They had a very candid and detailed conversation about the elements, causes, and contributors to corruption in Afghanistan and the various interagency programs that are partnering with Afghan institutions to promote transparency and investigate corrupt practices and prosecute corrupt actors.

Chairwoman Lowey appreciated Ambassador Eikenberry's detailed analysis and thorough review of the conditions in Afghanistan. She stated that there is an absolute need to ensure meaningful and effective accountability of US taxpayer funds appropriated by Congress. She conceded that we are not going to create an utopian society free of corruption, but stressed the need for accountability and transparency. She was particularly concerned with various reports that officials within the GIRoA are impeding the Embassy's efforts to assist the Afghans in investigating and prosecuting corrupt actors. The Chair asked if there are enough credible partners in the Afghan government who are committed to good governance and transparency. Ambassador Eikenberry provided an assessment of where he thought the challenges are, the next steps to be taken, and how progress can be made going forward.

The Chair reiterated her longstanding support for assistance programs, especially education and health, and she asked Ambassador Eikenberry if he felt we are making progress in the areas of health, education, and agriculture. He provided a review of the various health, education, and agriculture programs and the multitude of changes that have been implemented to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and flexibility of funds and how these changes have better equipped the embassy to hold contractors accountable.

The Ambassador raised the certification of Ministries program; how we are seeking to certify additional ministries once the Ministries achieve the appropriate level of financial accountability standards; and how these efforts will help develop Afghan capacity and ultimately allow us to increase the amount of assistance that goes through the Afghan government. They discussed the NSP program, and the Chair reiterated her support for the program and how she had consistently increased funding for NSP.

Ambassador Eikenberry explained the Afghan public's reaction to reports that the assistance money had been removed and he respectfully encouraged her to reinstate the funding as quickly as possible so as to send a clear message to Afghans that we intend to have an enduring civilian assistance presence. He invited her to visit Afghanistan for several days and travel the country to see first-hand the progress that has been made and the challenges and opportunities that remain. She thanked him for his invitation and suggested that any visit might have to be deferred until November.

Several times she asked how the hearings could be helpful or if the hearings could be useful to shine a spotlight on particular areas, and she welcomed Ambassador Eikenberry's thoughts on that issue. Ambassador Eikenberry agreed to give that idea some additional consideration and to speak with the Chair on Tuesday morning.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/25/10 Monday

8:10 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:15 am **BILATERAL w/ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FRANCO FRATTINI**
8:45 am Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

8:45 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
8:50 am Secretary's Office

8:50 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/ITALIAN FM FRANCO FRATTINI**
9:00 am Treaty Room

9:00 am **DEPART** State Department *En route Andrews AFB

9:25 am **ARRIVE** Andrews AFB

9:30 am **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force Aircraft Tail #

9:45 am **SECURE PHONE CALL w / GEORGE MITCHELL**

10:55 am **ARRIVE** Montreal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau International Airport

11:00am **DEPART** Montreal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau International Airport
En route International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

11:35 am **ARRIVE** ICAO

11:45 am **WORKING SESSION PART II: "TRANSITION FROM HUMANITARIAN** 12:05 pm **NEEDS TO LONGER TERM STRATEGIC VISION"** ICAO Council Chamber

12:15 pm **MEETING w/CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER HARPER**
12:45 pm Meeting Room, 3rd Floor *Camera Spray at top

12:50 pm **FAMILY PHOTO w/CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS**
12:55 pm Delegates' Lounge

1:00 pm **SESSION: "RECONSTRUCTION AND BEYOND: A VISION FOR THE**
3:15 pm **NEW HAITI"** ICAO Council Chamber *Camera Spray at top.

3:30 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/FM CANNON, PM BELLERIVE,**
4:00 pm **AND OTHERS TBD**

4:15 pm **MEDIA INTERVIEW TBD**
4:40 pm Media Room Tbd

4:50 pm **DEPART** ICAO *En route Montreal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau International Airport

5:25 pm **ARRIVE** Montreal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau International Airport

5:30 pm **DEPART** Montreal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau International Airport via Air Force Aircraft Tail

7:00pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

7:10 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base *En route Private Residence

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rice, Susan E (USUN) <RiceSE@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 8, 2010 7:47 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Need to talk tonight, if at all possible

Hillary,

I would like to share the outcome of the meeting I had with Netanyahu today. I need some guidance from you urgently and before I talk to SG (at Netanyahu's short fuse request).

I am reachable through Ops.

Many thanks,

Susan

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Capricia Marshall
**Sent:** Thursday, July 8, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Are you back from China yet?

Yes! A great trip.

On Thu, Jul 8, 2010 at 9:02 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 9, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: REVISED: CFR 2.0 draft
**Attachments:** CFR 2.0 draft -v5.doc

Below and attached is a proposed draft for a speech next Thursday at CFR. You'll recall that we discussed this with you at the last speech meeting. The idea is to give a speech one year after your last CFR address that updates and amplifies the frame you outlined, and fills it in with the work of the past year. The speech will also underscore the continuity between your speech and the National Security Strategy.

B5

The below draft still needs a good bit of work, but we have between now and next Thursday to get it into shape. AMS was initially skeptical, but I think she believes the speech is heading in the right direction (she'll write you with specific comments ... I have my own suggestions for further improvement) and that on balance it should be given. Derek is a strong proponent of the speech, and Jim, who has not read a draft, embraced the concept.

***DRAFT***

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON REMARKS AT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS WASHINGTON, DC JULY 15, 2010

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

Thank you.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 9, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: REVISED: CFR 2.0 draft

Are you up for that given your other demands?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, July 09, 2010 11:30 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: REVISED: CFR 2.0 draft

What about delivering it in NY July 27?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jul 09 10:40:09 2010
Subject: FW: REVISED: CFR 2.0 draft

Below and attached is a proposed draft for a speech next Thursday at CFR. You'll recall that we discussed this with you at the last speech meeting. The idea is to give a speech one year after your last CFR address that updates and amplifies the frame you outlined, and fills it in with the work of the past year. The speech will also underscore the continuity between your speech and the National Security Strategy.

B5

The below draft still needs a good bit of work, but we have between now and next Thursday to get it into shape. AMS was initially skeptical, but I think she believes the speech is heading in the right direction (she'll write you with specific

comments ... I have my own suggestions for further improvement) and that on balance it should be given. Derek is a strong proponent of the speech, and Jim, who has not read a draft, embraced the concept.

***DRAFT***

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON REMARKS AT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS WASHINGTON, DC JULY 15, 2010

B5

B5

B5

B5

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B5

Thank you.

###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**DRAFT**

Schwerin – v5

# SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
# REMARKS AT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
# WASHINGTON, DC
# JULY 15, 2010

B5

**DRAFT**

B5

**DRAFT**

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B5

**DRAFT**

B5

**DRAFT**

B5

**DRAFT**

B5

Thank you.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, July 9, 2010 1:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Diane Reynolds; Oscar Flores; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Delayed

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: Diane Reynolds; Oscar Flores; 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jul 09 13:12:04 2010
Subject: Delayed

We've just been told we have a ground stop until 2 because of thunderstorms. Pls tell Liz we're running late. I'll give you updates.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 9, 2010 4:54 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** FY 2011

Tim Rieser said today our allocation in the Senate for FY11 is $2.6 billion below our request. Haven't seen a break out of the numbers yet, but that is far better than how the House treated us. We are expecting the Senate to mark-up State/Foreign ops on July 22nd.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 9, 2010 7:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** CFR speech

You have many better things to think about this Friday night, and I hope [redacted] But let me add my 2 cents on the speech. [redacted]

B6

B5

Best,
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 10, 2010 3:06 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

FYI. We are revising call sheet for call to Karzai - potentially Sunday.

---

**From**: Eikenberry, Karl W
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Holbrooke, Richard; Wayne, E Anthony; Petraeus, David H GEN MIL USA USCENTCOM CCCC/CCCC [redacted] B6
**Sent**: Sat Jul 10 12:36:22 2010
**Subject**: FW: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

Madam Secretary:

There are two recommended topics for your upcoming phone call with President Karzai:

[redacted] B5

B5

B5

Respectfully,

Karl

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 10, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

[redacted] 1.4(D)
B1

Pakistanis will go to Kabul just before the conference to try to bring it home. Checking with Holbrooke to see what is necessary on Pakistani side.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/09/2035

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jul 10 15:10:40 2010
Subject: Re: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

What's status of Agreement?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jul 10 15:05:47 2010
Subject: Fw: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

FYI. We are revising call sheet for call to Karzai - potentially Sunday.

---

From: Eikenberry, Karl W
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Holbrooke, Richard; Wayne, E Anthony; Petraeus, David H GEN MIL USA USCENTCOM CCCC/CCCC [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Jul 10 12:36:22 2010
Subject: FW: Your Phone Call to President Karzai

Madam Secretary:

There are two recommended topics for your upcoming phone call with President Karzai:

[redacted] B5

B5

B5

B5

Respectfully,

Karl

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, July 11, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi, leaked Luntz poll on Bibi policies; and many congrats to Huma! Sid

Below is a transcript from Israeli TV News Channel Ten on a leaked poll taken last week by Frank Luntz. Here's a summary:

1. 56% of Americans agree with the claim that there is a humanitarian crisis in Gaza;
2. 43% of Americans agree with the claim that people in Gaza are starving;
3. 34% of Americans support the Israeli operation against the Flotilla;
4. 20% of Americans "felt support" for Israel following announcement of easing of Gaza closure.

**Frank Luntz analyses Netanyahu's media performance in the flotilla affair**
The figures are troubling and worrisome. If that is the situation with our great friend the US, it is easy to imagine the situation in other, somewhat less sympathetic countries.
Channel Ten TV News, July 1 2010 20:38
Yaacov Eilon (host): Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is considered to make an extremely persuasive presentation in the world press. But a professional analysis by a US expert presented yesterday to his senior aides strongly criticizes him. Netanyahu's messages on the flotilla caused more harm than good. Our political correspondent Chico Menashe has obtained the report.
Chico Menashe: Criticism of Prime Minister Netanyahu's current PR messages and Israeli PR in general comes from the international elite of media consultants and pollsters and from the mouth of Frank Luntz, considered one of the leading American political consultants, a Republican pollster, a consultant to many governments throughout the world and to dozens of the biggest corporations in the US. He was asked by the Jewish organization The Israel Project to check the opinions of the American public on the messages Israel issued to the world during and after the flotilla events. The result is a harsh document that primarily criticizes the media strategy of the person considered Israel's number one propagandist in the world, Prime Minister Netanyahu.
Netanyahu: Once again Israel faces hypocrisy and a biased rush to judgment.
Chico Menashe: **Every time Israeli speakers begin with accusing the international community, writes Luntz, they lose their audience.** For example, Netanyahu's comments after the flotilla about the world hypocrisy were rejected by most of the American participants who listened to them. The findings were presented last night to senior members of Netanyahu's Bureau. Luntz checked the opinions with focus groups, not a poll. He warns of a dangerous slide in the public opinion of the only country considered pro-Israeli, the U.S. Israel misses simple opportunities to change world public opinion, he writes, and the consequences are significant. The American public increasingly hesitates to accept arguments that support Israeli positions.
Ehud Barak: There is no hunger in Gaza and no humanitarian crisis.
Netanyahu: There's no shortage of food, there's no shortage of medicine, there's no shortage of other goods.
Chico Menashe: **Luntz says Israel must immediately stop using the argument that there is no hunger and no humanitarian crisis in Gaza. He says this fatally destroys Israel's credibility in light of the images on the television screens. Israel must admit that there is a problem, he says, to gain the listeners' sympathy** *[emphasis mine]*. Luntz finds the troubling figure that 56% of participants agree with the claim that there is a humanitarian crisis in Gaza, and no less astonishing is that 43% of participants from the American public agree with the claim that people in Gaza are starving. But even lifting the closure that was supposed to improve Israel's image missed the opportunity, according to Luntz.
Netanyahu: Yesterday an important decision was made by the security cabinet. Its meaning is clear. On the one hand, allowing civilian goods into Gaza, and on the other hand maintaining the military blockade of Hamas.
Chico Menashe: **The statement by Netanyahu's bureau of lifting the closure missed the opportunity to gain support in international public opinion** *[emphasis mine]*. Only 20% of the Americans polled felt support of Israel following the statement. According to Luntz, this is the summary of the flotilla damage in American public opinion: Only 34% of the American public support the Israeli operation against the flotilla, and he says that is a dangerously low percentage.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 11, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Steinberg

Ms: dep. steinberg has put in a request through ops to speak with you. He says it can be unsecure.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 11, 2010 11:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls clear: 15th Anniversary of Srebrenica Genocide

Fyi - we are putting out the following today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jul 11 09:35:52 2010
Subject: Pls clear: 15th Anniversary of Srebrenica Genocide

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

15th Anniversary of Srebrenica Genocide

Today we remember the tragic events in Srebrenica fifteen years ago. I join President Obama and the people of the United States in offering our deepest condolences on this most solemn occasion. We honor the memories of the victims and mourn with their families.

The United States stands with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and all countries in the region who wish to foster peace and reconciliation. We remain committed to ensuring that those responsible for these crimes face justice. We recognize that there can be no lasting peace without justice. It is only by bringing all responsible parties to account for their crimes that we will truly honor Srebrenica's victims.

We are duty-bound – to the victims, to their surviving family members, and to future generations – to prevent such atrocities from happening again. Our common faith in the value of freedom and peace unifies us and drives us to act. That is why we are committed to working with all the communities that make up Bosnia and Herzegovina to move forward and build a pluralistic, democratic state that can take its rightful place in the Euro-Atlantic community. A prosperous, free, and unified Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most worthy monument to those who lost their lives at Srebrenica and the best guarantee against such a tragedy ever repeating itself.

###

Drafted: EUR/PPD: TWeik

Cleared:

EUR/FO: NMcEldowney (ok)
EUR/SCE: JBuzbee (ok)
EUR/Press: MCavey (ok)
DRL/EUR: SCorke (ok)
P: TWaser (ok)
D: AScanlon ()
S/P: EGaudiosi (info)

PA:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 11, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Karzai

Ms:
I apologize if this email is duplicating anyone else's efforts (we are trying to leave huma alone today!) Jake has put forth a recommendation for you to call karzai today, and also for you to speak with holbrooke in advance of that call. There is an updated call sheet which has been faxed to your residence in chappaqua, and should be there now.
Let me know if I can help in any other way.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 12, 2010 2:00 PM
**To:** Posner, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Tillemann, Tomicah S
**Subject:** FW: Kracow Speech

FYI

---

**From:** Suzy George [mailto
**Sent:** Monday, July 12, 2010 12:30 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** FW: Kracow Speech

B6

All:

Below is a note from Ken Wollack for Secretary Clinton regarding the Kracow speech. Sorry for emailing so many of you, wasn't sure where best to send it.

Thanks.
Suzy

---

**From:** Ken Wollack [mailto
**Sent:** Monday, July 12, 2010 11:02 AM
**To:** Suzy George
**Subject:** Kracow Speech

Suzy,

Thank you for passing this on to the appropriate people.

Ken

Dear Madam Secretary:

I was in Krakow, along with our chairman, Madeleine Albright, for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Community of Democracies. I just wanted to express our appreciation for your inspirational speech in defense of civil society. Your remarks were warmly received by the group assembled in Poland and sent an important signal to both friends and adversaries worldwide about America's commitment to fundamental human and political rights. From NDI's perspective, your words were also a message of solidarity to democratic activists who, in their peaceful struggle, can often feel isolated and neglected.

Thank you for your continuing interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Wollack
President
National Democratic Institute
2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor
Washington, DC, 20036
202-728-5500 (Tel)
202-728-5555 (Fax)
email
website: www.ndi.org

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 12, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H

The gentleman you have talked to Bill Burns about has apparently gone to his country's interests section because he is unhappy with how much time it has taken to facilitate his departure. This could lead to problematic news stories in the next 24 hours. Will keep you posted.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 13, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) Obama names former Clinton budget chief Lew to head OMB

---

**From:** Morgan, Jack A
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 13, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** (Reuters) Obama names former Clinton budget chief Lew to head OMB

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - President Barack Obama will nominate Jacob Lew as the new director of the White House Office of Management and Budget, the White House said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 14, 2010 5:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Iroquois Update

**From**: Crowley, Philip J
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Kirby, Michael D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc**: Toner, Mark C; Macray, Rosemary R; Echard, John E Jr; Reines, Philippe I
**Sent**: Wed Jul 14 17:48:54 2010
**Subject**: Iroquois Update

A media update, CNN just called for a comment after the British rejected the letter. I told CNN that we provided the team/delegation the waiver letter earlier this afternoon. I quoted from it that the waiver, which applied to 28 individuals, was a limited authorization for departure from and re-entry in the United States. I made clear during the briefing that even though we granted the waiver they needed to gain visas from the UK. So, there is a sad ending to the story, but I also made clear during the briefing that the unique situation that they found themselves in stemmed from their decision not to apply for a U.S. passport. I'll keep you updated on the media play.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 14, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Iroquois Update

---

**From**: Kirby, Michael D
**To**: Kirby, Michael D; Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc**: Toner, Mark C; Macray, Rosemary R; Echard, John E Jr; Reines, Philippe I; Sprague, Brenda S; Brennan, John B
**Sent**: Wed Jul 14 17:56:20 2010
**Subject**: RE: Iroquois Update

Make that Delta 003.

Michael D. Kirby

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary

Bureau of Consular Affairs

U.S. Department of State

---

**From:** Kirby, Michael D
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 14, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Toner, Mark C; Macray, Rosemary R; Echard, John E Jr; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** RE: Iroquois Update

PJ,

It is not the ending. We understand that the British have now agreed to allow those who benefited from our letter (in which we listed those whom we believe to be American citizens) to go to the UK. (To the best of my knowledge, the Canadians have not provided a similar letter to those whom they believe are Canadians.) We believe the group will be on Delta 0036 directly to Heathrow later today.

Michael

Michael D. Kirby

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary

Bureau of Consular Affairs

U.S. Department of State

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 14, 2010 5:49 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kirby, Michael D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Toner, Mark C; Macray, Rosemary R; Echard, John E Jr; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Iroquois Update

A media update, CNN just called for a comment after the British rejected the letter. I told CNN that we provided the team/delegation the waiver letter earlier this afternoon. I quoted from it that the waiver, which applied to 28 individuals, was a limited authorization for departure from and re-entry in the United States. I made clear during the briefing that even though we granted the waiver they needed to gain visas from the UK. So, there is a sad ending to the story, but I also made clear during the briefing that the unique situation that they found themselves in stemmed from their decision not to apply for a U.S. passport. I'll keep you updated on the media play.

PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: A few things..

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Jul 15 06:57:15 2010
Subject: Fw: A few things..

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark Hyman
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 11 16:06:03 2010
Subject: A few things..

Hi Hillary,

B6

Just wanted to let you know that the ARC did give a $10 million grant (reduced to $3.8 because of political reasons) - but it almost didn't get accepted by the Haitians because they didn't want oversight. But with Paul Farmer's help we created a joint oversight process with PIH, KPMG and the Ministry of Health. Sadly its slow going. But my cousin at the ARC is working to do the right things.... Any good words you can say about the ARC would be appreciated!

And we are trying to move things forward still...

As always, fondly,

Mark

------ Forwarded Message
From: Mark Hyman
Date: Sun, 11 Jul 2010 15:54:28 -0400
To: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: A few things..

###

B6

Dear Huma,

Just wanted to check in with you about a few things..

[redacted]

Thanks for letting me know.

Be well,

Mark

--
Mark Hyman, MD
Chairman, Institute for Functional Medicine Volunteer, Partners in Health Founder and Medical Director The UltraWellness Center
45 Walker Street
Lenox, MA 01240

[redacted]

------ End of Forwarded Message

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi

http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-07-14/americans-disappoving-of-obama-policies-poised-to-enable-republican-gains.html

# Americans Disapproving Obama Poised to Enable Republican Gains

By John McCormick and Catherine Dodge - Jul 14, 2010

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Chart: Poll Results

Attachment: Poll results and methodology

Americans disapprove of U.S. President Barack Obama's handling of almost every major issue and are deeply pessimistic about the nation's direction, offering a bullish environment for Republicans in the November congressional elections.

A majority or plurality disapproves of Obama's management of the economy, health care, the budget deficit, the overhaul of financial market regulations and the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, according to a Bloomberg National Poll conducted July 9- 12. In addition, almost 6 in 10 respondents say the war in Afghanistan is a lost cause.

Almost two-thirds say they feel the nation is headed in the wrong direction, an even more sour assessment than in March when 58 percent felt that way. Two-thirds of independent voters are pessimistic, while just 56 percent of Democrats offer a vote of confidence.

"They don't see any solutions in sight," said J. Ann Selzer, president of Selzer & Co., a Des Moines, Iowa-based firm that conducted the nationwide survey. "They have been hammered by the economy and there is a disconnect between the lives Americans are living and Washington. They seem to have lost hope."

Poll respondents are divided on their congressional preference between Democrats and Republicans, with both sides getting 43 percent support. Among those who say they are most likely to vote, Republicans are favored, 48 percent to 40 percent. The Republican advantage is even greater among likely voters who view the election as exceptionally important, with Republicans beating Democrats 56 percent to 34 percent.

Control of Congress

For the Democrats, who control Congress and the White House, the survey shows the potential for losses in November, when voters will fill all 435 House seats, 36 Senate seats and 37 governorships. The outcome could affect Obama's ability to move his agenda through Congress for the two years leading up to his own 2012 re-election bid.

The fate of incumbents will depend to some extent on what happens to the economy in the next four months and whether unemployment drops much from its current 9.5 percent. A rising stock market could help as well. So far this year, the S&P 500 stock index has declined 1.8 percent.

The public's disenchantment with the president's policies doesn't extend to voter feelings about Obama himself, as he gets a job approval rating of 52 percent and personally is viewed favorably by 55 percent. Obama, 48, remains more popular than any of the Republican figures tested in the poll and is topped only by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and General David Petraeus, the new commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, among a list of 15 people and political parties reviewed.

Republican Leaders

The only bright spot for Republican candidates is for Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal, who gets a 32 percent favorable rating and an 18 percent unfavorable grade. Better-known party leaders such as former vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich both have negative ratings that outweigh the positive views.

Although turnout in midterm elections is historically lower than in presidential races, the electorate is interested. Four- fifths of Americans who plan to vote say November's election is very or exceptionally important.

The likelihood to vote is strongest among older voters, Republicans and those with the highest incomes. Among those 55 and older, three-quarters say they will definitely vote, compared with 48 percent of those younger than 35. Four-fifths of Republicans say they will definitely vote, compared with 65 percent of Democrats and 62 percent of independents.

Referendum on Obama

Seeking to capitalize on the intensity expressed by voters, Republicans want to make the election a national referendum on Obama and the party in power, while the White House and Democrats argue it is about going forward, rather than backward to failed policies.

The challenge for Democrats will be to translate their vision of a better future into more positive feelings about the economy among voters. In the poll, Republicans have the advantage among the independents often critical to winning elections. Among independents likely to vote, Republican congressional candidates are preferred to Democrats, 50 percent to 29 percent.

"Anything that has been tried hasn't resulted in making anything better in the world where ordinary people live," Selzer said. "That's a bad scenario for incumbents of the majority party."

Incumbent Disadvantage

A third of poll participants say they would be less likely to vote for a candidate who has served in Congress for many years. About one-fifth of likely voters say the election is more about sending a message, while three-quarters say it is about picking the party that has the best ideas.

"I don't know what these people are thinking in Washington," says poll respondent Jeff Lockman, 41, a professional golfer and Republican from Malvern, Pennsylvania. "They are going in 10 different directions and they really don't know what to focus on."

The proportion who feel the nation is headed in the wrong direction is about the same as at this point in 1994, when Republicans took control of Congress, and 2006, when Democrats took over.

The public also has soured on Obama's foreign-policy priority, the war in Afghanistan. While the president has ordered an expansion of forces to turn the tide in a conflict where he says the U.S. has a critical stake, 58 percent say it is a lost cause, compared with 36 percent who say it can still be won. A slim majority of Republicans -- 52 percent -- say the U.S. can still win in Afghanistan, while 71 percent of Democrats say the conflict is lost.

Afghanistan Withdrawal

Six in 10 Americans say it would be best to stick with Obama's plan to start withdrawing forces in July 2011, while one-third say they remain open to keeping the same number of troops there, or even adding additional forces.

Reflecting the belief among many that the war cannot be won, a third of Americans say they have become less supportive of the effort there in recent months.

The Bloomberg National Poll is based on interviews with 1,004 U.S. adults ages 18 or older. Percentages based on the full sample may have a maximum margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points.

Karlyn Bowman, who studies public opinion at the American Enterprise Institute, a public-policy research group in Washington, calls the poll "very, very grim news for the Democrats."

At the same time, she says, one silver lining for Democrats is that Republicans have yet to convince voters that they have a plan.

Obama Visit

One signpost for Democrats in the poll is the finding that just 26 percent of Americans say it would help a Democratic candidate in their area to get a visit from Obama, while 20 percent say it would hurt the candidate and 54 percent say it wouldn't matter or they don't know.

Obama's worst ratings are for his handling of the budget deficit, where 59 percent disapprove and 37 percent approve. It's his worst grade for that subject in any of four Bloomberg polls taken since September 2009. The Obama administration expects a record budget deficit this year of more than $1.5 trillion, or 10.6 percent of GDP, according to projections the White House released in February. It was $1.4 trillion for the 2008-2009 fiscal year, which covers the end of George W. Bush's presidency, and Obama has said that the current fiscal shortfall as well as the unemployment rate are inheritances from his Republican predecessor's administration.

"My biggest fear is we have people in government who don't have a clue about what is going on in the economy," says poll respondent Jim Heeter, 66, from Glendale, Arizona. "They have never run a business or had to make a payroll."

Economy, Health Care

Slim majorities disapprove of Obama's handling of the economy and health care. When it comes to creating jobs, he gets 46 percent approval, addressing problems on Wall Street, 42 percent support, running the war in Afghanistan, 46 percent approve, and managing the BP Plc oil spill, 46 percent support.

Forty-five percent say they have become more supportive in recent months of tougher regulations for Wall Street. The momentum is heading in the opposite direction from the White House and Democrats on most other issues.

Almost half say they have become less supportive in recent months of federal money being loaned to automotive companies to help them stay in business, while 37 percent have become less supportive of the health-care overhaul passed by Congress earlier this year. A majority, 61 percent, say the nation should wait and see how the health-care legislation works or leave it alone, while 37 percent want to see it repealed.

Arizona Immigration Law

Almost half of Americans say they have also grown more supportive of allowing local law enforcement to detain anyone who can't produce proof of citizenship when stopped for an offense, as is contemplated in an Arizona law. Obama has criticized the measure and the Justice Department has announced it plans to sue Arizona.

At least half of respondents also say they would be less likely to support candidates who voted to give financial assistance to the banking or automobile industries.

Americans are roughly divided on whether they would be more or less likely to support a candidate who voted against extending unemployment benefits because of concern over the cost. A measure providing such support worth $34 billion is stalled in Congress.

Clinton Popularity

The disaffection with Obama and Democrats doesn't carry over to all Democrats. Hillary Clinton, 62, is viewed favorably by 61 percent of respondents and a quarter of Americans, including 30 percent of Republicans and 21 percent of Democrats, say the nation would be in a better place if she had been elected president.

The Tea Party movement, which has been mainly associated with Republicans, has lukewarm support in the poll. A majority of 58 percent of all respondents says it would make no difference to them if a candidate was backed by Tea Party activists, while a third of Republicans say that kind of backing would make a candidate more appealing to them.

Those who are more likely to think the Tea Party is a simplistic and misguided movement -- 44 percent of all respondents -- include Democrats, 65 percent, and those with the highest incomes, 52 percent. Independent voters are divided on whether it is misguided or has rightly identified that the nation would be better served by reduced federal government, compared with 39 percent overall.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE RECENT INCIDENT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The Security Council deeply regrets the loss of life and injuries resulting from the use of force during the Israeli military operation in international waters against the convoy sailing to Gaza. The Council, in this context, condemns those acts which resulted in the loss of at least ten civilians and many wounded, and expresses its condolences to their families. The Security Council requests the immediate release of the ships as well as the civilians held by Israel. The Council urges Israel to permit full consular access, to allow the countries concerned to retrieve their deceased and wounded immediately, and to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance from the convoy to its destination. The Security Council takes note of the statement of the UN Secretary–General on the need to have a full investigation into the matter and it calls for a prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards. The Security Council stresses that the situation in Gaza is not sustainable. The Council re-emphasizes the importance of the full implementation of Resolutions 1850 and 1860. In that context, it reiterates its grave concern at the humanitarian situation in Gaza and stresses the need for sustained and regular flow of goods and people to Gaza as well as unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance throughout Gaza. The Security Council underscores that the only viable solution to Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an agreement negotiated between the parties and re-emphasizes that only a two-State solution, with an independent and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours, could bring peace to the region. The Security Council expresses support for the proximity talks and voices concern that this incident took place while the proximity talks are underway and urges the parties to act with restraint, avoiding any unilateral and provocative actions, and all international partners to promote an atmosphere of cooperation between the parties and throughout the region.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

Yes

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Jun 01 05:04:45 2010
Subject: Re: Fyi

Are you meeting me at shuttle?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 05:01:58 2010
Subject: Fyi

SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE RECENT INCIDENT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The Security Council deeply regrets the loss of life and injuries resulting from the use of force during the Israeli military operation in international waters against the convoy sailing to Gaza. The Council, in this context, condemns those acts which resulted in the loss of at least ten civilians and many wounded, and expresses its condolences to their families. The Security Council requests the immediate release of the ships as well as the civilians held by Israel. The Council urges Israel to permit full consular access, to allow the countries concerned to retrieve their deceased and wounded immediately, and to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance from the convoy to its destination. The Security Council takes note of the statement of the UN Secretary–General on the need to have a full investigation into the matter and it calls for a prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards. The Security Council stresses that the situation in Gaza is not sustainable. The Council re-emphasizes the importance of the full implementation of Resolutions 1850 and 1860. In that context, it reiterates its grave concern at the humanitarian situation in Gaza and stresses the need for sustained and regular flow of goods and people to Gaza as well as unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance throughout Gaza. The Security Council underscores that the only viable solution to Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an agreement negotiated between the parties and re-emphasizes that only a two-State solution, with an independent and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours, could bring peace to the region. The Security Council expresses support for the proximity talks and voices concern that this incident took place while the proximity talks are underway and urges the parties to act with restraint, avoiding any unilateral and provocative actions, and all international partners to promote an atmosphere of cooperation between the parties and throughout the region.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

I am on travel and will not return to the office until the afternoon of June 1. I will be reviewing e-mail intermittently. If you need immediate assistance please contact Marisa McAuliffe by phone at 202-647-2972 or email at McauliffeMS@state.gov.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/31/2035

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 6:08 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Text of EU-Russia statement on Gaza to be issued later today

Here is the text of the statement that will be released at the EU-Russia Summit. [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 1.4(B)

"The EU and Russia regret the loss of lives during the Israeli military operation against the Flotilla sailing to Gaza. The EU and Russia demand a full and impartial inquiry of the events and circumstances. The EU and Russia call for immediate opening of crossings for the flow of humanitarian aid, commercial goods and people to and from Gaza."

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tue Jun 01 05:20:43 2010
Subject: Re: Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

I've worked on this non-stop since yesterday am. Let's discuss at meeting today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 19:43:04 2010
Subject: Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

See below for a summary of Cathy Ashton's conversation w/ Lieberman from her policy planner. if there [redacted] B5 [redacted] AM

---

From: Schmid Helga [redacted] B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Mon May 31 07:19:32 2010
Subject: Teleconference HR Ashton/Israeli FM

Dear Anne Marie,
I am currently travelling with Cathy Ashton. She just spoke to Liberman [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Helga

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply:

I will be out of the office and not checking email Friday, May 28, 2010; Our offices will be closed Monday, May 31. I will be back in the office Tuesday, June 1.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May27, fyi, Sid

Call anytime. Sid
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Tue, 1 Jun 2010 06:58:44
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

Are you up? Can I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 12:49:21 2010
Subject: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

Netanyahu pleased: I didn't capitulate
Ben Caspit, Maariv, May 27 2010 [page 2 with front page lead; Hebrew original here <http://www.scribd.com/doc/32038200/Maariv-May27-10-Netanyahu-Says-He-Beat-Obama> and at bottom of post] In the course of intimate conversations over the past few weeks with top political officials and civil servants, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has said, according to his interlocutors, that he managed to defeat the US administration. Netanyahu is pleased by the fact that the Americans failed, so he said, to twist his arm and that ultimately, in the duel between him and the Obama administration, he was the one who emerged with the upper hand. We did not make concessions on our red lines and they failed to make us fold and to drag us to places we didn't want to go, said Netanyahu, according to people who heard him speak.
Netanyahu is convinced that he is not going to be forced to extend the settlement construction freeze, which is due to expire in September. According to senior officials in Jerusalem, an agreement has already been reached with the administration that the Israeli government will not announce an extension of the construction freeze in the territories, and the Americans will "make sure" that the Palestinians do not withdraw from the talks. Israel, however, will not take "aggressive" action and construction will be resumed only in areas that are clearly within the consensus inside the settlement blocs.
The Prime Minister's Bureau vigorously denied the above report. "The statements attributed to the prime minister are incorrect," said a spokesman in the Prime Minister's Bureau. "They were not said by Netanyahu in any forum. The reason is simple: the prime minister does not think that, Prime Minister Netanyahu holds in great esteem the commitment by President Obama and the administration to Israel's security and their efforts to renew the peace process in our region."
Eli Bardenstein adds: The formal invitation that Netanyahu received yesterday to meet with President Obama next week might attest to a radical change in the White House's attitude towards him. Political sources in Israel described the planned meeting as "the peak of the campaign for Israel and the Jews that has been pursued by the Obama administration in the past number of weeks." The sources said that the meeting was geared to put an end to the grave crisis that erupted some two months ago between the Obama administration and Netanyahu over the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict and particularly over the continued construction in East Jerusalem, and to mend the mistaken impression that was received as if Israel was "no longer an absolute ally of the United States."

That crisis, which was initiated by the Americans, elicited fierce criticism in the United States, and sparked a desire among members of the Obama administration to rectify the situation. Another reason for the administration's desire to end the crisis is the fear of failure in the upcoming Congressional elections in November. "The Democratic Party's coffers are empty. Many Democrat members of Congress and Senators have complained that if the hazing of Israel were to continue, they would be unable to obtain donations from Jews and were liable to lose the elections," said one source in Washington.

The prevalent assessment is that Netanyahu will be received far more warmly in Washington next week than he was two months ago. This time the meeting will be covered by the media and the two leaders are expected to have their picture taken together and to give statements to the media.

That said, sources in Washington noted that "Netanyahu is leery of the meeting with Obama and of walking into a trap once again. He knows that the smiles notwithstanding, behind closed doors he is going to have to give answers to very difficult questions, like 'how do you envision the end of the negotiations with the Palestinians.'"

Netanyahu is to begin his political travels today in Paris, where he is to attend the ceremony in honor of Israel's acceptance into the OECD. The prime minister will be arriving in a city that is on strike, which is liable to impede his movement through the city streets to the center of Paris for his meetings.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Davut mtg

Bill will be at prebrief, then has speech on India. Still checking with Jim.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 01, 2010 6:04 AM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Cc: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Re:

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 16:33:25 2010
Subject:

FISA director leaves legacy of collaboration

Breaking down barriers

Wednesday, May 26, 2010

By Tina Calabro, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Pam Panchak/Post-Gazette

FISA Foundation retiring executive director Dee Delaney, left, with the new executive director, Kristy Trautmann.

To people in the local disability community, Dee Delaney is a household name.

When news came this spring of her intention to retire as executive director of FISA Foundation in August, one could almost hear a collective gasp. With 14 years at the helm of the small but influential foundation, Ms. Delaney has had a pronounced and lasting influence on quality of life in our region.

On behalf of FISA, Ms. Delaney has changed the local landscape not only by funding projects with far-reaching results, but by bringing people together to craft solutions to longstanding problems and by becoming personally involved in many of the projects the foundation funds.

She became the first executive director of FISA Foundation when it began in 1996 with proceeds from the sale of Harmarville Rehabilitation Center, a nonprofit, to HealthSouth, a for-profit organization.

The new foundation would continue the mission of the Federation of Independent School Alumnae, an organization that opened a convalescent home for women in 1911 and the Harmarville Rehabilitation Center in 1954. That mission was to improve the lives of women, girls and people with disabilities in Western Pennsylvania.

Ms. Delaney, who had been involved with Harmarville since 1980 -- starting as a volunteer and ending as development director of its foundation -- sought the job of leading FISA. "I realized the impact the foundation could have. FISA is not a large foundation, but it's a very focused foundation," she said.

Over the past 14 years, FISA's endowment has grown to more than $38 million. Over $17 million has been granted to 726 projects in 298 organizations.

A roll call of projects funded by FISA reflects progressive thinking about including of people with disabilities in all aspects of life, especially access to health care. Programs have become national models.

Women with disabilities, for example, often encounter barriers in typical healthcare settings. Standard exam tables and diagnostic equipment were designed for the able-bodied, and medical staff often struggle to accommodate individuals with special needs. FISA provided the seed money for the Center for Women with Disabilities at Magee-Womens Hospital of UPMC, one of the first such clinics in the nation. FISA is involved in the overall issue of improving access to healthcare for people with disabilities.

Likewise, people with disabilities have difficulty obtaining dental care. A FISA-funded project at Achieva is creating statewide, systemic solutions. FISA also provided support for the Center for Patients with Special Needs at Pitt's School of Dental Medicine.

FISA has also taken the lead on training arts and cultural venues how to make events more accessible and helping places of worship more welcoming.

"Dee is a national leader in the field. If there were more people like her, we wouldn't have the issues we have," said Kim Hutchinson, executive director of the Disability Funders Network, based in Virginia. Ms. Delaney has been a board officer for the group since 2004.

Nancy Murray, president of the ARC of Greater Pittsburgh, said the issues Ms. Delaney has helped solve are ones that people have been working on for years.

"People talk about strategies, but never move forward to solutions. Dee brings all the stakeholders together to get to the solutions," said Ms. Murray.

"I think Dee has greatly influenced the next generation of nonprofit and philanthropic leaders, leading by example on the value of true collaboration," said Susie Chase, a board member of FISA and former executive director of Working Order, a FISA grantee.

"With Dee, it is never about her own role, or FISA's role, it is always about unmet needs in the community and the work that needs to be done. That seems to bring out the best in every partner, and in everyone who has the privilege of working with her."

Ms. Chase added that advice and technical assistance Ms. Delaney provided to Working Order "were of equal or greater value to the organization than the grant funds."

"I still, after many years, never come away from a meeting with Dee that I haven't learned something, been inspired to work harder, and understood more clearly the value of someone else's ideas and efforts."

In her retirement, Ms. Delaney plans to "give back to the community in new ways," she said. A new frontier is helping young people with disabilities prepare for employment and leadership. "We have to keep the fire burning."

On May 19, FISA announced that Kristy Trautmann, who has served as the foundation's program director for six years, was promoted to executive director.

"We sought a person who would follow Ms. Delaney's visionary leadership and guide the foundation into the next decade," said Jane Burger, who chaired the search committee. "We know that we have found such a person in Kristy Trautmann. She understands the challenges facing the populations the foundation supports and has the trust of the board and the community."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 'We're the only ones who believe them'

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Jun 01 10:10:28 2010
**Subject:** 'We're the only ones who believe them'

POLITICO

## 'We're the only ones who believe them'

By: Ben Smith

June 1, 2010 04:44 AM EDT

A delicate diplomatic maneuver by President Barack Obama to smooth frayed relations with Israel without alienating America's Arab allies may have been blown out of the water Monday morning by Israel's botched attempt to enforce the Gaza blockade – and by the lack of condemnation from Washington that followed it.

For while much about the incident remains unclear, a day of carefully parsed statements from the White House and State Department left at least one irrefutable aftershock: With much of the world expressing fury over the raid, the contrast with Washington's muted response could not have been more striking.

"The situation is that they're so isolated right now that it's not only that we're the only ones who will stick up for them," said an American official. "We're the only ones who believe them – and what they're saying is true."

The official was referring to Israeli protestations – backed by Israeli Defense Forces video – that their solders were attacked by passengers on a ship headed for Gaza with humanitarian aid, when they boarded the ship in what the Israelis concede were international waters.

Organizers of the flotilla, meanwhile, insisted that participants were unarmed and that Israeli forces used excessive force.

The timing of the incident had to be viewed with rueful irony among the administration's Middle East hands. Obama spent this spring damping down concern among American friends of Israel that his seeming feud with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had brought the administration to the verge of fundamentally altering the historic U.S. alliance with the Jewish state. Obama met personally with Jewish members of Congress and dispatched top officials to Jewish groups to stress the point, as the "anti-Bibi" rhetoric was simultaneously dialed back precipitously.

The charm offensive appears to have worked. But now an administration that itself has expressed its own fury toward Netanyahu and his government in the past now finds itself close to sharing Israel's isolation at the moment – a dynamic that could complicate Obama's outreach to the rest of the region.

Israel's traditional critics denounced the raid – the chief Palestinian peace negotiator, Saeb Erakat, called it a "war crime" – but so did some the countries Jerusalem counts as friendly. Turkey's Prime Minister described the incident as an act of "inhuman state terror" and Ankara withdrew its ambassador to Israel while the Conservative British Foreign Secretary took the occasion to call the Gaza blockade "unacceptable and counter-productive."

The White House, in sharp contrast, avoided any hint of criticism of the Israeli action in its public statements, and American officials appeared sympathetic to Israeli explanations that their soldiers were attacked by flotilla participants.

The U.S. "deeply regrets the loss of life and injuries sustained" in the Israeli raid, deputy White House press secretary Bill Burton said in the first of three carefully-modulated statements Monday, The administration, he said, is "working to understand the circumstances surrounding this tragedy."

The White House rendition of a call between Obama and Netanyahu also strained to avoid condemnation, and went out of the way to note that many of those wounded in the incident "are being treated in Israeli hospitals."

Six hours later, State Department spokesman PJ Crowley issued a third statement, adding that the U.S. expects that the Israeli government – the unstated emphasis was not the United Nations – "will conduct a free and credible investigation."

Crowley added an evenhanded paragraph calling on the Israelis to open Gaza to humanitarian aid, while simultaneously condemning the militant group Hamas, whose political control of Gaza prompted the blockade.

"Hamas' interference with international assistance shipments and work of nongovernmental organizations, and its use and endorsement of violence, complicates efforts in Gaza," Crowley said.

The immediate upshot of the statements from the United States and other countries is that Obama, perhaps surprisingly, finds himself in the same posture as his predecessors over the past 60 years – one that holds that the U.S. is far more willing to give the Israelis the benefit of the doubt on matters of security.

Washington "is always going to be the most reluctant major global actor to condemn Israeli excesses, and that is the position President Obama finds himself in right now," said Hussein Ibish, a Senior Fellow at The American Task Force on Palestine.

That position squares with the administration's apparent, reluctant rapprochement with Israeli's rightist leader – even if that burying of grudges had deep reverberations for the peace process.

"After wandering around for 15 months, vacillating between pandering to the Israelis and trying o punish them, they have decided they have to work out some kind of relationship with Netanyahu that allows them to do something serious," said Aaron David Miller, a former American peace negotiator. "They need to weather this crisis with the relationship with the Israelis north of where it is now."

The most immediate challenge, Miller said, will be steering a special session of the UN Security Council – called by Arab members – away from forcing the U.S. either to vote on condemning Israel's actions or to veto a resolution condemning them.

Observers of the process expect the U.S. to attempt to craft a resolution that doesn't condemn Israeli directly and doesn't establish any international investigation, like an earlier inquiry into Israel's actions in Gaza led by the former South African Judge Richard Goldstone.

Obama and other American officials stressed the need to study the details of the incident, as the Israeli government pointed to video of passengers on the ship – which was boarded in international waters – attacking Israeli commandos with what appeared to be chairs and metal poles.

"At this point, it is unclear what happened and there must be a thorough investigation," Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry said in a statement.

Others suggested that further probes may not change the initial reactions. "You can have an independent commission spend 3 or 4 months studying this thing and come out with something that is stunningly clear and factual, but it doesn't matter," said Miller. "People knew where they were before this episode started."

TRIBES

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Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 11:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** h: additional thought. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

June 1, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: One more thought…

Without "tough love," any support for Israel will lack credibility.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** American University of Central Asia

Madam Secretary,

In advance of your meeting tomorrow with George Soros, below is some information in response to the letter you received from Soros proposing increased USG support for the American University of Central Asia (AUCA). SCA favors providing more USG support for AUCA [redacted] B5

Since 9/11 the United States has provided more than $15 million to AUCA in support of its endowment and various other initiatives. For a majority of these contributions the Soros Foundation matched one dollar for every two dollars provided by the USG. The major USG contributions to AUCA were two grants to the university endowment, the first in 2003 for $10 million, the second in 2008 for $3 million. Other USG support for AUCA included funding for two advisors to the AUCA president on accreditation and development, support for the journalism faculty, and scholarship funds for students from Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan to attend the university.

Soros has proposed that the USG increase this support, offering a 1-1 match of $10 million each from State and his foundation, totaling $20 million over the next five years. Last fall SCA received the same proposal from Soros, and they have been discussing the issue with Soros' staff. [redacted] B5

A little bit of additional information from SCA on AUCA: The university has made significant progress this year on a number of its key objectives and remains a unique institution in Central Asia, a place where students are judged solely on merit and a forum for free expression and critical thinking. The university achieved an important milestone this year related to its U.S. accreditation, signing an agreement with Bard College under which AUCA graduates starting next May will receive full diplomas from Bard College, an institution accredited in the United States. In addition, AUCA recently established a new partnership with the American University in Kabul facilitated through state of the art video classroom technology and recently announced the appointment of Andrew Wachtel, from Northwestern University, as the new AUCA president who will take office this summer.

I will include this note (in addition to Soros' letter) in your materials for your meeting with Soros tomorrow. Please let me know if you would like any further information.

Thanks,
Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted] B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 6:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Votes

Your wish is my command . . .

----- Original Message -----
From: PRE
To: 'cheryl.mills
Sent: Tue Jun 01 18:28:18 2010
Subject: Votes

B6

As we spoke here is a tally of the total # of nominations to date:

Regional members: 22
Non regionals. 5
Total. 27

Total % of shares 55.582%

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Back to the future

I will prepare for you to sign tomorrow. I just love her sense of humor!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Tue Jun 01 22:13:25 2010
Subject: Fw: Back to the future

Pls do letter to margaret.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 08:45:17 2010
Subject: FW: Back to the future

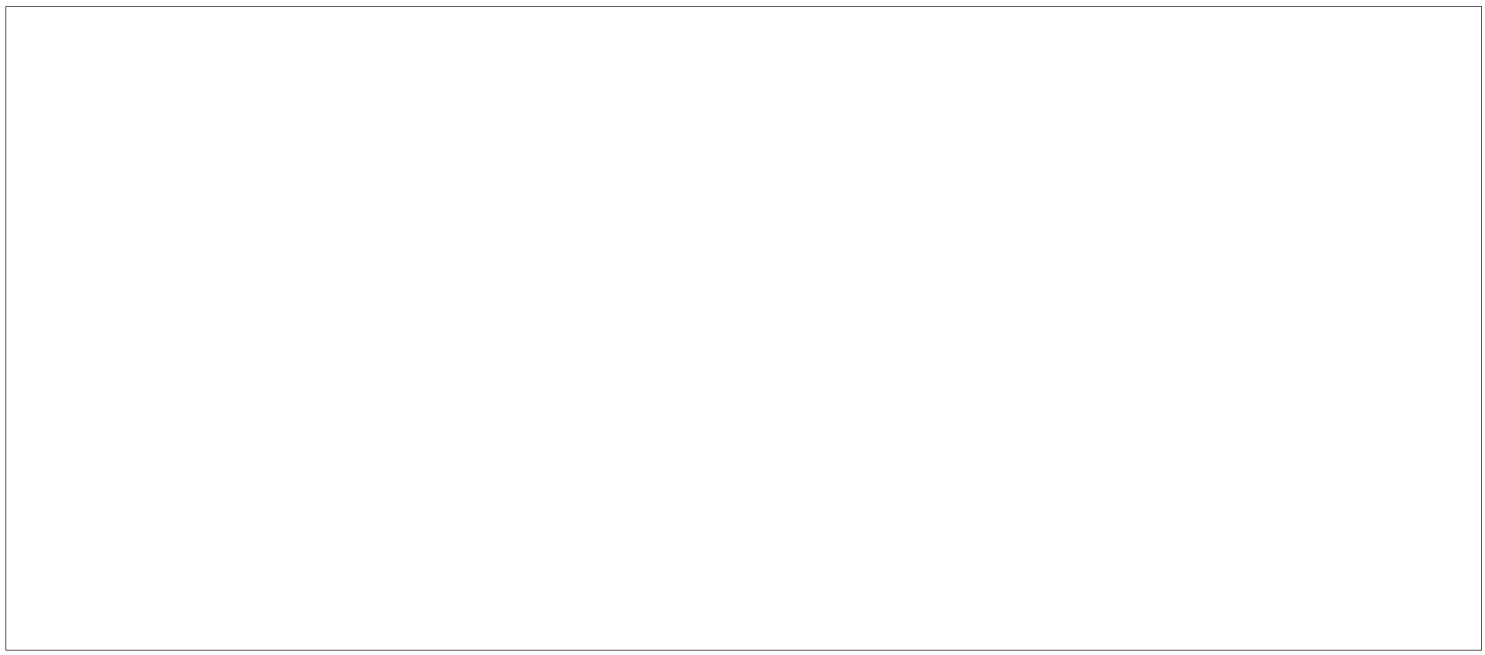
fyi

From: Margaret V. W. Carpenter [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, June 01, 2010 8:23 AM

[redacted]

Subject: Back to the future

[redacted]



B6

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule Wednesday 6/2/10

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **BI-WEEKLY MEETING w/MANAGEMENT TEAM**

10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UNDER SECRETARIES**

10:45 am Secretary's Conference Room

10:50 am **VIDEOS (6)**

11:10 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

11:15 am **PHOTOS (4 groups)**

11:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:30 am **GROUP PHOTO w/VISITING MIDDLE EAST DEMOCRACY**

11:40 am **ACTIVISTS PARTICIPATING IN MIDDLE EAST PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE**

Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:45 am **OFFICE TIME**

12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **MEETING w/JACK LEW**

1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **MEETING w/JEFF FELTMAN**

1:45 pm Secretary's Office

1:45 pm **MEETING w/ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER**

2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **MEETING w/INDIAN EDUCATION MINISTER KAPIL SIBAL**

2:45 pm Secretary's Conference Room

3:00 pm **PRE-BRIEF FOR THE INDIA STRATEGIC DIALOGUE**

4:00 pm Secretary's Office

4:00 pm **MEETING w/SANDY WEILL**

4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:45 pm **MEETING w/GEORGE SOROS**

5:15 pm Secretary's Office

5:30 pm **MEETING w/MELANNE VERVEER**

6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:15 pm (t) **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:25 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence ###

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Best commentary. Sid

"It was worse than a crime. It was a blunder." Talleyrand.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Jeremy Greenstock has an interesting approach. Sid

# Gaza: it's Hamas's move now

Hamas must seize the initiative if there is ever to be an end to Israel's occupation of Palestine

- Jeremy Greenstock
- guardian.co.uk, Wednesday 2 June 2010 12.29 BST

So it has happened again. Nearly 18 months after the Israelis bombed Gaza to a wasteland, with barely a load of building materials allowed in since then, Turkey has taken the brunt of an operation of humanitarian assistance gone wrong. The UN must establish the facts impartially and independently and, if laws have been broken, those responsible must be held to account. Political demonstrations posing as relief flotillas go wrong too easily and Israel understandably has to prevent weapons being smuggled into Gaza. But was this really the best way to bring the ships to shore for examination? A commando attack on civilian ships looks callous and disproportionate. No one should have been hurt, whatever the emotions behind all this.

Why is Gaza under siege in the first place? Under international law, the Israelis are responsible as the occupying force for the proper administration of the territory; and half the point of Israel is not to be above the law. Yet they are creating a traumatised territory of 1.5m neighbours, many of whose children seem to want to grow up to be suicide bombers. They are also pouring fertiliser on al-Qaida's ground.

The director of UNRWA operations in Gaza, John Ging, gave a speech in London this week entitled "Illegal, inhuman and insane: a medieval siege on Gaza in 2010". This objective humanitarian practitioner should be listened to. How has Israel, the only democracy in its region and a symbol of the need for racially inspired violence to end, come to risk any claim to international legitimacy in its handling of this situation?

Hamas are the enemy of Israel, but they do not have to be. They preach violent resistance too readily, yet over the past 17 months they have been trying to control the militant groups intent on threatening Israel with rockets – imperfectly perhaps, but not a single Israeli citizen has been killed (alas, one immigrant worker was) by a rocket since the Gaza bombing stopped in January 2009. They are also the implacable opponents of al-Qaida. They won a fair election in 2006 and claim to respect democracy. Let's test them on that. At present, Hamas security people are being sniped at by the Israeli Defence Forces when they try to arrest other militant groups. This is genuinely getting insane.

The unwisdom of reliance on angry military responses is all the clearer when the mood in Palestine, in both the West Bank and Gaza, is steadily moving towards a negotiated end to the occupation. I am convinced from my own direct experience that Hamas is prepared to establish and respect a long-term ceasefire so that the talking can start without the threat of violence, and that they would enter in good faith, if that were reciprocated, into negotiations to establish two states in the disputed territories, Israel and Palestine, with their own rights and responsibilities under international law. The distortion of their position, a little of it the fault of their own PR, does no side any good.

If a comprehensive negotiation is too much to expect for now, what about a first step? I believe an arrangement to end the blockade is within reach if only Israel, Egypt and Gaza would test the possibilities of dialogue. Hamas have indicated that they could cease all attacks on Israeli soil, close the tunnels, release Gilead Shalit and stop the import of arms into Gaza if the blockade was ended, an agreed number of Palestinian prisoners were released and Gaza began to be rebuilt.

The Palestinians of course have work to do on their own internal reconciliation, while the relationship between Fatah in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza remains so bad. But the UN, the US, Russia, the EU and the Arab world must make a much more serious attempt to test the possibilities, putting ordinary Israelis and Palestinians first, not their own political comfort.

We are coming close to losing the chance of a two-state solution. US policy, based on a West-Bank-only approach, is locked in a cul-de-sac if Gaza is left out of the equation, because majority Palestinian support will be lacking. Israel is confident in the knowledge that it cannot be militarily defeated.

But that ignores the huge danger of losing the political, diplomatic, legal and moral high ground. This matters in today's world, as the US and the UK discovered in Iraq, because government authority and public opinion interact closely, and legitimacy breeds support.

Israel's relationship with Turkey was the key to a broader understanding with the Islamic community and others beyond the west. That now lies in tatters. If Israel is left as the permanent occupier, or controlling a one-state structure with part of its population downgraded or imprisoned, it will truly be a disaster for its people and what they stand for.

I hope that Hamas will not sit back and enjoy Israel's discomfiture. They have so far, for a political organisation, attracted much too narrow a range of international support. If they wish to be widely accepted as a negotiating partner, they must unequivocally accept the only fully justified condition set by the international Quartet – the cessation of violence – underline that their objective is a two-state settlement, and win international friends for the ending of the occupation. In whoever's hands, bombs, bullets, rockets and iron bars will achieve nothing. But a push for justice will.

• This article was originally written for the Times but not published

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From Bob Blake

FYI:

USIBC Launches New Education Initiative to Strengthen K-12, Vocational, and Higher Education Linkages in the U.S. and India

June 2, 2010 - Washington, DC - On the occasion of its 35th anniversary, and looking ahead to the global economy of the future, the U.S.-India Business Council (USIBC) today announced the launch of a new initiative aimed at strengthening institutional linkages between academia, industry and NGOs focusing on the elementary, vocational and higher education sectors in both countries.

"The United States and India must be committed partners in building the workforce of tomorrow, a partnership that will unleash opportunity, spur growth and sustain prosperity not just in our countries but across the global community," said Harold McGraw III, incoming USIBC Chairman and Chairman, President and CEO of The McGraw-Hill Companies. "To do this, we must focus on strengthening our educational ties at every level. By working together our two countries can equip the next generation with the education and skills necessary to compete and win in the global economy."

Mr. McGraw gave the keynote address before a packed audience of over 400 U.S. and Indian business, government, and education leaders at USIBC's 35th Anniversary Summit, entitled "A Pivotal Period in U.S.-India Relations: Tackling Education, Infrastructure and Inclusive Growth."

On the eve of the first-ever U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue, India's Union Minister of External Affairs, SM Krishna, U.S. Education Secretary Arne Duncan, India's Minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal, and India's Ambassador to the United States, Meera Shankar, joined hundreds of top business leaders in Washington to participate in the U.S.-India Business Council 35th anniversary deliberations.

USIBC's Education Initiative will serve as a dynamic platform for business, NGOs, and academia to provide vital input into both the U.S. and Indian governments - such that the synergies between American and Indian business and educational communities are unleashed.

"We can talk about strategic, defense, civil nuclear, renewable energy and every other type of commercial cooperation, but if we do not develop the skill sets in our respective societies to sustain such collaboration, all this talk will never be successfully converted to action," Ron Somers, President of the U.S.-India Business Council, noted. "How fortunate it is that families across all walks of life in both our societies so highly value education. We have much to learn from one another, and much to accomplish - to prepare for the challenges of the 21st Century," Somers said.

The USIBC Education initiative will focus on three thrust areas:

1. Higher Education: USIBC will host the U.S.-India Higher Education Forum (HEF) at the invitation of the U.S. and Indian governments. The HEF will serve as the premier platform to enlist academia, industry and NGOs to strengthen linkages between U.S. and Indian educational institutions from both countries. The HEF will provide a formalized network for industry, academia and the NGO community to provide direct policy input to the U.S. and Indian governments in all areas of education, with an aim to facilitate greater collaboration, including the opening of India's higher education sector.

2. Elementary K-12 Education : USIBC has embarked on a survey of rural and urban, private and public K-12 schools throughout India to identify best practices that are working well in educating students, while assessing needs where industry, NGOs and government may join together to fill gaps. With the support of Ryan International Group, one of India's leading educators, both financial and intellectual resources will be mobilized to transform these and other schools in a manner that promotes replication of successful models across India.

3. Vocational Training and Skills Development : USIBC will partner with its member-companies to feature Case Studies of Vocational Training and Skills Development that are being implemented across India. The exercise will attempt to enlist more corporations to participate in this important area of human capacity building. Programs helping to train thousands of workers will generate employment opportunities and sustain economic growth now and for the long future - in both countries.

India is embarked on expanding its community college system, including technical training institutions, as well as inviting interest in implementing 30,000 new colleges and 1,500 universities over the next decade.
The United States continues to be the most sought after destination for Indian students studying overseas, attracting as many as 113,000 each year to American universities and colleges. The U.S. wishes to remain a magnet for attracting the best and the brightest from around the world by promoting institutional partnerships between U.S. based educational institutions and new counterparts. Integral to this core knowledge infrastructure, industry must be involved in this enterprise.

The McGraw-Hill Companies (NYSE: MHP) is a global information and education company providing knowledge, insights and analysis in the financial, education and business information sectors through leading brands including Standard & Poor's, McGraw-Hill Education, J.D. Power and Associates and Platts. McGraw-Hill established business operations in India 40 years ago. Through its partnership with CRISIL, India's leading ratings, research, and risk and policy advisory company, Standard & Poor's is helping facilitate access to capital to drive economic growth and job creation in the country. Through its partnership with Tata, McGraw-Hill Education is delivering innovative, digital solutions to help workers acquire the 21st century skills they need to succeed in today's global economy. India is home to McGraw-Hill's largest employee population outside of the U.S. and is the company's fourth largest market.

The U.S.-India Business Council, formed in 1975 at the request of the Government of India and the U.S. Government to advance commercial ties between the world's two largest free-market democracies, is hosted under the aegis of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is the world's largest business federation representing more than 3 million businesses and organizations of every size, sector, and region. The U.S.-India Business Council celebrates its 35th Anniversary at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on June 2, 2010 in Washington, D.C. For more information please visit www.usibc.com .
www.usibc.com

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'Cheryl Mills'; Jake Sullivan (DOS)
**Subject:** follow up on Afghan matter

Hillary, as promised, I connected with Bruce Jones at NYU about Spanta. Bruce got in touch offered to help Spanta put together an arrangement at NYU that might have a Brookings offshoot. Spanta said he needed to decide with Karzai whether in fact the timing was right for him to leave. He just got back in touch with Bruce saying he's decided to stay on a bit longer. That said, he's agreed to participate in some Track II regional work that Bruce has underway. All in all, it sounds as though this has ended up in the right place for now. Bruce, Martin and I will be open to other NY/DC possibilities down the road when Spanta's situation changes. Thanks again for the truly terrific event at Brookings. Regards, Strobe

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 6:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: VPOTUS on Charlie Rose Tonight, comments on Flotilla

**Fyi**

---

**From:** Pelton, Erin
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 02, 2010 6:23 PM
**To:** NEA-IPA-DL; NEA-Press-DL
**Subject:** VPOTUS on Charlie Rose Tonight, comments on Flotilla

HAARETZ.com

# Biden: Israel right to stop Gaza flotilla from breaking blockade

## VP Biden tells Charlie Rose that the Israel Navy might not have needed to drop commandos onto the Gaza-bound ship, but insists that Israel is entitled to defend its security.

By Natasha Mozgovaya Tags: Joe Biden Gaza flotilla

U.S. Vice President Joe Biden on Wednesday defended Israel's blockade of the Gaza Strip and its decision to intercept the pro-Palestinian flotilla bringing humanitarian aid to the coastal territory, though he did not go so far as to defend the Israel Navy raid that killed nine people two days earlier.

In an interview with Charlie Rose, Biden pointed out that Israel had given pro-Palestinian activists the option of unloading their cargo at the Ashdod port, and offered to bring it to the Gaza Strip on their behalf.

"They've said, 'Here you go. You're in the Mediterranean. This ship -- if you divert slightly north you can unload it and we'll get the stuff into Gaza,'", he said. "So what's the big deal here? What's the big deal of insisting it go straight to Gaza? Well, it's legitimate for Israel to say, 'I don't know what's on that ship. These guys are dropping... 3,000 rockets on my people.

"Look, you can argue whether Israel should have dropped people onto that ship or not -- but the truth of the matter is, Israel has a right to know -- they're at war with Hamas -- has a right to know whether or not arms are being smuggled in."

During the interview, Biden also blamed Hamas for the crisis that has wracked the coastal territory and for the ongoing state of conflict with Israel.

"As we put pressure, and the world put pressure on Israel to let material go into Gaza to help those people who are suffering, the ordinary Palestinians there, what happened? Hamas would confiscate it, put it in a warehouse [and] sell it.

"So the problem is this would end tomorrow if Hamas agreed to form a government with the Palestinian Authority on the conditions the international community has set up," Biden told Rose.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Votes

I am currently traveling outside of the country with limited access to email. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv (ToivNF@state.gov) or Joanne Laszczych, (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

If it is an emergency after business hours, please reach out to our Operations Center to have them reach me.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Just emailed Ms Cheryl to help co-ordinate a time -love you and thanks for keeping the world together-"Fourth Turning"...might want to re-read the ending chapters of Neil Howe and Bill Strauss book-love you so

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Jun 02 22:03:08 2010
Subject: Fw: Just emailed Ms Cheryl to help co-ordinate a time -love you and thanks for keeping the world together-"Fourth Turning"...might want to re-read the ending chapters of Neil Howe and Bill Strauss book-love you so

Pls get me a copy of this book from the library. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 18:42:24 2010
Subject: Just emailed Ms Cheryl to help co-ordinate a time -love you and thanks for keeping the world together-"Fourth Turning"...might want to re-read the ending chapters of Neil Howe and Bill Strauss book-love you so

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, May 30, 2010 6:28 PM
To: Roy Spence
Subject: Re: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office

Well. [redacted] When B6
will come in so we can catch up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence <[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 09:40:01 2010
Subject: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office

Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office
<http://www.openleft.com/diary/18891/hillary-clinton-is-now-the-most-popular-politician-in-america-who-has-held-elected-office>

by: Chris Bowers <http://www.openleft.com/user/Chris%20Bowers>

Fri May 28, 2010 at 14:00

Here is a weekend factoid for you: among all living politicians in the United States who have ever held elected office, Hillary Clinton the most popular.

That's right. Ever since she became Secretary of State, her favorables have soared into the mid-60's <http://www.pollingreport.com/C2.htm#Hillary> , putting her well clear of any other statewide officeholder in the country. The only national figures who are viewed as favorably as Clinton are Michelle Obama <http://www.pollingreport.com/o.htm#Michelle> , Colin Powell <http://www.pollingreport.com/p.htm#Powell> , and David Patraeus <http://www.pollingreport.com/p.htm#Petraeus> . However, they have never run for office, which invariably lowers your favorables.

Hillary Clinton will turn 69 in in the final week of the 2016 campaign, which makes her slightly younger than Ronald Reagan when he first was elected in 1980. Also, as Secretary of State, a major presidential candidate, a U.S. Senator, and First Lady, she is also probably more credentialed than any other potential Presidential candidate, too. There is even talk she may become the next Secretary of Defense <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0510/37672.html> , further adding to her credentials.

Some have said that, in choosing Joe Biden as Vice-President, Barack Obama did not pick a successor to lead the Democratic Party. However, that needs rethinking. Because Barack Obama made her Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton remains remarkably well-positioned to run for President in 2016, even more so than she was in 2008.

Anyway, have a good holiday weekend.

Chris Bowers <http://www.openleft.com/userDiary.do?personId=9> :: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office <http://www.openleft.com/showDiary.do?diaryId=18891>

Ride at Dawn

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----------ideacity.legal.disclaimer.01112008

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Any news to report?

Nothing that can't keep. Actually somewhat quiet night.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Jun 02 22:13:30 2010
Subject: Any news to report?

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Warning story

Will track down

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jun 03 07:31:12 2010
Subject: Warning story

According to WPost and PJ, US govt warned Israel about handling the flotilla.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 8:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Fyi – cir to team for addressing as appropriate

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

In my last email (Friday, 5/28), I attached the letter from the bipartisan Co-Chairs and Executive Committee members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission sent to Assistant Secretary Mike Posner expressing grave concern about the **recent rise in death threats, attacks and murders of Colombian human rights defenders, religious, community and other NGO leaders.** Congressman McGovern also **strongly encouraged the Secretary to meet with representatives of those organizations and individuals being threatened,** with a particularly effort to reach out to and invite the Bishops of Tumaco (Nariño), Barrancabermeja/Medio Magdalena (Santander), and we would now add Putumayo, since the Colombian Catholic Church just advised us yesterday of increased death threats against religious workers there. In addition, we recommended inviting Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao, director of Pastoral Social, at the Archdiocese in Bogotá, who represents all the pastoral work of the Church throughout the country, as well as representatives from the Mennonite and Lutheran churches, in particular.

While in Colombia, the most important thing the Secretary can do is **avoid effusive praise for President Álvaro Uribe**, who leaves office in August. Inside Colombia, the visit by the Secretary is being described as focusing solely on the free trade agreement and continuing support of the counterdrug strategy/Plan Colombia. Without changes in the human rights situation and the culture of impunity, it is unlikely that anything the Secretary might say or do will alter the equation on Capitol Hill regarding the trade agreement. It should be noted that the October 2008 GAO report on the counter-drug operations in Colombia concluded that U.S. assistance was successful in increasing security in parts of the country, but a failure in the areas of counter-narcotics (GAO-09-71). and a subsequent April 2009 USAID evaluation on U.S. aid for Plan Colombia for illegal crop reduction and Colombian counternarcotics policies actually contribute to increased coca production.

The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" and failed even to mention any concerns.

These concerns are of critical importance, and while the Secretary need not list them all, at least some deserve public acknowledgement – some recognition that it is important to the United States that Colombia, including the current government and its successor, show the necessary political will to deal with them:

- A sharp rise in alleged military killings of civilians. In many cases, these are so-called **"false positives"**: non-combatants murdered and later presented as members of armed groups killed in combat. These, notes UN Special Rapporter for Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston, "began occurring with a disturbing frequency across Colombia from 2004." Citing prosecutors' and NGOs' reports, Alston indicates that Colombia's security forces may have killed 1,486 civilians during the first six years of Álvaro Uribe's presidency. Alston notes that the Defense Ministry only began to address the situation after the media broke the story of the false-positives and the subsequent negative publicity and horrified public outcry.

  The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison, pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

- Mounting allegations that the President's intelligence service, **the DAS**, was put at the service of paramilitary leaders and narcotraffickers; used to spy on and intimidate Supreme Court justices, opposition politicians, journalists and human rights defenders; and employed in a campaign of sabotage and smears against political opponents.

  Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency, though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

- President Uribe's political coalition has also been hit by a scandal known in Colombia as **"para-politics."** This coalition has included dozens of political bosses from regions beyond the capital. Many are large landholders with ties to narcotrafficking, the same local leaders who created and fostered the brutal pro-government paramilitary groups that killed tens of thousands of non-combatants in the 1990s and early 2000s.

  Evidence, much of it from former paramilitary leaders, has brought about 300 criminal investigations against legislators, governors, mayors and other local officials, nearly all of them Álvaro Uribe's political supporters, who made common cause with the far-right warlords. To date, of the 278 congresspeople and senators elected in 2006, 68 are under official investigation, on trial, or convicted for paramilitary ties. Those embroiled in parapolitics include the President's cousin, Mario Uribe; the brother of his former foreign

minister; and individuals whom the President had named to be Colombia's ambassadors to Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Canada.

The Colombian prosecutors, investigators, witnesses and non-governmental organizations trying to uncover the truth about these abuses are working under conditions of great personal risk. They, too, are heroes and would benefit greatly from **a public expression of concern about the cases they are investigating, and a reminder that their work is legitimate and important to U.S. interests in Colombia**.

At the same time, it is important to **avoid appearing to endorse any candidate in the June 20 runoff elections.** Between the first and second rounds of a country's presidential election is a politically awkward time for a high-level official visit. Though President Uribe's former defense minister, Juan Manuel Santos, is the overwhelming favorite given his margin of success in the May 30th first round of balloting over former Bogotá mayor Antanas Mockus, it is necessary at this stage to convey a sense of balance and a willingness to work closely with whoever wins. As a result, any kind words for one candidate should be balanced by praise for the other.

Finally, it would be helpful to remind the Colombian people that **the United States supports a peaceful resolution of Bogotá's worsening differences with Venezuela**. While President Chávez's behavior is a significant concern, it would be most unhelpful to be perceived on this trip as fanning the flames of conflict with Colombia – or playing into the Chavez rhetoric that the U.S. and Colombia have military aspirations in the region.

Hope this memo, along with last week's copy of the TLHRC letter to Assistant Secretary Posner, are helpful and useful materials for the Secretary as she plans her trip.

Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov)

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy < [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** Bonnie Klehr; [redacted] John Ryan; Susan Mcnamara; Ernest Ricketts; haley. [redacted] Corrine Ebeling; Delano, Omorinsola; Claps, Rocco B6 B6
**Subject:** Sad news

# Boys home closing, but numbers don't tell full story

**By Burt Constable | Daily Herald Columnist**

Published: 6/3/2010 12:01 AM

When the goal is turning around lives of young abused and neglected boys, filling out the scoresheet is more complicated than simply marking wins or losses.

For the past 15 years, Ann G. Deuel has lived in Arlington Heights, but her heart has resided in Jamal Place, a three-story graystone at 1335 S. California Ave. in the North Lawndale neighborhood of Chicago. As a founder and executive director of Jamal Place, Deuel can tell countless stories about the boys, ages 11 to 17, who have spent time in the group home and about the army of suburbanites from St. Charles, Naperville, Lake Zurich and Lisle who have volunteered, donated and served on the board to help those kids. Lots of people in that field have good things to say about Deuel and Jamal Place.

But when the new fiscal year begins on July 1, the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services will not renew its contract with Jamal Place, forcing those kids to go to other facilities.

"To shut us down and deny kids this opportunity is unconscionable," says Deuel, as she takes a deep breath and dabs at her eyes in an attempt to keep her emotions in check.

She and her staff operated last year through a $1,041,000 contract with DCFS to provide a group home for 10 wards of the state. They've carved out a wonderful reputation in 15 years, so what happened?

The easy answer is that DCFS put the group home under a new performance-based contracting system that determined Jamal Place fell short of benchmarks for keeping kids from running away, requiring hospitalization or ending up in juvenile detention.

"Taxpayers expect and deserve positive results in the children we serve," says DCFS spokesman Kendall Marlowe. Jamal Place simply didn't measure up in the areas the state measures.

Because Illinois has trimmed the number of wards of the state from a high of 52,000 in 1997 to only 15,500, a much higher percentage of those kids have mental illnesses, substance abuse or other problems. Since the state measures an agency's performance by days that the kids are physically present in the home, Jamal Place, with its small population, got bad marks when a child was hospitalized for a mental-health issue or detained by a judge.

"We did what was clinically advisable for these children and we got dinged for it," says Brian Barclay, assistant executive director of Jamal Place. "We did what was in kids' best interest."

There is no consideration given for "incremental improvements in youth behavior, which occur as trusting relationships develop," Deuel notes. "I wish they could find a way to measure the individual aspects."

When compared with similar facilities, Jamal Place graded lower, Marlowe says, adding that it "isn't a happy day" when the state ends an agreement with a facility that has "good people" and has done "good work" in the past. He says DCFS did renew a contract with Deuel for a different transitional living facility that serves an older population.

One of Jamal Place's "unfavorable" outcomes involves a kid who already had a criminal record when he came to the group home at age 14. Now 17, he says he ended up in juvenile court after he made a mistake by hanging with the wrong people on the day when he stole a woman's purse.

"I've got a good relationship with the staff and residents. We did things as a family," says the teen, who now is living with a grandmother. "I love my grandmother, but I'd rather be at Jamal Place. I'm trying to do everything in my power to get back to Jamal Place."

Intangibles aren't part of the bureaucratic process. There isn't a place on an evaluation form to give credit to Deuel and her staff for leading the effort that closed a local "crack house." There's no way to measure the improvements in a former resident that led him for the first time to sign "love" before his name on the Mother's Day card he sent Deuel this year. There's no scoresheet for the local gang leader who stopped preying on Jamal kids when he was confronted by Deuel and recognized her as the woman who gave him a Christmas present a few years earlier. The interview for this story is interrupted when that man calls Deuel, who is helping him find a legitimate job.

"It is enormously frustrating to me that the attachment the boys develop with our staff members is not a 'measurable' outcome," Deuel says. "These are our children. Long after DCFS is done with these kids, our door is still open."

Last weekend, many former residents came back to explain how Jamal Place helped them. On June 26, Jamal Place will celebrate its 15th anniversary with a picnic and walkathon in Douglas Park, across the street from the home. Deuel and her staff are hoping DCFS finds a way to give them more time, another year to continue its mission.

"I've always maintained that God won't let us fail," says Deuel. "For 15 years, that's been the case, and now we've got this challenge."

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

fyi

---

**From:** Brownfield, William R
**Sent:** Thursday, June 03, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Cheryl

[redacted] B5

Feel free to share if you wish.
WRB

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thursday, June 03, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Kelly, Craig A; Brownfield, William R; Fuchs, Michael H; Baer, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

See b/l re travel to columbia

---

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

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The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" and failed even to mention any concerns.

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  The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb

of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison, pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

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  Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency, though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

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  Evidence, much of it from former paramilitary leaders, has brought about 300 criminal investigations against legislators, governors, mayors and other local officials, nearly all of them Álvaro Uribe's political supporters, who made common cause with the far-right warlords. To date, of the 278 congresspeople and senators elected in 2006, 68 are under official investigation, on trial, or convicted for paramilitary ties. Those embroiled in parapolitics include the President's cousin, Mario Uribe; the brother of his former foreign minister; and individuals whom the President had named to be Colombia's ambassadors to Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Canada.

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Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Call To Bongo on Iran Postponed by a Day

FYI.

---

**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**Sent:** Thursday, June 03, 2010 8:25 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Mull, Stephen D; Cook, Akunna E; Yamamoto, Donald Y
**Subject:** Call To Bongo on Iran Postponed by a Day

Jake: FYI: President Bongo was reportedly tied up in a marathon cabinet meeting today following his return from Nice, and could not speak with me as arranged. My call to Bongo has been rescheduled for Friday morning. I will provide you with feedback after I connect with him. Regards, Johnnie

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 6:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls confirmed

7:30 Ukranian Foreign Minister Gryshchenko
8 Greek Prime Minister Papandreou

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 7:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

I've already asked him. Waiting to hear back

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Jun 04 07:40:03 2010
Subject: Re: Fyi

What does Bill Burns think? I'd rather do it later so I can get ready to go.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 04 07:21:24 2010
Subject: Fyi

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 7:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bill recommends that u talk to yang. I can see if he can do right after greek call? Give u a little more time.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Gaza

Roger - will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jun 04 08:07:10 2010
Subject: Gaza

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | B5 |
| | Pls see the memcon for details. | |

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 9:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo israel ideas 060110.docx; hrc memo israel ideas 060110.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

June 4, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Israel crisis

Some articles you may not have seen: 1. Anthony H. Cordesman's analysis, posted at CSIS, "Israel as a Strategy Liability?" is being widely discussed and circulated; 2. Max Blumenthal, who is now reporting from Israel, writing a book on the crisis of democracy there, details from the Israeli press how the raid was long planned and who approved it, how the Netanyahu government is stirring up support, and the internal consequences (see the detail on the Facebook page urging the assassination of an Israeli-Arab member of the Knesset, and the actions of Bibi's allies); 3. David Ignatius's column today in the Washington Post, with detail on how Turkey thought it was encouraged by Obama in its initiative with Brazil on Iran and then felt the limb was cut off, among other things. I myself picked this up earlier from chatter among diplomats from Arab countries in DC. True or not, distorted or accurate, it is what the Arabs believe. Their view is that Obama will be reelected and there will be no progress at all in the Middle East for six years and they are planning accordingly—US influence at ebb tide. Did any boys at the NSC encourage the Turks as reported? Better? Worse? It's around and accepted as truth to the point that Ignatius reports it. 4. Leon Wieseltier, literary editor at The New Republic, bellwether of the higher center-slightly right Zionist opinion, on the self-undermining Israeli approach; and 5. Letter to the NY Times by Dan Kurzman, biographer of Rabin and Ben Gurion.

Published on *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (http://csis.org)
Home > Publications > Content

# Israel as a Strategic Liability?

*Anthony H. Cordesman*
Related Regions:

Israel/Palestine [1]
Related Regions:
Middle East [2]

America's ties to Israel are not based primarily on U.S. strategic interests. At the best of times, an Israeli government that pursues the path to peace provides some intelligence, some minor advances in military technology, and a potential source of stabilizing military power that could help Arab states like Jordan. Even then, however, any actual Israeli military intervention in an Arab state could prove as destabilizing as beneficial. The fact is that the real motives behind America's commitment to Israel are moral and ethical. They are a reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust, to the entire history of Western anti-Semitism, and to the United States' failure to help German and European Jews during the period before it entered World War II. They are a product of the fact that Israel is a democracy that shares virtually all of the same values as the United States. The U.S. commitment to Israel is not one that will be abandoned. The United States has made this repeatedly clear since it first recognized Israel as a state, and it has steadily strengthened the scale of its commitments since 1967. The United States has provided Israel with massive amounts of economic aid and still provides enough military assistance to preserve Israel's military superiority over its neighbors. The United States has made it clear that any U.S. support for Arab-Israeli peace efforts must be based on options that preserve Israel's security, and its recent announcements that it will consider "extended regional deterrence" are code words for a U.S. commitment that could guard Israel, as well as its neighbors, against an Iranian nuclear threat.

At the same time, the depth of America's moral commitment does not justify or excuse actions by an Israeli government that unnecessarily make Israel a strategic liability when it should remain an asset. It does not mean that the United States should extend support to an Israeli government when that government fails to credibly pursue peace with its neighbors. It does not mean that the United States has the slightest interest in supporting Israeli settlements in the West Bank, or that the United States should take a hard-line position on Jerusalem that would effectively make it a Jewish rather than a mixed city. It does not mean that the United States should be passive when Israel makes a series of major strategic blunders--such as persisting in the strategic bombing of Lebanon during the Israeli-Hezbollah conflict, escalating its attack on Gaza long after it had achieved its key objectives, embarrassing the U.S. president by announcing the expansion of Israeli building programs in east Jerusalem at a critical moment in U.S. efforts to put Israeli-Palestinian peace talks back on track, or sending commandos to seize a Turkish ship in a horribly mismanaged effort to halt the "peace flotilla" going to Gaza. It is time Israel realized that it has obligations to the United States, as well as the United States to Israel, and that it become far more careful about the extent to which it test the limits of U.S. patience and exploits the support of American Jews. This does not mean taking a single action that undercuts Israeli security, but it does mean realizing that Israel should show enough discretion to reflect the fact that it is a tertiary U.S. strategic interest in a complex and demanding world.

Israel's government should act on the understanding that the long-term nature of the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship will depend on Israel clearly and actively seeking peace with the Palestinians—the kind of peace that is in Israel's own strategic interests. Israelis should understand that the United States opposes expansion and retention of its settlements and its efforts to push Palestinians out of greater Jerusalem. Israeli governments should plan Israeli military actions that make it clear that Israel will use force only to the level actually required, that carefully consider humanitarian issues from the start, and that have a clear post-combat plan of action to limit the political and strategic impact of its use of force. And Israel should not conduct a high-risk attack on Iran in the face of the clear U.S. "red light" from both the Bush and Obama administrations. Israel should be sensitive to the fact that its actions directly affect U.S. strategic interests in the Arab and Muslim worlds, and it must be as sensitive to U.S. strategic concerns as the United States is to those of Israel.

The United States does not need unnecessary problems in one of the most troubled parts of the world, particularly when Israeli actions take a form that does not serve Israel's own strategic interests. This Israeli government in particular needs to realize that as strong as U.S.-Israel ties may be, it is time to return to the kind of strategic realism exemplified by leaders like Yitzhak Rabin. No aspect of what happened this week off the coast of Gaza can be blamed on Israeli commandos or the Israel Defense Forces. Israel's prime minister and defense minister had full warning about the situation, and they knew the flotilla was deliberately designed as a political provocation to capture the attention of the world's media in the most negative way possible. They

personally are responsible for what happened, and they need to show far more care and pragmatism in the future.

*Anthony H. Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.*

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CSIS Center for Strategic and International Studies
1800 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
Tel: **202-887-0200 begin_of_the_skype_highlighting 202-887-0200 end_of_the_skype_highlighting** Fax: **202-775-3199**
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## The Flotilla Raid Was Not "Bungled." The IDF Detailed Its Violent Strategy In Advance.

*On 06.03.10, By Max Blumenthal*

Tel Aviv-Israel Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his senior ministers have attempted to blame army commanders for "the bungled raid on a Gaza-bound flotilla," according to the UK's Daily Telegraph. The AP reported that "Israel's bloody, bungled takeover of a Gaza-bound Turkish aid vessel is complicating US-led Mideast peace efforts." And according to Reuters, "Israeli military admits errors in bungled boarding."

But was the raid really bungled? Did the Israeli military command and Netanyahu government have no clear strategy going in? Or was the violence they meted out against the flotilla activists deliberate and methodically planned?

Statements by senior Israeli military commanders made in the Hebrew media days before the massacre revealed that the raid was planned over a week in advance by the Israeli military and was personally approved by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Minister of Defense Ehud Barak. The elite Israeli commando unit known as Unit 13 was tasked with carrying out the mission and its role was known by the Israeli public well before the raid took place. Details of the plan show that the use of deadly force was authorized and calculated. The massacre of activists should not have been unexpected.

On May 28, three days before the raid, top Israeli military officials revealed details of their strategy to Maariv, Israel's most widely circulated paper. The caption of the Maariv article reflected the military command's plan to use force: "On the way to violence; one of the boats is on its way."

Here is a translation of relevant portions of the article:

Maariv, 5/28/10 P. 4

Title: Head to Head in the Heart of the Sea

Caption: On the way to violence; one of the boats is on its way."

Subhead: The sea encounter that will occur at the end of the weekend is already planned detail by detail. From the moment that the ships will pass the "red line" on their way to Gaza, the fighters of Unit 13 will take control and transfer 800 passengers from their boats back to where they came from. And special arrest units were set up.

From the body of article: This operation was approved by Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defense Minister Barak and will be led by the commander of the Navy, Lieutenant Colonel Eliezer Maron, who is nicknamed "Cheney." **If the people aboard the boats will not agree to turn around, the operation will transfer to the stage of force**. "We are afraid that there will be a terror attack by the boats," said a high ranking officer. "If terrorists have gotten on the boats or if there is an

intention to use hot weapons against our forces, we will use full seriousness and caution. We want to avoid using force but as soon as there will be danger to the life of our forces **we will be forced to use live fire as a last resort.**
[...]
After our fighters take over the boats, OKETZ unit dogs and forces of the IHLM unit corps of engineers will inspect them looking for sabotage materials and fighting tools.

A Maariv article from 5/28/10, page 4, reveals the Israeli military command's flotilla raid plan

So the Israeli military broadcast its plan for violence, inciting the Israeli public and the soldiers of Unit 13 with fevered visions of a kill-or-be-killed encounter with a group of Arab "terrorists." The stated conditions for using live fire were arbitrary and poorly defined, giving the commandos little direction and lots of leeway to kill — at the very least the plan demanded force in some form.
After the initial violent stages, the plan called for the gathering of the activists' "fighting tools," an acknowledgment by the Israeli military that the activists might try to repel its commandos once they forced their way on the ships. The plan to search for "sabotage materials" also foreshadowed the IDF's post-raid propaganda campaign.
An alternative plan that would have been likely to avert violence could have been set into motion. The Israeli Navy could have done what it had in the past and hijacked the aid ships without boarding them, then towed them to shore. However, the Rambo-style plan concocted by Netanyahu, his top aides and the Naval commander with the unfortunate nickname of "Cheney" made the killing of activists likely, if not inevitable.
Why didn't Israel's leaders choose to deal with the flotilla in a more judicious fashion? Were they that stupid, or just crazy? From the details of the plan it appears that Netanyahu and his cohorts had envisioned Entebbe Part Deux, a daring anti-terror raid that would lift the sinking morale of the Israeli public while intimidating Iran and the Arab world. Though Israel may be more isolated than ever as a result of the massacre, the Netanyahu administration is reaping considerable political benefits at home.
The day after the massacre, spontaneous celebrations broke out in Ashdod, Tel Aviv, and throughout the country, bringing together right-wing elements with everyday Israelis. Over a thousand Israelis gathered tonight outside the Turkish embassy in Tel Aviv to rally against the Turkish government and express their support for the raid. Multiple demonstrators including one man who has lived in Israel for 60 years told me, "What Turkey [the sponsor of the Mavi Marmara boat] has done is great. I have never seen this country more united in my entire life. We are all standing together now." (Video coming soon).
Israeli newscasters are routinely using the term "mechabel," or terrorist, to refer to the flotilla activists, while the violence that broke out on the deck of the Mavi Marmara is called "the lynch." (Nevermind that zero commandos were hung and nine activists were killed, including an American citizen who was shot in the head four times.) No evidence is required to support claims in the Israeli media. The public desperately wants to believe that its government is right, so much so that Israel's media is not even making a token effort to challenge the increasingly hysterical press releases disseminated by the IDF press office every few hours.
Hanin Zoabi, a Palestinian-Israeli member of the Knesset who was on the Mavi Marmara, was physically accosted in the Knesset by fellow legislators for attempting to relate her experience aboard the flotilla. MK Miri Regev of Likud called her a "traitor," while Yoel Hasson of Kadima, a supposedly centrist party, denounced Zoabi as a "terrorist." An Israeli Facebook group devoted to inciting Zoabi's assassination has gathered 600 members in just a day and a half. In the meantime, Israel's Interior Minster Eli Yishai is "looking into" means of stripping Zoabi of her citizenship.
This Friday, anti-occupation activists expect to encounter intense violence from the Israeli Army and Border Police at the weekly demonstrations in Sheikh Jarrah and Nebi Salah. "In this atmosphere, you can expect with pretty reasonable certainty that the soldiers will go crazy," a veteran of the Sheikh Jarrah protest movement told me.
With two more ships on their way towards Gaza with aid for the besieged civilian population, the Israeli military and Netanyahu administration are not wasting time in hatching a new strategy to stop them. Once again, the plan calls for violence and possibly more death. "Next time we'll use more force," a top Naval commander told the Jerusalem Post. "We will have to come prepared in the future as if it was a war."

Washington Post

# The U.S. needs to keep nudging Israel on a Gaza fix

By David Ignatius
Friday, June 4, 2010; A19

The Obama administration, caught between two allies during this week of crisis, has signaled Israel and Turkey that the blockade of Gaza should be loosened to allow more humanitarian aid to reach the Palestinian population there.
From the first news early Monday of the Israeli commando attack on a flotilla of Turkish relief ships, the White House has been trying to balance the interests of two prickly friends. The immediate aim, said a senior official, has been to "defuse the electricity of the moment" by freeing the ships' passengers and passing a U.N. resolution calling (in fuzzy language) for an investigation of the raid.

Beyond crisis management, administration officials have begun to urge Israel to use this incident to untangle the Gaza mess. U.S. officials hope Israel will take action on its own, before international condemnation grows any louder or another relief convoy tests the blockade. "The humanitarian aperture is not wide enough," argues the U.S. official. "We need to convince the Israelis that not everything can be made into a weapon."

The Obama team recognizes that Israel will act in its interests, but it wants Jerusalem to consider U.S. interests, as well. The administration has communicated at a senior level its fear that the Israelis sometimes "care about their equities, but not about ours."

This cautionary message -- that Israel must act as a more reliable and responsible partner -- may be the most important one conveyed this week.

One issue on which the administration believes Israel would benefit from a more farsighted view is the investigation of the incident. Israel has argued that this is a purely internal matter for the Israeli military, whose operations to enforce the Gaza blockade were lawful and appropriate.

But by defying calls for an international inquiry, the Israelis will compound their isolation. "They have an image problem, a perception problem," says the U.S. official. The White House hopes the Israelis will embrace some mechanism for an international probe -- perhaps a French proposal for an inquiry by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Such a move would be in Israel's interest, the administration believes.

The trickiest problem in the first hours of the crisis was dealing with Turkey, whose leaders treated the commando raid as a pirate attack on Turkish citizens. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Gen. Jim Jones, the national security adviser, met with Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. Then came a lengthy phone call between President Obama and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Obama told Erdogan that "we need to find a solution" for the Gaza humanitarian problem, according to a U.S. official. Erdogan is said to have agreed with the president that a good relationship between Israel and Turkey was crucial for regional stability -- and that Turkey didn't want to see any further degradation.

The Obama administration deserves credit for its repair work in the first days after the Gaza attack. But this is another example where the administration has been reacting to events that it should have tried better to control. The Gaza confrontation has been developing for weeks; administration officials reportedly cautioned Israel about provocative moves, but not emphatically enough to make a difference. U.S. officials were blindsided about the commando operation partly because they don't spy on a key ally.

Similarly, the Obama White House has been too reactive in its relationship with Turkey. A glaring example of this diplomatic drift is the Turkish mediation effort with Iran to revive an October plan for enrichment of uranium abroad. Davutoglu thought he had Obama's blessing for his shuttle diplomacy, and the White House was given frequent updates. But when Turkey and Brazil announced they had clinched the deal, the administration did the diplomatic equivalent of shrugging its shoulders -- and went ahead with plans for U.N. sanctions.

One of the perverse secrets of Middle East diplomacy is the importance of riding several horses at once. In the heyday of Henry Kissinger's shuttle mediation, the Americans were the supreme masters of playing both sides of the street.

Obama has been talking about engagement and mediation but without much to show for it. Instead, the administration has been responding to events rather than driving them. That won't do. As former ambassador Chas. W. Freeman says in his collection of aphorisms, "The Diplomat's Dictionary": "If you're not at the table, you're on the menu."

Published on *The New Republic* (http://www.tnr.com)

# Operation Make the World Hate Us

The assault on the 'Mavi Marmara' was wrong, and a gift to Israel's enemies.

- Leon Wieseltier
- June 3, 2010 |

Israel does not need enemies: it has itself. Or more precisely: it has its government. The Netanyahu-Barak government has somehow found a way to lose the moral high ground, the all-important war for symbols and meanings, to Hamas. That is quite an accomplishment. Operation Make the World Hate Us, it might have been called.

I leave it to others to make the operational criticisms of the Israeli action, and will say only that even my amateurish understanding of the tactical challenge posed by the interdiction of the boats suffices to suggest that there were other ways to do this. I also will not pretend to a perfect grasp of what happened on board the *Mavi Marmara.* I have pondered the videos that both sides have released, and concluded that the Israeli soldiers sliding down that rope had no intention of attacking the people on board and that the people on board had no way of being confident of this. I cannot expect Palestinians and their supporters to believe the best about the Israeli army. (This is what Israeli hardliners call "the restoration of deterrence.") I do not doubt that some of the activists on the ship welcomed a confrontation with Israel, but the Israelis should not have obliged them. In any event, what took place on that deck looks to me like a tragic misunderstanding. Yet there was no reason to think that anything else would have transpired.

The important point is that the killing of civilians on the *Mavi Marmara*—I understand that they were "armed" with metal bars and a knife, but still they were civilians, and soldiers are trained to respond unlethally to the recklessness of a mob—cannot be extenuated by reference to "asymmetrical warfare" and Israel's right to defend itself. This was not warfare, at least of the physical sort. Israel was not under attack. A headline in *The Washington Post* yesterday reported that "Israel says Free Gaza Movement poses threat to Jewish state." Such a claim is absurd. It is true that the movement has grown in recent years, and is now troublesome to Israel's policy in Gaza; and it is also true that the Turkish charity that sponsored the "Freedom Flotilla" has ties to Islamicist groups. But this is hardly what Israel likes to call, in the Iranian context, and there quite plausibly, an "existential threat." The extension of the definition of a security threat to include hostile activities that have little or no bearing upon security is an ominous development.

It is also the inevitable consequence of Benjamin Netanyahu's cunning pronouncement last year that Israel is now endangered by "the Iran threat, the missile threat, and the threat I call the Goldstone threat." The equivalence was morally misleading, and therefore dangerous. Ideological warfare is not military warfare. I have studied the entirety of the Goldstone Report, and whereas I do not doubt (and wrote in this magazine in the days before Goldstone) that Operation Cast Lead caused the unjustifiable death of non-combatants, I also do not doubt that the Goldstone Report, which was nastily indifferent to Israel's security predicament and to the ethical challenges of Israeli self-defense, was an instrument in a broad campaign of delegitimation against Israel—and yet the threat of delegitimation is not like the threat of destruction. It is different in kind. A commando operation is not an appropriate response to an idea. "This was no Love Boat," Netanyahu said yesterday. "It was a hate boat." He is right, but so what? The threat of delegitimation is not a military problem and it does not have a military solution. And the attempt to give it a military solution has now had the awful consequence of making the threat still greater. The assault on the *Mavi Marmara* was a stupid gift to the delegitimators.

You do not have to be a general to grasp these distinctions. In fact, judging by Israel's recent history, it might help not to be one. But the militarization of the Israeli government's understanding of Israel's situation—this has been the most sterile period for diplomacy in all of Israel's history—is not all that led to the debacle at sea. Rules of military engagement that allow soldiers to fire on political activists (I leave aside the question of their humanitarianism for a moment) may signify something still deeper and even more troubling. It is hard not to conclude from this Israeli action, and also from other Israeli actions in recent years, that the Israeli leadership simply does not care any longer about what anybody thinks. It does not seem to care about what even the United States—its only real friend, even in the choppy era of Obama—thinks. This is not defiance, it is despair. The Israeli leadership seems to have given up any expectation of fairness and sympathy from the world. It is behaving as if it believes, in the manner of the most perilous Jewish pessimism, that the whole world hates the Jews, and that is all there is to it. This is the very opposite of the measured and empirical attitude, the search for strategic opportunity, the enlistment of imagination in the service of ideals and interests, that is required for statecraft.

The complication—the one that deprives anybody who acknowledges it of membership in any of the gangs of commentary—is that there is a partial basis in the actually existing world for a degree of Israeli pessimism. There are leaders, states, organizations, and peoples whose hostility to the Jewish state is irrational and absolute and in some cases murderous. Things are said critically about Israel that wildly burst the bounds of thoughtful criticism. The language in which Israel is described by some governments and international organizations is lurid and grotesque and foul. Anti-Semitic tropes—the conspiracy theory about the Jews, most conspicuously—are regularly encountered in otherwise respectable places. The analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that absolves the Palestinians of any significant role in it is widespread. I do not see how any of this can be denied, or shunted aside, or explained entirely in terms of Israeli behavior. But it is emphatically not the whole picture, except for those Israelis and Jews whose political interests and ideological inclinations prefer it to be the whole picture. For there are forces in Israel, and in its government, that have a use for Jewish hopelessness.

There is a verse in Numbers that Jewish pessimists like to cite: "the people shall dwell alone, and not be reckoned among the nations." It is Balaam's divinely inspired description of the Israelites—Balaam, who came to curse and stayed to bless. But I have always regarded it as a curse, this promise of loneliness. I have heard it intoned lachrymosely and proudly—in our time Jewish pride has a disturbingly parasitic relationship with Jewish lachrymosity—all my life. It chills me to the bone. It is a locution for prophets, not prime ministers. The Jews cannot dwell alone. In fact, their history shows that they never did dwell alone. It is not a tale of insularity and isolation. The apartness of the Jews was never a complete secession from their environment. The engagement of the Jews with the world was a matter not only of practical necessity, but also of theological conviction. And not even the darkest and most dire adversity succeeded in driving them entirely into themselves.

When, in the modern era, the Zionists concluded, quite correctly, that the Jews must extract themselves from anti-Semitic societies and establish a society of their own, a sovereign one, in the land of Israel, it was in part to "normalize" them by making them "reckoned among the nations," and therefore like other nations. Zionism was a reversal of Balaam's phony blessing. The state was not supposed to be a bunker, even if it had enemies. But Netanyahu is a creature of the bunker. He talks about peace, but not like a man who hungers for it. He takes no steps toward peace except as the consequence of a crisis—a crisis not with the Palestinians but with the Americans. He liturgically intones his warnings, some of them true, about the external dangers facing Israel, and mistakes brutishness for toughness, and offers nothing. He is a gray, muddling, reactive figure. His preferred strategy for his country is: one quiet week after another unto eternity. His problem is that there are not many quiet weeks.

But about those activists: a great deal of bathetic rubbish has been written about them. Insofar as they were bringing food and medicine to Gaza, they were humanitarians; but insofar as they were striking a blow for the government of Gaza, they were anti-humanitarians. A real "Freedom Flotilla" would have sailed for Gaza to liberate it from its rulers. For Hamas stifles Gaza from within even as Israel stifles it from without. It oppresses the Palestininans who live under its sway and has brought them ruin. When did it become progressive to support a theocracy? Consider the case of Henning Mankell, the Swedish writer of thrillers (and the son-in-law of Ingmar Bergman) who was a passenger on one of the boats in the "Freedom Flotilla." In his youth he took part in anti-Vietnam and anti-apartheid demonstrations, presumably in the spirit of secular reason. For a while he lived in Norway and participated in the activities of a radical Maoist party: let us call that secular unreason. Now he does the work of Hamas and its mullahs. Last year Mankell attended the Palestine Festival of Literature in east Jerusalem—or would have attended it, if the Israeli authorities had not idiotically closed it down. When he returned to Sweden, he wrote that "there is a straight line between Soweto, Sharpeville, and what recently happened [I presume he was referring to the war] in Gaza." And: "Is it strange that some [Palestinians] in pure desperation, when they cannot see any other way out, decide to become suicide bombers? Not really. Maybe it is strange that there are not more of them." And: "The state of Israel in its current form has no future. Moreover, those who advocate a two-state solution have not got it right. ... The question is whether it will be possible to talk sense into the Israelis in order for them to willingly accept the end of their own apartheid state." This man has rights, at sea and on land, but he can hardly be lauded as a champion of peace and reconciliation. You are not for co-existence if you advocate the disappearance of one of the terms. (Consider, analogously, the recent adventures of Noam Chomsky in the region. It was widely noted that the Israelis, again idiotically, turned him away at the Allenby Bridge. It was less widely noted that a few days later a reporter for *The New York Times*

accidentally discovered him in Lebanon at the home of Nabil Qaouk, the deputy head of Hezbollah, which is not what Voltaire had in mind.)

And yet the screw must be turned again: the anti-Israeli virulence of Henning Mankell and his maritime comrades does not make Israel's assault on the *Mavi Marmara* more just or more wise. Now the Israeli government may find it impossible not to modify or even to lift the blockade of Gaza—an outcome that no decent person can decry, as long as Hamas does not exploit the respite to acquire weapons or what it needs to make them, and the past is not encouraging in this regard. Netanyahu will do what he can to get past the mess, hoping that the approach of the midterm elections in the United States will rescue him from the pressure, and the deadening hand of the status quo will be back. And Israel will be known to more and more people—in a wounding misrepresentation—mainly for cruelty.

*Leon Wieseltier is the literary editor of* The New Republic.

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http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/04/opinion/l04mideast.html?ref=opinion

To the Editor:

Nicholas D. Kristof's column could have been written by the peacemaking Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin or Israel's founder and first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, if they were alive today.

Mr. Rabin told me shortly before he was assassinated by a right-wing Israeli extremist that Israel, while pursuing peace, must never play into the hands of Palestinian terrorists, who would try to sabotage the talks with attacks intended to provoke disproportionate retaliation. Yes, Israel would fight the terrorists, but not the Palestinian people. And it would certainly not initiate bloody conflict.

Mr. Ben-Gurion told me that Israel would regret maintaining control of Arab-inhabited regions and another people after the 1967 Six-Day War. He said the war would never end as long as Israel occupied the area, an occupation he felt was both strategically and morally wrong.

And if succeeding right-wing governments had taken his advice, the war might well have been over years ago, preventing Hamas from ruling Gaza, giving Iran no excuse for threatening Israel with nuclear destruction, and making life much easier for the United States.

The Israeli assault on the pro-Palestinian flotilla is a symbolic result of the tragic survival-imperiling refutation by Israeli right-wingers of the visionary views of their country's two greatest leaders.

Dan Kurzman

North Bergen, N.J., June 3, 2010

*The writer is the author of biographies of Yitzhak Rabin and David Ben-Gurion.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) South Korea seeks UN action against North Korea over ship

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**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Korea
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Jun 04 11:34:59 2010
**Subject**: (AP) South Korea seeks UN action against North Korea over ship

UNITED NATIONS (AP) - South Korea has handed over a letter officially referring North Korea to the UN Security Council over the ship sinking. South Korea's UN Ambassador Park In-kook said he presented a letter to Mexico's UN Ambassador Claude Heller, the current Security Council president, on June 4. He says the letter asks the council "to respond in a manner appropriate to the gravity of this situation."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** H

Background on the Women Deliver Conference CONTEXT The second Women Deliver conference will take place in Washington, DC on June 7-9, 2010. This conference is an international gathering that focuses on maternal health and will include an estimated 3,000 representatives from governments, civil society, multilateral organizations, and the private sector. The aim of the conference is to generate political commitment and financial investment for fulfilling Millennium Development Goal 5, which pledges a three-quarter reduction in maternal mortality and universal access to reproductive health by 2015. The conference is one of several international gatherings this year that will include a focus on maternal and child health (MCH). As you know, this issue will also feature at the G-8, where the Canadians are offering a flagship initiative on MCH, and at the Millennium Development Goals Summit in September, where the UN Secretary General is sponsoring a Joint Effort on Women and Children's Health. The US will be represented at the Women Deliver conference by Secretary of Health and Human Services Kathleen Sebelius, Undersecretary of State Maria Otero, Ambassador Melanne Verveer, and a host of other USG participants. Please note: You recently recorded a video message that will open the conference.
The full script is below.
SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS
· For too long and in too many places, women have received inadequate care when they give birth. As a result, childbirth remains a leading cause of death and injury to women worldwide. · The United States has elevated the issue of maternal health in our development work through the Global Health Initiative, a $63 billion dollar proposal to help countries improve health outcomes through strengthened health systems and integrated service delivery, with a particular focus on the health of women, newborns and children. · This conference—along with other international gatherings this year, including the G-8 and the Millennium Development Goals Summit in September—presents a unique opportunity to reinvigorate our commitment to maternal health. · When women prosper, their families and communities prosper. Women deliver for the world – now the world needs to deliver for them. ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND The theme of this year's Women Deliver conference is "Delivering Solutions for Girls and Women," with a focus on political, economic, social/cultural, and technological solutions. Conference organizers plan to emphasize the following messages:1) The Millennium Development Goals will not be achieved without investing in women.2) There is just enough time, if the world commits funding now, to achieve Millennium Development Goal 5—an additional US $10 billion annually by 2010 and US $20 billion by 2015.Women Deliver was launched at a conference in London in 2007. Jill Sheffield is the President of the organization.

FINAL VIDEO SCRIPT WOMEN DELIVER CONFERENCEWASHINGTON, DC

I am delighted to welcome all of you to this conference and to thank you for the work you are doing to put maternal health at the top of our development agenda. Your commitment to this issue has raised awareness and inspired action around the world. We know that women represent our greatest opportunity for progress in this century. If the potential of women is fully developed, everyone benefits. And this can't be done without improving maternal health. But for too long and in too many places, women have received inadequate care when they give birth. As a result, childbirth remains a leading cause of death and injury to women worldwide. The United States has elevated this issue in our development work through the Global Health Initiative, a 63 billion dollar proposal to help countries improve health outcomes through strengthened health systems, with a particular focus on the health of women, newborns and children. We commend the Canadian government for focusing much-needed attention to this issue by offering a flagship initiative on maternal and child health at the upcoming G-8 meeting in Muskoka. The US also congratulates the United Nations Secretary General for convening governments, civil society, multilateral organizations, foundations and corporations to engage in a much-needed global effort to promote women's and children's health. These efforts—and this conference—present a unique opportunity to reinvigorate our commitment to maternal health, because when women prosper, their families and communities prosper. Women deliver for the world – now the world needs to deliver for them. Thank you.

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Civil claims in US courts based on flotilla incident

FYI per your question yesterday. [redacted] B5

---

**From:** Donoghue, Joan E
**Sent:** Friday, June 04, 2010 5:09 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Crocker, Bathsheba N; Cleveland, Sarah H; Harris, Robert K; Schwartz, Jonathan B
**Subject:** Civil claims in US courts based on flotilla incident

Dear Jake –

[redacted] B5

B5

Please let us know if you would like additional details.

Joan

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 9:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] Back Operation B6

Fyi

B6

[redacted]

**Sent:** Fri Jun 04 20:33:43 2010
**Subject:** [redacted] Back Operation B6

B6

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Saturday, June 5, 2010 3:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Oren

From Landler today, middle of the piece -- not too much to it:

Israel also took issue with the Obama administration's assertion that the United States had warned Israeli officials to exercise caution and restraint in intercepting the flotilla.

"I was not contacted by anyone in the administration about this," said Michael B. Oren, Israel's ambassador to the United States. Mr. Oren said he was not aware that anybody else in the Israeli government had been called and was seeking clarification from the administration.

A spokesman for the State Department, Philip J. Crowley, said the United States had "extensive contacts" with Israel and Turkey before the flotilla set sail. "We expressed to the Israelis the need for caution and restraint in dealing with civilians, including American citizens," he said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 5, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Larger impact of hard work on Haiti

From an INR report just released:

Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti

Britons, French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards say the United States has done more than other countries to assist Haiti following the devastating January earthquake. Though relief efforts in Haiti have not themselves directly impacted opinion of the United States, the belief that the United States generally assists disaster-stricken countries does positively affect U.S. image.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 5, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Merkel-Medvedev on Iran

Good stuff from Medvedev

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns, William J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jun 05 18:27:30 2010
Subject: Fw: Merkel-Medvedev on Iran

As promised

----- Original Message -----
From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Burns, William J
Sent: Sat Jun 05 16:00:43 2010
Subject: Merkel-Medvedev on Iran

As definitive as I've ever seen the Russians in public...

Germany, Russia: We support new Iran nuke sanction By VERENA SCHMITT-ROSCHMANN, Associated Press Writer – 1 hr 58 mins ago

MESEBERG, Germany – Germany and Russia declared Saturday that the five world powers negotiating with Iran support a fresh set of international sanctions, and Chancellor Angela Merkel said they could pass soon.

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev said at a news conference with Merkel that "agreement on the sanctions exists," despite the fact that "nobody wants sanctions."

"We hope the voice of the international community will be heard by the Iranian leadership," Medvedev said through the official German translator.

Merkel said sanctions could be passed by the United Nations Security Council "in the near future."

Play Video

Play Video

"I am very happy, that we can stand here jointly today and say that this is a joint position not only of the European Union, the United States of America and Russia, but also of China," Merkel said. "That is an important step the international community has made here."

Moscow has recently joined the other four U.N. Security Council members — the United States, China, Britain and France — to tentatively back a draft fourth set of U.N. sanctions against Iran.

"We have always taken a two-way approach, making offers, on the one hand, but, as there are no qualitative changes, on the other hand now the time has come that such sanctions must be adopted," Merkel said.

Medvedev said it is unacceptable "that one continues to act irresponsibly. One has to move toward the partners of the international community and it is only in this way that complicated issues can be solved."

Russia's president arrived Friday for a two-day visit to Germany to discuss a range of issues with Merkel.

The West is against an expansion of nuclear nations and suspects Iran is enriching uranium to build a nuclear warhead. Tehran denies this and insists on its right to a peaceful nuclear power program, but has frustrated the West over its failure to prove it.

---

Associated Press Writer David Nowak contributed to this story from Moscow.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 5, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** tying up a couple of loose ends from this week

You mentioned at Thursday's 8:45 meeting that you had talked to Qureshi and that he thought he was not going to get any trade access to the EU. My EU contact writes that the Member States in the EU have been slowing up progress on trade concessions to Pakistan, although the draft language negotiated w/ Pakistan still leaves room for the Commission (which is pro-trade) to keep working on enhanced trade benefits for Pakistan. Still, the original timetable of 2011 will not be kept. Even more ominous, any agreement will have to go to the European Parliament, which is down on Pakistan for human rights reasons. B5

I have also read Esther's note to you on UN Security Council Reform. You are right that overall our best position for the moment is

Have a good trip!
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Oscar/Navy

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sun Feb 07 17:58:20 2010
Subject: Fw: Oscar/Navy

Pls note on calendar. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Oscar Flores
To: Doug Band; 'AbedinH@state.gov' <AbedinH@state.gov>; Justin Cooper; H; Hannah Richert
Sent: Wed Feb 03 08:17:10 2010
Subject: Oscar/Navy

**FYI**
I will not be around Feb 10-14
Have to drill in Syracuse four days cause I did not drill in Jan.

In March I'm scheduled for my 2 week AT (annual training) in Norfolk I'm away March 22-April 5th

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will follow up with Huma and report back.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Feb 07 18:04:15 2010
Subject: Schedule

We need a date for the India Strat Dialogue in May per Bob Blake.

EUR wants me to meet w Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders in February in DC

I asked Kurt Campbell to set up a mtg this week on China policy

Keep the Ukraine inaugural on radar--later Feb or early March

The Ken Feinberg request for April 14 should be optional

Billie Jean King is coming in to see Melanne and Maura on Feb 25. I'd like to drop by and see her

I'd like to see Jim Fallows. Can you reach out to him to discuss a visit?

Cheryl says the Haiti conf will be 3/31.

Tony Lake--I'd like to see him inthe next few weeks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: important

Fyi

---

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sun Jun 06 09:12:17 2010
**Subject:** Fw: important

URGENT

---

**From:** Rina Amiri [redacted]
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard; Jones, Paul W; Pauli, Rosemarie; Feldman, Daniel F; Barnett Rubin [redacted]
Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F
**Sent:** Sun Jun 06 09:04:16 2010
**Subject:** important

B6
B6

President Karzai has dismissed Amrullah Saleh and Hanif Atmar over the CPJ attacks. Engineer Ibrahim is said to be appointed as the head of NDS and Governor Mangal as the new Minister of Interior.

I will send you further details later.

Best,

Rina

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 7:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Feb 07 18:04:34 2010
Subject: Followup

Pls be sure Bill and I do a letter to [redacted] for his marriage in June. B6

And pls put the following on my call list:

Alston Johnson
Francis Collins
Derek Harvey (he came into see me in the Senate) Paul Charron Lisa Caputo Marty Edelman

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 7:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Costa Rican presidential election

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 07 18:53:12 2010
Subject: Costa Rican presidential election

Ruling party private exit polling shows Laura Chinchilla ahead with 44 percent. Two opponents in the 20s. If that holds (she has to get over 40 percent to avoid a runoff), we will have our fifth elected woman president in recent Latin American history. Chinchilla is same party as Arias. Will keep you posted. ck

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 8:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Praise from DFID

I'm planning on writing it up -- v useful for the QDDR.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sun Feb 07 17:58:54 2010
Subject: Re: Praise from DFID

When the snow melts, I'd love to hear what he had to say!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Feb 04 06:50:35 2010
Subject: Praise from DFID

I thought you both should hear the words of Andrew Stear, DG of policy at DFID, who told me yesterday that "throughout the development community around the world there is great relief that the US is back, and leading particularly in health and food security/agriculture. He said that we were once again the acknowledge "go to people" in both these areas. He also had lots to say that will b v useful in QDDR re relationship b/w development and diplomacy.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 11:46 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Washington Post "Outlook" Article
**Attachments:** 2010.06.06.WashPost.Israeli Narrative.doc

You'll want to make sure you see this. AM

---

**From:** Daniel C. Kurtzer <[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sun Jun 06 11:25:33 2010
**Subject:** Washington Post "Outlook" Article

I have attached, for your information, an article I wrote in today's *Washington Post* "Outlook" section. All the best. Dan

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 10:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Costa Rican presidential election

Yes went to 2
With nephews for till halftime
And dougs party for second half

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 07 19:58:30 2010
Subject: Re: Costa Rican presidential election

Good on all counts! Are you at a Super Bowl party?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 07 19:57:06 2010
Subject: Fw: Costa Rican presidential election

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 07 18:53:12 2010
Subject: Costa Rican presidential election

Ruling party private exit polling shows Laura Chinchilla ahead with 44 percent. Two opponents in the 20s. If that holds (she has to get over 40 percent to avoid a runoff), we will have our fifth elected woman president in recent Latin American history. Chinchilla is same party as Arias. Will keep you posted. ck

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 11:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Northern Ireland

Most observers seem confident that tomorrow will go smoothly. Shaun has indicated that he'd like to speak with you late morning or early afternoon. I'll check back in tomorrow am.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From Embassy London

This is from the political officer in London:

David Cameron will be given the right of reply after the PM's statement this afternoon -- followed by Q&A. UUP MP Sylvia Hermon is likely to be "unhelpful" during the Q&A.

The Conservatives are becoming exasperated by the rumors that appear in the press and elsewhere that they are unsupportive of the agreement. Our contacts say the Tories have been completely consistent in supporting the government on devolution, though they don't believe HMG handled the issue well (i.e. allowing the exclusion of the UUP and SDLP).

Reg Empey is scheduled to meet his MLAs tonight to review the document and prepare for the working group with SDLP's Margaret Ritchie.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: US-EU statement on human rights in Iran

FYI. They want to issue as USG. Are you comfortable with that?

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Burns, William J; Mull, Stephen D; Sullivan, Jacob J; McEldowney, Nancy E; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Steinberg, James B
**Sent:** Mon Feb 08 07:35:44 2010
**Subject:** US-EU statement on human rights in Iran

The EU has agreed to issue the joint statement on human rights situation in Iran with support of all 27 member states. Text they approved is below. They will issue as European Union. Can we issue as "The USG" or "the United States"? (Had been discussion of HRC-Ashton but they want to put in names of EU and US.) Hope is to get it out today.

JOINT STATEMENT
BY THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
CALLING ON THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT
TO FULFIL ITS HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

The United States and the European Union condemn the continuing human rights violations in Iran since the June 12 election. The large scale detentions and mass trials, the threatened execution of protestors, the intimidation of family members of those detained and the continuing denial to its citizens of the right to peaceful expression are contrary to human rights norms.

Our concerns are based on our commitment to universal respect for human rights. We are particularly concerned by the potential for further violence and repression during the coming days, especially around the anniversary of the Islamic Republic's founding on 11 February. We call on the Government of Iran to live up to its international human rights obligations, to end its abuses against its own people, to hold accountable those who have committed the abuses and to release those who are exercising their rights.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: From Embassy London

It's true you've got to consider the source...

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Feb 08 08:38:18 2010
Subject: Re: From Embassy London

Not a surprising assessment from Embassy.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 08:05:36 2010
Subject: From Embassy London

This is from the political officer in London:

David Cameron will be given the right of reply after the PM's statement this afternoon -- followed by Q&A. UUP MP Sylvia Hermon is likely to be "unhelpful" during the Q&A.

The Conservatives are becoming exasperated by the rumors that appear in the press and elsewhere that they are unsupportive of the agreement. Our contacts say the Tories have been completely consistent in supporting the government on devolution, though they don't believe HMG handled the issue well (i.e. allowing the exclusion of the UUP and SDLP).

Reg Empey is scheduled to meet his MLAs tonight to review the document and prepare for the working group with SDLP's Margaret Ritchie.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 1:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You have this version as well fyi

The Secretary's Call Sheet for
Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov
February 8, 2010

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 1:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** National security strategy

We should get you together with Jim, Jack, and Anne-Marie on the early side tomorrow, so that your guidance can be reflected in the BCL that Anne-Marie's shop is preparing for Jim and Jack for the 5:30 DC.

For what it's worth, my overall take on the document [redacted] B5

My other concern [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 1:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: National security strategy

Jim appears to be largely out-of-pocket, and it's critical that he be part of the conversation. So tomorrow might be most productive.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2010 1:53 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: National security strategy

Ok. I can also talk after the Lavrov call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 13:49:03 2010
Subject: National security strategy

We should get you together with Jim, Jack, and Anne-Marie on the early side tomorrow, so that your guidance can be reflected in the BCL that Anne-Marie's shop is preparing for Jim and Jack for the 5:30 DC.

For what it's worth, my overall take on the document [redacted] B5

My other concern [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Rep. John Murtha of Pa. dies at 77

---

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Mon Feb 08 14:53:30 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Rep. John Murtha of Pa. dies at 77

WASHINGTON (AP) - A spokesman says Democratic Rep. John Murtha of Pennsylvania, a retired Marine Corps officer who became an outspoken critic of the Iraq war, has died. He was 77. He had been suffering complications from gallbladder surgery. In 1974, Murtha became the first combat veteran of the Vietnam War elected to Congress. He wielded considerable clout for two decades as a leader of the House subcommittee that oversees Pentagon spending. But frustration over the Iraq war led him to call for an immediate pullout of U.S. troops in 2005. Murtha's congressional career was clouded by questions about his ethics from the Abscam corruption probe in 1980 to more recent investigations into the special-interest spending known as earmarks and the raising of cash for election campaigns.

Justin Deyo
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: S Calls

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Feb 08 15:10:34 2010
Subject: Re: S Calls

If you can get Westerwelle I will be happy to talk but hold the other two.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 15:09:03 2010
Subject: Fw: S Calls

Did jake talk to you about below calls? I just sent westerwelle call sheet to house.
We could offer times tomorrow. Pls let me know.

---

From: Jones, Stuart
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E
Sent: Mon Feb 08 14:06:58 2010
Subject: S Calls

Jake,

Thanks very much to you and S staff for getting S' signature on the joint letter to EP Parliament President Buzek.

At the risk of pressing my luck, I wonder if she would be willing to go ahead and make the three calls – Westerwelle, Papandreou + Miliband.

The German call is most important. The Ger EU commissioner is holding up Commission statement supporting the interim agreement.

I will send updated call sheet.

Stu

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 3:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: S Calls

We also have equadorant foreign minister that never happened sat if u want to make that one as well. Either today or tomorrow

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Feb 08 15:10:34 2010
Subject: Re: S Calls

If you can get Westerwelle I will be happy to talk but hold the other two.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 15:09:03 2010
Subject: Fw: S Calls

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From: Jones, Stuart
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E
Sent: Mon Feb 08 14:06:58 2010
Subject: S Calls

Jake,

Thanks very much to you and S staff for getting S' signature on the joint letter to EP Parliament President Buzek.

At the risk of pressing my luck, I wonder if she would be willing to go ahead and make the three calls – Westerwelle, Papandreou + Miliband.

The German call is most important. The Ger EU commissioner is holding up Commission statement supporting the interim agreement.

I will send updated call sheet.

Stu

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: It worked. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni tactic 020810.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

February 8, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI/tactic works

The plan worked perfectly. Gordon made the speech in the late afternoon. Cameron felt compelled to support both the deal and the timing. Shaun called Lou Susman beforehand and Susman made a helpful call to Cameron "seeking clarification" an hour and a half before the event.

Now, Reg Empey is boxed in. He's considering his position. It may be that you will have to call him in a couple days.

Shaun will call you tomorrow at a time convenient to you.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769709 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 8, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI/tactic works

The plan worked perfectly. Gordon made the speech in the late afternoon. Cameron felt compelled to support both the deal and the timing. Shaun called Lou Susman beforehand and Susman made a helpful call to Cameron "seeking clarification" an hour and a half before the event.

Now, Reg Empey is boxed in. He's considering his position. It may be that you will have to call him in a couple days.

Shaun will call you tomorrow at a time convenient to you.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769709 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 3:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** NI

Just saw the email from Sid - was working on the below report. Shaun apparently had a much more pessimistic view of what Cameron would do than all of our Parliament watchers, who felt confident from the get-go that he would support the deal.

PM Brown praised all parties involved; stressed the need to adhere to the dates laid out in the agreement several times; welcomed the supportive Westminster interventions during the Q and A of SDLP Mark Durkan and DUP Peter Robinson and Nigel Dods, but pointedly expressed hope that other parties (read UUP, whose MP was either not present or simply didn't speak) would express their support as soon as possible.

As expected, David Cameron praised the agreement and all parties; raised the desire that all parties (read SDLP and UUP) be given time to review the document; and pointedly asked the PM what issues that were not expressly mentioned in the agreement would be addressed by the Working Group -- to which Brown responded, "all the issues outstanding from St Andrew's."

Cameron and Brown praised the U.S. role, singling you out. Brown also twice referred to your offer to host an investment conference.

Overall, nothing concerning from the Tories...on the contrary, full support, a request that the minority parties have a chance to review and some questions on outstanding issues.

UUP MLAs meet tonight to review.

Note: DUP interventions were balanced...Dods raised parades and decommissioning as reminder of outstanding issues, but stressed desire of all parties "not to go back" to the bad old days. Minor dig at previous Sinn Fein "threats." Robinson stressed cooperation in the negotiations. Struck a statesmanlike tone.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Feb 08 17:07:25 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls remove the following:

Lobo
Lavrov
Talbott
Conyers
Murtha
Solis
Nagin
Stewart
Height

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769717 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE
IN FULL

The Washington Post

# After the flotilla attack, it's time for a new, kinder Israeli narrative

By Daniel Kurtzer
Sunday, June 6, 2010

Of the many confounding aspects of Monday's flotilla fiasco, one of the most curious is the monotone quality of Israel's response. Within hours of the Israeli assault on an aid ship bound for Gaza, while the dead and wounded were still being evacuated from the scene, Israel's deputy foreign minister delivered a verbal broadside that became his nation's public line: The flotilla organizers are terrorist sympathizers, they ambushed Israeli forces, and they are responsible for what followed.

Even so adept a communicator as Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, in a prepared statement Wednesday that attacked Israel's critics as much as it defended Israel's actions, could manage only one sentence of regret for civilian casualties.

Why, even to its friends, has Israel sounded so shrill, even tone deaf? Where are the grief and sadness that Israelis ought to feel about a military operation gone awry? The French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy expressed anger with the tendency of some Israeli leaders to believe that "they are alone in the world and will always be blamed, and to act accordingly."

Israel's friends know that the country has a case to make. But by hunkering down in self-justification, Israel has confused that case. And now the jury of world public opinion, comprising at least as many friends as foes, has stopped listening. At the United Nations, speaker after speaker condemned Israel's action, and even the United States joined in a harsh statement of condemnation. Normally pro-Israel editorial writers added to the chorus of ostracism.

Israel has long seen itself as the Alamo, a fortress under siege. Decades ago, a song titled "The Entire World is Against Us" hit the Israeli pop charts. At the time, there was some truth to the words: Arab states rejected Israel's existence. An Arab economic boycott persuaded major companies in Europe and Asia to decline to do business in Israel. Trade with many countries had to be conducted through third parties.

Indeed, Israel has faced recurring threats to its security and existence, a reality reflected in a maxim I heard often during my time as U.S. ambassador there early this decade: Israel goes to sleep with memories of the Holocaust and wakes up to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, the nation's military power was seen as a necessary response. And in turn, Israel's narrative portrayed the country as a David facing an Arab Goliath.

Although the 1967 war changed this reality, Israel's narrative never really caught up. Newly demonstrated military superiority and deepening ties with the United States provided a measure of security the country had not enjoyed before. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat was the first Arab leader to recognize this new strategic reality, and in 1979, he made peace with Israel.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769717 Date: 08/31/2015

But even as the outdated David vs. Goliath theme lingered in the minds of many Israelis, among other segments of the population a new, religious-national narrative that centered on settling and holding all of Eretz Israel was taking hold. Even though settlements complicated Israel's relations with the Palestinians, and even though Israel had evacuated the Sinai settlements to make peace with Egypt -- a move that vitiated the argument that settlements were required for security -- activists such as Ariel Sharon continued to argue that they enhanced security.

For a while, conditions allowed this new narrative to take root: The Palestine Liberation Organization was busy attacking Israel from Jordan, Lebanon and the United Nations and pursuing a tactical moderation designed to lull Israel into complacency.

But soon this reality, too, began to change. The PLO decided in 1988 to officially support a two-state solution to the conflict and entered into dialogue with the United States. In 1991, Arab states participated in multilateral negotiations with Israel on water, the environment, economic development and regional security. Arab and Israeli business leaders met at international conferences. Israel's diplomatic isolation eased as China, India and others established formal ties, and Israeli liaison offices opened in Morocco and Arab states in the Persian Gulf. In 1994, Jordan made peace, removing the security justification for Israeli settlements in the West Bank. And in 2002, Arab states announced an "Arab peace initiative" offering peace and security in return for Israel's withdrawal from lands taken in the 1967 war.

But the Palestinian intifada put a brake on these developments, ushering in a decade of violence. As Palestinian terrorists attacked not only soldiers and settlers in the occupied territories, but also civilians in Israeli cities, the Israeli storyline of the 1950s -- David vs. Goliath -- revived.

I arrived in Israel as the U.S. ambassador in 2001, right after the first Palestinian suicide bombing, and discussed these issues often with then-Prime Minister Sharon, usually in the context of the choices Israel made in dealing with terrorism. Sharon believed that a strong and unyielding military response was all that was needed to persuade Palestinians to stop the intifada. A terrorist attack in Tel Aviv would often lead him to impose a closure on Gaza, preventing the movement of people and goods.

A typical conversation with Sharon on this subject went something as follows: I would suggest that the closure on Gaza would be seen by the media and even friendly governments as collective punishment, would shift the media's story line from Palestinian violence to Israel's reaction and could even drive Palestinians hurt by the closure into the terrorist camp. Sharon would reply that his responsibility was to protect Israelis, that the Gaza closure was designed to prevent further attacks and that the media were to blame for distorting reality.

His underlying point was clear: Any impact on Israel's image and on the long-term possibility of a widened conflict was outweighed by the need to prevent the next suicide bombing. Whatever the consequences of its actions, Israel would not apologize for defending itself.

Netanyahu would echo this refrain almost a decade later, after years marked not only by the intifada but by an Israeli decision to build a security barrier. The decade saw a brutal war in Lebanon in 2006, sparked by Hezbollah's kidnapping and killing of Israeli soldiers and ended by Israel's destruction of Lebanese civilian infrastructure and significant civilian casualties. The decade saw Hamas's election victory in 2006, its violent takeover of Gaza in 2007, its unrelenting rocket attacks against Israel in 2008 and Israel's massive response, again involving great numbers of civilian casualties and the destruction of infrastructure. By decade's end, a frustrated Israel had sealed off and blockaded Gaza to try to stem the flow of arms to Hamas, but because of the worsening humanitarian situation there, it was losing the battle for international legitimacy.

Narratives, as self-justifications, do little to explain the complexities, ironies and paradoxes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the early 1980s, while I was assigned to the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, I met a Palestinian nationalist figure in Gaza who was unrelentingly opposed to the Israeli occupation. He shocked me one day when he said he also admired Israel. After a near-fatal car accident in Gaza, his son had been evacuated to one of Israel's leading hospitals, where doctors saved his life. My Palestinian contact hated the Israel of the occupation, but he admired the Israel that was blind to the nationality of a boy in need of care.

When an Israeli military plan goes awry and civilians are killed -- as happened last week off the shores of Gaza -- should Israel's narrative take in the human dimension? Should it express empathy for those affected by the conflict and by Israeli military actions? Marla Braverman, an editor of Azure, an Israeli neoconservative journal, thinks not. In the current issue, she writes that despite a longtime tendency toward self-effacement, "Israel must learn to adopt a clear, unapologetic stance befitting a sovereign state."

The fact is, however, that sovereign states make mistakes, and they apologize. Sovereign states rely not only on military might and insistent rhetoric to defend their people, but also on diplomacy and values of empathy and understanding. Sovereign states can be strong while fostering a narrative of caring about the consequences of their policies.

In the aftermath of the flotilla fiasco, it is not just Israel's military tactics and its blockade of Gaza that need a thorough reexamination. Its narrative does, too. A dose of empathy might be a place to start. Israel will not break by military force and tough rhetoric alone the political and moral double standards by which the world judges its actions. But it can make its case better by tempering force with diplomacy, by caring as much about the humanitarian distress among Palestinians as it does about humanitarian causes elsewhere in the world, and by developing a storyline infused with the moral and ethical standards by which Israelis judge their own behavior.

*Daniel Kurtzer*, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt, is a visiting professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 11:50 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A); Ramamurthy, Pradeep; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; McDonough, Denis R.
**Subject:** FW: Opinion Analysis: Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti
**Attachments:** 06-04 Western Europe-Publics Credit US for Relief to Haiti.pdf

fyi

---

**From:** Selinger, Marta U
**Sent:** Friday, June 04, 2010 5:09 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Guimond, Gabrielle; Somerset, Ann D; Douglas, Walter T; Mellott, Joseph; Dickmeyer, James C; Castillo, Raymond A
**Subject:** Opinion Analysis: Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti

Dear Under Secretary McHale,

Attached please find the latest Opinion Analysis on West European views of U.S. assistance to Haiti. A synopsis follows:

# Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti

*Britons, French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards say the United States has done more than other countries to assist Haiti following the devastating January earthquake. Though relief efforts in Haiti have not themselves directly impacted opinion of the United States, the belief that the United States generally assists disaster-stricken countries does positively affect U.S. image.*

This report is For Official Use Only. For additional information on the survey or to make changes to the distribution list, please do not hesitate to contact me. Please forward to interested members of the USG.

Best regards,

Marta Selinger

Marta Selinger
Research Analyst for Central and Eastern Europe
Office of Opinion Research
U.S. Department of State
(202)736-4284
selingermu@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769725 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

FOR OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT USE ONLY

Opinion Analysis

Office of Research

June 4, 2010

# Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti

*Britons, French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards say the United States has done more than other countries to assist Haiti following the devastating January earthquake. Though relief efforts in Haiti have not themselves directly impacted opinion of the United States, the belief that the United States generally assists disaster-stricken countries does positively affect U.S. image.*

Awareness of Haiti relief efforts is high in Europe: majorities of Britons (66%), French (92%), Germans (85%), Italians (85%), and Spaniards (70%) have heard at least a fair amount about the earthquake and relief effort in Haiti.

## U.S. Credited For Relief Effort

Though certain West European media, particularly in France and in Italy, were initially critical of the U.S. relief effort, editorials in leading media gave way to mostly positive commentary.[1] Public opinion among those who have heard about the Haiti earthquake reflects this more positive take. West Europeans with a definite opinion volunteer the United States as contributing the most to earthquake relief in Haiti, though a third or more in Britain, Spain, and Germany are unsure (Figure 1).

Few in these five countries say their own country contributed the most to earthquake relief. In France, where early editorials were most critical of the U.S., only a quarter say that their country has done the most to aid Haitian relief (Box, next page).

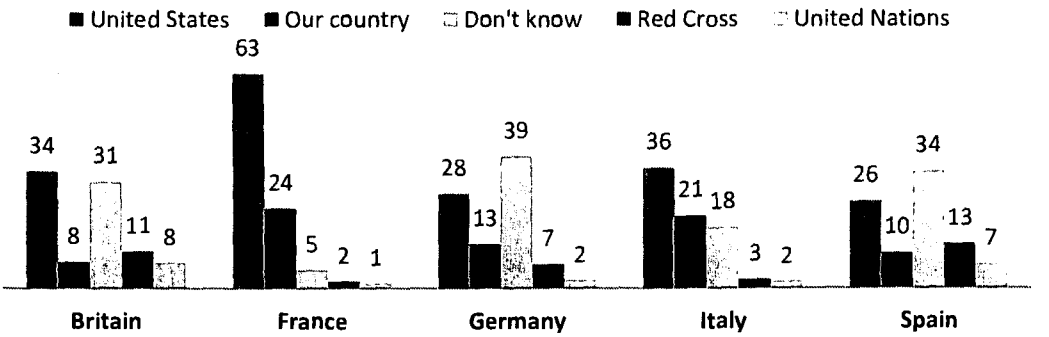
Among those who followed events in Haiti, majorities believe that the United States has done a good job in continuing to help Haitians after the earthquake. Western European publics also give their own countries and the Red Cross high marks for responding (see Appendix Table).

## Haiti Aid Has Not Boosted U.S. Image

West Europeans remain generally positive toward the U.S. (Figure 2, next page), but their overall impressions are not significantly influenced by U.S. assistance to Haiti.

**Figure 1. West Europeans Credit United States For Haiti Relief**

*Q. In your opinion, what one country or organization contributed most to earthquake relief in Haiti? [Open-ended]*




*Source: Office of Opinion Research surveys, Apr.-May 2010*

1. See Media Analysis, "Europe: 'Pointless' Quarreling Won't Rebuild Haiti," January 22, 2010.

**Methodological Note:** This report is based on surveys commissioned by the Office of Opinion Research. Between April 19 and May 5, 2010, reputable firms interviewed 1,000 adults in each country (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain). See page 3 for further details. M-70-10

This publication summarizes and interprets recent polling data that does not reflect the views of the U.S Government.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769725 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769725 Date: 08/31/2015



While specific instances of Haiti relief may not move the needle of U.S. image in Western Europe, a broader perception that the United States provides disaster relief in general *is* a factor in more favorable views. Majorities in Great Britain (77%), Italy (79%), Germany (86%), and France (72%) and half of Spaniards (52%) think the United States aids in disaster relief around the world. West Europeans who perceive the U.S. as generous with its disaster aid are more likely to have a positive view of the U.S.

**European Publics Satisfied with Their Own Country's Level of Aid**

Among those aware of the Haiti earthquake, most are satisfied with their country's contributions to the earthquake relief effort in Haiti, but would be open to some additional financial assistance for the reconstruction effort. When asked if their government should contribute more money to Haiti, majorities in France (80%), Spain (74%), and Italy (60%) and half of Britons (53%) agree.

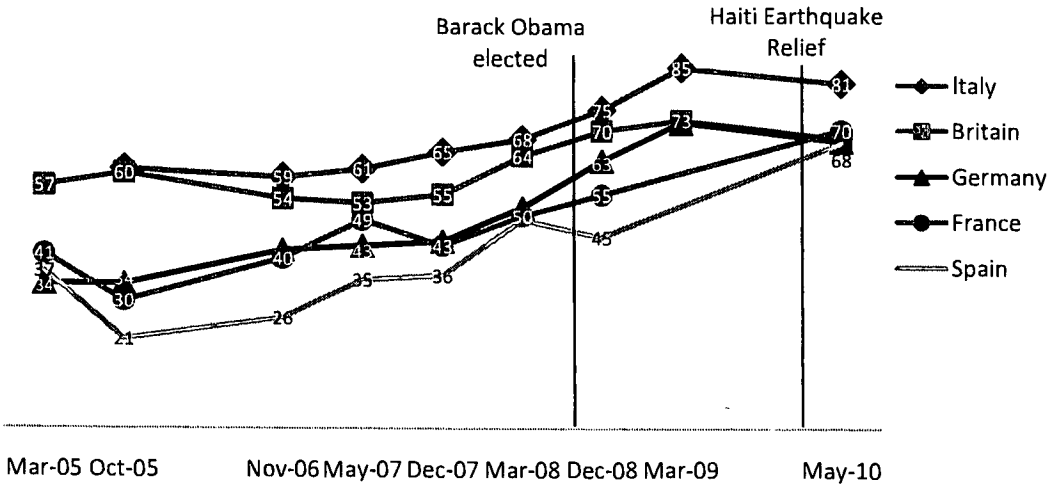
**French Generous With Help for Haiti, Praise for U.S.**

The French stand out in Europe in terms of being concerned and willing to help their former colony. An overwhelming majority (92%) have heard or read about the earthquake and the relief effort, including 65 percent who have heard a great deal. Large majorities also show a willingness to give more assistance funds and take in refugees. A majority (63%) recognizes the United States as the prime contributor to the relief effort and 80 percent say Washington has done a good job.

Helping refugees by allowing them to immigrate is much more controversial. Seven-in-ten French (72%) and Spanish (73%) say they would be willing to accept refugees, while majorities in Britain (63%) and Italy (71%) are *unwilling* to accept refugees.

**Figure 2. West European Views of U.S. Improved After 2008 Vote, But Not Necessarily After Haiti Earthquake Relief**

*Q. Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the United States?*




*Source: Office of Opinion Research surveys, 2005-2010*

Prepared by Marta Selinger, (202)736-4284, SelingerMU@state.gov
Riane Harper, (202)736-4283, HarperSR@state.gov
Issued by the Office of Opinion Research, U.S. Department of State



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769725 Date: 08/31/2015

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## How This Poll Was Conducted

This report is based on data from nationally representative telephone surveys conducted in Britain (n=1,002) April 21-26; France (n=1,002) April 19-23; Germany (n=1,000) April 23-May3; Italy (n=1,000) April 22-27; and Spain (n=1,000) April 26-May5 among adults age 18 and over. Local survey organizations carried out nationwide fieldwork. Questions were written by the Office of Opinion Research. The vernacular translations were prepared by the local firms and checked by the Office of Opinion Research. The margin of error for each country is approximately +/-4% for the overall sample.

Additional information on the methodology of the surveys may be obtained from the analysts.

FOR OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT USE ONLY

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: TFTP

Phil got a readout from Ops following the call. Memcon will be done tomorrow because of the snow day.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Feb 08 20:27:41 2010
Subject: TFTP

Did EUR get memcon of my call w Westerwelle?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 9:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Your example

Your staying home tomorrow will make lots of parents at higher levels feel ok about staying home with their kids. I may be one of them!

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

We are planning to find a careful but effective way to address progress on human rights issues and continuing challenges in your press avail. We will explain it to the Colombians and highlight it for Cindy. We can also read out your meetings to her.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Jun 06 16:15:37 2010
Subject: Re: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 03 13:48:20 2010
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

fyi

From: Brownfield, William R
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 10:41 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Cheryl

B5

B5

Feel free to share if you wish.

WRB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 7:33 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Kelly, Craig A; Brownfield, William R; Fuchs, Michael H; Baer, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

See b/l re travel to columbia

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl --

In my last email (Friday, 5/28), I attached the letter from the bipartisan Co-Chairs and Executive Committee members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission sent to Assistant Secretary Mike Posner expressing grave concern about the recent rise in death threats, attacks and murders of Colombian human rights defenders, religious, community and other NGO leaders. Congressman McGovern also strongly encouraged the Secretary to meet with representatives of those organizations and individuals being threatened, with a particularly effort to reach out to and invite the Bishops of Tumaco (Nariño), Barrancabermeja/Medio Magdalena (Santander), and we would now add Putumayo, since the Colombian Catholic Church just advised us yesterday of increased death threats against religious workers there. In addition, we recommended inviting Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao, director of Pastoral Social, at the Archdiocese in

Bogotá, who represents all the pastoral work of the Church throughout the country, as well as representatives from the Mennonite and Lutheran churches, in particular.

While in Colombia, the most important thing the Secretary can do is avoid effusive praise for President Álvaro Uribe, who leaves office in August. Inside Colombia, the visit by the Secretary is being described as focusing solely on the free trade agreement and continuing support of the counterdrug strategy/Plan Colombia. Without changes in the human rights situation and the culture of impunity, it is unlikely that anything the Secretary might say or do will alter the equation on Capitol Hill regarding the trade agreement. It should be noted that the October 2008 GAO report on the counter-drug operations in Colombia concluded that U.S. assistance was successful in increasing security in parts of the country, but a failure in the areas of counter-narcotics (GAO-09-71) , and a subsequent April 2009 USAID evaluation on U.S. aid for Plan Colombia for illegal crop reduction and Colombian counternarcotics policies actually contribute to increased coca production.

The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=58754> and failed even to mention any concerns.

These concerns are of critical importance, and while the Secretary need not list them all, at least some deserve public acknowledgement – some recognition that it is important to the United States that Colombia, including the current government and its successor, show the necessary political will to deal with them:

· A sharp rise in alleged military killings of civilians. In many cases, these are so-called "false positives": non-combatants murdered and later presented as members of armed groups killed in combat. These, notes <http://www.extrajudicialexecutions.org/colombia> UN Special Rapporter for Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston, "began occurring with a disturbing frequency across Colombia from 2004." Citing prosecutors' and NGOs' reports, Alston indicates that Colombia's security forces may have killed 1,486 civilians during the first six years of Álvaro Uribe's presidency. Alston notes that the Defense Ministry only began to address the situation after the media broke the story of the false-positives and the subsequent negative publicity and horrified public outcry.

The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=49968> , pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

· Mounting allegations that the President's intelligence service, the DAS, was put at the service <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1123> of paramilitary leaders and narcotraffickers; used to spy on and intimidate <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=752> Supreme Court justices, opposition politicians, journalists and human rights defenders; and employed in a campaign of sabotage and smears <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1467> against political opponents.

Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency <http://www.caracoltv.com/noticias/justicia/articulo168592-tres-asesores-de-uribe-son-investigados-chuzadas-ilegales> , though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

· President Uribe's political coalition has also been hit by a scandal known in Colombia as "para-politics." This coalition has included dozens of political bosses from regions beyond the capital. Many are large landholders with ties to narcotrafficking, the same local leaders who created and fostered the brutal pro-government paramilitary groups that killed tens of thousands of non-combatants in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Evidence, much of it from former paramilitary leaders, has brought about 300 criminal investigations against legislators, governors, mayors and other local officials, nearly all of them Álvaro Uribe's political supporters, who made common cause with the far-right warlords. To date, of the 278 congresspeople and senators elected in 2006, 68 <http://www.nuevoarcoiris.org.co/sac/?q=node/64> are under official investigation, on trial, or convicted for paramilitary ties. Those embroiled in parapolitics include the President's cousin, Mario Uribe; the brother of his former foreign minister; and individuals whom the President had named to be Colombia's ambassadors to Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Canada.

The Colombian prosecutors, investigators, witnesses and non-governmental organizations trying to uncover the truth about these abuses are working under conditions of great personal risk. They, too, are heroes and would benefit greatly from a public expression of concern about the cases they are investigating, and a reminder that their work is legitimate and important to U.S. interests in Colombia.

At the same time, it is important to avoid appearing to endorse any candidate in the June 20 runoff elections. Between the first and second rounds of a country's presidential election is a politically awkward time for a high-level official visit. Though President Uribe's former defense minister, Juan Manuel Santos, is the overwhelming favorite given his margin of success in the May 30th first round of balloting over former Bogotá mayor Antanas Mockus, it is necessary at this stage to convey a sense of balance and a willingness to work closely with whoever wins. As a result, any kind words for one candidate should be balanced by praise for the other.

Finally, it would be helpful to remind the Colombian people that the United States supports a peaceful resolution of Bogotá's worsening differences with Venezuela. While President Chávez's behavior is a significant concern, it would be most unhelpful to be perceived on this trip as fanning the flames of conflict with Colombia – or playing into the Chavez rhetoric that the U.S. and Colombia have military aspirations in the region.

Hope this memo, along with last week's copy of the TLHRC letter to Assistant Secretary Posner, are helpful and useful materials for the Secretary as she plans her trip.

Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov <mailto:cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov> )

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 9:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

See traffic b/l

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/08/2025

**From**: Lindwall, David E
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Foote, Daniel L
**Sent**: Mon Feb 08 19:44:29 2010
**Subject**: RE: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Cheryl, Bellerive hit me up before the beginning of a donors' meeting this morning to say that it's important that the US troops in country be covered by a bilateral agreement that defines, among other things, their immunities. [redacted] He noted that we have had SOFAs covering every military exercise in Haiti since he has been in government. [redacted] His critics have been on the radio daily accusing him and Préval of selling out Haiti's sovereignty by allowing foreign troops into the country. [redacted] From other statements he made today, [redacted] David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, February 08, 2010 7:10 PM
**To:** Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; [redacted]
**Cc:** [redacted] Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; [redacted]; Anderson, Gerald C; Koh, Harold Hongju
**Subject:** Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

B6

Can you explain more on his goals for a SOFA given our joint communique

Adding harold koh

**From**: Lindwall, David E
**To**: Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; Trivelli, Paul A AMB USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L) [redacted]
**Cc**: 'Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L)' [redacted]; Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei,

Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; '
; Anderson, Gerald C B6
**Sent:** Mon Feb 08 19:01:51 2010
**Subject:** PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I was in three meetings today with Prime Minister Jean Max Bellerive and he made the following points:

**Donors' Confab:** The GOH would like to hold the donors' pledging conference in New York on April 15. They have discounted their original date (March 22-23) because there is an IDB meeting in Mexico City on those same dates. There is a technical donors' meetings in Santo Domingo on April 14, and the GOH would like the pledging session to come after it. Bellerive said the GOH would also be open to doing the pledging session on March 31, though they prefer April 15.

**Status of Forces Agreement:** Bellerive asked me if we could propose to the GOH a SOFA covering US troops in Haiti. 1.4(D) B1
I told him we would consult and get back to him ASAP.

**Adoptions:** Bellerive signed the two lists of humanitarian parole letters I brought him, 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1
asking if we are close to finishing all the kids in the pipeline. In a later meeting with multiple donors Bellerive talked about the case of the ten Amcits being held for allegedly trying to take Haitian children out of the country without authorization. He said that this case is in the hands of the courts and that the Executive has no influence over the outcome, but said it is an example of the GOH's need to control the problem of child trafficking which he said has increased exponentially since the earthquake. He said the judge has three months to decide the case. He has already dropped the most serious charge of kidnapping, and now the charges "only carry a maximum of 15 years in prison." He said that the judge might determine that there isn't enough evidence in the case to try the Amcits. He said that the only power the Executive has in the case would be a presidential pardon in the event they are found guilty. He would not speculate on whether Préval would consider a pardon if the Amcits are found guilty.

**Migrants:** He approved the return to Haiti of 62 Haitian migrants detained on Great Exuma and said repatriations should continue as pre-earthquake normal.

**Relations with Dominican Republic:** On instructions, I asked Bellerive in private what the GOH believed would be the appropriate role of the Dominican Republic in donor coordination mechanisms. 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

**Political dilemma:** The executive decree establishing a state of urgency expires on February 15 and can only be extended by Parliament. Parliament has been fiercely critical of the Préval/Bellerive government since the disaster, and This leaves the government with the dilemma of how to handle extraordinary disaster needs (such as declaring land of public utility) after February 15. UN SRSG Mullet encouraged Bellerive to seek a "full consensus" with the opposition as "nothing short of unanimity" would be required to address the enormous challenges Haiti is facing.
Bellerive told the donor community that the GOH may soon have to choose between becoming totally ineffective (which he said they will not do) or taking actions that exceed the authority given to the Executive by the law (which he implied they are prepared to do). The government is meeting with the private sector to get their approval of their reconstruction strategy, recognizing that they will have great difficulty getting a consensus with the political parties. Bellerive said that the GOH is also evaluating what to do about upcoming elections and constitutional reform, but implied that they have more time to reach a decision on these matters.

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

**Préval to address the nation:** The government is going to designate February 12 (the month anniversary of the quake) as a day of national mourning and President Préval will make his first formal address to the nation since the disaster. They are drafting his speech to be part mourning and part the vision of the future. Préval wants to announce that all the ministries are up and running as usual.

**Ministries:** The PM said that the Primature and the Ministry of Planning will be moving into the old US Embassy building. The courts will move into the old USAID building. The plan to move a number of the ministries out to Croix des Bouquets has met with very little enthusiasm from the main line ministries. They prefer to clear the rubble off of their properties in downtown Port-au-Prince and either build new buildings (EU is offering to finance) or put up temporary structures (Canada is offering to finance).

David E. Lindwall
Chargé d'Affairs
U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti
(509) 2229-8132

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Community of Democracies

Welcome back to an unbelievable snowy mess in DC!

I wanted to tell you that I met with the Lithuanian official who is heading up the Community of Democracies. Lithuania has the lead for the next two years. They are extremely energetic and recognize that CD needs to be reinvigorated. It was not given much leadership from us during the Bush years and besides democracy got a bad name – among other reasons. Their plan is to create a few working groups focused on issues that are current and important with specific practical goals and tangible results – among them, one will be focused on women and their critical role. As you know, they have a female president, the EU has just established a Gender Institute in Vilnius and they remember Vital Voices when you headed up the conference in Iceland and the successor conference which was held in Lithuania in 2001. We talked about a more concerted commitment -- to advocating for women and the role they need to play in conflict resolution (1325), helping women in Afghanistan and working to help women in eastern Europe and the Caucuses where things appear to be going backwards in many ways (takes me back to our first-ever VV conference in Vienna).
I agreed that we would co-chair the gender working group with Lithuania.

The Lithuanians believe that in many ways the younger generation takes for granted what the older generation fought for (they remember being a "Captive Nation and how the US kept them going with an embassy when they was little likelihood at the time that they'd ever become a democracy), and that today democracies are struggling in too many places. It's as though we have to take back democracy's good name and focus it as a universal value to address the critical challenges.

Mike Posner has the lead on CD. I talked to him about all of this. He is all for our doing the gender working group as something tangible. He is concerned about where the Community of Democracies goes more broadly. Since this was a creation of the Clinton Administration and since democracy is under siege in so many places, I hope we will find a way to work with the Lithuanians and others who still want to see it make a difference. In some ways it may be more relevant today. They are planning the first ministerial in Krakow in July and hoping so much that you will be a part of it.

Assuming I can get there, I'm going to their embassy in the morning where several government reps of participating countries will be meeting to announce next steps, including the gender working group.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:22 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

I drove the roads - I live [redacted] lots of packed hard snow and two stuck cars. It's worse than it seems

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] <cheryl.mills[redacted]
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:08:04 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

I can't believe the govt is closed again. I guess I will work from home again but think this is silly.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:22 PM
**To:** H

Still haven't heard anything about funeral arrangements for Mr Murtha. I am planning to attend, wherever it will be (johnstown or arlington). Will let you know when I hear something. It's such a big loss for the community, the state and the country. PA officials are talking about a special election on May 18th.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Am going to connect w/ bellerive in am

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/08/2025

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:04:44 2010
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I read all the way down and am very concerned but not surprised. Have you shared the content w Bill? What do you think should be done--and by whom--to address these issues?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 21:45:58 2010
Subject: Fw: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

See traffic b/l

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Foote, Daniel L
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:44:29 2010
Subject: RE: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Cheryl, Bellerive hit me up before the beginning of a donors' meeting this morning to say that it's important that the US troops in country be covered by a bilateral agreement that defines, among other things, their immunities. [redacted] He noted that we have had SOFAs covering every military exercise in Haiti since he has been in government. [redacted] His critics have been on the radio daily accusing him and Préval of selling out Haiti's sovereignty by allowing foreign troops into the country. [redacted] From other statements he made today, [redacted]
David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2010 7:10 PM
To: Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; [redacted] Anderson, Gerald C; Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Can you explain more on his goals for a SOFA given our joint communique

Adding harold koh

---

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To: Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; Trivelli, Paul A AMB USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L) [redacted] B6
Cc: 'Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L)' [redacted]; Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; [redacted] Anderson, Gerald C
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:01:51 2010
Subject: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

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Status of Forces Agreement: Bellerive asked me if we could propose to the GOH a SOFA covering US troops in Haiti. [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 [redacted] I told him we would consult and get back to him ASAP.

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Migrants: He approved the return to Haiti of 62 Haitian migrants detained on Great Exuma and said repatriations should continue as pre-earthquake normal.

Relations with Dominican Republic: On instructions, I asked Bellerive in private what the GOH believed would be the appropriate role of the Dominican Republic in donor coordination mechanisms. [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Political dilemma: The executive decree establishing a state of urgency expires on February 15 and can only be extended by Parliament. Parliament has been fiercely critical of the Préval/Bellerive government since the disaster, and [redacted] This leaves the 1.4(B) government with the dilemma of how to handle extraordinary disaster needs (such as declaring land of public utility) 1.4(D) after February 15. UN SRSG Mullet encouraged Bellerive to seek a "full consensus" with the opposition as "nothing B1 short of unanimity" would be required to address the enormous challenges Haiti is facing. [redacted] Bellerive told the donor community that the GOH may soon have to choose between becoming totally ineffective (which he said they will not do) or taking actions that exceed the authority given to the Executive by the law (which he implied they are prepared to do). The government is meeting with the private sector to get their approval of their reconstruction strategy, recognizing that they will have great difficulty getting a consensus with the political parties. Bellerive said that the GOH is also evaluating what to do about upcoming elections and constitutional reform, but implied that they have more time to reach a decision on these matters. [redacted]

Préval to address the nation: The government is going to designate February 12 (the month anniversary of the quake) as a day of national mourning and President Préval will make his first formal address to the nation since the disaster. They are drafting his speech to be part mourning and part the vision of the future. Préval wants to announce that all the ministries are up and running as usual.

Ministries: The PM said that the Primature and the Ministry of Planning will be moving into the old US Embassy building. The courts will move into the old USAID building. The plan to move a number of the ministries out to Croix des Bouquets has met with very little enthusiasm from the main line ministries. They prefer to clear the rubble off of their properties in downtown Port-au-Prince and either build new buildings (EU is offering to finance) or put up temporary structures (Canada is offering to finance).

David E. Lindwall

Chargé d'Affairs

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Murtha statement

You ok with this?
I was deeply saddened to hear of the passing of Congressman Jack Murtha. From the battlefields of Vietnam to the hills of Western Pennsylvania to the halls of Congress, Jack Murtha lived by the Marine Corps credo "Semper Fidelis," never wavering in his faithful commitment to the country he loved and the men and women who bravely defend her. In war and in peace, he fought for what he knew was right, even when it was unpopular. He was a fierce advocate for working families struggling with a changing economy and for better health care and equipment for servicemembers. And over the course of more than three decades in Congress, he became one of our nation's most respected voices on national security and foreign policy. Presidents of both parties sought his advice and generations of colleagues looked to him for leadership and wisdom. As Senator from New York serving on the Armed Services Committee, I was fortunate to call Jack a friend and mentor. And as Secretary of State, I continued to rely on his expertise and judgment. I knew that Jack would always shoot straight, like the Marine he was, and never shy away from a difficult question or a tough fight. Today our country has lost a decorated war hero and a distinguished public servant. The men and women of the our armed forces have lost a tireless champion. And the people of Pennsylvania's 12th district have lost a neighbor, an advocate, and a true friend. My thoughts and prayers are with them and with Jack's beloved wife Joyce and their family. He will be sorely missed.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

The hearings on wednesday are off. The senate foreign relations committee moved its hearing to Thursday am. And house foreign ops is tentatively scheduled for thursday afternoon. Given the forecast, neither of these may actually occur.

Starting to hear that murtha funeral will be saturday in johnstown, but that is not confirmed yet. Will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:27:28 2010
Subject: Re:

I am so sorry we lost him. Ed Rendell told me he wants to hold a big memorial service in the State Capitol in Harrisburg but he hasn't spoken to Joyce yet. I haven't either. I'd like to go too wherever it is. Let me know what you hear.

Also, since the govt is closed again tomorrow and Congress cancelled too, and another big storm is expected tomorrow night, do you think Congress will even bother showing up for our hearings? I'm planning on working from home.

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From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:22:20 2010
Subject:

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RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

If I can take a diff car I am going in; if not I'll work from here

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/08/2025

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:28:30 2010
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Are you going to stay home?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:27:49 2010
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

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Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Foote, Daniel L
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Cc: Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; Anderson, Gerald C; Koh, Harold Hongju
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David E. Lindwall

Chargé d'Affairs

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: David Brooks

Not sure - but this is a good excuse to bring him in for an OTR with you. Lona mentioned you wanted to see Tom Friedman - with your ok, we could schedule both (separately) over the next month or so

I'd very much like to get back in the habit of bringing someone or a small group in every few weeks.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Cc: CDM
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: David Brooks
Sent: Feb 9, 2010 7:39 AM

Took a shot at me in his column today. Any ideas what prompted it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Sargsyan message to Gul

FYI.

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 09, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Scanlon, Amy B
**Subject:** Sargsyan message to Gul

Jim: Sargsian sent this nice message to Gul as he crossed into Turkish airspace today. Understand Gul plans to reciprocate. Should at least help the atmosphere. Separately, the two sides have (more or less) agreed to enter the cone of silence starting today. Will see how long it lasts.
Jake – might want to share this with S.

09.02.2010
President Serzh Sargsyan sent a message to the President of the Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gul.

The message states,

"Excellency,

Passing through Turkish airspace, I send my greetings to you and the people of neighboring Turkey.

Our initiative, aimed at the normalization of the Armenian-Turkish relations, holds attention of the international community. This is a historic moment, indeed, and it is recognized not only by us, but also by the global community. Efforts of the countries engaged in the region, aimed at the improvement of bilateral relations, are indispensable. I am confident that it wouldn't be possible to move forward without their support. At the same time, I believe no matter how interested friendly states might be in a positive resolution of the impasse, there are certain things that can be done only by our two nations.

Mr. President,

I hope you will agree that the Armenian and Turkish peoples assign the main task of getting rid of the stereotypes regarding each other and establishment of the atmosphere of mutual trust to their respective governments. We can achieve results only if there are trust, resolve, and unfaltering stance. A situation when words are not supported by deeds gives rise to mistrust and skepticism, providing ample opportunities to counteract for those, who oppose the process. We should be mindful of the fact that in this particular case, the time is working not for but against the process.

If until now we have been able to bring our bilateral relations up to a level which made the prospects of building normal relations between our two countries more tangible and discernible, now the time has come to manifest determination to make next major step and leave to the coming generations a stable and secure region.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest esteem."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Sri Lanka president dissolves parliament, calls poll

---

**From**: Shelstad, Jeffrey
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA
**Cc**: Banks, Dana
**Sent**: Tue Feb 09 10:31:06 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Sri Lanka president dissolves parliament, calls poll

COLOMBO (Reuters) - Sri Lanka's newly re-elected President Mahinda Rajapaksa dissolved parliament with effect from February 10 and called legislative elections, a senior government official said. "The president dissolves the parliament with effect from midnight," said a senior government official.

**Jeff Shelstad**
**Watch Officer**
**Department of State Operations Center (S/ES-O)**
**ShelstadJ@state.gov (202) 647-1512**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Sad news

We cannot seem to change DCFS' decision and it looks as though it will close. You were the first recipient of their yearly honor. Where will these boys go?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, June 06, 2010 3:19 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re: Sad news

That is a sad story and I hope it can be saved. Any updates about its fate?

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
To: Bonnie Klehr [redacted] hsmoe [redacted] treerep [redacted] John Ryan [redacted] Susan Mcnamara [redacted]; Ernest Ricketts [redacted] Corrine Ebeling [redacted]; Delano, Omorinsola [redacted] Claps, Rocco [redacted]
Sent: Thu Jun 03 09:29:47 2010
Subject: Sad news

Boys home closing, but numbers don't tell full story

By Burt Constable | Daily Herald Columnist

Published: 6/3/2010 12:01 AM

When the goal is turning around lives of young abused and neglected boys, filling out the scoresheet is more complicated than simply marking wins or losses.

For the past 15 years, Ann G. Deuel has lived in Arlington Heights, but her heart has resided in Jamal Place, a three-story graystone at 1335 S. California Ave. in the North Lawndale neighborhood of Chicago. As a founder and executive director of Jamal Place, Deuel can tell countless stories about the boys, ages 11 to 17, who have spent time in the group home and about the army of suburbanites from St. Charles, Naperville, Lake Zurich and Lisle who have volunteered, donated and served on the board to help those kids. Lots of people in that field have good things to say about Deuel and Jamal Place.

But when the new fiscal year begins on July 1, the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services will not renew its contract with Jamal Place, forcing those kids to go to other facilities.

"To shut us down and deny kids this opportunity is unconscionable," says Deuel, as she takes a deep breath and dabs at her eyes in an attempt to keep her emotions in check.

She and her staff operated last year through a $1,041,000 contract with DCFS to provide a group home for 10 wards of the state. They've carved out a wonderful reputation in 15 years, so what happened?

The easy answer is that DCFS put the group home under a new performance-based contracting system that determined Jamal Place fell short of benchmarks for keeping kids from running away, requiring hospitalization or ending up in juvenile detention.

"Taxpayers expect and deserve positive results in the children we serve," says DCFS spokesman Kendall Marlowe. Jamal Place simply didn't measure up in the areas the state measures.

Because Illinois has trimmed the number of wards of the state from a high of 52,000 in 1997 to only 15,500, a much higher percentage of those kids have mental illnesses, substance abuse or other problems. Since the state measures an agency's performance by days that the kids are physically present in the home, Jamal Place, with its small population, got bad marks when a child was hospitalized for a mental-health issue or detained by a judge.

"We did what was clinically advisable for these children and we got dinged for it," says Brian Barclay, assistant executive director of Jamal Place. "We did what was in kids' best interest."

There is no consideration given for "incremental improvements in youth behavior, which occur as trusting relationships develop," Deuel notes. "I wish they could find a way to measure the individual aspects."

When compared with similar facilities, Jamal Place graded lower, Marlowe says, adding that it "isn't a happy day" when the state ends an agreement with a facility that has "good people" and has done "good work" in the past. He says DCFS did renew a contract with Deuel for a different transitional living facility that serves an older population.

One of Jamal Place's "unfavorable" outcomes involves a kid who already had a criminal record when he came to the group home at age 14. Now 17, he says he ended up in juvenile court after he made a mistake by hanging with the wrong people on the day when he stole a woman's purse.

"I've got a good relationship with the staff and residents. We did things as a family," says the teen, who now is living with a grandmother. "I love my grandmother, but I'd rather be at Jamal Place. I'm trying to do everything in my power to get back to Jamal Place."

Intangibles aren't part of the bureaucratic process. There isn't a place on an evaluation form to give credit to Deuel and her staff for leading the effort that closed a local "crack house." There's no way to measure the improvements in a former resident that led him for the first time to sign "love" before his name on the Mother's Day card he sent Deuel this year. There's no scoresheet for the local gang leader who stopped preying on Jamal kids when he was confronted by Deuel and recognized her as the woman who gave him a Christmas present a few years earlier. The interview for this story is interrupted when that man calls Deuel, who is helping him find a legitimate job.

"It is enormously frustrating to me that the attachment the boys develop with our staff members is not a 'measurable' outcome," Deuel says. "These are our children. Long after DCFS is done with these kids, our door is still open."

Last weekend, many former residents came back to explain how Jamal Place helped them. On June 26, Jamal Place will celebrate its 15th anniversary with a picnic and walkathon in Douglas Park, across the street from the home. Deuel and her staff are hoping DCFS finds a way to give them more time, another year to continue its mission.

"I've always maintained that God won't let us fail," says Deuel. "For 15 years, that's been the case, and now we've got this challenge."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** preines(
**Cc:** H; CDM; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: David Brooks

Philippe and I had an offline conversation about this and I agree entirely. I think it makes sense for you to meet with influencers on a regular -- though not intrusive -- basis. An OTR conversation with you is the best way to help guys like Brooks "figure out" how things work.

On Tue, Feb 9, 2010 at 9:44 AM, PIR <preines > wrote:
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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Romania/Moldova

Here is an assessment from EUR:

**Re: [redacted]'s comments on Romania/Moldova**

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D)
[redacted] In B1 2006, he said, "We are the only country, the only people, which remain still divided. Germany reunited its nation; Romania remains still divided into two countries. But, I repeat, our reunification will occur inside of the European Union and in no other way." In 2009, he said "Who can imagine that a head of Romanian state will sign a treaty to entrench the Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact?"

During his late January trip to Chisinau, Basescu's message [redacted] on territorial integrity and supportive of EU integration. He said "Romania recognized the state borders of the Republic of Moldova inherited from the former Soviet Union. Romania agrees to sign an agreement in regards to the existent border regime, the way it was inherited from the USSR." Romania and Moldova, in fact, have good relations and no real border issues; the two governments are working on an agreement to make cross-border travel easier for Moldovans.

The biggest challenge to Moldova's territorial integrity is Transnistria, where de facto authorities rely on the long-term presence of Russian forces for political support. Moldova's leaders seek a transition to a multilateral presence and withdrawal of Russian troops, but this is not likely without a political settlement on Transnistria's reintegration. Moldovan and Transnistrian authorities are pursuing quiet confidence building measures and [redacted] (Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Transnistria and the OSCE are the 5 parties and the US and EU are the 2 observers), but [redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/09/2030

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update on Ukraine election situation

**From EUR:**

## Update on Ukraine Election Situation

With over 99.9 percent of the vote in Ukraine counted, Yanukovych leads by 3.5 percent (almost 900,000 votes) and is the clear winner and next president. The Central Election Commission should complete its vote tabulation today and must certify the results within ten days; certification is expected as early as Friday. Tymoshenko, who has been silent publicly, plans to bring cases of alleged electoral fraud to the courts, but they will not change the result. Tymoshenko claims that she intends to work within the law and not to incite street protests.

Our recommendation is [redacted] B5
[redacted] EU Ambassadors in Kiev have recommended the same approach to Brussels, but want to revisit it if there is no progress by Friday. Medvedev called Yanukovych today with praise for the conduct of elections, but stopped short of congratulating him on his victory.

Following certification of the election, Tymoshenko is likely to appeal within the legal five-day period. This will likely push back an inauguration date until early March.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 4:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FYI - Internet "Lack of Freedom" - Riyadh moves to regulate net news

FYI

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**From:** Wittes, Tamara C
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 09, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** Djerassi, Alexander M; Bennett, Virginia L; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Rooney, Megan; Steinfeld, Andrew W; Sanderson, Janet A; Harris, Joshua M; Wittes, Tamara C; Valmoro, Lona J; Crowley, Philip J; Merrill, Nicholas S; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C; Mills, Cheryl D; Pandith, Farah A; Chandler, Karen R; Nantongo, Mirembe L; Ziadeh, Susan L; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FYI - Internet "Lack of Freedom" - Riyadh moves to regulate net news

Given the proximity of this announcement to her internet freedom speech, she should probably be prepared to address it. I would hope that a way could be found to raise the issue.

Is Alec Ross going to be traveling with S to Saudi? If so, maybe he could do a meeting with a group of bloggers and/or online journalists.

# Riyadh moves to regulate net news

**http://www.thenational.ae/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20100209/FOREIGN/702089866/1042**

Carlyle Murphy, Foreign correspondent

- Last Updated: February 08. 2010 11:46PM UAE / February 8. 2010 7:46PM GMT

Saudi Arabia is planning to introduce regulations that include licensing internet news sites in a bid to bring them under government control. Ali Jarekji / Reuters

RIYADH // Saudi Arabia is planning to introduce regulations, including a licensing requirement, for its indigenous internet news sites, which have become a key fixture in the kingdom's active online community.

The draft regulations, still under study, would require internet-based news sites to request a government licence and to respond to complaints about their content that are received by the ministry of culture and information.

"We want them to feel that they are under our umbrella," Abdul Rahman al Hazza, spokesman for the ministry, said in a phone interview yesterday.

Mr al Hazza referred to the new rules as "guidelines for the e-press", and said the idea is to help the electronic media with staffing and financing and give them "somebody to talk to" if they have problems. "It's going to be simple and easy."

Asked if the new rules would involve censorship, Mr al Hazza replied: "Not that much." Mainly, he added, if there are complaints about something written at an online news site, "we just look at it".

A report last year in the Saudi Gazette said the draft regulations also cover "appointment conditions for editors-in-chief, granting permits to journalists, and invitations to cover news events".

A 2007 law already subjects online writers to criminal penalties for such things as defamation.

The planned regulations, which Mr al Hazza said are still two to three months away from being finalised by the ministry, are an effort to bring online news sites such as Sabq, Alweeam and A'ajel under government control in much the same way that the country's traditional daily newspapers are regulated.

It is not clear if news sites like Elaph.com, which is London-based but has a Riyadh office, would also have to get a licence.

Saudi newspapers are licensed by the government and can be temporarily stopped from publishing if they print something upsetting to a government official. But this has been rare in recent years, during which the Saudi print media has been encouraged to report more critically on social and economic problems. There is considerable self-censorship, however, as the media stay away from sensitive issues.

Although the draft regulations under consideration do not apply to bloggers, there are concerns that the government eventually will try to regulate them as well.

"They are not talking about blogs" right now, observed one veteran Saudi blogger, Ahmed Ba-Aboud. "But eventually they will get to us. It is a concern."

Mr Ba-Aboud, 38, a management consultant in the kingdom's Eastern Province city of Dhahran, said the government does not understand that online media are attracting readers because they are not controlled like traditional newspapers. "There's no way I'd send anything I write to the government to censor it," he said. "That's not how the internet works."

Ahmed al Omran, who blogs at www.saudijeans.org, was caustic about what he called the ministry's "dumb idea to regulate so-called electronic media".

"Ironically, some owners of news websites are actually pushing for this law," Mr Omran lamented in a posting last month.

"They argue that it would make it easier for them to get funding and make money from advertising. What about their independence and freedom that could be threatened by the new law? Well, apparently these things are not high on their agenda."

Saudi Arabia's sprightly blogging community includes both Saudis and foreigners writing in both Arabic and English. It also boasts one of the region's highest proportion of female bloggers – about 46 per cent, according to a 2009 study by Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet and Society. About one-third of the kingdom's population regularly goes online.

The community's latest arrival showed up February 2, when Mr Ba-Aboud launched a new English-language blog so that outsiders can learn more about "regular people like myself".

Most foreigners know certain kinds of Saudis, Mr Ba-Aboud said in an interview, including "extremists like Osama bin Laden", "rich people" and "people related to the government".

But the voice of ordinary Saudis "does not reach around the globe in a similar magnitude", he wrote at the new site, http://alternativesaudivoices.wordpress.com.

It will be a sort of communal blog in that Mr Ba-Aboud has invited anyone to contribute a posting, and as co-ordinator, he will post them on the site. Only those that "call for hate or violence" will be rejected, he added.

In an interview last November, Mr al Hazza, the ministry spokesman, said the new regulations arose partly because ordinary citizens "don't know where to go" to complain about something written at an online news site.

"The problem we have is that there is no government department to refer to ... Nobody to evaluate their job to see if they are doing wrong or right."

Censorship "is not the idea" behind the new rules, he said. "The idea is to regulate."

Mr al Hazza said a decision will probably be made in the next couple of weeks about whether the new regulations shall be issued by the minister of culture and information, Abdel Aziz al Khoja, or be sent to the Shoura Council for action.

Meanwhile, anyone wanting to send Mr al Khoja a comment on the new rules can reach him at his personal page at Facebook

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Helmi Noman
Program Specialist
Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)
Regional Office, Abu Dhabi
Tel. +971-2-414-2541
Fax. +971-2-414-2576
abudhabi.mepi.state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 4:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Belarus

Phil believes he has nailed down where things are on Belarus. Note is coming your way spelling out state of play and proposing a cable, which they will prepare.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cherie Blair <
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.
IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.
Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Options regarding 10 Haiti Amcits
**Attachments:** 2010 Haiti Amcits memo.doc

**Importance:** High

Madame Secretary:

You have asked about the USG's options regarding the 10 Amcits from Idaho in Haiti, from the New Life Children's Refuge, who are currently being charged with child abduction and criminal association crimes under Haitian law. Depending on the GOH's intent, we believe the USG would have the following basic options:

B5

Page Denied

B5

Please let us know if you need more information, and especially if you would like us to contact DOJ to inquire further.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** **The Secretary**

**CC:** **Counselor Mills**
**Deputy Chief of Staff Sullivan**
**Assistant Secretary Crowley**

**FROM:** **Harold Hongju Koh, Legal Adviser**

**DATE:** **February 9, 2010**

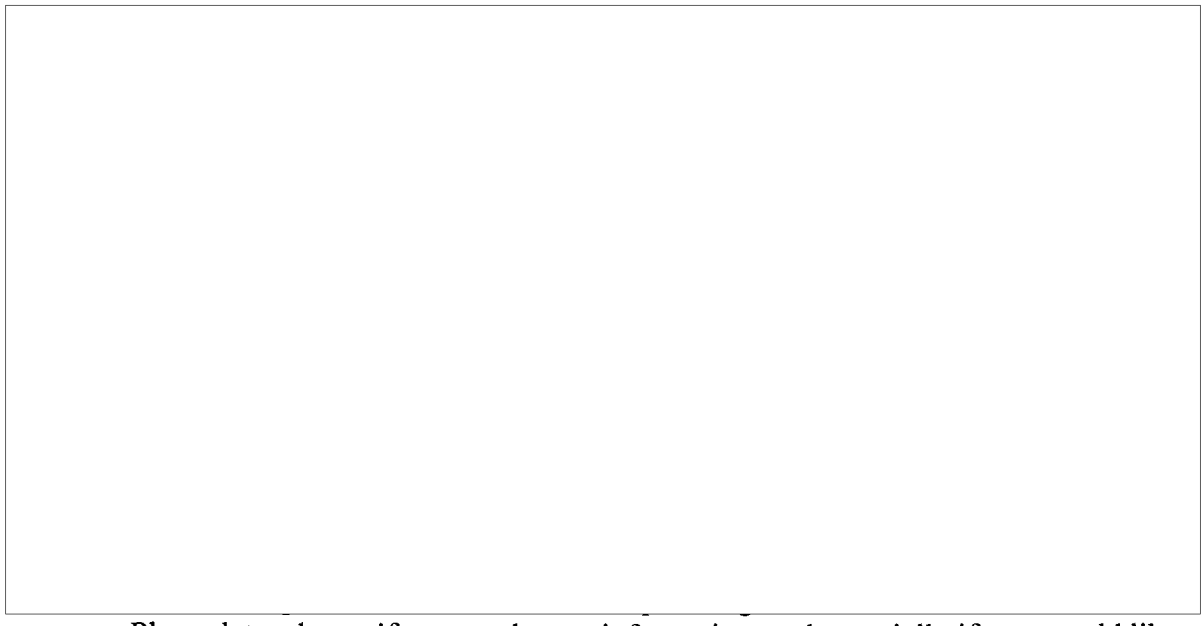
**RE:** **10 Amcits in Haiti**

You have asked about the USG's options regarding the 10 Amcits from Idaho in Haiti, from the New Life Children's Refuge, who are currently being charged with child abduction and criminal association crimes under Haitian law. Depending on the GOH's intent, we believe the USG would have the following basic options:

B5

Page Denied

B5



Please let us know if you need more information, and especially if you would like us to contact DOJ to inquire further.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 09, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M; Townley, Stephen G; Hooke, Kathleen H; Eichensehr, Kristen E; Osborn, Judith L; Mathias, Stephen; Thessin, James H
**Subject:** FW: 10 AmCits and you FW: one Texan who is being detained in Haiti is

As I told Susan, Cheryl asked for a memo from L for S BY TOMW AM outlining S's options re the Amcits. Her questions:

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 11:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Turkey-Azerbaijan Agreement signed

Fyi

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**From**: Morningstar, Richard L
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Abedin, Huma; Stein, Daniel D; O'Brien, Vincent J; Parris, Mark
**Sent**: Mon Jun 07 11:30:50 2010
**Subject**: Turkey-Azerbaijan Agreement signed

Hi Jake- You might let S know that the Turkey-Azerbaijan Agreement was signed today by the Ministers in the presence of Aliyev and Erdogan. I spent last week in Baku. During the week I met for an hour and a half with Aliyev on the agreement and a 45 minute one-on-one on our overall issues. I felt a bit like Dr. Phil. I told him what a big deal the FSN issue was and how important it was to get resolved. I will forward on the high side an e-mail describing the meeting. This was all fully coordinated with Phil Gordon. On the gas agreement, I am sending congratulatory letters to Aliyev and Erdogan, both of whom I have worked with directly on these issues. If you think it a good idea for S to send letters, I can send you drafts. Thanks...Dick

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 9:18 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Funeral Update

From the Murtha office below....still checking on whether there will be something in D.C. on Friday.

---

**From:** Mazonkey, Matthew <Matthew.Mazonkey@mail.house.gov>
**To:** PA12 - All Staff <PA12-AllStaff@housemail.house.gov>; Colette Marchesini: [redacted] Juola, Paul <Paul.Juola@mail.house.gov>; [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tue Feb 09 19:20:03 2010
**Subject:** Funeral Update

At this time, the family would like to announce the following -

Viewing will be Sunday and Monday at Duca's Funeral Home on Menhoer Boulevard in Westmont (Johnstown, PA).

Burial will take place Tuesday at Grandview Cemetery, in Westmont.

Further details (i.e. time) will be forthcoming.

Matt

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 2:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: not helping...

---

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Monday, June 07, 2010 2:44 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** not helping...

•Rep. **Charlie Rangel** (D-NY) "compared" Obama to **Dick Cheney** "for their shared commitment to the Iraq War," which he said is "because of the oil" (New York *Daily News*).

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: USG Options regarding 10 Haiti Amcits
**Attachments:** 2010 Haiti Amcits memo.doc

**Importance:** High

FYI

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 09, 2010 5:47 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Daniel B; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Reines, Philippe I; Campbell, Piper
**Subject:** USG Options regarding 10 Haiti Amcits
**Importance:** High

Sent to S

Madame Secretary:

You have asked about the USG's options regarding the 10 Amcits from Idaho in Haiti, from the New Life Children's Refuge, who are currently being charged with child abduction and criminal association crimes under Haitian law. Depending on the GOH's intent, we believe the USG would have the following basic options:

B5

Page Denied

B5

Please let us know if you need more information, and especially if you would like us to contact DOJ to inquire further.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** **The Secretary**

**CC:** **Counselor Mills**
**Deputy Chief of Staff Sullivan**
**Assistant Secretary Crowley**

**FROM:** **Harold Hongju Koh, Legal Adviser**

**DATE:** **February 9, 2010**

**RE:** **10 Amcits in Haiti**

You have asked about the USG's options regarding the 10 Amcits from Idaho in Haiti, from the New Life Children's Refuge, who are currently being charged with child abduction and criminal association crimes under Haitian law. Depending on the GOH's intent, we believe the USG would have the following basic options:

B5

Page Denied

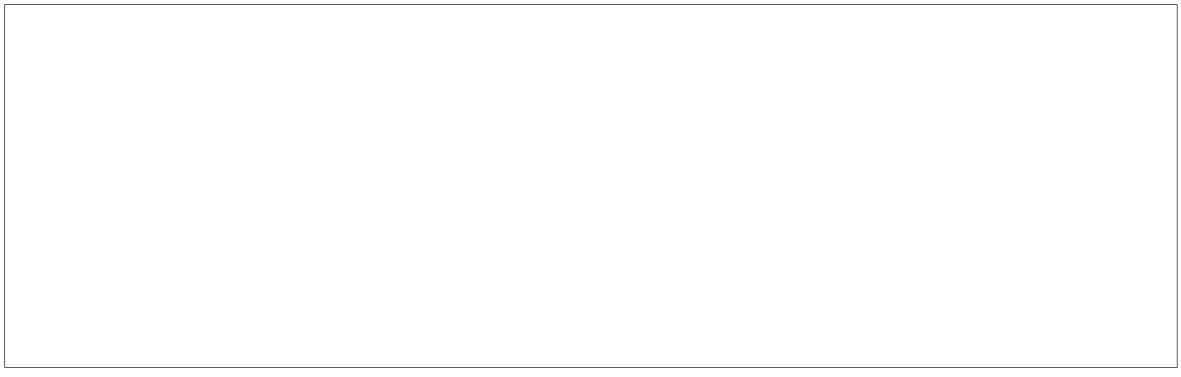
B5



Please let us know if you need more information, and especially if you would like us to contact DOJ to inquire further.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 09, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M; Townley, Stephen G; Hooke, Kathleen H; Eichensehr, Kristen E; Osborn, Judith L; Mathias, Stephen; Thessin, James H
**Subject:** FW: 10 AmCits and you FW: one Texan who is being detained in Haiti is

As I told Susan, Cheryl asked for a memo from L for S BY TOMW AM outlining S's options re the Amcits. Her questions:



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Brazil-Iran

FYI:

Brazilian FM defends dialogue with Iran

BRASILIA, Feb. 9 (Xinhua) -- Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim said Tuesday Brazil would maintain negotiations with Iran on uranium enrichment and oppose any sanctions against Iran.

Amorim said Brazil was against the production of nuclear weapons, but Iran had the right to carry out a peaceful nuclear program.

"Dialogue is still possible. What we want is to make sure (that the uranium will not be used to make weapons) through peaceful ways and dialogue," Amorim told reporters.

Under a draft deal brokered by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the UN nuclear watchdog, most of Iran's existing low-grade enriched uranium should be shipped to Russia and France, where it would be processed into fuel rods with a purity of 20 percent.

Iran declared on Tuesday it had started the process of producing 20-percent enriched uranium inside the country.

In response to Iran's announcement, the U.S.-led Western countries have warned to take political and economic sanctions against Iran.

For his part, Amorim said he considered any kind of sanctions ineffective and dangerous because they might cross a limit and jeopardize peace.

Iran's president made an official visit to Brazil in November, during which the Brazilian government defended Iran's right to have its own peaceful nuclear program including uranium enrichment similar to Brazil's, following international standards.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Phil Goldberg

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**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Tue Feb 09 21:41:02 2010
**Subject:** Phil Goldberg

Was confirmed by the Senate tonight.

He was one of two noms confirmed. Still upwards of 70 noms being held, including 3 State dept noms held by Jon Kyl. Thought we had a breakthrough today, but we did not and will keep trying when the Senate comes back on Thursday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:32 PM
**To:** H

Mitchell/mara/jake agree best thing for mohlo to be told that you got full debrief on their meeting and given the schedule challenges for tomorrow, would not be able to do mtg.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Bloomberg-South America Leaders Propose Haiti Aid, Avoid Strife (Update3)

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Laszczych, Joanne
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Feb 09 19:44:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg-South America Leaders Propose Haiti Aid, Avoid Strife (Update3)

----- Original Message -----
From: Santos-Velasquez, Adriana [redacted] B6
To: Laszczych, Joanne
Sent: Tue Feb 09 19:20:37 2010
Subject: Bloomberg-South America Leaders Propose Haiti Aid, Avoid Strife (Update3)

Joanne,

President Moreno asked me to forward this to you in that way Mrs Cheryl Mills gets this info.

Thanks,

Adriana

Subject: Bloomberg-South America Leaders Propose Haiti Aid, Avoid Strife (Update3)

By Alexander Cuadros

Feb. 9 (Bloomberg) -- South American leaders agreed to provide $300 million in aid to Haiti at a summit in Ecuador after skirting regional disputes that have undermined relations on the continent since 2008.

The 12 members of the Union of South American Nations, or Unasur, endorsed an accord today calling for a $100 million fund as well as a $200 million "preferential" credit from the Inter-American Development Bank. The money would be channeled to programs benefiting Haiti's reconstruction in areas such as agriculture, electricity infrastructure, health and education.

"Latin America has stood up," Ecuadorean President Rafael Correa said, addressing the summit at his presidential palace. "The time has come to create a new kind of south-south aid."

The meeting marks Colombian President Alvaro Uribe's first visit to Ecuador since his armed forces staged a cross-border raid on a guerrilla camp there almost two years ago. The attack killed rebel leader Raul Reyes, prompted Correa to break off ties with his northern neighbor and led Venezuela's Hugo Chavez to order tanks to his country's border with Colombia.

Leaders including Organization of American States Secretary General Jose Miguel Insulza said today aid efforts should follow instructions from the government of Haitian President Rene Preval, who attended the meeting. Correa said member nations should scrap tariffs on Haitian imports and consider subsidizing natural gas exports to the Caribbean nation.

IDB Support

Carlos Melo, the IDB's representative in Ecuador, said he spoke to bank chief Luis Alberto Moreno, who supported a 15- to 20-year $200 million credit to be taken on by Unasur. Correa said member countries should consider contributing 25 cents per inhabitant to the $100 million fund.

Chavez canceled his attendance because of an electricity crisis he's facing at home, Ecuadorean Foreign Minister Ricardo Patino told reporters today. At a gathering in Argentina last August, Chavez assailed a deal allowing the U.S. access to seven Colombian military bases, saying it was part of a strategy to dominate the region.

About 100 protesters gathered today outside the presidential palace, carrying signs reading "Uribe equals the threat of war" and chanting criticisms of Correa for receiving his Colombian counterpart.

Regional Integration

Unasur was formed two years ago in a bid to promote regional integration. In 2008, at a summit in Santiago, the group provided political backing to Bolivian President Evo Morales after clashes between his supporters and government opponents over a new constitution left 30 people dead.

The leaders of the continent's two biggest economies skipped today's talks. Argentine President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner has canceled foreign travel amid a political dispute over control of the central bank's reserves.

Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva isn't attending because of conflicts in his agenda, according to his press office. He sent his top foreign policy adviser, Marco Aurelio Garcia, to represent him.

No bilateral meeting is planned between Correa and Uribe, Ecuador's state news agency cited Patino as saying Feb. 4.

Unasur countries rushed doctors, food and emergency supplies to Haiti, the hemisphere's poorest country, in the aftermath of the Jan. 12 earthquake. At least 200,000 people died in the quake, Haiti's government said Feb. 6.

Brazil Aid

Lula signed a decree Jan. 26 providing 375 million reais ($200 million) in aid to Haiti. Brazil, which leads a United Nations peacekeeping contingent in Haiti, had already pledged about $17 million to the country, the most among Latin American nations, according to UN data.

Venezuela forgave Haiti's oil-related debt and donated 225,000 barrels of fuel, while Colombia sent more than 200 search-and-rescue personnel and committed hundreds of tons of humanitarian supplies. Ecuador has sent rescue teams and donated several tons of food, UN data show. Peruvian President Alan Garcia, speaking at the summit today, said Peru was willing to contribute $10 million.

Colombia and Ecuador began taking steps late last year to restore full relations. The neighbors named diplomatic envoys and re-established military ties in November. Ecuador this month also eliminated the last of the tariffs it imposed on Colombian goods in 2009.

To contact the reporter on this story: Alexander Cuadros in Quito at acuadros@bloomberg.net

Last Updated: February 9, 2010 15:20 EST

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 8, 2010 7:16 AM
**To:** H

Saw that you are on phone
Let me know if u need anything.

B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 8, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Ordering now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Jun 08 07:20:35 2010
Subject: Re:

[redacted] You can come in--I'm up. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 08 07:16:01 2010
Subject:

Saw that you are on phone
Let me know if u need anything. [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 8:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Suicide attack kills 10 in NW Pakistan

---

**From**: Riggs, Susan J
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Pakistan
**Sent**: Wed Feb 10 07:49:05 2010
**Subject**: Suicide attack kills 10 in NW Pakistan

PESHAWAR (AP) - A local government official said a suicide car bomber attacked a tribal police patrol in northwestern Pakistan, killing 10 policemen. Rasheed Khan says the attacker rammed his car into a vehicle carrying the police on a main highway in the Khyber tribal area near the Afghan border. Another 15 people were injured in the attack. No group has claimed responsibility for the attack, but Taliban militants often target Pakistani security forces.

Regards,

Susan Riggs
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 8:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: India says ready to test new nuclear missile within year

---

**From**: Riggs, Susan J
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Pakistan
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Wed Feb 10 08:08:51 2010
**Subject**: India says ready to test new nuclear missile within year

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - India aims to test a new nuclear-capable missile with a range of more than 5000-km (3,100-miles), a top military scientist said, a move that could complicate security in a volatile region. "Agni-V is out of the drawing board. We are aiming for a flight trial within a year," V.K. Saraswat, India's chief military scientist told reporters.

Regards,

Susan Riggs
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 8, 2010 9:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Letter from Hillary

Thanks, Gertie, for the very sweet effort. I know such great women, lucky me.

---

**From:** Dee Delaney [mailto[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 08, 2010 8:35 AM
**To:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Cc:** 'Dan Delaney Jr.'; [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Letter from Hillary

Hillary even put a hand written note at the bottom. Very nice.

---

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [mailto[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 08, 2010 9:29 AM
**To:** Dee Delaney
**Cc:** Dan Delaney Jr.; [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Letter from Hillary

I sent the news about your retirement to HRC and she suggested the letter. She was, as well she should be, impressed with your accomplishments, Dee. And now 108 meetings without an absence—amazing.

---

**From:** Dee Delaney [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 08, 2010 8:25 AM
**To:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Cc:** Dan Delaney Jr.; [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Letter from Hillary

Betsy,

Hillary's letter of congratulations upon my retirement arrived in yesterday's mail. You are SO thoughtful. Thanks for thinking of me. I will frame it and hang it in my new home office and think of both of you when I see it. Please extend my appreciation to Hillary when you talk to her. I'm going to share the letter with our board members tomorrow during my last board meeting. (As an aside, I have never missed a board meeting and there have been 108 of them since the Foundation was started in 1996!)

Love,
*Dee*

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Insulza

See below from Tom. We can put together a conference call at your convenience with Arturo, Craig, Carmen, CDM, me, and perhaps Jim.

On the Mitchell material, for reasons that elude me, the two versions of the Blair statement were done on the classified system. Ops will get the statement and the other document to you ASAP. I've also asked them to convert the statement so that it can be emailed to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 09:33:26 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza

B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:49 AM
To: Shannon, Thomas A
Subject: Insulza

Tomorrow's wapo editorial makes a pretty good case about insulza and the oas. What are your thoughts on how to proceed?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 11:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Insulza

Trust me, I share your exasperation. But until ops converts it to the unclassified email system, there is no physical way for me to email it. I can't even access it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 10:50:17 2010
Subject: Re: Insulza

It's a public statement! Just email it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 10 10:48:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Insulza

See below from Tom. We can put together a conference call at your convenience with Arturo, Craig, Carmen, CDM, me, and perhaps Jim.

On the Mitchell material, for reasons that elude me, the two versions of the Blair statement were done on the classified system. Ops will get the statement and the other document to you ASAP. I've also asked them to convert the statement so that it can be emailed to you.

----- Original Message -----
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To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 09:33:26 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza

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Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:49 AM
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Tomorrow's wapo editorial makes a pretty good case about insulza and the oas. What are your thoughts on how to proceed?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Blair statement

The first has Mitchell's edits, the second is original from Blair's guy to Mara:

Draft Statement by the Secretary as Revised by Senator Mitchell

[redacted] B5

Original Draft Statement by the Secretary Submitted by Tony Blair

The United States is determined to bring about a two-state solution. Believes there is a strong basis for doing so. Believes it can be done by combining a renewed political negotiation with change on the ground, bottom up, as set out in Prime Minister Fayyad's plan for a Palestinian state.

To this end, Tony Blair, as Quartet Representative, will work in partnership with Senator Mitchell to suppor t the political negotiation by mobilizing the efforts of the international community: (1) to build support for the institutional capacity and future governance of a future Palestinian state; (2) to improve freedom of movement and access for Palestinians; (3) to encourage further private sector investment; and (4) to bring change in the living conditions of the people in Gaza.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 12:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Just got the Blair thing for whatever reason

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 12:34 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Insulza

More from Tom.

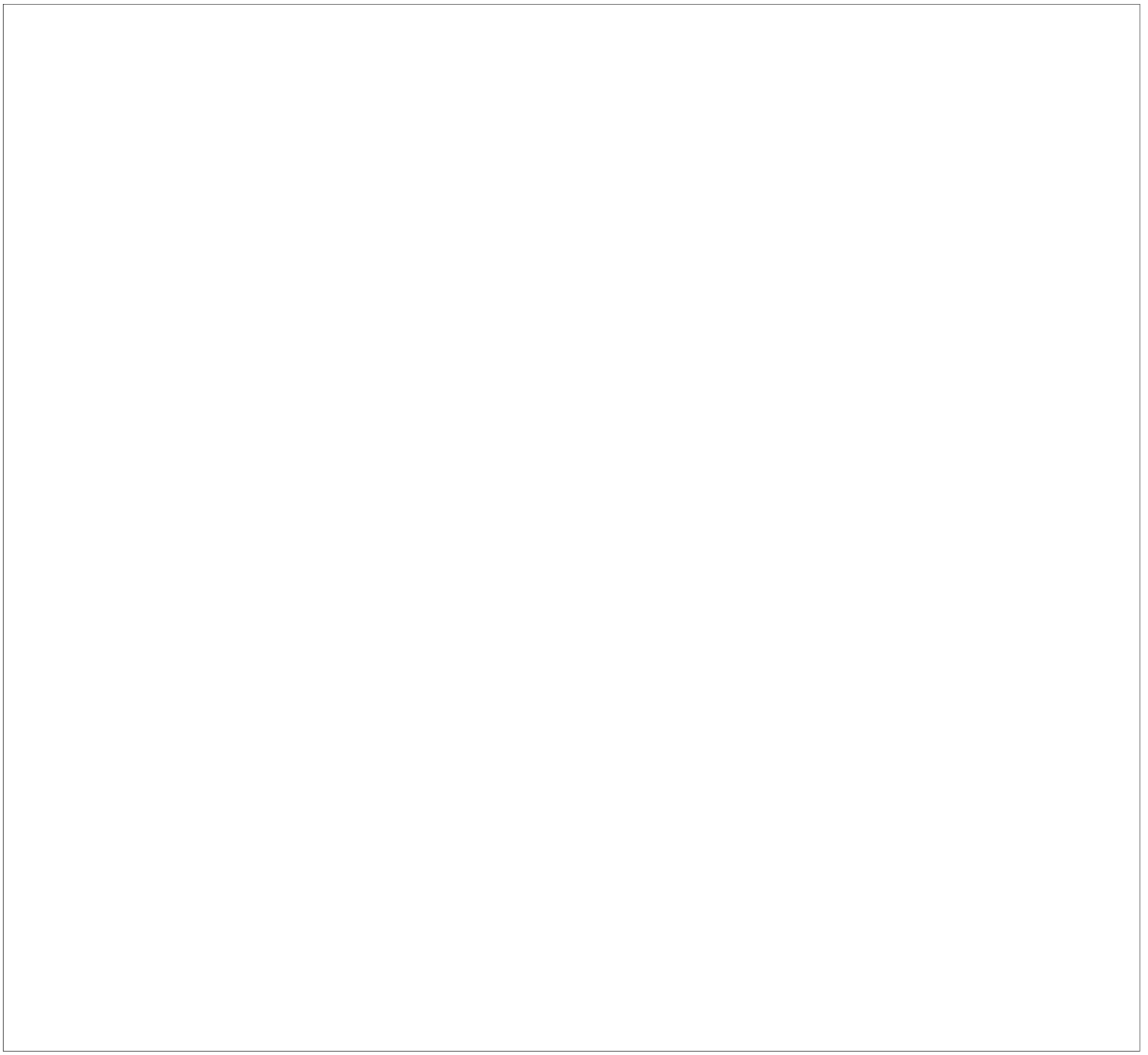
----- Original Message -----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 11:06:26 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 12:52 PM
To: Shannon, Thomas A
Subject: Re: Insulza

----- Original Message -----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 09:33:26 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza



B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:49 AM
To: Shannon, Thomas A

Subject: Insulza

Tomorrow's wapo editorial makes a pretty good case about insulza and the oas. What are your thoughts on how to proceed?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** FLOTUS re XFLOTUS

From Larry King last night:

LARRY KING: How is the -- it was so bitter -- well, rather bitter in the campaign with Hillary, when they were going at each other.

MICHELLE OBAMA: Yes, it seems so long ago.

KING: Yes. How are they doing now together?
OBAMA: They're great. Hillary Clinton is an amazing secretary of State. I mean she would have been an amazing president. She was an amazing attorney. She's a phenomenal professional. And she's proven to be a tremendous asset in -- in so many ways. So the relationship is -- is -- is strong. They share the same views in terms of international policy and approach. And we're seeing the outcome of that on the international stage. I think, you know, we can say pretty clearly that the United States -- the -- the view of this nation around the world has changed. People are enthusiastic about the potential. Things aren't perfect. We're still a nation fighting two wars. But when we travel around the country, the excitement and the possibility are palpable. And I think that's because of the president, but I think it's also because of our secretary of State.

http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1002/09/lkl.01.html

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Iran

I called Bill about that this morning when I saw the stories. [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1 B5

[redacted]

[redacted]

In short, he thinks this is all playing out in Moscow, not in Geneva.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:22:32 2010
Subject: Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL
~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Tftp

Troubling news from Europe. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Jones, Stuart
To: Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:40:36 2010
Subject: Tftp

Jake, we just got off conf call re status of ep vote on tftp. The debate this aft was dramatic. The council + commission apologized for mishandling the issue + begged mep's not to take out their frustration on interim agreement which is saving lives. Both epp leader ver hofstadt + socialist leader schultz responded by openly advocating postponement.

After debate party leaders met but failed to achieve consensus on postponement. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

We are now working on contingency press guidance. [redacted]

[redacted]

Stu

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 8, 2010 1:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) UN council to vote June 9 on Iran

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Iran; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Tue Jun 08 13:30:25 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) UN council to vote June 9 on Iran

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - The UN Security Council will vote the morning of June 9 on a resolution imposing a fresh round of sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program, France's UN Ambassador Gerard Araud said.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2025

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:35:07 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:57:13 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

I called Bill about that this morning when I saw the stories. [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1 B5

[redacted]

In short, he thinks this is all playing out in Moscow, not in Geneva.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:22:32 2010
Subject: Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2025

RELEASE IN PART 1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:00:02 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:37:23 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:35:07 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:57:13 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

I called Bill about that this morning when I saw the stories. [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1 B5

[redacted]

[redacted]

1.4(D)
B1
B5

In short, he thinks this is all playing out in Moscow, not in Geneva.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:22:32 2010
Subject: Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

sigh

---

**From:** Banks, Dana
**To:** SES_DutyDeputies
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent:** Wed Feb 10 14:51:27 2010
**Subject:** FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

Dan,
Wanted to bring this to your attention. Gov. Bill Richardson called the taskforce today to inquiring about travel to Haiti. His specific concerns were:

- An update on the court proceedings of the missionaries, particularly whether or not a Haitian court decision is imminent;
- Information on whether or not he could travel to Haiti and how to set up a trip;
- Information on whether or not he could travel by private plane;
- A list of what supplies are needed in Haiti; and
- Direction on how to deliver those supplies.

He said he may not travel if he receives an indication that the case of the Amcit missionaries would be decided sometime in the next few days.

H has been informed. Please let us know if you would like us to forward to C or M.

Dana

---

**From:** Haiti TaskForce1D-DepCoordinator
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:41 PM
**To:** TaskForce-1; Cleveland, Charlena A; Elder, Christine A; [redacted] Christman, Kim N; [redacted] Psyhos, Nicholas A; Bulgrin, Julie K; Hall, Suzanne K; Tomlinson, Daniel W; Van Buskirk, Raymond M; Kim, Haelee (LAC/AA/CUBA); Finnegan, Joseph P; Youmans, Frances; Dubois, Kim F; Bradford, Qiana; SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc:** xHaiti File Mail
**Subject:** Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

B6

New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson called the Haiti Task Force at 1300 EST on February 10 to inquire about
1) the status of the missionaries;
2) how to get to Haiti; and
3) how to deliver supplies needed on the ground.

[redacted] The three missionaries in question - [redacted] and [redacted] - [redacted] The [redacted] are now [redacted] The three all have relatives living in [redacted] who have contacted Governor Richardson to intervene in the case.

Governor Richardson understood that a Haitian court would decide the missionaries' case on February 10 and said there was some speculation that the missionaries would be released. If they are not going to be released, then Governor Richardson is considering traveling to Haiti to inquire about the status of the missionaries, deliver needed supplies to Haitians, and meet with President Preval [redacted]. Governor Richardson emphasized that the trip plans could be eliminated if he received some indication that the case would be decided sometime in the next few days.

Governor Richardson specifically requested:

- An update on the court proceedings of the missionaries, particularly whether or not a Haitian court decision is imminent;
- Information on whether or not he could travel to Haiti and how to set up a trip;
- Information on whether or not he could travel by private plane;
- A list of what supplies are needed in Haiti; and
- Direction on how to deliver those supplies.

The answers to the questions above can be sent to:
Alarie Ray
Communications Director
New Mexico Governor's Office
Office: (505) 476-2248
Cell: [redacted] B6

Also, his secretary's contact information is:
Janis Hartley
[redacted]
Office: (505) 476-2245
Cell: [redacted]

Thank you,
Oni
Oni Blair
Haiti Task Force Deputy Coordinator

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Diane Watson to retire

---

**From:** Dan Schwerin [redacted] B6
**To:** Balderston, Kris M; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Wed Feb 10 14:49:29 2010
**Subject:** Diane Watson to retire

# Rep. Watson to retire

By Aaron Blake - 02/10/10 11:51 AM ET

Rep. Diane Watson (D-Calif.) is set to announce her retirement, according to Democratic sources.

Watson's central Los Angeles district isn't expected to be competitive in the general election, as it carries a distinct Democratic advantage as a majority-minority district. President Barack Obama won it 87-12 in 2008.

Former California State Assembly Speaker Karen Bass is thought to be an early front-runner to replace Watson.

Watson, 76, has served in Congress since 2001. Prior to that, President Bill Clinton appointed her ambassador to Micronesia.

Source:
http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/80575-watson-to-retire

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 4pm oas call confirmed

Jake Sullivan
Cheryl Mills
Mike Fuchs
Carmen Lomellin
Craig Kelly
Jim Steinberg (tentative)
Arturo Valenzuela
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Ops will connect to you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

Will call when I get off call before 4pm

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:10 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

When can you talk? I'm free until 4 and after 7.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:06:45 2010
Subject: FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

sigh

---

From: Banks, Dana
To: SES_DutyDeputies
Cc: SES-O_SWO-Only
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:51:27 2010
Subject: FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

Dan,

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- Information on whether or not he could travel to Haiti and how to set up a trip;
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He said he may not travel if he receives an indication that the case of the Amcit missionaries would be decided sometime in the next few days.

H has been informed. Please let us know if you would like us to forward to C or M.

Dana

From: Haiti TaskForce1D-DepCoordinator
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:41 PM
To: TaskForce-1; Cleveland, Charlena A; Elder, Christine A; [redacted] Christman, Kim N; [redacted] Psyhos, Nicholas A; Bulgrin, Julie K; Hall, Suzanne K; Tomlinson, Daniel W; Van Buskirk, Raymond M; Kim, Haelee (LAC/AA/CUBA); Finnegan, Joseph P; Youmans, Frances; Dubois, Kim F; Bradford, Qiana; SES-O_Shift-II B6
Cc: xHaiti File Mail
Subject: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

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1) the status of the missionaries;

2) how to get to Haiti; and

3) how to deliver supplies needed on the ground.

[redacted] The three missionaries in question - [redacted] and [redacted] - [redacted] The [redacted], are now [redacted] The three all have relatives living in [redacted] who have contacted Governor Richardson to intervene in the case.

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- A list of what supplies are needed in Haiti; and
- Direction on how to deliver those supplies.

The answers to the questions above can be sent to:

Alarie Ray

Communications Director

New Mexico Governor's Office

Office: (505) 476-2248

Cell: [redacted] B6

Also, his secretary's contact information is:

Janis Hartley

[redacted]

Office: (505) 476-2245

Cell: [redacted]

Thank you,

Oni

Oni Blair

Haiti Task Force Deputy Coordinator

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR [redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Mother Teresa

Just FYI on the below, from one of those crazy right "magazines" - notes that the home you referenced in your Prayer Breakfast remarks has since closed.

I checked in with Lissa & Melanne, they didn't know it closed, which makes sense since it happened in 2002 after you left the White House.

I made it clear that your longtime commitment to this issue - throughout your public career - is well known, and you remain very proud of your work with Mother Teresa in opening this home in 1995. And that your partnership is a success story to be emulated.

Again, this is just FYI

http://www.worldmag.com/webextra/16398

ADOPTION | Hillary Clinton continues to hail an adoption home she helped open with Mother Teresa that has since closed its doors By Emily Belz

WASHINGTON—An adoption ministry Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed as a home she helped open with Mother Teresa no longer handles adoptions and its phone line has been disconnected, though at last week's National Prayer Breakfast Clinton spent five minutes of her 30-minute speech relating the story of its opening. Last Thursday Clinton described Mother Teresa "beaming about what this meant for children and their futures," seemingly oblivious that the Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children in northwest Washington, D.C., is now defunct. She said she worked tirelessly to "cut through all the red tape," although it appears that red tape prevented the work from continuing. According to a pastor at the church next door to the home's former location, the adoption ministry failed to take off because the Roman Catholic nuns who ran it weren't allowed to care for babies without medical personnel on site. "I'm not sure the legal thing that came down upon them, but they realized they needed to expend their energies in another way," said Maureen Freshour, who along with her husband, David, pastors Chevy Chase Baptist Church and lives nearby. Freshour has stayed in touch with the nuns from the Missionaries of Charity order who ran the home and said that the remaining three or four sisters have moved to another house in Washington, where they are ministering to the homeless."This has been a core issue—adoption—whether the home [Clinton] talked about survived or not," said Chuck Johnson, chief operating officer of the National Council for Adoption. "It's an issue she's been consistent on."During her speech on Thursday, Clinton reminisced about the 1994 National Prayer Breakfast when she attended as first lady and Mother Teresa was the speaker. The Roman Catholic nun delivered a blistering speech about abortion, saying, "Any country that accepts abortion is not teaching its people to love, but to use any violence to get what they want." Mother Teresa then called on attendees to fight abortion through adoption: "Please don't kill the child. I want the child. Please give me the child."The audience that day gave her a standing ovation—but President and Mrs. Clinton, both pro-abortion, did not stand. Afterward, Mother Teresa asked to meet with Hillary Clinton and they went to talk behind a curtain on the stage, sitting on folding chairs, Mother Teresa in sandals even though it was winter."She told me that she knew that we had a shared conviction about adoption being vastly better as a choice for unplanned or unwanted babies," Clinton related last Thursday. "And she asked me—or more properly, she directed me—to work with her to create a home for such babies here in Washington."Clinton followed through and set up a home for unwanted babies in Washington in just over a year, no small feat in a city that was known then for its inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. The Mother Teresa Home for

Infant Children opened in June 1995 in the district's affluent Chevy Chase neighborhood to house eight pregnant mothers and their babies—but it remains unclear whether it facilitated any adoptions.I called the Missionaries of Charity in Washington, a worldwide Roman Catholic order established by Mother Teresa. The nun who answered the phone said she couldn't give her name because they aren't allowed to talk to the press. She did say, however, that the sisters who are in the order now were not in the order when the adoption home opened, so she wasn't sure why it closed. She added that the order sold the Chevy Chase house in 2002. "We work with the poor and we didn't have any work there because it's a rich neighborhood," she said. The sisters, she added, are now working with the homeless and those with AIDS in a more transitional neighborhood in the northeast section of town on Otis Street.

###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 9, 2010 9:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S calls on Iran vote?

**From**: Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Wed Jun 09 08:38:52 2010
**Subject**: S calls on Iran vote?

Hi. Realize you guys are traveling (as well as responding to my other requests!). But we're coming down to the wire with the Iran vote

B5

*Jeffrey Feltman*

*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*

202-647-7209

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mother Teresa

I will look into what happened to it after 2002 (LH was released 6/03, so better than 04)

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Wed, 10 Feb 2010 15:42:08
To: 'preines <preines
Subject: Re: Mother Teresa

Also, I wrote about it in Living History and no one said a word. Was it still open in some form in 2004?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines B6
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:33:21 2010
Subject: Mother Teresa

Just FYI on the below, from one of those crazy right "magazines" - notes that the home you referenced in your Prayer Breakfast remarks has since closed.

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I made it clear that your longtime commitment to this issue - throughout your public career - is well known, and you remain very proud of your work with Mother Teresa in opening this home in 1995. And that your partnership is a success story to be emulated.

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ADOPTION | Hillary Clinton continues to hail an adoption home she helped open with Mother Teresa that has since closed its doors By Emily Belz

WASHINGTON—An adoption ministry Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed as a home she helped open with Mother Teresa no longer handles adoptions and its phone line has been disconnected, though at last week's National Prayer Breakfast Clinton spent five minutes of her 30-minute speech relating the story of its opening. Last Thursday Clinton described Mother Teresa "beaming about what this meant for children and their futures," seemingly oblivious that the Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children in northwest Washington, D.C., is now defunct. She said she worked tirelessly to "cut through all the red tape," although it appears that red tape prevented the work from continuing. According to a pastor at the church next door to the home's former location, the adoption ministry failed to take off because the Roman Catholic nuns who ran it weren't allowed to care for babies without medical personnel on site. "I'm not sure the

legal thing that came down upon them, but they realized they needed to expend their energies in another way," said Maureen Freshour, who along with her husband, David, pastors Chevy Chase Baptist Church and lives nearby. Freshour has stayed in touch with the nuns from the Missionaries of Charity order who ran the home and said that the remaining three or four sisters have moved to another house in Washington, where they are ministering to the homeless."This has been a core issue—adoption—whether the home [Clinton] talked about survived or not," said Chuck Johnson, chief operating officer of the National Council for Adoption. "It's an issue she's been consistent on."During her speech on Thursday, Clinton reminisced about the 1994 National Prayer Breakfast when she attended as first lady and Mother Teresa was the speaker. The Roman Catholic nun delivered a blistering speech about abortion, saying, "Any country that accepts abortion is not teaching its people to love, but to use any violence to get what they want." Mother Teresa then called on attendees to fight abortion through adoption: "Please don't kill the child. I want the child. Please give me the child."The audience that day gave her a standing ovation—but President and Mrs. Clinton, both pro-abortion, did not stand. Afterward, Mother Teresa asked to meet with Hillary Clinton and they went to talk behind a curtain on the stage, sitting on folding chairs, Mother Teresa in sandals even though it was winter."She told me that she knew that we had a shared conviction about adoption being vastly better as a choice for unplanned or unwanted babies," Clinton related last Thursday. "And she asked me—or more properly, she directed me—to work with her to create a home for such babies here in Washington."Clinton followed through and set up a home for unwanted babies in Washington in just over a year, no small feat in a city that was known then for its inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. The Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children opened in June 1995 in the district's affluent Chevy Chase neighborhood to house eight pregnant mothers and their babies—but it remains unclear whether it facilitated any adoptions.I called the Missionaries of Charity in Washington, a worldwide Roman Catholic order established by Mother Teresa. The nun who answered the phone said she couldn't give her name because they aren't allowed to talk to the press. She did say, however, that the sisters who are in the order now were not in the order when the adoption home opened, so she wasn't sure why it closed. She added that the order sold the Chevy Chase house in 2002. "We work with the poor and we didn't have any work there because it's a rich neighborhood," she said. The sisters, she added, are now working with the homeless and those with AIDS in a more transitional neighborhood in the northeast section of town on Otis Street.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: messsage from fm for s

See message below from your friend the egyptian foreign minister....

---

**From**: Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Wed Feb 10 15:34:09 2010
**Subject**: Fw: messsage from fm for s

Fun message from Aboul-Gheit!
Jeffrey Feltman

---

**From**: Scobey, Margaret
**To**: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Connelly, Maura
**Cc**: Shampaine, Nicole D; Tueller, Matthew H
**Sent**: Wed Feb 10 15:31:08 2010
**Subject**: messsage from fm for s

Sensitive but not classified

Jeff:

While speaking on phone today with FM regarding upcoming VIP travel to Egypt, he asked that I convey to the Secretary that he is "amazed". . .tell the Secretary that "Ahmed is amazed" that she is going to Qatar and the Kingdom and flying right over Egypt. I pointed out that S has been here twice and that they just met in the US last month. . .but he was having none of it. . ."just tell her 'Ahmed is amazed' that she would not stop here."

May I ask that you find way to convey this to S appropriately?

He also asked for detailed info on measures to be taken at our points of entry for incoming travelers—key ministers very upset at what they have heard, that there will be "no exceptions." We'll work with consular to convey the correct info and try to calm this issue.

Cheers, margaret

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 4:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: New Mexico

fyi

---

**From:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:53 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** New Mexico

Cheryl

Spoke to him

Feels pressure to do something

Made it clear that now was not the time – would potentially work against

Said he could tell the families that he had spoken to me and that State Department was working this issue as it concerned about any AmCit world-wide who is in custody

He agreed to hold off for a while

And I promised to keep in touch

[he remembered me from previous time at State so that may have helped a bit]

Regards

pat

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi - steinberg is on the call.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 9, 2010 10:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls Clear: Congratulations to President-Elect Aquino of the Philippines

Fyi

---

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
**Sent:** Wed Jun 09 10:49:37 2010
**Subject:** Pls Clear: Congratulations to President-Elect Aquino of the Philippines

This would be released after the WH does their statement.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY

Congratulations to President-Elect Aquino of the Philippines

I join President Obama in congratulating President-elect Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III, whom the Filipino people have chosen to lead their nation. The Philippines' successful election exemplified the vitality of the country's democratic institutions and should be a point of pride for Filipinos everywhere. The Filipino people now look to President-elect Aquino to carry forward the democratic traditions that his parents did so much to champion. The United States has long stood with the Philippines as a trusted ally and friend and we will continue to support the ongoing efforts of the Filipino people to build a secure and prosperous country.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Drafted: | K Burgwinkle | |
| Approved: | EAP/FO DAS Marciel | ok |
| Cleared: | EAP/MTS: J Yun | ok |
| | EAP/MTS: P Richhart | ok |
| | D(S): P Park | ok |
| | P: L Rosenberger | ok |
| | S/P: J Wright | ok |
| | EAP/P: K McKellogg | ok |
| | NSC: D Walton | ok |
| | PA: | |
| | S: | |

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 4:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** I believe Jim is on call -- not certain

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calling u on 3rd floor phone with dennis ross as you requested

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 5:11 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

More details...

---

**From:** Patrick Justin Alwine [redacted] B6
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Wed Feb 10 15:17:50 2010
**Subject:** Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

----- Original Message -----
From: Mazonkey, Matthew
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:48:55 2010
Subject: Murtha Funeral Update

The Murtha Family has announced further details regarding funeral services for the late Congressman John P. Murtha -

A public viewing will take place at Duca Funeral Home from 3:00-7:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 14, 2010, and Monday, February 15, 2010. The funeral home is located at 1622 Menoher Boulevard in Johnstown, PA.

A private funeral service will be held at the Westmont Presbyterian Church at 11:00 a.m. on Tuesday, February 16, 2010. The church is located at 601 Luzerne Street in Johnstown, PA. A private internment will follow at Grandview Cemetery, also in Johnstown.

The family is also working with the Office of the Speaker of the House to hold a public memorial in the U.S. Capitol in the coming weeks. Details will be forthcoming. An official Congressional Delegation is also expected to be present for the private funeral service on Tuesday.

In lieu of flowers, the Murtha family suggests contributions be made to the UPMC John P. Murtha Cancer Pavilion (337 Somerset Street, Johnstown, PA 15901) or the Joyce Murtha Breast Care Center (600 Somerset Avenue, Windber, PA 15963).

Further details about media coverage will be forthcoming.

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

I suspect they want him in Johnstown, but I will double check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Feb 10 17:21:17 2010
Subject: Re: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

Does this mean Bill should not plan on going and we just wait for the public memorial service?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 10 17:10:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

More details...

---

From: Patrick Justin Alwine [redacted] B6
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:17:50 2010
Subject: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

----- Original Message -----
From: Mazonkey, Matthew
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:48:55 2010
Subject: Murtha Funeral Update

The Murtha Family has announced further details regarding funeral services for the late Congressman John P. Murtha -

A public viewing will take place at Duca Funeral Home from 3:00-7:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 14, 2010, and Monday, February 15, 2010. The funeral home is located at 1622 Menoher Boulevard in Johnstown, PA.

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Further details about media coverage will be forthcoming.

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 6:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Calls

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Feb 10 17:55:25 2010
Subject: Calls

I called and talked w INR DAS Jim Buchanan at John Dinger's request. Pls let John know.

I called Marty Edelman and LM.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: S saw reports

Checking

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D; Moore, Donald L; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Feb 10 19:43:27 2010
Subject: S saw reports

Saying they we being released - not sure that is accurate - do you have an update?

Cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 10, 2010 8:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia says Iran sanctions do not bar missile deal

**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Thu Jun 10 08:15:48 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Russia says Iran sanctions do not bar missile deal

MOSCOW – The Foreign Ministry said the new UN sanctions against Tehran over its nuclear program do not oblige Moscow to scrap a controversial deal to deliver surface-to-air missiles to Iran. Ministry spokesman Andrei Nesterenko spoke after the Interfax news agency cited a Russian arms industry source as saying Russia would freeze its unfulfilled contract to sell S-300 missiles to Iran because of the sanctions.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 10, 2010 12:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: European Parliament

Fyi

**From**: Kennard, William E
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: McEldowney, Nancy E; Jones, Stuart; Sommers, Scott E; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Thu Jun 10 12:17:26 2010
**Subject**: European Parliament

Dear Madam Secretary:

I greatly appreciate your support of our efforts to improve USG outreach to the European Parliament (EP) and wanted to provide you with a brief update on our progress. We have worked very hard at USEU to deepen and intensify our relationship with the EP over the past several months. Specifically, we have,

(1) Increased the flow of high-level USG visitors to the EP. Recent visitors include Janet Napolitano, Dick Holbrooke, George Mitchell, Dick Morningstar and Ron Kirk. These visits culminated last month in a highly successful address by VP Biden to a Plenary Session of the EP. I hope that you will also address a Plenary Session of the EP in the near term. (Your town hall meeting at the EP with young leaders last year was well-received here.)

(2) Increased the flow and quality of EP interactions in Washington. We have facilitated a dramatic increase in the number of EP delegations visiting Washington and a significant improvement in the level of their access to high-level USG officials.

(3) Increased USEU outreach to the EP at every level. At the Mission, we are restructuring the way in which we interact with EP leaders by institutionalizing responsibility for key relationships and enhancing accountability. In the coming months, we expect to receive two additional FTEs at the Mission to improve our ability to cover the EP. We have also encouraged our Embassies in member State capitals to meet with European Parliament members.

B5

Again, thank you for your interest and support for our efforts.

Bill Kennard

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 10, 2010 10:13 PM
**To:** H

Welcome back. I sent to your house a small binder of material in preparation for the Dodd/Berman meeting tomorrow morning. I am happy to walk you through any part of it or answer any questions tonight or first thing in the morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Rich wants to talk before u see dodd/berman

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Cultural diplomacy at NMAA!

FYI

---

**From:** Pally, Maura M.
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 2:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** FW: Cultural diplomacy at NMAA!

Everyone is excited!

---

**From:** Cole, Johnnetta [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** Pally, Maura M.; Henri, Anita
**Subject:** RE: Cultural diplomacy at NMAA!

Dear Deputy Assistant Secretary Pally,

My colleague, Anita Henri, and I enjoyed the rich conversation we had with you and Ms. Cheryl Mills as we explored ways that the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art can partner with the State Department in the area of cultural diplomacy.

We look forward to working with you. And of course it is with great anticipation that we await news on the idea of the Secretary delivering a cultural diplomacy speech at our museum.

Best regards,
Johnnetta Betsch Cole

---

**From:** Pally, Maura M. [mailto:PallyMM@state.gov]
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** Cole, Johnnetta; Henri, Anita
**Subject:** Cultural diplomacy at NMAA!

It was wonderful to meet you both this morning. I am so pleased to know we have such a wonderful resource to draw upon. I am going to share Anita's contact info with some people here whom I hope can use you as resources so you should expect to hear from them.

I am also thrilled with the idea of the Secretary delivering a cultural diplomacy speech at the National Museum of African Art! I could not think of a better place for her to deliver that important message.

In the mean time please let me know if I can be of any further assistance.
Best,

Maura Pally
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** A clarification on Turkey/Brazil

B5

AM

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Philippe Reines <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** FT

Our clips service doesn't have the license necessary to provide FT (or Reuters) content, so here's the long awaited FT profile – you'll be especially interested in the guest column David Milliband wrote:

**An FT interview with Hillary Clinton**
**By Daniel Dombey**
**FT**
**June 11 2010 22:21**

This is what it is like to be Hillary Clinton. The motorcade, twisting and skidding through rain-splashed streets for more than an hour; the public meetings and camera lights at journey's end; the spotlight that has not let up for two decades. It is almost as if the 2008 US presidential election – hailed as the most exciting for a generation – had never ended.

But this is a campaign without a vote. Today, Clinton's convoy is snaking through São Paulo, Brazil, not South Hampton, New Hampshire. She herself is no longer an aspirant for the White House, despite what the overnight flights, town hall meetings and strategy sessions that make up her gruelling schedule might suggest. Instead, she is in Latin America to shore up relations with the region and promote a new idea of US leadership, one very much built around herself.

She's had bigger and more ecstatic audiences than the 700-odd students and staff crammed into the hall tonight at Zumbi dos Pradares, an Afro-Brazilian university, but she's still greeted by a wave of raised arms as the audience snaps away at her with their mobile phones.

In the convoy moments before, she was wrapped in a shawl, suffering from a cold and angry at the delays that pushed us into the side streets speckled with box-like bars, warehouses and love hotels while Brazilian motorists sought to cut into our path. There is no sign of that now. With the metabolism of a born politician, she feeds off the energy of her audience and takes questions from students, teachers and local celebrities for an hour. Hillary Clinton never looks happier than when she is centre stage.

Most US secretaries of state wouldn't bother with this sort of event, much less initiate it and arrange for it to be screened on the biggest local channel. Yet this is what Clinton does on almost every foreign trip – and she seems to spend half her life on her official 727, crammed with long-time aides and armed bodyguards. The schedule is backbreaking and constantly shifting. She has notched up more than a quarter of a million miles since taking office.

On this Latin America trip, thrown into confusion by an earthquake in Chile, we have already visited four countries in 24 hours. We go to tiny Uruguay, where our stay is so brief we check into a hotel just for a shower; Argentina, where we spend almost all our time at the presidential palace; Chile itself, where we don't leave the airport; and Brazil, where we spend almost a full day.

So what exactly is Clinton trying to do on this never-ending world tour? Travelling with her for a week, talking to people inside and outside the administration, I tried to find out.

. . .

"We now have a case to make and it is not just a case that is made to the president or the prime minister

or the foreign minister or an ambassador," she tells me a few weeks later, as she perches on a sofa in her expansive office, with its view of the Lincoln Memorial. "People now have a voice and an opinion and a vote in many instances on the direction that their own societies take ... I want to model a different kind of leadership that is open and willing to listen but [also] to stand our ground if necessary."

She argues that these trips of hers help to restore the US's image in the wake of the Bush administration – by making contact with public opinion abroad, and so boosting American power. Her aides say that, as a battle-hardened politician who also happens to be one of the most famous women in the world, she is ideally placed to carry out the task. But the deeper question is whether she is merely implementing the foreign policy crafted by Barack Obama, her boss and former rival, or whether her role – and ambitions – go beyond that.

Is she a kind of saleswoman-in-chief for the US, I ask? "Well, I think that is part of the job," she replies, toying with the napkin underneath her glass of water. "If you are making a case for American values and for American leadership, you have to make it where people now get information ... Given the bridges we had to build and some of the repair work we had to do, we had to travel."

As in São Paulo, her system is under strain – "I've been fighting this all day," she says as she masks a cough set off by her allergies (Washington's cherry blossom trees are shedding their flowers). Life is still hectic – the volcanic ash cloud has just all but paralysed Europe and televisions throughout the State Department are showing the first British election debate. But Clinton remains enthusiastic, affable and unhurried, her speech peppered with exclamations such as "oh my gosh", even as she discusses issues of state. She politely asks if I have any updates for her about Europe's airspace shutdown and tells me she's been talking to Norway's foreign minister about it.

"He said that this dust gets into engines of any size, even Air Force One – it's chunky! I don't know how else to describe it," she says, an odd note of hilarity entering her voice as she pronounces the word "chunky".

Clinton often speaks in this eager, unvarnished way – a world away from the clipped, on-message manner of her immediate predecessor in the post, Condoleezza Rice. If anything, she is an undiplomat – known less for calibrated circumlocutions than for her plain speaking and sometimes her gaffes, a woman who retains both a formidable political constituency and a laugh she once admitted can send cats scurrying from a room.

Her staff point out she is only the third elected politician in 60 years to have served as secretary of state, and the first to come from outside the foreign policy establishment since James Baker, George H.W. Bush's right-hand man and perhaps her most illustrious recent predecessor. She may be the most substantive politician in the office since William Jennings Bryan, the three-time presidential candidate who served as secretary almost a century ago. "Her stature on the world stage, her almost presidential stature, has set her apart," Bill Burns, the top career diplomat at the State Department, tells me. "Leaders want to meet her. And the town hall meetings do make a difference with public opinion."

. . .

State visitor Hillary Clinton is greeted by Air Force Base Commander Colonel Celso de Araujo at São Paulo airport in March

Back in São Paulo, the meeting at the university ranges far from the confines and dramatis personae of traditional diplomacy. Annie, a young woman with red and blue dreadlocked hair, tells Clinton about her dance and percussion classes and asks how to study in the US without paying college fees. A nervous young man confesses himself lost halfway through an abstruse question about tariff policy; Clinton, smiling and nodding in that vaguely automatic way of hers, bears with him all the same. Another female student asks for an autograph. When answering, Clinton sometimes opens her eyes wide as she emphasises a phrase; at other moments, seemingly at random, she pulls her hands apart as if demonstrating the size of a fish.

Then a law student called Marina asks about abortion – which is illegal in Brazil – and Clinton moves into treacherous terrain. She speaks of the Brazilian hospital she visited in the 1990s that treated not just

expectant mothers but women suffering from the consequences of backstreet abortions. "Wealthy women have rights in every country," she says. "And poor women don't." Her strength of feeling can't be hidden as she denounces "the great toll that illegal abortions take and the denial of women being able to exercise such a fundamental personal right".

Tom Shannon, the US ambassador to Brazil, tells me later: "I understand the possible concern that we might have come close to domestic issues. But she wasn't laying out a prescription for Brazil. She was sharing her experience as a woman in American politics and as secretary of state." It's true: Clinton doesn't quite cross the line. Onstage, she is controlled without seeming artificial, convivial without appearing over-effusive, what a previous age would call a real trouper. At the podium she looks straight ahead, her lips carefully expressionless. Still, the old competitive instincts haven't left her. Perhaps it is the lecterns at press conferences, reminiscent of the Democratic presidential debates, but on exiting the podium at a joint appearance with Argentina's president Cristina Fernández, Clinton makes clear her satisfaction at having had the last word. The expert debater who usually bested Obama has not left the stage.

Yet that competitive urge coexists with what one insider describes as her "almost inhuman loyalty" towards Obama. Her mastery of the facts – an "information carnivore" one of her officials calls her – comes despite the consensus in much of Washington that her role consists largely of implementing the foreign policy Obama and his inner circle have framed, rather than helping frame it herself.

In São Paulo, she shows her loyalty in striking fashion when she is asked repeatedly about positive discrimination – another sensitive topic in Brazil – not least because, Clinton herself observes, Afro-Brazilians account for more than half the country's population but only 2 per cent of university students. "That suggests to me that some special steps need to be taken [in] recruiting and admitting students so that they can have a chance to succeed," she tells the hall, again inching towards domestic politics, before speaking of her pride in the progress the US civil rights movement has made in the past half-century. She says: "The election of Barack Obama, many believe, was the greatest accomplishment of all because it demonstrated that an African-American could be elected president of the United States."

Among the crowd, I catch my breath and scribble down her words. It's hard to think of a more fulsome statement from the woman who fought so hard against Obama – and who squandered a huge poll lead and millions of dollars in the struggle against him.

. . .

The great collaborator Clinton has established strong working relationships within the Obama administration

When I ask Clinton later about how she managed to move from the antagonism of the primary race to the obedience of office, she dismisses my question with an anodyne "that's politics". She adds: "We're working really hard and well together ... It just never comes up any more, it seems like ancient history to me." Not so ancient, I think, that she is willing to admit the failings of her campaign. "I always run inclusive and successful organisations," she retorts when I ask her whether she'd applied any lessons from that searing experience to her new post.

She admits she didn't want the job at State – she says she was exhausted by the election and missed the Senate – "but at the end of the day, I'm pretty old-fashioned and if the president asks you to do something, you'd better have a really good reason why you can't." Also, she adds: "Suppose I had won and I were asking him to be in my cabinet ... I would have wanted him to say yes."

Others say the relationship is more complex, that by dint of her loyalty and unflagging hard work, Clinton has moved closer to the charmed circle and made herself an even more formidable political force than before. "Quite simply, she gives good advice and the president over a year and a half has recognised that," says Anne-Marie Slaughter, head of the State Department policy planning unit. "The relationship is based on her performance in the job."

By all accounts, it's a collaborative partnership, though not perhaps a warm one. Clinton boasts a good working relationship with the main players of the administration – and has formed something of an alliance with defence secretary Robert Gates, although on life-and-death issues such as Afghanistan, it is

Gates, not her, who has taken the lead. As one official told me, secretaries of state have often either been popular with their own department – Colin Powell comes to mind – or with the rest of the administration – as was Condoleezza Rice – but Clinton has managed to be both.

In truth, Clinton's language remains harder-edged than Obama's – she recently claimed that Iran's Revolutionary Guard had staged a slow-motion coup – and she has sometimes been more willing than he is to hint at using the military. "She seems to step up with a bit of spine just at the right time," says Kurt Volker, a US ambassador to Nato under George W. Bush.

She has also assumed an ever more prominent role in talking to leaders such as Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan – apparently because she is trusted both by them and Obama. Meanwhile, she has been careful to keep her husband, the former US president, in the background. Aides say they have barely seen him in the building – though Clinton herself says that behind the scenes Bill Clinton gives her strategic advice. "One of his favourite sayings, that I remind myself of all the time, is a kind of baseball saying," she says: "Don't major in the minors; keep your eye on not just the headlines but the trend lines."

It is her co-operative stance rather than any notable effort to set out a grand vision of her own that is the chief theme of her time so far at State. When I ask Clinton to name her proudest achievement in office, she replies "the effective and collaborative approach that this administration has taken towards identifying and solving problems." A more process-oriented, less provocative answer would be hard to imagine.

. . .

But maybe, I think, the US has less scope for grand strategy than it did in the past couple of decades, when the country seemed to bestride the world colossus-style. Clinton herself suggests that so formidable are the tasks confronting the US that the administration has little scope to enter into internecine fights but needs instead to focus on the challenges to hand. Whatever the reason for her stance, it seems to be a smart decision – by all accounts she's overcome many of the suspicions the White House retinue had towards her.

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As the Latin America tour shows, she is now trying to do both – travel incessantly and solve an array of international issues. She is at the forefront of the US's efforts to consolidate relations with a number of important countries – predominantly Russia and China, but also rising powers such as Brazil, Turkey, Indonesia and South Africa – and to cool down anti-American feeling in hotspots, notably Pakistan. She says the push is working, hailing a "change in public opinion in places that were pretty negative about the US" – a reference to Russia and Pakistan. But it is far from smooth sailing. Differences about Iran and over Israel's raid on aid-bearing ships off Gaza have stoked tensions with Turkey and Brazil recently, amid questioning of the effectiveness of the Obama administration's policies.

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It is not a happy experience - indeed this past week both Brazil and Turkey voted against sanctions at the United Nations - yet Hillary Clinton is nowhere near giving up. Years ago, one of Bill Clinton's biographers described his approach to government as a "permanent campaign", and it appears to be his wife's preferred form of existence as well. If there is one constant in Clinton's life, it is that she never throws in her cards, whether what motivates her is power or public service.

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Injustice towards women appears to be the issue that most enthuses Clinton in this job – as in her many other incarnations in American public life, whether as First Lady or before. "I feel passionately it is in not just the American national security interests but the world's, that women be given the opportunities and the tools to make the most out of their own lives," she says.

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I wonder. She may not read the stories about her, but she has boosted her domestic profile still further by talking to American magazines such as Esquire, Vogue and Parade. To what end? Clinton has said she will only serve one four-year term as secretary of state – understandable, given the grind of the job. When I ask whether she expects a woman president in the next decade or so, she responds: "I'd love that, obviously I would love that. I want to be front and centre when it happens."

"Any chance it would be you?" I ask.

"No, no, I don't think that's in the cards," Clinton says. She's given more categoric denials in the past. "I think that there's a whole generation of young women and not so young, but mature, seasoned women who are earning their stripes and recognising how tough it is out there. It is not for the faint of heart to run for president, and I believe it is harder for women, it just is, and that's just a fact." But, says one US official, "all the profiles and all this media treatment undercut the argument that she is finished with electoral politics. Why do all this stuff? She's already Hillary Clinton. You have to ask: 'What's the idea behind raising her domestic profile still further?'"

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David Miliband: "Hillary is a rock star ... she has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour"

It's too early to start chalking up a scorecard because Hillary Clinton, and the Obama administration, is laying the foundations for long-term change in America's foreign policy. The challenges are immense – probably more difficult than the inheritance of any previous administration. But American leadership is essential and a commitment to multilateralism – in fact multi, multilateralism using different and overlapping forums – is real and right.

You also have to remember that Hillary is a rock star. When I arrived at the Nato Foreign Ministers meeting in March 2009, it was a nice surprise that all the staff, never mind the press, seemed to have turned out in droves for my arrival. Then I realised that Hillary was 10 minutes behind me.

That said, the thing that most surprised me about working with Clinton was not her intelligence or her hard work, all of which are well known, but that behind the serious exterior is someone who has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour. She has seen politics from all sides, and can laugh at herself as well as at others.

She's a remarkably good listener, always synthesising ideas and opinions to develop her own. She thinks strategically as well as tactically. She's also very, very unpompous. Hillary is a very political person but in a particular way, she honours politics and public service and believes that democratic politics is not a necessary evil, but a calling of value and vocation. She knows you win some and you lose some, but it's essential to take part.

There's one other thing. Hillary is a people person in that she thinks deeply about the psychology of the people she's dealing with. Their motivation, their loyalties, their culture. It's real emotional intelligence in trying to understand why people disagree and how you can get them to agree. I think that must be why so many other members of the administration say she is a very good colleague.

David Miliband is shadow foreign secretary

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Gideon Rachman: "Relations between the White House and the State Department are not particularly close"

A school teacher asked to write a report on Hillary Clinton's stint as secretary of state would have to give her 10/10 for effort but a rather more modest mark for actual achievements – maybe a six or a seven.

Secretaries of state are generally judged on two criteria. First, how have they done in the endless bureaucratic turf wars that characterise Washington politics? Second, how effective have they been in promoting US foreign policy in the wider world? Success in one area usually helps in the other. Henry Kissinger was a superb Washington infighter – and his close relationship with President Nixon made him all the more effective overseas. Colin Powell, George W. Bush's first secretary of state, was widely admired outside the US – but came out on the wrong side of many of the Washington battles, which limited his ability to get things done in the wider world.

Hillary Clinton has skilfully avoided being sucked into the debilitating Washington struggles that so damaged Powell. Despite the often poisonous rivalry between the Obama and Clinton camps during the

campaign, Clinton has a good working relationship with the president. But while relations between the White House and the State Department are cordial, they do not seem to be particularly close. Clinton appointed many loyalists from her own campaign to the State Department, with the result that State is rather detached from Obama's inner circle. Obama's penchant for making high-profile speeches in foreign capitals such as Cairo, Prague, Tokyo and Istanbul means that the president himself has done more than anyone else to define his administration's approach to the world.

That still leaves a role for Clinton to fill in the crucial details of policy. But special representatives have been appointed to deal with Afghanistan and the Middle East – and the Treasury is critical to China policy. Asked about Clinton's impact as secretary of state, one senior European policymaker purses his lips and says: "She's done some great trips, and she's highly professional. But it's hard to see any particular area where she has really driven policy."

Gideon Rachman is the FT's chief foreign affairs columnist

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David Rothkopf: "When she has been asked to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly"

Hillary Clinton has been a cautious secretary of state: she has protected the president well and pursued his agenda without upstaging him – an early concern, given her stature. She has worked very well with other members of the cabinet, and is reconsidering the role and structure of the State Department.

That includes a review of the role of diplomacy going forward. Clinton has not only acknowledged the rise of new powers and a changing global power structure but has taken steps to reshape US foreign policy structure accordingly. An important part of that has been recognising the importance of co-operating with private and non-state actors such as NGOs, as well as dealing with non-state threats.

When the administration has called upon her to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly. This has allowed the president to articulate a strategic vision which Clinton then goes about implementing. Still, neither the secretary of state nor the president determines the global situation. The US may be the most powerful country in the world but it is one among many powerful countries, and many aspects of the situation we face today are beyond our control. The Obama administration has been dealt an extremely difficult hand: not only Iraq and Afghanistan, but Iran and North Korea's nuclear programmes, the rise of emerging powers and a complex and still unfolding series of financial crises.

We have gone from a world in which the US thought it had limitless resources and unbounded options to one where the limits are clear; from a world in which you could work in the G8 to one where you have to work in the context of the G20; a world where new technologies and new powers play a bigger role. All of those things would dictate a change in foreign policy regardless of who is in office.

Hillary Clinton has established a very solid foundation. The next step is to identify a couple of signature issues – and have a couple of signature successes. That will take her to the next level.

David Rothkopf is a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with expertise in national security

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 9:24 PM
**To:** Philippe Reines; H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: FT

I dont know what others think, but I quite enjoyed this. Go Dan.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

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**From:** Philippe Reines <
**Date:** Fri, 11 Jun 2010 19:44:24 -0400
**To:** Evergreen<Hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** CDM<cheryl.mills ; Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jake Sullivan<jake.sullivan
**Subject:** FT

Our clips service doesn't have the license necessary to provide FT (or Reuters) content, so here's the long awaited FT profile – you'll be especially interested in the guest column David Milliband wrote:

**An FT interview with Hillary Clinton**
**By Daniel Dombey**
**FT**
**June 11 2010 22:21**

This is what it is like to be Hillary Clinton. The motorcade, twisting and skidding through rain-splashed streets for more than an hour; the public meetings and camera lights at journey's end; the spotlight that has not let up for two decades. It is almost as if the 2008 US presidential election – hailed as the most exciting for a generation – had never ended.

But this is a campaign without a vote. Today, Clinton's convoy is snaking through São Paulo, Brazil, not South Hampton, New Hampshire. She herself is no longer an aspirant for the White House, despite what the overnight flights, town hall meetings and strategy sessions that make up her gruelling schedule might suggest. Instead, she is in Latin America to shore up relations with the region and promote a new idea of US leadership, one very much built around herself.

She's had bigger and more ecstatic audiences than the 700-odd students and staff crammed into the hall tonight at Zumbi dos Pradares, an Afro-Brazilian university, but she's still greeted by a wave of raised arms as the audience snaps away at her with their mobile phones.

In the convoy moments before, she was wrapped in a shawl, suffering from a cold and angry at the delays that pushed us into the side streets speckled with box-like bars, warehouses and love hotels while Brazilian motorists sought to cut into our path. There is no sign of that now. With the metabolism of a born politician, she feeds off the energy of her audience and takes questions from students, teachers and local celebrities for an hour. Hillary Clinton never looks happier than when she is centre stage.

Most US secretaries of state wouldn't bother with this sort of event, much less initiate it and arrange for it to be screened on the biggest local channel. Yet this is what Clinton does on almost every foreign trip – and she seems to spend half her life on her official 727, crammed with long-time aides and armed bodyguards. The schedule is backbreaking and constantly shifting. She has notched up more than a

quarter of a million miles since taking office.

On this Latin America trip, thrown into confusion by an earthquake in Chile, we have already visited four countries in 24 hours. We go to tiny Uruguay, where our stay is so brief we check into a hotel just for a shower; Argentina, where we spend almost all our time at the presidential palace; Chile itself, where we don't leave the airport; and Brazil, where we spend almost a full day.

So what exactly is Clinton trying to do on this never-ending world tour? Travelling with her for a week, talking to people inside and outside the administration, I tried to find out.

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"We now have a case to make and it is not just a case that is made to the president or the prime minister or the foreign minister or an ambassador," she tells me a few weeks later, as she perches on a sofa in her expansive office, with its view of the Lincoln Memorial. "People now have a voice and an opinion and a vote in many instances on the direction that their own societies take ... I want to model a different kind of leadership that is open and willing to listen but [also] to stand our ground if necessary."

She argues that these trips of hers help to restore the US's image in the wake of the Bush administration – by making contact with public opinion abroad, and so boosting American power. Her aides say that, as a battle-hardened politician who also happens to be one of the most famous women in the world, she is ideally placed to carry out the task. But the deeper question is whether she is merely implementing the foreign policy crafted by Barack Obama, her boss and former rival, or whether her role – and ambitions – go beyond that.

Is she a kind of saleswoman-in-chief for the US, I ask? "Well, I think that is part of the job," she replies, toying with the napkin underneath her glass of water. "If you are making a case for American values and for American leadership, you have to make it where people now get information ... Given the bridges we had to build and some of the repair work we had to do, we had to travel."

As in São Paulo, her system is under strain – "I've been fighting this all day," she says as she masks a cough set off by her allergies (Washington's cherry blossom trees are shedding their flowers). Life is still hectic – the volcanic ash cloud has just all but paralysed Europe and televisions throughout the State Department are showing the first British election debate. But Clinton remains enthusiastic, affable and unhurried, her speech peppered with exclamations such as "oh my gosh", even as she discusses issues of state. She politely asks if I have any updates for her about Europe's airspace shutdown and tells me she's been talking to Norway's foreign minister about it.

"He said that this dust gets into engines of any size, even Air Force One – it's chunky! I don't know how else to describe it," she says, an odd note of hilarity entering her voice as she pronounces the word "chunky".

Clinton often speaks in this eager, unvarnished way – a world away from the clipped, on-message manner of her immediate predecessor in the post, Condoleezza Rice. If anything, she is an undiplomat – known less for calibrated circumlocutions than for her plain speaking and sometimes her gaffes, a woman who retains both a formidable political constituency and a laugh she once admitted can send cats scurrying from a room.

Her staff point out she is only the third elected politician in 60 years to have served as secretary of state, and the first to come from outside the foreign policy establishment since James Baker, George H.W. Bush's right-hand man and perhaps her most illustrious recent predecessor. She may be the most substantive politician in the office since William Jennings Bryan, the three-time presidential candidate who served as secretary almost a century ago. "Her stature on the world stage, her almost presidential stature, has set her apart," Bill Burns, the top career diplomat at the State Department, tells me. "Leaders want to meet her. And the town hall meetings do make a difference with public opinion."

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State visitor Hillary Clinton is greeted by Air Force Base Commander Colonel Celso de Araujo at São Paulo airport in March

Back in São Paulo, the meeting at the university ranges far from the confines and dramatis personae of traditional diplomacy. Annie, a young woman with red and blue dreadlocked hair, tells Clinton about her dance and percussion classes and asks how to study in the US without paying college fees. A nervous young man confesses himself lost halfway through an abstruse question about tariff policy; Clinton, smiling and nodding in that vaguely automatic way of hers, bears with him all the same. Another female student asks for an autograph. When answering, Clinton sometimes opens her eyes wide as she emphasises a phrase; at other moments, seemingly at random, she pulls her hands apart as if demonstrating the size of a fish.

Then a law student called Marina asks about abortion – which is illegal in Brazil – and Clinton moves into treacherous terrain. She speaks of the Brazilian hospital she visited in the 1990s that treated not just expectant mothers but women suffering from the consequences of backstreet abortions. "Wealthy women have rights in every country," she says. "And poor women don't." Her strength of feeling can't be hidden as she denounces "the great toll that illegal abortions take and the denial of women being able to exercise such a fundamental personal right".

Tom Shannon, the US ambassador to Brazil, tells me later: "I understand the possible concern that we might have come close to domestic issues. But she wasn't laying out a prescription for Brazil. She was sharing her experience as a woman in American politics and as secretary of state." It's true: Clinton doesn't quite cross the line. Onstage, she is controlled without seeming artificial, convivial without appearing over-effusive, what a previous age would call a real trouper. At the podium she looks straight ahead, her lips carefully expressionless. Still, the old competitive instincts haven't left her. Perhaps it is the lecterns at press conferences, reminiscent of the Democratic presidential debates, but on exiting the podium at a joint appearance with Argentina's president Cristina Fernández, Clinton makes clear her satisfaction at having had the last word. The expert debater who usually bested Obama has not left the stage.

Yet that competitive urge coexists with what one insider describes as her "almost inhuman loyalty" towards Obama. Her mastery of the facts – an "information carnivore" one of her officials calls her – comes despite the consensus in much of Washington that her role consists largely of implementing the foreign policy Obama and his inner circle have framed, rather than helping frame it herself.

In São Paulo, she shows her loyalty in striking fashion when she is asked repeatedly about positive discrimination – another sensitive topic in Brazil – not least because, Clinton herself observes, Afro-Brazilians account for more than half the country's population but only 2 per cent of university students. "That suggests to me that some special steps need to be taken [in] recruiting and admitting students so that they can have a chance to succeed," she tells the hall, again inching towards domestic politics, before speaking of her pride in the progress the US civil rights movement has made in the past half-century. She says: "The election of Barack Obama, many believe, was the greatest accomplishment of all because it demonstrated that an African-American could be elected president of the United States."

Among the crowd, I catch my breath and scribble down her words. It's hard to think of a more fulsome statement from the woman who fought so hard against Obama – and who squandered a huge poll lead and millions of dollars in the struggle against him.

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The great collaborator Clinton has established strong working relationships within the Obama administration

When I ask Clinton later about how she managed to move from the antagonism of the primary race to the obedience of office, she dismisses my question with an anodyne "that's politics". She adds: "We're working really hard and well together ... It just never comes up any more, it seems like ancient history to me." Not so ancient, I think, that she is willing to admit the failings of her campaign. "I always run inclusive and successful organisations," she retorts when I ask her whether she'd applied any lessons from that searing experience to her new post.

She admits she didn't want the job at State – she says she was exhausted by the election and missed the

Senate – "but at the end of the day, I'm pretty old-fashioned and if the president asks you to do something, you'd better have a really good reason why you can't." Also, she adds: "Suppose I had won and I were asking him to be in my cabinet ... I would have wanted him to say yes."

Others say the relationship is more complex, that by dint of her loyalty and unflagging hard work, Clinton has moved closer to the charmed circle and made herself an even more formidable political force than before. "Quite simply, she gives good advice and the president over a year and a half has recognised that," says Anne-Marie Slaughter, head of the State Department policy planning unit. "The relationship is based on her performance in the job."

By all accounts, it's a collaborative partnership, though not perhaps a warm one. Clinton boasts a good working relationship with the main players of the administration – and has formed something of an alliance with defence secretary Robert Gates, although on life-and-death issues such as Afghanistan, it is Gates, not her, who has taken the lead. As one official told me, secretaries of state have often either been popular with their own department – Colin Powell comes to mind – or with the rest of the administration – as was Condoleezza Rice – but Clinton has managed to be both.

In truth, Clinton's language remains harder-edged than Obama's – she recently claimed that Iran's Revolutionary Guard had staged a slow-motion coup – and she has sometimes been more willing than he is to hint at using the military. "She seems to step up with a bit of spine just at the right time," says Kurt Volker, a US ambassador to Nato under George W. Bush.

She has also assumed an ever more prominent role in talking to leaders such as Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan – apparently because she is trusted both by them and Obama. Meanwhile, she has been careful to keep her husband, the former US president, in the background. Aides say they have barely seen him in the building – though Clinton herself says that behind the scenes Bill Clinton gives her strategic advice. "One of his favourite sayings, that I remind myself of all the time, is a kind of baseball saying," she says: "Don't major in the minors; keep your eye on not just the headlines but the trend lines."

It is her co-operative stance rather than any notable effort to set out a grand vision of her own that is the chief theme of her time so far at State. When I ask Clinton to name her proudest achievement in office, she replies "the effective and collaborative approach that this administration has taken towards identifying and solving problems." A more process-oriented, less provocative answer would be hard to imagine.

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But maybe, I think, the US has less scope for grand strategy than it did in the past couple of decades, when the country seemed to bestride the world colossus-style. Clinton herself suggests that so formidable are the tasks confronting the US that the administration has little scope to enter into internecine fights but needs instead to focus on the challenges to hand. Whatever the reason for her stance, it seems to be a smart decision – by all accounts she's overcome many of the suspicions the White House retinue had towards her.

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David Miliband: "Hillary is a rock star ... she has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour"

It's too early to start chalking up a scorecard because Hillary Clinton, and the Obama administration, is laying the foundations for long-term change in America's foreign policy. The challenges are immense – probably more difficult than the inheritance of any previous administration. But American leadership is essential and a commitment to multilateralism – in fact multi, multilateralism using different and overlapping forums – is real and right.

You also have to remember that Hillary is a rock star. When I arrived at the Nato Foreign Ministers meeting in March 2009, it was a nice surprise that all the staff, never mind the press, seemed to have turned out in droves for my arrival. Then I realised that Hillary was 10 minutes behind me.

That said, the thing that most surprised me about working with Clinton was not her intelligence or her hard work, all of which are well known, but that behind the serious exterior is someone who has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour. She has seen politics from all sides, and can laugh at herself as well as at others.

She's a remarkably good listener, always synthesising ideas and opinions to develop her own. She thinks strategically as well as tactically. She's also very, very unpompous. Hillary is a very political person but in a particular way, she honours politics and public service and believes that democratic politics is not a necessary evil, but a calling of value and vocation. She knows you win some and you lose some, but it's essential to take part.

There's one other thing. Hillary is a people person in that she thinks deeply about the psychology of the people she's dealing with. Their motivation, their loyalties, their culture. It's real emotional intelligence in trying to understand why people disagree and how you can get them to agree. I think that must be why so many other members of the administration say she is a very good colleague.

David Miliband is shadow foreign secretary

.....

Gideon Rachman: "Relations between the White House and the State Department are not particularly close"

A school teacher asked to write a report on Hillary Clinton's stint as secretary of state would have to give her 10/10 for effort but a rather more modest mark for actual achievements – maybe a six or a seven.

Secretaries of state are generally judged on two criteria. First, how have they done in the endless bureaucratic turf wars that characterise Washington politics? Second, how effective have they been in promoting US foreign policy in the wider world? Success in one area usually helps in the other. Henry Kissinger was a superb Washington infighter – and his close relationship with President Nixon made him all the more effective overseas. Colin Powell, George W. Bush's first secretary of state, was widely admired outside the US – but came out on the wrong side of many of the Washington battles, which limited his ability to get things done in the wider world.

Hillary Clinton has skilfully avoided being sucked into the debilitating Washington struggles that so damaged Powell. Despite the often poisonous rivalry between the Obama and Clinton camps during the campaign, Clinton has a good working relationship with the president. But while relations between the White House and the State Department are cordial, they do not seem to be particularly close. Clinton appointed many loyalists from her own campaign to the State Department, with the result that State is rather detached from Obama's inner circle. Obama's penchant for making high-profile speeches in foreign capitals such as Cairo, Prague, Tokyo and Istanbul means that the president himself has done more than anyone else to define his administration's approach to the world.

That still leaves a role for Clinton to fill in the crucial details of policy. But special representatives have been appointed to deal with Afghanistan and the Middle East – and the Treasury is critical to China policy. Asked about Clinton's impact as secretary of state, one senior European policymaker purses his lips and says: "She's done some great trips, and she's highly professional. But it's hard to see any particular area where she has really driven policy."

Gideon Rachman is the FT's chief foreign affairs columnist

.....

David Rothkopf: "When she has been asked to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly"

Hillary Clinton has been a cautious secretary of state: she has protected the president well and pursued his agenda without upstaging him – an early concern, given her stature. She has worked very well with other members of the cabinet, and is reconsidering the role and structure of the State Department.

That includes a review of the role of diplomacy going forward. Clinton has not only acknowledged the rise of new powers and a changing global power structure but has taken steps to reshape US foreign policy structure accordingly. An important part of that has been recognising the importance of co-operating with private and non-state actors such as NGOs, as well as dealing with non-state threats.

When the administration has called upon her to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly. This has allowed the president to articulate a strategic vision which Clinton then goes about implementing. Still, neither the secretary of state nor the president determines the global situation. The US may be the most powerful country in the world but it is one among many powerful countries, and many aspects of the situation we face today are beyond our control. The Obama administration has been dealt an extremely difficult hand: not only Iraq and Afghanistan, but Iran and North Korea's nuclear programmes, the rise of emerging powers and a complex and still unfolding series of financial crises.

We have gone from a world in which the US thought it had limitless resources and unbounded options to one where the limits are clear; from a world in which you could work in the G8 to one where you have to work in the context of the G20; a world where new technologies and new powers play a bigger role. All of those things would dictate a change in foreign policy regardless of who is in office.

Hillary Clinton has established a very solid foundation. The next step is to identify a couple of signature issues – and have a couple of signature successes. That will take her to the next level.

David Rothkopf is a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with expertise in national security

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Kyrgyzstan asks Russia to help quell ethnic clashes

**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany; S_SpecialAssistants
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Sat Jun 12 07:53:56 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Kyrgyzstan asks Russia to help quell ethnic clashes

OSH - Kyrgyzstan appealed for Russian help to stop ethnic fighting that has killed at least 62 and left parts of its second-largest city in flames, the worst violence since the president was toppled in April. The interim government in Kyrgyzstan, which hosts U.S. and Russian military bases, said it was powerless to stop armed gangs from burning down the homes and businesses of ethnic Uzbeks in parts of Osh. Gun battles raged throughout the night.

"We need the entry of outside armed forces to calm the situation down," interim government leader Roza Otunbayeva told reporters. "We have appealed to Russia for help and I have already signed such a letter for President Dmitry Medvedev."

Russian PM Putin and Otunbayeva discussed the situation in a telephone call on June 12, the Russian government's press service said, without giving details.
A Reuters correspondent in Osh said gun battles had taken place through the night in an Uzbek neighbourhood. Gas was shut off to Osh and some neighborhoods have no electricity. "Entire streets are on fire," Interior Ministry spokesman Rakhmatillo Akhmedov said. "The situation is very bad. There is no sign of it stopping. Homes have been set ablaze."

Otunbayeva said Osh was also facing a humanitarian crisis as food was running out. She said her government had decided to open the border to Uzbekistan to allow fleeing Uzbeks to escape, although it was not clear who controlled the frontier. One witness said some women and children had made it across to the Uzbek town of Marhamat, 638 miles from Osh, and camps had been set up for those without family in Uzbekistan. A spokeswoman for the Kyrgyz Health Ministry said at least 62 people had been killed and 790 wounded in the violence, which is taking place in the southerly power base of former president Kurmanbek Bakiyev, deposed in April by a popular revolt.

"Everywhere is burning: Uzbek homes, restaurants and cafes. The whole town is covered in smoke," local human rights worker Dilmurad Ishanov, an ethnic Uzbek, said by telephone from Osh. "We don't need the Kyrgyz authorities. We need Russia. We need troops. We need help."

wf

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 11:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

Are you okay w the below?

Go U.S.!

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:24:33 2010
Subject: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

D and P have cleared on this:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

B5

###

Drafted:NEA/IR: Cash McCracken ext 7-2569

Cleared:NEA/IRJBurns/SHorner ok
NEA/FOJLimbert ok
DRLJHutchings ok
D(S)GRana ok
PECatalano ok
S/PELacey ok
NSCK Magsamen info

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Icc review conference

Madame Secretary:
On flight home from Kampala, which was exhausting [redacted] I am sending Info memo Monday, but whatever you hear, the big picture is this: B5

To become operational, any crimes of aggression
1 must still be affirmatively revoted by two thirds votes of states parties
2 no earlier than 2017
3 there will be another review conf probably before this goes into effect 4of the two ways of referring crime one goes through an exclusive sc trigger;
5 the other branch has
A a prior sc filter *and*
B an ex post sc red light plus
C requires full vote of 9 judges of pretrial division and D nonconsenting aggressor states can opt out and E prosecutor must have reasonable basis for investigation under definition which F has now been significantly narrowed [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

I can elaborate Monday
Best
Harold

Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 11:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:41:06 2010
Subject: Re: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:27:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

Are you okay w the below?

Go U.S.!

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:24:33 2010
Subject: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

D and P have cleared on this:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

[redacted] B5

B5

###

Drafted:NEA/IR: Cash McCracken ext 7-2569

Cleared:NEA/IRJBurns/SHorner ok
NEA/FOJLimbert ok
DRLJHutchings ok
D(S)GRana ok
PECatalano ok
S/PELacey ok
NSCK Magsamen info

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 1:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Flotilla investigation

Word is that we're going to announce our response to the Israeli flotilla investigation today. Did Jones or Ross speak with you about it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 6:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls tomorrow

We have scheduled calls tomorrow with:
- Swedish Foreign Minister Bildt at 9:00 am
- Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoere at 10:45 am You have call sheets for both.
Ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake- [redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 9:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Calls tomorrow

We will connect calls to whitehaven. Unless u want to cancel?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 19:29:58 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 18:54:41 2010
Subject: Calls tomorrow

We have scheduled calls tomorrow with:
- Swedish Foreign Minister Bildt at 9:00 am
- Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoere at 10:45 am You have call sheets for both.
Ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 9:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Calls tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:52:42 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

I may have to do on blackberry [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:50:30 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

We will connect calls to whitehaven. Unless u want to cancel?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 19:29:58 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 18:54:41 2010
Subject: Calls tomorrow

We have scheduled calls tomorrow with:
- Swedish Foreign Minister Bildt at 9:00 am
- Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoere at 10:45 am You have call sheets for both.
Ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 10:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sean Wilentz

He was with me last weekend. He's left for a week in Greece yesterday on erratic email. What's up?

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Jun 12, 2010 10:31 pm
Subject: Sean Wilentz

B6

Is he at your house this weekend?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 9:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: McChrystal in Rolling Stone
**Attachments:** R1109McChrystal.pdf

Attached is the doc, in pdf. I will have it faxed to your house.

It's for the NEXT issue of Rolling Stone, but AP has a copy. We'll need [redacted] B5

Some choice quotes below.

---

**From:** Singh, Vikram J
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Mon Jun 21 21:34:17 2010
**Subject:** FW: McChrystal in Rolling Stone

"Part of the problem is structural: The Defense Department budget exceeds $600 billion a year, while the State Department receives only $50 billion. But part of the problem is personal: In private, Team McChrystal likes to talk shit about many of Obama's top people on the diplomatic side. One aide calls Jim Jones, a retired four-star general and veteran of the Cold War, a "clown" who remains "stuck in 1985." Politicians like McCain and Kerry, says another aide, "turn up, have a meeting with Karzai, criticize him at the airport press conference, then get back for the Sunday talk shows. Frankly, it's not very helpful." Only Hillary Clinton receives good reviews from McChrystal's inner circle. "Hillary had Stan's back during the strategic review," says an adviser. "She said, 'If Stan wants it, give him what he needs.' "

"McChrystal reserves special skepticism for Holbrooke, the official in charge of reintegrating the Taliban. "The Boss says he's like a wounded animal," says a member of the general's team. "Holbrooke keeps hearing rumors that he's going to get fired, so that makes him dangerous. He's a brilliant guy, but he just comes in, pulls on a lever, whatever he can grasp onto. But this is COIN, and you can't just have someone yanking on shit."
At one point on his trip to Paris, McChrystal checks his BlackBerry. "Oh, not another e-mail from Holbrooke," he groans. "I don't even want to open it." He clicks on the message and reads the salutation out loud, then stuffs the BlackBerry back in his pocket, not bothering to conceal his annoyance.

"Make sure you don't get any of that on your leg," an aide jokes, referring to the e-mail

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 11:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

Roger

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake- [redacted] B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake-

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 10:06 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Rolling Stone

Aye

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Rolling Stone
Sent: Jun 21, 2010 7:01 PM

Can you get me copy of article about McChrystal that is coming out?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

From John Beyerle ... Perhaps the Russians won't send troops:

I just called Karasin. He agreed that the situation had gotten worse in Osh and Jalalabad today but said the Russian position is still that sending in foreign troops, whether Russian or CSTO, will be counterproductive and lead to more violence and bloodshed.

The IL-76s that flew in to Kant today were the EMERCOM/МЧС planes he told me about yesterday; they have humanitarian cargo, primarily doctors and medical equipment. I cited the news reports that a battalion of paratroopers had gone in -- he said there may be some troops on board to guard the plane or beef up security at Kant, but he was firm that at this point Russia has no plans to introduce its own forces in the south. The main objective was to stop the violence through peaceful means; Russia had provided the Kyrgyz forces with additional "technical means" for accomplishing that. He said they hoped this would help Kyrgyz forces get control of the situation, which was their main goal.

I asked about CSTO planning, and possible UN or OSCE PKFs. He said there is no formal CSTO meeting planned, although people are consulting via phone. He repeated their hesitation to see any CSTO deployments. They have not yet considered UN or OSCE PKFs, but if the situation continues to deteriorate, he wouldn't exclude the possibility.

Rushailo is currently in Moscow, but may be sent to Bishkek tomorrow or Tuesday. He agreed to call me if there is any major change in the situation on the ground, or regarding force deployments. Tomorrow is a Russian holiday but he'll have his cell phone on.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jun 13 10:50:39 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J

Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake- [redacted] B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 11:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Thousands flee ethnic riots in Kyrgyzstan; Russia sends troops to base

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc**: NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Russia; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Sun Jun 13 11:17:20 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Thousands flee ethnic riots in Kyrgyzstan; Russia sends troops to base

BISHKEK, Kyrgyzstan (AP) - As minority Uzbeks flee the Central Asian nation of Kyrgyzstan by the thousands, Russia is sending in a battalion of paratroopers to protect its air base in the country. More than 100 people have been killed and about 1250 wounded in four days of ethnic violence spreading across southern Kyrgyzstan. Doctors and rights activists say the actual toll is likely far higher than that official count, because wounded Uzbeks are too afraid of being attacked again to go to hospitals. Mobs of ethnic Kyrgyz have been reportedly torching Uzbek villages and neighborhoods, slaughtering residents. Authorities in Uzbekistan says more than 75,000 refugees have fled its neighbor. Most are said to be women, children and the elderly, and many have gunshot wounds. While the Kremlin has refused Kyrgyzstan's request for military help quelling the violence, the Interfax news agency reports Russia has sent about 300 paratroopers to reinforce security at its air base. Kyrgyzstan hosts both U.S. and Russian military air bases, but they are in the north, away from the ethnic rioting.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 12:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

I can talk tonight - whenever is convenient for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 13 11:50:23 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

Ok. I'll plan for cal tomorrow.

Also, I'd like to talk w you before your mtg w Denis and Ben about future ideas. Can you talk tonight? what times would be best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 13 10:50:39 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H

Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake-

B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 1:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

Sure could, if it works for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 13 13:08:35 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

Could you talk now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 13 12:56:17 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I can talk tonight - whenever is convenient for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 13 11:50:23 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

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----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 13 10:50:39 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

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----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake-

B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 4:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

Yep - speak w/ you then

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Jun 13 15:34:33 2010
Subject: Re: Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

No. Are you free after 9pm?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 13 15:23:53 2010
Subject: Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 1:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

**From:** Bagley, Elizabeth F
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:**

Dear Cheryl,

[redacted] B5 B6

Best regards,

Elizabeth

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 1:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo British election 050510.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 6:19 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Strategy sessions

I talked to CDM about doing some strategy sessions this week. We discussed trying to do three:

B5

There are obviously a dozen different ways to do this, and a dozen different configurations. So consider this a strawman - we're eager to hear your reactions.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 10:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Rolling Stone

I hadn't heard about this piece until you emailed. It comes out later this week but what's leaked so far is definitely a doozie

Unclear to me why anyone ever cooperate with Rolling Stone

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines
Date: Tue, 22 Jun 2010 02:05:34
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>
Reply-To: preines
Subject: Re: Rolling Stone

Aye

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Rolling Stone
Sent: Jun 21, 2010 7:01 PM

Can you get me copy of article about McChrystal that is coming out?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 10:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Rolling Stone

Talked to Ben. Much to report.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 10:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** early news accounts

Below is McC's statement and some early articles:

McC Statement:

I extend my sincerest apology for this profile. It was a mistake reflecting poor judgment and should never have happened.

Throughout my career, I have lived by the principles of personal honor and professional integrity. What is reflected in this article falls far short of that standard.

I have enormous respect and admiration for President Obama and his national security team, and for the civilian leaders and troops fighting this war and I remain committed to ensuring its successful outcome.

# Aides to U.S. general in Afghanistan slam Obama: report

20 mins ago

WASHINGTON (Reuters) – Aides to the top U.S. general in Afghanistan insulted some of President Barack Obama's closest advisers, calling one a "clown" and another a "wounded animal," in an article to be published Friday in Rolling Stone magazine.

The article also quotes an aide describing the commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan General Stanley McChrystal's "disappointment" with his initial one-on-one meeting with Obama last year.

Quoting all the McChrystal aides anonymously, the article portrays a split between the U.S. military and Obama's advisers at an extremely sensitive moment for the Pentagon, which is fending off criticism of its strategy to turn around the nearly nine-year-old Afghan war.

The Pentagon had no immediate comment about the article, which has been brought to the attention of senior officials.

It quotes a member of McChrystal's team making jokes about Vice President Joe Biden, who was seen as critical of the general's efforts to escalate the conflict and who had favored a more limited counter-terrorism approach.

"Biden?" the aide was quoted as saying. "Did you say: Bite me?"

Another aide called White House National Security Adviser Jim Jones, a retired four star general, a "clown" who was "stuck in 1985." It quoted an adviser to McChrystal dismissing an early meeting with Obama as a "10-minute photo op."

"Obama clearly didn't know anything about him, who he was. The boss was pretty disappointed," the adviser told the magazine.

McChrystal, a famous workaholic said to sleep just four hours a day, was brought into Afghanistan a year ago after his predecessor was pushed out.

The article portrays his teams as disapproving of the Obama administration, with the exception of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who backed McCrystal's request for additional troops in Afghanistan.

Some of the strongest criticism was reserved for Richard Holbrooke, Obama's special envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

"The boss says he's like a wounded animal," a member of the general's team is quoted as saying. "Holbrooke keeps hearing rumors that he's going to get fired, so that makes him dangerous."

McChrystal was quoted as saying he felt "betrayed" by the leak of a classified cable from U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Karl Eikenberry last year. The cable raised doubts about sending more troops to shore up an Afghan government already lacking in credibility.

"I like Karl, I've known him for years, but they'd never said anything like that to us before," McChrystal was quoted as saying in the article.

"Here's one that covers his flank for the history books. Now if we fail, they can say, 'I told you so.'"
(Editing by Washington World Desk)

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And from the WSJ:

- JUNE 21, 2010, 6:55 PM ET

# McChrystal's Next Offensive?

Relations between the U.S. military and civilians in the Obama administration have been tense since last year's three-month review of Afghan war strategy, a state of affairs unlikely to be helped by a new profile of Gen. **Stanley McChrystal**, the overall commander in Afghanistan, that will appear in Rolling Stone magazine on Friday.

In the eight-page article, released to reporters on Monday ahead of publication, McChrystal appears to belittle Vice President **Joe Biden** and accuses **Karl Eikenberry**, the U.S. ambassador to Kabul, of undermining his war plan within the administration.

Asked by the Rolling Stone reporter about what he now feels of the war strategy advocated by Biden last fall – fewer troops, more drone attacks – the article reports that McChrystal and his aides attempted to come up with a good one-liner to dismiss the question. "Are you asking about Vice President Biden?" McChrystal reportedly jokes. "Who's that?"

Later in the article, McChrystal turns more serious when asked about cables sent last fall to Washington by Eikenberry. The cables called into question the major troop increase advocated by McChrystal's team and the U.S.'s backing of Afghan President **Hamid Karzai** – views that the ambassador had not previously raised with McChrystal or his staff.

"I like Karl, I've known him for years, but they'd never said anything like that to us before," McChrystal is quoted as saying. "Here's one that covers his flank for the history books. Now if we fail, they can say, 'I told you so.'"

The article, titled "The Runaway General," has already caused nervousness inside the Pentagon, where memories are still fresh of another blistering profile that got a top commander in hot water: an August 2008 cover story in Esquire <http://www.esquire.com/features/fox-fallon > on Adm. **William "Fox" Fallon**, then commander of all U.S. forces in the Middle East and Central Asia. The article eventually played a part in Fallon's resignation two years ago.

In that Esquire piece, however, Fallon appeared to directly contradict White House policy on Iran and other parts of the Middle East; the Rolling Stone article makes no such allegation, but rather is full of jokey put-downs of important Washington players.

Comments in the article attributed to anonymous McChrystal aides are particularly harsh towards some senior members of the Obama administration, including National Security Adviser **James Jones**, and other leading politicians, like Sens. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.) and **John McCain** (R., Ariz). They also make some unflattering references to President**Barack Obama** himself, saying the president didn't seem to know who McChrystal was when he appointed him to run the war early last year.

Only Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton**, who is portrayed as having strongly backed McChrystal's plan for Afghanistan, is singled out for praise by the anonymous McChrystal

aides.
A spokesman for McChrystal did not immediately respond to a request for comment late Monday.
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www.djreprints.com <http://www.djreprints.com>

# Top US Afghan commander mocks Biden: report

(AFP) – 1 hour ago

WASHINGTON — The US commander in Afghanistan mocks the vice president and denounces a top diplomat in a magazine interview, while his aides speak dismissively of President Barack Obama.

Tensions between General Stanley McChrystal and the White House are on full display in an unflattering profile in Rolling Stone of the commander of US and NATO forces in the Afghan war.

McChrystal jokes sarcastically about preparing to answer a question referring to Vice President Joe Biden, known as a skeptic of the commander's war strategy.

"'Are you asking about Vice President Biden?' McChrystal says with a laugh. 'Who's that?'" the article quotes him as saying.

"'Biden?' suggests a top adviser. 'Did you say: Bite Me?'"

McChrystal tells the magazine that he felt "betrayed" by the US ambassador to Kabul, Karl Eikenberry, in a White House debate over war strategy last year.

Referring to a leaked internal memo from Eikenberry that questioned McChrystal's request for more troops, the commander suggested the ambassador had tried to protect himself for history's sake.

"I like Karl, I've known him for years, but they'd never said anything like that to us before," McChrystal tells the magazine.

"Here's one that covers his flank for the history books. Now if we fail, they can say, ?I told you so.'"

Eikenberry, himself a former commander in Afghanisan, had written to the White House saying Afghan President Hamid Karzai was an unreliable partner and that a surge of troops could draw the United States into a open-ended quagmire.

The article revisits the friction between the White House and the military last fall as Obama debated whether to grant McChrystal's request for tens of thousands of reinforcements.

Although Obama in the end granted most of what McChrystal asked for, the strategy review was a difficult time, the general tells the magazine.

"I found that time painful," McChrystal says. "I was selling an unsellable position."

An unnamed adviser to McChrystal alleges the general came away unimpressed after a meeting with Obama in the Oval Office a year ago, just after the president named him to take over in Afghanistan.

"It was a 10-minute photo op," the general's adviser says.

"Obama clearly didn?t know anything about him, who he was... he didn?t seem very engaged.

"The boss was pretty disappointed," says the adviser.

The profile, titled "The Runaway General," portrays his aides as profane and intensely loyal to McChrystal, while arguing the general has seized control over the war on the military and diplomatic fronts.

The four-star general also derides the hard-charging top US envoy to the region, Richard Holbrooke, and complains about a dinner with an unnamed French minister during a visit to Paris.

"Oh, not another e-mail from Holbrooke," McChrystal says, looking at his messages on a mobile phone. "I don't even want to open it."

In a hotel room in Paris getting ready for a dinner with a French official, McChrystal says: "How'd I get screwed into going to this dinner?"

"The dinner comes with the position, sir," says his aide, Colonel Charlie Flynn.

"Hey, Charlie," McChrystal says, "does this come with the position?"

McChrystal gives him the middle finger.

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RELEASE IN FULL

# Top General In Afghan War: US Envoy Betrayed Me

*ANNE GEARAN, AP National Security Writer*

WASHINGTON (AP) — The top U.S. war commander in Afghanistan told an interviewer he felt betrayed by the man the White House chose to be his diplomatic partner, Ambassador Karl Eikenberry.

An article out this week in "Rolling Stone" magazine depicts Gen. Stanley McChrystal as a lone wolf on the outs with many important figures in the Obama administration and unable to convince even some of his own soldiers that his strategy can win the war.

A band of McChrystal's profane, irreverent aides are quoted mocking Vice President Joe Biden and Richard Holbrooke, the special U.S. representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

McChrystal himself is described by an aide as "disappointed" in his first Oval Office meeting with an unprepared President Barack Obama. The article says that although McChrystal voted for Obama, the two failed to connect from the start. Obama called McChrystal on the carpet last fall for speaking too bluntly about his desire for more troops.

"I found that time painful," McChrystal said in the article, on newsstands Friday. "I was selling an unsellable position."

Obama agreed to dispatch an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan only after months of study that many in the military found frustrating. And the White House's troop commitment was coupled with a pledge to begin bringing them home in July 2011, in what counterinsurgency strategists advising McChrystal regarded as an arbitrary deadline.

The profile, titled "The Runaway General" emerged from several weeks of interviews and travel with McChrystal's tight circle of aides this spring.

It includes a list of administration figures said to back McChrystal, including Defense Secretary Robert Gates and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, and puts Biden at the top of a list of those who don't.

The article claims McChrystal has seized control of the war "by never taking his eye off the real enemy: The wimps in the White House."

Biden initially opposed McChrystal's proposal for additional forces last year. He favored a narrower focus on hunting terrorists.

If Eikenberry had the same doubts, McChrystal said he never expressed them until a leaked internal document threw a wild card into the debate over whether to add more troops last November. In the document, Eikenberry said Afghan President Hamid Karzai was not a reliable partner for the counterinsurgency strategy McChrystal was hired to execute.

McChrystal said he felt "betrayed" and accused the ambassador of giving himself cover.

"Here's one that covers his flank for the history books," McChrystal told the magazine. "Now, if we fail, they can say 'I told you so.'"

There was no immediate response from Eikenberry. The Associated Press requested comment through an aide after business hours on Monday in Kabul.

Eikenberry remains in his post in Kabul, and although both men publicly say they are friends, their rift is on full display.

McChrystal and Eikenberry, himself a retired Army general, stood as far apart as the speakers' platform would allow during a White House news conference last month.

"Rolling Stone" interviewed troops frustrated by McChrystal's strict rules for combat that are intended to reduce the number of civilian casualties.

At one outpost, a soldier McChrystal had met earlier was killed in a house that the local U.S. commander had repeatedly asked to destroy. The request was denied, apparently out of concern that razing the house would anger locals whose allegiance the U.S. is trying to win.

"Does that make any (expletive) sense?" Pfc. Jared Pautsch asks. "We should just drop a (expletive) bomb on this place. You sit and ask yourself, 'What are we doing here?'"

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Philippe Reines
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 11:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Rolling Stone: "The Runaway General"
**Attachments:** R1109McChrystal.pdf

Attached is the story in scanned form. Not sure if you can open/read on your berry, so will make sure Lauren has too

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 11:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Rolling Stone

Oh darn it - sorry I missed your message - I was engrossed in the PSD script.

If you're still up please call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Jun 21 23:16:02 2010
Subject: Re: Rolling Stone

can you talk now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 21 22:34:49 2010
Subject: Rolling Stone

Talked to Ben. Much to report.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 9:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Just tried you. Am on cell [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Tue Jun 22 07:07:24 2010
Subject: Schedule

I will need to see [redacted] sometime in next week and pls find out when [redacted] I'd like to aim for July 7 or 8. Thx. B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will set up
I'm seeing [redacted] next week and she's flexible so we can do any morning. B6
Think [redacted] may be traveling but will check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jun 22 07:07:24 2010
Subject: Schedule

I will need to see [redacted] sometime in next week and pls find out when [redacted] I'd like to aim for July 7 or 8. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 6/14/10 Monday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:05 am **DROP-BY U/S BURNS' MEETING w/UAE TRADE MINISTER**
10:10 am **SHEIKHA LUBNA al QASIMI** Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo at top.

10:15 am **PRE-BRIEF w/AMBASSADOR CdeBACA AND U/S OTERO**
10:25 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **RELEASE OF 10TH ANNUAL TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT**
10:50 am Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

11:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
3:15 pm Secretary's Office

3:20 pm **PHOTO w/ZIA SYED AND FAMILY**
3:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:40 pm **REMARKS TO THE DIPLOMACY CONFERENCE ON SUB-SAHARAN**
4:20 pm **AFRICA** Loy Henderson Conference Room

4:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:15 pm Secretary's Office

5:20 pm **MEETING w/UNDERSECRETARY BURNS**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mack McLarty

Today, June 14th, is his birthday

[redacted] **c**
**h**
**202-419-1420 w main**
[redacted] **Asst: Katie**
[redacted] **Asst. Ali cell**
**###**

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Dianne Feinstein

Today [redacted] B6
[redacted] (DC)

[redacted] w Asst: Daniel
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Rahm's long goodbye

# Rahm's long goodbye

By: Glenn Thrush
June 22, 2010 04:34 AM EDT

For all the talk about Rahm Emanuel reaching for the "eject" button, the fiery White House chief of staff isn't leaving in the immediate future — and could serve well into 2011, according to people close to him.

"It's the opinion in the top levels of the White House that Rahm is going to be here longer than many people think," said a senior administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Speculation about Emanuel's departure has been a favorite parlor game for nearly a year — stoked by Emanuel's admission that he'd love to run for Chicago mayor (should current Mayor Richard Daley retire, of course), his own kvetching about the rigors of the job, withering attacks on him from the left and the right and the fact that the average expiration date on a chief of staff is 18 months.

Emanuel is leaving, but his departure date has proved to be profoundly elastic. Friends and co-workers said he vacillates from day to day, sometimes minute to minute. He might leave in December after the midterms; or he might stay until next summer, depending on whether Daley runs or President Barack Obama asks him to stick around, they said.

And even as he pines for his native Chicago, Emanuel continues to put down real roots in D.C., recently writing the check to enroll his children in the exclusive Maret School in Washington through the 2011 school year, according to a person close to Emanuel.

He's shown few signs of loosening his grip on the tiller — bombarding White House staffers with long-distance calls during the first days of the Gulf oil spill even as he traveled in Israel for his son's bar mitzvah.

And in a broader sense, it's hard to imagine Emanuel's huge personality extracted from the political, journalistic and bar stool life of Obama's Washington.

Take the last game of last week's NBA Finals, when any American voter could wander into Tunnicliff's Tavern on Capitol Hill and witness one of the most powerful men in the nation egging on the Boston Celtics — screaming at the flat-screen TV, actually — joined

by a merry band that included Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.); Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.); Jim Manley, spokesman for Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.); and a pair of favorite reporters from The New York Times and The Washington Post.

Despite a British tabloid story asserting that Emanuel is sick of Obama's "idealism" and is racing for the exit, the former Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chairman still loves the attention and power of his current job and hasn't made up his mind when he's leaving, people who know him said.

"This is BS. And if you need it for translation, it is baseless," Emanuel said in a statement pushing back against a story in the U.K.'s Daily Telegraph portraying Emanuel as restless and fed up.

Replacing Emanuel, when he eventually goes, will be no easy task for Obama and the small clique of close advisers led by Pete Rouse, David Axelrod and Valerie Jarrett.

For one thing, Obama and company need to know what the post-November political landscape looks like before picking a successor: If Republicans take back one or more house of Congress, the new chief of staff will need to know how to leverage executive power against a hostile Hill; if Democrats retain their majorities, Emanuel's successor will need some of his legislative skills.

Barring a major course correction, Obama, who prizes loyalty and familiarity, isn't likely to reach too far outside his inner circle, advisers said.

Still, the president is increasingly cognizant of his reputation for insularity and would quite likely give a serious look at respected former Clinton chiefs of staff Leon Panetta, currently head of the CIA, or John Podesta, who runs the Center for American Progress, a major liberal think tank with close ties to the administration.

Rouse, a senior adviser who served as Obama's Senate chief of staff, is considered the best pure manager in the White House and a logical choice to replace Emanuel, according to a half-dozen administration officials and consultants.

But Rouse's colleagues say the quiet 60-year-old insider loves his work, the Grateful Dead and his cats — but despises the spotlight and would most likely turn down the job unless Obama insisted.

"The key thing about Pete is that the president trusts him and would feel very, very comfortable with him in charge," said a Democratic consultant who knows both men well. "But he probably won't take it."

One possible candidate — deputy chief of staff Jim Messina, Emanuel's political go-to guy — is likely to play a major role in Obama's 2012 reelection campaign and is expected to move to Chicago sometime next year.

In Messina's absence, another Emanuel favorite — Deputy National Security Adviser Tom Donilon — has emerged as a possible successor, according to people close to the situation.

Obama has been impressed by Donilon's presentations at the President's Daily Briefing, and the Rhode Island native has a wide variety of political and governmental experience, serving as a congressional liaison under President Jimmy Carter, chief State Department

spokesman under President Bill Clinton and a campaign adviser who helped Obama prepare for debates against John McCain.

One major Donilon drawback: He served as an executive vice president for Fannie Mae, the bailed-out mortgage giant, and reportedly lobbied against stronger regulatory oversight.

David Plouffe, Obama's 2008 campaign manager, is another contender, with a reputation for discipline, team building and solid management skills. But Plouffe has been reluctant to settle down in Washington, is earning a stellar living as a consultant and hates the press.

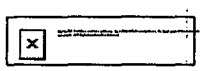
Former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle is also a possible successor, even though his nomination for Health and Human Services secretary was scuttled by revelations he failed to report limo rides paid for by a corporate client.

Another White House aide, Phil Schiliro, is a favorite of Obama's for his legislative savvy and political instincts. But critics said he lacks the range of policy and political experience that other candidates possess, and that his mastery of the Hill won't mean much if Democrats surrender their majorities in either house.

Then there's Ron Klain, 49, Vice President Joe Biden's brainy and politically astute chief of staff, who is said to be intensely interested in making the move from the Eisenhower Executive Office Building to the West Wing.

Klain — who also served as Al Gore's chief of staff — is well-regarded inside the White House. Plus, he's got a touch of star power: Kevin Spacey played him in the HBO movie "Recount," about his role in guiding the Gore campaign through the 2000 Florida recount.

Klain's downside: He's essentially an outsider who has yet to develop a serious rapport with the president, according to insiders.



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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 2:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00211-20100614-1158.jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00211-20100614-1158.jpg

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 2:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00214-20100614-1205.jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00214-20100614-1205.jpg

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 9:19 AM
**Subject:** Max from Israel: deconstruction of propaganda and media

http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/06/the-israeli-medias-flotilla-fail/

# The Israeli Media's Flotilla Fail

*On 06.22.10, By Max Blumenthal*

*My summary of the Israeli media's shambolic performance following the flotilla massacre was originally published here in Hebrew at Dvorit Shargal's excellent Israeli media blog, Velvet Underground. The English version follows:*

If the raid of the Gaza Freedom Flotilla was a disaster for the Israel Defense Forces, its aftermath demonstrated an equally bewildering performance by the Israeli media. The IDF Spokesman's Office churned out one misleading claim after another, each one more implausible than the next, seeking to implant in the public's mind a version of events that bore little relation to reality. To a degree, this was to be expected; but it was startling to see how some of Israel's most respected reporters lined up to serve as military stenographers, barely challenging the IDF's rapidly changing versions of events. IDF claims about the flotilla passengers' links to Al Qaida, anti-Semitic statements shouted at the Israeli Navy, and their terrorist intentions were eagerly broadcast by the Israeli media without a second thought. When independent reporters forced the IDF to retract or "clarify" all of these claims, Israeli news outlets refused to correct their errors, or covered them up without acknowledgment.

It so happened that I arrived in Israel for a research trip the day after the flotilla raid. As a result, I was able to do something which I always thought to be a very basic journalistic practice, so basic it's supposed to be applied routinely: Asking an implicated party in a story to produce evidence for its claims. What I found bewildering is that at least judging from Israeli media reports, few, if any, mainstream reporters applied this practice, and when a visiting colleague did their job for them – nobody bothered to correct or withdraw their original report.

On June 2, the IDF disseminated a press release entitled, "Attackers of the IDF soldiers found to be Al Qaeda mercenaries." The accusation was not accompanied by any conclusive evidence — the IDF reported that Mavi Marmara passengers were equipped with night-vision goggles (gasp!). This did not stop Yedioth's Ron Ben-Yishai, who was embedded with the Navy commandos, from amplifying the baseless charge. Citing an "interrogation" of Marmara passengers — "lynchers," he called them — Ben-Yishai wrote the same day, "Some among the [flotilla passengers] are believed to have ties with World Jihad groups, mainly Al Qaeda." The article made no reference to any efforts on part of Ben Yishai to investigate this claim, nor did he seem to think to ask why the IDF was about to release dangerous operatives of Osama Bin Laden — presumably they would attack again, wouldn't they?

On June 3, Israeli journalist Lia Tarachansky of the Real News Network and I placed calls to the IDF Spokesman's Office to demand further evidence of the Marmara's Al Qaeda ties. We received identical responses from spokespeople from the IDF's Israel and North America desks: "We don't have any evidence. The press release was based on information from the National Security Council." Hours later, the IDF retracted its claim, changing the title of its press release to, "Attackers of IDF Soldiers Found Without Identification Papers." Despite the official retraction, Ben-Yishai's article remains uncorrected.

On June 4, the IDF released an audio clip purporting to consist of transmissions between the Mavi Marmara and a Naval warship. "Go back to Aushwitz!" a Marmara passenger shouted, according to the IDF. YNet and Haaretz reported on and reproduced the audio clip without investigating its authenticity. Forget that the voice uttering the anti-Semitic slur sounded like a mentally disturbed teenager; had reporters performed a cursory search of the IDF Spokeman's Office website, they would have found a longer clip released on May 31 that featured a dramatically different exchange with the Marmara with no mention of Auschwitz. Further, the voice of flotilla organizer Huwaida Arraf was featured in the "Aushwitz" clip, yet Arraf was not aboard the Marmara (she was on the Challenger One). Could the IDF have doctored audio to exploit public hysteria surrounding the issue of anti-Semitism?

On my blog, I pointed out the discrepancies in the IDF's footage and raised the question of doctoring. The next day, the IDF conceded that it had in fact doctored the footage, releasing a "clarification" and a new clip claiming to consist of the "full" exchange between the Navy and the flotilla. Unfortunately, the authenticity of the new clip was impossible to verify. Despite the IDF's admission, YNet and Haaretz have not corrected their original reports, though Haaretz has at least altered its headline. Once the doctoring was exposed, the New York Times covered the episode in detail, directing

international attention to the triumph of independent online reporting and the apparent failure of Israel's parochial press corps.

On June 7, Haaretz's Anshel Pfeffer reported on an IDF press release claiming without evidence that five flotilla passengers had links to international terror. The press release was larded with highly implausible claims, including that Ken O'Keefe, who runs an aid organization with Tony Blair's sister-in-law, was planning to train a Hamas commando unit in the Gaza Strip. When I called the IDF Spokesman's Office, I learned that once again, no evidence was available to support their press release. "There is very limited intelligence we can give in this specific case," Sgt. Chen Arad told me. "Obviously I'm unable to give you more information." Did Pfeffer demand more evidence? If he did and was answered in the same manner as I did, why did Haaretz publish an unsubstantiated spin as fact?

Joined by Haaretz military correspondents Avi Isacharoff and Amos Harel, Pfeffer became a channel for another daytime deception by the IDF. On May 31, the three reporters produced an article based exclusively on testimony from Naval commandos — the flotilla passengers' side of the story was ignored — claiming they had faced live fire and lynching attempts from Marmara passengers. Since the story was published, the IDF has produced scant evidence to support either accusation. The article was accompanied by a suspicious photo from the IDF Spokesman's Office depicting a bearded Muslim man brandishing a knife and surrounded by photojournalists. Daylight beamed in from a window behind the man. Haaretz's caption, which was sourced to the IDF, asserted that the photo was taken "after" the commandos had boarded the Marmara. However, the commandos raided the ship at night, while the photo was taken during the day. Once again, the IDF's story was fishy.

I called Sgt. Arad at the IDF Spokesman's Office to investigate. He told me he had no evidence to support the photo's questionable caption. Soon after our phone conversation, Haaretz quietly altered the caption, removing its claim that the photo was taken "after" the commando raid. For nearly a week, the false photo caption had remained intact. Why did Haaretz suddenly change it? The only plausible explanation is that the paper received a tip from the IDF Spokesman's Office. If true, the tip-off suggests a scandalous level of coordination between the Israeli military and the country's media.

In the wake of the flotilla raid, Israeli journalists had a unique opportunity to lead the global media's investigation into the bloodbath that occurred on the deck of the Mavi Marmara. After all, no one had better access to the military or the eyewitnesses aboard the flotilla. Instead, too many among the Israeli press corps allowed themselves to be conscripted into the IDF's hapless information war, leaving the important task of investigating the raid to independent reporters who remembered to view claims by any nation's military with extreme skepticism.

So why do well-connected, experienced reporters follow the IDF baton so willingly, and fail to follow up when IDF claims are retracted? Is it simple bias, a desire to present their military in the best possible light, a desire so strong they abandon their duty to their readers to verify their information? Are they afraid of sanctions, of losing contacts and access to information? Do they fear personal reprisals? Their readers, and the world media that still relies on Israeli journalism as a vital source of information, need to know.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 10:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Note from Dick Gephardt

See below – you fine with this?

cdm

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 10:00 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Note from Dick Gephardt

Recommend she do it. In fact we had arranged for a meeting in March but Ms. Boyner's trip was cancelled. We can send up a new meeting request.

---

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Gordon, Philip H
**Sent**: Wed May 05 21:18:07 2010
**Subject**: FW: Note from Dick Gephardt

Thoughts on this?

---

**From:** Dick Gephardt [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Note from Dick Gephardt

Dear Cheryl:

I have been asked by the Turkish Embassy, who I represent, to request a meeting with Secretary Clinton for Mrs. Umit Boyner, a prominent Turkish business woman. Such a meeting could be whenever and wherever you determine most convenient for the Secretary -- either in Washington, DC or Turkey.

As you will see from the biographical information below, Mrs. Boyner has had a distinguished career as a businesswoman, and she has also devoted time to philanthropy as well. Mrs. Boyner was recently selected to be the chair person of the board of one of the most prominent Turkish business organizations, the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) – an organization comparable to the Business Roundtable. I have also attached a document providing additional background information on TUSIAD.

Mrs. Umit is a great admirer of Secretary Clinton's and would be extremely honored to be able to meet with her. I know the Secretary is extremely busy, but I hope she can find a window to meet with Mrs. Umit. Thanks for all you help and my personal regards to Secretary Clinton.

Best,

Dick

Brief Biography of Umit Boyner

Mrs. Umit Boyner, is currently the chair of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) Board of Directors and head of the Country Communication Fund. Mrs. Boyner was selected to chair TUSIAD's Board at the 40th General Assembly meeting held in Istanbul on January 21, 2010.

Born in 1963, Mrs. Boyner received a BA degree in Economics from the University of Rochester in the US. She began her professional career in 1985 at Chemical Mitsui Bank, followed by senior positions at the finance departments of several companies. In 1996 she became the Vice-President in charge of Finance at Boyner Group. In 2002 she became a board member overseeing the finances and investments of the group.

Mrs. Boyner has been serving on the Board of TUSIAD since 2005, initially as a board member in charge of the External Communication Commission, later as a vice-chair. Mrs. Boyner also devotes her time to various NGOs such as the Education Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), Turkish Institute of Nautical Archaeology (TINA), and Tohum Autism Foundation. She was also the President of the Corporate Volunteer Association for two years, and a founding member and vice-president for four years of the Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGIDER). Since 2008 she has been serving on the Middle East Advisory Board of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Mrs. Boyner is married and has two children.

TUSIAD's new Board of Directors consists of the following individuals:

Umit Boyner: Chairperson
Haluk Dincer: Vice-Chair
Tayfun Bayazit: Vice-Chair
Cansen Basaran Symes: Member
Lucien Arkas: Member
Mehmet Ali Aydinlar: Member
Erman Ilicak: Member
Ali Kibar: Member
Volkan Vural: Member
Muharrem Yilmaz: Member
Zafer Ali Yavan: Member, Secretary General

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Syria Trip in the San Francisco Chronicle

---

**From:** Cohen, Jared A
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H; Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jentleson, Bruce W; Ross, Alec J; Crowley, Philip J; Djerassi, Alexander M
**Subject:** Fw: Syria Trip in the San Francisco Chronicle

Fyi

---

Jared Cohen
Policy Planning Staff
Office of the Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
Office Tel: 202-647-0531
Cell: B6
Twitter:

This email is unclassified

---

**From**: Jared Cohen
**To**: Cohen, Jared A; alec.ross
**Sent**: Tue Jun 22 08:23:49 2010
**Subject**: Syria Trip in the San Francisco Chronicle

**http://tinyurl.com/2afxnjf**

## Bay Area execs seek to open doors with Syria

Andrew S. Ross
Sunday, June 20, 2010

Call it a dual purpose mission, with pretty high stakes.

Bay Area executives from**Cisco Systems Inc.**,**Symantec Corp.** and**VeriSign Inc.** returned Friday from a trip to Syria, where they were tasked by the Obama administration with helping open business and diplomatic doors to a member of what used to be called the "axis of evil."

Were the doors flung open to a country with whom U.S. businesses are still mostly forbidden to trade?

Not exactly, given that Internet freedom, transparency, the elimination of corruption and a general opening up, Syrian leaders were told, are among the sine qua non for getting them what they say they want - U.S. businesses and investment there.

"Candid" was a word used by one delegation member to describe the four days of talks last week in Damascus and Aleppo, a commercial center and Syria's largest city. "They provided a lot of clarity for both sides. On our side, how receptive the Syrians are to U.S. companies doing business there, and for the Syrians, what they need to do to get things going," said the delegation member, who agreed to speak only on background.

The delegation, which also included senior executives from**Microsoft Corp**. and**Dell Inc**., was led by**Alec Ross**, Secretary of State**Hillary Rodham Clinton**'s senior adviser for innovation, and**Jared Cohen**, a member of Clinton's policy planning staff.

There were sit-downs with Syrian President**Bashar Assad**and other government ministers and meetings with business leaders, including those in the country's nascent high-tech sector, along with students, academics and leaders of civic and social organizations.

**Laying down the conditions:**Unlike most U.S. companies, Cisco, Symantec and the other high-tech firms on the trip are allowed to do business in Syria under a waiver granted, under certain conditions, to U.S. information technology companies.

According to Syria's state news agency, Sana, "the American executives discussed setting up authorized centers for (their) companies in Syria."

But in meeting after meeting, according to the delegate, the executives said there were too many barriers to entry, including Internet access, which Clinton has said is a key plank of U.S. foreign policy.

"They can't do business in a place that is not open," was the message, according to the delegate. (While Syria remains a member in good standing of the axis of authoritarians, some of the same concerns could be raised about countries these companies do conduct business with - like, dare we say, China).

The Syrian government said it was considering a law that would require that the blocking of Web sites - a common, often arbitrary and unpredictable happening there - be at least subject to judicial review.

"Now, we have to wait and see what the government does," the delegate said.

In an earlier statement about the trip, Symantec said it was also designed to help the Obama administration's "effort to continue strengthening diplomatic relations throughout the Middle East." That also remains to be seen.

It's not the first time the administration, responding to come-hither hints from Damascus, has, like Charlie Brown, teed up the football, only to have it snatched away, Lucy-style, as Syria got cold and persisted in allying itself with U.S. archenemy Iran.

Obama, announcing the renewal of sanctions on Syria last month, cited the country's "continuing support for terrorist organizations and pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and missile programs, (which) continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States."

**Opportunities in the sand:**Meanwhile,**Robert Ludden**, chief operating officer of San Francisco's**KMD Architects**, is back in the Middle East seeking more business, particularly in Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia.

Recently Ludden nailed down the firm's first prime contract there, as designer of the $15 million Imperial College of London diabetes center in Abu Dhabi, a showpiece facility for a disease that is surprisingly prevalent in the region.

He sees the Middle East as a growing market for architects and designers, as a number of countries there, especially the desert kingdoms, are seeking to develop sustainable communities.

"Saudi Arabia is the next big one," Ludden says.

**Going global:**The**Bay Area Council**officially opened its first "overseas global office" on Friday, in Shanghai.

The office, located in Shanghai's Knowledge and Innovation Community, is meant to serve as a gateway service for Bay Area companies looking to set up in China, as well as "guiding Chinese companies and investment to the Bay Area."

Next up for a global office, the council says: India.

Blogging at sfgate.com/columns/bottomline. Facebook page at sfg.ly/doACKM. Tweeting @andrewsross. E-mailbottomline@sfchronicle.com.

*http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2010/06/20/BUOV1E0PLD.DTL*

*This article appeared on page* ***D - 1*** *of the SanFranciscoChronicle*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** From Amory Lovins

Am passing on as requested. I will also follow up with Maura O'Neill – I have followed this up before at Amory's request. AM

**From:** Amory B. Lovins [mailto:[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** McAuliffe, Marisa S; Rasmussen Eric
**Subject:** please share also with Secretary Clinton -- thanks!

Dear Hillary and Anne-Marie,

For several months I've been advising on a project to take the rainforest restoration work of Dr. Willie Smits, an Indonesian agroforester, to scale on Borneo. That Smits Model effort now has an economically sustainable design with multiple benefits for the local forest population, the nation of Indonesia, and the planet. The business plan has been developed by an experienced and highly reputable investment group that serves in an Advisory role to the Prince of Wales's Trust, and the business plan has already engaged the interest of the P8, a group of the eight largest global pension funds.

The core goals of the Arenga Reforestation Project include greenhouse gas reduction, habitat restoration, rainforest remediation, deforestation protection, biofuel production that is non-food and carbon-positive, and poverty alleviation for some of the most vulnerable populations on the planet. The Internal Rate of Return, on a fairly mature business model and seven years of module testing, calculates to about 34% -- a decent investment return for almost any industry.

You can watch Willie Smits describe the possibilities at TED (to a standing ovation) here:
http://www.ted.com/talks/willie_smits_restores_a_rainforest.html

The State Department has been on the periphery of the concept development through Moira O'Neill, a Haas Professor of Business on loan to USAID from Cal. She has kept the conversation going with the White House, USAID, and State, but is extremely busy with a range of other obligations and may not have the cycles to follow this to a conclusion.

In my view this effort, the Arenga Reforestation Project, is the leading contender for an economically sustainable tropical reforestation program, and has an unprecedented climate mitigation potential (Indonesia is the world's #4 greenhouse-gas emitter, due largely to the burning and composting of the southern Kalimantan peat swamps and to rapid destruction of rainforest, both of which the Smits Model can reverse). In Aug 08 I spent 11 days visiting key sites of this project in Borneo, largely with Dr. Smits, whom I've known for about 20 years. In my opinion, and that of many others, this is the world's most sophisticated and powerful model for integrated ecological and economic restoration, with exciting prospects for much of the tropics. I can also vouch for the quality and integrity of the key people involved.

To make the impact even more noteworthy, the Minister of Forestry in Indonesia has now agreed to a 1:1 acreage match between Smits Model reforestation and the protection of virgin rainforest in perpetuity as national park. For every 30,000 hectares of Smits Model reforestation, the Ministry will designate 30,000 hectares (about 116 square miles) of virgin rainforest a National Park, and they have agreed to external monitoring by international NGOs for compliance. Since this Smits Model can scale to a million hectares, or ten million, with continually increasing economic, social, and environmental benefits, the two-fer impact is perhaps unprecedented.

It would be worthwhile for you to have someone from your staff take a look at this. In my carefully considered view, the political, social, and REDD benefits could be very substantial, and the possibility of a Public-Private Partnership is worth consideration.

The primary source for information on the project in the US is my friend and Senior Fellow at RMI, the remarkable Eric Rasmussen, MD, MDM, FACP -- CEO of the Google-founded humanitarian NGO called InSTEDD. He's leading, pro bono, the team developing the business plan, and can be reached at [redacted] or on cell at [redacted], Pacific Time Zone. B6

With warmest regards -- ABL

Amory B. Lovins
Chairman and Chief Scientist
Rocky Mountain Institute
1739 Snowmass Creek Road
Snowmass CO 81654, USA
[redacted]
+1 970 927 3129, fax 4178, desk [redacted] (on vacation through 15 Jul), cell [redacted]
Executive Assistant (Megan Shean) +1 970 927 7202, [redacted]
Chief of Staff (Lionel Bony) +1 970 927 7307, [redacted]
Special Aide (Bennett Cohen), +1 970 927 7312, [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 10:54 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** NY meeting

Erica flagged for me, and Bill Burns just called to confirm, that Mottaki has asked the perm reps of the Security Council to have dinner tomorrow night.

Susan can't attend because she's here in DC, but proposes Alex Wolff attend in her place. B5

You can discuss with Bill and Jim in the am, but wanted to flag.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 11:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NY meeting

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed May 05 22:57:33 2010
Subject: Re: NY meeting

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 05 22:53:34 2010
Subject: NY meeting

Erica flagged for me, and Bill Burns just called to confirm, that Mottaki has asked the perm reps of the Security Council to have dinner tomorrow night.

Susan can't attend because she's here in DC, but proposes Alex Wolff attend in her place. [redacted]

You can discuss with Bill and Jim in the am, but wanted to flag.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 4:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti prez to extend term if election not held

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mcdonald, Kara C; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Warnholz, Jean-Louis
Sent: Thu May 06 00:42:42 2010
Subject: Fw: Haiti prez to extend term if election not held

----- Original Message -----
From: membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com <membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com>
To: southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com
<southcom_news_alerts_members_list@lists.fma.sosiltd.com>
Sent: Thu May 06 00:37:39 2010
Subject: Haiti prez to extend term if election not held

Haiti prez to extend term if election not held JONATHAN M. KATZ,Associated Press Writer

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti (AP) — Haitian President Rene Preval said Wednesday he will stay in office up to three months past the end of his term if his earthquake-ravaged nation does not hold a presidential election as scheduled.

His aide said the extension is needed to avoid chaos in case a ballot cannot be held to choose Preval's successor. The announcement set off an outcry from opposition lawmakers, who called the move unconstitutional and compared Preval to brutal dictators of the past.

Preval's five-year term is scheduled to end Feb. 7. But electoral officials are struggling to hold the election as scheduled this fall as it copes with the loss of its headquarters and records, destroyed polling places and some 1.6 million displaced or deceased voters.

The electoral council, now operating out of a gym seized in a drug raid, is also embroiled in controversy. Opposition candidates barred from February legislative elections that were canceled after the quake have accused council members of favoring Preval's newly formed Unity party. One council member also faces dismissal on charges of embezzlement.

In a decree dated Tuesday, the 67-year-old Preval said that if an election is not held before Nov. 28 he can remain in office for an extra three months — until May 14, 2011. That date falls five years after Preval's delayed 2006 inauguration, which was pushed back by wrangling over the vote count.

"If President Preval were to leave on Feb. 7, while the new president is not elected, we would find ourselves in an impossible situation," his chief of staff, Fritz Longchamp, said.

He said Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive and Cabinet members who signed the decree "want to make sure that the country is not going to slip into chaos."

Opposition lawmakers slammed the decision. Senator Youri Latortue said the move violated the constitution and pledged to challenge it before Haiti's supreme court.

Acluche Louis-Jeune, a deputy with the Struggling People's Organization party, told Haiti's Channel 11 that Preval is trying to stay in office to profit from the $12.7 billion-and-counting pledged in reconstruction aid.

"He's trying to make himself president for life like (ex-dictators Francois and Jean-Claude) Duvalier," he said.

Longchamp said Parliament's approval is needed for the extension, but lawmakers will have to act fast: On Monday all seats in the lower chamber and a third of the seats in the Senate expire. The Feb. 28 election to replace them could not be held because of the chaos following the Jan. 12 earthquake.

Preval also served as president from 1995 to 2000. He stepped down as scheduled when his term ended and handed power back to the man who preceded him, the re-elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Media Analysis and Watch Center
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To unsubscribe from this list, please use the following link:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 10:39 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Rodriguez, Miguel E

Ann Stock was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: From Amory Lovins

I'm on it and will report tomorrow. AM

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, June 14, 2010 9:24 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: From Amory Lovins

I don't recall hearing about this particular project before. Can you do a quick analysis before I follow up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jun 14 17:04:52 2010
Subject: From Amory Lovins

Am passing on as requested. I will also follow up with Maura O'Neill – I have followed this up before at Amory's request. AM

From: Amory B. Lovins [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Saturday, June 12, 2010 12:54 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: McAuliffe, Marisa S; Rasmussen Eric
Subject: please share also with Secretary Clinton -- thanks!

Dear Hillary and Anne-Marie,

For several months I've been advising on a project to take the rainforest restoration work of Dr. Willie Smits, an Indonesian agroforester, to scale on Borneo. That Smits Model effort now has an economically sustainable design with multiple benefits for the local forest population, the nation of Indonesia, and the planet. The business plan has been developed by an experienced and highly reputable investment group that serves in an Advisory role to the Prince of Wales's Trust, and the business plan has already engaged the interest of the P8, a group of the eight largest global pension funds.

The core goals of the Arenga Reforestation Project include greenhouse gas reduction, habitat restoration, rainforest remediation, deforestation protection, biofuel production that is non-food and carbon-positive, and poverty alleviation for some of the most vulnerable populations on the planet. The Internal Rate of Return, on a fairly mature business model and seven years of module testing, calculates to about 34% -- a decent investment return for almost any industry.

You can watch Willie Smits describe the possibilities at TED (to a standing ovation) here:
http://www.ted.com/talks/willie_smits_restores_a_rainforest.html

The State Department has been on the periphery of the concept development through Moira O'Neill, a Haas Professor of Business on loan to USAID from Cal. She has kept the conversation going with the White House, USAID, and State, but is extremely busy with a range of other obligations and may not have the cycles to follow this to a conclusion.

In my view this effort, the Arenga Reforestation Project, is the leading contender for an economically sustainable tropical reforestation program, and has an unprecedented climate mitigation potential (Indonesia is the world's #4 greenhouse-gas emitter, due largely to the burning and composting of the southern Kalimantan peat swamps and to rapid destruction of rainforest, both of which the Smits Model can reverse). In Aug 08 I spent 11 days visiting key sites of this project in Borneo, largely with Dr. Smits, whom I've known for about 20 years. In my opinion, and that of many others, this is the world's most sophisticated and powerful model for integrated ecological and economic restoration, with exciting prospects for much of the tropics. I can also vouch for the quality and integrity of the key people involved.

To make the impact even more noteworthy, the Minister of Forestry in Indonesia has now agreed to a 1:1 acreage match between Smits Model reforestation and the protection of virgin rainforest in perpetuity as national park. For every 30,000 hectares of Smits Model reforestation, the Ministry will designate 30,000 hectares (about 116 square miles) of virgin rainforest a National Park, and they have agreed to external monitoring by international NGOs for compliance. Since this Smits Model can scale to a million hectares, or ten million, with continually increasing economic, social, and environmental benefits, the two-fer impact is perhaps unprecedented.

It would be worthwhile for you to have someone from your staff take a look at this. In my carefully considered view, the political, social, and REDD benefits could be very substantial, and the possibility of a Public-Private Partnership is worth consideration.

The primary source for information on the project in the US is my friend and Senior Fellow at RMI, the remarkable Eric Rasmussen, MD, MDM, FACP -- CEO of the Google-founded humanitarian NGO called InSTEDD. He's leading, pro bono, the team developing the business plan, and can be reached at [redacted] or on cell at [redacted], Pacific Time Zone. B6

With warmest regards -- ABL

Amory B. Lovins

Chairman and Chief Scientist

Rocky Mountain Institute

1739 Snowmass Creek Road

Snowmass CO 81654, USA

+1 970 927 3129, fax 4178, desk (on vacation through 15 Jul), cell B6

Executive Assistant (Megan Shean) +1 970 927 7202,

Chief of Staff (Lionel Bony) +1 970 927 7307,

Special Aide (Bennett Cohen), +1 970 927 7312,

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; H
**Cc:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Subject:** RE:

OMG!

You are so fabulous!

-----Original Message-----
From: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Tuesday, June 22, 2010 10:39 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Subject:

Ann Stock was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 10:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: follow up on Afghan matter

June 26. In London, onwarding to Moscow.... Thought FT interview turned out well even if exposed Dan's ignorance about airplanes (he doesn't know the difference between a 727 and a 777!).

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, June 14, 2010 9:36 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Re: follow up on Afghan matter

Thx so much for your quick and thorough followup. I'm not surprised that he believes he has to wait awhile. Let's aim for a time to catch up. When will you be back in DC?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Cc: 'Cheryl Mills' <[redacted]>; Jake Sullivan (DOS) <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 02 18:20:34 2010
Subject: follow up on Afghan matter

Hillary, as promised, I connected with Bruce Jones at NYU about Spanta. Bruce got in touch offered to help Spanta put together an arrangement at NYU that might have a Brookings offshoot. Spanta said he needed to decide with Karzai whether in fact the timing was right for him to leave. He just got back in touch with Bruce saying he's decided to stay on a bit longer. That said, he's agreed to participate in some Track II regional work that Bruce has underway. All in all, it sounds as though this has ended up in the right place for now. Bruce, Martin and I will be open to other NY/DC possibilities down the road when Spanta's situation changes. Thanks again for the truly terrific event at Brookings. Regards, Strobe

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 12:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: The bigger story here is the internal revolt against McChrystal. Sid

# The Runaway General

## Stanley McChrystal, Obama's top commander in Afghanistan, has seized control of the war by never taking his eye off the real enemy: The wimps in the White House

By Michael Hastings
Jun 22, 2010 10:00 AM EDT
*This article originally appeared in RS 1108/1109 from July 8-22, 2010.*

"How'd I get screwed into going to this dinner?" demands Gen. Stanley McChrystal. It's a Thursday night in mid-April, and the commander of all U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan is sitting in a four-star suite at the Hôtel Westminster in Paris. He's in France to sell his new war strategy to our NATO allies – to keep up the fiction, in essence, that we actually *have* allies. Since McChrystal took over a year ago, the Afghan war has become the exclusive property of the United States. Opposition to the war has already toppled the Dutch government, forced the resignation of Germany's president and sparked both Canada and the Netherlands to announce the withdrawal of their 4,500 troops. McChrystal is in Paris to keep the French, who have lost more than 40 soldiers in Afghanistan, from going all wobbly on him.
"The dinner comes with the position, sir," says his chief of staff, Col. Charlie Flynn.
McChrystal turns sharply in his chair.
"Hey, Charlie," he asks, "does this come with the position?"
McChrystal gives him the middle finger.

The general stands and looks around the suite that his traveling staff of 10 has converted into a full-scale operations center. The tables are crowded with silver Panasonic Toughbooks, and blue cables crisscross the hotel's thick carpet, hooked up to satellite dishes to provide encrypted phone and e-mail communications. Dressed in off-the-rack civilian casual – blue tie, button-down shirt, dress slacks – McChrystal is way out of his comfort zone. Paris, as one of his advisers says, is the "most anti-McChrystal city you can imagine." The general hates fancy restaurants, rejecting any place with candles on the tables as too "Gucci." He prefers Bud Light Lime (his favorite beer) to Bordeaux, *Talladega Nights* (his favorite movie) to Jean-Luc Godard. Besides, the public eye has never been a place where McChrystal felt comfortable: Before President Obama put him in charge of the war in Afghanistan, he spent five years running the Pentagon's most secretive black ops.
"What's the update on the Kandahar bombing?" McChrystal asks Flynn. The city has been rocked by two massive car bombs in the past day alone, calling into question the general's assurances that he can wrest it from the Taliban.
"We have two KIAs, but that hasn't been confirmed," Flynn says.
McChrystal takes a final look around the suite. At 55, he is gaunt and lean, not unlike an older version of Christian Bale in *Rescue Dawn*. His slate-blue eyes have the unsettling ability to *drill down* when they lock on you. If you've fucked up or disappointed him, they can destroy your soul without the need for him to raise his voice.

"I'd rather have my ass kicked by a roomful of people than go out to this dinner," McChrystal says.
He pauses a beat.
"Unfortunately," he adds, "no one in this room could do it."
With that, he's out the door.
"Who's he going to dinner with?" I ask one of his aides.
"Some French minister," the aide tells me. "It's fucking gay."

The next morning, McChrystal and his team gather to prepare for a speech he is giving at the École Militaire, a French military academy. The general prides himself on being sharper and ballsier than anyone else, but his brashness comes with a price: Although McChrystal has been in charge of the war for only a year, in that short time he has managed to piss off almost everyone with a stake in the conflict. Last fall, during the question-and-answer session following a speech he gave in London, McChrystal dismissed the counterterrorism strategy being advocated by Vice President Joe Biden as "shortsighted," saying it would lead to a state of "Chaos-istan." The remarks earned him a smackdown from the president himself, who summoned the general to a terse private meeting aboard Air Force One. The message to McChrystal seemed clear: *Shut the fuck up, and keep a lower profile*

Now, flipping through printout cards of his speech in Paris, McChrystal wonders aloud what Biden question he might get today, and how he should respond. "I never know what's going to pop out until I'm up there, that's the problem," he says. Then, unable to help themselves, he and his staff imagine the general dismissing the vice president with a good one-liner.

"Are you asking about Vice President Biden?" McChrystal says with a laugh. "Who's that?"

"Biden?" suggests a top adviser. "Did you say: Bite Me?"

When Barack Obama entered the Oval Office, he immediately set out to deliver on his most important campaign promise on foreign policy: to refocus the war in Afghanistan on what led us to invade in the first place. "I want the American people to understand," he announced in March 2009. "We have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan." He ordered another 21,000 troops to Kabul, the largest increase since the war began in 2001. Taking the advice of both the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he also fired Gen. David McKiernan – then the U.S. and NATO commander in Afghanistan – and replaced him with a man he didn't know and had met only briefly: Gen. Stanley McChrystal. It was the first time a top general had been relieved from duty during wartime in more than 50 years, since Harry Truman fired Gen. Douglas MacArthur at the height of the Korean War.

Even though he had voted for Obama, McChrystal and his new commander in chief failed from the outset to connect. The general first encountered Obama a week after he took office, when the president met with a dozen senior military officials in a room at the Pentagon known as the Tank. According to sources familiar with the meeting, McChrystal thought Obama looked "uncomfortable and intimidated" by the roomful of military brass. Their first one-on-one meeting took place in the Oval Office four months later, after McChrystal got the Afghanistan job, and it didn't go much better. "It was a 10-minute photo op," says an adviser to McChrystal. "Obama clearly didn't know anything about him, who he was. Here's the guy who's going to run his fucking war, but he didn't seem very engaged. The Boss was pretty disappointed."

From the start, McChrystal was determined to place his personal stamp on Afghanistan, to use it as a laboratory for a controversial military strategy known as counterinsurgency. COIN, as the theory is known, is the new gospel of the Pentagon brass, a doctrine that attempts to square the military's preference for high-tech violence with the demands of fighting protracted wars in failed states. COIN calls for sending huge numbers of ground troops to not only destroy the enemy, but to live among the civilian population and slowly rebuild, or build from scratch, another nation's government – a process that even its staunchest advocates admit requires years, if not decades, to achieve. The theory essentially rebrands the military, expanding its authority (and its funding) to encompass the diplomatic and political sides of warfare: Think the Green Berets as an armed Peace Corps. In 2006, after Gen. David Petraeus beta-tested the theory during his "surge" in Iraq, it quickly gained a hardcore following of think-tankers, journalists, military officers and civilian officials. Nicknamed "COINdinistas" for their cultish zeal, this influential cadre believed the doctrine would be the perfect solution for Afghanistan. All they needed was a general with enough charisma and political savvy to implement it.

As McChrystal leaned on Obama to ramp up the war, he did it with the same fearlessness he used to track down terrorists in Iraq: Figure out how your enemy operates, be faster and more ruthless than everybody else, then take the fuckers out. After arriving in Afghanistan last June, the general conducted his own policy review, ordered up by Defense Secretary Robert Gates. The now-infamous report was leaked to the press, and its conclusion was dire: If we didn't send another 40,000 troops – swelling the number of U.S. forces in Afghanistan by nearly half – we were in danger of "mission failure." The White House was furious. McChrystal, they felt, was trying to bully Obama, opening him up to charges of being weak on national security unless he did what the general wanted. It was Obama versus the Pentagon, and the Pentagon was determined to kick the president's ass.

Last fall, with his top general calling for more troops, Obama launched a three-month review to re-evaluate the strategy in Afghanistan. "I found that time painful," McChrystal tells me in one of several lengthy interviews. "I was selling an unsellable position." For the general, it was a crash course in Beltway politics – a battle that pitted him against experienced Washington insiders like Vice President Biden, who argued that a prolonged counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan would plunge America into a military quagmire without weakening international terrorist networks. "The entire COIN strategy is a fraud perpetuated on the American people," says Douglas Macgregor, a retired colonel and leading critic of counterinsurgency who attended West Point with McChrystal. "The idea that we are going to spend a trillion dollars to reshape the culture of the Islamic world is utter nonsense.

In the end, however, McChrystal got almost exactly what he wanted. On December 1st, in a speech at West Point, the president laid out all the reasons why fighting the war in Afghanistan is a bad idea: It's expensive; we're in an economic crisis; a decade-long commitment would sap American power; Al Qaeda has shifted its base of operations to Pakistan.

Then, without ever using the words "victory" or "win," Obama announced that he would send an additional 30,000 troops to Afghanistan, almost as many as McChrystal had requested. The president had thrown his weight, however hesitantly, behind the counterinsurgency crowd.

Today, as McChrystal gears up for an offensive in southern Afghanistan, the prospects for any kind of success look bleak. In June, the death toll for U.S. troops passed 1,000, and the number of IEDs has doubled. Spending hundreds of billions of dollars on the fifth-poorest country on earth has failed to win over the civilian population, whose attitude toward U.S. troops ranges from intensely wary to openly hostile. The biggest military operation of the year – a ferocious offensive that began in February to retake the southern town of Marja – continues to drag on, prompting McChrystal himself to refer to it as a "bleeding ulcer." In June, Afghanistan officially outpaced Vietnam as the longest war in American history – and Obama has quietly begun to back away from the deadline he set for withdrawing U.S. troops in July of next year. The president finds himself stuck in something even more insane than a quagmire: a quagmire he knowingly walked into, even though it's precisely the kind of gigantic, mind-numbing, multigenerational nation-building project he explicitly said he didn't want.

Even those who support McChrystal and his strategy of counterinsurgency know that whatever the general manages to accomplish in Afghanistan, it's going to look more like Vietnam than Desert Storm. "It's not going to look like a win, smell like a win or taste like a win," says Maj. Gen. Bill Mayville, who serves as chief of operations for McChrystal. "This is going to end in an argument."

The night after his speech in Paris, McChrystal and his staff head to Kitty O'Shea's, an Irish pub catering to tourists, around the corner from the hotel. His wife, Annie, has joined him for a rare visit: Since the Iraq War began in 2003, she has seen her husband less than 30 days a year. Though it is his and Annie's 33rd wedding anniversary, McChrystal has invited his inner circle along for dinner and drinks at the "least Gucci" place his staff could find. His wife isn't surprised. "He once took me to a Jack in the Box when I was dressed in formalwear," she says with a laugh.

The general's staff is a handpicked collection of killers, spies, geniuses, patriots, political operators and outright maniacs. There's a former head of British Special Forces, two Navy Seals, an Afghan Special Forces commando, a lawyer, two fighter pilots and at least two dozen combat veterans and counterinsurgency experts. They jokingly refer to themselves as Team America, taking the name from the *South Park*-esque sendup of military cluelessness, and they pride themselves on their can-do attitude and their disdain for authority. After arriving in Kabul last summer, Team America set about changing the culture of the International Security Assistance Force, as the NATO-led mission is known. (U.S. soldiers had taken to deriding ISAF as short for "I Suck at Fighting" or "In Sandals and Flip-Flops.") McChrystal banned alcohol on base, kicked out Burger King and other symbols of American excess, expanded the morning briefing to include thousands of officers and refashioned the command center into a Situational Awareness Room, a free-flowing information hub modeled after Mayor Mike Bloomberg's offices in New York. He also set a manic pace for his staff, becoming legendary for sleeping four hours a night, running seven miles each morning, and eating one meal a day. (In the month I spend around the general, I witness him eating only once.) It's a kind of superhuman narrative that has built up around him, a staple in almost every media profile, as if the ability to go without sleep and food translates into the possibility of a man single-handedly winning the war.

By midnight at Kitty O'Shea's, much of Team America is completely shitfaced. Two officers do an Irish jig mixed with steps from a traditional Afghan wedding dance, while McChrystal's top advisers lock arms and sing a slurred song of their own invention. "*Afghanistan*!" they bellow. "*Afghanistan*!" They call it their Afghanistan song.

McChrystal steps away from the circle, observing his team. "All these men," he tells me. "I'd die for them. And they'd die for me."

The assembled men may look and sound like a bunch of combat veterans letting off steam, but in fact this tight-knit group represents the most powerful force shaping U.S. policy in Afghanistan. While McChrystal and his men are in indisputable command of all military aspects of the war, there is no equivalent position on the diplomatic or political side. Instead, an assortment of administration players compete over the Afghan portfolio: U.S. Ambassador Karl Eikenberry, Special Representative to Afghanistan Richard Holbrooke, National Security Advisor Jim Jones and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, not to mention 40 or so other coalition ambassadors and a host of talking heads who try to insert themselves into the mess, from John Kerry to John McCain. This diplomatic incoherence has effectively allowed McChrystal's team to call the shots and hampered efforts to build a stable and credible government in Afghanistan. "It jeopardizes the mission," says Stephen Biddle, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who supports McChrystal. "The military cannot by itself create governance reform."

Part of the problem is structural: The Defense Department budget exceeds $600 billion a year, while the State Department receives only $50 billion. But part of the problem is personal: In private, Team McChrystal likes to talk shit about many of Obama's top people on the diplomatic side. One aide calls Jim Jones, a retired four-star general and veteran of the Cold War, a "clown" who remains "stuck in 1985." Politicians like McCain and Kerry, says another aide, "turn up, have a meeting with Karzai, criticize him at the airport press conference, then get back for the Sunday talk shows. Frankly, it's not very helpful." Only Hillary Clinton receives good reviews from McChrystal's inner circle. "Hillary had Stan's back during the strategic review," says an adviser. "She said, 'If Stan wants it, give him what he needs.' "

McChrystal reserves special skepticism for Holbrooke, the official in charge of reintegrating the Taliban. "The Boss says he's like a wounded animal," says a member of the general's team. "Holbrooke keeps hearing rumors that he's going to

get fired, so that makes him dangerous. He's a brilliant guy, but he just comes in, pulls on a lever, whatever he can grasp onto. But this is COIN, and you can't just have someone yanking on shit."

At one point on his trip to Paris, McChrystal checks his BlackBerry. "Oh, not another e-mail from Holbrooke," he groans. "I don't even want to open it." He clicks on the message and reads the salutation out loud, then stuffs the BlackBerry back in his pocket, not bothering to conceal his annoyance.
"Make sure you don't get any of that on your leg," an aide jokes, referring to the e-mail.

By far the most crucial – and strained – relationship is between McChrystal and Eikenberry, the U.S. ambassador. According to those close to the two men, Eikenberry – a retired three-star general who served in Afghanistan in 2002 and 2005 – can't stand that his former subordinate is now calling the shots. He's also furious that McChrystal, backed by NATO's allies, refused to put Eikenberry in the pivotal role of viceroy in Afghanistan, which would have made him the diplomatic equivalent of the general. The job instead went to British Ambassador Mark Sedwill – a move that effectively increased McChrystal's influence over diplomacy by shutting out a powerful rival. "In reality, that position needs to be filled by an American for it to have weight," says a U.S. official familiar with the negotiations.
The relationship was further strained in January, when a classified cable that Eikenberry wrote was leaked to *The New York Times*. The cable was as scathing as it was prescient. The ambassador offered a brutal critique of McChrystal's strategy, dismissed President Hamid Karzai as "not an adequate strategic partner," and cast doubt on whether the counterinsurgency plan would be "sufficient" to deal with Al Qaeda. "We will become more deeply engaged here with no way to extricate ourselves," Eikenberry warned, "short of allowing the country to descend again into lawlessness and chaos."
McChrystal and his team were blindsided by the cable. "I like Karl, I've known him for years, but they'd never said anything like that to us before," says McChrystal, who adds that he felt "betrayed" by the leak. "Here's one that covers his flank for the history books. Now if we fail, they can say, 'I told you so.' "
The most striking example of McChrystal's usurpation of diplomatic policy is his handling of Karzai. It is McChrystal, not diplomats like Eikenberry or Holbrooke, who enjoys the best relationship with the man America is relying on to lead Afghanistan. The doctrine of counterinsurgency requires a credible government, and since Karzai is not considered credible by his own people, McChrystal has worked hard to make him so. Over the past few months, he has accompanied the president on more than 10 trips around the country, standing beside him at political meetings, or *shuras*, in Kandahar. In February, the day before the doomed offensive in Marja, McChrystal even drove over to the president's palace to get him to sign off on what would be the largest military operation of the year. Karzai's staff, however, insisted that the president was sleeping off a cold and could not be disturbed. After several hours of haggling, McChrystal finally enlisted the aid of Afghanistan's defense minister, who persuaded Karzai's people to wake the president from his nap.
This is one of the central flaws with McChrystal's counterinsurgency strategy: The need to build a credible government puts us at the mercy of whatever tin-pot leader we've backed – a danger that Eikenberry explicitly warned about in his cable. Even Team McChrystal privately acknowledges that Karzai is a less-than-ideal partner. "He's been locked up in his palace the past year," laments one of the general's top advisers. At times, Karzai himself has actively undermined McChrystal's desire to put him in charge. During a recent visit to Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Karzai met three U.S. soldiers who had been wounded in Uruzgan province. "General," he called out to McChrystal, "I didn't even know we were fighting in Uruzgan!"

Growing up as a military brat, McChrystal exhibited the mixture of brilliance and cockiness that would follow him throughout his career. His father fought in Korea and Vietnam, retiring as a two-star general, and his four brothers all joined the armed services. Moving around to different bases, McChrystal took solace in baseball, a sport in which he made no pretense of hiding his superiority: In Little League, he would call out strikes to the crowd before whipping a fastball down the middle.
McChrystal entered West Point in 1972, when the U.S. military was close to its all-time low in popularity. His class was the last to graduate before the academy started to admit women. The "Prison on the Hudson," as it was known then, was a potent mix of testosterone, hooliganism and reactionary patriotism. Cadets repeatedly trashed the mess hall in food fights, and birthdays were celebrated with a tradition called "rat fucking," which often left the birthday boy outside in the snow or mud, covered in shaving cream. "It was pretty out of control," says Lt. Gen. David Barno, a classmate who went on to serve as the top commander in Afghanistan from 2003 to 2005. The class, filled with what Barno calls "huge talent" and "wild-eyed teenagers with a strong sense of idealism," also produced Gen. Ray Odierno, the current commander of U.S. forces in Iraq.
The son of a general, McChrystal was also a ringleader of the campus dissidents – a dual role that taught him how to thrive in a rigid, top-down environment while thumbing his nose at authority every chance he got. He accumulated more than 100 hours of demerits for drinking, partying and insubordination – a record that his classmates boasted made him a "century man." One classmate, who asked not to be named, recalls finding McChrystal passed out in the shower after downing a case of beer he had hidden under the sink. The troublemaking almost got him kicked out, and he spent hours subjected to forced marches in the Area, a paved courtyard where unruly cadets were disciplined. "I'd come visit, and I'd

end up spending most of my time in the library, while Stan was in the Area," recalls Annie, who began dating McChrystal in 1973.

McChrystal wound up ranking 298 out of a class of 855, a serious underachievement for a man widely regarded as brilliant. His most compelling work was extracurricular: As managing editor of *The Pointer*, the West Point literary magazine, McChrystal wrote seven short stories that eerily foreshadow many of the issues he would confront in his career. In one tale, a fictional officer complains about the difficulty of training foreign troops to fight; in another, a 19-year-old soldier kills a boy he mistakes for a terrorist. In "Brinkman's Note," a piece of suspense fiction, the unnamed narrator appears to be trying to stop a plot to assassinate the president. It turns out, however, that the narrator himself is the assassin, and he's able to infiltrate the White House: "The President strode in smiling. From the right coat pocket of the raincoat I carried, I slowly drew forth my 32-caliber pistol. In Brinkman's failure, I had succeeded."

After graduation, 2nd Lt. Stanley McChrystal entered an Army that was all but broken in the wake of Vietnam. "We really felt we were a peacetime generation," he recalls. "There was the Gulf War, but even that didn't feel like that big of a deal." So McChrystal spent his career where the action was: He enrolled in Special Forces school and became a regimental commander of the 3rd Ranger Battalion in 1986. It was a dangerous position, even in peacetime – nearly two dozen Rangers were killed in training accidents during the Eighties. It was also an unorthodox career path: Most soldiers who want to climb the ranks to general don't go into the Rangers. Displaying a penchant for transforming systems he considers outdated, McChrystal set out to revolutionize the training regime for the Rangers. He introduced mixed martial arts, required every soldier to qualify with night-vision goggles on the rifle range and forced troops to build up their endurance with weekly marches involving heavy backpacks.

In the late 1990s, McChrystal shrewdly improved his inside game, spending a year at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and then at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he co-authored a treatise on the merits and drawbacks of humanitarian interventionism. But as he moved up through the ranks, McChrystal relied on the skills he had learned as a troublemaking kid at West Point: knowing precisely how far he could go in a rigid military hierarchy without getting tossed out. Being a highly intelligent badass, he discovered, could take you far – especially in the political chaos that followed September 11th. "He was very focused," says Annie. "Even as a young officer he seemed to know what he wanted to do. I don't think his personality has changed in all these years."

By some accounts, McChrystal's career should have been over at least two times by now. As Pentagon spokesman during the invasion of Iraq, the general seemed more like a White House mouthpiece than an up-and-coming commander with a reputation for speaking his mind. When Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld made his infamous "stuff happens" remark during the looting of Baghdad, McChrystal backed him up. A few days later, he echoed the president's Mission Accomplished gaffe by insisting that major combat operations in Iraq were over. But it was during his next stint – overseeing the military's most elite units, including the Rangers, Navy Seals and Delta Force – that McChrystal took part in a cover-up that would have destroyed the career of a lesser man.

After Cpl. Pat Tillman, the former-NFL-star-turned-Ranger, was accidentally killed by his own troops in Afghanistan in April 2004, McChrystal took an active role in creating the impression that Tillman had died at the hands of Taliban fighters. He signed off on a falsified recommendation for a Silver Star that suggested Tillman had been killed by enemy fire. (McChrystal would later claim he didn't read the recommendation closely enough – a strange excuse for a commander known for his laserlike attention to minute details.) A week later, McChrystal sent a memo up the chain of command, specifically warning that President Bush should avoid mentioning the cause of Tillman's death. "If the circumstances of Corporal Tillman's death become public," he wrote, it could cause "public embarrassment" for the president.

"The false narrative, which McChrystal clearly helped construct, diminished Pat's true actions," wrote Tillman's mother, Mary, in her book *Boots on the Ground by Dusk*. McChrystal got away with it, she added, because he was the "golden boy" of Rumsfeld and Bush, who loved his willingness to get things done, even if it included bending the rules or skipping the chain of command. Nine days after Tillman's death, McChrystal was promoted to major general.

Two years later, in 2006, McChrystal was tainted by a scandal involving detainee abuse and torture at Camp Nama in Iraq. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, prisoners at the camp were subjected to a now-familiar litany of abuse: stress positions, being dragged naked through the mud. McChrystal was not disciplined in the scandal, even though an interrogator at the camp reported seeing him inspect the prison multiple times. But the experience was so unsettling to McChrystal that he tried to prevent detainee operations from being placed under his command in Afghanistan, viewing them as a "political swamp," according to a U.S. official. In May 2009, as McChrystal prepared for his confirmation hearings, his staff prepared him for hard questions about Camp Nama and the Tillman cover-up. But the scandals barely made a ripple in Congress, and McChrystal was soon on his way back to Kabul to run the war in Afghanistan.

The media, to a large extent, have also given McChrystal a pass on both controversies. Where Gen. Petraeus is kind of a dweeb, a teacher's pet with a Ranger's tab, McChrystal is a snake-eating rebel, a "Jedi" commander, as *Newsweek* called him. He didn't care when his teenage son came home with blue hair and a mohawk. He speaks his mind with a candor rare for a high-ranking official. He asks for opinions, and seems genuinely interested in the response. He gets briefings on his iPod and listens to books on tape. He carries a custom-made set of nunchucks in his convoy engraved with his name and four stars, and his itinerary often bears a fresh quote from Bruce Lee. ("There are no limits. There are only plateaus, and you must not stay there, you must go beyond them.") He went out on dozens of nighttime raids during his time in Iraq, unprecedented for a top commander, and turned up on missions unannounced, with almost no entourage. "The fucking

lads love Stan McChrystal," says a British officer who serves in Kabul. "You'd be out in Somewhere, Iraq, and someone would take a knee beside you, and a corporal would be like 'Who the fuck is that?' And it's fucking Stan McChrystal."

It doesn't hurt that McChrystal was also extremely successful as head of the Joint Special Operations Command, the elite forces that carry out the government's darkest ops. During the Iraq surge, his team killed and captured thousands of insurgents, including Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq. "JSOC was a killing machine," says Maj. Gen. Mayville, his chief of operations. McChrystal was also open to new ways of killing. He systematically mapped out terrorist networks, targeting specific insurgents and hunting them down – often with the help of cyberfreaks traditionally shunned by the military. "The Boss would find the 24-year-old kid with a nose ring, with some fucking brilliant degree from MIT, sitting in the corner with 16 computer monitors humming," says a Special Forces commando who worked with McChrystal in Iraq and now serves on his staff in Kabul. "He'd say, 'Hey – you fucking muscleheads couldn't find lunch without help. You got to work together with these guys.' "

Even in his new role as America's leading evangelist for counterinsurgency, McChrystal retains the deep-seated instincts of a terrorist hunter. To put pressure on the Taliban, he has upped the number of Special Forces units in Afghanistan from four to 19. "You better be out there hitting four or five targets tonight," McChrystal will tell a Navy Seal he sees in the hallway at headquarters. Then he'll add, "I'm going to have to scold you in the morning for it, though." In fact, the general frequently finds himself apologizing for the disastrous consequences of counterinsurgency. In the first four months of this year, NATO forces killed some 90 civilians, up 76 percent from the same period in 2009 – a record that has created tremendous resentment among the very population that COIN theory is intent on winning over. In February, a Special Forces night raid ended in the deaths of two pregnant Afghan women and allegations of a cover-up, and in April, protests erupted in Kandahar after U.S. forces accidentally shot up a bus, killing five Afghans. "We've shot an amazing number of people," McChrystal recently conceded.

Despite the tragedies and miscues, McChrystal has issued some of the strictest directives to avoid civilian casualties that the U.S. military has ever encountered in a war zone. It's "insurgent math," as he calls it – for every innocent person you kill, you create 10 new enemies. He has ordered convoys to curtail their reckless driving, put restrictions on the use of air power and severely limited night raids. He regularly apologizes to Hamid Karzai when civilians are killed, and berates commanders responsible for civilian deaths. "For a while," says one U.S. official, "the most dangerous place to be in Afghanistan was in front of McChrystal after a 'civ cas' incident." The ISAF command has even discussed ways to make *not* killing into something you can win an award for: There's talk of creating a new medal for "courageous restraint," a buzzword that's unlikely to gain much traction in the gung-ho culture of the U.S. military.

But however strategic they may be, McChrystal's new marching orders have caused an intense backlash among his own troops. Being told to hold their fire, soldiers complain, puts them in greater danger. "Bottom line?" says a former Special Forces operator who has spent years in Iraq and Afghanistan. "I would love to kick McChrystal in the nuts. His rules of engagement put soldiers' lives in even greater danger. Every real soldier will tell you the same thing."

In March, McChrystal traveled to Combat Outpost JFM – a small encampment on the outskirts of Kandahar – to confront such accusations from the troops directly. It was a typically bold move by the general. Only two days earlier, he had received an e-mail from Israel Arroyo, a 25-year-old staff sergeant who asked McChrystal to go on a mission with his unit. "I am writing because it was said you don't care about the troops and have made it harder to defend ourselves," Arroyo wrote.

Within hours, McChrystal responded personally: "I'm saddened by the accusation that I don't care about soldiers, as it is something I suspect any soldier takes both personally and professionally – at least I do. But I know perceptions depend upon your perspective at the time, and I respect that every soldier's view is his own." Then he showed up at Arroyo's outpost and went on a foot patrol with the troops – not some bullshit photo-op stroll through a market, but a real live operation in a dangerous war zone.

Six weeks later, just before McChrystal returned from Paris, the general received another e-mail from Arroyo. A 23-year-old corporal named Michael Ingram – one of the soldiers McChrystal had gone on patrol with – had been killed by an IED a day earlier. It was the third man the 25-member platoon had lost in a year, and Arroyo was writing to see if the general would attend Ingram's memorial service. "He started to look up to you," Arroyo wrote. McChrystal said he would try to make it down to pay his respects as soon as possible.

The night before the general is scheduled to visit Sgt. Arroyo's platoon for the memorial, I arrive at Combat Outpost JFM to speak with the soldiers he had gone on patrol with. JFM is a small encampment, ringed by high blast walls and guard towers. Almost all of the soldiers here have been on repeated combat tours in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and have seen some of the worst fighting of both wars. But they are especially angered by Ingram's death. His commanders had repeatedly requested permission to tear down the house where Ingram was killed, noting that it was often used as a combat position by the Taliban. But due to McChrystal's new restrictions to avoid upsetting civilians, the request had been denied. "These were abandoned houses," fumes Staff Sgt. Kennith Hicks. "Nobody was coming back to live in them."

One soldier shows me the list of new regulations the platoon was given. "Patrol only in areas that you are reasonably certain that you will not have to defend yourselves with lethal force," the laminated card reads. For a soldier who has traveled halfway around the world to fight, that's like telling a cop he should only patrol in areas where he knows he won't have to make arrests. "Does that make any fucking sense?" asks Pfc. Jared Pautsch. "We should just drop a fucking bomb on this place. You sit and ask yourself: What are we doing here?"

The rules handed out here are not what McChrystal intended – they've been distorted as they passed through the chain of command – but knowing that does nothing to lessen the anger of troops on the ground. "Fuck, when I came over here and

heard that McChrystal was in charge, I thought we would get our fucking gun on," says Hicks, who has served three tours of combat. "I get COIN. I get all that. McChrystal comes here, explains it, it makes sense. But then he goes away on his bird, and by the time his directives get passed down to us through Big Army, they're all fucked up – either because somebody is trying to cover their ass, or because they just don't understand it themselves. But we're fucking losing this thing."

McChrystal and his team show up the next day. Underneath a tent, the general has a 45-minute discussion with some two dozen soldiers. The atmosphere is tense. "I ask you what's going on in your world, and I think it's important for you all to understand the big picture as well," McChrystal begins. "How's the company doing? You guys feeling sorry for yourselves? Anybody? Anybody feel like you're losing?" McChrystal says.

"Sir, some of the guys here, sir, think we're losing, sir," says Hicks.

McChrystal nods. "Strength is leading when you just don't want to lead," he tells the men. "You're leading by example. That's what we do. Particularly when it's really, really hard, and it hurts inside." Then he spends 20 minutes talking about counterinsurgency, diagramming his concepts and principles on a whiteboard. He makes COIN seem like common sense, but he's careful not to bullshit the men. "We are knee-deep in the decisive year," he tells them. The Taliban, he insists, no longer has the initiative – "but I don't think we do, either." It's similar to the talk he gave in Paris, but it's not winning any hearts and minds among the soldiers. "This is the philosophical part that works with think tanks," McChrystal tries to joke. "But it doesn't get the same reception from infantry companies."

During the question-and-answer period, the frustration boils over. The soldiers complain about not being allowed to use lethal force, about watching insurgents they detain be freed for lack of evidence. They want to be able to fight – like they did in Iraq, like they had in Afghanistan before McChrystal. "We aren't putting fear into the Taliban," one soldier says.

"Winning hearts and minds in COIN is a coldblooded thing," McChrystal says, citing an oft-repeated maxim that you can't kill your way out of Afghanistan. "The Russians killed 1 million Afghans, and that didn't work."

"I'm not saying go out and kill everybody, sir," the soldier persists. "You say we've stopped the momentum of the insurgency. I don't believe that's true in this area. The more we pull back, the more we restrain ourselves, the stronger it's getting."

"I agree with you," McChrystal says. "In this area, we've not made progress, probably. You have to show strength here, you have to use fire. What I'm telling you is, fire costs you. What do you want to do? You want to wipe the population out here and resettle it?"

A soldier complains that under the rules, any insurgent who doesn't have a weapon is immediately assumed to be a civilian. "That's the way this game is," McChrystal says. "It's complex. I can't just decide: It's shirts and skins, and we'll kill all the shirts."

As the discussion ends, McChrystal seems to sense that he hasn't succeeded at easing the men's anger. He makes one last-ditch effort to reach them, acknowledging the death of Cpl. Ingram. "There's no way I can make that easier," he tells them. "No way I can pretend it won't hurt. No way I can tell you not to feel that. . . . I will tell you, you're doing a great job. Don't let the frustration get to you." The session ends with no clapping, and no real resolution. McChrystal may have sold President Obama on counterinsurgency, but many of his own men aren't buying it.

When it comes to Afghanistan, history is not on McChrystal's side. The only foreign invader to have any success here was Genghis Khan – and he wasn't hampered by things like human rights, economic development and press scrutiny. The COIN doctrine, bizarrely, draws inspiration from some of the biggest Western military embarrassments in recent memory: France's nasty war in Algeria (lost in 1962) and the American misadventure in Vietnam (lost in 1975).

McChrystal, like other advocates of COIN, readily acknowledges that counterinsurgency campaigns are inherently messy, expensive and easy to lose. "Even Afghans are confused by Afghanistan," he says. But even if he somehow manages to succeed, after years of bloody fighting with Afghan kids who pose no threat to the U.S. homeland, the war will do little to shut down Al Qaeda, which has shifted its operations to Pakistan. Dispatching 150,000 troops to build new schools, roads, mosques and water-treatment facilities around Kandahar is like trying to stop the drug war in Mexico by occupying Arkansas and building Baptist churches in Little Rock. "It's all very cynical, politically," says Marc Sageman, a former CIA case officer who has extensive experience in the region. "Afghanistan is not in our vital interest – there's nothing for us there."

In mid-May, two weeks after visiting the troops in Kandahar, McChrystal travels to the White House for a high-level visit by Hamid Karzai. It is a triumphant moment for the general, one that demonstrates he is very much in command – both in Kabul and in Washington. In the East Room, which is packed with journalists and dignitaries, President Obama sings the praises of Karzai. The two leaders talk about how great their relationship is, about the pain they feel over civilian casualties. They mention the word "progress" 16 times in under an hour. But there is no mention of victory. Still, the session represents the most forceful commitment that Obama has made to McChrystal's strategy in months. "There is no denying the progress that the Afghan people have made in recent years – in education, in health care and economic development," the president says. "As I saw in the lights across Kabul when I landed – lights that would not have been visible just a few years earlier."

It is a disconcerting observation for Obama to make. During the worst years in Iraq, when the Bush administration had no real progress to point to, officials used to offer up the exact same evidence of success. "It was one of our first impressions," one GOP official said in 2006, after landing in Baghdad at the height of the sectarian violence. "So many lights shining brightly." So it is to the language of the Iraq War that the Obama administration has turned – talk of

progress, of city lights, of metrics like health care and education. Rhetoric that just a few years ago they would have mocked. "They are trying to manipulate perceptions because there is no definition of victory – because victory is not even defined or recognizable," says Celeste Ward, a senior defense analyst at the RAND Corporation who served as a political adviser to U.S. commanders in Iraq in 2006. "That's the game we're in right now. What we need, for strategic purposes, is to create the perception that we didn't get run off. The facts on the ground are not great, and are not going to become great in the near future."

But facts on the ground, as history has proven, offer little deterrent to a military determined to stay the course. Even those closest to McChrystal know that the rising anti-war sentiment at home doesn't begin to reflect how deeply fucked up things are in Afghanistan. "If Americans pulled back and started paying attention to this war, it would become even less popular," a senior adviser to McChrystal says. Such realism, however, doesn't prevent advocates of counterinsurgency from dreaming big: Instead of beginning to withdraw troops next year, as Obama promised, the military hopes to ramp up its counterinsurgency campaign even further. "There's a possibility we could ask for another surge of U.S. forces next summer if we see success here," a senior military official in Kabul tells me.

Back in Afghanistan, less than a month after the White House meeting with Karzai and all the talk of "progress," McChrystal is hit by the biggest blow to his vision of counterinsurgency. Since last year, the Pentagon had been planning to launch a major military operation this summer in Kandahar, the country's second-largest city and the Taliban's original home base. It was supposed to be a decisive turning point in the war – the primary reason for the troop surge that McChrystal wrested from Obama late last year. But on June 10th, acknowledging that the military still needs to lay more groundwork, the general announced that he is postponing the offensive until the fall. Rather than one big battle, like Fallujah or Ramadi, U.S. troops will implement what McChrystal calls a "rising tide of security." The Afghan police and army will enter Kandahar to attempt to seize control of neighborhoods, while the U.S. pours $90 million of aid into the city to win over the civilian population.

Even proponents of counterinsurgency are hard-pressed to explain the new plan. "This isn't a classic operation," says a U.S. military official. "It's not going to be Black Hawk Down. There aren't going to be doors kicked in." Other U.S. officials insist that doors *are* going to be kicked in, but that it's going to be a kinder, gentler offensive than the disaster in Marja. "The Taliban have a jackboot on the city," says a military official. "We have to remove them, but we have to do it in a way that doesn't alienate the population." When Vice President Biden was briefed on the new plan in the Oval Office, insiders say he was shocked to see how much it mirrored the more gradual plan of counterterrorism that he advocated last fall. "This looks like CT-plus!" he said, according to U.S. officials familiar with the meeting.

Whatever the nature of the new plan, the delay underscores the fundamental flaws of counterinsurgency. After nine years of war, the Taliban simply remains too strongly entrenched for the U.S. military to openly attack. The very people that COIN seeks to win over – the Afghan people – do not want us there. Our supposed ally, President Karzai, used his influence to delay the offensive, and the massive influx of aid championed by McChrystal is likely only to make things worse. "Throwing money at the problem exacerbates the problem," says Andrew Wilder, an expert at Tufts University who has studied the effect of aid in southern Afghanistan. "A tsunami of cash fuels corruption, delegitimizes the government and creates an environment where we're picking winners and losers" – a process that fuels resentment and hostility among the civilian population. So far, counterinsurgency has succeeded only in creating a never-ending demand for the primary product supplied by the military: perpetual war. There is a reason that President Obama studiously avoids using the word "victory" when he talks about Afghanistan. Winning, it would seem, is not really possible. Not even with Stanley McChrystal in charge.

*This article originally appeared in RS 1108/1109 from July 8-22, 2010.*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Cherie Blair <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 3:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: confidential

W I'll send you details later

Sent from my iPad

On 15 Jun 2010, at 02:37, "H" <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> I would be happy to meet w hiim. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Cherie Blair <[redacted]> B6
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
> Subject: confidential
>
> As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.
>
> IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.
>
> Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?
>
>
>
> Cherie Blair
>
> [redacted]
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>
> This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

Yes, it works well -- I will follow up with her office.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Thu May 06 07:37:59 2010
Subject: Maggie

I'd like to see her next week. Does Thursday night work?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 4:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Fwd: [InsidersOut] Clinton equates LGBT rights to human rights

Fyi

**From:** Richard Socarides [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Jun 22 16:43:36 2010
**Subject:** Fwd: [InsidersOut] Clinton equates LGBT rights to human rights

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Chris Johnson** [redacted]
Date: Tue, Jun 22, 2010 at 3:47 PM
Subject: [InsidersOut] Clinton equates LGBT rights to human rights
To: insidersout@googlegroups.com

**http://www.washingtonblade.com/2010/06/22/clinton-equates-lgbt-rights-to-human-rights/**

**Clinton equates LGBT rights to human rights**

Chris Johnson | Jun 22, 2010 | Comments 0

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on Tuesday equated the pursuit of LGBT rights to the pursuit of human rights as she celebrated Pride month with gay State Department employees.

During a speech, Clinton said her belief that LGBT rights are synonymous with human rights as a whole is consistent with remarks she made as first lady in favor of women's rights during a visit to China.

"Just as I was very proud to say the obvious more than 15 years ago in Beijing that human rights are women's rights — and women's rights are human rights — let me say today that human rights are gay rights and gay rights are human rights," she said.

Clinton made her remarks during a State Department event commemorating June as Pride month. Gays & Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies, the affinity group for LGBT employees at the State Department, coordinated the event.

The secretary compared LGBT rights to human rights after describing discrimination and oppression that many people face in other countries. She said these abuses sometimes consist of people being "harassed, beaten, subjected to sexual violence — even killed — because of who they are and who they love."

"In some places, violence against the LGBT community is permitted by law and inflamed by public calls to violence," she said. "In others, it persists insidiously behind closed doors. These dangers are not gay issues. This is a human rights issue."

Clinton was well received by the more than 400 people who attended the State Department event. She received a standing ovation before and after her speech.

The secretary said she's been "greatly motivated" by the personal stories of LGBT people over her lifetime and that they helped shape the course of her political career.

She recalled how as a first lady she marched in a Pride parade — something a first lady had never done before — and noted she co-sponsored a number of pro-LGBT bills in her previous role as a U.S. senator from New York, including hate crimes bill and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

In an effort to continue that commitment to LGBT people, Clinton said the State Department would "advance a comprehensive human rights agenda" that would include an end to violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

She said efforts to confront this oppression consist of "elevating our human rights dialogues" with foreign governments to protect LGBT people as well as documenting anti-gay abuses in the State Department's annual human rights report.

One of the arms of the State Department that Clinton commended for taking the lead at confronting anti-gay abuses was the Bureau of African Affairs, which she said directed every U.S. embassy in Africa to report on the conditions of local LGBT communities. Clinton noted that she's asked every regional bureau "to make this issue a priority."

Clinton said Foreign Service officers in the State Department are siding with pro-LGBT groups overseas despite threats to personal safety. She cited the participation of U.S. officials last month in Slovakia's first ever Pride parade as one example.

"There were anti-gay protesters who became violent and the police used tear gas, which our chargée and other diplomats were exposed to — a quite unpleasant experience, but a service to a just cause," she said.

On the domestic front, Clinton recognized that many LGBT Americans feel frustrated on the lack of progress on advancing LGBT issues. Still, Clinton urged patience and said much progress has already been made.

"I know when you're in the midst of a great movement of change, it seems like it is glacial, but any fair assessment — from my perspective, and I lived longer than at least more than 75 percent of you — is that it is extraordinary what has happened in such a short period of time," she said.

Clinton said the U.S. has come "such a far distance" in advancing LGBT rights, but said are there many people within the country who need outreach and support to "stand up and be who they are."

"The struggle for equality is never, ever finished," she said. "And it is rarely easy, despite how self-evident it should be, but the hardest fought battles often have the biggest impact."

The secretary encouraged LGBT people to look out for others who may need a hand — such as LGBT youth, whom Clinton said "still, in numbers far beyond what should ever happen, take their own lives rather than live that life."

"So, I hope that each and every one of us will recommit ourselves to building a future in which every person — every single person — can live in dignity, free from violence, free to be themselves, free to live up to their God-given potential — wherever they live and whoever they are," she said.

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Reminder: This list is an invitation only lists and all posts are OFF THE RECORD.
You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "InsidersOut" group.
To post to this group, send email to InsidersOut@googlegroups.com
To unsubscribe from this group, send email to InsidersOut-unsubscribe@googlegroups.com
For more options, visit this group at http://groups.google.com/group/InsidersOut?hl=en

--
Richard Socarides, Esq.
Brady Klein Weissman LLP
501 Fifth Avenue, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10017

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Are you still at office?

Yes I am. Huma is here too

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:40 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Are you still at office?

I'm on the way back.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Jun 15 07:32:32 2010
Subject: Schedule

I want to meet alone w Amb. Oren this afternoon.

Also, can you find out when Maggie will be in DC again?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 8:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake asking to talk.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** H

Gert: thank you for sending the letter to [redacted] on the occasion of her retirement. [redacted] B6 [redacted] flew in to surprise her at the luncheon. It was a great day all around for a great lady. Thanks again. B

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 4:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Many Thanks
**Attachments:** Message hariu to B Clinton 2010.6.14.pdf

FYI. Thanks again for signing the book ---- and I do hope you get royalties from Mongolia! Also thought you would like to see the attached letter to President Clinton.

jm

---

**From:** Addleton, Jonathan S
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 3:57 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Many Thanks

Judith –

This is simply a quick note to thank you for the inscribed Mongolian-language copy of Secretary Clinton's memoir which just arrived. We look forward to delivering it to President Elbegdorj and know that he will be delighted. This was a terrific idea on your part – and the fact that it now has actually happened is really gratifying as well.

FYI, let me also attach a copy of a recent letter from President Elbegdorj to former President Bill Clinton. Although specifically highlighting the upcoming Nadaam festivities in Ulaanbaatar in mid July, I know that President Clinton would be welcome to visit Mongolia at any time, fulfilling the desire expressed in his "Foreign Policy" interview earlier this year that he really does want to "ride across the Mongolian steppes on horseback"!

Best regards,
Jonathan

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769971 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**МОНГОЛ УЛСЫН ЕРӨНХИЙЛӨГЧ**

**PRESIDENT OF MONGOLIA**

Улаанбаатар
Төрийн ордон

Government House
Ulaanbaatar-12
Mongolia

HONORABLE WILLIAM J.CLINTON
55 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Ulaanbaatar, June "14" 2010

Dear President Clinton.

I wish to express my thanks to you for the invitation to attend the CGI 2010 Annual Meeting. I am confident that 6th Annual meeting will be another success identifying most effective solutions to address pressing global challenges.

Since my correspondence to you last Fall, we have been finalizing preparations for Mongolia's national holiday, Naadam, which will take place this year on July 11th and 12th.

This year's celebration is particularly special because it also marks our 20th anniversary as a democratic nation. Mongolia is proud of its successful democratic transition with major gains in the political, economic, social and spiritual areas of our society.

Our people are grateful to our friends and allies, including the United States and you personally, for the persistent support you have extended to Mongolia.

Because of the tremendous impact you have made for freedom in Mongolia, I would like to extend to you the highest State Award of Mongolia during the Naadam holiday next month.

Mr. President, it would be my honor to host you personally in Mongolia next month for Naadam, receiving the State Award of Mongolia and seeing and experiencing Mongolia's ancient traditions first-hand.

Looking forward to welcoming you in Mongolia,

I remain sincerely yours,

TSAKHIA ELBEGDORJ

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05769971 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Call

Westewelle cannot do call at 7:30.
Holbrooke says he needs to talk to you

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cherie Blair <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 9:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: confidential

How about arranging a phone call between the two of you first to discuss the issues briefly then you could agree mutually when to meet.
If you give me a time when you can take a quick phone call from the Crown Prince I will get the number for you to ring.

Cherie Blair
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 15 June 2010 02:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

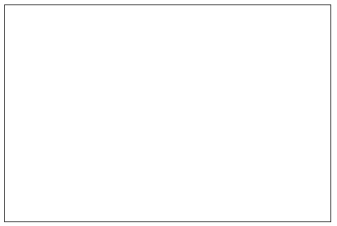
----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair



B6

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thanks to you and the Secretary for inspiring remarks today

FYI – see traffic below mine.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 9:54 PM
**To:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Subject:** RE: Thanks to you and the Secretary for inspiring remarks today

Kathy

What an uplifting email.

Thank you for reaching out and I will share this with her.

We still need to get that on the agenda for thank you for the reminder given her passion in this area.

And thank you for your kind words.

Best.

cdm

---

**From:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Thanks to you and the Secretary for inspiring remarks today

Hi, Cheryl –

Thank you so much for your excellent introduction of the Secretary today, and for your support of the good work of GLIFFA. As always, the Secretary was brilliant and inspiring. Would it be possible for you to pass on a word to her on my behalf?

You may remember that I am [redacted] working in the Office of Children's Issues, particularly on international child abduction. You and I were in contact in March 2009, and we discussed then the possibility of talking with the Secretary about the work we do here in our office. That did not work out, and I of course understood, but I would like to thank her for her interest in and support of our work, both in abduction and inter-country adoption. B6

On a personal note, I wanted the Secretary to know [redacted]

[redacted] But I want to let the Secretary know that I am especially grateful for all the work she has done for the GLBT community in the Department and around the world. What a thrill it was to today to hear her say that gay rights are human rights!

B6

We are indeed at an exciting point in history. Please extend my thanks to the Secretary for her leadership.

All the best,
Kathy

Kathleen S. Ruckman
Incoming Branch Chief
Office of Children's Issues
U.S. Department of State
NEW PHONE as of 4/1/10: **202-663-2928**

---

**From:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 17, 2009 8:59 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: Work for S

Thanks so much, Cheryl! I appreciate your efforts.
Kathy

Kathleen S. Ruckman
Deputy Director, Office of Children's Issues
U.S. Department of State, CA/OCS/CI
202-736-9123



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In accordance with E.O. 12958, this email is: SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 17, 2009 8:00 AM
**To:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: Work for S

I have asked Iona to find a timein the next month

---

**From:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Sent:** Monday, March 16, 2009 10:44 AM

**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: Work for S

That would be great, Cheryl. We are always glad to talk about what we do. Let me know if there is something I need to do.
Best, Kathy

Kathleen S. Ruckman
Deputy Director, Office of Children's Issues
U.S. Department of State, CA/OCS/CI
202-736-9123



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In accordance with E.O. 12958, this email is: SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, March 16, 2009 10:36 AM
**To:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: Work for S

This is very important to her – she raised it before so if you are the primary office, it may make sense to have you and Director connect with her – politically work?

cdm

---

**From:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Sent:** Monday, March 16, 2009 8:49 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F; Samuelson, Heather F; Peña, Laura
**Subject:** RE: Work for S

Hi, Cheryl –
The Office of Children's Issues is in the Bureau of Consular Affairs, Overseas Citizens' Services, and we are the only office that handles child abductions in the Department. Our office is in SA-29 at 2100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Fourth floor. We are the U.S. Central Authority for two Hague Conventions, the Child Abduction Convention and the Intercountry Adoption Convention. Our office is currently handling more than 1600 open international child abduction cases from the U.S. and about 400 cases of abductions of children into the U.S. under the Hague Convention. We're very busy! Come see us!
Kathy

Kathleen S. Ruckman
Deputy Director, Office of Children's Issues
U.S. Department of State, CA/OCS/CI
202-736-9123



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In accordance with E.O. 12958, this email is: SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, March 16, 2009 5:54 AM
**To:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F; Samuelson, Heather F; Peña, Laura
**Subject:** Re: Work for S

Kathy (pls call me cheryl)

You are in a space near and dear as is the child abduction issue - where do child abductions get handled? In consular affairs or in the individual bureaus?

---

**From:** Ruckman, Kathleen S
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Mar 13 17:35:54 2009
**Subject:** Work for S

Dear Ms. Mills:

I learned through Pam Ciccetti, in the Clinton Senate office, that you have been handling staffing for Secretary Clinton here in the Department of State. [redacted] I am also an attorney, currently working in a management position (GS-14) here in the Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs, as Deputy Director of the Office of Children's Issues. B6

I am happy to be serving the Secretary in my current position in an area close to her heart, children's welfare. [redacted]

Thank you and best regards,

Kathy

[redacted] B6

Kathleen S. Ruckman
Deputy Director, Office of Children's Issues
U.S. Department of State, CA/OCS/CI
202-736-9123



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In accordance with E.O. 12958, this email is: SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Jun 23 07:29:47 2010
Subject: Re: Call

GW is dodging me so ask that letter be drafted that I could send him asap making case.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 07:04:00 2010
Subject: Call

Westewelle cannot do call at 7:30.
Holbrooke says he needs to talk to you

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 8:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

B6

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Wed Jun 23 08:07:09 2010
Subject: Tonight

What's the plan

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** meeting with the Danish Foreign Minister

You are scheduled to meet with the Danish Foreign Minister on Friday. The Danes are interested in partnering with the US on a side event at the Kabul
Conference focused on Afghan women. I think this has potential and I'll raise with SRAP, but wanted you to know -- in case it comes up in your meeting.
When I met with a couple of the Afghan women who participated in the recent peace jirga, they told me that it would send a very strong message if a large group of women representing Afghan civil society could meet with you when you are in Kabul for the conference. I don't know if it will be possible to arrange such a large gathering, but perhaps something significant can be arranged.

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 6:32 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Strategy session

Cheryl and I discussed how to do an effective strategy session. Monday early afternoon is the first clear shot we have at getting the right group of people in the room together for an extended period of time.

We propose to start the discussion from the following premise: We've addressed, in one fashion or another, to one degree of satisfaction or another, most of the major items we set out at the beginning of last near. We've moved the needle, but we haven't changed the game. Now the question is, what are the major milestones over the next 12-18 months? What should we be aiming at? And especially, what are some potential game-changers – moves that would shift the global landscape in meaningful and long-lasting ways?

Everything will be on the table – regional issues, transnational issues, etc. Everyone should read the book of look-ahead papers; identify things they think we should pursue; and add ideas – especially creative and far-reaching ideas – on top of what's contained in them.

We propose the following roster:

Jim
Jack
Bill
AMS
Derek
CDM
Jake
Rich
Kurt
Judith
Harold

Let us know what you think.

Jake

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 10:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Remarks to participants at High Level Meeting on Food Security for All

---

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 15, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Remarks to participants at High Level Meeting on Food Security for All

1/26/09
S.Remarks to participants at High Level Meeting on Food Security for All

President Obama has made clear that alleviating hunger worldwide is a top priority of this Administration. As he said on the first day of his Presidency, "to the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds." The President and I intend to focus new attention on food security so that developing nations can invest in food production, affordability, accessibility, education and technology.

http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/01/115585.htm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 3:41 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** Tonight

So DS will take you from the WH

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Statement by Ambassador Mark Sedwill, NATO's Senior Civilian Representative to Afghanistan

FYI.

Statement by Ambassador Mark Sedwill, NATO's Senior Civilian Representative to Afghanistan

**Stan McChrystal is one of the finest men I have ever known. He is and will remain a lifelong friend.**

**General McChrystal has also been an outstanding military commander who was pivotal in creating and driving forward NATO's strategy in Afghanistan to regain the initiative against the insurgency, resolve the political tensions which fuel it and transition responsibility to the Government of Afghanistan as we help build their capabilities.**

**This strategy remains the basis of the campaign. The campaign remains on course. The Afghan people should have no doubt of our commitment to build a stable Afghanistan and a safer world.**

**I look forward to working with General David Petraeus whose remarkable track record speaks for itself. He will provide the continuity and strong leadership required to meet the challenges ahead.**

**Dominic Medley**
**SCR Spokesman/Media Advisor**
**medley.dominic@hq.nato.int**
**dominic.medley@hq.isaf.nato.int**
**+93 793 38 4008**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

FYI on

**From:** Klobuchar, Amy (Klobuchar) [mailto:
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 4:49 PM
**To:** Yamamoto, Donald Y; Casper, Anne S
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:**

B6

Anne and Don—

has arrived in Minnesota with his

I want you to know that I was incredibly impressed by the work of the State Department and the Embassy under very difficult circumstances. I truly don't believe he would be back in our country without your help. Thank you for everything you've done.
but he needed help! That is what we do sometimes! Thank you so much for everything you have done. I will write a separate note to Secretary Clinton about your strong work.

Sincerely,

Amy Klobuchar

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: US Senators blast 'dysfunctional' diplomats in Afghanistan

**FYI**

---

**From:** Faillace, Karlygash B
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 4:40 PM
**To:** SSRAP_Expanded; SCA-PPD-Guidance-DL
**Subject:** US Senators blast 'dysfunctional' diplomats in Afghanistan

US Senators blast 'dysfunctional' diplomats in Afghanistan

WASHINGTON, June 23, 2010 (AFP) - President Barack Obama must overhaul the "completely dysfunctional" civilian side of US-led efforts in Afghanistan or risk losing the high-stakes conflict, three hawkish US Senators said Wednesday.

Republican Senators John McCain and Lindsey Graham, joined by Independent Senator Joe Lieberman, stopped just shy of explicitly urging Obama to replace Ambassador Karl Eikenberry but had harsh words for US diplomacy in Kabul.

"The civilian side is, in my view, completely dysfunctional. The relationship between the civilian leadership and (Afghan) President (Hamid) Karzai has to be changed and repaired," said Graham.

"I would urge the president to look at this as a chance to put new people on the ground without old baggage. And if we don't change quickly, we're going to lose a war we can't afford to lose," warned Graham.

Graham and his colleagues warmly praised Obama's decision to replace General Stanley McChrystal with General David Petraeus, but cautioned that diplomatic failures could hamstring his efforts to manage the increasingly unpopular war.

McCain suggested that Obama bring back veteran diplomat Ryan Crocker, who was ambassador to Baghdad when he and Petraeus enacted the "surge" strategy credited in Washington with bringing Iraq back from the brink of civil war.

"We might suggest that a consideration be given to reuniting the Crocker-Petraeus team, although I'm sure that Ambassador Crocker will never forgive me for saying that, since he's enjoying his retirement," McCain said with a chuckle.

"There is discontent -- or let me say, there is a lack of coordination and teamwork -- between the military and civilian side, both at the embassy and other areas, in Afghanistan that needs to be repaired," said McCain.

Lieberman took a slightly softer line, but underlined he felt "there is not the kind of unity in Afghanistan between our civilian and military leadership" that is needed to prosecute Obama's counterinsurgency strategy.

The senators sharply criticized McChrystal over a Rolling Stone magazine profile in which the general and his aides are quoted as mocking top Obama national security aides, from Vice President Joe Biden on down.

McChrystal himself is quoted as deriding US special envoy Richard Holbrooke, and as saying he felt "betrayed" by Eikenberry, who had raised pointed objections to his strategy.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Lona Valmoro; HanleyMR@state.gov
**Subject:** Tonight

Now hearing that [redacted] If you [redacted], that's great - same plan. If you come back to office, just need to tell Huma what you would have told her via email, that you're skipping the concert B5

Again, your tickets and concert plans will not be altered, we've assured that can't happen

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 16, 2010 10:20 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** 2 passages from maiden speech of Britain's new sec for development

Overall the speech is worth reading; if you like I'll have it put in your weekend book. 2 passages particularly worth noting.

1. "Across the Atlantic, Hilary Clinton has pledged to put women 'front and center' of the American development agenda. That is the right choice. As David Cameron and Jeff Sachs argued earlier this year, women can hold the key to development in the world's poorest countries – in education, enterprise, micro-finance and healthcare. Investing in women pays dividends throughout the entire community."
2. "I see DFID as a key, joined-up, integrated department, a bright star in the Whitehall constellation, a department of state for development in the developing world. That's why DFID has a seat at the Cabinet table and it's why I won't be satisfied until our message rings down the corridors of each and every department in Whitehall."

We obviously don't love the "dept of state for development language," but what is most noteworthy is his emphasis on "joined-up" and "integrated" dept – underlining the fact that DFID as a separate cabinet department has been almost divorced from the rest of the government.

B5
B6

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:39 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Tonight

ok sounds good.

---

From: H
Sent: Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:28 PM
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight

[redacted] Heading home. B6

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:39 PM
**To:** H; Lona Valmoro
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

[redacted]

[redacted] do I have the plan right?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 5:32 PM

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Tonight

also, IF you want to do any foreign/mccrystal calls:
- frattini can talk now (till 6pm)
- cannon can talk after 7pm
rest will have to be tomorrow (if we do them at all)

---

From: H
Sent: Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:28 PM
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight

B6

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Second Wave of McCrystal

fyi

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Second Wave of McCrystal

There are some calls on the Hill for other changes in the team, i.e. Eikenberry. So it is already starting. [redacted] B5

PJ

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Second Wave of McCrystal

agree

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 2:41 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Second Wave of McCrystal

If she feels strongly, sure

Otherwise I vote no. We aren't directly part of this unfortunate saga, don't need to be. Once again she and Gates come across as the mature ones. The questions they have for her on her recommendation, etc would be addressed by a statement.

Besides, she'll answer this on camera tomorrow

I would however add Petreaus to her call sheet even though I'm sure she saw him at the WH, so we can reinforce her relationship with him going forward

We also need to stress their solid working relationship - I believe he was here last week and we thankfully put that on her schedule

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Second Wave of McCrystal

PIR [redacted] B5

---

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Second Wave of McCrystal

My bet on the direction this now takes is two fronts 1) does Petreaus make any big changes; can he do in Afghanistan what he did in Iraq; his health; political benefits of locking him up like Huntsman; etc [redacted] B5 B5

Had McC weathered this, there would have been more emphasis on #2. With Petreaus there, there's an air of adult management so there will be less of that. [redacted] whether there will be other changes to the team, how they get along with Petraeus and my strong suggestion to all involved is that this change is a fresh start for all. That ends the conversation. B5

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Second Wave of McCrystal

Let me start some thinking [redacted]

PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** preines
**Cc:** Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

B6

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 17:39:11 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

do I have the plan right?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 5:32 PM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 6:51 PM
**To:** H; Lona Valmoro
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

Where did you say you are going?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 6:50 PM

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: preines <preines H
Cc: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 23 17:58:18 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 17:39:11 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

do I have the plan right?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 5:32 PM

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 6:54 PM
**To:** H; Lona Valmoro
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight

Huma still at your house?

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Wed, 23 Jun 2010 18:53:10
To: 'preines <preines ValmoroLJ@state.gov'<ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'<hanleymr@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Tonight

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: H; Lona Valmoro <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 23 18:51:19 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

Where did you say you are going?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 6:50 PM

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: preines <preines ; H
Cc: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>

Sent: Wed Jun 23 17:58:18 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

B6

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 17:39:11 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight

do I have the plan right?

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Lona Valmoro
To: PIR
Cc: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Tonight
Sent: Jun 23, 2010 5:32 PM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:15 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Concert

Bagley and Tauscher are all set with their tickets.

Mikulski will get here close to your arrival time so you might walk in with her - pls let me know if that's a problem. Pelosi is coming separately and is seated close to you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Concert

Thanks. Tauscher here. Mikulski around the corner. Will see you soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 19:35:34 2010
Subject: Re: Concert

I'm on the way.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 23 19:14:35 2010
Subject: Concert

Bagley and Tauscher are all set with their tickets.

Mikulski will get here close to your arrival time so you might walk in with her - pls let me know if that's a problem. Pelosi is coming separately and is seated close to you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 6:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Toronto

I am currently traveling outside of the country with limited access to email. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv (ToivNF@state.gov) or Joanne Laszczych, (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

If it is an emergency after business hours, please reach out to our Operations Center to have them reach me.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 9:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** world cup

http://www.salon.com/news/bill_clinton/index.html?story=/politics/war_room/2010/06/23/bill_clinton_world_cup

Wednesday, Jun 23, 2010 14:22 ET
War Room

# Bill Clinton to U.S. soccer team: "You are amazing!"

By Joe Conason

•

AP/Michael Sohn
Former President Bill Clinton at the World Cup group C soccer match between the United States and Algeria in Pretoria, South Africa on Wednesday

*Salon's Joe Conason is traveling with Bill Clinton in Africa this week and was with the former president at today's U.S. World Cup soccer game in Pretoria. He filed this report:*

Minutes after Landon Donovan scored the stunning extra-time goal that won a critical World Cup match against Algeria, Bill Clinton and several of his aides and friends (including former Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe) were escorted downstairs to the U.S. team's locker room. The American players roared with pride as the former president (and honorary chairman of the committee bidding to bring the World Cup to the U.S. in 2018 or 2022) walked in. After a round of embraces, handshakes and high fives, he spoke briefly about his joy in their victory: " I'm proud of you because you didn't let the frustration of all the shots that you almost made get you down. You are amazing!"

Much posing for pictures ensued with the shirtless, whooping, chest-bumping players -- who couldn't quite seem to believe they had done it.

The team then invited Clinton alone to join them in the inner locker room, where he could be glimpsed toasting them with a beer amid much additional hollering. When he emerged 10 minutes or so later, he had a broad smile and a hoarse voice.

As Clinton left for Johannesburg, where he will meet tomorrow with former President Nelson Mandela, one of the players chased him out into the hall and handed one of the former president's aides an official ball signed by all the members of Team USA.

Clinton stopped for just a moment to talk with the local press before disappearing in a convoy of flashing lights and sirens. "If it hadn't been the decisive game, even I would have said it should have been a tie," he said. "It was a great game. You know, all great contests become head games at some point -- sports, elections, wars. And they [Team USA] have good heads and good hearts."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 9:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Consular fees

Sorry to confirm they are not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Lew, Jacob J
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:42:52 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

Not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:41:57 2010
Subject: Consular fees

Just got an email from S saying that Pelosi just told her fees are in. Can we check the actual conf rept to let her know for sure if this is correct or not. I responded that we understood they were out but would check. Thx

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Subject:** Re: Consular fees

Copying Rich -- I cannot explain. He was with us until 6 pm yesterday when he reached the conclusion that it would bring down the rule.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:51:05 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

She and George Miller were adamant so what could they mean? They said Berman pushed it thru.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:46:46 2010
Subject: Fw: Consular fees

Sorry to confirm they are not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Lew, Jacob J
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:42:52 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

Not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:41:57 2010
Subject: Consular fees

Just got an email from S saying that Pelosi just told her fees are in. Can we check the actual conf rept to let her know for sure if this is correct or not. I responded that we understood they were out but would check. Thx

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:03 PM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Consular fees

Berman went to the leadership meeting yesterday to make his case for fees - that's what they must be referring to. It was after that meeting that the blue dogs and hoyer told him no.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:52:57 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

Copying Rich -- I cannot explain. He was with us until 6 pm yesterday when he reached the conclusion that it would bring down the rule.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:51:05 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

She and George Miller were adamant so what could they mean? They said Berman pushed it thru.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:46:46 2010
Subject: Fw: Consular fees

Sorry to confirm they are not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Lew, Jacob J
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:42:52 2010
Subject: Re: Consular fees

Not in.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Campbell, Piper
Sent: Wed Jun 23 21:41:57 2010
Subject: Consular fees

Just got an email from S saying that Pelosi just told her fees are in. Can we check the actual conf rept to let her know for sure if this is correct or not. I responded that we understood they were out but would check. Thx

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan

Fyi

---

**From**: Schwartz, Eric P
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Wed Jun 23 21:38:18 2010
**Subject**: Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan

Hello Jake: After consulting with Bob Blake and his team, and both our posts in the region, I'm planning to get out to Uzbekistan and, if conditions permit, Kyrgyzstan in the next day or two to assess the humanitarian situation and the assistance efforts of our partners, and to communicate our commitment to a generous response. The UN has just issued appeals for each country, and we'll be contributing additional funds in the days ahead. My Deputy, David Robinson, will be at the 9:15 meeting tomorrow (I have a congressional meeting) and will mention this to the Secretary – but given her strong interest and her exchange with me on it on Monday – I thought I should give you a head's up. Best,, Eric

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** [redacted] B6

She unfortunately can't come this week - she's away until Tuesday. Will see if Tuesday night or Wednesday morning works with your schedule.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Yes she's in Hawaii until Tuesday morning. She can do Tuesday evening ot Wednesday if that works for you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:38 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Verma, Richard R
**Subject:** Gaza language

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 11:56 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Pew Global Attitudes 22-Nation Poll

FYI

**From:** Andrew Kohut [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 11:40 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Pew Global Attitudes 22-Nation Poll

## Obama More Popular Abroad Than in U.S.; Muslim Disappointment

### *U.S. Image Strong, Despite Criticism of U.S. Policies*

Even as his domestic job approval rating has declined, President Barack Obama remains highly popular in most parts of the world, and opinions of the United States – which improved markedly in 2009 reflecting global optimism about Obama – have remained much more positive than they were for much of George W. Bush's tenure.

But America continues to face image challenges in the Muslim world. After edging up slightly in 2009, U.S. favorability and confidence in Obama have slipped in key predominantly Muslim nations: America's favorability rating in Egypt has dropped from 27% to 17% – the lowest figure recorded there in five years. In Turkey, a NATO ally, confidence in Obama has fallen from 33% to 23%. Opposition to key aspects of U.S. foreign policy remains pervasive and many Muslim publics continue to view the U.S as a military threat.

Even beyond largely Muslim nations, the survey finds disagreement with Obama's foreign policies. Majorities continue to see the U.S. as acting unilaterally in world affairs. And global publics give Obama a mixed report card on his handling of specific problems: About as many countries approve as disapprove of Obama's handling of the situations in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq. Of 22 nations surveyed, including the U.S, only in three nations do majorities approve of Obama's handling of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In Western Europe, while substantial majorities support U.S. anti-terrorism efforts, nearly 6-in-10 Germans favor withdrawing their troops from Afghanistan, and British and French publics are evenly split on whether troops should be withdrawn or kept.

But in a striking difference from the Bush years, these policy disagreements have not significantly dented the U.S. image. The U.S. favorability rating in Western Europe is overwhelmingly positive, and confidence in Obama to do the right thing in world affairs remains high: 90% express confidence in Germany, 87% in France, 84% in Britain and 69% in Spain. Moreover, Obama gets good marks on his handling of two issues of importance to European publics – climate change and the economic crisis.

More generally, global publics express widespread dissatisfaction about the economy, though they are less gloomy than in 2009. In 20 of 22 countries, less than half the population expresses satisfaction with their country's direction, and only in four countries do people say economic conditions are good. Disgruntled publics fault their governments, banks and then themselves for their economic troubles. In Europe, amid growing economic troubles, there are no signs of a backlash against the European Union. Large majorities remain supportive of the EU and the euro. But European publics are divided about the merits of economic integration and differ over the bailing-out of EU member countries.

The new survey by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, conducted among more than 24,000 people in 22 nations April 7 to May 8, provides an in-depth look at attitudes toward major powers and world leaders; the global economic situation from free trade to financial regulation; Islamic extremism; and international problems such as climate change. Key findings include:

- **America's Image** – U.S. favorability has improved markedly in Russia, China and Japan. It has fallen in India, but remains high – dipping from 76% in 2009 to 66% in 2010. America's image is highly positive in South Korea (79% favorable), Poland (74%) and Brazil (62%).

- **The Arizona Effect:** U.S. favorability in Mexico has tumbled in the wake of Arizona's new immigration law – from 62% in polling conducted before the law's enactment to 44% afterward.

- **European Leaders:** German Chancellor Angela Merkel is well regarded in Britain and Spain, and gets higher ratings for her handling of international affairs in France than in Germany itself. French President Nicolas Sarkozy, similarly, gets better ratings in Germany than in France, but the French leader is less well-regarded in Britain and Spain. Confidence about Russian President Dmitri Medvedev is on the rise, with ratings up in all five EU member nations surveyed.

- **China on the Rise:** A growing portion of global publics sees China, rather than the U.S, as the world's leading economic power. China itself is the most self-satisfied nation in the survey. Roughly nine-in-ten Chinese are happy with the direction of the country (87%), its economic conditions (91%), and optimistic about its economic future (87%).

- **Islamic Extremism:** There is no predominantly Muslim nation polled in which a majority of Muslims endorse suicide bombing, al Qaeda or Osama bin Laden. But in Nigeria, a significant minority of Muslims express extremist views -- 49% express a favorable view of al Qaeda.

- **Isolationism:** Americans are no more isolationist than Europeans. When asked whether their country should deal with its own problems and let others take care of themselves, nearly half of Americans (46%), Germans (44%) and British (49%) agree. The French are the most isolationist, with 65% opposing helping other nations cope with their challenges.

- **Environment:** Substantial majorities in most countries see global climate change as a serious problem, but global opinion is more divided when it comes to paying increased prices to combat climate change. Willingness to pay higher prices is nearly universal in China and majorities express support in India, South Korea, Japan, Turkey and Germany. Views about paying higher prices are mixed in Spain, Britain and Brazil, while majorities express opposition in the U.S., France, Russia and many less affluent nations surveyed.

- **Iran and Nuclear Weapons:** Majorities in nearly every country surveyed, including predominantly Muslim nations, express opposition to a nuclear-armed Iran. A notable exception is Pakistan, the only nation surveyed in which a majority (58%) favor Iran's nuclear weapons program. Among global publics who oppose a nuclear-armed Iran, substantial support exists for applying tougher international economic sanctions against Iran. Less widespread, but still significant, support exists for considering the use of military force to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons.

For a direct link to the full report, go to http://pewglobal.org/2010/06/17/obama-more-popular-abroad-than-at-home/. The survey is for immediate release and is available on our website, http://pewglobal.org/.

Andrew Kohut
President
Pew Research Center
202.419.4350

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 24, 2010 3:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: GOOD DAY, CHERYL HOPE YOU ARE WELL AND HAPPY. PLEASE FORWARD THIS NOTE TO HRC...

B6

**From**: Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel <[redacted]>
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; millsc@state.gov <millsc@state.gov>
**Sent**: Wed Jun 23 10:34:50 2010
**Subject**: GOOD DAY, CHERYL HOPE YOU ARE WELL AND HAPPY. PLEASE FORWARD THIS NOTE TO HRC...

Dear Madam Secretary,
My deepest appreciation for the very thoughtful, and very personal, letter that you sent to me on the occasion of my being honored by the Urban Technology Center last night. It means a great deal to me, for you to take the time from your incredibly crowded, and important, schedule to remember me.
With warmest wishes and continuing admiration,
Carl Spielvogel
23 June 2010

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 11:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Rwanda court grants medical bail to US lawyer

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-AF; NEWS-L; NEWS-CA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Thu Jun 17 11:53:25 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Rwanda court grants medical bail to US lawyer

KIGALI (AP) - A judge in Rwanda granted bail to a U.S. lawyer on medical grounds. Peter Erlinder was arrested and charged with genocide ideology late last month. Since his arrest he's been hospitalized multiple times. A judge in Kigali granted Erlinder bail on medical grounds, but it wasn't immediately clear if Erlinder is allowed to leave Rwanda. Erlinder's brother, Scott Erlinder, said he suspects political pressure from around the world contributed to the judge's ruling.

---

Ezra Casteel
S/ES-O Operations Specialist
202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 4:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Memo on urgent Kyrgyzstan crisis, first hand report and recommendations. Sid
**Attachments:** horton memo kyrgyzstan 061710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Kyrgyzstan crisis, report and recommendations

Scott Horton has just returned from a week in Kyrgyzstan, where he held lengthy private conversations with a range of leaders. He has sent me his confidential report. In light of the crisis there—the pogroms that have created perhaps as many as 450,000 refugees, according to the U.N.—and on the eve of the June 27 constitutional referendum—he explains why and how this is an opportunity for joint U.S.-Russian action and other U.S. initiatives. His policy recommendations follow his report.

To: Sid Blumenthal

From: Scott Horton

Date: June 17, 2010

Subj: Developments in Kyrgyzstan

I was in Kyrgyzstan from June 1 – 6, during which time I met with almost all the members of the interim government, with special focus on foreign relations, security and legal issues. Here are major points that emerged from my visit:

1. **Crisis in the South.** Although I departed before the pogroms had commenced in Osh, I found that the interim government fully expected violence to break out there but did not anticipate the inter-ethnic element. Several candidly acknowledged that the government's grip on the south, particularly Osh and Djalalabad provinces, was extremely tenuous. They said they had severe "loyalty" problems with key figures in the police and military. When I pressed on what they meant by "loyalty," I was told that the Bakiyev family had "its people" in key positions in the police and army and that they had intercepted communications between

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770025 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

June 27, 2010

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: UK politics/economy

1. UK polls show support for the Lib-Dems after the launch of the draconian Cameron government budget cratering. LD support is down to 16 percent, half what it was at its peak during the election and half of LD members now express a desire to defect from their party. They feel deceived by LD ministers' participation in a Tory budget opposed to their own beliefs. In Parliament, a secret caucus of LDs is meeting with Labour about opposing the budget. Meanwhile, short term support for Cameron is static and for the government slightly up, but only translated to the Tories. Both the Tories and Labour are up, profiting from the LD quandary. The scenario is potentially portentous for the LD Party: There was once an influential Australian Liberal Democratic Party, holding 11 percent of the vote and the balance of power in the Australian Senate. Upon reaching its zenith in 1996 the ALDP supported a Liberal (that is to say, a conservative) government's budget and suffered collapse. Today the ALDP holds 1 percent of the seats in the lower House. The political effect of the conservative budget will almost certainly lead to an implosion of the Tory-LD coalition. In the short run it's possible the Tories will emerge having the greatest plurality of support. But if their budget does not produce prosperity they will pay the price, too. See Stiglitz's analysis below on the Tory budget with cold analysis of the US predicament.
2. The implications for US-UK cooperation are apparent. While there are spheres that remain, they are contingent, including the Afghanistan War, opposed by 75 percent of UK public and about which Cameron felt compelled this week to declare UK engagement would end in five years (that is, before the next UK election). On economic policy, the UK is no partner and no bridge to Europe, where the Merkel government has entered a fugue state of vertigo (another subject). At no other time since World War II have the US and UK governments been at such odds over international economics. With JFK and Macmillan, Macmillan accepted the postwar Keynesian consensus. Reagan and Thatcher, of course, were of one mind ideologically, and the international economy was buoyed by Reagan's hyper-Keynesianism masked as Thatcherism. Unfortunately, Obama did not reach out to Brown, who sought to reestablish the special relationship around

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770025 Date: 08/31/2015

international economic recovery. Speaking of laissez faire, Cameron must be let alone to receive the consequences (within 18 months) of his ideologically driven economics. Can he be engaged on international development? Or does his budget rule that out too? There's not much there.

3. The Labour Party leadership contest is heating up. David Miliband has an article out today on how the Cameron budget will foster "a lost generation." More on that soon...

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/osbornes-first-budget-its-wrong-wrong-wrong-2011501.html

# Osborne's first Budget? It's wrong, wrong, wrong!

Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel prizewinner who predicted the global crisis, delivers his verdict on the Chancellor's first Budget and tells Paul Vallely it will take the UK deeper into recession and hit millions – the poorest – badly

*Sunday, 27 June 2010*

George Osborne will probably not be very bothered that there is a man who thinks he got last week's emergency Budget almost entirely wrong. But he should be. Because that man is a former chief economist at the World Bank who won the Nobel Prize for Economics for his work on why markets do not produce the outcomes which, in theory, they ought to.

Professor Joseph Stiglitz, who has been described as the biggest brain in economics, is distinctly unimpressed by George Osborne's strategy. This, he predicts, will make Britain's recovery from recession longer, slower and harder than it needs to be. The rise in VAT could even tip us into a double-dip recession.

Stiglitz, who was once Bill Clinton's senior economic adviser, is now professor of economics and finance at Columbia Business School. He was in the UK this week at the University of Manchester, where he chairs the Brooks World Poverty Institute, but he lifted his head from the detail of international development to scrutinise the economic strategy of the Conservative Chancellor whose Liberal Democrat partners recently reversed their judgement that massive public spending cuts now would endanger the economy and joined in the Tory slash-and-burn strategy. They were deeply wrong to do so, he believes.

It would be a mistake to ignore Stiglitz on this. He has a track record of getting his predictions right. He was one of the few economists who predicted the global financial meltdown long before it occurred.

"What happened was very much in accord with what I expected," he tells me when we meet for a coffee outside the Blackwell bookshop in the centre of the university. "The data was pretty clear about that." And the scale of the crash? "That wasn't a surprise," he adds, in a matter-of-fact manner. "The bigger the bubble, the bigger the burst.

"The thing most economists did not fully grasp was the extent to which the banks engaged in murky risk-taking activities. They were taking a risk with our money, their shareholders' money, the bond-holders'

money," he says. Banks were demanding up to 40 per cent of the corporate profits, saying their innovative financing was adding value. But "all this talk about innovation was a sham" because it did not relate to any real increase in the economy's productivity, he says.

"There was a prima facie case of something screwy going on [with all the] perverse incentives that would lead them to take excessive risk. But there was no way anyone could know or believe that the banks were [conducting themselves] at that level of stupidity. I predicted that there was going to be a collapse because of the information asymmetry problems that were being created." His Nobel prize was given for exactly that – showing how markets fail because different people in them hold different levels of information.

Yet there is no hint of I-told-you-so about Stiglitz's tone as he asks the waiter for coffee. He orders decaffeinated, but suggests the British economy needs the opposite: a stiff stimulant rather than the "fiscal consolidation" which is George Osborne's economic euphemism for cuts.

Fiscal stimulus is out of fashion now. World leaders embarked on that strategy – injecting money to re-energise the economy – after the banking crash three years ago. It was widely perceived not to have worked because the money governments pumped into the banks was not passed on to ailing businesses or individuals in trouble with their mortgages.

"The problem was that, in the US, the stimulus wasn't big enough," he says. "Too much of it was in tax cuts. And when they gave money to the banks they gave it to the wrong banks and, as a result, credit has not been restored – we can expect a couple of million or more homes to be repossessed this year than last year – and the economy has not been restarted." Instead of producing a consensus that the government should have done more, it has created disillusion that the government can do anything, Stiglitz says.

The result is that, following the attacks by the financial markets on Greece and then Spain, everybody is now in a mood of retrenchment. "It's not just pre-Keynesian, it's Hooverite," he says. By which he means governments are not just refusing to stimulate, they are making cuts, as Herbert Hoover did in the US in 1929 – when he turned the Wall Street Crash into the Great Depression. "Hoover had this idea that, whenever you go into recession, deficits grow, so he decided to go for cuts – which is what the foolish financial markets that got us into this trouble in the first place now want."

It has become the new received wisdom throughout Europe. But it is the classic error made by those who confuse a household's economics with those of a national economy.

"If you have a household that can't pay its debts, you tell it to cut back on spending to free up the cash to pay the debts. But in a national economy, if you cut back on your spending, then economic activity goes down, nobody invests, the amount of tax you take goes down, the amount you pay out in unemployment benefits goes up – and you don't have enough money to pay your debts.

"The old story is still true: you cut expenditures and the economy goes down. We have lots of experiments which show this, thanks to Herbert Hoover and the IMF," he adds. The IMF imposed that mistaken policy in Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Argentina and hosts of other developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s. "So we know what will happen: economies will get weaker, investment will get stymied and it's a downward vicious spiral. How far down we don't know – it could be a Japanese malaise. Japan did an experiment just like this in 1997; just as it was recovering, it raised VAT and went into another recession."

Then why have we not learned from all that? Because politicians like George Osborne are driven by ideology; the national deficit is an excuse to shrink the state because that is what he wanted anyway. Because the financial market only cares about one thing – getting repaid. And because other European

governments are panicking because of the market's wild attack on Greece and Spain, and they don't want to be next.

"But cutbacks in Germany, Britain and France will mean all of Europe will suffer. The cuts will all feed back negatively. And if everyone follows this policy, their budget deficits will get worse, so they will have to make more cuts and raise taxes more. It's a vicious downward spiral. We're now looking at a long, hard, slow recovery with the possibility of a double dip if everybody cuts back at the same time. The best scenario is long and hard ... and the worst is much worse. If any one of these countries is forced into default, the banking system is so highly leveraged that it could cause real problems. This is really risky, really scary."

So what should we be doing? "The lesson is not that you cut back spending, but that you redirect it. You cut out the war in Afghanistan. You cut a couple of hundred billion dollars of wasteful military expenditure. You cut out oil subsidies. There's a long list of things we can cut. But you increase spending in other areas, such as research and development, infrastructure, education" – areas where government can get a good return on the investment of public money. "I haven't done the calculation for Britain, but, for the US, all you need is a return on government investment of 5 to 6 per cent and the long-term deficit debt is lowered."

Taxes also need to be restructured. Osborne has increased capital gains tax for high earners from 18 to 28 per cent. "There's absolutely no reason why you couldn't tax speculative gains [from rising house or land prices] by 40 per cent. There's no social return on it and land is going to be there whether people have speculated or not. But you lower the tax on investment in things like R&D."

Stiglitz has one more practical solution to offer. Governments should set up their own banks to restart lending to businesses and save struggling homeowners from repossession. "If the banks aren't lending, let's create a new lending facility to do that job," he says. "In the US, we gave $700bn to the banks; if we had used a fraction of that to create a new bank, we could have financed all the lending that was needed."

Indeed, it could be done for far less. "Take $100bn, lever that at 10 to 1 [by attracting funds from the private sector] and that's a trillion-dollar new lending capacity – more than the real economy needs."

Such a move would help ordinary people more than all Osborne's rhetoric about being tough but fair. Stiglitz is sceptical, too, about the moral underpinning of a Budget which claims that "we are all in this together", but then hits the poorest hardest.

Analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has suggested that the Chancellor's Budget will cost the poor 2.5 per cent of their income, while the rich will lose just 1 per cent. "I've not made an independent study on that point, but cuts in public services will have a disproportionate effect on the poor," Stiglitz says. Osborne's Budget "may be well-intentioned, but it takes an enormous amount of work to make sure that a package of public spending cuts of that magnitude doesn't hit the poor disproportionately".

His big fear is that overseas aid, which has been protected in this first round of cuts, will not escape a second. "Developing countries have redirected themselves towards Asia, and China in particular, in recent years, so growth in Africa will be more robust than one might have expected, given the severity of the downturn," he says.

Even so, aid remains vital to poor countries. "If aid is cut back, growth will be badly affected," he says. "China is providing aid, but its aid is all in infrastructure, whereas aid from the US and Europe is mainly in education and health – areas in which ordinary people will suffer most if there are cuts."

Joseph Stiglitz has come full circle. What the world needs now – developing and developed – is not retrenchment but greater economic stimulus. It is not a message many are in the mood to hear. But they

didn't listen to him last time, either. And he turned out to be right, and they were wrong – and at what a cost to us all.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Voda ebeling [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, June 24, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** H; Kevin M. O'Keefe; Elaine Weiss; Michael M. Conway; abedinh@state.gov

## Haley posted this today on website:

## Another Good Visit

Posted 26 minutes ago

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 17, 2010 8:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** July 2011

May 7, 2010 – Ben Rhodes briefing:

"We've identified July 2011 as the beginning point of a transition to an Afghan lead in certain instances.

Again, the reductions that will follow July 2011 will be based upon conditions on the ground."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 6:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: jackson/vanik

FYI – on Jackon/Vanik re: Russia. Will send more information as we get it.

---

**From:** Hormats, Robert D
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 12:14 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Subject:** Re:

Hi Rich,
This is not quite the case....the russians certainly do want it lifted.

B5

Levin wants two votes: one to lift it with provisions that the russians would be committed to meet and then another vote to determine if they have been met.

I will send her a more detailed memo when I get back.
Thanks,
Bob

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Hormats, Robert D
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Jun 17 18:23:28 2010
**Subject:**

Hi Bob –

The Secretary had a conversation with Senator Levin today about Jackson/Vanik – Levin told her that the Administration has been opposed to his efforts to lift the Jackson Vanik restrictions pertaining to Russia. He said that Administration officials have been telling him that the Russians don't want them lifted. This didn't make a whole lot of sense to me, but she asked me to follow-up with you to find out our current posture on Jackson Vanik and Russia. She'd like to get back to Senator Levin soon. I leave it up to you how you want to get the info to her, but I did want to pass along her request.

Thanks, and hope all else is well.

Rich

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: A new approach on the PSD

I am on travel and will not return to the office until Tuesday, July 6. If you need immediate assistance please contact Marisa McAuliffe by phone at 202-647-2972 or email at McauliffeMS@state.gov.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Scheduled 6/18/10 Friday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **PARTY FOR DAN SMITH**
9:30 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

9:30 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:15 am **WORLD REFUGEE DAY EVENT**
10:25 am Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Approx. 200 ppl expected.

10:45 am **BILATERAL w/DANISH DPM/FM LENE ESPERSEN**
11:15 am Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:15 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
11:20 am Secretary's Office

11:20 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/DANISH DPM/FM ESPERSEN**
11:35 am Treaty Room

11:40 am **OFFICE TIME**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route NFATC

12:15 pm **ARRIVE** NFATC

12:15 pm **DEDICATION CEREMONY TO MARK THE EXPANSION OF**
1:00 pm **FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE/GEORGE P. SHULTZ CENTER**
National Foreign Affairs Training Center *Approx. 500 ppl expected.

1:05 pm **DEPART** NFATC *En route Washington National Airport

1:20 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

2:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport
*En route New York, NY

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm **DEPART** New York, LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:20 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

Hope it's helpful, Horton is very well informed and trustworthy ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop B6
Sent: Jun 18, 2010 8:36 AM
Subject: Re: You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

I did and thank you. I'll try to call later.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 18 07:24:29 2010
Subject: You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 24, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Suprise

----- Original Message -----
From: Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Jun 24 14:35:24 2010
Subject: Suprise

B6

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 24, 2010 3:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: COKE removed from Jamaica

**Importance:** High

---

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Thursday, June 24, 2010 3:12 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: COKE removed from Jamaica
**Importance:** High

I wanted to make sure S knew of the latest on the Coke transfer. DEA reports that: "at approximately 1:55 pm, Christopher COKE was handed over to US officials and immediately transported off the island. DEA aircraft transporting COKE is expected to arrive in the NY area at approximately 7 pm EST."

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ukraine

Just met with Fr Gudziak. He will come back to Kyiv for your visit!
Also John Tefft saw him in Lviv. He is so grateful for the strong support you have delivered.
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Tue, 1 Jun 2010 07:00:28
To: 'pverveer'<pverveer
Subject: Re: Ukraine

Very distressing report. If I go to Ukraine in early July, are you going w me? What could I do to address? Let's raise w Phil Gordon today.

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer <PVerveer
To: H
Sent: Sun May 30 22:47:57 2010
Subject: Ukraine

This is from Fr. Borys Gudziak, the wonderful priest you met in Lviv. He gave you a tour of the Cathedral and you had a wonderful chat with him at the time. Since then, much progress has been made there. He became head of the new Ukrainian Catholic University and has really come in to his own as a respected leader and scholar.
Unfortunately, his situation and that of the Catholic community and academic freedom has come under siege since Yanokovich became president. I have a series of emails from the US Ukrainian community, in addition to this email directly from Gudziak, They are alarmed about developments. I've been in touch with John Tefft and sent him everything. He is aware of recent events.
I will make a folder of the correspondence for you since the community here and in Ukraine sees you as their champion. This is not a good turn of events.

---

From: gudziak
To: pverveer
Sent: 5/29/2010 3:09:23 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: difficulties for UCU

Dear Melanne,

It has been awhile since we have been in touch. As you now we are under special pressure at the Ukrainian Catholic University. It is a question of our welfare and future. But not only. Almost no educational institutions have taken a stand

in defense of democracy and even western Ukrainian politicians are capitulating under pressure. So is business. The approach of the new authorities is quick and systematic. Top and middle positions in all spheres of government, administration, state security, police have been rapidly changed and are effectively moving in on the freedom of the press and discourse.

Our students are scared.

Some are active, but some fear for the university, that it may loose accreditation. A father and his daughter-student came to my office in a state of anxiety.

Some students are afraid to blog and post comments because they fear that they will be traced and that their parents will loose their jobs.

There is clear evidence from one of our banks that the authorities are beginning to dig into the question of our finances. Provocations, moral defamation, planting of drugs and weapons in student residences as happened in 2004 before the election could be next.

The most effective defense is speaking out.

I am grateful for your solicitude and wanted to ask for two things.

1 To ask the Secretary of State to bring this to the attention of the president and vice president and to do what she can in our defense.

2. to help us get the story to some of the main media outlets: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, CNN, etc. One story by any of these for us and for the people in Ukraine that have the courage to speak the truth is invaluable.

We have had some great support already. But I have a sense that this adventure is only beginning and we have to be ready for everything.

Please pass on my respect to Secretary Clinton.

May God bless you!

Fr. Borys

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 1:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: AIPAC?

Think we came to a resolution on government procurement, and civ nuke. Jury is still out on shoulds/shalls.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, June 18, 2010 12:57 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: AIPAC?

What happened?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 6/25/10 Friday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am **PRIVATE MEETING**
10:10 am Secretary's Office

10:15 am **BRIEFING ON GLOBAL HEALTH INITIATIVE ISSUES**
11:15 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:30 am **WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT TEAM MEETING**
12:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:20 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Washington Reagan National Airport

1:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington Reagan National Airport

2:00 pm **DEPART** Washington Reagan National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2174
En route New York, NY

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport
En route Private Residence

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 3:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: final list of strategy sessions for next week

FYI

I think we need smart ways to get one or two more folks in – like – Dan Baer and few others like that.

---

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 2:06 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** final list of strategy sessions for next week

Here's our final list as discussed -- I am moving ahead and inviting Monday's two meetings now. Huma and I may need to tweak timing slightly as the week goes on but will try to stick to these times as outlined.

Monday, June 21st
3:30pm-5:00pm
Core Group Session
Jim, Jack, Jake, Cheryl and Derek

5:00pm-6:30pm
Core Group plus Regional Assistant Secretaries
Carson, Blake, Gordon, Campbell, Valenzuela, Feltman, Brimmer, Johnson

Wednesday, June 23rd

1:30pm-3:00pm
Core Group plus select S
Verma, Benjamin, Goosby, Verveer, Koh, Slaughter, Goldberg, Goldwyn

Friday, June 25th
10:30am-11:30am
Core Group plus T
Tauscher, Timbie, Van Diepen, Andrew Shapiro, Gottemoeller

11:30am-12:30pm
Core Group plus G/EEB
Fernandez, Hormats, Hariton, Otero, Posner, Jones, Schwartz, CdeBaca

3:00pm-4:00pm
Hold time for Core Group Wrap Up Session

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 3:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

You fine with this for the P meeting on Monday – scroll down for all invitees.

---

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

So far – Johnnie, Blake and Dave Johnson are regrets.
Phil Gordon, Arturo and Kurt are coming.
Waiting to hear from Brimmer and Feltman.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 3:19 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

Hmmm – who else can't come – we need johnnie

---

**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J
**Cc:** Yamamoto, Donald Y; Cook, Akunna E
**Subject:** RE: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

---

Lona: I will be en route to Sudan (Khartoum and Juba) and will not be able to make it. (I will be away from Sunday to Sunday.) If the Secretary decides to include substitutes, my deputy Don Yamamoto, will be available to attend. Johnnie

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 2:38 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Chollet, Derek H; Carson, Johnnie; Blake, Robert O; Gordon, Philip H; Campbell, Kurt M; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Brimmer, Esther D; Johnson, David T
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne; Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Lavy, Brendan L; Polidoro, Evelyn R; Gent, Stephanie R; Cook, Akunna E; Jennings, Monika D; Hegendorfer, Daryl R; Grigola, Sandra T (NEA/FO); Gonzalez, Juan S; Lowe, Matthew D; Le Mon, Christopher J
**Subject:** meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

The Secretary would like to hold a strategy session on Monday, June 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm in the S Conference Room.

Let me know if you have significant conflict and will not be able to join -- no substitutions or additions to this meeting, please.

Thank you – Lona

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 11:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: With deep gratitude

fyi

---

**From:** Stanton, Katie
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 10:31 AM
**Subject:** With deep gratitude

Dear friends,

I'm so grateful to have had the pleasure of working with you over the past 18 months. Public service is an honor and I feel so lucky to have had the opportunity to serve our country in both the White House and the State Department. I'm deeply impressed by the important work you do and will leave Washington, DC knowing that our country's best days are ahead of us thanks to your commitment, hard work, and passion.

My last day at the State Department will be July 9th. [redacted] I would love to see you before I go – please save the date of July 8th for a cupcakes and champagne party in DC. B6

My personal email is [redacted]. Please visit me in [redacted] ☺

Best,
Katie

Katie Jacobs Stanton
Office of the Secretary of State
e: stantonk@state.gov || t: 202-647-0419 || c: [redacted]
twitter: @StateDept @KatieS

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 3:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

Let me see what dates might work for this group.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, June 18, 2010 3:38 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

Do you think we should go ahead or postpone w more notice to insure more participation or just go on and check the box so everyone participates at some point?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 18 15:28:29 2010
Subject: FW: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

You fine with this for the P meeting on Monday – scroll down for all invitees.

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To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
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Thank you – Lona

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

[redacted] (direct)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

We are going to postpone Monday's and start with tues or weds.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, June 18, 2010 3:38 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: meeting with the secretary on monday june 21st from 5:00pm-6:30pm

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Thank you – Lona

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

[redacted] (direct)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 5:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** consular fees

We sent the paper on consular fees to Tanner today, and his staff confirmed that he has received it. Assuming Tanner continues to be supportive, we need him to let Hoyer know he supports our effort.

Additionally, Jack thinks it is important for you to talk to Pelosi. Berman mentioned that as well. I can send a call sheet just in case you have a chance to connect with her.

Thanks again for stopping by the AIPAC meeting. It really helped close out some important issues.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 6:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Farewell

Fyi traffic

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Smith, Daniel B
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sat Jun 19 06:10:26 2010
**Subject:** Re: Farewell

Dan

I don't know where to begin as you are our beginning and middle and I cannot imagine our end without your quiet but firm wisdom, careful candor, and watchful eye for the Secretary and all of us who have joined the department to have a chance to help her and those who work so hard in this building make a difference.

Her success to date is yours - I hope you know that as we are so very cognizant of that.

I look forward to visiting you as you give your leadership to greece on b/h of our country.

More importantly, I look forward to an enduring friendship.

Thank you. For everything.

Cdm

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**From:** Smith, Daniel B
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Jun 18 17:46:14 2010
**Subject:** Farewell

Cheryl,

I just wanted to say what a pleasure it has been working with you. You are a wonderful Chief of Staff and Counselor, and I have learned a great deal from you. I am deeply indebted to you for my onward assignment and, Senate willing, hope to welcome you to Athens soon. In the meantime, I know Steve Mull and the Secretariat will continue to do all they can to support you and the other members of the Secretary's senior leadership team. If I can ever do anything for you, please don't hesitate to ask. All the best, Dan

representatives of "embattled NGOs" in the balcony of the Slowacki Theater, and many were literally awe-struck. They told me that it was the most important, most inspirational speech they had ever heard relating to civil society. I agree.

I realize that considerable behind-the-scenes work goes into a speech like this. While civil society has an important role in critiquing governmental actions, I also think that it's important to recognize the efforts of our remarkable colleagues in government. So please allow me to say "thank you" to you and your team. Please also know that you can count on ICNL to redouble its efforts - within the CD Working Group and otherwise - to advance the objectives set forth in Krakow. Indeed, I've already met with the Working Group and have reached out to other partners to ensure that civil society properly complements the tireless efforts you and your team have displayed in protecting civic space around the world.

With best regards,

Doug

* * *

Douglas Rutzen
President
International Center for Not-for-Profit Law
1126 16th Street NW #400
Washington, DC 20036
202-684-2535
www.icnl.org

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Quartet

Dan will stay through Monday to work [redacted] B5

[redacted]

The next step would be to work to [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Gaza

Below is the update I have as of yesterday - still waiting on today's update and Dan is working the language on a number of points. I will get you the latest either late tonight or tomorrow morning.

Based on our discussions so far, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

DRAFT STATEMENT

[redacted]

DISCUSSION

[redacted]

B5

B5

ANALYSIS

B5

For us, there is merit

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** An interview with George Yeo

See hus analysis of where we are on EAS but also on the US, Japan, and Chinese urbanization and trade patterns.. Nothing that new, but valuable coming from him.

The Australian - 19 Jun 10
Embracing everyone from the US to India Greg Sheridan, Foreign editor

GEORGE Yeo, Singapore's Foreign Minister, is one of the most dazzlingly clever people you could meet in Southeast Asia. Singapore is a society that notoriously produces hardheads in its strategic outlook. But Yeo combines Singapore's characteristic hard-headedness with a depth of historical understanding and context, as well as a lively human sympathy for the diversity of the region that surrounds him, which I, at any event, find almost unique. I remember interviewing him at the height of the East Asian economic crisis in 1997 and asking whether this crisis shattered the idea of Asia as the growing centre of the global economy, as numerous foolishly triumphalist Western commentators were then suggesting. "No it doesn't," Yeo told me. "At the most it might put back the forecasts by five or 10 years." It moved the graph a little to the right, it didn't change the trends. On that, Yeo was absolutely right.

But it is also Yeo's ability to apply the insights of history to the real problems of Asia today which make him formidable. This week, Yeo spent a few days in Australia and I caught up with him for one of those slightly mesmerising historical tour de force conversations in which he specialises.

It is no secret Singapore had the most serious reservations about Kevin Rudd's proposal to establish an Asia-Pacific Community. The Prime Minister wanted the US, India and Russia included in a regional body which could deal with strategic issues as well as trade and economics. Singapore's hesitation over the Rudd proposal came because it thought that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, of which it is a key member, could be sidelined. I asked Yeo whether the region was now clear on what it wanted its organisations to accomplish. "We still need a lot more discussion," he said. "The vision is going to change dramatically, with the emergence of China and India on the global stage. The configuration is evolving much faster than most of us would have preferred. But that's the reality we've got to work with.

We need a regional architecture which is able to accommodate the stresses. The single most important relationship is between the US and China. Increasingly, the relationship between India and China is becoming more important. I think eventually a triangular relationship will decide the big issues of war and peace in Asia this century - the triangle consisting of the US, China and India."

Yeo saw Rudd and Foreign Minister Stephen Smith in Canberra and now describes Canberra and Singapore as being in harmony on the evolution of regional organisations. This is how he saw it having played out: "When Prime Minister Rudd proposed the APC, Dick Woolcott (Rudd's envoy) went round the region. He did not visit all countries. He made it quite plain to some that only the big countries of ASEAN need to be involved. We talked among ourselves and quite soon the conclusion was reached that ASEAN was going to be sidelined. So there was an immediate blowback from the region. "To PM Rudd's credit he quickly clarified this, that ASEAN is central to his conception of the APC and that that was his vision from the very beginning. I said, 'All of us in the region are very relieved to hear that'.

"Separately we had (former Japanese) prime minister (Yukio) Hatoyama articulating his view of an East Asian region apparently centred on China, Japan and Korea. It created, as you would expect, a natural reaction in Southeast Asia. That got us all thinking in the region. How to keep Russia and the US in the region in a way that's comfortable. For a long time

we've been thinking about China, more recently about India." Yeo pointed out that earlier regional organisations also evolved slowly, in particular the East Asia Summit, which includes Australia and New Zealand, as well as ASEAN, China, Japan, South Korea and India. He said: "It took us a long time to create the EAS structure. Some preferred it to be based on the ASEAN plus three (China, Japan, Korea), harking back to (former Malaysian prime minister) Mahathir (Mohamad)'s East Asian caucus. "Others felt that's too limiting. If it's just ASEAN plus three, that may be a little lop-sided because of the economic weight of the plus three. So we thought if we have India on one side, and Australia and New Zealand to the south, there's a certain natural equipoise.

"Then it took many discussions. The Russians wanted to join the EAS but we felt this should not be rushed. Russia is too important a country. There was some unhappiness from the Russians that we did not accommodate them in the EAS at that time. (Former US) President (George W.) Bush did not want to join the EAS but he worried that the EAS might exclude the US from the region. We told our American friends that it could not be purely an Asian thing because Australia and New Zealand were in it. In any case, countries like Singapore would never want an EAS to be exclusive. What would threaten us most is if the world developed into blocs."

So where do we end up today? "When I met PM Rudd I thanked him for helping to catalyse the thinking of ASEAN. So now there are two possibilities, either an EAS expanded for Russia and the US or a separate ASEAN plus eight (including the US and Russia) configuration. In fact I had a very interesting discussion with Prime Minister Rudd. I think in the end he's happy to let ASEAN members decide and he doesn't want to interfere in our regional discussion."

So you can describe what Yeo outlines as either a win or a loss for Rudd. Whatever evolves, nobody is going to call it the Asia-Pacific Community and no one is going to imagine that Rudd was its founder, as everyone accepts that Bob Hawke founded APEC in 1989. On the other hand, it does seem as though it's very much more than likely that there will finally be a regional organisation embracing everyone from the US to India, which is able to discuss security. That is pretty much Rudd's policy aim and, as Yeo constructively puts it, Rudd has influenced ASEAN thinking. Friends of Rudd can describe it as the embodiment of his vision and fulfilment of his initiative. His enemies can say the APC came to nothing and was a failure in Australian diplomacy. Certainly Yeo casts it in a constructive light. There is only space to give the smallest sampling of Yeo's prodigiously rich insights on other issues.

On the US, he said: "Both Australia and Singapore feel it in our bones that the US will remain a great power for many decades. It is a vast country always throwing up new ideas, always on the boil. It has a sunny disposition. We in Singapore and Australia feel it in our bones that one way or another they will get out of their current difficulties."

On China, I asked whether its political development was keeping pace with its growth in power, financial and military, so it could manage that new power in a way that was beneficial to everybody. Yeo stressed that he was sure Beijing's preoccupations were internal, and said: "China is the No 1 trading partner for Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, India and already No 2 for New Zealand, and for all the countries (in Asia) the graph points in the same direction. "

(The historical process) is high drama in China. It was historically because of the large rural peasantry that Maoism developed as a different ideology from Bolshevism. China was 20 per cent urban. It's now 40 per cent urban and will go to 80 per cent or 90 per cent. The urbanisation of Europe was languid by comparison, but look at Dickens or Victor Hugo. Look at the huge reaction in Europe to urbanisation and industrialisation. In China it's all compressed. If they succeed they will be the greatest nation on Earth. The Chinese know they have to learn new tricks. The skills which brought them to power won't keep them in power."

He recalled that early in China's economic modernisation program it was fascinated by how Singapore, as a mostly Chinese nation, ran its society in such an orderly and effective manner, combining rapid economic growth with social order and a respect for tradition. Then that interest seemed to wane. But now Chinese delegations are back again in large numbers, fascinated particularly with how Singapore manages the politics of being a big and booming city. Mainland Chinese are even sitting in on politicians' electoral clinics in Singapore, observing how real problems are recognised, integrated into the system and dealt with.

I asked Yeo too whether he thought Japan could sustain the stabilising role it has played in Asia these past 60 years. He replied: "Their politics now are a mess. Partly because they fit the pieces together so closely, reconfiguring the pieces is difficult. A lot of Japanese politics now is not about fitting the pieces together but pulling them apart.

"The DPJ came to power determined to pull the pieces apart, the Liberal Democratic Party from big business from the bureacracy. Never write Japan off. It takes a long time for them to change but when they do change they do it with a fury and intensity that surprises everyone." Japan has gone through profound periods of change in the past - the Meiji Restoration of the 19th century, in which it decided to become a modern nation; or the pervasive change after World War II, in which it decided to embrace democracy and the role of the key US ally in the region. The fact that it is now grappling with change is no reason to think it cannot emerge again with a successful model.

Yeo is an old, old friend of Australia, and in a sense a long-term champion of Australia's involvement in Southeast Asia. He has been a minister in the Singapore government for more than 20 years. He embodies a great deal of institutional memory and strategic continuity, not just within Singapore but within the broader councils of the region.

It's just a pity he doesn't visit us a bit more often.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Norway confirmed

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Mara Rudman [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jun 19 16:39:43 2010
Subject: Norway confirmed

to me -- at least via guy on grd there who I think has good access to FM -- that they will be prepared to be publicly supportive on what comes out when get word frm us, and will hold back til then.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 7:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Development PPD
**Attachments:** Draft Development PPD 06-25 5pm version.doc

Attached is the PPD.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 9:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Former VP Cheney hospitalized

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**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Fri Jun 25 21:07:19 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Former VP Cheney hospitalized

WASHINGTON - Former Vice President Cheney was admitted to the hospital after experiencing discomfort, the latest health scare for the 69-year-old Republican leader who has a long history of heart disease. Cheney was expected to remain at George Washington University Hospital over the weekend, said spokesman Peter Long. It was not immediately clear whether Cheney's health concern was related to his previous heart troubles. He sustained his last heart attack, deemed a mild one, in February. Cheney was not feeling well and went to see his doctors at George Washington University. On their advice, he was admitted to the hospital for further testing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 26, 2010 8:21 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Af/Pak trip

We had brief conversation about it with paul a while ago but we didn't know how early conf would start.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Jun 26 08:16:57 2010
Subject: Af/Pak trip

I think I should spend the night of the 19th in Kabul before the conference there.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 26, 2010 1:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Call sheets

Just sent oscar call sheets for nita lowey and greek fm papandraeou for you.
I think jake may have told you the aide to the Greek Minister of Citizens Protection was killed in the protests earlier this week. EUR has made request that you place a condolence call to FM Papandreou this weekend. The week is going to be tough politically and personally for the FM. The Minister of Citizens Protection has resigned as a result of the protests and deaths. let me know if u want to.
Also, we have abdullah call for either tomorrow or monday. Waiting fo them to get back to us.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 26, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Obama will resume talks on South Korea trade

**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Sat Jun 26 16:03:00 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Obama will resume talks on South Korea trade

TORONTO - A senior administration official says President Obama has decided to resume talks aimed at resolving issues blocking the completion of a free trade agreement with South Korea. The official says Obama plans to announce the new effort after a meeting with South Korean President Lee Myung-bak. The official says the goal would be to clear up remaining differences with Seoul by the time Obama visits South Korea in November. The official spoke on condition of anonymity because Obama had not yet spoken.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: With deep gratitude

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Jun 25 13:29:53 2010
Subject: Re: With deep gratitude

Is there a backstory?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 25 11:27:27 2010
Subject: FW: With deep gratitude

fyi

From: Stanton, Katie
Sent: Friday, June 25, 2010 10:31 AM
Subject: With deep gratitude

Dear friends,

I'm so grateful to have had the pleasure of working with you over the past 18 months. Public service is an honor and I feel so lucky to have had the opportunity to serve our country in both the White House and the State Department. I'm deeply impressed by the important work you do and will leave Washington, DC knowing that our country's best days are ahead of us thanks to your commitment, hard work, and passion.

My last day at the State Department will be July 9th. I would love to see you before I go – please save the date of July 8th for a cupcakes and champagne party in DC.

My personal email is . Please visit me in .

Best,

Katie

Katie Jacobs Stanton

Office of the Secretary of State

e: stantonk@state.gov || t: 202-647-0419 || c: [redacted] B6

twitter: @StateDept @KatieS

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 7:22 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Tomorrow

Absolutely.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, June 27, 2010 7:21 AM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Tomorrow

Katie Stanton is leaving to go back to California. Will you ask her to come by to say goodbye to me? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo uk politialeconomy 062710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

June 27, 2010

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: UK politics/economy

UK polls show support for the Lib-Dems after the launch of the draconian Cameron government budget cratering. LD support is down to 16 percent, half what it was at its peak during the election and half of LD members now express a desire to defect from their party. They feel deceived by LD ministers' participation in a Tory budget opposed to their own beliefs. In Parliament, a secret caucus of LDs is meeting with Labour about opposing the budget. Meanwhile, short term support for Cameron is static and for the government slightly up, but only translated to the Tories. Both the Tories and Labour are up, profiting from the LD quandary. The scenario is potentially portentous for the LD Party: There was once an influential Australian Liberal Democratic Party, holding 11 percent of the vote and the balance of power in the Australian Senate. Upon reaching its zenith in 1996 the ALDP supported a Liberal (that is to say, a conservative) government's budget and suffered collapse. Today the ALDP holds 1 percent of the seats in the lower House. The political effect of the conservative budget will almost certainly lead to an implosion of the Tory-LD coalition. In the short run it's possible the Tories will emerge having the greatest plurality of support. But if their budget does not produce prosperity they will pay the price, too. See Stiglitz's analysis below on the Tory budget with cold analysis of the US predicament.

The implications for US-UK cooperation are apparent. While there are spheres that remain, they are contingent, including the Afghanistan War, opposed by 75 percent of UK public and about which Cameron felt compelled this week to declare UK engagement would end in five years (that is, before the next UK election). On economic policy, the UK is no partner and no bridge to Europe, where the Merkel government has entered a fugue state of vertigo (another subject). At no other time since World War II have the US and UK governments been at such odds over international economics. With JFK and Macmillan, Macmillan accepted the postwar Keynesian consensus. Reagan and Thatcher, of course, were of one mind ideologically, and the international economy was buoyed by Reagan's hyper-Keynesianism masked as Thatcherism. Unfortunately, Obama did not reach out to Brown, who sought to

reestablish the special relationship around international economic recovery. Speaking of laissez faire, Cameron must be let alone to receive the consequences (within 18 months) of his ideologically driven economics. Can he be engaged on international development? Or does his budget rule that out too? There's not much there.

The Labour Party leadership contest is heating up. David Miliband has an article out today on how the Cameron budget will foster "a lost generation." More on that soon…

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/osbornes-first-budget-its-wrong-wrong-wrong-2011501.html

# Osborne's first Budget? It's wrong, wrong, wrong!

Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel prizewinner who predicted the global crisis, delivers his verdict on the Chancellor's first Budget and tells Paul Vallely it will take the UK deeper into recession and hit millions – the poorest – badly

*Sunday, 27 June 2010*

George Osborne will probably not be very bothered that there is a man who thinks he got last week's emergency Budget almost entirely wrong. But he should be. Because that man is a former chief economist at the World Bank who won the Nobel Prize for Economics for his work on why markets do not produce the outcomes which, in theory, they ought to.

Professor Joseph Stiglitz, who has been described as the biggest brain in economics, is distinctly unimpressed by George Osborne's strategy. This, he predicts, will make Britain's recovery from recession longer, slower and harder than it needs to be. The rise in VAT could even tip us into a double-dip recession.

Stiglitz, who was once Bill Clinton's senior economic adviser, is now professor of economics and finance at Columbia Business School. He was in the UK this week at the University of Manchester, where he chairs the Brooks World Poverty Institute, but he lifted his head from the detail of international development to scrutinise the economic strategy of the Conservative Chancellor whose Liberal Democrat partners recently reversed their judgement that massive public spending cuts now would endanger the economy and joined in the Tory slash-and-burn strategy. They were deeply wrong to do so, he believes.

It would be a mistake to ignore Stiglitz on this. He has a track record of getting his predictions right. He was one of the few economists who predicted the global financial meltdown long before it occurred.

"What happened was very much in accord with what I expected," he tells me when we meet for a coffee outside the Blackwell bookshop in the centre of the university. "The data was pretty clear about that." And the scale of the crash? "That wasn't a surprise," he adds, in a matter-of-fact manner. "The bigger the bubble, the bigger the burst.

"The thing most economists did not fully grasp was the extent to which the banks engaged in murky risk-taking activities. They were taking a risk with our money, their shareholders' money, the bond-holders' money," he says. Banks were demanding up to 40 per cent of the corporate profits, saying their innovative financing was adding value. But "all this talk about innovation was a sham" because it did not relate to any real increase in the economy's productivity, he says.

"There was a prima facie case of something screwy going on [with all the] perverse incentives that would lead them to take excessive risk. But there was no way anyone could know or believe that the banks were [conducting themselves] at that level of stupidity. I predicted that there was going to be a collapse because of the information asymmetry problems that were being created." His Nobel prize was given for exactly that – showing how markets fail because different people in them hold different levels of information.

Yet there is no hint of I-told-you-so about Stiglitz's tone as he asks the waiter for coffee. He orders decaffeinated, but suggests the British economy needs the opposite: a stiff stimulant rather than the "fiscal consolidation" which is George Osborne's economic euphemism for cuts.

Fiscal stimulus is out of fashion now. World leaders embarked on that strategy – injecting money to re-energise the economy – after the banking crash three years ago. It was widely perceived not to have worked because the money governments pumped into the banks was not passed on to ailing businesses or individuals in trouble with their mortgages.

"The problem was that, in the US, the stimulus wasn't big enough," he says. "Too much of it was in tax cuts. And when they gave money to the banks they gave it to the wrong banks and, as a result, credit has not been restored – we can expect a couple of million or more homes to be repossessed this year than last year – and the economy has not been restarted." Instead of producing a consensus that the government should have done more, it has created disillusion that the government can do anything, Stiglitz says.

The result is that, following the attacks by the financial markets on Greece and then Spain, everybody is now in a mood of retrenchment. "It's not just pre-Keynesian, it's Hooverite," he says. By which he means governments are not just refusing to stimulate, they are making cuts, as Herbert Hoover did in the US in 1929 – when he turned the Wall Street Crash into the Great Depression. "Hoover had this idea that, whenever you go into recession, deficits grow, so he decided to go for cuts – which is what the foolish financial markets that got us into this trouble in the first place now want."

It has become the new received wisdom throughout Europe. But it is the classic error made by those who confuse a household's economics with those of a national economy.

"If you have a household that can't pay its debts, you tell it to cut back on spending to free up the cash to pay the debts. But in a national economy, if you cut back on your spending, then economic activity goes down, nobody invests, the amount of tax you take goes down, the amount you pay out in unemployment benefits goes up – and you don't have enough money to pay your debts.

"The old story is still true: you cut expenditures and the economy goes down. We have lots of experiments which show this, thanks to Herbert Hoover and the IMF," he adds. The IMF imposed that mistaken policy in Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Argentina and hosts of other developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s. "So we know what will happen: economies will get weaker, investment will get stymied and it's a downward vicious spiral. How far down we don't know – it could be a Japanese malaise. Japan did an experiment just like this in 1997; just as it was recovering, it raised VAT and went into another recession."

Then why have we not learned from all that? Because politicians like George Osborne are driven by ideology; the national deficit is an excuse to shrink the state because that is what he wanted anyway. Because the financial market only cares about one thing – getting repaid. And because other European governments are panicking because of the market's wild attack on Greece and Spain, and they don't want to be next.

"But cutbacks in Germany, Britain and France will mean all of Europe will suffer. The cuts will all feed back negatively. And if everyone follows this policy, their budget deficits will get worse, so they will have to make more cuts and raise taxes more. It's a vicious downward spiral. We're now looking at a long, hard, slow recovery with the possibility of a double dip if everybody cuts back at the same time. The best scenario is long and hard ... and the worst is much worse. If any one of these countries is forced into default, the banking system is so highly leveraged that it could cause real problems. This is really risky, really scary."

So what should we be doing? "The lesson is not that you cut back spending, but that you redirect it. You cut out the war in Afghanistan. You cut a couple of hundred billion dollars of wasteful military expenditure. You cut out oil subsidies. There's a long list of things we can cut. But you increase spending in other areas, such as research and development, infrastructure, education" – areas where government can get a good return on the investment of public money. "I haven't done the calculation for Britain, but, for the US, all you need is a return on government investment of 5 to 6 per cent and the long-term deficit debt is lowered."

Taxes also need to be restructured. Osborne has increased capital gains tax for high earners from 18 to 28 per cent. "There's absolutely no reason why you couldn't tax speculative gains [from rising house or land prices] by 40 per cent. There's no social return on it and land is going to be there whether people have speculated or not. But you lower the tax on investment in things like R&D."

Stiglitz has one more practical solution to offer. Governments should set up their own banks to restart lending to businesses and save struggling homeowners from repossession. "If the banks aren't lending, let's create a new lending facility to do that job," he says. "In the US, we gave $700bn to the banks; if we had used a fraction of that to create a new bank, we could have financed all the lending that was needed."

Indeed, it could be done for far less. "Take $100bn, lever that at 10 to 1 [by attracting funds from the private sector] and that's a trillion-dollar new lending capacity – more than the real economy needs."

Such a move would help ordinary people more than all Osborne's rhetoric about being tough but fair. Stiglitz is sceptical, too, about the moral underpinning of a Budget which claims that "we are all in this together", but then hits the poorest hardest.

Analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has suggested that the Chancellor's Budget will cost the poor 2.5 per cent of their income, while the rich will lose just 1 per cent. "I've not made an independent study on that point, but cuts in public services will have a disproportionate effect on the poor," Stiglitz says. Osborne's Budget "may be well-intentioned, but it takes an enormous amount of work to make sure that a package of public spending cuts of that magnitude doesn't hit the poor disproportionately".

His big fear is that overseas aid, which has been protected in this first round of cuts, will not escape a second. "Developing countries have redirected themselves towards Asia, and China in particular, in recent years, so growth in Africa will be more robust than one might have expected, given the severity of the downturn," he says.

Even so, aid remains vital to poor countries. "If aid is cut back, growth will be badly affected," he says. "China is providing aid, but its aid is all in infrastructure, whereas aid from the US and Europe is mainly in education and health – areas in which ordinary people will suffer most if there are cuts."

Joseph Stiglitz has come full circle. What the world needs now – developing and developed – is not retrenchment but greater economic stimulus. It is not a message many are in the mood to hear. But they didn't listen to him last time, either. And he turned out to be right, and they were wrong – and at what a cost to us all.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 11:22 AM
**Subject:** Caroline

[redacted] AdlerCE@state.gov B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 2:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Notes format

Great - I will work with Claire to find a good time. Enjoy the rest of your weekend!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sun Jun 27 08:56:04 2010
Subject: Notes format

Pls come see me tomorrow about redesigning and updating the format. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:50 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin < [redacted] > B6
Sent: Sun Jun 27 18:47:36 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add the following:

Paul Charron about Haiti

Mickey and Heidi Kantor

John Kao

Do letter of thanks to

Gen Kean who was commander in Haiti

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:56 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

No date from slim.
We will follow up on all

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Cc: H
Sent: Sun Jun 27 18:49:01 2010
Subject: Schedule

Pls reach out to Dianne Feinstein for a dinner which will be very hard for me in July but if I have to be back for a few days in early August, might work then. Just so she knows we are trying.

Also, I want to see Jack Keane for a drink.

FM Lieberman wants to see me in July--let's discuss

Also FM Zebari of Iraq will be in US in July. Pls find out when he is coming

Have you heard from Carlos Slim about a date for a mtg?

Don't forget:

the Skoll mtg,

the Arctic Council in Greenland,

Harlan Dalton's visit,

Carol Evans' request for an interview,

the Vital Voices Summit 9/14-17,

the request for a mtg or call w Dellums

the AGOA conf in DC which I was told is 8/3-4

The Putin conf about tigers in Vladivostock 9/11-19

What happened w the Baucus mtg?

Also, I'd like a working lunch w Ron Kirk and a mtg about Latin America w Chris Dodd

Pls schedule Hannah Rosenthal to see me

David Rockefeller Sr has asked to see me. I'd like to do when I'm in NY or if there is a State Dept award we could give him for his citizen diplomacy esp in Latin America--could you run traps on that idea?

During UNGA, I have to do bilat w Cathy Ashton

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 7:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid

Me, too. On Oz.

On UK, been in touch with people, more this coming week. With Labour leadership contest going through summer there's no real opposition, which is just as well, let Cameron/Clegg dig their own hole. Labour needs a new face after Gordon. Lots of internal tensions inside LDs, will only get worse. They are seen as the enablers. This can't be sustained. This budget isn't the end either. College tuition probably to double this fall, among other new measures.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
Sent: Sun, Jun 27, 2010 6:46 pm
Subject: Re: H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid

Very interesting. Thanks. Speaking of Australia, I was sorry about Kevin Rudd.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sun Jun 27 10:35:18 2010

Subject: H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770101 Date: 08/31/2015

CONFIDENTIAL

June 27,

2010

For: HRC

From: Sid

Re: UK politics/economy

1. UK polls show support for the Lib-Dems after the launch of the draconian Cameron government budget cratering. LD support is down to 16 percent, half what it was at its peak during the election and half of LD members now express a desire to defect from their party. They feel deceived by LD ministers' participation in a Tory budget opposed to their own beliefs. In Parliament, a

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770101 Date: 08/31/2015

secret caucus of LDs is meeting with Labour about opposing the budget. Meanwhile, short term support for Cameron is static and for the government slightly up, but only translated to the Tories. Both the Tories and Labour are up, profiting from the LD quandary. The scenario is potentially portentous for the LD Party: There was once an influential Australian Liberal Democratic Party, holding 11 percent of the vote and the balance of power in the Australian Senate. Upon reaching its zenith in 1996 the ALDP supported a Liberal (that is to say, a conservative) government's budget and suffered collapse. Today the ALDP holds 1 percent of the seats in the lower House. The political effect of the conservative budget will almost certainly lead to an implosion of the Tory-LD coalition. In the short run it's possible the Tories will emerge having the greatest plurality of support. But if their budget does not produce prosperity they will pay the price, too. See Stiglitz's analysis below on the Tory budget with cold analysis of the US predicament.

2. The implications for US-UK cooperation are apparent. While there are spheres that remain, they are contingent, including the Afghanistan War, opposed by 75 percent of UK public and about which Cameron felt compelled this week to declare UK engagement would end in five years (that is, before the next UK election). On economic policy, the UK is no partner and no bridge to Europe, where the Merkel government has entered a fugue state of vertigo (another subject). At no other time since World War II have the US and UK governments

been at such odds over international economics. With JFK and Macmillan, Macmillan accepted the postwar Keynesian consensus. Reagan and Thatcher, of course, were of one mind ideologically, and the international economy was buoyed by Reagan's hyper-Keynesianism masked as Thatcherism. Unfortunately, Obama did not reach out to Brown, who sought to reestablish the special relationship around international economic recovery. Speaking of laissez faire, Cameron must be let alone to receive the consequences (within 18 months) of his ideologically driven economics. Can he be engaged on international development? Or does his budget rule that out too? There's not much there.

3. The Labour Party leadership contest is heating up. David Miliband has an article out today on how the Cameron budget will foster "a lost generation." More on that soon...

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/osbornes-first-budget-its-wrong-wrong-wrong-2011501.html

Osborne's first Budget? It's wrong, wrong, wrong!

Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel prizewinner who predicted the global crisis, delivers his verdict on the Chancellor's first Budget and tells Paul Vallely it will take the UK deeper into recession and hit millions - the poorest - badly

Sunday, 27 June 2010

George Osborne will probably not be very bothered that there is a man who thinks he got last week's emergency Budget almost entirely wrong. But he should be. Because that man is a former chief economist at the World Bank who won the Nobel Prize for Economics for his work on why markets do not produce the outcomes which, in theory, they ought to.

Professor Joseph Stiglitz, who has been described as the biggest brain in economics, is distinctly unimpressed by George Osborne's strategy. This, he predicts, will make Britain's recovery from recession longer, slower and harder than it needs to be. The rise in VAT could even tip us into a double-dip recession.

Stiglitz, who was once Bill Clinton's senior economic adviser, is now professor of economics and finance at Columbia Business School. He was in the UK this week at the University of Manchester, where he chairs the Brooks World Poverty Institute, but he lifted his head from the detail of international development to scrutinise the economic strategy of the Conservative Chancellor whose Liberal Democrat partners recently reversed their judgement that massive public spending cuts now would endanger the economy and joined in the Tory slash-and-burn strategy. They were deeply wrong to do so, he believes.

It would be a mistake to ignore Stiglitz on this. He has a track record of getting his predictions right. He was one of the few economists who predicted

the global financial meltdown long before it occurred.

"What happened was very much in accord with what I expected," he tells me when we meet for a coffee outside the Blackwell bookshop in the centre of the university. "The data was pretty clear about that." And the scale of the crash? "That wasn't a surprise," he adds, in a matter-of-fact manner. "The bigger the bubble, the bigger the burst.

"The thing most economists did not fully grasp was the extent to which the banks engaged in murky risk-taking activities. They were taking a risk with our money, their shareholders' money, the bond-holders' money," he says. Banks were demanding up to 40 per cent of the corporate profits, saying their innovative financing was adding value. But "all this talk about innovation was a sham" because it did not relate to any real increase in the economy's productivity, he says.

"There was a prima facie case of something screwy going on [with all the] perverse incentives that would lead them to take excessive risk. But there was no way anyone could know or believe that the banks were [conducting themselves] at that level of stupidity. I predicted that there was going to be a collapse because of the information asymmetry problems that were being created." His Nobel prize was given for exactly that - showing how markets fail because different people in them hold different levels of information.

Yet there is no hint of I-told-you-so about Stiglitz's tone as he asks the

waiter for coffee. He orders decaffeinated, but suggests the British economy needs the opposite: a stiff stimulant rather than the "fiscal consolidation" which is George Osborne's economic euphemism for cuts.

Fiscal stimulus is out of fashion now. World leaders embarked on that strategy - injecting money to re-energise the economy - after the banking crash three years ago. It was widely perceived not to have worked because the money governments pumped into the banks was not passed on to ailing businesses or individuals in trouble with their mortgages.

"The problem was that, in the US, the stimulus wasn't big enough," he says. "Too much of it was in tax cuts. And when they gave money to the banks they gave it to the wrong banks and, as a result, credit has not been restored - we can expect a couple of million or more homes to be repossessed this year than last year - and the economy has not been restarted." Instead of producing a consensus that the government should have done more, it has created disillusion that the government can do anything, Stiglitz says.

The result is that, following the attacks by the financial markets on Greece and then Spain, everybody is now in a mood of retrenchment. "It's not just pre-Keynesian, it's Hooverite," he says. By which he means governments are not just refusing to stimulate, they are making cuts, as Herbert Hoover did in the US in 1929 - when he turned the Wall Street Crash into the Great Depression.

"Hoover had this idea that, whenever you go into recession, deficits grow, so he

decided to go for cuts - which is what the foolish financial markets that got us into this trouble in the first place now want."

It has become the new received wisdom throughout Europe. But it is the classic error made by those who confuse a household's economics with those of a national economy.

"If you have a household that can't pay its debts, you tell it to cut back on spending to free up the cash to pay the debts. But in a national economy, if you cut back on your spending, then economic activity goes down, nobody invests, the amount of tax you take goes down, the amount you pay out in unemployment benefits goes up - and you don't have enough money to pay your debts.

"The old story is still true: you cut expenditures and the economy goes down. We have lots of experiments which show this, thanks to Herbert Hoover and the IMF," he adds. The IMF imposed that mistaken policy in Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Argentina and hosts of other developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s. "So we know what will happen: economies will get weaker, investment will get stymied and it's a downward vicious spiral. How far down we don't know - it could be a Japanese malaise. Japan did an experiment just like this in 1997; just as it was recovering, it raised VAT and went into another recession."

Then why have we not learned from all that? Because politicians like George Osborne are driven by ideology; the national deficit is an excuse to shrink the state because that is what he wanted anyway. Because the financial market only

cares about one thing - getting repaid. And because other European governments are panicking because of the market's wild attack on Greece and Spain, and they don't want to be next.

"But cutbacks in Germany, Britain and France will mean all of Europe will suffer. The cuts will all feed back negatively. And if everyone follows this policy, their budget deficits will get worse, so they will have to make more cuts and raise taxes more. It's a vicious downward spiral. We're now looking at a long, hard, slow recovery with the possibility of a double dip if everybody cuts back at the same time. The best scenario is long and hard ... and the worst is much worse. If any one of these countries is forced into default, the banking system is so highly leveraged that it could cause real problems. This is really risky, really scary."

So what should we be doing? "The lesson is not that you cut back spending, but that you redirect it. You cut out the war in Afghanistan. You cut a couple of hundred billion dollars of wasteful military expenditure. You cut out oil subsidies. There's a long list of things we can cut. But you increase spending in other areas, such as research and development, infrastructure, education" - areas where government can get a good return on the investment of public money.

"I haven't done the calculation for Britain, but, for the US, all you need is a return on government investment of 5 to 6 per cent and the long-term deficit debt is lowered."

Taxes also need to be restructured. Osborne has increased capital gains tax for high earners from 18 to 28 per cent. "There's absolutely no reason why you couldn't tax speculative gains [from rising house or land prices] by 40 per cent. There's no social return on it and land is going to be there whether people have speculated or not. But you lower the tax on investment in things like R&D."

Stiglitz has one more practical solution to offer. Governments should set up their own banks to restart lending to businesses and save struggling homeowners from repossession. "If the banks aren't lending, let's create a new lending facility to do that job," he says. "In the US, we gave $700bn to the banks; if we had used a fraction of that to create a new bank, we could have financed all the lending that was needed."

Indeed, it could be done for far less. "Take $100bn, lever that at 10 to 1 [by attracting funds from the private sector] and that's a trillion-dollar new lending capacity - more than the real economy needs."

Such a move would help ordinary people more than all Osborne's rhetoric about being tough but fair. Stiglitz is sceptical, too, about the moral underpinning of a Budget which claims that "we are all in this together", but then hits the poorest hardest.

Analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has suggested that the Chancellor's Budget will cost the poor 2.5 per cent of their income, while the rich will lose

just 1 per cent. "I've not made an independent study on that point, but cuts in public services will have a disproportionate effect on the poor," Stiglitz says. Osborne's Budget "may be well-intentioned, but it takes an enormous amount of work to make sure that a package of public spending cuts of that magnitude doesn't hit the poor disproportionately".

His big fear is that overseas aid, which has been protected in this first round of cuts, will not escape a second. "Developing countries have redirected themselves towards Asia, and China in particular, in recent years, so growth in Africa will be more robust than one might have expected, given the severity of the downturn," he says.

Even so, aid remains vital to poor countries. "If aid is cut back, growth will be badly affected," he says. "China is providing aid, but its aid is all in infrastructure, whereas aid from the US and Europe is mainly in education and health - areas in which ordinary people will suffer most if there are cuts."

Joseph Stiglitz has come full circle. What the world needs now - developing and developed - is not retrenchment but greater economic stimulus. It is not a message many are in the mood to hear. But they didn't listen to him last time, either. And he turned out to be right, and they were wrong - and at what a cost to us all.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cherie Blair
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 9:01 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** dband
**Subject:** RE: confidential

Hilary can you give me a telephone number the Qatar Crown Prince can ring you on and he will get in touch. Alternatively I can get his personal phone number for you. What is the best for you?

Cherie Blair

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 15 June 2010 02:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

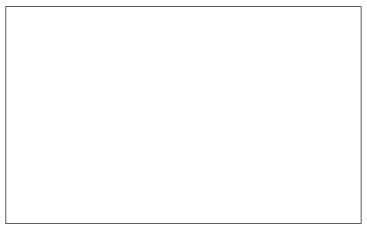
----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair



B6

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Byrd contacts

In case you want to connect directly
Otherwise lauren can track for you

----- Original Message -----
From: Tamera Luzzatto [redacted] B6
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Mon Jun 28 06:53:47 2010
Subject: Byrd contacts

hiya. I have been in touch with "our" Tom Gavin abt Byrd's death. If of interest, here are contact possibilities. Barbara refers to his longtime CoS Videniecks (sp?).

Pat Griffin or Ann Barth in his WV office are other potential sources.
An ode to the third Senator of NY and all he did for us in that rough 9-11 time.....

Likely one of the grandchildren. She's met Mary Ann Clarkson, who is one of the reading clerks in the Senate. Her mobile, if this is still right, is [redacted]

Otherwise, Barbara. But I don't think she's taking calls right now. Her home is [redacted] The Capitol office number is 202-224-2848.

Not sure which family may be at his house. But that is [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: CDM Travel this Summer

Reminder

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 12:59 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D

**Subject:** CDM Travel this Summer

This is just fyi for my out of office planning/scheduling purposes:

29 June: afternoon in NY

2 Jul – 9 Jul: annual leave

19 Jul – 23 Jul: travel with S

25 Aug – 27 Aug: out of offic

1 Sep: Haiti travel

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Afghan release -- about to be sent out by lowey.

# Lowey to Remove Assistance for Afghanistan From Foreign Aid Bill

*Chairwoman Announces Oversight Hearings on Corruption in Afghanistan*

WASHINGTON – In light of two troubling news reports on corruption within the Afghan government, Congresswoman Nita Lowey (D-NY), Chairwoman of the Appropriations State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee, today announced she is removing funding for Afghanistan beyond humanitarian aid from her 2011 bill scheduled for markup this week.

"The alleged shipment of billions in donor funds out of Afghanistan and allegations of Afghan government insiders impeding corruption investigations are outrageous," said Lowey. "I do not intend to appropriate one more dime for assistance to Afghanistan until I have confidence that U.S. taxpayer money is not being abused to line the pockets of corrupt Afghan government officials, drug lords, and terrorists. Furthermore, the government of Afghanistan must demonstrate that corruption is being aggressively investigated and prosecuted.

"Rampant corruption fosters the conditions that threaten the security of our troops and the stability of the Afghan government and economy."

The State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee will mark up its Fiscal Year 2011 Appropriations Act on Wednesday June 30th. The subcommittee will not consider any bilateral assistance for the Afghan government other than lifesaving humanitarian aid at this time.

Lowey also announced the Subcommittee will hold oversight hearings after the July 4th recess to get to the bottom of these allegations.

"Too many Americans are suffering in this economy for us to put their hard-earned tax dollars into the hands of criminals overseas," said Lowey. "We will not commit billions more in taxpayer money for Afghanistan until there are assurances that such funds will be used for their intended purposes and that the government of Afghanistan is willing and able to root corruption within its ranks. U.S. taxpayers deserve nothing less."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 7:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dave Stone

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon Jun 28 19:47:37 2010
Subject: Dave Stone

Pls add his burial ceremony at Arlington on July 14 as option for me. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 8:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake wants to talk to you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ae you still up?

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/06/2020

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 3:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Luis Alberto Moreno

---

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto: B6
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 1:03 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Luis Alberto Moreno

Dear Cheryl,

Thank you for the update on the ongoing matter of the IDB and the hopeful reelection of Luis Alberto Moreno. I am pleased that you and Luis had a good opportunity to meet and discuss the current situation. Following up with Mexico strikes me as exactly the right next step. Assuming Luis' outreach to Mexico goes well I would hope and think we would be very close to resolving the situation in a positive manner. I look forward to our staying in touch in that regard.

Thank you and Secretary Clinton for your consistent engagement and usual good judgment on this important matter.

Personally,
Mack

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** Thomas F. McLarty
**Subject:** RE: Luis Alberto Moreno

Luis and I met today and had a good conversation.

He is following up with Mexico, whom he also believes will be expressing their support, which will be impactful to putting this issue to rest.

Best.

cdm

---

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto:
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Luis Alberto Moreno

Dear Cheryl,

Thank you for your prompt and clear response. I look forward to your follow up call and guidance regarding Luis Alberto and the IDB presidency. It seems to me we are an inflection point in this long running saga and a decision needs to be

reached. Again, I feel [redacted] it is time for the US to make the right and natural decision and support his reelection. 1.4(D) B1

Personally,
Mack

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 04, 2010 5:35 PM
**To:** Thomas F. McLarty
**Subject:** RE: Luis Alberto Moreno

Mack:

Thank you so much for your kind words regarding the Secretary. I will pass them along.

I will give you a call regarding this matter, as we have consistent views.

Best.

cdm

---

**From:** Thomas F. McLarty [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 04, 2010 10:54 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Luis Alberto Moreno

Dear Cheryl,

Good morning as another full week begins for both of us, but particularly for you and the distinguished Secretary. Hillary's interview on Meet the Press was flawless as was the cover story in Newsweek. Her great pictures are matching her thoughtful words.

Cheryl it is my understanding that [redacted] President of the IDB. Assuming this information is accurate (and I believe it is) I think this puts the US in a difficult and awkward position not to be agreeable to Luis' continued leadership at the IDB. We are simply unnecessarily complicating a relationship and situation in the hemisphere in my humble opinion.

I wanted to be certain you were aware of this development and would appreciate any thoughts or guidance you have as to how we might bring this matter to a timely and positive conclusion.

Personally,
Mack

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 5:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Items

1. You asked about Kurt's visit to Burma. He's set to go in three days. I talked to Jim about it today,

B5

2. You also asked about IRS assessments of tax delinquency at State.

3. Craig and the Cuba team are working something up

4.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 3:10 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Making peace

Frank Ricciardone came to see me several weeks ago to make the case for

B5

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 6:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Projection from exit of 305 tory seats, 326 majority, LibDems underperforming at 61 in exit. Informed people don't believe exit, going to be counted out district by district into tomorrow. Tories and Murdoch will try to drive Gordon out though they lack majority, will say he's repudiated, must concede. Gordon may reach out to Clegg, don't know. Shaun talked to Alastait Campbell about it yesterday, Alistair working with Gordon. Will likely be protracted and increasingly devisive, like Florida. More to come soon...
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Thu, 6 May 2010 18:07:09
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Thx. What's happening?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010
Subject: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine.

Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 5:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tomorrow

Cristophe is coming tomorrow at 7:30, not Isabelle. Let me know who you want wednesday cause he's offered to come then too.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

B5

As you know, the EU-IMF-USG consensus hope motivating the Greek bailout is that it will buy time for Spain, Portugal, etc. From widening credit spreads to falling stock prices, most relevant market indicators are responding with doubt. Former IMF Chief Economist and NYT Columnist (and influential blogger for bond traders) Simon Johnson has an important rejoinder to this consensus hope in today's NYT, full text pasted below.

As the EU has no playbook for most of the pressing questions it faces, my staff is working to brainstorm as to the least bad of what are only sobering options.

This is long but worth it.

May 6, 2010, 6:11 amIt's Not About Greece AnymoreBy PETER BOONE AND SIMON JOHNSONLouisa Gouliamaki/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images Protesters waved flags from the Acropolis archaeological site behind banners in English and Greek hung in front of the Parthenon temple in Athens.Peter Boone is chairman of the charity Effective Intervention and a research associate at the Center for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics. He is also a principal in Salute Capital Management Ltd. Simon Johnson, the former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, is the co-author of "13 Bankers."The Greek "rescue" package announced last weekend is dramatic, unprecedented and far from enough to stabilize the euro zone.The Greek government and the European Union leadership, prodded by the International Monetary Fund, are finally becoming realistic about the dire economic situation in Greece. They have abandoned previous rounds of optimistic forecasts and have now admitted to a profoundly worse situation. This new program calls for "fiscal adjustments" — cuts to the fiscal deficit, mostly through spending cuts — totaling 11 percent of gross domestic product in 2010, 4.3 percent in 2011, and 2 percent in 2012 and 2013. The total debt-to-G.D.P. ratio peaks at 149 percent in 2012-13 before starting a gentle glide path back down to sanity.This new program is honest enough to show why it is unlikely to succeed.Daniel Gros, an eminent economist on euro zone issues based in Brussels, has argued that for each 1 percent of G.D.P. decline in Greek government spending, total demand in the country falls by 2.5 percent of G.D.P. If the government reduces spending by 15 percent of G.D.P. — the initial shock to demand could be well over 30 percent of G.D.P.Obviously this simple rule does not work with such large numbers, but it illustrates that Greece is likely to experience a very sharp recession — and there is substantial uncertainty around how bad the economy will get. The program announced last weekend assumes Greek G.D.P. falls by 4 percent this year, then by another 2.6 percent in 2011, before recovering to positive growth in 2012 and beyond.Such figures seem extremely optimistic, particularly in the face of the civil unrest now sweeping Greece and the deep hostility expressed toward Greece in some northern European policy circles.The pattern of growth is critical because, under this program, Greece needs to grow out of its debt problem soon. Greece's debt-to-G.D.P. ratio will be a debilitating 145 percent at the end of 2011.Now consider putting more realistic growth figures into the I.M.F. forecast for Greece's economy — e.g., with G.D.P. declining 12 percent in 2011, then the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio may reach 155 percent. At these levels, with a 5 percent real interest rate and no growth, the country needs a primary surplus at 8 percent of G.D.P. to keep the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio stable. It will be nowhere near that level. The I.M.F. program has Greece running a primary budget deficit of around 1 percent of G.D.P. in that year, and that assumes a path for Greek growth that can be regarded only as an "upside scenario."The politics of these implied budget surpluses remains brutal. Since most Greek debt is held abroad, roughly 80 percent of the budget savings the Greek government makes go straight to Germans, French and other foreign

debt holders (mostly banks). If growth turns out poorly, will the Greeks be prepared for ever-tougher austerity to pay the Germans? Even if everything goes well, Greek citizens seem unlikely to welcome this version of their "new normal."

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Even the Germans cannot afford to bail out those nations.Slapped in the face by this ugly scenario, the Europeans decided to throw everything they and the I.M.F. had at bailing out Greece. The program as announced has only a small chance of preventing eventual Greek bankruptcy, but it may still slow or avert a dangerous spiral downward — and enormous collateral damage — in the rest of Europe.The I.M.F. floated in some fashion an alternative scenario with a debt restructuring, but this was rejected by both the European Union and the Greek authorities. This is not a surprise; leading European policy makers are completely unprepared for broader problems that would follow a Greek "restructuring," because markets would immediately mark down the debt (i.e., increase the yields) for Portugal, Spain, Ireland and even Italy.The fear and panic in the face of this would be unparalleled in modern times: When the Greeks pay only 50 percent on the face value of their debt, what should investors expect from the Portuguese and Spanish? It all becomes arbitrary, including which countries are dragged down.Someone has to decide who should be defended and at what cost, and the European structures are completely unsuited to this kind of tough decision-making under pressure.In the extreme downside scenario, Germany is the only obvious safe haven within the euro zone, so its government bond yields would collapse while other governments face sharply rising yields. The euro zone would likely not hold together.There is still a narrow escape path, without immediate debt default and the chaos that that would produce:·

Talk down the euro — moving toward parity with the American dollar would help lift growth across the euroz one.·

As the euro falls, bond yields will rise on the euro zone periphery. This will create episodes of panic. Enough short-term financing must be in place to support the rollover of government debt.·

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At that stage, but not before, the euro zone leadership needs to push weaker governments to restructure. That will include Greece and perhaps also Portugal. Hopefully, in this scenario Spain can muddle through.·

European banks should be recapitalized as necessary and have most of their management replaced. This is a massive failure of euro groupthink — including most notably at the political level — but there is no question that bank executives have not behaved responsibly in a long while and should be replaced en masse.To the extent possible, some of the ensuing losses should be shared with bank creditors. But be careful what you wish for. The bankers are powerful for a reason; they have built vital yet fragile structures at the heart of our economies. Dismantle with care.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 7:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Another possible scenario: With Anji Hunter now, Tony's friend, talked to Peter yesterday, who had no clue, he will make statement tomorrow, no guidance, but Anji's sense is but wholly conjectural that Gordon will be pushed aside, let Tories form minoroty government, fight for David for leader and go into opposition, that is one Blairite view. Sid Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Thu, 6 May 2010 18:07:09
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Thx. What's happening?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010
Subject: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the

LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

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Peter on Sky News right now says LibDems will likely negotiate with both parties and then says !!!! He would be in favor of Labour deal with LibDems. "Don't be so horrified." Peter robinson just lost his seat to the Alliance Party!!!!!
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

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RELEASE IN PART
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**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Will lock [redacted] in for tonight.
We spoke to Marianne about coming in on the 8th.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Jun 29 00:42:02 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Let's do Tues evening. Do you know when I can see Maryann?

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:41:18 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Yes she's in Hawaii until Tuesday morning. She can do Tuesday evening ot Wednesday if that works for you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:38 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 6:01 AM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'; H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Monica - [redacted] is already is locked for tonite. I am seeing her right before actually.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Jun 29 05:51:47 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

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Subject: [redacted]

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 6:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

When salon called, I told them to tell him about it so he might come.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Jun 29 06:44:02 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Is he coming to the party?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 29 05:17:30 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

Cristophe is coming tomorrow at 7:30, not Isabelle. Let me know who you want wednesday cause he's offered to come then too.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

I figured.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Jun 29 06:57:18 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Ok. But I want Isabelle tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 29 06:53:37 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

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**Subject:** Re: [redacted]

Yes easily.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jun 29 07:45:31 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Could we move [redacted] to 8:30?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>; H
Sent: Tue Jun 29 06:00:45 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Monica - [redacted] is already is locked for tonite. I am seeing her right before actually.

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Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:38 2010
Subject: [redacted] B6

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Reintegration Decree Signed

Good news.

---

**From**: Holbrooke, Richard
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Tue Jun 29 07:29:39 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Reintegration Decree Signed

B6

FYI

---

**From**: Wayne, E Anthony
**To**: Eikenberry, Karl W; 'Petraeus, David H GEN MIL USA USCENTCOM CCCC/CCCC'
**Cc**: Holbrooke, Richard; ; Lute, Douglas E. ; Klemm, Hans G; Keith, James R; Todd, William E; Wagner, JoAnne; Pforzheimer, Annie; Kabul Exec Admin
**Sent**: Tue Jun 29 04:15:40 2010
**Subject**: FW: Reintegration Decree Signed

Passing this on
Decree Signed.
Tony

---

**From:** Wagner, JoAnne
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 11:56 AM
**To:** Eikenberry, Karl W; Wayne, E Anthony; Keith, James R; Todd, William E
**Cc:** Kosnett, Philip S; Pforzheimer, Annie; Kabul Exec Admin; Kabul EXEC CDDEA; Castonguay, Stephane M; Katz, David J; Taliaferro, Aaron C; Harkenrider, Zachary; Molnar, Erin M
**Subject:** Reintegration Decree Signed -- Message to GEN Petraeus' Team?

*Kabul Exec – could you please help me make sure that this gets to the Ambassador?*

Ambassador --

Karzai's Chief of Staff, Omar Daudzai, called Annie this morning to relay that President Karzai did sign the Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program decree, and that GIRoA will make a public announcement to that effect this evening (Kabul time).

We do not yet have a copy of the signed decree (we are working to get a copy for our LES to translate, however, it is not yet available from any of our sources). Based on previous drafts, we believe the decree will:

- Establish the High Peace Council (HPC) called for at the National Consultative Peace Jirga. The HPC will provide political and strategic leadership to the Afghan Peace and Reintegration Program (APRP);

- Establish the bureaucratic and organizational structure and space for the reintegration Joint Secretariat, including appointment of an interim CEO (presumably Stanekzai – although his future long-term tenure in the job is unclear).

- Provide clear instructions to line ministries to support reintegration and allocate representatives to the Joint Secretariat;

- Provide clear instructions to sub-national officials to support reintegration and to establish provincial and district reintegration committees in accordance with the interim guidance released by the Afghan National Security Council in April;

- Define a process to absorb Peace through Strength (PTS) and other reintegration structures (potentially Disarmament of Illegal Armed Groups -- DIAG) under the national and provincial structures of the APRP; and

- Most importantly, give the requisite Presidential imprimatur to the program.

A second decree should be issued prior to or concurrent with the Kabul Conference appointing the members of the High Peace Council and a permanent CEO for the APRP.

As soon as we have a copy of the decree and can confirm its contents, we will send a Front Channel cable; in the meantime, we are informing the Desk, SRAP and General Petraeus' staff that the decree has been signed.

Regards,

JoAnne

*JoAnne Wagner*
*Deputy Counselor for Political-Military Affairs*
*Embassy Kabul*

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

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**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 7:53 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Subject:** Re: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

I've asked AMS to have her team work up a nite note that we could send over tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu May 06 19:18:12 2010
Subject: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

B5

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----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010
Subject: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand

progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 8:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Brown now putting out he will try to form coalition if hung parliament Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Thu, 6 May 2010 18:07:09
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

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----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010
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offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Robinson lost seat

Naomi Long (Alliance) defeated Peter Robinson for the East Belfast constituency. Huge upset. She was the mayor of Belfast - you met her on the trip.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 8:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Greece, etc.

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**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Burns, William J
**Subject:** Fw: Greece, etc.

B5

Jake and Cheryl -- pse read below. This is extremely serious. I just talked to Bill Burns,

AM

---

**From:** Harris, Jennifer M
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thu May 06 14:54:08 2010
**Subject:** RE: Greece, etc.

The link is here, and its cut and pasted below. Simon Johnson is the Former Chief Economist of the IMF and now writes for the NYT and for his own blog, hugely influential for bond traders, called Baseline Scenario. He also wrote the current bestseller 13 bankers, making waves as probably the best academic indictment on the 2008 crisis (better in my view than Michael Lewis' current book, which speaks more to the personalities involved).

And the US markets are taking a worse beating than even I would've thought possible. In the words of the owner of one of the largest hedge funds in NY, "this has that 2 year ago feeling. This is carnage."

S&P – down 4.5% just today
XLS (S&P components of major financial institutions, essentially a more focused look at just the financial sector component of the S&P) – down 5% just today
Preferred shares (these don't typically move, ever)- down 9% and falling
Euro heading for 1.26

Credit markets are worse than stocks.
VIX (Volatility Index at 34, which is up 36%).

RELEASE IN PART
B5

The New York Times
**Economix**
**Explaining the Science of Everyday Life**

MAY 6, 2010, 6:11 AM

# It's Not About Greece Anymore

***By PETER BOONE AND SIMON JOHNSON***

Louisa Gouliamaki/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images Protesters waved flags from the Acropolis archaeological site behind banners in English and Greek hung in front of the Parthenon temple in Athens.

*Peter Boone is chairman of the charity Effective Intervention and a research associate at the Center for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics. He is also a principal in Salute Capital Management Ltd. Simon Johnson, the former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, is the co-author of "13 Bankers."*

The Greek "rescue" package announced last weekend is dramatic, unprecedented and far from enough to stabilize the euro zone.

The Greek government and the European Union leadership, prodded by the International Monetary Fund, are finally becoming realistic about the dire economic situation in Greece. They have abandoned previous rounds of optimistic forecasts and have now admitted to a profoundly worse situation. This new program calls for "fiscal adjustments" — cuts to the fiscal deficit, mostly through spending cuts — totaling 11 percent of gross domestic product in 2010, 4.3 percent in 2011, and 2 percent in 2012 and 2013. The total debt-to-G.D.P. ratio peaks at 149 percent in 2012-13 before starting a gentle glide path back down to sanity.

This new program is honest enough to show why it is unlikely to succeed.

Daniel Gros, an eminent economist on euro zone issues based in Brussels, has argued that for each 1 percent of G.D.P. decline in Greek government spending, total demand in the country falls by 2.5 percent of G.D.P. If the government reduces spending by 15 percent of G.D.P. — the initial shock to demand could be well over 30 percent of G.D.P.

Obviously this simple rule does not work with such large numbers, but it illustrates that Greece is likely to experience a very sharp recession — and there is substantial uncertainty around how bad the economy will get. The program announced last weekend assumes Greek G.D.P. falls by 4 percent this year, then by another 2.6 percent in 2011, before recovering to positive growth in 2012 and beyond.

Such figures seem extremely optimistic, particularly in the face of the civil unrest now sweeping Greece and the deep hostility expressed toward Greece in some northern European policy circles.

The pattern of growth is critical because, under this program, Greece needs to grow out of its debt problem soon. Greece's debt-to-G.D.P. ratio will be a debilitating 145 percent at the end of 2011.

Now consider putting more realistic growth figures into the I.M.F. forecast for Greece's economy — e.g., with G.D.P. declining 12 percent in 2011, then the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio may reach 155 percent. At these levels, with a 5 percent real interest rate and no growth, the country needs a primary surplus at 8 percent of G.D.P. to keep the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio stable. It will be nowhere near that level. The I.M.F. program has Greece running a primary budget deficit of around 1 percent of G.D.P. in that year, and that assumes a path for Greek growth that can be regarded only as an "upside scenario."

The politics of these implied budget surpluses remains brutal. Since most Greek debt is held abroad, roughly 80 percent of the budget savings the Greek government makes go straight to Germans, French and other foreign debt holders (mostly banks). If growth turns out poorly, will the Greeks be prepared for ever-tougher austerity to pay the Germans? Even if everything goes well, Greek citizens seem unlikely to welcome this version of their "new normal."

Last week the European leadership panicked — very late in the day — when it realized that the euro zone itself was at risk of a meltdown. If the euro zone proves unwilling to protect a member like Greece from default, then bond investors will run from Portugal and Spain also — if you doubt this, study carefully the interlocking debt picture published recently in The New York Times. Higher yields on government debt would have caused concerns about potential bank runs in these nations, and then spread to more nations in Europe.

When there is such a "run," it is not clear where it stops. In the hazy distance, Belgium, France, Austria and many others were potentially at risk. Even the Germans cannot afford to bail out those nations.

Slapped in the face by this ugly scenario, the Europeans decided to throw everything they and the I.M.F. had at bailing out Greece. The program as announced has only a small chance of preventing eventual Greek bankruptcy, but it may still slow or avert a dangerous spiral downward — and enormous collateral damage — in the rest of Europe.

The I.M.F. floated in some fashion an alternative scenario with a debt restructuring, but this was rejected by both the European Union and the Greek authorities. This is not a surprise; leading European policy makers are completely unprepared for broader problems that would follow a Greek "restructuring," because markets would immediately mark down the debt (i.e., increase the yields) for Portugal, Spain, Ireland and even Italy.

The fear and panic in the face of this would be unparalleled in modern times: When the Greeks pay only 50 percent on the face value of their debt, what should investors expect from the Portuguese and Spanish? It all becomes arbitrary, including which countries are dragged down.

Someone has to decide who should be defended and at what cost, and the European structures are completely unsuited to this kind of tough decision-making under pressure.

In the extreme downside scenario, Germany is the only obvious safe haven within the euro zone, so its government bond yields would collapse while other governments face sharply rising yields. The euro zone would likely not hold together.

There is still a narrow escape path, without immediate debt default and the chaos that that would produce:

- Talk down the euro — moving toward parity with the American dollar would help lift growth across the euroz one.
- As the euro falls, bond yields will rise on the euro zone periphery. This will create episodes of panic. Enough short-term financing must be in place to support the rollover of government debt.
- Once the euro has fallen a great deal, announce the European Central Bank will support the euro at those levels (i.e., prevent appreciation, with G-20 tacit agreement), and also support the peripheral euro zone nations viewed as solvent by buying their bonds whenever markets are chaotic.
- At that stage, but not before, the euro zone leadership needs to push weaker governments to restructure. That will include Greece and perhaps also Portugal. Hopefully, in this scenario Spain can muddle through.
- European banks should be recapitalized as necessary and have most of their management replaced. This is a massive failure of euro groupthink — including most notably at the political level — but there is no question that bank executives have not behaved responsibly in a long while and should be replaced en masse.

To the extent possible, some of the ensuing losses should be shared with bank creditors. But be careful what you wish for. The bankers are powerful for a reason; they have built vital yet fragile structures at the heart of our economies. Dismantle with care.

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- NYTimes.com 620 Eighth Avenue New York, NY 10018

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 2:02 PM
**To:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Subject:** RE: Greece, etc.

B5

Can you send me the complete NYT piece so that we can get it into S's and Steinberg's book for tonight?

So you and Eric and anyone else you can gather should brainstorm away. Also, just give me a little more on Simon Johnson so I can make the case for why she should read this.

**From:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** RE: Greece, etc.

Anne-Marie,

B5

Just promise me that if you and Bill brief the QDDR in Greece, we at least make Ed consider the possibility of my tagging along;)

Best, Jen

---

Below is an excerpt from Simon Johnson (NYT columnist and respected econ blogger), from today's NYT. I think he's dead on.

.....Last week the European leadership panicked — very late in the day — when it realized that the euro zone itself was at risk of a meltdown. If the euro zone proves unwilling to protect a member like Greece from default, then bond investors will run from Portugal and Spain also — if you doubt this, study carefully the interlocking debt picture published recently in The New York Times. Higher yields on government debt would have caused concerns about potential bank runs in these nations, and then spread to more nations in Europe.

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---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 9:37 AM
**To:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Subject:** RE: Greece, etc.

B5

---

**From:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** RE: Greece, etc.

B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 05, 2010 11:01 PM
**To:** Harris, Jennifer M
**Subject:** Fw: Greece, etc.

**From**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**To**: Hormats, Robert D; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Crocker, Bathsheba N
**Sent**: Wed May 05 15:41:05 2010
**Subject**: Greece, etc.

Hi guys,

Tx,
Jake

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 8:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Lieberman Legislation

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 6:50 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Verma, Richard R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Echard, John E Jr; Townley, Stephen G; Eichensehr, Kristen E; Cleveland, Sarah H
**Subject:** RE: Lieberman Legislation

B5

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Thursday, May 06, 2010 4:22 PM

**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju; Verma, Richard R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Echard, John E Jr
**Subject:** Lieberman Legislation

We did a couple of holding actions today regarding this legislation. The Secretary said we have the authority to do what is called expatriation. US citizenship is a privilege not a right. Where you swear to uphold duties to our Constitution. Those who support terrorism are in violation in the Secretary's opinion. We will take a hard look at what is proposed. At the podium, I said that there were issues regarding due process and that Americans would be concerned if citizenship were revoked before as opposed to after a legal proceeding.

B5

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reg Loses in S. Antrim

Willy McCrea (DUP) holds seat; Reg's gamble fails. Looks unlikely UUP/Tory link-up will produce any seats.

Our team can't imagine he'll hold on as leader for long. One key commentator just said Reg is finished.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 4:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Hung parliament declared. Theme song of election: Rolling Stones' "Satisfaction": "...can't get no..." Everyone in turmoil. Tories in complete turmoil. Gordon convening cabinet meeting this afternoon. I'm in touch. Will let you know... Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Thu, May 6, 2010 6:07 pm
Subject: Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Thx. What's happening?

----- Original Message -----

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Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010

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CONFIDENTIAL

May 5,

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and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:28 AM
**To:** H

Gordon has issued a statement this morning saying basically he's trying to negotiate a new government. Left a message with David, will undoubtedly be in touch with him today, will let you know.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Clegg just announced he wants Tories to form government as a minority government. But this may not change anything. Tories don't have a majority and can't move. May be an opening bid.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Thu, May 6, 2010 6:07 pm
Subject: Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:57 AM
**To:** H

It seems to me that Clegg feels he's weak, can't form a grand progressive coalition--the Lib Dems have LOST seats--Clegg's so-called "modernizing" has failed. So Clegg is saying no deal with Labour, Tories must govern without acting on their program. He's plalying for another election relatively soon, perhaps a year, hoping to do better, but will do even worse having played the spoiler. And if Labour goes out, so does Gordon and Labour will have a new face, probably David. Sid
=

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Noon, state of play

Shaun is going to Downing St to meet with Gordon, Peter, and two others (Stuart Woods, Sue Nye, Gordon's aides) to discuss what to do, will learn outcome as soon as meeting is over. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 8:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Edward Campbell

**From:**
**To:**

B6

**Cc:**
**Sent:** Fri May 07 07:41:34 2010
**Subject:** Edward Campbell

**From:**
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 1:09 AM
**To:**
**Subject:** Edward

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: More on Lieberman's bill

See below, in particular section B. That is the nub of Harold's argument.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jake Sullivan [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R B6
**Cc:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Fri May 07 07:42:29 2010
**Subject:** More on Lieberman's bill

Senator Lieberman's bill would strip American citizenship from anyone who has "provid[ed] material support or resources to a foreign terrorist organization" or "engaged in, or purposefully and materially support[ed], hostilities against the United States" or any of its allies. [redacted] B5

A. Constitutional Rules:

[redacted]

B. Statute

[redacted]

C. Administrative Policy:

B5

D. Lieberman bill

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 8:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** DPRK

Wanted to make sure you saw this item:

Traces of gunpowder found in the wreckage of a sunken Republic of Korea naval ship have been identified as those generated by the explosion of a torpedo, an anonymous ROK government official said. (yonhapnews.co.kr)

Also, we're still in a bit of a holding pattern on prox talks, though looking very good.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 5/7/10 Friday

7:30 am **CONFERENCE/PRE-BRIEF CALL** Private Residence

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:20 am **TAPED TV INTERVIEW w/SCOTT PELLY, CBS'S "60 MINUTES"**
10:00 am 7th and 8th Floors * (One Video taping in Monroe Room, 8th Floor)

10:15 am **KEYNOTE ADDRESS AND PLAQUE DEDICATION AT FOREIGN**
11:00 am **AFFAIRS DAY** Dean Acheson Auditorium and C Street Lobby

11:15 am **CONF. CALL w/FRENCH FM KOUCHNER, GERMAN FM**
11:30 am **WESTERWELLE, UK POLITICAL DIRECTOR GEOFFREY ADAMS AND EU HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ASHTON** Secretary's Office

11:30 am **MEETING w/HAROLD KOH, TODD BUCHWALD AND CHERYL**
12:00 pm **MILLS** Secretary's Office

12:15 pm **WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT MEETING**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR RETA JO LEWIS, SPECIAL**
1:20 pm **REPRESENTATIVE FOR GLOBAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS**
Treaty Room, 7th Floor

1:30pm **PHONE CALL w/INDONESIAN FM MARTY NATALEGAWA**
1:45pm Secretary's Office

1:45 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:20 pm Secretary's Office

2:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

2:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

3:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2176
En route New York, NY

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

4:35 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

5:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 12:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: RCH

I have talked to him, as has Derek, but I need one more convo before you see him.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Jun 29 19:18:11 2010
Subject: RCH

Did you and/or PIR talk to him today? Do I need to see him tomorrow?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 4:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FM Smith and former PM Rudd Requests

Fyi

---

**From:** Bleich, Jeffrey L
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Campbell, Kurt M
**Cc:** Kagan, Edgard D; Hyland, Jason P
**Sent:** Wed Jun 30 02:48:07 2010
**Subject:** FM Smith and former PM Rudd Requests

Kurt and Cheryl,

In my meeting yesterday with FM Smith, he said he'd still like to speak with S. Originally, they were scheduled to talk last Friday but it was cancelled. Given the change in leadership, and Smith's increased responsibility -- taking on trade and aid portfolios as well as foreign affairs -- I think a brief call would be helpful.

Also, I spoke at length with former PM Rudd on Monday. Although he did not raise the issue, his aide called Edgard afterward and noted that Rudd had not heard from S, and would have hoped for a sympathetic call. I have no strong point of view on this one. He has received such a call from POTUS already. [redacted] B5

[redacted] But, I think he and S had a good relationship and he may want to talk to her about his future career goals.

Best,

J.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 5:56 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Ecuador and the Financial Action Task Force

Madam Secretary,

Following up on your trip to Ecuador, Jake asked me to send you a quick update on the Financial Action Task Force's (FATF) listing of Ecuador:

(SBU) On June 25 the FATF moved Ecuador down a notch from a list of countries with serious strategic deficiencies in measures against money laundering and financing terrorism. Ecuador is now on the "Improving AML/CFT Compliance: On-going Process" list for showing progress in its efforts against money laundering and financing terrorism.

(SBU) According to Treasury, the change in Ecuador's status stems from its commitment to an action plan with the FATF, and the GOE's demonstrated high-level political commitment to work toward AML/CFT (anti-money laundering – combating the financing of terrorism) compliance.

WHA is looking into options for next steps.

Please let me know if you would like any further information.

Best,
Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted](cell)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 9:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you

Madame Secretary -

Forgive the email but I just wanted to thank you and President Clinton for so graciously opening your home and inviting me to join in celebrating [redacted] It was a truly wonderful evening. B6

Safe travels!

-Rob

RELEASE IN FULL

Janysh Bakiyev and a number of key security officers in the south. "Something is being planned to disrupt the referendum," I was told. Beknazarov told me he believed that, following the pattern of the last two revolutions, they anticipated that there would be an attack on administrative offices in the south, following quickly within a few days by attacks in Bishkek. Government leaders I spoke with over the weekend told me they now recognize they had misassessed the data they had, that the Bakiyev plan was obviously to instigate inter-ethnic violence.

Precisely what led to the tragedy in and around Osh is still unclear and requires careful investigation, but people I have spoken with in Osh describe police and army leaders directing the pogroms, and they were able to identify some of these individuals as persons close to the Bakiyevs. Moreover, the timing and some of the specific descriptions of events support this thesis—Bakiyev was the only person who clearly had something to gain from the violence. If that is so, then Bakiyev adopted an extremely cynical, indeed criminal strategy. His objectives would have been to derail the referendum, demonstrate the weakness of the interim government, and fuel calls for an iron-fisted central government through the resurrection of his presidency. The tactics used bear comparison with those used by Slobodan Milosević and Radovan Karadžić as Yugoslavia disintegrated or by the Soviet MVD in the waning days of the Soviet empire in programs like "Operation Koltso." If the government's charges bear out, serious crimes were committed by the Bakiyev faction.

While Otunbayeva publicly states that order has been restored in the south and that foreign intervention is no longer needed, I am not persuaded that this is what she actually thinks. She is anxious to build public confidence in her government and its abilities. Confidentially she acknowledges that the interim government's grip over the situation in the south is extremely weak and that the government does not feel it can necessarily count on the local police and military there, whose loyalties are plainly divided. This in turn suggests that the international community should give active consideration to both the humanitarian and the security dimensions of the situation in the south. My sense remains that Otunbayeva would strongly welcome such an initiative.

2. **Internal Workings of the Interim Government.** The interim government verges on being completely dysfunctional. It operates as a collection of individual fiefdoms, with leaders engaged in constant squabbles over patronage appointments. Career civil service personnel report being terrorized and extorted. I spent the better part of three days inside the current government headquarters on Staraya Ploshchod and was able to directly observe primitive horse-trading, threats and counterthreats between key government functionaries, sometimes in agitated voices. Roza Otunbayeva and a handful of figures closest to her were exceptions in this process—admonishing others about the unseemliness of their conduct, urging moderation and restraint. But Otunbayeva also acknowledges that the limitations on her own authority and states that she "has to put up with it," at least for the moment. Three government members advised me during meetings of their intention to resign before the end of the month in order to start running for parliament. Significantly, I sense sharp rifts within the government—between Atembayev and Beknazarov, for instance, who could not refrain from criticizing one another in my interviews with them, or between Sariyev and Beknazarov.

Only Otunbayeva (and to a lesser extent her close ally Elmira Ibraimova) appear to be the glue that holds things together, commanding the respect of the other government members. I found that the admiration for Otunbayeva was almost universal—she appears to be the only figure in the government emerging from the interim period with an untarnished reputation. Still the special order under which she has assumed power as "president of the interim government" presents some clear problems for her authority. She has a fixed term into 2011, but she will have no democratic mandate. After the new government is formed, based on the parliamentary elections, they will have democratic legitimacy and she will not—this sets up a situation in which her authority may well be eclipsed or at least made more narrow. Still, all the members of the current government recognize that she has essential skills that they do not—particularly her ability to conciliate and her ability to reach out to other leaders on the international stage.

There is an expectation that the parliamentary elections will result in a weeding out of the government. The next government is expected to be formed through a parliamentary coalition. But only two or perhaps three of the

current seven factions will survive. Much of the bickering and instability in the current government is keyed to the coming game of parliamentary moving chairs—there is an intense struggle now to secure personal loyalty and funds to use in the parliamentary elections; the entire process has an aura of sink or swim about it. Ironically the immediate prospect of parliamentary elections and the sense that they will be genuinely open and fair thus contributes to the ineptness and near chaotic appearance of the current government.

3. **Constitution and Referendum.** Under the guidance of Tekebayev, the government put forward a proposed new constitution, which it seeks to have confirmed through a referendum vote on June 27. The constitution itself does shift the country further in the direction of a parliamentary democracy, and it contains unusual protection for parliamentary minority factions. Government leaders told me that Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev had waded in on the question of the constitution directly, pressing them to retain a "strong president" system. They say this was coupled with not-very-subtle threats, and that the frontier between Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan remains closed, with harmful consequences for the Kyrgyz economy. A major question exists about holding the referendum as scheduled. The events in the south have resulted in the mass displacement of population and if held as planned, a large part of the population in the south would probably be disenfranchised. However, government leaders say that their current problems all come back to legitimacy, and they will not be able to form a government with democratic legitimacy without a new constitution and new elections. Accordingly, they resist any further delays and are even contemplating moving the date of the parliamentary election forward to the last week of August (it is now set for October 10). The crisis in the south presents a severe dilemma in this regards, and it seems that this would have been Bakiyev's objective in instigating it, if indeed he did.

4. **Manas Transit Center.** As expected, I discovered that the interim government is deeply fragmented on the question of MTC. One faction headed by Otunbayeva favors a "pragmatic solution" to the base issue under which it will be continued but placed on a more transparent basis in which the economic benefits to the government are clear. Otunbayeva argues that the base can only be accepted under circumstances in which it presents no friction for Kyrgyz-Russian relations; she seeks to have disputes surrounding fuel supply, for instance, resolved directly between the United States and Russia. Another faction, headed by Beknazarov, takes a more demagogic approach, denouncing the base and seeking its closing in internal meetings. Talking with Beknazarov, I had the clear impression that his attitudes were entirely opportunistic—he thinks this will be a good campaign issue to use on the hustings. He suggested rather strongly that he could accept a continued base presence under the right circumstances and that he views threats to close the base as a sort of stick to use to extort more money and other concessions from the Americans. In general, Beknazarov strikes me as hot-headed and crass and an untrustworthy partner in any future discussions. Atembayev also has somewhat demagogic impulses, though they are mild by comparison. Otunbayeva, the third and most senior member of the government engaged on base issues, is the critical voice of reason in the process. My impression based on discussions with numerous figures is that Otunbayeva's views currently hold sway. However, all the government members are agreed that the economic deal struck by Bakiyev is unfavorable to the Kyrgyz state and that the base must rest on transparent economic concessions and there can be no more under-the-table dealings with political figures.

5. **Resolving the Crisis in the South.** I believe that two key points should be kept in mind when approaching the humanitarian crisis that has emerged in the south. *First*, the crisis probably has its origins in a raw struggle for power. The interim government's legitimacy deficit contributed to the problem, because it left the government with weak tools to control the situation in the south. A long-term solution to the problem must involve the creation of governments at the national (Bishkek) and regional (Osh, Djalalabad) levels that have an essential modicum of democratic legitimacy. Delaying this process may only hasten the entire country's continued descent into chaos. This highlights the need to conduct free, fair and open elections as quickly as possible. *Second,* the last thing the interim government needs is a "Sophie's choice" between the United States and Russian Federation. International assistance needs to reflect a joint U.S.-Russian approach and showcase U.S. and Russian leadership (not merely participation). With President Medvedev's visit to the White House now on the horizon, this would be a good opportunity to establish joint sponsorship of an international

humanitarian initiative. Here, I believe, are the essential elements of a program that could achieve U.S.-Russian co-sponsorship:

- **An Appeal for Restraint**: Although the instigation of the conflict appears clearly to rest with ethnic Kyrgyz agitators, including a number in uniform and operating military equipment, at present both Uzbek and Kyrgyz armed groups are involved in random shootings designed to reinforce perceptions of their group being persecuted (rapes etc.) by another. Credible reports are suggesting that there has been political manipulation (including payment of money to drug and other criminal gangs) aimed at fomenting violence. The attack on a sports facility set up by a prominent Uzbek drug baron (murdered several years earlier) in Osh shortly before the violence started also suggests that criminal gangs involved in drug transshipment had another motivation for engaging in the violence. It may be that the violence was an initiative of the deposed president, but once it began, it provided cover for numerous incidents of score-settling and criminal mischief. In these circumstances, a strong appeal for restraint is appropriate and martial law rules including curfews may legitimately be imposed by the interim government. An imprimatur of support from the international community would help establish the authority of the interim government in this process.

- **Exit Corridors for Civilians**: Civilians who feel threatened must be allowed to leave the high risk zones, and access of humanitarian aid, and creation of a safe zone for humanitarian operation should be priorities at locations created to shelter them. The EU, OSCE and UN issued a statement on June 16 calling for a humanitarian corridor in the southern regions of Osh and Jalalabad provinces, as well as of ensuring the equitable distribution of humanitarian aid among those in need. The cooperation of the Uzbek government may be particularly important in this process.

- **Peacekeeping/Policing Operation**: The international community should support special arrangements with broad international legitimacy and participation to enhance peacekeeping and police operations in the affected area. As I noted, even though Otunbayeva made a public statement on June 15 to the effect that foreign military/police intervention was no longer needed, the situation remains precarious and in her confidential discussions Otunbayeva acknowledges the benefits in confidence building that would emerge from an qualified, professional and international presence in the region. Peacekeeping/policing operations should at a minimum include security for designated sheltering areas for refugees and internally displaced persons and monitoring operations in tandem with local police and military, to build confidence in their protective functions.

- **Investigation of Events**: a broad, credible, independent investigation should be undertaken into the events and their origin. The investigation should be under the aegis of an international organization, such as the Security Council or OSCE and it should be conducted by an individual of stature with strong credentials as a fact-finder and prosecutor. The investigation should particularly take cognizance of accusations that crimes against humanity were perpetrated, potentially including crimes of genocide. The involvement of persons exercising ostensible government authority—policemen, military figures, leaders of the civil administration—should be given special scrutiny in this process. The person commissioned to handle the investigation should be specifically empowered to recommend criminal charges be brought against individuals identified in his investigation—either by the criminal authorities of the Kyrgyz Republic or before an international body seized of proper jurisdiction.

- **Effective Post-Conflict Reconstruction.** UN authorities are estimating that as many as 450,000 persons may have been displaced by the current violence. The devastation in central Osh and in numerous villages is reported to be near total. There will be an intense housing shortage and a crisis with respect to food supply and healthcare. The international community under United States and Russian leadership should provide generous support to jumpstart the reconstruction process, prioritizing its assistance to benefit those most egregiously injured by the violence.

- **The Referendum/Parliamentary Elections.** In view of the disruption and violence, the interim government may well conclude that the constitutional referendum must be postponed. However, if it does not

postpone the referendum, then extraordinary measures should be taken to insure that internally displaced persons and refugees are given an opportunity to vote—in both cases this will be a reemphasis of the bond of citizenship and a promise of inclusion in the democratic process that will be critical to the resolution of the crisis. The international community should also mobilize observers in connection with the parliamentary elections to help assure that candidates have fair access to the ballot and to media, that campaigns are permitted to proceed without unreasonable limitations and that voting occurs in a fair and free manner across the country. Special attention in this process should be given to the affected areas to insure that refugees and IDPs have a fair opportunity to vote and are freed from unreasonable limitations in the process.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 10:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** NYT

Top 2 Civilians Face Rockiness in Afghan Shift By MARK LANDLER The New York Times Thu, July 1, 2010

WASHINGTON — As General David H. Petraeus takes command in Afghanistan, the two top American civilian officials in the war face an uncertain and tricky future, working with a newly empowered military leader, under the gaze of an impatient president who has put them on notice that his fractious war council needs to pull together.

Richard C. Holbrooke, the Obama administration's special representative to the region, and Karl W. Eikenberry, the ambassador to Afghanistan, both hung on to their jobs in the uproar that followed Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal's career-ending quotes in Rolling Stone magazine.

But privately, at least one senior White House official suggested using General McChrystal's exit as an excuse for a housecleaning, according to senior officials. That was rejected as too disruptive during a military campaign that relies heavily on civilian support, these people said.

In recent days, other administration officials have begun floating the idea that Ambassador Eikenberry might be replaced by

Ryan C. Crocker, the highly regarded former ambassador in Iraq who forged a close partnership with General Petraeus during the successful Iraq troop increase.

Such a prospect is viewed as remote, given Mr. Crocker's prestigious new post at

Texas A&M University. But the fact that his name is being invoked underlines the challenges that confront Ambassador Eikenberry, as he adapts to a new partner — one who has strong ideas about how soldiers and diplomats should work together in war.

It also illustrates the remarkably powerful role that General Petraeus will assume in the nine-year-old war, setting him up as almost a viceroy in Afghanistan and a key broker in negotiations between President

Hamid Karzai and Pakistan over an eventual political settlement.

Prior to General Petraeus's arrival, some critics said the White House had created a problem by recruiting several forceful, ambitious personalities and giving them jobs with overlapping responsibilities. Administration officials acknowledge that, as one said, "There are obviously a number of substantial personalities on the team." But the White House believes that the current lineup can mesh, and that a difficult war demands this much talent.

Still, the McChrystal blow-up has reverberated through the State Department. Secretary of State

Hillary Rodham Clinton instructed Ambassador Eikenberry and Mr. Holbrooke to take a hard look at the civilian team, two officials said. She is not wedded to the current lineup if it continues to bog down in internecine battles, they said.

"You can't have a major shift in a civ-mil structure without having the civilian side take a step back and look at everything," said a senior State Department official, using the jargon for a civilian-military campaign.

General Petraeus, whose appointment was approved 99-0 by the Senate on Wednesday, took pains at his confirmation hearing on Tuesday to back a unified civilian and military effort. He noted then that he had telephoned Mr. Holbrooke and would rendezvous with Ambassador Eikenberry in Brussels, so the two could land in Kabul together.

"Holbrooke has been my wingman, to a great degree," General Petraeus said in an interview. "We have had, and do have, a very good relationship." That role, he said, will now fall to Ambassador Eikenberry.

Ambassador Eikenberry was highly critical of the Pentagon's proposal last year to send 60,000 additional troops to Afghanistan, which led to a difficult relationship with General McChrystal. But in fact General Petraeus was the true architect of the plan.

The ambassador, a retired lieutenant general and former commander in Afghanistan, graduated from

West Point in 1973, a year ahead of General Petraeus, but they did not know each other at the academy. The two share a scholarly bent: General Petraeus holds a Ph.D. from Princeton, while Ambassador Eikenberry has Master's degrees from

Harvard and Stanford.

While they were never assigned together, their careers intersected twice. In Iraq, General Eikenberry led an assessment of Iraqi security forces while General Petraeus was commanding the 101st Airborne Division in Mosul. When General Eikenberry was commander in Afghanistan, General Petraeus led an assessment of Afghan National Security Forces.

General Petraeus declined to discuss personnel issues, while Ambassador Eikenberry and Mr. Holbrooke turned down requests for an interview. Mr. Crocker, now the dean of the George Bush School of Government at Texas A&M, did not return a call for comment.

For Mr. Holbrooke, the new landscape is challenging in other ways. Officials said his job security was less in doubt than it was six months ago, when his ouster was the subject of endless Washington chatter. Yet he has arguably become a less central player:

Jacob J. Lew, a deputy secretary of state, manages much of the civilian influx in Afghanistan that Mr. Holbrooke helped shape, while the embassy in Kabul is carrying it out. Mr. Holbrooke's current portfolio has played to his weaknesses, his own allies admit. He is best as a high-level negotiator, and not as comfortable with the nitty-gritty work of helping Afghanistan build an economy.

These days, Mr. Holbrooke has become a globe-trotting diplomat, trying to retain flagging European allies while seeking to draw influential Muslim countries like Egypt into helping Afghanistan. At a recent conference of 35 countries in Madrid, Mr. Holbrooke drummed up more support from allies for the Afghan government's campaign to reintegrate

Taliban fighters into mainstream society.

Mr. Karzai's longer-term effort to reconcile with Taliban leaders, and his negotiations with Pakistan, could propel Mr. Holbrooke back into a central role. Were these talks to become more serious, several officials said, Mr. Holbrooke's negotiating skills could be put to use, as a broker and guardian of American interests. For now, though, as evidence of General Petraeus's influence, he will do most of the shuttling between Kabul and Islamabad.

On his last visit to the region, Mr. Holbrooke met with Mr. Karzai and with senior Pakistani officials, including the army chief of staff,

Ashfaq Parvez Kayani. Mr. Holbrooke's past run-ins with Mr. Karzai, several officials said, have not hindered his ability to deal with the Afghan leader, and Pakistani officials said they trusted him.

Husain Haqqani, Pakistan's ambassador to Washington, said that Mr. Holbrooke took time to understand Pakistan's concerns. "Ambassador Holbrooke is liked by some, admired by others and seen as effective, even by those who may not like him," Mr. Haqqani said.

Still, General Petraeus is indisputably the key player, and he has wasted no time asserting his control. On a secure videoconference call last Saturday, a person familiar with the call said, General Petraeus threw his support behind a costly, and controversial, plan to install temporary generators to supply more electricity to Kandahar, the Taliban stronghold that is the next major American military target.

Mr. Holbrooke and Ambassador Eikenberry swiftly assented.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 11:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** cheryl.mills
**Subject:** fyi

# Maariv: Netanyahu won't meet Clinton; 'sources' say she "isn't relevant"

**Didi Remez** | July 1, 2010 at 15:25 | Categories: Diplomacy | URL: http://wp.me/pHlQV-Ep

Do they honestly think that publicizing a quote like this, on record or off, works to their advantage?

*Israeli diplomatic [euphemism for Prime Minister's Office -- DR] sources said: "Clinton isn't relevant and is out of the circle of influence. Mitchell has taken over the peace process to a great extent and Obama, in any event, is the important person in this story because he is the one who decides."*

---

***Netanyahu to meet Obama, but not Clinton***

*Eli Bardenstein, Maariv, July 1 2010 [page 7; Hebrew original here and at bottom of post]*

*Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is to leave next week for Washington, where he will meet with US President Barack Obama. Rather curiously, he is not scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the course of his visit to Washington.*

*Contrary to his previous visit in March, this time the US administration intends to create the impression, outwardly at least, that the severe crisis in the relationship has passed and that the relations between the two countries are as strong as ever. In order to bolster that impression, the two leaders will meet the media together and will be photographed. As opposed to the previous time, Netanyahu will also be put up at Blair House, the official White House guesthouse, and not at a hotel.*

*That said, officials in Washington are waiting apprehensively for the answers that Netanyahu will provide in the course of the meeting, which is expected to address the transition from the proximity talks that are at an impasse to direct negotiations. Obama, apparently, will demand that Netanyahu agree to extend the construction freeze in Judea and Samaria beyond the September 26 expiration date in hope of securing PA*

*Chairman Abu Mazen's consent to begin direct talks with Israel. For the time being, the forum of seven is divided over this issue.*

*Read more of this post*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 9:03 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: Noon, state of play

B6

Pls keep the updates coming!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 07:22:31 2010
Subject: Noon, state of play

Shaun is going to Downing St to meet with Gordon, Peter, and two others (Stuart Woods, Sue Nye, Gordon's aides) to discuss what to do, will learn outcome as soon as meeting is over. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 9:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Noon, state of play

Going now to jonathan's office, will hear from shaun as soon as downing st meeting breaks up. On way from guardian. Think clegg misplaying, doesn't get his moment or power, will explain more later...
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: May 7, 2010 2:02 PM
Subject: Re: Noon, state of play

Pls keep the updates coming!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 07:22:31 2010
Subject: Noon, state of play

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 12:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Latest, as of 5:15 pm, London time. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo latest uk 050710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 7, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Latest on UK (5:15 pm, Friday, London); plus Euro and Tony

Everyone has their favorite scenario, but it seems fairly obvious that it will be almost impossible for Gordon to hang on. This process may take some days. Jonathan, who knows Clegg, says he's basically not who his voters think he is but a pro-Europeanist Tory. When Clegg was contemplating a political career he consulted Jonathan. Clegg comes from a Tory family. Jonathan told him to become a Tory, join a real political party rather than the Lib Dems, but Clegg thought he would advance further with LDs. So several theories: 1. Clegg makes an outright deal with Cameron, including for some form of proportional representation (giving LDs more seats in future elections) and cabinet positions. Clegg might become foreign secretary under this scenario. This is the scenario Jonathan believes may well happen. 2. Clegg supports Cameron to form a minority government, but doesn't go into a coalition. Instead his deal involves Cameron dropping almost the whole Tory program but a joint program on financial recovery to be proposed in the Queen's Speech (equivalent of State of the Union). I find this far-fetched. But who knows? 3. Clegg supports Cameron to form government, makes no deals. Jonathan Freedland, who spent last week with Clegg, told me today that Clegg told him a deal with Gordon would appear dirty. Yet making a deal with Cameron would also make Clegg to be a dealmaker, even without a deal on program. These are the convolutions people are going through waiting for resolution. Then, Gordon: Gordon is trying to figure out how to form a coalition. Clegg is refusing him. Gordon may propose Clegg's maximum demands to him to see if he will publicly refuse them. Hard to know when this comes to a head and if and when Gordon departs. Jonathan told me that Tony's view is that Gordon will go but that he couldn't see how Gordon would understand it or exactly how he would go. Barring any clear process, skipping ahead, David appears to be frontrunner for successor as leader of opposition. He would be well positioned to be the future PM if he plays it right under these circumstances. More to come...

Also:

1. You might consider making a statement on Europe and the financial crisis, not a detailed policy statement but

a general statement, a little music to position support for Merkel, which she would greatly appreciate, especially facing a harsh regional election in North Rhineland. I would make it short and sweet, simply something about the US commitment to the European project, there from the beginning, is as strong and steadfast as ever; that the US supports Merkel's efforts (and mention Sarkozy) to stabilize Europe and the Euro, etc. Timing TBD, but soon.

2. Tony says he ready and willing to do more on the Middle East if you want to use him.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770171 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 7, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Latest on UK (5:15 pm, Friday, London); plus Euro and Tony

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Also:

1. You might consider making a statement on Europe and the financial crisis, not a detailed policy statement but a general statement, a little music to position support for Merkel, which she

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770171 Date: 08/31/2015

would greatly appreciate, especially facing a harsh regional election in North Rhineland. I would make it short and sweet, simply something about the US commitment to the European project, there from the beginning, is as strong and steadfast as ever; that the US supports Merkel's efforts (and mention Sarkozy) to stabilize Europe and the Euro, etc. Timing TBD, but soon.

2. Tony says he ready and willing to do more on the Middle East if you want to use him.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770172 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 7, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: The Downing Street meeting today

Today a seven hour meeting took place at Downing Street to attempt to determine Gordon's strategy. The participants were Gordon, Shaun, Peter, Alastair Campbell, and Ed Balls (who is close to Gordon).

1. Gordon has made a maximum proposal to Clegg through intermediaries, including a referendum on proportional representation, program, cabinet slots if Clegg wants them, or not if he prefers to be perceived as above dealmaking. The offer is open, too, and can be added to. Gordon is letting Cameron and Clegg have their conversation without going public. Clegg in private is in something of a state of shock. He actually expected to win about 125 seats—and finished at 57, losing 14 from what the Lib-Dems held. While Clegg is out front he cannot make a deal on his own; he requires his party's backing. Gordon and his people are in touch with people close to Clegg. Many of Clegg's senior people will not support the deal that Cameron has proposed. Vincent Cable, Clegg's number two, the shadow chancellor, is unhappy with the Tory deal. Clegg is therefore at sea. Clegg's party base, moreover, would not approve a deal that did not represent a "progressive" position. Much of the Lib-Dem base is idealistic and subject to disillusionment.
2. Gordon is doing whatever he can to hold on to power. Shaun, for his part, is working on an economic package for Northern Ireland to win support from the DUP and other parties for Labour—a package to be proposed in the Queen's Speech. Peter floats in and out of the meeting and appears on TV. Alastair has emerged as a stalwart, providing Gordon with talking points and practical ideas hour by hour.
3. The Tories are working overtime to foster the atmosphere that Gordon is repudiated and should leave. This perception is gaining ground as the Cameron-Clegg talks go on. Cameron seems to be dragging them out in order to undermine Gordon.
4. The outcome is highly uncertain largely because Clegg is between a rock and a hard place within his own party. More to come later…

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770172 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 12:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** latest, latest, 5:30 pm

Cameron has openly reached out to Clegg for a deal, promising a party committee of inquiry on proportional representation. They seem to be coordinating, but hard to see how far right now. More to come...

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Here it is! What's really going on. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo very, very inside latest 050710.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 7, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: The Downing Street meeting today

Today a seven hour meeting took place at Downing Street to attempt to determine Gordon's strategy. The participants were Gordon, Shaun, Peter, Alastair Campbell, and Ed Balls (who is close to Gordon).

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The Tories are working overtime to foster the atmosphere that Gordon is repudiated and should leave. This perception is gaining ground as the Cameron-Clegg talks go on. Cameron seems to be dragging them out in order to undermine Gordon.

The outcome is highly uncertain largely because Clegg is between a rock and a hard place within his own party. More to come later…

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 3:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: S video on Mother's Day

MS -- A wonderful note!

**From:** Kane, Kristin M
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** S video on Mother's Day

Hi Lona, I just saw the S video for Mother's Day: After nearly 10 years of working for the Department, this ranks as one of my proudest, most fulfilling moments of serving as a Foreign Service Officer.

B6

Clearly I'm not the only one who has made these sacrifices or who has these frustrations; Secretary Clinton has heard our struggles (indeed has gone through her own struggles as a professional mom!), and she truly gets it.

I just wanted to tell somebody, and I remembered your name from the women's conference in December. Forgive this long message. Happy Mother's Day, and congratulations on working with such an incredible person.

Regards,
Kristin

*Kristin M. Kane*
*Office of Public Affairs and Outreach*
*Bureau of International Organization Affairs*
*U.S. Department of State*
*Washington, DC*
*Tel: (202) 647-7994*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** doctrine of no surprises

I just wanted to make sure you know that the CARE speech is now going to focus on nutrition/health/early childhood, rather than being a major health speech. I still feel that you need to do a health speech as a bookend to food and water – perhaps before UNGA. You could focus on health in the context of the larger Millennium Dev Goals. You have not given a speech yet about maternal and child health. We have a great story to tell with our investment in GHI, and there will be an opportunity to tell it with the ramp-up to UNGA (with the Summit focusing on MDGs). There is a tremendous amount of activity going on elsewhere in the world. And this is a legacy issue for you. (I have already relayed this idea to CDM and Jake).

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 4:23 PM
**To:** Doug Band; H
**Subject:** FW: Campbell - Visitation and Funeral Arrangements

**From:** [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 3:51 PM
**To:** [redacted]
**Subject:** Campbell - Visitation and Funeral Arrangements

Sunday, May 9 – Visitation @ 3pm – 5pm
Dunn's Funeral Home
2121 Grand Avenue
Des Moines, IA

Monday, May 10 – Funeral @ 12:00n
St. Anthony's Catholic Church (Southside)
15 Indianola Avenue
Des Moines, IA

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 6:42 AM
**To:** [redacted]
**Cc:** [redacted]
**Subject:** Edward Campbell

[redacted]

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 1:09 AM
**To:** [redacted]
**Subject:** Edward

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 4:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: More on Lieberman's bill

See the highlighted specifically.

cdm

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jake Sullivan; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R
**Cc:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Subject:** More on Lieberman's bill

Senator Lieberman's bill would strip American citizenship from anyone who has "provid[ed] material support or resources to a foreign terrorist organization" or "engaged in, or purposefully and materially support[ed], hostilities against the United States" or any of its allies.

B5

A. Constitutional Rules:

B. Statute

C. Administrative Policy:

B5

D. Lieberman bill

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:06 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Maggie

MS -- I just spoke to Maggie and she can meet with you/do dinner on Tuesday night around 7pm. That works well on your schedule but of course wanted to double check before locking in with her.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

The VP/Karzai dinner is on Wednesday night but will check to see what he has on Tuesday too.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri May 07 17:24:58 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

I can't remember but don't I have some Karzai event? If not, what is he doing then?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:06:01 2010
Subject: Maggie

MS -- I just spoke to Maggie and she can meet with you/do dinner on Tuesday night around 7pm. That works well on your schedule but of course wanted to double check before locking in with her.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Morning meeting notes

---

**From:** Moy, Kin W
**Sent:** Friday, May 07, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Morning meeting notes

Cheryl,

Below are the notes I took at this morning's senior staff meeting. As you can see, it was a little perfunctory with the A-team mostly out of the building. I believe Harold sought out the Secretary on this topic at midday...have a nice weekend...km

**Summary of 8:45 meeting, May 7, 2010:**

(M) Pat Kennedy chaired, with (L) Harold Koh, (PA) PJ Crowley, (S/P) Ann-Marie Slaughter, (H) Matthew Rooney, (D) Sheba Crocker, (D) Piper Campbell, (P) Alice Wells, and (S/ES)Kin Moy attending.

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

On Tuesday night, after our reception, he has nothing planned, "rest" time at the hotel. The VP dinner is Wednesday night.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

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To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri May 07 17:24:58 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

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From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:06:01 2010
Subject: Maggie

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Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:41 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; H
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

Doesn't give u chance to change your mind if u decide to go to dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri May 07 17:39:40 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

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Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
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Sent: Fri May 07 17:24:58 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

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From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:06:01 2010
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Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:49 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

Sounds good.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri May 07 17:44:22 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

Ok--lets do Maggie. Maybe I could take her out to dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:39:40 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

On Tuesday night, after our reception, he has nothing planned, "rest" time at the hotel. The VP dinner is Wednesday night.

Lona Valmoro
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B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

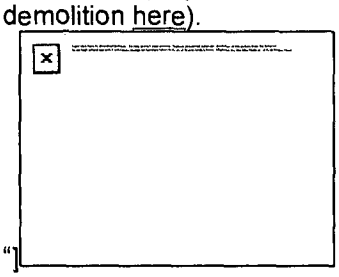
**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, August 1, 2010 10:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** what Max did on July 31.

http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/07/the-summer-camp-of-destruction-israeli-high-schoolers-join-in-the-destruction-of-a-bedouin-town/

# The "Summer Camp Of Destruction:" Israeli High Schoolers Assist The Razing Of A Bedouin Town

*On 07.31.10, By Max Blumenthal*

AL-ARAKIB, ISRAEL — On July 26, Israeli police demolished 45 buildings in the unrecognized Bedouin village of al-Arakib, razing the entire village to the ground to make way for a Jewish National Fund forest. The destruction was part of a larger project to force the Bedouin community of the Negev away from their ancestral lands and into seven Indian reservation-style communities the Israeli government has constructed for them. The land will then be open for Jewish settlers, including young couples in the army and those who may someday be evacuated from the West Bank after a peace treaty is signed. For now, the Israeli government intends to uproot as many villages as possible and erase them from the map by establishing "facts on the ground" in the form of JNF forests. (See video of of al-Arakib's demolition here).

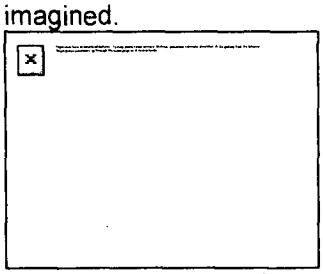


"]

Moments before the destruction of the Bedouin village of al-Arakib, Israeli high school age police volunteers lounge on furniture taken from a family's home. [The following four photos are by Ata Abu Madyam of Arab Negev News.

One of the most troubling aspects of the destruction of al-Arakib was a report by CNN that the hundreds of Israeli riot police who stormed the village were accompanied by "busloads of cheering civilians." Who were these civilians and why didn't CNN or any outlet investigate further?

I traveled to al-Arakib yesterday with a delegation from Ta'ayush, an Israeli group that promotes a joint Arab-Jewish struggle against the occupation. The activists spent the day preparing games and activities for the village's traumatized children, helping the villagers replace their uprooted olive groves, and assisting in the reconstruction of their demolished homes. In a massive makeshift tent where many of al-Arakib's residents now sleep, I interviewed village leaders about the identity of the cheering civilians. Each one confirmed the presence of the civilians, describing how they celebrated the demolitions. As I compiled details, the story grew increasingly horrific. After interviewing more than a half dozen elders of the village, I was able to finally identify the civilians in question. What I discovered was more disturbing than I had imagined.



Israeli police youth volunteers pick through the belongings an al-Arakib family

Arab Negev News publisher Ata Abu Madyam supplied me with a series of photos he took of the civilians in action. They depicted Israeli high school students who appeared to have volunteered as members of the Israeli police civilian guard (I am working on identifying some participants by name). Prior to the demolitions, the student volunteers were sent into the villagers' homes to extract their furniture and belongings. A number of villagers including Madyam told me the volunteers smashed windows and mirrors in their homes and defaced family photographs with crude drawings. Then they lounged

around on the furniture of al-Arakib residents in plain site of the owners. Finally, according to Matyam, the volunteers celebrated while bulldozers destroyed the homes.

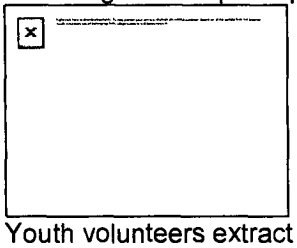
"What we learned from the summer camp of destruction," Madyam remarked, "is that Israeli youth are not being educated on democracy, they are being raised on racism." (The cover of the latest issue of Madyam's Arab Negev News features a photo of Palestinians being expelled to Jordan in 1948 juxtaposed with a photo of a family fleeing al-Arakib last week. The headline reads, "Nakba 2010.")



According to residents of al-Arakib, the youth volunteers vandalized homes throughout the village

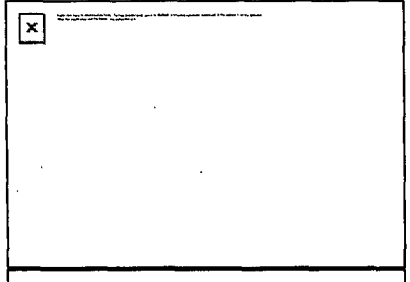
The Israeli civilian guard, which incorporates 70,000 citizens including youth as young as 15 (about 15% of Israeli police volunteers are teenagers), is one of many programs designed to incorporate Israeli children into the state's military apparatus. It is not hard to imagine what lessons the high school students who participated in the leveling of al-Arakib took from their experience, nor is it especially difficult to predict what sort of citizens they will become once they reach adulthood. Not only are they being indoctrinated to swear blind allegiance to the military, they are learning to treat the Arab outclass as less than human. The volunteers' behavior toward Bedouins, who are citizens of Israel and serve loyally in Israeli army combat units despite widespread racism, was strikingly reminiscent of the behavior of settler youth in Hebron who pelt Palestinian shopkeepers in the old city with eggs, rocks and human waste. If there is a distinction between the two cases, it is that the Hebron settlers act as vigilantes while the teenagers of Israeli civilian guard vandalize Arab property as agents of the state.

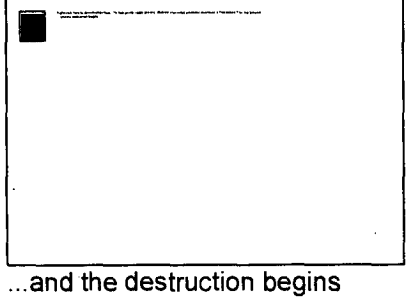
The spectacle of Israeli youth helping destroy al-Arakib helps explain why 56% of Jewish Israeli high school students do not believe Arabs should be allowed to serve in the Knesset – why the next generation wants apartheid. Indeed, the widespread indoctrination of Israeli youth by the military apparatus is a central factor in Israel's authoritarian trend. It would be difficult for any adolescent boy to escape from an experience like al-Arakib, where adults in heroic warrior garb encourage him to participate in and gloat over acts of massive destruction, with even a trace of democratic values.



Youth volunteers extract belongings from village homes as bulldozers move in

As for the present condition of Israeli democracy, it is essential to consider the way in which the state pits its own citizens against one another, enlisting the Jewish majority as conquerers while targeting the Arab others as, in the words of Zionist founding father Chaim Weizmann, "obstacles that had to be cleared on a difficult path." Historically, only failing states have encouraged such corrosive dynamics to take hold. That is why the scenes from al-Arakib, from the demolished homes to the uprooted gardens to the grinning teens who joined the mayhem, can be viewed as much more than the destruction of a village. They are snapshots of the phenomenon that is laying Israeli society as a whole to waste.





...and the destruction begins

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 12:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi

Go Back

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The Political Scene

# The Empty Chamber

## Just how broken is the Senate?

Seventy-six nominees for judgeships and executive posts have been approved by committees but, because of blocks, haven't come up for a vote in the full Senate, leaving courtrooms idle and jobs unfilled across the upper levels of the Obama Administration....
The tally of cloture votes reflects only a small fraction of senatorial obstruction. Three hundred and forty-five bills passed by the House have been prevented from even coming up for debate in the Senate....

**by George Packer August 9, 2010**

Text Size:
Small Text
Medium Text
Large Text
Print E-Mail Feeds

"Sit and watch us for seven days," one senator says of the deadlocked chamber. "You know what you'll see happening? Nothing."

"This is just one of those days when you want to throw up your hands and say, 'What in the world are we doing?' " Senator Claire McCaskill, the Missouri Democrat, said.
"It's unconscionable," Carl Levin, the senior Democratic senator from Michigan, said. "The obstructionism has become mindless."
The Senators were in the Capitol, sunk into armchairs before the marble fireplace in the press lounge, which is directly behind the Senate chamber. It was four-thirty on a Wednesday afternoon. McCaskill, in a matching maroon jacket and top, looked exasperated; Levin glowered over his spectacles.
"Also, it's a dumb rule in itself," McCaskill said. "It's time we started looking at some of these rules."
She was referring to Senate Rule XXVI, Paragraph 5, which requires unanimous consent for committees and subcommittees to hold hearings after two in the afternoon while the Senate is in session. Both Levin and McCaskill had scheduled hearings that day for two-thirty. Typically, it wouldn't be difficult to get colleagues to waive the rule; a general and an admiral had flown halfway around the world to appear before Levin's Armed Services Committee, and McCaskill's Subcommittee on Contracting Oversight of the Homeland Security Committee was investigating the training of Afghan police. But this was March 24th, the day after President Barack Obama signed the health-care-reform bill, in a victory ceremony at the White House; it was also the day that the Senate was to vote on a reconciliation bill for health-care reform, approved by the House three nights earlier, which would retroactively remove the new law's most embarrassing sweetheart deals and complete the yearlong process of passing universal health care. Republicans, who had fought the bill as a bloc, were in no mood to make things easy.
So, four hours earlier, when Levin went to the Senate floor and asked for consent to hold his hearing, Senator Richard Burr, Republican of North Carolina, and a member of Levin's committee, had refused. "I have no personal objection to continuing," Burr said. But, he added, "there is objection on our side of the aisle. Therefore, I would have to object."
Burr had to object on behalf of his party because he was the only Republican in the chamber when Levin spoke. In general, when senators give speeches on the floor, their colleagues aren't around, and the two or three who might be present aren't listening. They're joking with aides, or e-mailing Twitter ideas to their press secretaries, or getting their first look at a speech they're about to give before the eight unmanned cameras that provide a live feed to C-SPAN2. The presiding officer of the Senate—freshmen of the majority party take rotating, hour-long shifts intended to introduce them to the ways of the institution—sits in his chair on the dais, scanning his BlackBerry or reading a *Times* article about the Senate. Michael Bennet, a freshman Democrat from Colorado, said, "Sit and watch us for seven days—just watch the floor. You know what you'll see happening? Nothing. When I'm in the chair, I sit there thinking, I wonder what they're doing in China right now?"
Between speeches, there are quorum calls, time killers in which a Senate clerk calls the roll at the rate of one name every few minutes. The press gallery, above the dais, is typically deserted, as journalists prefer to hunker down in the press lounge, surfing the Web for analysis of current Senate negotiations; television screens alert them if something of interest actually happens in the chamber. The only people who pay attention to a speech are the Senate stenographers. On this afternoon, two portly bald men in suits stood facing the speaker from a few feet away, tapping at the transcription machines, which resembled nineteenth-century cash registers, slung around their necks. The Senate chamber is an intimate room where men and women go to talk to themselves for the record.
Like many other aspects of senatorial procedure, Rule XXVI, Paragraph 5 is a relic from the days when senators had to hover around their desks to know what was happening on the floor during the main afternoon debate. (The desks, some built as long ago as 1819, are mahogany, and their lids lift up, like those in an old schoolhouse; the desks of the Majority and Minority Leader are still equipped with brass spittoons.) In the press lounge, McCaskill said, with light sarcasm, "Somebody told me the rule is to make sure people pay attention to what's happening on the floor during debate and not be distracted by committee work. Clearly, it's an old rule."
The Republicans had turned this old rule into a new means of obstruction. There would be no hearings that afternoon; the general and the admiral would have to come back another day. Like investment bankers on Wall Street, senators these days direct much of their creative energy toward the manipulation of arcane rules and loopholes, scoring short-term successes while magnifying their institution's broader dysfunction.
Around five o'clock, the chamber began to fill, as the reconciliation bill came up for a vote; there were twenty-three amendments pending, all from Republicans, and perhaps many more to come. Ordinarily, debate and voting on an amendment might take two legislative days, but under the rules of the reconciliation bill the senators were to dispatch the amendments one after another, as in a hot-dog-eating contest, with a minute of debate for each side. The goal was to finish the bill by the end of the evening, so that senators wouldn't miss a day of their spring recess—apparently, the only thing worse than a government takeover of the health-care system. The usual longueurs of the Senate, where forty minutes can tick away on the antique clock above the rear double doors without a word's being spoken, were about to yield to a frenzy. Harry Reid, the Majority Leader, from Nevada, had predicted that the process, known as Vote-O-Rama, would go past two in the morning, and had warned senators to stay close to the chamber.
Max Baucus, of Montana, the manager of the bill for the Democrats, rose and said, "This is the first time in recent memory that a reconciliation bill has all the amendments on one side only. These are clearly amendments designed to kill the reconciliation and, therefore, kill health-care reform. So I very much hope that all of these amendments are defeated."
Tall, gaunt Judd Gregg, of New Hampshire, the bill's Republican manager, took the floor. "The position on the other side of the aisle is: no amendments allowed, even if they are good," he said. Indignation rouged his cheeks, and his voice rose half an octave. "Obviously, they presume the Republican Party is an inconvenience. The democratic process is an

inconvenience. It also appears, considering the opposition to this out in America, that the American people are an inconvenience."

The Senate chamber is laid out in four concentric semicircles, with adjacent desks almost touching on the crowded Democratic side, and the desks of the much smaller Republican minority spaced loosely apart. The design is meant to emphasize the senators' unity. But Baucus and Gregg avoided eye contact across the six feet of aisle that now divides the chamber into two constantly warring factions. Senators are required, by custom, to speak of one another in the third person, directing their anger and sarcasm through whichever poor freshman happens to be the presiding officer at the moment. Rule XIX, Paragraphs 2 and 3—one of the original rules drawn from Thomas Jefferson's "Manual of Parliamentary Practice"—bars senators from imputing unworthy conduct or motives to another senator, and from insulting any senator's state. But there is no rule against finger-wagging, and Baucus wagged his at Gregg while shouting at Al Franken, of Minnesota, who had started a shift in the presiding officer's chair: "Mr. President, make no mistake, the intent of every single one of the amendments offered on the other side of the aisle is to kill health-care reform. . . . A senator on the other side of the aisle stood up and said that this is hopefully the President's Waterloo. They want to kill health-care reform!"

The voice of Stuart Smalley filled the chamber: "The time of the senator has expired."

For the next nine hours, the chamber became the stage of a theatrical whose ending, like almost everything that happens on the Senate floor, was known in advance to all. The Republican goal in Vote-O-Rama was to embarrass the Democrats while appearing to suggest useful changes; the Democratic goal was to prevent any change to the bill, so that it wouldn't have to return to the House, where it might be voted down. Several of the Republican amendments had been designed to make Democrats look hypocritical, by forcing them to vote against policies that the Party typically supports. One amendment, for example, declared that the health-care bill could not be linked to a tax hike on individuals making less than two hundred thousand dollars a year. Other amendments were more nakedly partisan, and outlandish. David Vitter, a Louisiana Republican, proposed an amendment that repealed the entire law. Senator Tom Coburn, a Republican obstetrician from Oklahoma, introduced an amendment to insure that veterans diagnosed with mental illness would not be denied the right to own firearms, and another to prevent "convicted child molesters, rapists, and sex offenders" from buying erectile-dysfunction drugs with taxpayer funds. Coburn got through the minute he was allotted to explain his Viagra amendment without cracking a smile. "This is not a game amendment," he insisted. "It actually saves money."

So many senators snickered that the presiding officer banged his gavel for order.

"The amendment offered by the senator from Oklahoma makes a mockery of this Senate," Baucus declared. "It is a crass political stunt aimed at making thirty-second commercials, not public policy." Baucus asked for the yeas and nays, and a clerk called the roll at a ragged pace. "Mr. Coburn, Mr. Cochran, Ms. Collins." Thirty-five-second pause. "Mr. Conrad, Mr. Corker." Ten seconds. "Mr. Cornyn." Senators pay no attention to the sound of their name; they cast votes when they're so inclined—wandering in late, shuffling down the chamber's gentle blue-carpeted steps to the swarm of colleagues milling about in the well, where the clerks sit at a table, and then holding a finger up or down. At one point, John McCain—now just one of a hundred senators and struggling to stay in office—spent half a minute waving stiff-armed, trying to catch the eye of a clerk so he could cast his vote. In the end, two Democrats—Evan Bayh, of Indiana, and Ben Nelson, of Nebraska—joined the Republicans in opposing Viagra for sex offenders. The amendment was defeated.

The carpeting in the chamber absorbs voices, and during the long night one of the few that rose above the muffled drone was that of Charles Schumer, who said to Gregg, "Get to work! Stop screwing around with health care!" Sporadically, a sharp cackle emanated from Al Franken, who wandered the chamber, looking for Republicans he could charm into laughing. Observed from the press gallery, the senators in their confined space began to resemble zoo animals—Levin a shambling brown bear, John Thune a loping gazelle, Jim Bunning a maddened grizzly. Each one displayed a limited set of behaviors: in conversations, John Kerry planted himself a few inches away, loomed, and clamped his hands down on a colleague's shoulders. Joe Lieberman patted everyone on the back. It became clear which senators were loners (Russ Feingold, Daniel Akaka) and which were social (Blanche Lincoln, Lindsey Graham); which senators were important (Dick Durbin, Jon Kyl) and which were ignored (Bayh, Bunning).

Past midnight, Durbin slumped at his desk, one hand over his face, yawning painfully. Susan Collins was going through her mail. Twenty-three amendments had been voted down, and the Republicans were proposing a fresh batch. "Can we get some order?" Bunning growled, before he introduced a proposal to let senior citizens opt out of parts of Medicare. It was the only amendment that any Republicans joined the Democrats to defeat.

Harry Reid controls the Senate's schedule, but Mitch McConnell, of Kentucky, who is the Minority Leader, can object. Since nearly everything in the Senate depends on unanimous consent, the main business of the place is a continuous negotiation between these two supremely unsentimental men. That night, they played a game of chicken: McConnell, unsmiling, his eyes riveted ahead, held out the prospect of dozens more amendments; Reid, a former boxer, was hunched and mumbling, playing rope-a-dope, vowing to fend off amendments all night. The two leaders left the chamber to confer privately about how to proceed. Inside, the atmosphere of a slumber party set in. Debbie Stabenow, of Michigan, her hand across her heart, sang a sentimental duet with Robert Menendez, of New Jersey. Exhaustion momentarily eased the partisan divide. Claire McCaskill sat down beside Tom Coburn, held up an erect finger in his face, as if casting her Viagra vote, then let it go limp. Coburn could be heard to joke, "The longest it lasted was thirty seconds."

At two-forty-five in the morning, Reid suddenly declared the Senate adjourned. The Senate parliamentarian had just found two small violations of the reconciliation rules, meaning that in the morning, despite the Democrats' efforts, the bill would go back to the House for another vote. At the bang of the gavel, the senators fled. In the parking lot, on the Capitol's

northeast side, McCaskill climbed into her S.U.V. Levin, in a cramped sedan, was chauffeured off into the empty streets. On a marble ledge near the exit, Arlen Specter sat alone, a ghost in a brown suit, staring straight ahead, as if waiting for someone to take him away.

The Senate reconvened at 9:45 A.M. Around two in the afternoon, the members gathered for the final vote, and the Democrats were giddy. Tom Harkin, of Iowa, and Christopher Dodd, of Connecticut, even exchanged a hug. "Everyone's tired," Reid declared before the final vote. "This legislative fight is one for the record books." He was so fatigued that he initially voted the wrong way. Lindsey Graham came in late, delaying the tally by ten minutes. "Way to go, Lindsey, way to stretch it out," Sam Brownback told him. A few Republicans lingered and took in the moment, like players on the losing team at the end of the World Series. After a year of work, health-care reform had passed, 56–43, and for a moment the chamber's Tweeting pygmies had become legislative giants.

The Senate is often referred to as "the world's greatest deliberative body." Jeff Merkley, a freshman Democrat from Oregon, said, "That is a phrase that I wince each time I hear it, because the amount of real deliberation, in terms of exchange of ideas, is so limited." Merkley could remember witnessing only one moment of floor debate between a Republican and a Democrat. "The memory I took with me was: 'Wow, that's unusual—there's a conversation occurring in which they're making point and counterpoint and challenging each other.' And yet nobody else was in the chamber."

Tom Udall, a freshman Democrat from New Mexico, could not recall seeing a senator change another senator's mind. "You would really need a good hour or two of extensive exchange among folks that really know the issue," he said. Instead, a senator typically gives "a prepared speech that's already been vetted through the staff. Then another guy gets up and gives a speech on a completely different subject." From time to time, senators of the same party carry on a colloquy—"I would be interested in the distinguished senator from Iowa's view of the other side's Medicare Advantage plan"—that has been scripted in advance by aides.

While senators are in Washington, their days are scheduled in fifteen-minute intervals: staff meetings, interviews, visits from lobbyists and home-state groups, caucus lunches, committee hearings, briefing books, floor votes, fund-raisers. Each senator sits on three or four committees and even more subcommittees, most of which meet during the same morning hours, which helps explain why committee tables are often nearly empty, and why senators drifting into a hearing can barely sustain a coherent line of questioning. All this activity is crammed into a three-day week, for it's an unwritten rule of the modern Senate that votes are almost never scheduled for Mondays or Fridays, which allows senators to spend four days away from the capital. Senators now, unlike those of several decades ago, often keep their families in their home states, where they return most weekends, even if it's to Alaska or Idaho—a concession to endless fund-raising, and to the populist anti-Washington mood of recent years. (When Newt Gingrich became Speaker of the House, in 1995, he told new Republican members not to move their families to the capital.) Tom Daschle, the former Democratic leader, said, "When we scheduled votes, the only day where we could be absolutely certain we had all one hundred senators there was Wednesday afternoon."

Nothing dominates the life of a senator more than raising money. Tom Harkin, the Iowa Democrat, said, "Of any free time you have, I would say fifty per cent, maybe even more," is spent on fund-raising. In addition to financing their own campaigns, senators participate at least once a week in the Power Hour, during which they make obligatory calls on behalf of the Party (in the Democrats' case, from a three-story town house across Constitution Avenue from the Senate office buildings, since they're barred from using their own offices to raise money). Lamar Alexander, the Tennessee Republican, insisted that the donations are never sufficient to actually buy a vote, but he added, "It sucks up time that a senator ought to be spending getting to know other senators, working on issues."

In June, 2009, top aides to Max Baucus, whose Finance Committee was negotiating the health-care-reform bill, took time to meet with two health-care lobbyists, who themselves were former Baucus aides. (Baucus received more than a million dollars from the industry for his 2008 reëlection campaign.) That month, according to Common Cause, industry groups were spending $1.4 million a day to lobby members of Congress. Udall, speaking of the corrosive effect of fund-raising and lobbying, said, "People know it in their heart—they know this place is dominated by special interests. The over-all bills are not nearly as bold because of the influence of money."

Daschle sketched a portrait of the contemporary senator who is too busy to think: "Sometimes, you're dialling for dollars, you get the call, you've got to get over to vote, you've got fifteen minutes. You don't have a clue what's on the floor, your staff is whispering in your ears, you're running onto the floor, then you check with your leader—you double check—but, just to make triple sure, there's a little sheet of paper on the clerk's table: The leader recommends an aye vote, or a no vote. So you've got all these checks just to make sure you don't screw up, but even then you screw up sometimes. But, if you're ever pressed, 'Why did you vote that way?'—you just walk out thinking, Oh, my God, I hope nobody asks, because I don't have a clue."

Aides, at the elbows of senators as they shuttle between their offices and the Capitol, have proliferated over the past few decades, and they play a crucial role. Lamar Alexander, who has an office of fifty people, pointed out that staff members, who are younger and often more ideological than their bosses, and less dependent on institutional relationships, tend to push senators toward extremes. Often, aides are the main actors behind proposed legislation—writing bills, negotiating the details—while the senator is relegated to repeating talking points on Fox or MSNBC.

One day in his office, Udall picked up some tabloids from his coffee table and waved them at me. "You know about all these rags that cover the Hill, right?" he said, smiling. There are five dailies—*Politico*, *The Hill*, *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily*, and *CQ Today*—all of which emphasize insider conflict. The senators, who like to complain about the trivializing effect of the "24/7 media," provide no end of fodder for it. The news of the day was what Udall called a "dust-up" between Scott

Brown, the freshman Massachusetts Republican, and a staffer for Jim DeMint, the arch-conservative from South Carolina; the staffer had Tweeted that Brown was voting too often with the Democrats, leading Brown to confront DeMint on the Senate floor over this supposed breach of protocol. Bloggers carry so much influence that many senators have a young press aide dedicated to the care and feeding of online media. News about, by, and for a tiny kingdom of political obsessives dominates the attention of senators and staff, while stories that might affect their constituents go unreported because their home-state papers can no longer afford to have bureaus in Washington. Dodd, who came to the Senate in 1981 and will leave next January, told me, "I used to have eleven Connecticut newspaper reporters who covered me on a daily basis. I don't have one today, and haven't had one in a number of years. Instead, D.C. publications only see me through the prism of conflict." Lamar Alexander described the effect as "this instant radicalizing of positions to the left and the right."

Both Alexander and Gregg said that the Senate had been further polarized by the rising number of senators—now nearly fifty—who come from the House, rather than from governorships or other positions where bipartisan coöperation is still permissible. "A lot of senators don't understand the history or tradition of the institution," Gregg said. "Substantive, thoughtful, moderate discussion is pushed aside."

Encumbered with aides, prodded by hourly jolts from electronic media, racing from the hearing room to the caucus lunch to the Power Hour to the airport, senators no longer have the time, or perhaps the inclination, to get to know one another—least of all, members of the other party. Friendships across party lines are more likely among the few spouses who live in Washington. After Udall joined the Senate, last year, he was invited to dinner by Alexander, because Jill Cooper Udall and Honey Alexander had become friends through a women's social club. It remains the only time Udall has set foot in the house of a Republican senator. (Vice-President Joe Biden, in his autobiography, recalls that, in the seventies, a bipartisan group of senators and their wives hosted a monthly dinner: "In those days Democrats and Republicans actually enjoyed each other's company.") When I asked Chris Dodd how well he knew, for example, Jim DeMint, Dodd said, "Not at all. Whereas Jesse Helms and I knew each other pretty well." He repeated something that Jon Kyl, the Republican whip, from Arizona, had recently said to him: "There's no trust." Dodd, whose father was a senator, went on, "That's really all there is—this place really operates on that. I don't think anyone would argue with that conclusion. And if that's missing . . . "

There remains a veneer—badly chipped—of comity. On the floor, senators still refer to members of the opposing party as "friends." Gregg described Kent Conrad, a Democrat from North Dakota, as "one of my best friends in the Senate," and both Gregg and Alexander ticked off examples of little-known legislation that they are currently working on with Democrats; Alexander and Ben Cardin, of Maryland, have introduced a bill to ban mountaintop-removal coal mining. Udall noted that he had become friendly with John McCain when they went on a congressional tour of Iraq. But opportunities to bond are rare. On the first floor of the Capitol, there is a private dining room for senators, the "inner sanctum," where Republicans and Democrats used to have lunch (at separate tables, but in the same room). In the seventies, old bulls such as James Eastland, Hubert Humphrey, and Jacob Javits held court there; later, Daniel Patrick Moynihan did. "You learned, and also you found out what was going on," Dodd said, adding, "It's awfully difficult to say crappy things about someone that you just had lunch with." These days, the inner sanctum is nearly always empty. Senators eat lunch in their respective caucus rooms with members of their party, or else "downtown," which means asking donors for money over steak and potatoes at the Monocle or Charlie Palmer. The tradition of the "caucus lunch" was instituted by Republicans in the fifties, when they lost their majority; Democrats, after losing theirs in 1980, followed suit. Caucus lunches work members on both sides into a state of pep-rally fervor. During one recent Republican lunch, Jim Bunning referred to Harry Reid as an idiot. "At least he had the courtesy to do it behind closed doors," Alexander joked, adding, "We spend most of our time in team meetings deciding what we're going to do to each other."

In 2007, Alexander and Lieberman started a series of bipartisan Tuesday breakfasts. "They kind of dwindled off during the health-care debate," Alexander said. Udall has tried to revive the Wednesday inner-sanctum lunch. For the first few months, only Democrats attended. Then, one Wednesday in May, Susan Collins, the Maine Republican, showed up, joking nervously about being a turncoat; to protect her reputation, her presence was kept secret.

These efforts at resurrecting dead customs are as self-conscious and, probably, as doomed as the get-togethers of lovers who try to stay friends after a breakup. Ira Shapiro, a Washington lawyer and a former aide to Senator Gaylord Nelson, of Wisconsin, put it this way: "Why would they want to have lunch together when they hate each other?"

The upper chamber of Congress was a constitutional compromise between popular sovereignty and state sovereignty. The Senate was designed, as part of the separation of powers, to check the impulses of the House and the popular will. For some Federalists, it also had an aristocratic purpose: to collect knowledge and experience, and to guard against a levelling spirit that might overtake the majority. When Alexis de Tocqueville visited the Senate, in 1832, he was deeply impressed by the quality of its members: "They represent only the lofty thoughts [of the nation] and the generous instincts animating it, not the petty passions." But he also recognized that "a minority of the nation dominating the Senate could completely paralyze the will of the majority represented in the other house, and that is contrary to the spirit of constitutional government." As long as the Senate continued to be composed of America's most talented statesmen, Tocqueville implied, it would restrain its own anti-democratic potential.

Robert A. Caro, in "Master of the Senate," the third volume of his life of Lyndon Johnson, argues that after the Civil War · the Senate was captured by wealthy and sectional interests, ending a more high-minded age when Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun engaged in brilliant debate. Aside from spasms of legislation at the start of the Presidencies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, Caro writes, the Senate remained controlled by an alliance of Southern racists

and Republican corporate shills, and was "the dam against which the waves of social reform dashed themselves in vain—the chief obstructive force in the federal government." By the fifties, the Senate had become far more conservative than the public. And not just conservative: William S. White, in his 1956 book "Citadel," called the Senate "to a most peculiar degree, a *Southern* Institution . . . growing at the heart of this ostensibly national assembly" and "the only place in the country where the South did not lose the war."

By mid-century, it had become a journalistic cliché to call the Senate broken. Otto Preminger's 1962 film "Advise and Consent," based on the novel by Allen Drury, is about the Senate of that period, and it presents Democrats and Republicans as equally amoral, calculating, and power-hungry. But the institution, as depicted by Preminger, still works, in its way: though the deals stink, they get cut. The senators know their colleagues and the rules; they back-stab one another in the lunchroom, then drink cocktails and play cards on Saturday nights. There are no lobbyists, no fund-raisers, no media, no constituents—only senators' intricate relations with one another. The Senate is its own world.

In a memoir, Johnson's longtime aide Harry McPherson recalls learning that the Senate's "famous 'club' atmosphere is based on the members' mutual acceptance of responsibility and concentration on the tasks at hand. . . . They thrust hard at one another in debate over serious matters," but, he writes, "understanding and accommodation in the ordinary course of the Senate day was essential to sanity." Johnson, the most powerful Majority Leader in history, bent the Senate to his will and forced it to become more efficient. He saw his colleagues as either "whales"—the heavyweight chairmen who negotiated legislation—or "minnows," the followers who went along with the brokered deals. And when, in 1958, a formidable new class of liberal Democrats entered the Senate—including Edmund Muskie, Eugene McCarthy, and Philip Hart—the legislative machinery began to produce reform. Michael Janeway, the author of "The Fall of the House of Roosevelt," worked as a summer staff member between 1958 and 1962. "They used to talk to each other—that's my most vivid recollection," he said. "If Wayne Morse talked of constitutional law on the floor, the Southerners would come in to hear him. The same with Hubert Humphrey on farm policy. My strongest impression was of it being a deliberative body, drawing each other out—sometimes pedantically." Senators who ran for office in order to work on foreign policy, social welfare, or urbanization had to win credibility with the whales. "But if you wanted to do something there was a mechanism by which you could do it," Janeway said.

In the sixties and seventies, Southern-conservative control was broken by a coalition of left-of-center Democrats and moderate Republicans. Donald Ritchie, the Senate historian, who started working there in 1976, described the Senate of those decades as "a bipartisan liberal institution." The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was written largely out of the office of the Republican Minority Leader, Everett Dirksen. Every major initiative—voting rights, open housing, environmental law, campaign reform—enjoyed bipartisan support. In the rare event of a filibuster, the motion to end debate was often filed jointly by leaders of both parties. When Medicare—that government takeover of health care for the elderly—was passed, in 1965, it won 70–24.

The Senate's momentum nurtured superb talent: William Fulbright, Everett Dirksen, Henry Jackson, Frank Church, Howard Baker. In 1969, George McGovern chaired a select committee on hunger that actually held bipartisan "field hearings" in poor regions, calling witnesses in migrant labor camps, and then, with Bob Dole's indispensable support, greatly expanded the food-stamp program. The intensity of senatorial purpose in those years must strike today's legislators as profoundly humbling. After Joe Biden came to the Senate, in 1973, Hubert Humphrey took him aside and said, "You have to pick an issue that becomes yours. That's how you attract your colleagues to follow you, Joe. That's how you demonstrate your bona fides. Don't be a gadfly." Humphrey's career advice: "You should become Mr. Housing. Housing is the future."

The Senate's modern decline began in 1978, with the election of a new wave of anti-government conservatives, and accelerated as Republicans became the majority in 1981. "The Quayle generation came in, and there were a number of people just like Dan—same generation, same hair style, same beliefs," Gary Hart, the Colorado Democrat, recalled. "They were harder-line. They weren't there to get along with Democrats. But they look accommodationist compared to Republicans in the Senate today." Church, McGovern, Javits, and Birch Bayh were gone. Ira Shapiro, the former aide, who is writing a book about the Senate of the sixties and seventies, said, "It was a huge loss of the most experienced, accomplished senators being replaced by neophytes. All of a sudden, in 1981, more than half the Senate had been there less than six years." He added, "The shattering of the great Senate has long-term effects that keep showing up. It gets worse over time, but it just never gets restored. There was a phrase I heard from Helms and the younger ones: 'Others didn't want to make waves; I wanted to drain the swamp.' "

After C-SPAN went on the air, in 1979, the cozy atmosphere that encouraged both deliberation and back-room deals began to yield to transparency and, with it, posturing. "So Damn Much Money," a recent book by the Washington *Post* reporter Robert G. Kaiser, traces the spectacular rise of Washington lobbying to the same period. Liberal Republicans began to disappear, and as Southern Democrats died out they were replaced by conservative Republicans. Bipartisan coalitions on both wings of the Senate vanished. The institutionalist gave way to the free agent, who controlled his own fund-raising apparatus and media presence, and whose electoral base was a patchwork of single-issue groups. Members of both parties—Howard Metzenbaum, the Ohio Democrat; Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican—took to regularly using the Senate's rules to tie up business for narrowly ideological reasons. The number of filibusters shot up in the eighties and continued to rise in the following decades, as the parties kept alternating control of the Senate and escalating a procedural arms race, routinely blocking the confirmation of executive and judicial appointees. Democrats filibustered Republican nominees to the bench; then Republicans threatened to ban the filibuster in such cases—the so-called "nuclear option." Older members were perturbed when, in 2004, the Republican Majority Leader, Bill Frist, went to

South Dakota to campaign against the Democratic Minority Leader, Tom Daschle (who went on to lose). A few years earlier, such an action would have been unthinkable.

The weakened institution could no longer withstand pressures from outside its walls; as money and cameras rushed in, independent minds fell more and more in line with the partisans. Rough parity between the two parties meant that every election had the potential to make or break a majority, crushing the incentive to coöperate across the aisle. The Senate, no longer a fount of ideas, became a backwater of the U.S. government. During the Clinton years, the main action was between the White House and the Gingrich House of Representatives; during the Bush years, the Republican Senate majority abdicated the oversight role that could have placed a vital check on executive power.

Norman Ornstein, a congressional expert at the American Enterprise Institute, said that the Senate has increasingly become populated by "ideologues and charlatans." He went on, "When we do get good people who come in, they very quickly get ground up by the dynamic and the culture of the parties. And once you get there, look at what it takes to stay there." He spoke of Charles Grassley, the Iowa Republican, who, nearing the end of his career, spent much of last year working closely with his friend Max Baucus on the health-care bill. Then, in August, Grassley went home and, faced with angry Republican voters and the prospect of a primary challenge from the right, started warning about "pulling the plug on Grandma." Ornstein added that similar pressures had led John McCain to begin "altering his behavior and abandoning every issue, including campaign-finance reform."

One morning in April, I visited Harry McPherson, the former L.B.J. aide, at the offices of the legal and lobbying firm D. L. A. Piper, in downtown Washington. McPherson, who is eighty, had on his desk the firm's spiral-bound directory for the 111th Congress. I asked him who, in Johnsonian terms, were the whales of the current Senate. McPherson ran his finger down the list of senators. He did it again. "I'm trying here, looking for a remote descendant. Judas Priest, look at this." He was stumped. "Well, I see some good people, I see some people who are going to get coalitions together over time." He put the directory aside. "I'm just having the damnedest time."

Down the hall from McPherson's office was that of Mel Martinez, a former Republican senator from Florida; he was hired last year, two weeks after resigning his Senate seat without completing his first term. (He has since moved on to JPMorgan Chase.) William Cohen, the former Maine senator and Secretary of Defense, has an office downstairs. Tom Daschle works at D. L. A. Piper; his predecessor as Democratic leader, George Mitchell, was the firm's chairman, until President Obama appointed him to be his Middle East envoy. One feature of the diminished U.S. senator is the ease with which he moves from legislating to lobbying. Between 1998 and 2004, half the senators who left office became lobbyists. In 2007, Trent Lott, a Republican leader in the Senate less than a year into his fourth term, abruptly resigned and formed a lobbying firm with former Senator John Breaux, just a few weeks before a new law took effect requiring a two-year waiting period between serving and lobbying.

When you spend your days at the Senate, it's easy to forget about everything else. The House of Representatives seems miles away (it's just down a corridor and across the rotunda), the White House is another country, and actual foreign countries are unimaginable. The place remains insular, labyrinthine, and opaque—even physically. Senators commute thirty seconds between their offices and the chamber by electric subway cars that run along a tunnel under Constitution Avenue. Many signs are misleading or obsolete (the gilded lettering over the visitors' gallery says "Men's Gallery"), and the Capitol is filled with secret passageways and spare rooms, called hideaways, doled out according to seniority, where senators can read, drink, doze, and wait for the buzzer announcing an imminent vote. The most pervasive authority over the institution is not the Constitution or the Bible but, rather, an impenetrable sixteen-hundred-page tome, by Floyd M. Riddick, called "Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices," which only the late Robert Byrd, of West Virginia, was known to have read in its entirety. The procedures are so abstruse that a parliamentarian must sit below the presiding officer and, essentially, tell him or her what to say.

After half a century, the picture given by Preminger's "Advise and Consent" is still faintly visible. "The Senate, by its nature, is a place where consensus reigns and personal relationships are paramount," Lamar Alexander said. "And that's not changed." Which is exactly the problem: it's a self-governing body that depends on the reasonableness of its members to function. Sarah Binder, a congressional scholar at George Washington University, said, "To have a chamber that rules by unanimous consent—it's nutty! Especially when you've got Jim Bunning to please."

In 2006 and 2008, sixteen Democrats entered the Senate, giving the Party its current majority of fifty-nine to forty-one (counting two independents). They include moderates, like Jon Tester, of Montana, and Mark Warner, of Virginia; liberals, like Sherrod Brown, of Ohio, and Sheldon Whitehouse, of Rhode Island; policy specialists, like Amy Klobuchar, of Minnesota, and Jeff Merkley; and iconoclasts, like Claire McCaskill. Their interest in legislating has won the admiration of senior senators. "If they can stay, I think they'll be terrific," Chris Dodd said. "My worry is they won't stay. Because it's not productive."

The Democratic class of 2008 arrived with President Obama, expecting to usher in a dynamic new era. Instead, their young Senate careers have passed in a daily slog of threatened filibusters and "secret holds"—when a senator anonymously objects to bringing an appointment up for a vote, which requires unanimous consent. On April 20th, Claire McCaskill took the trouble to read off the names of fifty-six Obama nominees languishing in the limbo of secret holds, and Jon Kyl objected to every one of them. Just getting a bill to the floor for debate can require days of tactical gamesmanship between the party leaders. There were times when Warner wondered if anyone had ever quit in the first year. Michael Bennet said, "We find ourselves at a moment in our history when the questions are huge ones, not small ones, and where things have been put off for a really long period of time." He mentioned the national debt, energy policy, and the financial crisis. "Yet you have a Senate that's designed not to advance change but to slow it."

We were talking in his hideaway, a windowless room in the Capitol basement, which had a mini-fridge stocked with bottled water, black leatherette furniture circa 1962, and a TV tuned to C-SPAN2 on mute; Senator Kyl's mouth was moving. Bennet, the former superintendent of schools in Denver, was appointed to a vacant seat in 2009, and already has to defend it this year. He described the Senate with the dry bluntness of an outsider who hasn't allowed himself to grow too attached. Bennet repeated a story he had heard about a new congressman giving his maiden speech: "And then some more veteran guy came over and said, 'Son, you're talking like this place is on the level. It's not on the level.' As the fifteen months or so have gone by that I've been here, the less on the level it seems."

Earlier this year, the Senate's procedural absurdities became national news twice in one month. On February 4th, *CongressDaily* reported that Richard Shelby, an Alabama Republican, was secretly blocking the confirmation of seventy Obama appointees over a dispute involving defense earmarks for his state. (His tactics exposed, Shelby—whose office maintains that he was responsible for fewer than fifty holds—lifted all but three.) Later that month, Bunning spent several days and a late night on the Senate floor, filibustering to prevent benefits from being paid to millions of unemployed Americans. When Merkley tried to reason with him, Bunning responded, "Tough shit." (Eventually, Republicans persuaded Bunning to stop.)

These incidents elicited a brief outcry, but the extent of the Senate's routine folly remains largely hidden. For example, Grassley and Ron Wyden, of Oregon, have been trying since 1997 to end the practice of secret holds, without success. In 2007, the Senate passed a bill banning secret holds that last longer than six days. But to get around the ban two or more senators can pass the hold back and forth—it's called "rolling holds"—and their party leader facilitates the game by keeping their names secret.

Many of the Senate's antique rules and precedents have been warped beyond recognition by the modern pressures of partisanship. The hold, for example, was a courtesy extended to senators in the days of horse travel, when they needed time to get back to Washington and read a bill or question an appointee before casting their vote. Sarah Binder, who co-authored a book on the filibuster, calls the procedure a historical accident: in 1806, the Senate got rid of a little-used rule that allowed the "previous question" to be called to a vote. Suddenly, there was no inherent limit on debate, and by the eighteen-thirties senators had begun taking advantage of this loophole, derailing the proceedings by getting up and talking until their voice, legs, or bladder gave out. (The word "filibuster" comes from *vrijbuiter*—old Dutch for "looter.")

In 1917, Woodrow Wilson, with his wartime legislative agenda blocked by filibusters, forced the Senate to pass Rule XXII, which allowed a two-thirds majority to bring a floor debate to an end with a "cloture" vote. For decades, the rule was rarely used; between 1919 and 1971, there were only forty-nine cloture votes, fewer than one per year. In the seventies and eighties, the annual average rose to about a dozen. (Frustration with this increase led the Senate, in 1975, to lower the threshold for cloture to sixty votes.) In the nineties and early aughts, the average went up to twenty-five or thirty a year, as both parties escalated their use of the filibuster when they found themselves in the minority. After the Republicans lost their majority in 2006, filibusters became everyday events: there were a hundred and twelve cloture votes in 2007 and 2008, and this session Republicans are on target to break their own filibuster record.

The tally of cloture votes reflects only a small fraction of senatorial obstruction. Three hundred and forty-five bills passed by the House have been prevented from even coming up for debate in the Senate. "Why?" Steny Hoyer, the outraged Democratic Majority Leader of the House, asked me. "Because they do not do their business in a way that facilitates noncontroversial things. Thankfully, the House of Representatives is not becoming the Senate." Last week, six House Democrats expressed their displeasure with the upper chamber by staging a sit-in of sorts on the Senate floor.

Seventy-six nominees for judgeships and executive posts have been approved by committees but, because of blocks, haven't come up for a vote in the full Senate, leaving courtrooms idle and jobs unfilled across the upper levels of the Obama Administration. (The Democrats also practiced the art of blocking nominees during the Bush Administration.) There's often no objection to the individual being blocked: after an eight-month hold, Martha Johnson, nominated to run the General Services Administration, was confirmed 96–0. On an issue like health-care reform, when the objection was substantive, Republicans ransacked Riddick's "Senate Procedure" for every conceivable way to delay a debate and vote. Judd Gregg even sent a memo on stalling tactics to his Republican colleagues. Tom Coburn demanded the reading aloud of an entire seven-hundred-and-sixty-seven-page amendment proposed by Bernie Sanders, the Vermont socialist; Senate clerks, working in half-hour shifts, were three hours into the chore when Sanders withdrew the amendment in frustration.

Under McConnell, Republicans have consistently consumed as much of the Senate's calendar as possible with legislative maneuvering. The strategy is not to extend deliberation of the Senate's agenda but to prevent it. Tom Harkin, who first proposed reform of the filibuster in 1995, called his Republican colleagues "nihilists," who want to create chaos because it serves their ideology. "If there's chaos, things will tend toward simple solutions," Harkin said. "In chaos people don't listen to reason." McConnell did not respond to requests for an interview, but he has often argued that the Republican strategy reflects the views of a majority of Americans. In March, he told the *Times*, "To the extent that they"—the Democrats—"want to do things that we think are in the political center and would be helpful to the country, we'll be helpful. To the extent they are trying to turn us into a Western European country, we are not going to be helpful."

One of the mysteries of the Senate is how Mitch McConnell has been able to keep his members in line, on vote after vote. Why do moderates with years of experience and their own power base back home—Richard Lugar, of Indiana; Susan Collins, of Maine; George Voinovich, of Ohio—keep siding with the more extreme members of their caucus? Alexander said that McConnell listens well to all his members, adding, "When you have your back against the wall and the gallows are hanging in front of you, it tends to unify. Operating with forty members—it concentrates the mind."

Lindsey Graham described to the *Times* how McConnell exhorted his caucus after the disastrous 2008 election: "He said if we didn't stick together on big things, we wouldn't be relevant." Last December, the Republicans decided to filibuster a military-spending bill in order to delay the looming vote on health care until as close to Christmas as possible. Thad Cochran, the Republican ranking member of the Appropriations Committee, promised Daniel Inouye, the chairman, that he wouldn't join the effort. But at the last minute Cochran, who has been in the Senate since 1979 and brings disproportionate amounts of defense money to Mississippi, told Reid that his leadership wouldn't allow him to vote with the Democrats and end the filibuster—even on a matter of national security. (The Democrats were able to impose cloture, and the vote on health care finally took place on Christmas Eve.)

Republican defections have been rare. In early 2009, Collins and Olympia Snowe, also of Maine, voted for the stimulus bill, along with Arlen Specter (who promptly switched parties). Snowe also voted for the Finance Committee's health-care-reform bill last October, the only Republican to do so. But in December, at the pivotal moment, she voted against the version that went before the full Senate. "I wasn't interested in expanding this program beyond the Finance Committee version—it grew by a thousand pages," Snowe said. She wasn't included in the negotiations with White House officials that took place in an elegant conference room across from Reid's suite of offices, and said that the Democrats "did not accept any of my proposals. As I said to the President, it was all windup and no pitch." McConnell was able to exploit her alienation. A friend of Snowe cited another reason for her reversal: "She actually said to me once that she had never felt the pressure that she felt on health care, never before had that pressure been quite as evident to her or quite as real or troubling. Kyl and McConnell were saying things like 'You just can't let us down, we're all in this together. You're a senior Republican member of this caucus, and you just have to hang tough with us. We expect it and you're going to do it.' "

Reid doesn't use such tough tactics; he has achieved his position, in spite of his public shortcomings, by being the senator who helped other Democrats, always answered their calls, and got them what they wanted through masterly maneuvering. This has made him enormously popular within the Democratic caucus, but it doesn't give him the leverage of McConnell, let alone of Lyndon Johnson.

In the current Senate, it has become normal for a handful of senators, sometimes representing just ten or twenty per cent of the country's population, to hold everything up. And the status quo has become sufficiently frustrating that a few new senators have considered a radical option: mutiny.

Tom Udall, who is sixty-two, is older than most freshman senators. He has the crow's-feet of a Westerner who has spent time in the sun, and a slow, good-natured voice. His father, Stewart, was an Arizona congressman and the Interior Secretary for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; his uncle Mo was a legendary Arizona representative; his cousin Mark is a freshman senator from Colorado. Udall served five terms in the House before winning a Senate seat from New Mexico, in 2008. And yet he has the air of a political Candide—he is always earnest, capable of disappointment but not cynicism. "I ran on the idea that the Senate should not be a graveyard for good ideas," he said. "Then to be on the inside—the thing that strikes you is how one senator can hold up the whole show."

In his first year in office, Udall decided to do something audacious: he would try to change the Senate's rules. Customarily, the rules continue session after session, and a provision in Rule XXII requires sixty-seven votes to amend them, making it extremely difficult. ("Rule XXII is a Catch-22," Ted Kennedy used to joke.) Udall embraced a different idea—the "constitutional option." Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution states that "each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings" at the beginning of the new Congress. So, in theory, a senator could take the floor next January and propose debating its rules from scratch, including the filibuster. New rules could be passed with a simple majority. There's even a precedent for this: moves to revisit the rules by invoking the constitutional option have been made three times, most recently in 1975. Udall has spent much of the past year trying to build support for the idea.

At the request of Udall and others, Schumer, who is the chairman of the Rules Committee, has held a series of hearings on the filibuster, calling witnesses such as Sarah Binder, the historian, and Walter Mondale, who was in the Senate when the constitutional option was invoked in 1975. Dick Durbin, the second-highest-ranking Democrat, has organized working groups among newer members on other internal reforms, such as ending secret holds and choosing committee chairs by caucus vote rather than by seniority. (Lamar Alexander wryly suggested to me that Schumer and Durbin were competing for the favor of newer members, in case Harry Reid loses his seat in the fall and they run against each other for Majority Leader.)

For Republican institutionalists, such as Alexander and Gregg, the push for rules reform is folly. "If you want a parliamentary form of government, go over to the House," Gregg, who is about to retire, scoffed. "Why even run for the Senate?" Udall's plan for next January, he said, would be a "gigantic mistake."

"They'll get over it," Alexander said of the Democrats' enthusiasm for rules reform. "And they'll get over it quicker if they're in the minority next January. Because they'll instantly see the value of slowing the Senate down to consider whatever they have to say." He added that the Senate "may be getting done about as much as the American people want done." The President's ambitious agenda, after all, has upset a lot of voters, across the political spectrum. None of the Republicans I spoke to agreed with the contention that the Senate is "broken." Alexander claimed that he and other Republicans were exercising the moderating, thoughtful influence on legislation that the founders wanted in the Senate. "The Senate wasn't created to be efficient," he argued. "It was created to be inefficient." At one of the filibuster hearings, in April, Alexander, sitting across the table from Udall, said that, for all the times the Democrats charge the Republicans with obstructing legislation, "we could say that's the number of times the majority has tried to cut off our right to debate, our right to offer amendments, which is the essence of the Senate."

Newcomers like Udall seem to think that the Senate has grown so absurd and extreme that some kind of reform is inevitable. Perhaps they need more time to plumb the depths of the institution's intransigence. According to Sarah Binder, a change in rules is extremely unlikely; Republicans would be implacably opposed to, say, weakening the filibuster, and so would some Democrats, especially long-serving ones. "I would oppose that," Chris Dodd said, adding of the freshmen, "These are people who have never been in the minority." For older Democrats, who have put in their years, grown adept at working the rules, and now chair powerful committees, the reform impulse could be a threat. (Among senior senators, the sole enthusiast for rules reform is Tom Harkin.) One senator spoke of the Senate as being divided not between whales and minnows but, rather, between bulls and calves. The older Democrats are too accustomed to the Senate's ways to share the frustrations of the newcomers; the handful of older moderate Republicans are too weak to challenge the newer radicals who now dominate the caucus.

Even if the freshmen Democrats can somehow reform the filibuster next January, the Senate will remain a sclerotic, wasteful, unhappy body. The deepest source of its problems is not rules and precedents but, rather, its human beings, who have created a culture where Tocqueville's "lofty thoughts" and "generous impulses" have no place.

A few days after passing health-care reform, the Senate struggled to its feet to take on a second large task. Financial regulatory reform should have been the easiest piece of major legislation of the Obama Presidency, the likeliest to win real bipartisan support. The financial crisis had been catastrophic for millions of Americans, and after the 2008 bailout Wall Street had become even more hated than the Senate was. In April, a lineup of bankers from Goldman Sachs appeared before Senator Levin's subcommittee on investigations, and managed to appear as arrogant, callous, and evasive as their reputations had suggested. The public demanded action. Some Republicans had a genuine desire to pass a bill. If health-care reform had been a war of attrition, financial reform was a promising liaison.

The affair began with a Republican, Bob Corker, and a Democrat, Mark Warner—both multimillionaires serving their first term, both considered centrists. Corker is a small, dapper former construction magnate who became the mayor of Chattanooga; Warner is a tall, preppily dressed former telecommunications entrepreneur who became the governor of Virginia. Chris Dodd, the Banking Committee chairman, assigned them to work together on the section of the bill having to do with the liquidation of troubled firms—making sure that there would never be another taxpayer bailout. They worked through the winter, in Warner's office, in Corker's office, over dinner, sometimes without staff, as if they were members of a Senate from the past. They hosted a series of afternoon seminars, inviting guests such as Ben Bernanke, Alan Greenspan, and Sheila Bair. Corker and Warner were sometimes said to be the only Democrat and Republican still talking to each other. In January, *Business Week* called them the Senate's "Odd Couple." By February, they had finished their work.

Meanwhile, discussions about the entire bill between Dodd and Richard Shelby, the top Republican on the committee, dragged on, repeatedly breaking down. Finally, on February 10th, Dodd called Corker, who, though he was one of the committee's junior members, agreed to be the chairman's Republican negotiating partner. When Corker informed McConnell and Shelby, they expressed surprise. "It was an odd place to be," Corker recalled. "And yet that night we began meeting." The junior Republican savored the rare experience of creating, rather than opposing, legislation. In response, Shelby's conservative staff tried to undermine Corker, spreading rumors among Republicans and their lobbyists that he was giving too much away. (A Shelby aide said that staff members were simply informing other Republicans of the Party's line on financial reform.)

On March 10th, Dodd concluded that he had to move a bill to the floor. He called Corker and said, "You've been a great partner." He was ending their talks after only a month. "It's a little stunning, I've got to be honest," Corker told reporters afterward. Someone close to the negotiations compared Corker to Dickens's Miss Havisham, unable to get over the rebuff, forever awaiting the arrival of her groom, all her clocks stopped. Corker later said that Dodd had ended the talks under pressure from the White House and other Democrats. Dodd said that Corker had been unable to bring any other Republicans with him. "Baloney," Corker said. "If Dodd had reached an agreement with me, we'd've had at least twenty-five Republican votes."

The bill that Dodd brought before the Senate, after a year of discussions with Democrats and Republicans alike, incorporated the bipartisan plan of Warner and Corker to prevent another bank bailout: setting up a fifty-billion-dollar fund, paid for by the banks, to insure orderly liquidation, and establishing a risk council to detect warning signs of another crisis. But in mid-April Mitch McConnell—who had just met with Wall Street executives in New York, and was now parroting talking points from a memo written by the Republican strategist Frank Luntz—called it a "partisan bill" that "will guarantee perpetual taxpayer bailout of Wall Street banks." McConnell presented a letter, signed by all forty-one Republicans, suggesting that they would filibuster the financial-reform bill.

His remarks amounted to a repudiation of Corker's work as well as of Dodd's. The next day, April 15th, Corker pleaded with his colleagues, in his Tennessee twang, "Let's come to the floor and let's act like adults. Let's tone down the rhetoric. Let's don't exaggerate the pluses or minuses. Let's do what the Senate was created to do. . . . We were supposed to be the people that took some of the red-hot activities that sometimes come from the other body and sat down with cooler heads and resolved the issues like adults. We can do that. As a matter of fact, I would say, if we cannot do that on financial regulation, an issue that really doesn't have any real philosophical bearings to it . . ." Corker didn't allow the thought to ripen—he had already gone farther than almost any Republican would have dared.

Dodd spoke later in the day and completed Corker's speech: "I know my friends on the other side of the aisle are faced with a difficult choice between supporting their party leadership and participating in this complicated, difficult debate. I am not naïve. I know that is a hard place to be. But if we can't act like U.S. senators for the sake of this issue . . . then why

are we even here?" He went on, "We work for an American public that is sick and tired of feeling like no one is looking out for their interests, like the political hacks and lobbyists hold all the cards in these discussions. The minority seems intent on proving them right. . . . I have been here a long time. I know this institution is better than that. I know there are friends of mine on the other side of the aisle who care about this bill, who want to be a part of the debate, who want to be part of the solution."

In the same speech, Dodd joined the partisan fight, accusing McConnell of lying about the bill. Turning crimson-faced, he chopped the air with his hand as he shouted, "I have to ask myself, why did I go through this process over the last four or five months, agreeing to much of what they were offering, and there is not a single political vote to show for it. . . . I have to say to the younger members, the newer members coming along: be careful!"

Corker, having heard that Dodd was speaking, returned to the chamber and asked to respond. "You and I went a long way," Corker told Dodd. "Then we stopped. On March 10th it ended. I understand that, look, you were losing Democrats on your committee."

"And I was not gaining Republicans," Dodd replied.

"You had one, and that is all you asked for when you started. I never said I could speak for anybody but myself. And I did not leave the table." Corker urged Dodd to keep talking to Republicans—their differences could be sorted out in a few days.

But this was not McConnell's agenda. Instead, financial reform became a slightly more polite repeat of the health-care-reform brawl: the Republicans threatened filibusters, the Democrats threatened all-nighters, and thousands of lobbyists prowled the Capitol, charging their Wall Street clients more than a billion dollars. On April 28th, I was sitting in the ornate Reception Room with Jim Manley, Reid's spokesman. On the other side of the wall, there was the noise of furniture scraping across a tile floor. "Those are cots being set up in the L.B.J. Room," Manley said. "Very little happens around here without a deadline." The cots persuaded Republicans to allow the bill to move to the floor for debate. A few weeks later, on May 20th, yet another filibuster was defeated by yet another cloture motion, and financial reform finally came to a vote. It passed, 59–39. Only four Republicans had joined the majority. Corker wasn't among them. He had even voted for an amendment, offered by his Republican colleague Jeff Sessions, of Alabama, that would have scrapped Corker's work of many months with Warner.

"The idea of watching Bob Corker vote for the Sessions amendment!" Dodd said afterward, sitting in his red-curtained office, under a print of Holbein's portrait of Thomas More. "It's the Senate, I guess." McConnell's strategy of obstruction had once again come close to succeeding, Dodd said, but he knew that a "shrinking number" of Republicans were frustrated. The previous day, Dodd had said to Susan Collins, "God, I would have loved to have you as my ranking member on this." Collins responded, "We could have had such a great time on this bill."

Warner, who said that he believed in bipartisanship because "the American people don't trust either political party enough to give them a blank check," was astonished that so few Republicans voted for financial reform. "There was zero substantive reason why this couldn't have been eighty votes," he said. I asked him why Bob Corker had voted no on the bill. Warner started to talk about the consumer-protection title, and then said, "If you want to vote against something, you can always find your reasons."

But Corker hadn't seemed to want to vote against it. He had spent months trying to act like a U.S. senator, alienating himself from his own party and then the other party, and on the day of the vote he held the floor for the better part of thirty minutes, as if he were still reluctant to let the effort go. "I am obviously disappointed," he said. "I think I have spent as much time as any senator . . . on policy regarding our financial system. I think any bill—even this bill—has good things in it. There is no question. And I appreciate the thrust. But I think there is a lot of overreaching, and I think not enough time was spent on some of the core issues."

As the senators cast their votes, I noticed Robert Kaiser, the author of "So Damn Much Money," in the press gallery. I later asked him if, with the passage of two big reform bills in three months, we were witnessing a possible renewal of the Senate. "If you can engage public opinion in a way politicians can understand, public opinion can still blow away money and interest groups," he said. "But over the past few decades the reflex has grown in the Senate that, all things considered, it's better to avoid than to take on big issues. This is the kind of thing that drives Michael Bennet nutty: here you've arrived in the United States Senate and you can't do fuck-all about the destruction of the planet."

After the final vote on financial reform, the Republicans flew home, and the Democratic leaders held a press conference, smiling before the microphones outside the Senate chamber. Reid said, "For those who wanted to protect Wall Street, it didn't work." He then excused himself: he had to join Biden for a telephone fund-raiser with "some Nevadans."

Durbin said, "I was stunned that only four Republicans would join us in passing this historic legislation. What does it take to bring the Republican Party into the conversation about the future of America?"

Dodd, glowing with triumph, said, "I wanted to demonstrate that the Senate of the United States could conduct its business much as our founders intended. We did that."

On July 21st, President Obama signed the completed bill. The two lasting achievements of this Senate, financial regulation and health care, required a year and a half of legislative warfare that nearly destroyed the body. They depended on a set of circumstances—a large majority of Democrats, a charismatic President with an electoral mandate, and a national crisis—that will not last long or be repeated anytime soon. Two days after financial reform became law, Harry Reid announced that the Senate would not take up comprehensive energy-reform legislation for the rest of the year. And so climate change joined immigration, job creation, food safety, pilot training, veterans' care, campaign finance, transportation security, labor law, mine safety, wildfire management, and scores of executive and judicial appointments on

the list of matters that the world's greatest deliberative body is incapable of addressing. Already, you can feel the Senate slipping back into stagnant waters.

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**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 1:18 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Yes they should have known.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Aug 02 13:17:23 2010
Subject: Shuttle

Did USSS know we're leaving at 3? They seemed surprised. Do they have tickets?

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**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: fyi

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-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Mon, 2 Aug 2010 13:35:29
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Subject: Re: fyi

What is this?

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From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 02 12:37:28 2010
Subject: fyi

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The Political Scene

# The Empty Chamber

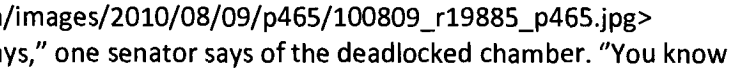
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by George Packer
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"Sit and watch us for seven days," one senator says of the deadlocked chamber. "You know what you'll see happening? Nothing."

"This is just one of those days when you want to throw up your hands and say, 'What in the world are we doing?' " Senator Claire McCaskill, the Missouri Democrat, said.
"It's unconscionable," Carl Levin, the senior Democratic senator from Michigan, said. "The obstructionism has become mindless."
The Senators were in the Capitol, sunk into armchairs before the marble fireplace in the press lounge, which is directly behind the Senate chamber. It was four-thirty on a Wednesday afternoon. McCaskill, in a matching maroon jacket and top, looked exasperated; Levin glowered over his spectacles.
"Also, it's a dumb rule in itself," McCaskill said. "It's time we started looking at some of these rules."

She was referring to Senate Rule XXVI, Paragraph 5, which requires unanimous consent for committees and subcommittees to hold hearings after two in the afternoon while the Senate is in session. Both Levin and McCaskill had scheduled hearings that day for two-thirty. Typically, it wouldn't be difficult to get colleagues to waive the rule; a general and an admiral had flown halfway around the world to appear before Levin's Armed Services Committee, and McCaskill's Subcommittee on Contracting Oversight of the Homeland Security Committee was investigating the training of Afghan police. But this was March 24th, the day after President Barack Obama signed the health-care-reform bill, in a victory ceremony at the White House; it was also the day that the Senate was to vote on a reconciliation bill for health-care reform, approved by the House three nights earlier, which would retroactively remove the new law's most embarrassing sweetheart deals and complete the yearlong process of passing universal health care. Republicans, who had fought the bill as a bloc, were in no mood to make things easy.

So, four hours earlier, when Levin went to the Senate floor and asked for consent to hold his hearing, Senator Richard Burr, Republican of North Carolina, and a member of Levin's committee, had refused. "I have no personal objection to continuing," Burr said. But, he added, "there is objection on our side of the aisle. Therefore, I would have to object."

Burr had to object on behalf of his party because he was the only Republican in the chamber when Levin spoke. In general, when senators give speeches on the floor, their colleagues aren't around, and the two or three who might be present aren't listening. They're joking with aides, or e-mailing Twitter ideas to their press secretaries, or getting their first look at a speech they're about to give before the eight unmanned cameras that provide a live feed to C-SPAN2. The presiding officer of the Senate—freshmen of the majority party take rotating, hour-long shifts intended to introduce them to the ways of the institution—sits in his chair on the dais, scanning his BlackBerry or reading a Times article about the Senate. Michael Bennet, a freshman Democrat from Colorado, said, "Sit and watch us for seven days—just watch the floor. You know what you'll see happening? Nothing. When I'm in the chair, I sit there thinking, I wonder what they're doing in China right now?"

Between speeches, there are quorum calls, time killers in which a Senate clerk calls the roll at the rate of one name every few minutes. The press gallery, above the dais, is typically deserted, as journalists prefer to hunker down in the press lounge, surfing the Web for analysis of current Senate negotiations; television screens alert them if something of interest actually happens in the chamber. The only people who pay attention to a speech are the Senate stenographers. On this afternoon, two portly bald men in suits stood facing the speaker from a few feet away, tapping at the transcription machines, which resembled nineteenth-century cash registers, slung around their necks. The Senate chamber is an intimate room where men and women go to talk to themselves for the record.

Like many other aspects of senatorial procedure, Rule XXVI, Paragraph 5 is a relic from the days when senators had to hover around their desks to know what was happening on the floor during the main afternoon debate. (The desks, some built as long ago as 1819, are mahogany, and their lids lift up, like those in an old schoolhouse; the desks of the Majority and Minority Leader are still equipped with brass spittoons.) In the press lounge, McCaskill said, with light sarcasm, "Somebody told me the rule is to make sure people pay attention to what's happening on the floor during debate and not be distracted by committee work. Clearly, it's an old rule."

The Republicans had turned this old rule into a new means of obstruction. There would be no hearings that afternoon; the general and the admiral would have to come back another day. Like investment bankers on Wall Street, senators these days direct much of their creative energy toward the manipulation of arcane rules and loopholes, scoring short-term successes while magnifying their institution's broader dysfunction.

Around five o'clock, the chamber began to fill, as the reconciliation bill came up for a vote; there were twenty-three amendments pending, all from Republicans, and perhaps many more to come. Ordinarily, debate and voting on an amendment might take two legislative days, but under the rules of the reconciliation bill the senators were to dispatch the amendments one after another, as in a hot-dog-eating contest, with a minute of debate for each side. The goal was to finish the bill by the end of the evening, so that senators wouldn't miss a day of their spring recess—apparently, the only thing worse than a government takeover of the health-care system. The usual longueurs of the Senate, where forty minutes can tick away on the antique clock above the rear double doors without a word's being spoken, were about to yield to a frenzy. Harry Reid, the Majority Leader, from Nevada, had predicted that the process, known as Vote-O-Rama, would go past two in the morning, and had warned senators to stay close to the chamber.

Max Baucus, of Montana, the manager of the bill for the Democrats, rose and said, "This is the first time in recent memory that a reconciliation bill has all the amendments on one side only. These are clearly amendments designed to kill the reconciliation and, therefore, kill health-care reform. So I very much hope that all of these amendments are defeated."

Tall, gaunt Judd Gregg, of New Hampshire, the bill's Republican manager, took the floor. "The position on the other side of the aisle is: no amendments allowed, even if they are good," he said. Indignation rouged his cheeks, and his voice rose half an octave. "Obviously, they presume the Republican Party is an inconvenience. The democratic process is an inconvenience. It also appears, considering the opposition to this out in America, that the American people are an inconvenience."

The Senate chamber is laid out in four concentric semicircles, with adjacent desks almost touching on the crowded Democratic side, and the desks of the much smaller Republican minority spaced loosely apart. The design is meant to emphasize the senators' unity. But Baucus and Gregg avoided eye contact across the six feet of aisle that now divides the chamber into two constantly warring factions. Senators are required, by custom, to speak of one another in the third person, directing their anger and sarcasm through whichever poor freshman happens to be the presiding officer at the moment. Rule XIX, Paragraphs 2 and 3—one of the original rules drawn from Thomas Jefferson's "Manual of Parliamentary Practice"—bars senators from imputing unworthy conduct or motives to another senator, and from insulting any senator's state. But there is no rule against finger-wagging, and Baucus wagged his at Gregg while shouting at Al Franken, of Minnesota, who had started a shift in the presiding officer's chair: "Mr. President, make no mistake, the intent of every single one of the amendments offered on the other side of the aisle is to kill health-care reform. . . . A senator on the other side of the aisle stood up and said that this is hopefully the President's Waterloo. They want to kill health-care reform!"

The voice of Stuart Smalley filled the chamber: "The time of the senator has expired."

For the next nine hours, the chamber became the stage of a theatrical whose ending, like almost everything that happens on the Senate floor, was known in advance to all. The Republican goal in Vote-O-Rama was to embarrass the Democrats while appearing to suggest useful changes; the Democratic goal was to prevent any change to the bill, so that it wouldn't have to return to the House, where it might be voted down. Several of the Republican amendments had been designed to make Democrats look hypocritical, by forcing them to vote against policies that the Party typically supports. One amendment, for example, declared that the health-care bill could not be linked to a tax hike on individuals making less than two hundred thousand dollars a year. Other amendments were more nakedly partisan, and outlandish. David Vitter, a Louisiana Republican, proposed an amendment that repealed the entire law. Senator Tom Coburn, a Republican obstetrician from Oklahoma, introduced an amendment to insure that veterans diagnosed with mental illness would not be denied the right to own firearms, and another to prevent "convicted child molesters, rapists, and sex offenders" from buying erectile-dysfunction drugs with taxpayer funds. Coburn got through the minute he was allotted to explain his Viagra amendment without cracking a smile. "This is not a game amendment," he insisted. "It actually saves money."

So many senators snickered that the presiding officer banged his gavel for order.

"The amendment offered by the senator from Oklahoma makes a mockery of this Senate," Baucus declared. "It is a crass political stunt aimed at making thirty-second commercials, not public policy." Baucus asked for the yeas and nays, and a clerk called the roll at a ragged pace. "Mr. Coburn, Mr. Cochran, Ms. Collins." Thirty-five-second pause. "Mr. Conrad, Mr. Corker." Ten seconds. "Mr. Cornyn." Senators pay no attention to the sound of their name; they cast votes when they're so inclined—wandering in late, shuffling down the chamber's gentle blue-carpeted steps to the swarm of colleagues milling about in the well, where the clerks sit at a table, and then holding a finger up or down. At one point, John McCain—now just one of a hundred senators and struggling to stay in office—spent half a minute waving stiff-armed, trying to catch the eye of a clerk so he could cast his vote. In the end, two Democrats—Evan Bayh, of Indiana, and Ben Nelson, of Nebraska—joined the Republicans in opposing Viagra for sex offenders. The amendment was defeated.

The carpeting in the chamber absorbs voices, and during the long night one of the few that rose above the muffled drone was that of Charles Schumer, who said to Gregg, "Get to work! Stop screwing around with health care!"

Sporadically, a sharp cackle emanated from Al Franken, who wandered the chamber, looking for Republicans he could charm into laughing. Observed from the press gallery, the senators in their confined space began to resemble zoo animals—Levin a shambling brown bear, John Thune a loping gazelle, Jim Bunning a maddened grizzly. Each one displayed a limited set of behaviors: in conversations, John Kerry planted himself a few inches away, loomed, and clamped his hands down on a colleague's shoulders. Joe Lieberman patted everyone on the back. It became clear which senators were loners (Russ Feingold, Daniel Akaka) and which were social (Blanche Lincoln, Lindsey Graham); which senators were important (Dick Durbin, Jon Kyl) and which were ignored (Bayh, Bunning).

Past midnight, Durbin slumped at his desk, one hand over his face, yawning painfully. Susan Collins was going through her mail. Twenty-three amendments had been voted down, and the Republicans were proposing a fresh batch. "Can we

get some order?" Bunning growled, before he introduced a proposal to let senior citizens opt out of parts of Medicare. It was the only amendment that any Republicans joined the Democrats to defeat.

Harry Reid controls the Senate's schedule, but Mitch McConnell, of Kentucky, who is the Minority Leader, can object. Since nearly everything in the Senate depends on unanimous consent, the main business of the place is a continuous negotiation between these two supremely unsentimental men. That night, they played a game of chicken: McConnell, unsmiling, his eyes riveted ahead, held out the prospect of dozens more amendments; Reid, a former boxer, was hunched and mumbling, playing rope-a-dope, vowing to fend off amendments all night. The two leaders left the chamber to confer privately about how to proceed. Inside, the atmosphere of a slumber party set in. Debbie Stabenow, of Michigan, her hand across her heart, sang a sentimental duet with Robert Menendez, of New Jersey. Exhaustion momentarily eased the partisan divide. Claire McCaskill sat down beside Tom Coburn, held up an erect finger in his face, as if casting her Viagra vote, then let it go limp. Coburn could be heard to joke, "The longest it lasted was thirty seconds."

At two-forty-five in the morning, Reid suddenly declared the Senate adjourned. The Senate parliamentarian had just found two small violations of the reconciliation rules, meaning that in the morning, despite the Democrats' efforts, the bill would go back to the House for another vote. At the bang of the gavel, the senators fled. In the parking lot, on the Capitol's northeast side, McCaskill climbed into her S.U.V. Levin, in a cramped sedan, was chauffeured off into the empty streets. On a marble ledge near the exit, Arlen Specter sat alone, a ghost in a brown suit, staring straight ahead, as if waiting for someone to take him away.

The Senate reconvened at 9:45 A.M. Around two in the afternoon, the members gathered for the final vote, and the Democrats were giddy. Tom Harkin, of Iowa, and Christopher Dodd, of Connecticut, even exchanged a hug. "Everyone's tired," Reid declared before the final vote. "This legislative fight is one for the record books." He was so fatigued that he initially voted the wrong way. Lindsey Graham came in late, delaying the tally by ten minutes. "Way to go, Lindsey, way to stretch it out," Sam Brownback told him. A few Republicans lingered and took in the moment, like players on the losing team at the end of the World Series. After a year of work, health-care reform had passed, 56–43, and for a moment the chamber's Tweeting pygmies had become legislative giants.

The Senate is often referred to as "the world's greatest deliberative body." Jeff Merkley, a freshman Democrat from Oregon, said, "That is a phrase that I wince each time I hear it, because the amount of real deliberation, in terms of exchange of ideas, is so limited." Merkley could remember witnessing only one moment of floor debate between a Republican and a Democrat. "The memory I took with me was: 'Wow, that's unusual—there's a conversation occurring in which they're making point and counterpoint and challenging each other.' And yet nobody else was in the chamber." Tom Udall, a freshman Democrat from New Mexico, could not recall seeing a senator change another senator's mind. "You would really need a good hour or two of extensive exchange among folks that really know the issue," he said. Instead, a senator typically gives "a prepared speech that's already been vetted through the staff. Then another guy gets up and gives a speech on a completely different subject." From time to time, senators of the same party carry on a colloquy—"I would be interested in the distinguished senator from Iowa's view of the other side's Medicare Advantage plan"—that has been scripted in advance by aides.

While senators are in Washington, their days are scheduled in fifteen-minute intervals: staff meetings, interviews, visits from lobbyists and home-state groups, caucus lunches, committee hearings, briefing books, floor votes, fund-raisers. Each senator sits on three or four committees and even more subcommittees, most of which meet during the same morning hours, which helps explain why committee tables are often nearly empty, and why senators drifting into a hearing can barely sustain a coherent line of questioning. All this activity is crammed into a three-day week, for it's an unwritten rule of the modern Senate that votes are almost never scheduled for Mondays or Fridays, which allows senators to spend four days away from the capital. Senators now, unlike those of several decades ago, often keep their families in their home states, where they return most weekends, even if it's to Alaska or Idaho—a concession to endless fund-raising, and to the populist anti-Washington mood of recent years. (When Newt Gingrich became Speaker of the House, in 1995, he told new Republican members not to move their families to the capital.) Tom Daschle, the former Democratic leader, said, "When we scheduled votes, the only day where we could be absolutely certain we had all one hundred senators there was Wednesday afternoon."

Nothing dominates the life of a senator more than raising money. Tom Harkin, the Iowa Democrat, said, "Of any free time you have, I would say fifty per cent, maybe even more," is spent on fund-raising. In addition to financing their own campaigns, senators participate at least once a week in the Power Hour, during which they make obligatory calls on behalf of the Party (in the Democrats' case, from a three-story town house across Constitution Avenue from the Senate office buildings, since they're barred from using their own offices to raise money). Lamar Alexander, the Tennessee

Republican, insisted that the donations are never sufficient to actually buy a vote, but he added, "It sucks up time that a senator ought to be spending getting to know other senators, working on issues."

In June, 2009, top aides to Max Baucus, whose Finance Committee was negotiating the health-care-reform bill, took time to meet with two health-care lobbyists, who themselves were former Baucus aides. (Baucus received more than a million dollars from the industry for his 2008 reëlection campaign.) That month, according to Common Cause, industry groups were spending $1.4 million a day to lobby members of Congress. Udall, speaking of the corrosive effect of fund-raising and lobbying, said, "People know it in their heart—they know this place is dominated by special interests. The over-all bills are not nearly as bold because of the influence of money."

Daschle sketched a portrait of the contemporary senator who is too busy to think: "Sometimes, you're dialling for dollars, you get the call, you've got to get over to vote, you've got fifteen minutes. You don't have a clue what's on the floor, your staff is whispering in your ears, you're running onto the floor, then you check with your leader—you double check—but, just to make triple sure, there's a little sheet of paper on the clerk's table: The leader recommends an aye vote, or a no vote. So you've got all these checks just to make sure you don't screw up, but even then you screw up sometimes. But, if you're ever pressed, 'Why did you vote that way?'—you just walk out thinking, Oh, my God, I hope nobody asks, because I don't have a clue."

Aides, at the elbows of senators as they shuttle between their offices and the Capitol, have proliferated over the past few decades, and they play a crucial role. Lamar Alexander, who has an office of fifty people, pointed out that staff members, who are younger and often more ideological than their bosses, and less dependent on institutional relationships, tend to push senators toward extremes. Often, aides are the main actors behind proposed legislation—writing bills, negotiating the details—while the senator is relegated to repeating talking points on Fox or MSNBC.

One day in his office, Udall picked up some tabloids from his coffee table and waved them at me. "You know about all these rags that cover the Hill, right?" he said, smiling. There are five dailies—Politico, The Hill, Roll Call, CongressDaily, and CQ Today—all of which emphasize insider conflict. The senators, who like to complain about the trivializing effect of the "24/7 media," provide no end of fodder for it. The news of the day was what Udall called a "dust-up" between Scott Brown, the freshman Massachusetts Republican, and a staffer for Jim DeMint, the arch-conservative from South Carolina; the staffer had Tweeted that Brown was voting too often with the Democrats, leading Brown to confront DeMint on the Senate floor over this supposed breach of protocol. Bloggers carry so much influence that many senators have a young press aide dedicated to the care and feeding of online media. News about, by, and for a tiny kingdom of political obsessives dominates the attention of senators and staff, while stories that might affect their constituents go unreported because their home-state papers can no longer afford to have bureaus in Washington. Dodd, who came to the Senate in 1981 and will leave next January, told me, "I used to have eleven Connecticut newspaper reporters who covered me on a daily basis. I don't have one today, and haven't had one in a number of years. Instead, D.C. publications only see me through the prism of conflict." Lamar Alexander described the effect as "this instant radicalizing of positions to the left and the right."

Both Alexander and Gregg said that the Senate had been further polarized by the rising number of senators—now nearly fifty—who come from the House, rather than from governorships or other positions where bipartisan coöperation is still permissible. "A lot of senators don't understand the history or tradition of the institution," Gregg said. "Substantive, thoughtful, moderate discussion is pushed aside."

Encumbered with aides, prodded by hourly jolts from electronic media, racing from the hearing room to the caucus lunch to the Power Hour to the airport, senators no longer have the time, or perhaps the inclination, to get to know one another—least of all, members of the other party. Friendships across party lines are more likely among the few spouses who live in Washington. After Udall joined the Senate, last year, he was invited to dinner by Alexander, because Jill Cooper Udall and Honey Alexander had become friends through a women's social club. It remains the only time Udall has set foot in the house of a Republican senator. (Vice-President Joe Biden, in his autobiography, recalls that, in the seventies, a bipartisan group of senators and their wives hosted a monthly dinner: "In those days Democrats and Republicans actually enjoyed each other's company.") When I asked Chris Dodd how well he knew, for example, Jim DeMint, Dodd said, "Not at all. Whereas Jesse Helms and I knew each other pretty well." He repeated something that Jon Kyl, the Republican whip, from Arizona, had recently said to him: "There's no trust." Dodd, whose father was a senator, went on, "That's really all there is—this place really operates on that. I don't think anyone would argue with that conclusion. And if that's missing . . . "

There remains a veneer—badly chipped—of comity. On the floor, senators still refer to members of the opposing party as "friends." Gregg described Kent Conrad, a Democrat from North Dakota, as "one of my best friends in the Senate," and both Gregg and Alexander ticked off examples of little-known legislation that they are currently working on with

Democrats; Alexander and Ben Cardin, of Maryland, have introduced a bill to ban mountaintop-removal coal mining. Udall noted that he had become friendly with John McCain when they went on a congressional tour of Iraq. But opportunities to bond are rare. On the first floor of the Capitol, there is a private dining room for senators, the "inner sanctum," where Republicans and Democrats used to have lunch (at separate tables, but in the same room). In the seventies, old bulls such as James Eastland, Hubert Humphrey, and Jacob Javits held court there; later, Daniel Patrick Moynihan did. "You learned, and also you found out what was going on," Dodd said, adding, "It's awfully difficult to say crappy things about someone that you just had lunch with." These days, the inner sanctum is nearly always empty. Senators eat lunch in their respective caucus rooms with members of their party, or else "downtown," which means asking donors for money over steak and potatoes at the Monocle or Charlie Palmer. The tradition of the "caucus lunch" was instituted by Republicans in the fifties, when they lost their majority; Democrats, after losing theirs in 1980, followed suit. Caucus lunches work members on both sides into a state of pep-rally fervor. During one recent Republican lunch, Jim Bunning referred to Harry Reid as an idiot. "At least he had the courtesy to do it behind closed doors," Alexander joked, adding, "We spend most of our time in team meetings deciding what we're going to do to each other." In 2007, Alexander and Lieberman started a series of bipartisan Tuesday breakfasts. "They kind of dwindled off during the health-care debate," Alexander said. Udall has tried to revive the Wednesday inner-sanctum lunch. For the first few months, only Democrats attended. Then, one Wednesday in May, Susan Collins, the Maine Republican, showed up, joking nervously about being a turncoat; to protect her reputation, her presence was kept secret.

These efforts at resurrecting dead customs are as self-conscious and, probably, as doomed as the get-togethers of lovers who try to stay friends after a breakup. Ira Shapiro, a Washington lawyer and a former aide to Senator Gaylord Nelson, of Wisconsin, put it this way: "Why would they want to have lunch together when they hate each other?"

The upper chamber of Congress was a constitutional compromise between popular sovereignty and state sovereignty. The Senate was designed, as part of the separation of powers, to check the impulses of the House and the popular will. For some Federalists, it also had an aristocratic purpose: to collect knowledge and experience, and to guard against a levelling spirit that might overtake the majority. When Alexis de Tocqueville visited the Senate, in 1832, he was deeply impressed by the quality of its members: "They represent only the lofty thoughts [of the nation] and the generous instincts animating it, not the petty passions." But he also recognized that "a minority of the nation dominating the Senate could completely paralyze the will of the majority represented in the other house, and that is contrary to the spirit of constitutional government." As long as the Senate continued to be composed of America's most talented statesmen, Tocqueville implied, it would restrain its own anti-democratic potential.

Robert A. Caro, in "Master of the Senate," the third volume of his life of Lyndon Johnson, argues that after the Civil War the Senate was captured by wealthy and sectional interests, ending a more high-minded age when Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun engaged in brilliant debate. Aside from spasms of legislation at the start of the Presidencies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, Caro writes, the Senate remained controlled by an alliance of Southern racists and Republican corporate shills, and was "the dam against which the waves of social reform dashed themselves in vain—the chief obstructive force in the federal government." By the fifties, the Senate had become far more conservative than the public. And not just conservative: William S. White, in his 1956 book "Citadel," called the Senate "to a most peculiar degree, a Southern Institution . . . growing at the heart of this ostensibly national assembly" and "the only place in the country where the South did not lose the war."

By mid-century, it had become a journalistic cliché to call the Senate broken. Otto Preminger's 1962 film "Advise and Consent," based on the novel by Allen Drury, is about the Senate of that period, and it presents Democrats and Republicans as equally amoral, calculating, and power-hungry. But the institution, as depicted by Preminger, still works, in its way: though the deals stink, they get cut. The senators know their colleagues and the rules; they back-stab one another in the lunchroom, then drink cocktails and play cards on Saturday nights. There are no lobbyists, no fund-raisers, no media, no constituents—only senators' intricate relations with one another. The Senate is its own world.

In a memoir, Johnson's longtime aide Harry McPherson recalls learning that the Senate's "famous 'club' atmosphere is based on the members' mutual acceptance of responsibility and concentration on the tasks at hand. . . . They thrust hard at one another in debate over serious matters," but, he writes, "understanding and accommodation in the ordinary course of the Senate day was essential to sanity." Johnson, the most powerful Majority Leader in history, bent the Senate to his will and forced it to become more efficient. He saw his colleagues as either "whales"—the heavyweight chairmen who negotiated legislation—or "minnows," the followers who went along with the brokered deals. And when, in 1958, a formidable new class of liberal Democrats entered the Senate—including Edmund Muskie, Eugene McCarthy, and Philip Hart—the legislative machinery began to produce reform. Michael Janeway, the author of "The Fall of the House of Roosevelt," worked as a summer staff member between 1958 and 1962. "They used to talk to each other—

that's my most vivid recollection," he said. "If Wayne Morse talked of constitutional law on the floor, the Southerners would come in to hear him. The same with Hubert Humphrey on farm policy. My strongest impression was of it being a deliberative body, drawing each other out—sometimes pedantically." Senators who ran for office in order to work on foreign policy, social welfare, or urbanization had to win credibility with the whales. "But if you wanted to do something there was a mechanism by which you could do it," Janeway said.

In the sixties and seventies, Southern-conservative control was broken by a coalition of left-of-center Democrats and moderate Republicans. Donald Ritchie, the Senate historian, who started working there in 1976, described the Senate of those decades as "a bipartisan liberal institution." The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was written largely out of the office of the Republican Minority Leader, Everett Dirksen. Every major initiative—voting rights, open housing, environmental law, campaign reform—enjoyed bipartisan support. In the rare event of a filibuster, the motion to end debate was often filed jointly by leaders of both parties. When Medicare—that government takeover of health care for the elderly—was passed, in 1965, it won 70–24.

The Senate's momentum nurtured superb talent: William Fulbright, Everett Dirksen, Henry Jackson, Frank Church, Howard Baker. In 1969, George McGovern chaired a select committee on hunger that actually held bipartisan "field hearings" in poor regions, calling witnesses in migrant labor camps, and then, with Bob Dole's indispensable support, greatly expanded the food-stamp program. The intensity of senatorial purpose in those years must strike today's legislators as profoundly humbling. After Joe Biden came to the Senate, in 1973, Hubert Humphrey took him aside and said, "You have to pick an issue that becomes yours. That's how you attract your colleagues to follow you, Joe. That's how you demonstrate your bona fides. Don't be a gadfly." Humphrey's career advice: "You should become Mr. Housing. Housing is the future."

The Senate's modern decline began in 1978, with the election of a new wave of anti-government conservatives, and accelerated as Republicans became the majority in 1981. "The Quayle generation came in, and there were a number of people just like Dan—same generation, same hair style, same beliefs," Gary Hart, the Colorado Democrat, recalled. "They were harder-line. They weren't there to get along with Democrats. But they look accommodationist compared to Republicans in the Senate today." Church, McGovern, Javits, and Birch Bayh were gone. Ira Shapiro, the former aide, who is writing a book about the Senate of the sixties and seventies, said, "It was a huge loss of the most experienced, accomplished senators being replaced by neophytes. All of a sudden, in 1981, more than half the Senate had been there less than six years." He added, "The shattering of the great Senate has long-term effects that keep showing up. It gets worse over time, but it just never gets restored. There was a phrase I heard from Helms and the younger ones: 'Others didn't want to make waves; I wanted to drain the swamp.' "

After C-SPAN went on the air, in 1979, the cozy atmosphere that encouraged both deliberation and back-room deals began to yield to transparency and, with it, posturing. "So Damn Much Money," a recent book by the Washington Post reporter Robert G. Kaiser, traces the spectacular rise of Washington lobbying to the same period. Liberal Republicans began to disappear, and as Southern Democrats died out they were replaced by conservative Republicans. Bipartisan coalitions on both wings of the Senate vanished. The institutionalist gave way to the free agent, who controlled his own fund-raising apparatus and media presence, and whose electoral base was a patchwork of single-issue groups. Members of both parties—Howard Metzenbaum, the Ohio Democrat; Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican—took to regularly using the Senate's rules to tie up business for narrowly ideological reasons. The number of filibusters shot up in the eighties and continued to rise in the following decades, as the parties kept alternating control of the Senate and escalating a procedural arms race, routinely blocking the confirmation of executive and judicial appointees. Democrats filibustered Republican nominees to the bench; then Republicans threatened to ban the filibuster in such cases—the so-called "nuclear option." Older members were perturbed when, in 2004, the Republican Majority Leader, Bill Frist, went to South Dakota to campaign against the Democratic Minority Leader, Tom Daschle (who went on to lose). A few years earlier, such an action would have been unthinkable.

The weakened institution could no longer withstand pressures from outside its walls; as money and cameras rushed in, independent minds fell more and more in line with the partisans. Rough parity between the two parties meant that every election had the potential to make or break a majority, crushing the incentive to coöperate across the aisle. The Senate, no longer a fount of ideas, became a backwater of the U.S. government. During the Clinton years, the main action was between the White House and the Gingrich House of Representatives; during the Bush years, the Republican Senate majority abdicated the oversight role that could have placed a vital check on executive power.

Norman Ornstein, a congressional expert at the American Enterprise Institute, said that the Senate has increasingly become populated by "ideologues and charlatans." He went on, "When we do get good people who come in, they very quickly get ground up by the dynamic and the culture of the parties. And once you get there, look at what it takes to stay

there." He spoke of Charles Grassley, the Iowa Republican, who, nearing the end of his career, spent much of last year working closely with his friend Max Baucus on the health-care bill. Then, in August, Grassley went home and, faced with angry Republican voters and the prospect of a primary challenge from the right, started warning about "pulling the plug on Grandma." Ornstein added that similar pressures had led John McCain to begin "altering his behavior and abandoning every issue, including campaign-finance reform."

One morning in April, I visited Harry McPherson, the former L.B.J. aide, at the offices of the legal and lobbying firm D. L. A. Piper, in downtown Washington. McPherson, who is eighty, had on his desk the firm's spiral-bound directory for the 111th Congress. I asked him who, in Johnsonian terms, were the whales of the current Senate. McPherson ran his finger down the list of senators. He did it again. "I'm trying here, looking for a remote descendant. Judas Priest, look at this." He was stumped. "Well, I see some good people, I see some people who are going to get coalitions together over time." He put the directory aside. "I'm just having the damnedest time."

Down the hall from McPherson's office was that of Mel Martinez, a former Republican senator from Florida; he was hired last year, two weeks after resigning his Senate seat without completing his first term. (He has since moved on to JPMorgan Chase.) William Cohen, the former Maine senator and Secretary of Defense, has an office downstairs. Tom Daschle works at D. L. A. Piper; his predecessor as Democratic leader, George Mitchell, was the firm's chairman, until President Obama appointed him to be his Middle East envoy. One feature of the diminished U.S. senator is the ease with which he moves from legislating to lobbying. Between 1998 and 2004, half the senators who left office became lobbyists. In 2007, Trent Lott, a Republican leader in the Senate less than a year into his fourth term, abruptly resigned and formed a lobbying firm with former Senator John Breaux, just a few weeks before a new law took effect requiring a two-year waiting period between serving and lobbying.

When you spend your days at the Senate, it's easy to forget about everything else. The House of Representatives seems miles away (it's just down a corridor and across the rotunda), the White House is another country, and actual foreign countries are unimaginable. The place remains insular, labyrinthine, and opaque—even physically. Senators commute thirty seconds between their offices and the chamber by electric subway cars that run along a tunnel under Constitution Avenue. Many signs are misleading or obsolete (the gilded lettering over the visitors' gallery says "Men's Gallery"), and the Capitol is filled with secret passageways and spare rooms, called hideaways, doled out according to seniority, where senators can read, drink, doze, and wait for the buzzer announcing an imminent vote. The most pervasive authority over the institution is not the Constitution or the Bible but, rather, an impenetrable sixteen-hundred-page tome, by Floyd M. Riddick, called "Senate Procedure: Precedents and Practices," which only the late Robert Byrd, of West Virginia, was known to have read in its entirety. The procedures are so abstruse that a parliamentarian must sit below the presiding officer and, essentially, tell him or her what to say.

After half a century, the picture given by Preminger's "Advise and Consent" is still faintly visible. "The Senate, by its nature, is a place where consensus reigns and personal relationships are paramount," Lamar Alexander said. "And that's not changed." Which is exactly the problem: it's a self-governing body that depends on the reasonableness of its members to function. Sarah Binder, a congressional scholar at George Washington University, said, "To have a chamber that rules by unanimous consent—it's nutty! Especially when you've got Jim Bunning to please."

In 2006 and 2008, sixteen Democrats entered the Senate, giving the Party its current majority of fifty-nine to forty-one (counting two independents). They include moderates, like Jon Tester, of Montana, and Mark Warner, of Virginia; liberals, like Sherrod Brown, of Ohio, and Sheldon Whitehouse, of Rhode Island; policy specialists, like Amy Klobuchar, of Minnesota, and Jeff Merkley; and iconoclasts, like Claire McCaskill. Their interest in legislating has won the admiration of senior senators. "If they can stay, I think they'll be terrific," Chris Dodd said. "My worry is they won't stay. Because it's not productive."

The Democratic class of 2008 arrived with President Obama, expecting to usher in a dynamic new era. Instead, their young Senate careers have passed in a daily slog of threatened filibusters and "secret holds"—when a senator anonymously objects to bringing an appointment up for a vote, which requires unanimous consent. On April 20th, Claire McCaskill took the trouble to read off the names of fifty-six Obama nominees languishing in the limbo of secret holds, and Jon Kyl objected to every one of them. Just getting a bill to the floor for debate can require days of tactical gamesmanship between the party leaders. There were times when Warner wondered if anyone had ever quit in the first year. Michael Bennet said, "We find ourselves at a moment in our history when the questions are huge ones, not small ones, and where things have been put off for a really long period of time." He mentioned the national debt, energy policy, and the financial crisis. "Yet you have a Senate that's designed not to advance change but to slow it."

We were talking in his hideaway, a windowless room in the Capitol basement, which had a mini-fridge stocked with bottled water, black leatherette furniture circa 1962, and a TV tuned to C-SPAN2 on mute; Senator Kyl's mouth was

moving. Bennet, the former superintendent of schools in Denver, was appointed to a vacant seat in 2009, and already has to defend it this year. He described the Senate with the dry bluntness of an outsider who hasn't allowed himself to grow too attached. Bennet repeated a story he had heard about a new congressman giving his maiden speech: "And then some more veteran guy came over and said, 'Son, you're talking like this place is on the level. It's not on the level.' As the fifteen months or so have gone by that I've been here, the less on the level it seems."

Earlier this year, the Senate's procedural absurdities became national news twice in one month. On February 4th, CongressDaily reported that Richard Shelby, an Alabama Republican, was secretly blocking the confirmation of seventy Obama appointees over a dispute involving defense earmarks for his state. (His tactics exposed, Shelby—whose office maintains that he was responsible for fewer than fifty holds—lifted all but three.) Later that month, Bunning spent several days and a late night on the Senate floor, filibustering to prevent benefits from being paid to millions of unemployed Americans. When Merkley tried to reason with him, Bunning responded, "Tough shit." (Eventually, Republicans persuaded Bunning to stop.)

These incidents elicited a brief outcry, but the extent of the Senate's routine folly remains largely hidden. For example, Grassley and Ron Wyden, of Oregon, have been trying since 1997 to end the practice of secret holds, without success. In 2007, the Senate passed a bill banning secret holds that last longer than six days. But to get around the ban two or more senators can pass the hold back and forth—it's called "rolling holds"—and their party leader facilitates the game by keeping their names secret.

Many of the Senate's antique rules and precedents have been warped beyond recognition by the modern pressures of partisanship. The hold, for example, was a courtesy extended to senators in the days of horse travel, when they needed time to get back to Washington and read a bill or question an appointee before casting their vote. Sarah Binder, who co-authored a book on the filibuster, calls the procedure a historical accident: in 1806, the Senate got rid of a little-used rule that allowed the "previous question" to be called to a vote. Suddenly, there was no inherent limit on debate, and by the eighteen-thirties senators had begun taking advantage of this loophole, derailing the proceedings by getting up and talking until their voice, legs, or bladder gave out. (The word "filibuster" comes from vrijbuiter—old Dutch for "looter.") In 1917, Woodrow Wilson, with his wartime legislative agenda blocked by filibusters, forced the Senate to pass Rule XXII, which allowed a two-thirds majority to bring a floor debate to an end with a "cloture" vote. For decades, the rule was rarely used; between 1919 and 1971, there were only forty-nine cloture votes, fewer than one per year. In the seventies and eighties, the annual average rose to about a dozen. (Frustration with this increase led the Senate, in 1975, to lower the threshold for cloture to sixty votes.) In the nineties and early aughts, the average went up to twenty-five or thirty a year, as both parties escalated their use of the filibuster when they found themselves in the minority. After the Republicans lost their majority in 2006, filibusters became everyday events: there were a hundred and twelve cloture votes in 2007 and 2008, and this session Republicans are on target to break their own filibuster record.

The tally of cloture votes reflects only a small fraction of senatorial obstruction. Three hundred and forty-five bills passed by the House have been prevented from even coming up for debate in the Senate. "Why?" Steny Hoyer, the outraged Democratic Majority Leader of the House, asked me. "Because they do not do their business in a way that facilitates noncontroversial things. Thankfully, the House of Representatives is not becoming the Senate." Last week, six House Democrats expressed their displeasure with the upper chamber by staging a sit-in of sorts on the Senate floor. Seventy-six nominees for judgeships and executive posts have been approved by committees but, because of blocks, haven't come up for a vote in the full Senate, leaving courtrooms idle and jobs unfilled across the upper levels of the Obama Administration. (The Democrats also practiced the art of blocking nominees during the Bush Administration.) There's often no objection to the individual being blocked: after an eight-month hold, Martha Johnson, nominated to run the General Services Administration, was confirmed 96–0. On an issue like health-care reform, when the objection was substantive, Republicans ransacked Riddick's "Senate Procedure" for every conceivable way to delay a debate and vote. Judd Gregg even sent a memo on stalling tactics to his Republican colleagues. Tom Coburn demanded the reading aloud of an entire seven-hundred-and-sixty-seven-page amendment proposed by Bernie Sanders, the Vermont socialist; Senate clerks, working in half-hour shifts, were three hours into the chore when Sanders withdrew the amendment in frustration.

Under McConnell, Republicans have consistently consumed as much of the Senate's calendar as possible with legislative maneuvering. The strategy is not to extend deliberation of the Senate's agenda but to prevent it. Tom Harkin, who first proposed reform of the filibuster in 1995, called his Republican colleagues "nihilists," who want to create chaos because it serves their ideology. "If there's chaos, things will tend toward simple solutions," Harkin said. "In chaos people don't listen to reason." McConnell did not respond to requests for an interview, but he has often argued that the Republican strategy reflects the views of a majority of Americans. In March, he told the Times, "To the extent that they"—the

Democrats—"want to do things that we think are in the political center and would be helpful to the country, we'll be helpful. To the extent they are trying to turn us into a Western European country, we are not going to be helpful."
One of the mysteries of the Senate is how Mitch McConnell has been able to keep his members in line, on vote after vote. Why do moderates with years of experience and their own power base back home—Richard Lugar, of Indiana; Susan Collins, of Maine; George Voinovich, of Ohio—keep siding with the more extreme members of their caucus? Alexander said that McConnell listens well to all his members, adding, "When you have your back against the wall and the gallows are hanging in front of you, it tends to unify. Operating with forty members—it concentrates the mind." Lindsey Graham described to the Times how McConnell exhorted his caucus after the disastrous 2008 election: "He said if we didn't stick together on big things, we wouldn't be relevant." Last December, the Republicans decided to filibuster a military-spending bill in order to delay the looming vote on health care until as close to Christmas as possible. Thad Cochran, the Republican ranking member of the Appropriations Committee, promised Daniel Inouye, the chairman, that he wouldn't join the effort. But at the last minute Cochran, who has been in the Senate since 1979 and brings disproportionate amounts of defense money to Mississippi, told Reid that his leadership wouldn't allow him to vote with the Democrats and end the filibuster—even on a matter of national security. (The Democrats were able to impose cloture, and the vote on health care finally took place on Christmas Eve.)
Republican defections have been rare. In early 2009, Collins and Olympia Snowe, also of Maine, voted for the stimulus bill, along with Arlen Specter (who promptly switched parties). Snowe also voted for the Finance Committee's health-care-reform bill last October, the only Republican to do so. But in December, at the pivotal moment, she voted against the version that went before the full Senate. "I wasn't interested in expanding this program beyond the Finance Committee version—it grew by a thousand pages," Snowe said. She wasn't included in the negotiations with White House officials that took place in an elegant conference room across from Reid's suite of offices, and said that the Democrats "did not accept any of my proposals. As I said to the President, it was all windup and no pitch." McConnell was able to exploit her alienation. A friend of Snowe cited another reason for her reversal: "She actually said to me once that she had never felt the pressure that she felt on health care, never before had that pressure been quite as evident to her or quite as real or troubling. Kyl and McConnell were saying things like 'You just can't let us down, we're all in this together. You're a senior Republican member of this caucus, and you just have to hang tough with us. We expect it and you're going to do it.' "
Reid doesn't use such tough tactics; he has achieved his position, in spite of his public shortcomings, by being the senator who helped other Democrats, always answered their calls, and got them what they wanted through masterly maneuvering. This has made him enormously popular within the Democratic caucus, but it doesn't give him the leverage of McConnell, let alone of Lyndon Johnson.
In the current Senate, it has become normal for a handful of senators, sometimes representing just ten or twenty per cent of the country's population, to hold everything up. And the status quo has become sufficiently frustrating that a few new senators have considered a radical option: mutiny.
Tom Udall, who is sixty-two, is older than most freshman senators. He has the crow's-feet of a Westerner who has spent time in the sun, and a slow, good-natured voice. His father, Stewart, was an Arizona congressman and the Interior Secretary for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; his uncle Mo was a legendary Arizona representative; his cousin Mark is a freshman senator from Colorado. Udall served five terms in the House before winning a Senate seat from New Mexico, in 2008. And yet he has the air of a political Candide—he is always earnest, capable of disappointment but not cynicism. "I ran on the idea that the Senate should not be a graveyard for good ideas," he said. "Then to be on the inside—the thing that strikes you is how one senator can hold up the whole show."
In his first year in office, Udall decided to do something audacious: he would try to change the Senate's rules. Customarily, the rules continue session after session, and a provision in Rule XXII requires sixty-seven votes to amend them, making it extremely difficult. ("Rule XXII is a Catch-22," Ted Kennedy used to joke.) Udall embraced a different idea—the "constitutional option." Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution states that "each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings" at the beginning of the new Congress. So, in theory, a senator could take the floor next January and propose debating its rules from scratch, including the filibuster. New rules could be passed with a simple majority. There's even a precedent for this: moves to revisit the rules by invoking the constitutional option have been made three times, most recently in 1975. Udall has spent much of the past year trying to build support for the idea.
At the request of Udall and others, Schumer, who is the chairman of the Rules Committee, has held a series of hearings on the filibuster, calling witnesses such as Sarah Binder, the historian, and Walter Mondale, who was in the Senate when the constitutional option was invoked in 1975. Dick Durbin, the second-highest-ranking Democrat, has organized working groups among newer members on other internal reforms, such as ending secret holds and choosing committee

chairs by caucus vote rather than by seniority. (Lamar Alexander wryly suggested to me that Schumer and Durbin were competing for the favor of newer members, in case Harry Reid loses his seat in the fall and they run against each other for Majority Leader.)

For Republican institutionalists, such as Alexander and Gregg, the push for rules reform is folly. "If you want a parliamentary form of government, go over to the House," Gregg, who is about to retire, scoffed. "Why even run for the Senate?" Udall's plan for next January, he said, would be a "gigantic mistake."

"They'll get over it," Alexander said of the Democrats' enthusiasm for rules reform. "And they'll get over it quicker if they're in the minority next January. Because they'll instantly see the value of slowing the Senate down to consider whatever they have to say." He added that the Senate "may be getting done about as much as the American people want done." The President's ambitious agenda, after all, has upset a lot of voters, across the political spectrum. None of the Republicans I spoke to agreed with the contention that the Senate is "broken." Alexander claimed that he and other Republicans were exercising the moderating, thoughtful influence on legislation that the founders wanted in the Senate. "The Senate wasn't created to be efficient," he argued. "It was created to be inefficient." At one of the filibuster hearings, in April, Alexander, sitting across the table from Udall, said that, for all the times the Democrats charge the Republicans with obstructing legislation, "we could say that's the number of times the majority has tried to cut off our right to debate, our right to offer amendments, which is the essence of the Senate."

Newcomers like Udall seem to think that the Senate has grown so absurd and extreme that some kind of reform is inevitable. Perhaps they need more time to plumb the depths of the institution's intransigence. According to Sarah Binder, a change in rules is extremely unlikely; Republicans would be implacably opposed to, say, weakening the filibuster, and so would some Democrats, especially long-serving ones. "I would oppose that," Chris Dodd said, adding of the freshmen, "These are people who have never been in the minority." For older Democrats, who have put in their years, grown adept at working the rules, and now chair powerful committees, the reform impulse could be a threat. (Among senior senators, the sole enthusiast for rules reform is Tom Harkin.) One senator spoke of the Senate as being divided not between whales and minnows but, rather, between bulls and calves. The older Democrats are too accustomed to the Senate's ways to share the frustrations of the newcomers; the handful of older moderate Republicans are too weak to challenge the newer radicals who now dominate the caucus.

Even if the freshmen Democrats can somehow reform the filibuster next January, the Senate will remain a sclerotic, wasteful, unhappy body. The deepest source of its problems is not rules and precedents but, rather, its human beings, who have created a culture where Tocqueville's "lofty thoughts" and "generous impulses" have no place.

A few days after passing health-care reform, the Senate struggled to its feet to take on a second large task. Financial regulatory reform should have been the easiest piece of major legislation of the Obama Presidency, the likeliest to win real bipartisan support. The financial crisis had been catastrophic for millions of Americans, and after the 2008 bailout Wall Street had become even more hated than the Senate was. In April, a lineup of bankers from Goldman Sachs appeared before Senator Levin's subcommittee on investigations, and managed to appear as arrogant, callous, and evasive as their reputations had suggested. The public demanded action. Some Republicans had a genuine desire to pass a bill. If health-care reform had been a war of attrition, financial reform was a promising liaison.

The affair began with a Republican, Bob Corker, and a Democrat, Mark Warner—both multimillionaires serving their first term, both considered centrists. Corker is a small, dapper former construction magnate who became the mayor of Chattanooga; Warner is a tall, preppily dressed former telecommunications entrepreneur who became the governor of Virginia. Chris Dodd, the Banking Committee chairman, assigned them to work together on the section of the bill having to do with the liquidation of troubled firms—making sure that there would never be another taxpayer bailout. They worked through the winter, in Warner's office, in Corker's office, over dinner, sometimes without staff, as if they were members of a Senate from the past. They hosted a series of afternoon seminars, inviting guests such as Ben Bernanke, Alan Greenspan, and Sheila Bair. Corker and Warner were sometimes said to be the only Democrat and Republican still talking to each other. In January, Business Week called them the Senate's "Odd Couple." By February, they had finished their work.

Meanwhile, discussions about the entire bill between Dodd and Richard Shelby, the top Republican on the committee, dragged on, repeatedly breaking down. Finally, on February 10th, Dodd called Corker, who, though he was one of the committee's junior members, agreed to be the chairman's Republican negotiating partner. When Corker informed McConnell and Shelby, they expressed surprise. "It was an odd place to be," Corker recalled. "And yet that night we began meeting." The junior Republican savored the rare experience of creating, rather than opposing, legislation. In response, Shelby's conservative staff tried to undermine Corker, spreading rumors among Republicans and their

lobbyists that he was giving too much away. (A Shelby aide said that staff members were simply informing other Republicans of the Party's line on financial reform.)

On March 10th, Dodd concluded that he had to move a bill to the floor. He called Corker and said, "You've been a great partner." He was ending their talks after only a month. "It's a little stunning, I've got to be honest," Corker told reporters afterward. Someone close to the negotiations compared Corker to Dickens's Miss Havisham, unable to get over the rebuff, forever awaiting the arrival of her groom, all her clocks stopped. Corker later said that Dodd had ended the talks under pressure from the White House and other Democrats. Dodd said that Corker had been unable to bring any other Republicans with him. "Baloney," Corker said. "If Dodd had reached an agreement with me, we'd've had at least twenty-five Republican votes."

The bill that Dodd brought before the Senate, after a year of discussions with Democrats and Republicans alike, incorporated the bipartisan plan of Warner and Corker to prevent another bank bailout: setting up a fifty-billion-dollar fund, paid for by the banks, to insure orderly liquidation, and establishing a risk council to detect warning signs of another crisis. But in mid-April Mitch McConnell—who had just met with Wall Street executives in New York, and was now parroting talking points from a memo written by the Republican strategist Frank Luntz—called it a "partisan bill" that "will guarantee perpetual taxpayer bailout of Wall Street banks." McConnell presented a letter, signed by all forty-one Republicans, suggesting that they would filibuster the financial-reform bill.

His remarks amounted to a repudiation of Corker's work as well as of Dodd's. The next day, April 15th, Corker pleaded with his colleagues, in his Tennessee twang, "Let's come to the floor and let's act like adults. Let's tone down the rhetoric. Let's don't exaggerate the pluses or minuses. Let's do what the Senate was created to do. . . . We were supposed to be the people that took some of the red-hot activities that sometimes come from the other body and sat down with cooler heads and resolved the issues like adults. We can do that. As a matter of fact, I would say, if we cannot do that on financial regulation, an issue that really doesn't have any real philosophical bearings to it . . ." Corker didn't allow the thought to ripen—he had already gone farther than almost any Republican would have dared.

Dodd spoke later in the day and completed Corker's speech: "I know my friends on the other side of the aisle are faced with a difficult choice between supporting their party leadership and participating in this complicated, difficult debate. I am not naïve. I know that is a hard place to be. But if we can't act like U.S. senators for the sake of this issue . . . then why are we even here?" He went on, "We work for an American public that is sick and tired of feeling like no one is looking out for their interests, like the political hacks and lobbyists hold all the cards in these discussions. The minority seems intent on proving them right. . . . I have been here a long time. I know this institution is better than that. I know there are friends of mine on the other side of the aisle who care about this bill, who want to be a part of the debate, who want to be part of the solution."

In the same speech, Dodd joined the partisan fight, accusing McConnell of lying about the bill. Turning crimson-faced, he chopped the air with his hand as he shouted, "I have to ask myself, why did I go through this process over the last four or five months, agreeing to much of what they were offering, and there is not a single political vote to show for it. . . . I have to say to the younger members, the newer members coming along: be careful!"

Corker, having heard that Dodd was speaking, returned to the chamber and asked to respond. "You and I went a long way," Corker told Dodd. "Then we stopped. On March 10th it ended. I understand that, look, you were losing Democrats on your committee."

"And I was not gaining Republicans," Dodd replied.

"You had one, and that is all you asked for when you started. I never said I could speak for anybody but myself. And I did not leave the table." Corker urged Dodd to keep talking to Republicans—their differences could be sorted out in a few days.

But this was not McConnell's agenda. Instead, financial reform became a slightly more polite repeat of the health-care-reform brawl: the Republicans threatened filibusters, the Democrats threatened all-nighters, and thousands of lobbyists prowled the Capitol, charging their Wall Street clients more than a billion dollars. On April 28th, I was sitting in the ornate Reception Room with Jim Manley, Reid's spokesman. On the other side of the wall, there was the noise of furniture scraping across a tile floor. "Those are cots being set up in the L.B.J. Room," Manley said. "Very little happens around here without a deadline." The cots persuaded Republicans to allow the bill to move to the floor for debate. A few weeks later, on May 20th, yet another filibuster was defeated by yet another cloture motion, and financial reform finally came to a vote. It passed, 59–39. Only four Republicans had joined the majority. Corker wasn't among them. He had even voted for an amendment, offered by his Republican colleague Jeff Sessions, of Alabama, that would have scrapped Corker's work of many months with Warner.

"The idea of watching Bob Corker vote for the Sessions amendment!" Dodd said afterward, sitting in his red-curtained office, under a print of Holbein's portrait of Thomas More. "It's the Senate, I guess." McConnell's strategy of obstruction had once again come close to succeeding, Dodd said, but he knew that a "shrinking number" of Republicans were frustrated. The previous day, Dodd had said to Susan Collins, "God, I would have loved to have you as my ranking member on this." Collins responded, "We could have had such a great time on this bill."

Warner, who said that he believed in bipartisanship because "the American people don't trust either political party enough to give them a blank check," was astonished that so few Republicans voted for financial reform. "There was zero substantive reason why this couldn't have been eighty votes," he said. I asked him why Bob Corker had voted no on the bill. Warner started to talk about the consumer-protection title, and then said, "If you want to vote against something, you can always find your reasons."

But Corker hadn't seemed to want to vote against it. He had spent months trying to act like a U.S. senator, alienating himself from his own party and then the other party, and on the day of the vote he held the floor for the better part of thirty minutes, as if he were still reluctant to let the effort go. "I am obviously disappointed," he said. "I think I have spent as much time as any senator . . . on policy regarding our financial system. I think any bill—even this bill—has good things in it. There is no question. And I appreciate the thrust. But I think there is a lot of overreaching, and I think not enough time was spent on some of the core issues."

As the senators cast their votes, I noticed Robert Kaiser, the author of "So Damn Much Money," in the press gallery. I later asked him if, with the passage of two big reform bills in three months, we were witnessing a possible renewal of the Senate. "If you can engage public opinion in a way politicians can understand, public opinion can still blow away money and interest groups," he said. "But over the past few decades the reflex has grown in the Senate that, all things considered, it's better to avoid than to take on big issues. This is the kind of thing that drives Michael Bennet nutty: here you've arrived in the United States Senate and you can't do fuck-all about the destruction of the planet."

After the final vote on financial reform, the Republicans flew home, and the Democratic leaders held a press conference, smiling before the microphones outside the Senate chamber. Reid said, "For those who wanted to protect Wall Street, it didn't work." He then excused himself: he had to join Biden for a telephone fund-raiser with "some Nevadans."

Durbin said, "I was stunned that only four Republicans would join us in passing this historic legislation. What does it take to bring the Republican Party into the conversation about the future of America?"

Dodd, glowing with triumph, said, "I wanted to demonstrate that the Senate of the United States could conduct its business much as our founders intended. We did that."

On July 21st, President Obama signed the completed bill. The two lasting achievements of this Senate, financial regulation and health care, required a year and a half of legislative warfare that nearly destroyed the body. They depended on a set of circumstances—a large majority of Democrats, a charismatic President with an electoral mandate, and a national crisis—that will not last long or be repeated anytime soon. Two days after financial reform became law, Harry Reid announced that the Senate would not take up comprehensive energy-reform legislation for the rest of the year. And so climate change joined immigration, job creation, food safety, pilot training, veterans' care, campaign finance, transportation security, labor law, mine safety, wildfire management, and scores of executive and judicial appointments on the list of matters that the world's greatest deliberative body is incapable of addressing. Already, you can feel the Senate slipping back into stagnant waters.

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Ask the Author: Join a live chat with George Packer about the Senate on Wednesday, August 4, at 3 P.M. E.T.
<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/ask/2010/08/george-packer-senate.html>

<http://event.newyorker.com/images/event.gif?e0_sc=NYR&e0_ec=most_viewed&e0_env=PROD&e0_id=100809fa_fact_packer&e0_ct=Article&e0_url=%2Freporting%2F2010%2F08%2F09%2F100809fa_fact_packer&e0_tit=Filibusters%20and%20arcane%20obstructions%20in%20the%20Senate&rnd=3854251392360948>
<http://www.omniture.com>

Read more http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/09/100809fa_fact_packer?printable=true#ixzz0vT1PYxi7

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 2:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call list

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 02, 2010 2:11 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Pls add Oscar de LR to my call list. If he's still in the hospital, add that # too.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 4:48 PM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Call list

hes back at home at nyc apartment
apparently doing well
lauren will have on call list

B6

---

From: H
Sent: Monday, August 02, 2010 2:10 PM
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Call list

Pls add Oscar de LR to my call list. If he's still in the hospital, add that # too.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Pak

MS -

We're hoping you'll be ok with taking one of the videos you were going to record tomorrow - the one for the Pakistani audience - and instead deliver the remarks live in the Treaty Room, one of those things where you just pop out the side door, make a statement, vamanose back through the doors

You have the time in the morning, we'd be dropping a video, and it will have ten times the impact. And to sweeten the deal...

We can scrub BOTH flood related videos and merge their remarks into one live Treaty Room Statement

Please let us know so we can make the necessary changes and preparations.

PIR

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 7:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: US statement on UN flotilla investigation

Below is the actual Rice statement

USUN PRESS RELEASE #157 August 2, 2010
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on Secretary General Ban's Panel Concerning the May 31 Flotilla Incident

The United States welcomes today's announcement by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon of the establishment of a Panel regarding the incident of May 31st. We thank both governments for the constructive and cooperative spirit they have shown and the Secretary General for his leadership and determination. The Panel, which has the support of both Israel and Turkey, will receive and review the reports of each government's national investigation into the incident and make recommendations as to how to avoid such incidents in the future. This Panel is not a substitute for those national investigations. It complements them, affording Israel and Turkey the opportunity to present the conclusions of their investigations to the international community. The focus of the Panel is appropriately on the future and on preventing such incidents from recurring. The United States also hopes that the Panel can serve as a vehicle to enable Israel and Turkey to move beyond the recent strains in their relationship and repair their strong historic ties.

The United States expects that the Panel will operate in a transparent and credible manner and that its work will be the primary method for the international community to review the incident, obviating the need for any overlapping international inquiries. The United States welcomes the naming of the former Prime Minister of New Zealand, Geoffrey Palmer, as Chair and the outgoing President of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe, as Vice-Chair. We look forward to the announcement of the two additional members from Israel and Turkey.

###

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Lucas, Laura D
**Sent:** Monday, August 02, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** US statement on UN flotilla investigation

Hi Erica,

Could you please pass us a copy of Ambassador Rice's most recent statement on the UN flotilla investigation?

Thank you,

*Laura Lucas*
*Special Assistant*
*Office of the Secretary*
*(202) 647-9573*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 2, 2010 8:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (SBU) SECDEF Approves ExecSec/Pakistan Relief Package

Fyi

---

**From:** Lucas, Laura D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent:** Mon Aug 02 20:33:47 2010
**Subject:** FW: (SBU) SECDEF Approves ExecSec/Pakistan Relief Package

FYI

---

**From:** Slattery, Phillip T
**Sent:** Monday, August 02, 2010 8:07 PM
**To:** SES_DutyDeputies; D(S); D(L); P; M_Staff; S_SpecialAssistants; SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL; SSRAP_StaffAssistants
**Cc:** Ruggiero, Frank J; Butte-Dahl, Jennifer X; Lenderking, Timothy A; SES-O_SWO; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_Shift-I
**Subject:** (SBU) SECDEF Approves ExecSec/Pakistan Relief Package

Colleagues -

For your situational awareness, I wanted to inform you that the SECDEF has approved the OSD package responding to the State ExecSec memo regarding Pakistan flood relief.

The package approves the transport of personnel and humanitarian assistance/supplies (including non-DOD relief supplies), activation of assessment teams, and intel/recon support. The package includes the use of up to six helos.

Best Regards,

**Phillip T. Slattery**
Senior Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
slatteryp@state.gov
tel: 202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** FW: PA Germany Restructuring
**Attachments:** PA Germany Strategy Doc.doc; StateSeal.gif

During the past year we have discussed the size of the Germany PD budget and the fact that it did not reflect current priorities. EUR reviewed the budget and made the decision to cut the German PD budget by 30% and reallocate the funding to other areas, primarily Eastern Europe. As you will see from the email below and the attached memo, Mission Germany responded by reviewing all their PD operations and developing an entirely new approach based on the PD strategic framework we rolled out earlier this year. I think they did an excellent job and we will be using this as a model for other Missions as we go forward.

Let me know what you think.

jm

**From:** SMART Core [mailto:svcSMARTBTSRctSPrec@state.gov]
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 03, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** Ackerman, Steven G
**Cc:** Mellott, Joseph; McHale, Judith A; Gordon, Philip H; Quanrud, Pamela G; Boyer, Spencer P; McKay, Maria E; Jamison, Jeffrey M; BERLIN-SMARTS
**Subject:** PA Germany Restructuring

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**MRN:** 10 BERLIN 1052
**Date/DTG:** Aug 03, 2010 / 031406Z AUG 10
**From:** AMEMBASSY BERLIN
**Action:** WASHDC, SECSTATE *IMMEDIATE*
**E.O.:** 13526
**TAGS:** AMGT, KCOM, KPAO, GM
**Pass Line:** STATE FOR R - U/S MCHALE
EUR - A/S GORDON
**Subject:** PA Germany Restructuring

As you know, PA Germany has taken a huge budget hit. We have lost one-third of our PD funding and, as a result, PD LES staffing has been reduced by almost one-third. Dealing with a cut of this magnitude is never easy – it was particularly tough last month when we handed out the RIF notices – but we are not wasting time feeling sorry for ourselves. We are viewing this as an opportunity, a chance to redefine and restructure our entire PD operation.

I want to give you a brief update on the progress we have made.

- We have developed a strategic plan (attached) which we have conveyed to Washington. Rather than just slicing off pieces of our PD operation, we have focused on our key goals and on how to focus our resources to get maximum impact in the areas that are most important.

- We are well advanced in creating a new organizational structure for PA Germany in line with our strategic plan.

- We are significantly reducing and reshaping our PD LES staffing. We began the process with close to 60 PD LES throughout Germany. We will end up with 41.

- Now we are looking carefully at all the positions that remain and, wherever necessary, redefining them in line with the principles laid out in the strategic plan. Our objectives include: emphasis on new media, elimination of stove piping among the traditional PD elements (e.g. Press, Culture, Information Resource work), and creating the capacity to form issue-focused "campaign teams." These teams will closely integrate all areas of activity (Press, Culture, Information Services) and link staff resources Mission-wide.

Our goal is to create a 21st century PD operation that is lean, quick and flexible. We are well on our way to achieving that goal. Assuming our new funding level remains stable, I am convinced that we will come out of this stronger than ever.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Signature:** | Murphy |
| **Drafted By:** | BERLIN:Armstrong, Bruce W. |
| **Cleared By:** | EXEC:Delawie, Greg T<br>POL:Glass, George A<br>PA:Finn, Helena K<br>PA:Armstrong, Bruce W |
| **Approved By:** | EXEC:Murphy, Philip D |
| **Released By:** | BERLIN:Ackerman, Steven G |
| **Info:** | Mellott, Joseph *ROUTINE*; McHale, Judith A *ROUTINE*; Gordon, Philip H *ROUTINE*; Quanrud, Pamela G *ROUTINE*; Boyer, Spencer P *ROUTINE*; McKay, Maria E *ROUTINE*; Jamison, Jeffrey M *ROUTINE* |
| **Attachments:** | PA Germany Strategy Doc.doc, Metadata.dat |
| **Action Post:** | |
| **Dissemination Rule:** | Released Copy |

**UNCLASSIFIED**

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770207 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# MISSION GERMANY

## PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE

PA Germany is losing one-third of its budget and almost one-third of its LES staff. That's tough – especially last month when we handed out the RIF notices – but it is also a tremendous opportunity. It has given us a chance to rethink, redefine and restructure our entire operation.

In moving ahead, we are not taking a "same as before but less" approach. Rather than taking off slices here and there, we are fundamentally reshaping PA Germany. At the heart of this process there are three basic questions: What are our goals? What are the audiences we need to connect with to achieve those goals? Which PD tools are most effective in reaching those audiences? The answers to those questions tell us what we need to be doing and how we should deploy our money and staff. And we are deploying accordingly, determined to make ourselves even stronger than we were before in the activity sectors that are crucial.

Our goals are clearly defined in Mission Germany's MSRP. At a June 2-3 offsite in Hamburg chaired by the DCM, a Mission Germany PD team that included the Consuls General focused intensively on identifying the key audiences we need to reach in order to achieve those goals and the PD tools that have the greatest impact on those audiences. Yes, that is something that all Public Affairs sections around the world do on an ongoing basis, but – knowing that our resources are shrinking by a third – our analysis of what is essential and what is not is particularly hard-edged and rigorous.

A central aspect of this process is identifying the activities that need to be pared down or eliminated. Justifications such as "we've always done that" or "audiences like it" are not sufficient. It's not about what we have always done, it's about what we need to be doing now and in the coming years. And, while it is always nice when people respond positively to our efforts, the reality is this: if it is not an audience that is closely linked to one of our goals, there is no justification for the expenditure of staff time and money.

As we go about reinventing PA Germany, we need to strike the right balance between our highly focused work in support of specific U.S. policy goals and our longer term efforts to strengthen understanding for U.S. culture and values, recognizing that those two areas of emphasis often flow into each other (the get-together with high school students that turns into a discussion of Afghanistan; the key staffer who is accessible to us because she is a Fulbright alumna, etc.).

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770207 Date: 08/31/2015

It is essential that we get this right because Germany matters for the U.S. Germany is one of our strongest, most capable partners and is crucial to achieving successful outcomes on the most significant foreign policy issues our country faces. Afghanistan, Iran, Middle East peace, financial regulation, economic growth, climate change, non-proliferation, counterterrorism – with each one of these issues, positive German engagement is vitally important. And, in addition to its value as a bilateral partner, Germany is the engine that drives core institutions of European policy, not only in the traditional councils of Brussels, NATO, and the UN, but also now in the newly empowered European Parliament. It is the indispensable power behind European economic, security, and political affairs. Germany's relationship with the United States sets the tone and outlines the scope for how the United States interacts with Europe.

The restructuring of PA Germany is all about prioritization and the tough choices that it involves. In thinking about our priorities, it is clear that engaging youth is very high on the list. That is true worldwide, but there are specific circumstances in Germany that make it essential that we connect with young people and help them see that a close relationship between the U.S. and Germany has relevance for their lives. In the 20 years since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Wall and against the background of eight years during which the image of America was severely tarnished, millions of young Germans have drifted away from us. We have a chance now to reverse that trend and we must make the most of it, but we can only do that if we systematically focus our efforts.

Key subsets of the German youth audience are immigrant youth and youth in eastern Germany. It is essential that we reach both those subgroups; if we fail to engage successfully with them it is very likely that as they enter adulthood negative attitudes toward the U.S. will harden into unchangeable convictions. (Among immigrant youth, which in Germany is largely synonymous with Muslim youth: the belief that the U.S. is hostile toward Islam; among young eastern Germans: the distorted image of America that they have inherited from their parents who grew up in a communist environment.)

As we work to focus our efforts for maximum impact, a central challenge is how much time to devote to fundamentally friendly audiences with which we have a long-established relationship, audiences that often tend to be older, non-immigrant and predominately male. We would be foolish to cut our ties to those people, many of whom are influential and have been with us for a long time. We cannot rebuff old friends, but neither can we overinvest in preaching to the choir. Youth, immigrants, women, eastern Germans – audiences that often greet us with deep skepticism – need to occupy a central place in our work.

The restructuring plan that we are implementing aims to:

- Eliminate stove piping. We are getting rid of the organizational and mental walls that separate (a) the three PD areas of activity (Press, Culture, Information Services) and (b) the six PD platforms in Germany (Embassy, five Consulates).

- Create the capacity to form issue-focused "campaign teams" closely integrating all areas of activity (Press, Culture, Information Services) and linking staff resources Mission-wide.

- Make optimum use of Social Media, recognizing that it has tremendous potential as a program enhancer and as a bridge to youth audiences, but it is not a silver bullet that can accomplish everything. Make sure American and local staff get substantial training in using Social Media.

- Identify thematic areas and/or support functions in which individual Consulates can play a lead role, leveraging the specific profiles of their districts and the specific talents of their staff. Learn from what the Mission's Management section has accomplished in this area.

- Eliminate duplication of effort and create efficient mechanisms for sharing information and products. Our Mission-wide SharePoint site will play a key role in this.

- Identify products/activities that can be outsourced. Just because something is definitely worth doing does not mean it has to be done in-house.

- Bring the Information Resource function into the 21st century. Connect it to today's key audiences and institutions; focus it on cutting-edge technology and media.

- Look for opportunities to build a LES team that reflects the diversity and youth of the audiences with whom we are engaging.

- Make the most of the ten German American Institutes (GAIs). With significantly less discretionary funding, we will have to make tough funding choices, but we need to keep supporting the GAIs and find low-cost (in terms of time and money) ways to maximize their impact.

We are well into the process of transforming ourselves. What is the endpoint we are heading toward? On one level, there is no endpoint. The environment in which we operate and the tools at our disposal are evolving rapidly and therefore the act of redefining and restructuring ourselves needs to be ongoing and open-ended. If we do not make continual revitalization of how we do business a key part of doing business, we will always be playing a hopeless game of catch-up.

What we do have now is a clear sense of (a) the focal points we will have for the foreseeable future and (b) the country-wide structure that will enable us to concentrate our resources on those focal points and achieve maximum impact. That structure, presented in the attached diagram, is based on the organizational goals and principles listed above. Above all, it embodies our commitment to prioritizing our efforts rigorously and working as a single unified team unencumbered by rigid organizational walls. We want to be quick, flexible and focused exclusively on what is most important.

A few notes about the diagram and the strategy it embodies:

- As indicated by the center element of the diagram, our strategy includes a robust capacity to participate in global or regional campaigns focused on specific issues.
- The general public, while not explicitly highlighted by the diagram, is an important audience and one which we reach with many of our PD tools such as media interviews and our website.
- As emphasized above, two important subsets of the youth audience are immigrant youth (which in Germany is primarily Muslim) and youth in eastern Germany.
- "Outreach to Schools, etc." on the "Engage Youth" side of the diagram is shorthand for "Outreach to Schools and Other Institutions (including Libraries)." The specific importance attached to libraries as partner institutions ranges from high (Leipzig) to minimal (Munich) – one specific example of the significant regional differences in the PD landscape in Germany.
- "Content Development," listed under "Research," is shorthand for the conceptualizing, researching and drafting of material delivered to our key audiences in a variety of ways, above all via our website and various new media (Embassy Facebook page, blogs, webchats, videos posted on YouTube).
- "Professional relationships, the building and maintaining of contacts that are essential for PD work, is listed under "Influence Key Thinkers," but in fact that activity also benefits our efforts to engage youth.

The diagram divides the totality of the work we do into 31 tasks. The PD LES staffing we will devote to each of those tasks is listed on the attached document (that information is also built into the electronic version of the diagram). Also attached is a document showing how our LES staff will be distributed (a) among the goals and functions listed on the diagram, and (b) among Mission Germany's six public diplomacy platforms (Berlin and the five Consulates).

Attachments:

- Diagram: Mission Germany Public Diplomacy Strategy
- Mission Germany PD LES staffing: task-by-task
- Mission Germany PD LES staffing: by goal and geographically

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 5:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: New Poll: Approval Ratings for Administration Officials Drop Across the Board

---

**From:** John Podesta [mailto:] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 03, 2010 4:22 PM
**To:** Neera Tanden; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: New Poll: Approval Ratings for Administration Officials Drop Across the Board

Break out the kevlar vests.

---

**From:** Clarus Research Group, Ron Faucheux [mailto:Clarus_Research_Group_Ron_Fauche
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 03, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** John Podesta
**Subject:** New Poll: Approval Ratings for Administration Officials Drop Across the Board

---

Augus

**'PROVAL RATINGS FOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS DROP ACROSS THE BOARD**

s Poll of "news watchers" – a nationwide survey of registered voters who say they follow the news "closely" or "very closely" – finds that the job l ratings of President Obama, his top aides and Cabinet officials have fallen considerably during the past seven months.

The July 2010 Clarus Poll shows that only two members of the Obama team, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (64 percent) and Defense Secretary Robert Gates (56 percent), were surveyed to have job approval ratings of more than 50 percent.

Clinton, Obama's opponent in the 2008 Democratic primaries, received the highest job rating in the "news watchers" survey, but her 64 percent ra the July 2010 poll is down 11 points since the December 2009 Clarus Inner Circle poll.

Gates, who is second with a 56 percent approval rating, suffered the biggest drop – down 13 points since December.

President Obama, who scored a 45 percent job approval rating in the July 2010 poll, is down 6 points from where he was seven months ago.

nine officials tested, six have higher *disapproval* than approval ratings – Obama, Timothy Geithner, Janet Napolitano, Ken Salazar, Rahm Emanuel xelrod," said Ron Faucheux, president of Clarus. "President Obama's advisers suffered steeper declines over the past seven months than did the pr "

:r Circle Poll was conducted July 26-27, 2010 by the non-parisan Clarus Research Group, a Washington, D.C. based polling and research firm. The /as not sponsored or paid for by any client, candidate or political party.

ıdings:

Clinton and Gates owe their higher ratings to stronger bipartisan appeal. Clinton received 45 percent approval from Republicans and 57 percent fr independents. Gates scored 45 percent from both Republicans and independents.

Both Obama and Clinton posted 90 percent approval scores among Democrats. Gates, who was first appointed to his current job by GOP Presidem George W. Bush, received a 76 percent approval rating from Democratic news watchers.

Obama's ratings were more politically polarized: The president received a 35 percent job approval from independents and a dismal 14 percent fror Republicans. Obama won the 2008 election by drawing 52 percent of independent voters.

In addition to Clinton and Gates, the only other administration official to have higher approval than disapproval ratings is Press Secretary Robert C (43 percent to 34 percent).

Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, who has been on the hot seat because of the Gulf oil spill, scored the lowest job rating (22 percent) of all tho tested.

er 2009 vs. July 2010 Inner Circle ratings:

| | December 2009 | | **July 2010** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Approve | Disapprove | **Approve** | **Disapprove** | Change |
| lent Barack Obama | 51% | 45% | **45%** | **52%** | Down 6 |
| tary of Defense Robert | 69 | 20 | **56** | **29** | Down 13 |
| tary of State Hillary Clinton | 75 | 21 | **64** | **32** | Down 11 |
| tary of the Interior Ken ar | * | * | **22** | **39** | -- |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ıary of Homeland Security Napolitano | * | * | **39** | **48** | -- |
| ıary of the Treasury Tim ner | 44 | 45 | **33** | **46** | Down 11 |
| lential Chief of Staff Rahm uel | 40 | 40 | **32** | **44** | Down 8 |
| lential Press Secretary t Gibbs | 50 | 33 | **43** | **34** | Down 7 |
| lential Advisor David ɔd | 38 | 36 | **32** | **36** | Down 6 |

*cluded in December 2009 poll*

*ETHODOLOGY: Clarus Inner Circle survey interviews were conducted live via telephone calls based on a sample of 636 U.S. registered voters ıde who said they "closely" or "very closely" follow news and world events. Those who said they follow news and world events "fairly closely" or ıt all" were screened out. The margin of error for the sample is +/- 3.9 percent. The survey was conducted only among news watchers because som tration insiders who were tested are not well known to the general public. The following question was asked of respondents: "I am now going to re. ıames of a number of public officials. For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job they are doing... " (EACH NAME 'LE WAS THEN READ)*

*ɔcheux, Ph.D., Clarus president and chief analyst, is the author and editor of seven books on politics and teaches at the Georgetown University Pub ıstitute. For more information or for an interview, he can be reached at rfaucheux@ClarusRG.com. For more information on Clarus, go to ɔrusRG.com.*

**Dr. Ron Faucheux**
**President**
**Clarus Research Group**

**For more information about the poll, contact Ron Faucheux (rfaucheux@ClarusRG.com).**
**For more information about Clarus Research Group, go to www.ClarusRG.com.**

If you no longer wish to receive these emails, please simply click on the following link: Unsubscribe

Clarus Research Group
1201 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
US

Read the VerticalResponse marketing policy.



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 7:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Keep getting your home vox - on cell in airport

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Pak

MS -

We're hoping you'll be ok with taking one of the videos you were going to record tomorrow - the one for the Pakistani audience - and instead deliver the remarks live in the Treaty Room, one of those things where you just pop out the side door, make a statement, vamanose back through the doors

You have the time in the morning, we'd be dropping a video, and it will have ten times the impact. And to sweeten the deal...

We can scrub BOTH flood related videos and merge their remarks into one live Treaty Room Statement

Please let us know so we can make the necessary changes and preparations.

PIR

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 3, 2010 8:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pak

Ever since you've become a Mother-in-Law you've been very funny

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Pak
Sent: Aug 3, 2010 7:51 PM

Oh, you sweet-talking guy,,,ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <[redacted]>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Aug 03 19:16:57 2010
Subject: Pak

MS -

We're hoping you'll be ok with taking one of the videos you were going to record tomorrow - the one for the Pakistani audience - and instead deliver the remarks live in the Treaty Room, one of those things where you just pop out the side door, make a statement, vamanose back through the doors

You have the time in the morning, we'd be dropping a video, and it will have ten times the impact. And to sweeten the deal...

We can scrub BOTH flood related videos and merge their remarks into one live Treaty Room Statement

Please let us know so we can make the necessary changes and preparations.

PIR

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Reta Jo

**From:** PHays [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri May 07 21:02:49 2010
**Subject:** Reta Jo

Cheryl: Thanks to you and Hillary, Madam Secretary, for a great day for local government. If I had script authority for today, I couldn't have done any better. Please pass on to the Secretary; that on behalf of local government, we'll hold up our part of the partnership. We have a lot to do, but I am very excited that we covered some significant mileage today. Please let me know if I can be of any assistance, you'll let me know. Thanks again....

ps. Local Government, WORLDWIDE, was a big winner with Reta Jo today, and didn't even realize it, thanks.
pss. But a few of us did!!!!

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 4, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/4/10 Wednesday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **"MONDAY" MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00am **STATEMENT ON PAKISTANI FLOOD RELIEF**
10:15am Treaty Room

10:15 am **VIDEOS (7)**
10:25 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

10:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:00 am Secretary's Office

11:00 am **MEETING w/SENATOR JOHN KERRY**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:15 pm **COURTESY VISIT w/GENERAL JAMES MATTIS**
3:00 pm Secretary's Office

3:00 pm **MEETING w/JUDITH McHALE**
3:30 pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 4, 2010 9:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Trip

FYI. Will keep you posted.

-----Original Message-----
From: Burns, William J
Sent: Wednesday, August 04, 2010 8:15 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: Trip

Fyi.

----- Original Message -----
From: Pickering, Thomas R [redacted] B6
To: Burns, William J
Sent: Wed Aug 04 07:39:18 2010
Subject: Trip

Bill: Other side has just asked to postpone trip this weekend inferring unhelpful leaks at their end. Supposed to know more shortly and you will have seen latest news which might be relevant given my contacts role. All best wishes for your vacation! Tom.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 4, 2010 5:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Kenya Update August 4 2010.docx
**Attachments:** Kenya Update August 4 2010.docx

fyi

**From:** Wharton, David B
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 04, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Castillo, Raymond A; Scott, Marianne C; McClanahan, Julie A; Kemp, Edward; Roche, Lynn W; Page, Susan D
**Cc:** Yamamoto, Donald Y
**Subject:** Kenya Update August 4 2010.docx

Upbeat report from NDI on Kenyan referendum.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770226 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# NDI Kenya Referendum Update August 4, 2010

## Current Political Situation

- ***Referendum day enthusiasm***: was very high as evidenced by the high voter turnout. Some Kenyans came out at 3:00am to participate – polls opened at 6:00am. There has not been a single reported incidence of violence.

- **Security:** There has been a marked increase in security as compared with the 2007 elections. There are more military personnel in the polling stations and more police presence. There is a particularly high military/police presence in potential trouble areas like the Rift Valley.

- **Political good will:** Media coverage (both state-run and private) indicates that most Kenyans have been impressed by the IIEC's transparency, regular updates to the public, and have applauded their efforts to address challenges as they have occurred.

## Citizen Participation

- **Voter Turnout**: Voter turn-out appears high (some polling stations had reported that more than 50% of registered voters had voted by mid-day). The IIEC has said that turnout was 60% at 3pm with two hours of voting still to go.

- **The Church Mobilization:** The "No" vote was largely mobilized by religious organizations and churches. Thousands of voters turned-out in areas that are thought to be supportive of the NO campaign. The final public statement issued by the NO campaign going into the referendum encouraged Kenyans to vote and called for peaceful polls. However, there were troubling signs contained within the statement as well. For instance, the statement read in part: "We are aware that the government has put an elaborate strategy together to rig the referendum... We will reject the results of the referendum if we find that government has operationalized its rigging plans." The NO campaign statement further stated that "Americans are using Kenya as an experiment of their new method of destabilizing and manipulating African nations. If we as Kenyans allow Americans to influence us and manipulate our new constitution, we shall have set the way for other African nations to similarly be manipulated." It does not appear that some elements are prepared for a loss at the polls. This does not mean that the religious leadership or its supporters will result to violence. This



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770226 Date: 08/31/2015

may not be true of some politically motivated elements with the NO campaign structure. However, William Ruto has now delivered a statement stating that he will accept the results. This may be driven by the strong messages of support for the IIEC from Kenyan citizens which have been aired by the media all day which make it more difficult for anyone choosing to undermine their results.

## IIEC Performance

- **Voter Registry Problems:** There have been some incidences of misspelled names on the register – with proper identification most citizens were still allowed to vote at most polling stations despite minor spelling errors. However, these problems do not appear to be on a scale that could undermine the credibility of the process overall.

- **Materials Distribution Challenges:** Throughout the country, most of the polling stations received their ballot materials. Most of the polling stations opened on time (06:00 am) or shortly thereafter. Ballot materials in Tana River were lost once the IIEC's canoes leaked but no one was hurt and the commission stated they would get materials to the center later in the day. There have been a few complaints by the "no" camp that ballot papers were inappropriately colored at some stations (they were orange) – the IIEC responded by stating they would attempt to replace the papers in the affected areas.

- **Commissioners' Optimism.** NDI held a brief "off the record" meeting with the Chair of the IIEC and later with most of the IIEC Commissioners. In both meetings there was acknowledgement of the challenges that the commission had faced during the first half of the election-day but there was also a visible level of optimism among the Commissioners that the process was generally being seen as an open, transparent and participatory one. The Commission has issued two statements thus far. Both are attached to this update.

- **Announcement of Results.** Officially IIEC has 48 hours from the close of polls (17:00 today) to release results (pushing the deadline to 17:00 Friday, Kenya team). However, the IIEC is releasing interim results by polling station and the team thinks the picture will be clear as early as tomorrow morning. If the process proceeds smoothly, it is likely that the PVT results will be announced after the IIEC's interim results but before the official results.

## Election Observers

- **Domestic Observers**. The IIEC says that it certified 41 domestic election observation groups totaling close to 30,000 observers. NDI's partner, the Election Observation Group (ELOG) is fielding more than 10,000 observers. 702 of the ELOG observers are dedicated to the PVT exercise. ELOG issued two statements today (both are attached).

- **International Observers**. There are at least three international observer missions in Kenya for the referendum. The missions are from *the Commonwealth* (3 observers) that were not deployed outside of Nairobi; *the East Africa Community (EAC)* delegation is also a small one (8 observers) and is headed by EALA member, Hon. Leonce Ndarubagiye from Burundi; and the *European Union* has an "informal presence" in Nairobi. Last week the EU released a statement praising the IIEC's preparations for the referendum. The African Union has also sent an observation mission. Finally, a number of Embassies deployed staff "observers" throughout the country.

- **"Yes" and "No" Polling Station Agents**. Observers from the both campaigns were out in force. According to the ELOG (PVT) observers YES and NO observers were present in close to 68% of the polling centers visited. They are allowed 1 per committee per polling station. With 8 committees the maximum could be as much as 240,000 agents. NDI trained the constituency chief agents for all 8 committees and the PVT qualitative results show that only 7% of polling stations did not have agents present at the opening. Some No observers have raised concerns about inappropriately colored ballot papers (they were orange). Otherwise, there have been no serious complaints reported by either side. Some have also made claims that they were prevented from operating but claims of this type have been sporadic, rather than systematic. There have also been claims from the No side that the heavy police presence in the Rift Valley is designed to intimidate their voters but this has not been backed by feedback from the public at large as aired by the media.

- **Regional Liaison Observers**: There are 20 regional liaison observers throughout the country - all of their reports have been positive and indicate that the process was smooth and there has been no violence. There have been a few minor problems on the register. At present they are observing the tallying process.

## The ELOG PVT Exercise

ELOGs PVT operation faced some challenges early in the day because observers were either prevented from entering the polling station or had their phones confiscated. This was the result of poor internal communication within the IIEC which prevented helpful decisions made by the Commission filtering down to Presiding Officers on the ground.

The IIEC has been helpful during the day in resolving at least some of these problems. By 7pm text messages had been received from all but a few PVT observers (96% of the first message and 94% of the second message). ELOG have been able to use reports from their observers in a representative sample of polling stations to draw conclusions about the overall process across the country.

On opening, they reported that:

- 99% of polling stations were set up for secret voting
- 100% of polling stations had ballot boxes which were empty prior to being sealed
- 96% of polling stations had no key materials missing
- 98% of polling stations were open by 7.15am

On the voting process they reported:

- 99% of polling stations reported no attempts to disrupt the voting process
- 98% of polling stations had no cases of voters not being inked
- 84% of polling stations had no cases of voters being allowed to vote without an ID or without their name on the register
- 42% had no cases of voters not being permitted to vote (because they were not registered), 55% had a few cases (1-14) and 3% had some cases (15-49)
- The only issue observed which is difficult to interpret without additional information is the incidence of assisted voting. 5% reported no cases; 27% reported a few cases; 47% reported some cases and 22% reported many cases (50 or more).

Overall, ELOG has received 162 critical incident reports from its entire 10,000+ cadre of observers. Of these, 111 were observers not being permitted to observe.

**NDI Mapping Update:** NDI has provided maps to visualize critical incidence to Elections Observation Group (ELOG). NDI also provided routing maps that pinpointed polling stations to IIEC who used them to assist the foreign media and their own staff and to observers from the US and several European embassies.

## Challenges Ahead

- **Release of the results:** The IIEC's wish to show the results from all 27,000 polling stations in real time has proved to be over ambitious. However, the counting is going well and there should not be significant delays in the overall reporting process.

- **Acceptance of the results:** Perhaps the biggest fear is that the "No" camp is not going to accept the results and this will spark post-electoral violence (especially in the Rift Valley). So far there is no evidence that this will occur. However, the point of greatest danger is after the announcement of the results, not before. So far as the political leader of the No side, William Ruto, is concerned, the results in Rift Valley are at least as important as the national total. If the No side has performed as well as expected there, he may not have an interest in seeking to undermine the credibility of the tallying and reporting process.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 7:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat May 08 06:57:27 2010
Subject: Re: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

Pls share w me whatever S/P prepares.
Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 06 19:18:12 2010
Subject: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

As you know, the EU-IMF-USG consensus hope motivating the Greek bailout is that it will buy time for Spain, Portugal, etc. From widening credit spreads to falling stock prices, most relevant market indicators are responding with doubt. Former IMF Chief Economist and NYT Columnist (and influential blogger for bond traders) Simon Johnson has an important rejoinder to this consensus hope in today's NYT, full text pasted below.

As the EU has no playbook for most of the pressing questions it faces, my staff is working to brainstorm as to the least bad of what are only sobering options.

This is long but worth it.

May 6, 2010, 6:11 amIt's Not About Greece AnymoreBy PETER BOONE AND SIMON JOHNSONLouisa Gouliamaki/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images Protesters waved flags from the Acropolis archaeological site behind banners in English and Greek hung in front of the Parthenon temple in Athens.Peter Boone is chairman of the charity Effective Intervention and a research associate at the Center for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics. He is also a principal in Salute Capital Management Ltd. Simon Johnson, the former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, is the co-author of "13 Bankers."The Greek "rescue" package announced last weekend is dramatic, unprecedented and far from enough to stabilize the euro zone.The Greek government and the European Union leadership, prodded by the International Monetary Fund, are finally becoming realistic about the dire economic situation in Greece. They have abandoned previous rounds of optimistic forecasts and have now admitted to a profoundly worse situation. This new program calls for "fiscal adjustments" — cuts to the fiscal deficit, mostly through spending cuts — totaling 11 percent of gross domestic product in 2010, 4.3 percent in 2011, and 2 percent in 2012 and 2013. The total debt-to-G.D.P. ratio peaks at 149 percent in 2012-13 before starting a gentle glide path back down to sanity.This new program is honest

enough to show why it is unlikely to succeed.Daniel Gros, an eminent economist on euro zone issues based in Brussels, has argued that for each 1 percent of G.D.P. decline in Greek government spending, total demand in the country falls by 2.5 percent of G.D.P. If the government reduces spending by 15 percent of G.D.P. — the initial shock to demand could be well over 30 percent of G.D.P.Obviously this simple rule does not work with such large numbers, but it illustrates that Greece is likely to experience a very sharp recession — and there is substantial uncertainty around how bad the economy will get. The program announced last weekend assumes Greek G.D.P. falls by 4 percent this year, then by another 2.6 percent in 2011, before recovering to positive growth in 2012 and beyond.Such figures seem extremely optimistic, particularly in the face of the civil unrest now sweeping Greece and the deep hostility expressed toward Greece in some northern European policy circles.The pattern of growth is critical because, under this program, Greece needs to grow out of its debt problem soon. Greece's debt-to-G.D.P. ratio will be a debilitating 145 percent at the end of 2011.Now consider putting more realistic growth figures into the I.M.F. forecast for Greece's economy — e.g., with G.D.P. declining 12 percent in 2011, then the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio may reach 155 percent. At these levels, with a 5 percent real interest rate and no growth, the country needs a primary surplus at 8 percent of G.D.P. to keep the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio stable. It will be nowhere near that level. The I.M.F. program has Greece running a primary budget deficit of around 1 percent of G.D.P. in that year, and that assumes a path for Greek growth that can be regarded only as an "upside scenario."The politics of these implied budget surpluses remains brutal. Since most Greek debt is held abroad, roughly 80 percent of the budget savings the Greek government makes go straight to Germans, French and other foreign debt holders (mostly banks). If growth turns out poorly, will the Greeks be prepared for ever-tougher austerity to pay the Germans? Even if everything goes well, Greek citizens seem unlikely to welcome this version of their "new normal."

Last week the European leadership panicked — very late in the day — when it realized that the euro zone itself was at risk of a meltdown. If the euro zone proves unwilling to protect a member like Greece from default, then bond investors will run from Portugal and Spain also — if you doubt this, study carefully the interlocking debt picture published recently in The New York Times. Higher yields on government debt would have caused concerns about potential bank runs in these nations, and then spread to more nations in Europe.When there is such a "run," it is not clear where it stops. In the hazy distance, Belgium, France, Austria and many others were potentially at risk.

Even the Germans cannot afford to bail out those nations.Slapped in the face by this ugly scenario, the Europeans decided to throw everything they and the I.M.F. had at bailing out Greece. The program as announced has only a small chance of preventing eventual Greek bankruptcy, but it may still slow or avert a dangerous spiral downward — and enormous collateral damage — in the rest of Europe.The I.M.F. floated in some fashion an alternative scenario with a debt restructuring, but this was rejected by both the European Union and the Greek authorities. This is not a surprise; leading European policy makers are completely unprepared for broader problems that would follow a Greek "restructuring," because markets would immediately mark down the debt (i.e., increase the yields) for Portugal, Spain, Ireland and even Italy.The fear and panic in the face of this would be unparalleled in modern times: When the Greeks pay only 50 percent on the face value of their debt, what should investors expect from the Portuguese and Spanish? It all becomes arbitrary, including which countries are dragged down.Someone has to decide who should be defended and at what cost, and the European structures are completely unsuited to this kind of tough decision-making under pressure.In the extreme downside scenario, Germany is the only obvious safe haven within the euro zone, so its government bond yields would collapse while other governments face sharply rising yields. The euro zone would likely not hold together.There is still a narrow escape path, without immediate debt default and the chaos that that would produce:·

Talk down the euro — moving toward parity with the American dollar would help lift growth across the euroz one.·

As the euro falls, bond yields will rise on the euro zone periphery. This will create episodes of panic. Enough short-term financing must be in place to support the rollover of government debt.·

Once the euro has fallen a great deal, announce the European Central Bank will support the euro at those levels (i.e., prevent appreciation, with G-20 tacit agreement), and also support the peripheral euro zone nations viewed as solvent by buying their bonds whenever markets are chaotic.·

At that stage, but not before, the euro zone leadership needs to push weaker governments to restructure. That will include Greece and perhaps also Portugal. Hopefully, in this scenario Spain can muddle through.

European banks should be recapitalized as necessary and have most of their management replaced. This is a massive failure of euro groupthink — including most notably at the political level — but there is no question that bank executives have not behaved responsibly in a long while and should be replaced en masse.To the extent possible, some of the ensuing losses should be shared with bank creditors. But be careful what you wish for. The bankers are powerful for a reason; they have built vital yet fragile structures at the heart of our economies. Dismantle with care.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** MEPP

Sen Mitchell proposes putting out the following statement tomorrow. We would respond on specific commitments on Ramat Shlomo if asked.

Special Envoy Mitchell left the Middle East on Sunday, where he completed the first round of proximity talks with Israeli and Palestinian leaders. The talks were serious and wide-ranging.

Special Envoy Mitchell emphasized the importance of making progress in the proximity talks and of moving to direct negotiations as soon as possible. We have received commitments from both sides, and we have made assurances to both sides, that are enabling us to move forward. The full scope of these discussions will remain private.

As both parties know, if either side takes significant actions during the proximity talks that we judge would seriously undermine trust, we will respond to hold them accountable and ensure that negotiations continue.

Special Envoy Mitchell will return to the region next week to continue indirect negotiations with the parties.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: MEPP

I think this is about right too.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat May 08 16:16:36 2010
Subject: Re: MEPP

Sounds right to me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 08 16:09:19 2010
Subject: MEPP

Sen Mitchell proposes putting out the following statement tomorrow. We would respond on specific commitments on Ramat Shlomo if asked.

Special Envoy Mitchell left the Middle East on Sunday, where he completed the first round of proximity talks with Israeli and Palestinian leaders. The talks were serious and wide-ranging.

Special Envoy Mitchell emphasized the importance of making progress in the proximity talks and of moving to direct negotiations as soon as possible. We have received commitments from both sides, and we have made assurances to both sides, that are enabling us to move forward. The full scope of these discussions will remain private.

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Special Envoy Mitchell will return to the region next week to continue indirect negotiations with the parties.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mitchell statement

After further back and forth, we've come up with a way to mention Ramat Shlomo and incitement to violence that should be acceptable to both sides. The additional paragraph would read:

We have urged the parties to help create an atmosphere that is conducive to successful talks, and they are responding, including President Abbas' statement that he will work against incitement of any sort and Prime Minister Netanyahu's statement that there will be no construction at the Ramat Shlomo project for two years. They are both trying to move forward in difficult circumstances and we commend them for that.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 5:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mitchell statement

I should add that this is still going back and forth.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat May 08 17:52:28 2010
Subject: Mitchell statement

After further back and forth, we've come up with a way to mention Ramat Shlomo and incitement to violence that should be acceptable to both sides. The additional paragraph would read:

We have urged the parties to help create an atmosphere that is conducive to successful talks, and they are responding, including President Abbas' statement that he will work against incitement of any sort and Prime Minister Netanyahu's statement that there will be no construction at the Ramat Shlomo project for two years. They are both trying to move forward in difficult circumstances and we commend them for that.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 10:27 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

You are all set, seats 3A and 3C on the 8:00pm.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Sat May 08 21:42:55 2010
Subject: Shuttle

I need to take the 8 since Bill is not going to DC tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 4, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Good news

Shortly after we talked. Got word that. Pres. Bill was coming to do an event for me. In oct. This the $$$ and juice we need. Will thank him myself but if you see him first --- give him a bug 4 me !!!! Great getting caught up

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 10:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

Fyi

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat May 08 22:36:56 2010
**Subject:** Fw:

B6

**From:** Ashley Bommer
**To:** Pauli, Rosemarie; Holbrooke, Richard
**Sent:** Sat May 08 21:58:34 2010
**Subject:**

# Tensions between Eikenberry, McChrystal will be focus of their Washington visit

By Joshua Partlow
Sunday, May 9, 2010; A01

They are both decorated generals, West Point graduates who studied at Harvard University and earnest taskmasters who would rather work than sleep.

The U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Karl W. Eikenberry, and the top U.S. military commander there, Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, assumed their posts amid lofty expectations that they could re-create the hand-in-glove partnership that Gen. David H. Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker had while leading the war effort in Iraq.

But the Eikenberry-and-McChrystal team that returns to Washington this week, alongside Afghan President Hamid Karzai, has a much different dynamic.

Both men said in interviews that they enjoy a productive relationship and have built stronger bonds between troops and civilians across Afghanistan. Still, they have had significant disagreements over the course of the Afghanistan war and have struggled to align their visions for how to work with Karzai's government, according to interviews with U.S., NATO and Afghan officials.

Few critics suggest that those differences have harmed U.S. interests in Afghanistan. People who have worked with both men said, however, that clear tensions exist at the top of the Obama administration's most important military and foreign policy endeavor.

At times their differences over strategy have been public, particularly after two of Eikenberry's cables to Washington last year were leaked to the news media. The cables warned that McChrystal's request for new troops might be counterproductive as Karzai was "not an adequate strategic partner." McChrystal's staff

members were particularly upset that they weren't made aware of Eikenberry's position before he sent the cables to Washington, they said in interviews.

Eikenberry has resisted some of McChrystal's wartime experiments. The ambassador refused to release funds to expand a military effort to turn villagers into armed guards. He opposed one Army brigade's plan to form an anti-Taliban alliance with a Pashtun tribe and funnel it development money. He criticized the military's proposal to buy generators and diesel fuel for the energy-starved city of Kandahar and supported a longer-term hydroelectric dam project.

Their views have diverged despite shared experience: Eikenberry served 18 months as the NATO commander in Afghanistan, the job McChrystal now holds, before retiring from the military and returning as ambassador. As McChrystal has overhauled the war strategy, some of the legacy he is undoing is Eikenberry's.

Eikenberry wanted to become NATO's senior civilian representative, in addition to his job as ambassador, but McChrystal recommended against it, according to diplomats in Kabul. A British diplomat, Mark Sedwill, got the job.

"You have two generals of similar rank who don't agree on the policy, who apparently don't like each other. It makes for a difficult relationship," said Peter W. Galbraith, who served as the top U.S. official in the United Nations' mission to Afghanistan during last year's contested presidential election.

Both men have tried to dispel notions that they disagree on strategy and don't get along.

"The best metaphor I can give you is of an athletic team," Eikenberry said. "We play different positions. We have different but complementary roles. Of course, sometimes we're going to disagree on what's the best play to call, but we're absolutely committed as teammates to see the president's strategy is well-executed."

McChrystal said that he and Eikenberry cooperate effectively and that their relationship should not be measured against the Petraeus-Crocker pairing in Iraq.

"We've known each other for many years. We talk through all the things we deal with," McChrystal said. "Some people are looking for an Iraq model. But Iraq wasn't a 46-nation coalition."

**Civil-military integration**

The two generals first crossed professional paths in 2002, when McChrystal, who had worked as chief of staff under Gen. Dan K. McNeill, then coalition commander, helped prepare Eikenberry for a job in Kabul building the fledgling Afghan National Army. Later, McChrystal ran the Joint Special Operations Command when Eikenberry held the top military job in Afghanistan.

They now work more independently because their roles aren't perfectly aligned, they said, with McChrystal in charge of the 130,000-strong NATO coalition, not just the American contingent.

Some disagreements between the men may reflect growing pains, as the military makes room for what has become the second-largest U.S. embassy in the world, after the one in Iraq. When President Obama took office last year, there were 360 American civilians in Afghanistan. Now there are more than 1,000 and counting, the most rapid growth of a U.S. civilian mission since the Vietnam War.

Military field commanders who once may have had political advisers now share authority with co-equal civilian representatives backed by growing staffs. The result is a more forceful civilian voice in decision-making.

When Eikenberry has resisted a military proposal, the rationale is often that he does not want to undermine the Afghan government and the development of its security forces. He says that he must take into account factors beyond short-term stability and that programs without Afghan government ownership won't be sustainable.

"I think that both of us are very proud of the degree of civil-military integration we've been able to achieve in the year that we've been here together," Eikenberry said. "So, of course, there's going to be different perspectives, there's going to be robust debates, and you really want that. You've got to encourage that."

**Divided over Karzai**

Perhaps the most visible difference in approach is how the men work with Karzai.

McChrystal has adopted a role akin to chief diplomat, building a close partnership with Karzai. In monthly White House review sessions, McChrystal has argued that U.S. officials should show more public deference to Karzai, who he frequently reminds others is "the elected leader of a sovereign country," administration officials said.

In the interview, McChrystal called Karzai a "great partner" who has been "absolutely straightforward with me and been reliable."

Some officials said he has built his relationship with Karzai at the expense of candor. In some instances, he has chosen a less politically controversial path, U.S. officials said, citing his decision to work with Ahmed Wali Karzai, the president's half brother, rather than stress his alleged criminal activity.

"If I don't have credibility with President Karzai, then I think I can't be an effective commander here," McChrystal said. "And it doesn't mean just getting along with him and telling him what he wants to hear. It's convincing him that I'm being a reliable and honest interlocutor with him."

Eikenberry, meanwhile, has had to deliver tougher messages about corruption and governance that often upset Karzai, and his rapport with the mercurial president has seemed to suffer.

During a lengthy policy review in the fall, Eikenberry argued against sending additional U.S. troops to Afghanistan. And U.S. officials said he continues to think that the United States should find other Afghan figures, including provincial leaders, to work with rather than rely so heavily on Karzai. Eikenberry's position infuriated Karzai, who often views U.S. support for "sub-national governments" in Afghanistan as a threat to his authority.

Karzai is a cunning politician who has tried to play Eikenberry and McChrystal off each other and exploit any political differences, U.S. officials said. In recent months, when Karzai has come under U.S. pressure to reform his corrupt government, he has often lashed out publicly.

Since McChrystal took command in June, he has met Karzai more than 45 times, mostly one-on-one, including a regular Sunday morning chat in the presidential palace. In an effort to present Karzai as commander in chief, McChrystal has flown him across the country on five "battlefield circulations."

McChrystal has done more than his predecessors, including Eikenberry, to minimize civilian casualties, such as restricting the use of air power and night raids. He has regularly apologized to Karzai for civilian deaths and shown him video and slide presentations to explain how such mistakes occur.

"He was the first military man to really show that he respected and would respond to Karzai's agenda, civilian casualties, of course, being the biggest issue," one senior NATO official said. "In a sense, Karzai said, 'Here's a soldier that finally I can deal with.' "

Crocker, the former U.S. ambassador to Baghdad, said he and Petraeus rarely differed over policy or approach and carefully calibrated their relationship with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, another complicated leader. The two almost always saw Maliki together. When meeting him alone, they would brief each other before and after.

Of McChrystal and Eikenberry, Crocker said: "They need to resolve any differences among themselves or take it back to Washington because the stakes in Afghanistan are too great not to have a unified effort."

*Partlow reported from Kabul. Staff writers Rajiv Chandrasekaran and Scott Wilson in Washington contributed to this report.*

--

Text "Swat" to 20222 to provide $5 to UNHCR for life-saving relief to two million refugees.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 3:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo uk state of play 050910.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Sunday, State of Play

Clegg is still in talks with Cameron. About 1,500 Liberal Democrats spontaneously protested at Lib-Dem headquarters against a deal with the Tories given their policies, especially on Europe. But Clegg remains in negotiations. He seems quite intent on working it out with Cameron, it appears. His inner Tory magnetically draws him to his heritage. Clegg has also misplayed almost every turn, presented with big chances and blowing them through a combination of inexperience (derived partly from heading a party out of power for nearly 100 years) and inbred arrogance (from no less a privileged background than Cameron, though seeming less snobbish because he went to Westminster instead of Eton and has a less pronounced upper-class accent, more neutral, because of his more cosmopolitan roots through his family).

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election? The poll shows more than discontent with Gordon, but also how people are being whipped by the Murdoch media.

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So, whatever the case, I would doubt you'll see David again as Foreign Secretary. Prepare for hauge, who is deeply anti-European and will be disingenuous with you. Tory budget cuts in NI, already announced, would cause havoc with peace and economic recovery. I'd send a private message asap on that score the second a new government is announced, if it is. Tilt publicly to Merkel on Europe for this reason among others.

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• Leak follows leaders' 'constructive, amicable' meeting

Toby Helm and Anushka Asthana

- The Observer, Sunday 9 May 2010

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Exposing the massive gulf between Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg and the Conservative leadership on Europe, Hague says he would demand the right to repatriate powers over criminal justice as well as social and employment policy during the first term of a Tory government – demands many EU leaders say they would resist.

Hague planned to tell his EU counterparts: "Rest assured that we seek engagement, not confrontation. But our aim is to achieve these commitments during this parliament." He would also tell his first foreign ministers' meeting "we will never join the euro" and conclude: "You will find us firm but fair, playing a leading role, fighting our corner, practical and straight-talking."

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But the stark language used in the letter is bound to alarm Clegg, who has been savage in his criticism of the Conservatives' attitude to Europe which he believes is rooted in the past and will limit Britain's ability to fight cross-border crime and meet the environmental challenges of the 21st century.

The document will also be seen by Lib Dem MPs and the party's rank and file as evidence that their pro-Europeanism would be compromised by linking up with the Tories. A Lib Dem spokesman said the party was strongly pro-European, but would not be drawn on the document.

Yesterday Cameron came under pressure from senior figures in his own party not to give in to Clegg's demands by watering down Conservative manifesto commitments. Shadow defence secretary Liam Fox warned that a Tory government could not be "held to ransom" by Lib Dems demanding proportional representation.

Clegg may also face opposition from within his party to any attempt to form a coalition with the Tories, particularly on economic issues.

Yesterday the Social Liberal Forum, which represents left-leaning Lib Dems and includes a third of the party's MPs, issued a set of "red lines" which it said the party must not cross, including any measure that would increase the gap between the rich and poor – ruling out supporting the Tory pledge to cut inheritance tax. Three other red lines were any suggestion of cuts to frontline services in the current financial year, any worsening treatment of asylum seekers and any watering-down of the human rights act.

Meanwhile, Gordon Brown and his closest advisers were working on how to expand their counter-offer to the Lib Dems, including a referendum on changes to the voting system. Senior officials said Labour was planning to draw up a formal "coalition contract" – as happens in Germany – that would bind the Lib Dems and other smaller parties into a deal if the Tory discussions with the Lib Dems were to fail.

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770244 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 2010

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 4:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Joint communique

You'll be getting the draft of the joint communique - with carefully haggled language on detentions - in your book tonight. You'll also get a proposed Quartet statement on prox talks.

Happy Mothers Day!

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Ruto and the "No" team concede defeat in Kenya's Constitutional Referendum

**Importance:** High

fyi

---

**From:** Wharton, David B
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Castillo, Raymond A; Roche, Lynn W; Kemp, Edward; McClanahan, Julie A
**Subject:** Fw: Ruto and the "No" team concede defeat in Kenya's Constitutional Referendum
**Importance:** High

Ruto was leader of "no" campaign, so his apparent graceful concession is important.

---

**From**: Howard, Jonathan P
**To**: Howard, Jonathan P; [redacted] B6
[redacted]; Kenya Referendum; [redacted] 'Lawlor, Rebecca'
[redacted] 'Pressman, David' [redacted]
[redacted]
'Wilett, Nicole' [redacted]
**Cc**: Brudvig, Lee A; Ranneberger, Michael E; Nairobi POL-CORE; Lott, Catie (KENYA/GJD); Kerst, Erna (KENYA/OD); Warren, Glenn S
**Sent**: Thu Aug 05 07:02:41 2010
**Subject**: Ruto and the "No" team concede defeat in Kenya's Constitutional Referendum

Colleagues,

Shortly before 2 PM Nairobi time, William Ruto and the "No" team conceded defeat. Saying that "Kenyans have spoken" and that the constitution has been accepted at the referendum, Ruto said that he will now focus on fixing the contentious issues outlined by the "No" team by participating in the implementation process. Somewhat disingenuously, Ruto is also saying that a "majority of Kenyans either did not vote or voted against the new constitution." He has urged his supporters to remain peaceful and accept the outcome.

At about 1 PM, church leaders held a press conference acknowledging the draft has passed, and stating that the church will work to address the new constitution's "moral issues of concern."

On a personal note, I will be departing post tomorrow morning and will leave the office in a few hours. It has been an honor and privilege to work with a wonderful team in support of Kenya's constitutional reform, and I am thankful to have witnessed such a peaceful and positive outcome. I wish my colleagues the best as they turn now to the task of supporting the implementation. Glenn Warren (WarrenGS@state.gov / +254-717-727-842) is the primary point of contact for constitutional issues going forward.

Best regards,

**Jonathan P. Howard**
*Political Officer*

Embassy of the United States of America, Nairobi, Kenya

Office: 20-363-6283
Mobile: [redacted] B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Kenya update

Fyi,

**From:** Wharton, David B
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 12:11 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Castillo, Raymond A; McClanahan, Julie A; Roche, Lynn W; Kemp, Edward
**Subject:** Fw: copy of cable

Latest from Nairobi. Glenn is political counselor there.

1. This situation report is current as of 6:30 pm. It concludes Embassy Nairobi's Referendum situation reports.

2. Results from approximately 200 of 210 constituencies have been counted and final results should be announced within the next hour. The "Yes" vote is about 5.5 million and the "No" vote is about 2.5 million. Final results should show "Yes" with about 69 percent.

3. President Kibaki, Prime Minister Odinga, and Vice President Musyoka addressed a large crowd at the Kenya International Conference Center at about 6:00 pm. Avoiding triumphalism , they struck themes of unity, reconciliation, renewal, and building a new Kenya. After Odinga called for unity and paid tribute to Kibaki's leadership, Kibaki noted that Kenya was coming to the end of an historic 20-year journey. The adoption of a new constitution was a victory for those who had fought long and hard for a new constitutional dispensation that would usher in a new Kenyan nation. He congratulated Kenyans on a successful and peaceful resolution of the constitutional process that showed that Kenya's democratic institutions had come of age. Kibaki said he was particularly pleased with the transparent and efficient conduct of the Interim Independent Electoral Commission. He called on all elements of Kenyan society to implement the constitution. Referring to opposition to the constitution, Kibaki said their voices would be heard. Democracy was about accepting the verdict of the majority, he said, while acknowledging space for the minority.

4. Earlier in the day, opposition leader William Ruto conceded defeat. He thanked the Kenyan people for their peaceful participation in the process and specifically thanked the more than two million people who had resisted blackmail and manipulation to vote "no." He argued that the majority of Kenyans had either voted against the constitution or did not vote. Therefore, the "yes" side would have to consult with the opposition on issues of concern to it.

5. Embassy observer teams have returned from the field and reported that the situation throughout Kenya, including the Rift Valley, is calm. Tensions have eased in the Rift Valley following Ruto's concession, and Post expects the post-Referendum period to be peaceful.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 2:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Philippines compact

FYI – the Philippines compact was approved unanimously.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Peggy Hamburg

I know you're meeting with Peggy tom'w.

B6

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Update on Reporting

FYI, a video and note that will make you smile.

Enjoy!

jm

**1.Closing Wrap-up Video from Forum** (produced by IIP and huge hit)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZ8kpXbql1c

**2.Thank-you Letter from Cameroon Delegate to Embassy**

Dear All,

Good morning from Washington DC. I trust that we are keeping well. I just want to use this opportunity to say that today we come to the end of the program here on the President's Forum. All along this Forum and especially during the White House meeting with President Obama, I have been asking myself what it means to be here in DC and to be representing Cameroon at this forum?

I have recently come to the realization that the time is critical and that President Obama in his thinking about a new Africa believes that young people whom we are, diverse and intelligently different can take little positive actions to ensure that the next 50 years witnesses significant changes in our social processes, our political institutions, processes and structures, our economic freedom, taking into consideration our cultural specificities.

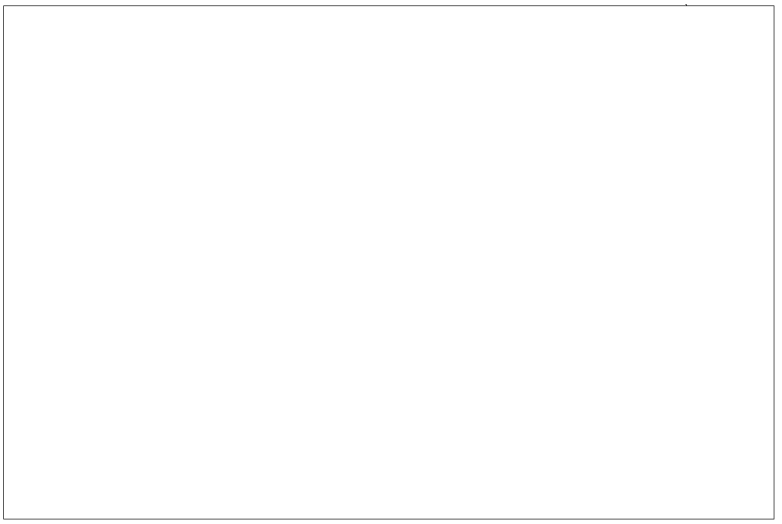
While traveling to America, I kept imagining the moment when President Obama would tell us great and magical ways to getting out of our current socio-economic and especially political hostage situations, but in all and after all the speeches, conversations and interactions with Ordinary Americans like in the Southside of Washington DC, State Department Staff, Senators, Secretary of State Clinton and President Obama, I noticed that America can only partner with us when we decide to start thinking and acting differently in our quest for a better Cameroon and a better Africa.

This thinking differently is exemplified by the American Peace Corps, in the service leadership, the spirit of give back to the nation and community and the transformation of challenges to opportunities in America and in many nations around the world...

When our troubles and challenges seems gruesome and our vision blurred by the thought and fear of the unknown if we dared, the one thing I come out with from this Forum is this, "That we just have to Think, Speak out and above all, DARE take some innovative ACTIONs to Be the change we want to see in our communities, nations and continent and commit others to same by our examples...That we have to build strong networks and undertake advocacies as a group as nothing has ever stopped a committed group of people to drive change aound the world.

The work to be done is enormous and challenging but sure the reward of every success like coming to America, to the White House and meeting with President Obama is sweet. Therefore I come back to work to be the change I want to see in Cameroon.

I thank you all for the opportunity.



B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 6:49 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Because of ash cloud flight issues, 1230 is earliest he can get there after landing.
I don't know about mccrystal.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun May 09 18:47:14 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

Can I see Mitchell at 12 instead of 12:30? Also, what happened to McCrystal mtg?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 6:59 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

McCrystal cancelled, he needs to be at the Pentagon much earlier than they had expected. Senator Mitchell's plane now lands at 11:00am and asked for 12:30 or as soon as he can get to State.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun May 09 18:47:14 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 7:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: doctrine of no surprises

The "doctrine of no surprises" has become my personal mantra. Glad you like it. And Happy Mother's Day to you too!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa
Sent: Sun May 09 19:29:48 2010
Subject: Re: doctrine of no surprises

Love the "doctrine" and I agree we need a health speech. I'd like to look for a venue before UNGA. And Happy Mother's Day!

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 15:51:43 2010
Subject: doctrine of no surprises

I just wanted to make sure you know that the CARE speech is now going to focus on nutrition/health/early childhood, rather than being a major health speech. I still feel that you need to do a health speech as a bookend to food and water – perhaps before UNGA. You could focus on health in the context of the larger Millennium Dev Goals. You have not given a speech yet about maternal and child health. We have a great story to tell with our investment in GHI, and there will be an opportunity to tell it with the ramp-up to UNGA (with the Summit focusing on MDGs). There is a tremendous amount of activity going on elsewhere in the world. And this is a legacy issue for you. (I have already relayed this idea to CDM and Jake).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 6:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Please tell H that I spoke to Querishi.

-----Original Message-----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
Sent: Thursday, August 05, 2010 5:22 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Please tell H that I spoke to Querishi.

They called in all the Ambos and gave them a general pitch. I suggested that GoP must be more specific on needs and go through capitals.
I also suggested we turn next FoDP into a pledging conference. (Brussels, oct 14-15; I will represent). Can't have another stupid empty wordfest in midst of such a disaster. RH

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 8:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid

Thanks! Just back. Got waylaid for long detour around iceland due to volcano. - will be in touch with evryone in uk so more later tomorrow...
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 9 May 2010 19:22:14
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid

I shared your emails w Bill who thought they were "brilliant"! Keep 'em coming when you can.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun May 09 03:08:22 2010
Subject: H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Sunday, State of Play

Clegg is still in talks with Cameron. About 1,500 Liberal Democrats spontaneously protested at Lib-Dem headquarters against a deal with the Tories given their policies, especially on Europe. But Clegg remains in negotiations. He seems quite intent on working it out with Cameron, it appears. His inner Tory magnetically draws him to his heritage. Clegg has also misplayed almost every turn, presented with big chances and blowing them through a combination of inexperience (derived partly from heading a party out of power for nearly 100 years) and inbred arrogance (from no less a privileged background than Cameron, though seeming less snobbish because he went to Westminster instead of Eton and has a less pronounced upper-class accent, more neutral, because of his more cosmopolitan roots through his family).

What about Labour? Shaun and a couple of others have rounded up about 29 votes from other parties (Scottish National Party, NI parties, Welsh party) that could be part of a grand progressive once-in-a-lifetime coalition that required the LDs. Gordon has said he will allow Clegg-Cameron discussions to play out and a general offer to Clegg is on the table, its terms giving far more on a referendum and policy than the Tories. Behind the scenes, Labour is putting whatever harsh pressure it can on LD leaders. Peter is playing a cynical double game. He is a sectarian in a sect of one. Yet Gordon for strange psychological reasons rooted in his triangle with Tony and Peter relies on Peter. Peter, according to Shaun, has wrung a pledge from Borwn that if Brown emerges from this crisis he, Peter, will replace David as Foreign Secretary. Meanwhile, Peter has advised David to sideline himself. David has done so instead of being forward as a strong party man behind Brown in dire straits. Standing back only makes David look ambitious, waiting for Brown to lose and aiming to a leadership contest afterward, when Peter, as he has promised, would guide David to the prize. The plot thickens: Ed Miliband, David's younger brother, the environment secretary, will run for leader against his brother if Brown loses. Ed has more of a common touch. The outcome of that contest would be more than uncertain. But before that eventuality Gordon's team reaches out to the LDs in private. Yet Shaun's attitude, as I read it, leans toward pessmism. A London Times polls just out says 62 percent want Gordon out. Where were the fickle voters in the election? The poll shows more than discontent with Gordon, but also how people are being whipped by the Murdoch media.

What about the Tories? A secret memo from William Hague to Cameron written before the election was leaked this morning to The Observer (the Sunday paper of The Guardian), proposes an anti-Europe line of the new government. (I've enclosed the article below.) The atmosphere inside the Conservatives is acrid and anxious. But Lord Ashcroft, the Tory moneyman, who spent five million pounds alone in marginal districts, is furious that Cameron failed to win outright, failed in his campaign, made a foolish decision to include Clegg in the debates, etc. Many agree with the evil Ashcroft. But the finger pointing won't matter if a deal works with Clegg. The Conservative strategy would be to coopt Clegg now, do whatever deal can be done, maintain a more or less center-right but moderated government for about a year, call a new election, win outright on the momentum of the recovery engineered by Brown but claimed by Tories as proof that the change was responsible, jettison Clegg and the LDs, and govern from the radical right as the children of Thatcher for five years. The Tories would then move on their electoral reforms: cutting the number of seats in Parliament, redistricting in Conservative favor, and trying to outlaw union contributions to the Labour Party.

What about the LDs? Clegg's deal with the Tories would of course thwart any Lib-Lab coalition, probably the only chance for a grand progressive alliance that would keep the Tories out of power forever. Clegg's personal instincts obviously lean toward the Tories, having little to do with policy. The party's leaders may be opposed, but they are also likely to be feckless and weak as they always have been.

So, whatever the case, I would doubt you'll see David again as Foreign Secretary. Prepare for hauge, who is deeply anti-European and will be disingenuous with you. Tory budget cuts in NI, already announced, would cause havoc with peace and economic recovery. I'd send a private message asap on that score the second a new government is announced, if it is. Tilt publicly to Merkel on Europe for this reason among others.

Article below:
Tory-Lib Dem coalition threatened by secret hardline memo on Europe • Draft letter by William Hague sets out tough stance on EU • Leak follows leaders' 'constructive, amicable' meeting Toby Helm
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/tobyhelm> and Anushka Asthana
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/anushkaasthana>

* The Observer <http://observer.guardian.co.uk> , Sunday 9 May 2010

David Cameron <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/davidcameron> 's hopes of forming a coalition with the Liberal Democrats <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/liberaldemocrats> were dramatically undermined last night by the leaking of a top-secret letter outlining the hardline Eurosceptic stance he and William Hague <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/williamhague> planned to adopt in government.
The document, obtained by the Observer, is headed "draft letter from Foreign Secretary to Prime Minister" and was written last week. It assumed an outright Tory victory and spelt out how Hague intended to adopt a tough approach to Europe at a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Brussels tomorrow.

In the letter, compiled by civil servants but written in the first person, Hague tells Cameron how his message would be that "the British relationship with the EU has changed with our election" to one firmly against any further integration. Exposing the massive gulf between Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/nickclegg> and the Conservative leadership on Europe, Hague says he would demand the right to repatriate powers over criminal justice as well as social and employment policy during the first term of a Tory government – demands many EU leaders say they would resist.

Hague planned to tell his EU counterparts: "Rest assured that we seek engagement, not confrontation. But our aim is to achieve these commitments during this parliament." He would also tell his first foreign ministers' meeting "we will never join the euro" and conclude: "You will find us firm but fair, playing a leading role, fighting our corner, practical and straight-talking."

Last night the Tories said they had no knowledge of the letter. But the Observer understands it was drawn up on the basis of detailed briefings between senior civil servants and Hague. The document came to light as Clegg, a strong pro-European, yesterday met his MPs and senior party figures to discuss a possible coalition with the Tories, who emerged from Thursday's general election with the largest number of seats but short of an overall majority.

Cameron and Clegg held face-to-face talks late yesterday as they continued their attempts to thrash out a power-sharing deal. A senior Conservative party spokeswoman said the talks were "constructive and amicable". The 70-minute meeting took place at Admiralty House in Whitehall. A Lib Dem spokesman also described the discussions as "constructive and amicable".

Tory and Lib Dem sources said last night that discussions would not conclude until the beginning of the coming week at the earliest. An emergency meeting of the 1922 committee of Tory backbenchers will be held tomorrow to discuss the possible coalition. Today, Hague, Oliver Letwin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/oliverletwin> and George Osborne <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/georgeosborne> will resume talks with the Lib Dems' Vince Cable, Chris Huhne and David Laws.

But the stark language used in the letter is bound to alarm Clegg, who has been savage in his criticism of the Conservatives <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/conservatives> ' attitude to Europe which he believes is rooted in the past and will limit Britain's ability to fight cross-border crime and meet the environmental challenges of the 21st century.

The document will also be seen by Lib Dem MPs and the party's rank and file as evidence that their pro-Europeanism would be compromised by linking up with the Tories. A Lib Dem spokesman said the party was strongly pro-European, but would not be drawn on the document.

Yesterday Cameron came under pressure from senior figures in his own party not to give in to Clegg's demands by watering down Conservative manifesto commitments. Shadow defence secretary Liam Fox warned that a Tory government could not be "held to ransom" by Lib Dems demanding proportional representation.

Clegg may also face opposition from within his party to any attempt to form a coalition with the Tories, particularly on economic issues.

Yesterday the Social Liberal Forum, which represents left-leaning Lib Dems and includes a third of the party's MPs, issued a set of "red lines" which it said the party must not cross, including any measure that would increase the gap between the rich and poor – ruling out supporting the Tory pledge to cut inheritance tax. Three other red lines were any suggestion of cuts to frontline services in the current financial year, any worsening treatment of asylum seekers and any watering-down of the human rights act.

Meanwhile, Gordon Brown and his closest advisers were working on how to expand their counter-offer to the Lib Dems, including a referendum on changes to the voting system. Senior officials said Labour was planning to draw up a formal "coalition contract" – as happens in Germany – that would bind the Lib Dems and other smaller parties into a deal if the Tory discussions with the Lib Dems were to fail.

Most Labour ministers now believe Brown would have to step down before Clegg would consider a pact, though senior government insiders insisted this was not being discussed as an option.

One re-elected Labour MP, John Mann, of Bassetlaw, called on Brown to step down as Labour leader, claiming that the party would have influence on the outcome of the current negotiations only if Brown agreed to give up the leadership. "Brown should not lead Labour into any future election and he should stand down before the next Labour party conference," he said. "Gordon Brown's continuation as leader rules out the credibility of a Lib-Lab pact that has to prioritise the modernisation and reform of the antiquated UK political systems."

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 6:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Gomes

FYI

---

**From:** Kim, Sung Y
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 6:09 PM
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Tesone, Mark
**Subject:** Gomes

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Followup

RCH talked to Lute, who said he would fix before it goes final. the whole thing is on hold thru Karzai, but we can expect to see another version next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun May 09 19:30:07 2010
Subject: Followup

What happened re the minutes of Pak mtg at Mullen's?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Subject:** Ambassadors

We had 31 noms on the Exec Calendar as of tonight. The following 27 made it thru:

Jeffrey (Iraq)
Williams (Niger)
Carter (Cote d'Ivoire)
Feierstein (Yemen)
Reed-Rowe (Palau)
Moon (Bosnia)
Murray (Republic of Congo)
Storella (Zambia)
Likins (Peru)
McKinley (Colombia)
Dougherty (Burkina Faso)
Benjaminson (Gabon)
Connelly (Lebanon)
Smith (Greece)
Entwistle (Dem Rep Congo)
Wohlers (Cent Af Rep)
Fergin (E.Timor)
Owen (Sierra Leone)
Jackson (Cameroon)
Wolff (Chile)
Marciel (Indonesia)
McCulley (Nigeria)
Bridgewater (Jamaica)
Bond (Lesotho)
Jones (Malaysia)
Powers (Powers)
Arreaga (Iceland)

The following 4 remain on the floor:

Ricciardone (Turkey)
Aponte (El Salvador)
Ford (Syria)
Yzaguirre (Dominican Republic)

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 5, 2010 10:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Gomes

Agree - as do others

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Aug 05 20:19:05 2010
Subject: Re: Gomes

I don't think we should announce--only respond if asked.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Aug 05 18:54:03 2010
Subject: FW: Gomes

FYI

From: Kim, Sung Y
Sent: Thursday, August 05, 2010 6:09 PM
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Tesone, Mark
Subject: Gomes

B5

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 10:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 60 minutes

My mom just wrote me an email about the interview that captured exactly what I thought watching the interview - you have been through so much and would have been perfectly entitled just to pack it in after the election but instead, in my mom's words, "instead of feeling sorry for herself she takes the ball and runs with all the energy that she can summon in the service of her country to the limit of her body ....and she dishes it out frankly without pussy footing around whether to heads of State or media or major international conferences." I felt VERY proud to be on your team. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 10:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** EU secprez

Tonight's announcement of a 700 bn euro bailout plan puts the secprez on hold, at least til we see how markets react.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 5:45 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Subject:** Re: Ambassadors

Great work

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Thu Aug 05 22:14:01 2010
Subject: Ambassadors

We had 31 noms on the Exec Calendar as of tonight. The following 27 made it thru:

Jeffrey (Iraq)
Williams (Niger)
Carter (Cote d'Ivoire)
Feierstein (Yemen)
Reed-Rowe (Palau)
Moon (Bosnia)
Murray (Republic of Congo)
Storella (Zambia)
Likins (Peru)
McKinley (Colombia)
Dougherty (Burkina Faso)
Benjaminson (Gabon)
Connelly (Lebanon)
Smith (Greece)
Entwistle (Dem Rep Congo)
Wohlers (Cent Af Rep)
Fergin (E.Timor)
Owen (Sierra Leone)
Jackson (Cameroon)
Wolff (Chile)
Marciel (Indonesia)
McCulley (Nigeria)
Bridgewater (Jamaica)
Bond (Lesotho)
Jones (Malaysia)
Powers (Powers)
Arreaga (Iceland)

The following 4 remain on the floor:

Ricciardone (Turkey)
Aponte (El Salvador)

Ford (Syria)
Yzaguirre (Dominican Republic)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Afghan insurgent attack kills British soldier

**From**: Shelstad, Jeffrey
**To**: NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-PM
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Mon May 10 05:32:22 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Afghan insurgent attack kills British soldier

KABUL - (AP) A British Royal Marine was killed in an explosion near Patrol Base Blenheim, in Sangin, Helmand Province on May 9, Britain's Ministry of Defence reported. The death brings to 12 the number of NATO forces killed in Afghanistan in May.

**Jeff Shelstad**
**Watch Officer**
**Department of State Operations Center (S/ES-O)**
**ShelstadJ@state.gov (202) 647-1512**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini schedule 5/10/10 Monday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:30 am **ONE-ON-ONE MEETING w/AMBASSADOR KARL EIKENBERRY**
11:00 am Secretary's Office

11:00 am **BILATERAL w/ZIMBABWEAN PM MORGAN TSVANGIRAI**
11:30 am Secretary's Conference Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

11:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:30 pm Secretary's Office

6:45 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Blair House

6:55 pm **ARRIVE** Blair House

7:00 pm **PRIVATE DINNER w/AFGHAN PRESIDENT KARZAI**
9:00 pm Blair House

9:05 pm (t) **DEPART** Blair House *En route Private Residence

9:20 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: BROWN HAS JUST SAID HE WILL RESIGN TO PROMOTE TALKS WITH LDs. More to come later...Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: http://www.myfoxdc.com/dpp/news/local/from-foster-care-to-law-school-graduate,-howard-university-student-beats-the-odds-050710

**Importance:** High

B6

**From:** Minyon Moore
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; williamsbarrett Reines, Philippe I; Marshall, Capricia P
**Sent:** Mon May 10 12:32:14 2010
**Subject:** http://www.myfoxdc.com/dpp/news/local/from-foster-care-to-law-school-graduate,-howard-university-student-beats-the-odds-050710

**This is why we love Madam Secretary...to start your week off – take a look at the interview. Should invite him back to see her.**

# From Foster Care To Law School Graduate, Howard University Student Beats The Odds

### Jelani Freeman lived in 6 foster homes in 10 years

Updated: Friday, 07 May 2010, 8:25 PM EDT
Published : Friday, 07 May 2010, 7:55 PM EDT

By BETH PARKER/myfoxdc

WASHINGTON - Jelani Freeman has gone through a lot to wear this robe. This weekend, he will graduate from Howard University Law School.

He remembers the shaky foundation of his young life. A mother who could not take care of him. He lived in six foster homes in ten years.

"Moving to these different homes. The kids were like 'you weren't here yesterday.' Where's your mom at?" said Freeman.

At 18 years old, he left the system and went to college in search of room and board. He knew what people expected of kids in the foster care system - not much.

"All I would hear is that they were in jail or homeless or weren't doing too well," said Freeman.

He beat the odds and graduated, but he felt ... alone.

"I can distinctly remember walking across the stage in undergrad. You know at graduation everyone has their cheer section that yells as you walk across the stage and there was almost silence as I walked across," said Freeman.

It will be different this time. When Freeman gets his diploma Saturday at the convention center, there will be 26 people - friends and supporters from as far away as California - in D.C. to show their support.

**Freeman also got a boost from an internship program for kids who have spent time in foster care. He was placed in the office of then Senator Hillary Clinton. Clinton even mentions him in the updated version of her book "It Takes A Village."**

Now, he may use his law degree to work on public policy - especially children's issues. He wants all kids to know: "There's a bright future out there for you if you stay focused and work hard."

And to the adults who hear his story, Freeman said help a child. He is living proof of the difference it can make.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 4:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: All still in play, by end of Monday. Sid

Gordon was convinced he had to sacrifice himself for any attempt to form a grand progressive coalition with the Lib-Dems. Clegg had said during the campaign he would not deal with Gordon and he remained adamant. Peter, Alastair, Ed Balls, and Ed Miliband met secretly with the LD team on Sunday. Gordon decided to fall on his sword today. The negotiations between Labour and the LDs now are engaged with the same teams. The Tories at the same time also are negotiating. Both offer competing plans for electoral reform that would give the LDs more representation in the future. If the LDs strike a deal with the Tories Labour is unlikely to support it and campaign against that referendum. Cameron is strained right now. His right does not approve of a deal while others push him to make an arrangement in order to attain power. Cameron may be limited in how far he can go in his offer. But by no means is a Labour-LD deal certain or even probable, even given Gordon's political suicide. The campaign for leader to replace Gordon begins as soon as the Labour-LD negotiations are concluded. David is ready to go; he will face Ed Balls and possibly his brother Ed. If there is a coalition that would tilt against Balls, who is seen as Gordon's heir and as an inappropriate PM, Gordon redux, to work with the LDs. One of the Milibands will emerge. I still bet on David. So four days after the election, everything is still in play. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Lois Romano

I am traveling overseas, with only intermittent access to my email. If you need to reach me urgently please contact Nora Toiv, Toivnf@state.gov, 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, 202-647-5548.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: CNN story on S mother's day video - forefront of fighting for fedl employees

----- Original Message -----
From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
To: Reines, Philippe I; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon May 10 20:03:59 2010
Subject: CNN story on S mother's day video - forefront of fighting for fedl employees

On eve of Mother's Day, Clinton pushes for paid leave for new parents From CNN Senior State Department Producer Elise Labott WASHINGTON (CNN) -- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton pledged to push Congress to get paid leave for federal employees who are parents of newborn or newly adopted children on Friday, in a videotaped Mother's Day message to State Department employees."I know how challenging it can be to balance the demands of work and family," Clinton said. "Whether you're welcoming a new baby, juggling soccer practice and piano lessons, or even helping plan your daughter's wedding --parenting can be more than a full-time job."Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, is getting married this summer. Currently, federal employees do not get paid maternity or paternity leave. Clinton said she would work with Congress to take "overdue" steps to provide State Department families with the paid time off they need to recuperate from childbirth, care for the mother, care for a newborn with a serious ailment or disability, or complete an adoption."We can and should do more to provide public servants with the same maternity and paternity leave benefits that many private sector employers already offer," Clinton said. "They're standard for many other governments around the world. It's not enough to just talk about the importance of family-- our policies must reflect our commitment and our values."Clinton has been at the forefront of the Obama administration in pushing for better benefits for federal employees. She was the administration's first cabinet secretary to ask for benefits for same-sex partners of federal employees, requesting the extension for Foreign Service employees. President Obama has since extended some benefits to same-sex partners of employees throughout the federal government.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**Subject:** FW: AF/PDPA Organizational Development Plan
**Attachments:** AF-PDPA Organizational Development PLAN - FINAL.docx; AF-PDPA Organizational Development PLAN - ExecSum.docx

As you may be aware, earlier this year, OIG issued a very negative report on our Public Diplomacy operations throughout Africa. I have attached a copy of the action plan which Johnnie and his team developed to address the issues raised in the report. The plan is a very deliberate effort to address the shortcomings identified by the OIG, do a better job of integrating public diplomacy and public affairs into the whole AF Bureau, and deliver better PD and PA work.

I think it is an excellent report and provides a good model for the bureaus as we endeavor to create a new direction for Public Diplomacy.

jm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Roger - it's in there.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 10 22:38:25 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

Pls be sure I say something about women in my remarks as a set up to Karzai's comments about opportunities for women.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770301 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# Office of Public Diplomacy & Public Affairs
# Bureau of African Affairs
# (AF/PDPA)

# 2010-2014
# Organizational Development Plan

**June 2010**

Prepared by
Marianne Scott
Senior Advisor for Strategic Planning
AF/PDPA
Department of State
PRO-telligent, LLC Support Contractor



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770301 Date: 08/31/2015

# AF/PDPA Organizational Development Plan

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- Philosophy
- Mission Statement
- Role
- Audiences
- Core Functions
- Goals
- Strategies
- Actions

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II Approach & Methodology
III AF/PDPA Staffing
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V Action Progress Summary

## Executive Summary

To address concerns raised by the OIG in its August 2009 inspection report of the Africa Bureau, the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (AF/PDPA) has engaged in an organizational development process. Over the past few months AF/PDPA has defined the philosophy, role, mission, audiences, core functions, and value added of public diplomacy and public affairs in the Africa Bureau and set goals and strategies for the AF/PDPA office to excel.

The Department of State's expertise on public diplomacy programs and activities in Africa, on the regional African public and media context, and on the Department's engagement with the media and American audiences on African issues should reside in AF/PDPA.

The mission of Africa Bureau (AF) public diplomacy and public affairs is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by understanding, engaging, informing and influencing the people of Africa and informing the people of the United States of America in order to create an enabling environment and strong relationships for a healthy, mutually-beneficial U.S.-African partnership.

This four-year organizational development plan lays down specific goals, strategies and actions/changes that will facilitate the highest level of performance of the office's core functions, address the office's performance challenges, and take advantage of opportunities. Throughout this plan is an ongoing commitment by AF/PDPA personnel to a renewed approach to their work. The commitment is to increased initiative, more strategic thinking, more frequent and earlier engagement in policy-making processes, and a fuller understanding by every staff member of how his/her work contributes to the larger whole. Over the course of the next few months, the approach of each AF/PDPA staff member will change as will a number of roles and portfolios. This plan assumes that the rest of the AF Bureau not only will be receptive to these changes but also will pro-actively seek AF/PDPA expertise and collaboration as appropriate.

The most visible outcome of this organizational development process will be the physical reorganization in the Africa Bureau. As soon as space is available, AF/PDPA will embed public diplomacy desk officers in the AF geographic offices. In order to make space available and to increase coordination among the bureau's functional offices, all of which do some engaging of civil society and private-sector audiences in the United States and in Africa, Assistant Secretary Carson has asked the bureau's executive office to conduct a full-bureau analysis of office space based on function, size and resource available. This analysis will inform the ultimate decisions as to who sits where.

However, the most significant outcome of this process will not be the shuffling of office space, but the results. The current AF/PDPA team is constantly short-staffed but at its core is an innovative, talented team of Civil and Foreign Service experts in engaging publics and the media and building long-term relationships for the United States. With added expertise, further integration with the rest of the Bureau and a 21st century focus on networking, AF/PDPA will produce results: more effective public diplomacy in

> *"The U.S. must recognize the necessity of orchestrating networks of public, private and civic actors to address global problems"*
>
> -- Anne-Marie Slaughter

Africa and public affairs in the United States and better informed policy-making in Washington.

AF/PDPA is adopting five major goals and will use seven cross-cutting strategies to achieve the goals by taking dozens of specific steps and actions.

**AF/PDPA Goals**

**By 2014:**

I. AF/PDPA is valued for public diplomacy leadership in Africa and for public affairs leadership on Africa policy in the U.S.

II. Policy-making on Africa is informed by an understanding of public perspectives. State depends on AF/PDPA for expertise and advice on understanding, informing, engaging, and persuading publics in Africa and informing the U.S. public.

III. The conduct of public diplomacy in Africa and AF's public affairs in the U.S. is strengthened and enhanced via the achievement of specific, measurable public diplomacy and public affairs program objectives.

IV. AF attracts and retains a diverse, high-caliber public diplomacy and public affairs workforce.

V. Resources to engage publics in Africa and in America are sufficient and deployed in line with policy priorities.

**Strategies**

A. Address location and restructure to close access and communications gaps with AF, better support and guide the field, facilitate AF engagement with target domestic audiences, support expanding PD portfolios, make positions more desirable, and facilitate AF inter-office teamwork.

B. Engage fully in AF policy-making processes, especially the paper process.

C. Raise visibility of PD and PA work in AF.

D. Build and retain expertise in the field and in AF/PDPA.

E. Increase AF/PDPA networking and coalition building.

F. Empower the field and AF/PDPA



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G. Align resources with policy priorities and stretch resources via partnerships with other USG, private, and non-profit organizations to maximize resource coordination on shared policy and program goals.

**Actions to Achieve Both Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Goals**

1. Engage more in the formal paper process (report more to the Front Office via DARs, Info Memos etc.)
2. Increase administrative support to public affairs staff and cultural coordinator
3. Retain special projects/assistant cultural affairs position
4. AF Bureau BSRP includes public diplomacy and public affairs goal paper
5. Increase coordination and clarify PDPA roles to AF functional offices
6. Establish all-AF/PDPA electronic filing and contact systems
7. Reconfigure media officer position to non-traditional media and outreach position
8. New deputy PACO/special projects civil service position
9. Pilot if appropriate: "Public Environment" issue paper for A/S and higher trips

**Public Diplomacy Actions**

1. PD desk officers develop PD, educational, cultural, media, and social networking expertise in portfolio countries
2. Embed desk officer positions in geographic offices
3. Improve support for first-time PAOs
4. Meet Specific Public Diplomacy Program Objectives (Listed on page 25 and in Annex V)
5. Streamline and improve results/impact and public environment reporting from the field (Embrace MAT)
6. Annual AF PAO Conference in Washington, DC.
7. MSRPs – PD included in all goal papers and specific PD goal paper
8. Increase interagency coordination with an emphasis on Africom and USAID
9. AF/PDPA makes better use of public opinion polling/academic analysis and data on Africa
10. Annual Franklin and/or Science & Technology Fellow in AF/PDPA
11. Improve links to public-private partnerships
12. Chief of Mission EERs include public affairs achievements

**Public Affairs Actions**

1. Increase strategic value of outreach to the Africa Bureau
2. Enhance Diaspora Relations Coordination
3. Restructure morning media clips
4. Biweekly calendar of domestic outreach and media interviews
5. PD-DAS takes on principal AF Bureau spokesperson role
6. Internal marketing - update AF/PDPA information on State's internal websites



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## I. ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Since mid-January, the Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Office of the Africa Bureau (AF/PDPA) has been engaged in a practical, structured organizational development process that seeks:

- To enhance the effectiveness of public diplomacy in Africa and the Africa Bureau's public affairs in the United States;
- To improve AF/PDPA's ability to meet its mandates and fulfill its mission, and
- To directly address concerns raised by the OIG in its August 2009 inspection report of the Africa Bureau - ISP-I-09-63 – about the need "to better integrate AF/PDPA into the Africa Bureau" and to "address the philosophy and role of public diplomacy and public affairs in forming and contributing to the policy of the Africa Bureau in the medium and longer term."

This process is not a performance evaluation for any person, an inspection, or a judgment on the relative value of any position. Through interviews, document reviews, and group discussions the contractor led a volunteer organizational development team of PDPA staff and leadership in analyzing office performance challenges, opportunities, strengths and weaknesses[1], in clarifying what the public diplomacy and public affairs functions are needed to do in the Africa Bureau (AF) – their philosophy, role, mission and value added - and in setting goals and strategies for AF/PDPA to excel.

During this process AF/PDPA often took a zero-based approach to consideration of its own existence, organization, location, and function. Over the first four months of this year the majority of the staff in AF/PDPA continuously pressed themselves to define not only what they do, but also the value of the tasks and activities they perform. Questions and options for discussion during weekly brown bag sessions, meetings of senior leadership, as well as at a half-day all-office meeting, challenged traditions and assumptions and defined primary audiences.

For example, from "what if" type questioning as to whether a public diplomacy (PD) office is needed at all in a regional bureau came clarity about the role of AF/PDPA and its core functions. The analysis of over a half dozen configurations for the public diplomacy country affairs officer (PD desk) position, including eliminating it entirely, became the decision not only to keep the geographic portfolios but to proceed as quickly as possible to embed the PD desks into their corresponding geographic offices. This analysis has concluded that State Department public engagement on Africa policy is best coordinated and led by an active joint public diplomacy and public affairs office in the Africa Bureau - AF/PDPA.

[1] The "Where You Are" interim report was produced by the contractor in March 2010 with the input of AF/PDPA staff.



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This process has followed the PD-version of the medical code "primum non nocere" – first, do no harm to the field. However, just as in medicine this does not mean the changes to which AF/PDPA is committing itself and those it is expecting from the AF Bureau, R, posts, and other stakeholders will be easy or painless.

Additional information on the methodology of the process is found in Annex II.

## II 21ST CENTURY AFRICA PUBLIC DIPLOMACY & PUBLIC AFFAIRS – CONTEXT AND MANDATES

> *"I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world -- as partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect."*
>
> -- President Barack Obama

The African public comprises eight hundred million people who speak thousands of languages in forty-seven countries spread across an area larger than China, the United States and Western Europe combined. Most Africans have no direct contact with America or Americans.

Africa has the world's fastest population growth rate. Forty-four percent of the population is under 15 and African youth are hungry for opportunity, education, and relevance. Education is a top priority for families across the continent. Traditional American educational and cultural diplomacy – academic exchanges, English teaching, student advising, libraries, and performing arts – provide what people want and, as such, an important opportunity for U.S. Missions to reinforce priority messages and themes. They also provide a two-way window that gives Africans a view of a more diverse, complex, value-based America than is available on most flat screens, and US officials, access to, and greater understanding of, local societies and emerging leaders in particular.

With estimates of no more than a fifth to a third of Africa's population having electricity at home and historically centralized and inadequate national telecommunications infrastructure, the web-based information revolution of the last twenty years largely bypassed Africa. Africa is well on its way to leapfrogging right over it. Cell phone and other mobile handheld technologies are connecting, informing and empowering urban and rural dwellers like never before.

The U.S. is generally well-regarded in Africa. The U.S.-Global Leadership Project found in 2009 that 83% of sub-Saharan Africans approved of U.S. leadership. BBC World Service polling found that 85% of Kenyans and 72% of Nigerians view U.S. influence as mainly positive. Americans' interest in Africa is growing. For example, IIE's Open Doors report on international educational exchange indicates that although still small, the percentage of American students studying in Africa has increased steadily for the past fifteen years. The bonds that have joined America's and Africa's history have created durable, complicated ties, strong opinions, and sometimes unrealistic public expectations. This history, these trends, and the personal popularity of President Obama create tremendous opportunity for public diplomacy in Africa.

As African nations become stronger international players, as global networks – reputable and nefarious – increasingly include Africans, as African diasporas are involved more regularly back home, the number of priority themes and issues on which to engage a greater number of audiences grows every year. The Africa Bureau places a priority on expanding public programming outside of chancery compounds to reach more youth, women, and Muslim communities as well as African diaspora and users of social media. Yet, Department of State public engagement resources on and in Africa have been in short supply for years.

The Department of State's public diplomacy and public affairs Africa resources (human and programmatic) are currently dwarfed by those in budgets in other U.S. government agencies marked for specific angles of this purpose. For example, in Africa it is not unusual for a Department of Defense (DoD) Military Information Support Team (MIST) to have three times the number of American officers and budget of the Embassy's Public Affairs section. Peace Corps can deliver a dozen American volunteer English teachers directly to rural schools in a single country while State may be able to fund only one English teaching fellow to work on Mission-theme-based curriculum development (i.e. English language instruction that uses good governance, accountability, tolerance, respect for diversity and other themes.) USAID is able to invest millions of dollars in media training via non-profit organizations while a single $100,000 journalism grant is a major program for most public affairs sections in Africa.

Private charitable foundations, American businesses and non-profits also invest more on communications, education and media in Africa than does the Department of State. Carnegie and other foundations are investing tens of millions of dollars annually in specific African universities over the course of a decade while the Fulbright program provides at most a few scholars per year to these institutions. American civil society groups spend more than AF's annual domestic public affairs budget on informing and engaging the American people on a single issue - Darfur.

> *"Africa is cutting-edge cool at this point"*
>
> -- Mark Anthony Neal, professor of black culture at Duke University (May 2010)

The resource imbalance is a reality, but in the 21st century it need not be the only factor that defines effectiveness or even relative impact. As Anne-Marie Slaughter has noted "networked power flows from the ability to make the maximum number of valuable connections…In a networked world, the issue is no longer relative power but centrality in an increasingly dense global web."[2]

In Africa, where experience has taught citizens not to expect that centralized government will do what is best for society when it means going against the personal interests of those in power, smaller identity networks (ethnic, religious, school, clan etc.) are critically important. Adapting to a networked style will make U.S. government public affairs more effective in Africa. Indeed, for years the GAO has recommended "campaign style" approaches to public diplomacy thematic communications and messaging. Coalition building and pooling resources with others' to achieve mutual goals can be much more effective than trying to do it all alone.

[2] Slaughter, Anne-Marie "America's Edge: Power in the Networked Century" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2009

The practices of public diplomacy in Africa and of public affairs on Africa policy are bound by mandates that come from several sources. Legal mandates such as Smith-Mundt and the Fulbright-Hayes regulations are explicit. They restrict resources for certain kinds of activities. "Understood mandates" are those that are widely assumed to be part of the job and stem from State's ingrained practices and corridor channels, not necessarily regulations. Mandates all along this spectrum are strong enough to dictate when, and for what, public diplomacy and public affairs are used as well as when they are left out of the policy process.

> *"We also will reach out beyond governments, because we believe partnerships with people play a critical role in our 21st century statecraft."*
>
> -- Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton

The priorities, mandates and principal resources of public diplomacy flow from the Africa Bureau (AF) and from the Office of the Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R). At posts, public affairs sections adhere to Mission priorities first and foremost. Public diplomacy programs and tools are most often run out of the bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchanges (ECA) or International Information Programs (IIP). The AF Bureau's and Missions' public diplomacy and public affairs staff must collegially tap into, and show results for, other bureaus and occasionally agencies.

The Africa Bureau has five policy pillars and AF public diplomacy and public affairs further and support all five – strengthen democratic institutions; mitigate and prevent conflict; foster broad-based economic growth; enhance access to education and combat disease, and combat transnational threats – as well as global themes such as climate change, food security, and outreach to Muslim populations in particular.

In addition, R's "Strategic Imperatives for 21st Century Public Diplomacy" certainly will guide public diplomacy in Africa: shape the narrative: develop proactive outreach strategies to inform, inspire, and persuade; expand and strengthen people-to-people relationships to build mutual trust and respect; better inform policy-making; ensure foreign policy is informed up front by an understanding of attitudes and opinions of foreign publics; combat violent extremism: counter violent extremist voices, discredit and delegitimize violent extremism and empower credible local voices; and deploy resources in line with current priorities - strengthen structures and processes to ensure coordinated and effective public diplomacy

## III. MAKING BETTER POLICY AND MORE OF A PUBLIC IMPACT

Over the past four months AF/PDPA has defined the philosophy, role, audiences, mission, and core functions of AF/PDPA. This organizational development plan was developed by AF/PDPA through a consultative and collaborative process. It does not seek to catalogue the full panoply of activities that the office engages in every day. It seeks to provide a strategic direction for the many daily activities – from responding to taskers, to recruiting officers for field positions, to producing daily press clips, to informing PAOs about Washington's latest policy initiative – so that the each AF/PDPA staff member can make smart decisions about how to increase the value, impact and results of his/her work. It also seeks, to the extent feasible, to

evaluate and measure these to be able to align human and financial resources with strategic priorities.

This plan seeks to build on the office's considerable strengths which include, but are by no means limited to the outstanding teamwork displayed by most staff members on projects ranging from innovative training for LES, to trip paper; the leadership by example of the office director, deputy, PACO and public affairs officer in providing policy-makers and PAOs with regular, valued updates and input; the "go to" responsiveness to posts' needs of the cultural coordinator and ARS Paris; the extensive networking for the Bureau of the outreach coordinator across the United States; the close, collaborative working relationship with IIP in particular; the transparency and inclusiveness within AF/PDPA as to how funding decisions are made, and, the media interview clearance and press guidance processes. The latter works so well that PAOs and AF office directors repeatedly told the contractor "whatever you do, don't change it."

Throughout this plan is an ongoing commitment by AF/PDPA personnel to a new approach to their work. The commitment is to **increased initiative, more strategic thinking, more frequent engagement in policy-making processes, and a fuller understanding by every staff member of how his/her work contributes to the larger whole.** This may sound obvious, but it is not a minor shift and is a day-to-day challenge in the State culture that tasks down, values procedure over creativity, and expects quick responses and turn-around from lower levels but does not place priority on keeping them informed.

The new Public Diplomacy Deputy Assistant Secretary (PD-DAS) will play a major leadership role in implementing this plan. AF/PDPA's leadership team (Director, Deputy, PACO, Chief of Public Affairs, and Cultural Coordinator) is responsible for the pace of implementation, but actually achieving the goals will require all staff members to reshape their approach to their own jobs. It is generally not a matter of just doing more. Most AF/PDPA personnel are already juggling large work loads. It is a matter of working more strategically, in some cases more in depth, and focusing more on impact and purpose.

**AF/PDPA GOALS - 2010-2014**

I. AF/PDPA is **valued for public diplomacy leadership** in Africa and for **public affairs leadership** on Africa policy in the U.S.

II. **Policy-making on Africa is informed** by an understanding of public perspectives. State depends on AF/PDPA for expertise and advice on understanding, informing, engaging, and persuading publics in Africa and informing the U.S. public.

III. The conduct of public diplomacy in Africa and AF's public affairs in the U.S. is strengthened and enhanced via the achievement of **specific, measurable public diplomacy and public affairs program objectives**.

IV. AF **attracts and retains** a diverse, high-caliber public diplomacy and public affairs **workforce.**

V. **Resources** to engage publics in Africa and in America are **sufficient and deployed in line with policy priorities.**

During this organizational development process AF/PDPA staff and stakeholders proposed many more thoughtful ideas and specific strategies, steps, and actions to achieve these five goals than there are time or resources available. Seven cross-cutting strategies arose out of the list of over a hundred specific actions that the contractor compiled from interviews and discussions with the field and in Washington.

**STRATEGIES**

A. **Address location and restructure** to close access and communications gaps with AF, better support and guide the field, facilitate AF engagement with target domestic audiences, support expanding PD portfolios, make positions more desirable, and facilitate AF inter-office teamwork.

B. **Engage fully in AF policy-making** processes, especially the paper process.

C. Raise **visibility** of PD and PA work in AF.

D. **Build and retain expertise** in the field and in AF/PDPA.

E. Increase AF/PDPA **networking and coalition building**.

F. **Empower** the field and AF/PDPA

G. **Align resources with policy priorities and stretch resources** via partnerships with other USG, private, and non-profit organizations to maximize resource coordination on shared policy and program goals.

In early May 2010, as a result of this organizational development process, Assistant Secretary Carson approved major physical restructuring of AF/PDPA. AF/PDPA will embed PD desk officers in the geographic offices using a model similar to that currently used by WHA and EUR. As soon as space is available, PD desks will be relocated to the corresponding AF geographic office (AF/C, AF/W, AF/E and AF/S) in the Harry S. Truman main State building (HST). The PD desk officers will be an integral part of the geographic offices' day-to-day work as public diplomacy experts. These officers will be rated by AF/PDPA and reviewed by the geographic office director, serving as members of both office teams.

Embedding will help close the existing chasm between AF/PDPA and the rest of the bureau, but it is far from a perfect solution and certainly not a cure-all. Shifting of physical office space will jumpstart changes to the "out of sight, out of mind" mentality which has affected AF/PDPA for many years. It will directly address the OIG reports concerns that "the current situation, with AF/PDPA offices across the street from the main Department building, exacerbates the alienation between AF and AF/PDPA." It will open other gaps. The distance between the AF/PDPA "home office" in SA-3 and the AF geographic offices on the fourth and fifth floors of HST will make supervision of and communication with the desks more challenging than EUR's or WHA's experience. Included in this plan are actions to mitigate anticipated new gaps and to address proactively potential thorny areas. The AF/PDPA leadership

team has discussed potential pitfalls. They are ready to take on the added management challenges that embedding creates.

In addition, on AF/PDPA's recommendation, Assistant Secretary Carson asked AF/EX to conduct in FY 2010 a zero-based reconsideration of physical space based on office function, size, and resources available. This was a result of AF/PDPA's organizational development analysis that pointed to the need to improve coordination between the domestic outreach side of AF/PDPA and other AF offices' cultivation and engagement of domestic audiences (such as NGO, Diaspora, and other constituency briefings) as well as between the public diplomacy program side of AF/PDPA and the work of other AF offices on engaging priority public audiences in Africa (such as women, civil society, entrepreneurs, and Muslim communities). It is expected that consultation and collaboration among the various public engagement activities of the bureau's functional offices – RSA, EPS, and PDPA – will be enhanced by locating AF's regional government-to-people portfolios in closer proximity, and that as a result AF/PDPA will be more engaged in the Bureau's policy-making processes.

As physical reorganization is not sufficient on its own to fully integrate AF/PDPA, this plan contains the steps AF/PDPA has agreed to take to redefine responsibilities, portfolios and expectations to enable the PD desks to build expertise in their geographic portfolios, the PA section to build expertise in the U.S.-based African diaspora and in new and social media, and the PACO, cultural coordinator, deputy and office director to continue to focus region-wide with improved administrative support. This plan includes a commitment from the new Public Diplomacy Deputy Assistant Secretary as to the role he will play in encouraging the rest of the Africa Bureau to improve its attitude toward, and raise its expectations of, AF/PDPA. Ensuring foreign policy-making is informed by an understanding of public perspectives is a two-way street. AF's geographic and functional offices must collaborate more fully with AF/PDPA.

Early in FY2011, Diplomacy 3.0 will provide two new country affairs (desk) officer positions enabling the West Africa portfolio of 16 posts to be split into two. The program and project specialist position will be reconfigured to support additional programs. The media officer position will be refocused with an emphasis on social/online media and additional diaspora outreach. AF/PDPA seeks to add two new positions in FY 2013 – a deputy planning and coordinating officer and another media officer. All of AF/PDPA will work to better inform policy-making.

Better input into policy also means doing a better job of reporting on public sentiment and on the media, academic and civil society perspectives and environments in country as well as capturing the impact and results of public diplomacy activities. AF has asked officers in the field to do more strategic reporting. This is also expected of officers at public affairs sections. In Washington, AF/PDPA officers will do more to inform themselves and policymakers by reading INR, Open Source, and non-governmental public opinion polls and analysis as well as networking with the academic communities that study Africa. In order to improve reporting on the results of public diplomacy programs, assessment and reporting tools must be improved. Measuring the impact of public diplomacy programming is expensive and, if not done using longitudinal methods, imprecise. AF/PDPA is committed to working with R to improve

reporting and measurement of public diplomacy results and to setting expectations for this office and the field to move beyond counting activities to counting impact.

Carrying out the core function of oversight of, and support for, the field means more than emails and phone calls to posts from Washington (although the value of the weekly phone call between PD desk and PAO should not be underestimated). Africa does not have many senior PAO positions. Thirty-one out of 44 AF PAO positions are graded for mid- or entry-level officers (FS-02 and below). Many PAOs are the sole public diplomacy officer at post and on their first PAO tour. As AF/PDPA desk officers have not always had field PD experience, this plan contains actions to build expertise in Washington and the field including adding more regional and Washington training opportunities, coaching/mentoring less-experienced PAOs by more experienced officers, manuals and written guides, as well as academic and scientific fellows who bring specialized expertise into AF/PDPA. These will help the field be more effective, but will not solve the need for additional LES and FSO positions in public affairs sections across the continent.

While AF/PDPA can and must recruit and build public diplomacy officers for service in Africa, there are few, very limited actions the office can take on its own that will make an appreciable difference in retaining good public diplomacy officers at posts. This is not just a problem for public diplomacy in Africa. The Department's assignments priority on Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, including the promise of "linked assignments" and the financial incentives that come with service in these countries has had the unintended effect of creating a disincentive to serving in Africa. As many posts in Africa are two year tours, the already systematic every-other-year assignment gaps are multiplied by curtailments of officers to serve in those countries the Department considers a higher priority.

Several of the specific actions in this plan are designed to raise the visibility of AF public diplomacy and public affairs work in order to garner a regular seat at the policy table, better represent PAOs in Washington, attract more FSO bidders, and increase interagency and public-private networking. Coalition building and public-private partnerships are a critical part of stretching public diplomacy and public affairs resources.

Separating AF/PDPA by embedding and taking on more work – new audiences, partners, and drafting and reporting responsibilities – will mean working more time, working more efficiently, or letting go of some duties. Some actions in this plan (such as restructuring one of AF/PDPAs most highly visible products - the morning clips) will evaluate whether the time it takes to perform a task can be reduced.

# IV. STRATEGIC PLAN FOR AFRICA BUREAU PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

## Philosophy of AF Public Diplomacy (PD) and Public Affairs (PA)

- PD and PA advance foreign policy objectives; they are essential tools for national security and require credibility and legitimacy.
- PD and PA communicate U.S. government Africa policies to domestic and foreign audiences and inform policy-making including, but not limited to, providing opportunities for policy-makers to listen to these audiences.
- PD creates an enabling environment for U.S. government policies and U.S. national interests in Africa through programming that strikes the right balance of short- and long-term engagement activities.
- PAOs and the public affairs sections of U.S. Missions abroad have the lead on public affairs programming and media work in country including, under chief of mission authority, coordination of interagency public outreach and messaging in country.
- PD works best when the field is trained, trusted and empowered to act and when tools and messages are adaptable to local realities and the perspectives of the target audience.
- AF/PDPA personnel are expected to be an essential part of the web of America's diverse networks of public, private and civic actors on Africa, representing the Department, modeling integrity, and learning continuously.
- AF/PDPA works as a team of high-caliber experts, each with a specialty supporting and backstopping each other, as well as coaching and cultivating entry-level officers and less-experienced colleagues in the field and in Washington.
- AF/PDPA fosters open communication and encourages creativity and innovation.
- Effective PD and PA require personnel who reflect, respect, understand, and positively engage the diverse composition of our nation and of Africa. AF/PDPA is committed to a diverse workforce.

## Mission Statement - AF/PDPA

The mission of AF public diplomacy and public affairs is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by understanding, engaging, informing and influencing the people of Africa and

informing the people of the United States of America in order to create an enabling environment for a healthy, mutually-beneficial U.S.-African partnership.

This engagement takes place via daily communications with the media and others, targeted outreach initiatives to audiences in Africa and in the U.S. related to specific themes, and longer-term people-to-people relationship building efforts between Africa and the United States.

**Role of AF/PDPA**

State Department's expertise on public diplomacy programs and activities in Africa, on the regional African public and media context, and on the Department's engagement with the media and American audiences on African issues resides in AF/PDPA.

AF/PDPA also houses the Africa Bureau's experts on Africa's cultural, educational, and media environments, on electronic social networking/social media in Africa, and on crafting thematic communications strategies for regional Africa policy.

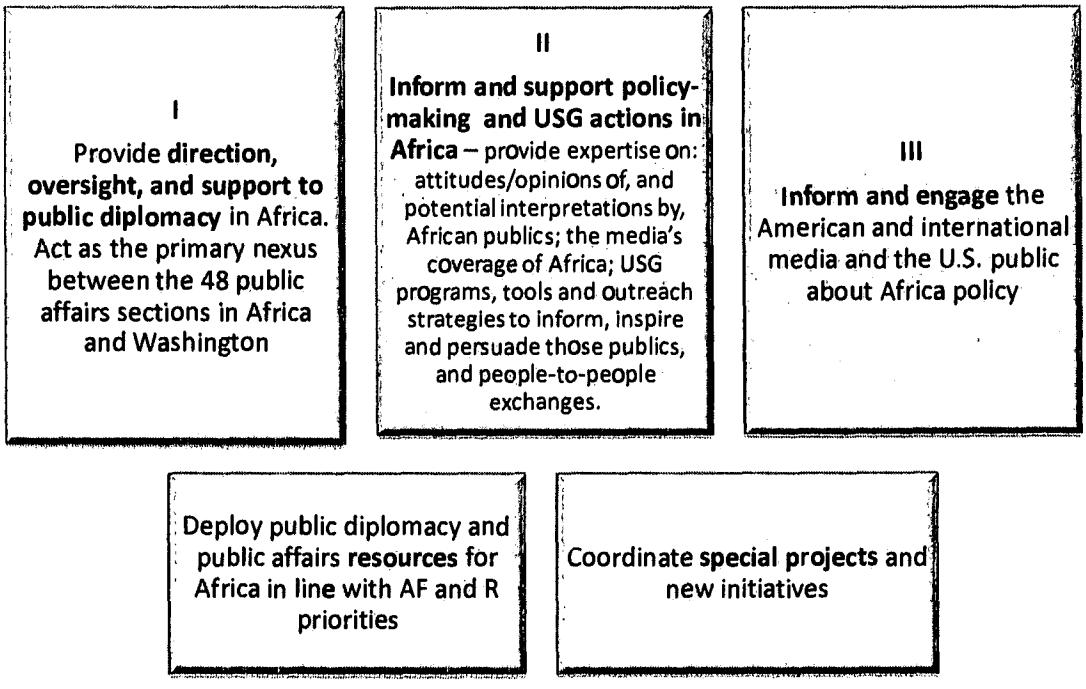
Information on AF/PDPA staffing is found in Annex III

**AF/PDPA Priority Audiences**

(Note: these are the priority audiences for the Washington-based AF/PDPA staff. Priority audiences for posts and ARS Paris are different.)

1. AF Posts
2. AF Bureau
3. R
4. PA, ECA, IIP
5. other State
6. U.S. and global media
7. U.S-based public (Americans and Diaspora), and
8. other USG.

# AF/PDPA Core Functions




Additional information on these core functions is found in Annex IV.

# AF/PDPA GOALS

## 2010-2014

### I. AF/PDPA is valued for public diplomacy leadership in Africa and for public affairs leadership on Africa policy in the U.S.

*Public Diplomacy Leadership*

A primary function of the public diplomacy office in a regional bureau must be to guide and oversee public diplomacy operations and programming at U.S. Missions. Management of public diplomacy resources, support, and training for the field are major parts of AF/PDPA's responsibilities. This work is, and will remain, largely invisible to the AF policy process. The bureau relies on AF/PDPA to align public diplomacy resources with policy priorities and national interest and implement public diplomacy programs that produce tangible results.

Longer-term educational and mutual understanding activities in particular are labor and resource intensive and results may not be apparent for years. These engagement activities need to be shaped by AF/PDPA.

In order to oversee and support the field more effectively, AF/PDPA will take steps to improve interaction between the PD desks, PAOs and AF's geographic offices, and to engage more in interagency and intradepartmental networking and coalition building in Washington. AF posts will increase reporting of their results and impact, not just activities (outcomes not just outputs). AF/PDPA staff will build their own knowledge of, and expertise in, public diplomacy activities, staff and environments in Africa.

By 2014, AF/PD will be D.C.'s experts on the full range of PD activities on the ground at AF posts, networked in the U.S. and linked to the field sufficiently to promote and garner resources and opportunities for posts.

*Public Affairs Leadership*

The State Department's expertise on engagement with the U.S. domestic and major global media and with targeted domestic audiences on Africa policy resides in AF/PDPA. AF/PA is responsible for serving as AF's spokespeople and providing the Department and posts with press guidance and media relations expertise. AF/PA cultivates the U.S.-based media (traditional and social/new) and informs AF and posts about Africa coverage in the U.S. and major global media. AF/PA leads coordination of AF's domestic public speaking (non-Congressional) and AF Speakers Bureau. AF/PA has the lead in AF on U.S.-based diaspora engagement and on interagency communications strategy and messaging related to Africa policy.

By 2014, AF/PA will be valued equally for its communications strategy, public outreach, and media expertise and will be recognized as AF bureau spokespeople, as appropriate.

## II. Policy-making on Africa is informed by an understanding of public perspectives. State depends on AF/PDPA for expertise and advice on understanding, informing, engaging, and persuading publics in Africa and informing the U.S. public.

> *"The ear of the leader must ring with the voices of the people."*
>
> -- Woodrow Wilson

Policy on any topic that affects Africa should be informed by an understanding of how the global media as well as public audiences in Africa may receive and then re-broadcast their own interpretation of U.S. government actions, and of U.S. government programs, communications strategies, tools and outreach strategies to inform, inspire and persuade those publics. Africa policy also should be informed by an understanding of the interests of the American public.

By 2014, AF/PD will be:

- State's experts on the full range of PD activities on the ground at AF posts, able to communicate to Washington's non-PD policy-makers how and when PD programs make a difference in the local environment or target audience;
- AF's experts on Africa's academic, media, and cultural environments and trends, and on electronic social networking/social media in Africa, and
- AF's experts in developing "campaign style" communications strategies.

By 2014, AF/PA will be:

- AF's experts on outreach to U.S.-based African diaspora and domestic audiences and
- AF's experts in U.S. domestic media relations including traditional and internet-based media.

## III. The conduct of public diplomacy in Africa and AF's public affairs in the U.S. is strengthened and enhanced via the achievement of specific, measurable public diplomacy and public affairs program objectives.

Public diplomacy and public affairs support U.S. foreign policy goals, advance national interests, and enhance national security through the measurable achievement of program objectives aligned with policy priorities and targeted strategically at priority audiences. An enabling environment for a healthy, mutually-beneficial U.S.-African partnership is created through greater U.S. government engagement of the diaspora, women, youth, faith communities, and public opinion leaders in academia, business, media, civil society and the arts.

By 2014, AF/PDPA will support Africa policy across a range of priorities and also will have achieved measurable results in specific areas of expertise.

*AF Public Affairs Program Objectives*

A. Engage U.S. non-traditional and internet-based media on Africa policy
B. Understand and engage U.S.-based diaspora groups

*AF Public Diplomacy Program Objectives*

A. An Informed Public
B. Options for Young People – English Teaching and Educational Advising
C. Strengthened American Voices

## IV. AF attracts and retains a diverse, high-caliber public diplomacy and public affairs workforce.

AF/PDPA positions should be of such value, substance and visibility that they attract and retain FSOs and civil servants eager to be part of the Africa policymaking hub with a focus on understanding and influencing public opinion and sowing the

> *"You are not here merely to make a living. You are here in order to enable the world to live more amply, with greater vision, with a finer spirit of hope and achievement. You are here to enrich the world, and you impoverish yourself if you forget that errand."*
>
> — Woodrow Wilson

seeds for long-term mutual understanding.

AF Foreign Service positions in the field should have a reputation as challenging, satisfying, and career-enhancing where an officer can make a difference.

By 2014, AF/PDPA will be fully-staffed by a diverse, highly-qualified team of foreign and civil service personnel (entry-level to senior-level) who chose to work in AF/PDPA.

**V. Resources to engage publics in Africa and in America are sufficient and deployed in line with policy priorities.**

AF/PDPA administers public diplomacy resources for the field and works closely with R, ECA and IIP to ensure public diplomacy tools and resources support policy priorities, as well as networks with other bureaus in State, U.S. government agencies, and with the private and non-profit sectors to maximize coordination of resources on shared policy and program goals.

## STRATEGIES

A. **Address location and restructure** to close access and communications gaps with AF, better support and guide the field, facilitate AF engagement with target domestic audiences, support expanding PD portfolios, make positions more desirable, and facilitate AF inter-office teamwork.

B. **Engage fully in AF policy-making** processes, especially the paper process.

C. Raise **visibility** of PD and PA work in AF.

D. **Build and retain expertise** in the field and in AF/PDPA.

E. Increase AF/PDPA **networking and coalition building**.

F. **Empower** the field and AF/PDPA

G. **Align resources with policy priorities and stretch resources** via partnerships with other USG, private, and non-profit organizations to maximize resource coordination on shared policy and program goals.

## ACTIONS

Following are the priority actions that AF/PDPA has committed to taking over the next few years to achieve the goals in this plan. These changes are all designed to address performance challenges, take advantage of opportunities, and utilize one or more of the above strategies. Implementation has already begun on many of these actions.

**Actions to Achieve Both Public Diplomacy & Public Affairs Goals**

1. Engage more in the formal paper process & report more to the Front Office (submit DARs, Action Memos etc.)
   *Start Timing:* June 2010
   *Lead:* All Office
   *Type:* Internal
   *Needed to begin:* 0
   *Direct Financial Implications:* none
   *Goals:* II
   *Strategies:* B, C
   *Performance Indicator:* One DAR or unsolicited info memo weekly from PDPA

2. Increase admin support to public affairs staff and cultural coordinator
   *Plan of Action:* OMS and Program/Project Specialist duties reconfigured to include support to public affairs and the cultural coordinator.
   *Start Timing:* Summer 2010
   *Lead:* PDOD
   *Type:* Internal and HR
   *Needed to begin:* 0
   *Direct Financial Implications*: none
   *Goals:* IV, V
   *Strategies:* A
   *Performance Indicators:* Updated work requirements for Program/Project Specialist and OMS; PDOD conducts analysis of workloads and work flow after 6 months and adjusts accordingly.

3. Retain special projects/assistant cultural affairs position
   *Plan of Action:* Current senior advisor for cultural affairs is in AF/PDPA on a Y tour and will rotate out summer of 2010. Diplomacy 3.0 country affairs officer position established for FY 2011; portfolio for this new position to be configured to handle cultural affairs support, cross-cutting theme projects such as Muslim engagement and entrepreneurship, and Washington-based major events and summits.
   *Start Timing:* January 2011 ELO begins
   *Lead:* Deputy, CC
   *Type:* HR
   *Needed to begin:* Desk space
   *Direct Financial Implications*: none
   *Goals:* I, II, IV
   *Strategies:* A
   *Performance Indicators:* January 2011 ELO begins

4. AF Bureau BSRP includes public diplomacy and public affairs goal paper
   *Plan of Action:* BSRP baselines established in FY 2010.
   *Start Timing:* May 2010
   *Lead:* Advisor & PDOD

*Type:* internal
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals:* II
*Strategies:* B
*Performance Indicators:* FY 2012, FY 2013, and FY 2014 BSRPs include public diplomacy and public affairs goal paper and performance indicators met for FY 2011, FY 2012, and FY 2013

5. Increase coordination and clarify PDPA roles to AF functional offices
*Plan of Action:*
   *a.* AF/EX conducts a bureau-wide, zero-based analysis of office space. AF/PDPA seeks, to the extent feasible, to facilitate increased collaboration between the domestic outreach side of AF/PDPA and other AF offices' cultivation and engagement of domestic audiences (such as NGO, Diaspora, and other constituency briefings) as well as between the public diplomacy program side of AF/PDPA and the work of other AF offices on engaging priority public audiences in Africa (such as women, civil society, entrepreneurs, and Muslim communities). If office space can be reconfigured, collaboration among and between the bureau's functional offices will be greatly enhanced by locating AF's functional offices in particular in closer proximity to each other.
   *b.* Orientation session on public diplomacy/public affairs work for Front Office staff after 2010 summer rotation cycle. Orientation sessions conducted whenever there is a change in front office staff assistants, or as often as needed.

*Start Timing:* May 2010
*Lead:* PD-DAS
*Type:* AF
*Needed to begin:* AF/EX space evaluation
*Direct Financial Implications:* yes, moving/remodeling
*Goals:* I, II
*Strategies:* A, C, E
*Performance Indicators:* Six months after physical move, the front office, PDPA, RSA, and EPS evaluate degree of closer coordination; after orientation sessions - decrease in mis-directed taskings.

6. Establish all-AF/PDPA electronic filing and contact system
*Plan of Action:* Enable new officers to get up to speed more quickly in their portfolios through a functioning filing system. WAE or contractor hired to clean up and sort AF/PDPA classified paper files and electronic files stored on the "T" drive and move to a Department of State SharePoint filing system and to set up an AF/PDPA all-office contact database for non-State contacts.

*Start Timing:* Summer 2010
*Lead:* PDOD
*Type:* Internal
*Needed to begin:* WAE or contractor



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*Direct Financial Implications:* yes; cost of WAE or contractor
*Goals:* V
*Strategies:* D, G
*Performance Indicators:* By December 2010, filing system and files in line with State regulations and contact database established. AF/PDPA utilizes and maintains the filing system and contact database.

7. Reconfigure media officer position to non-traditional media and outreach position
*Plan of Action:* With the development of social and new media capabilities in the field a high priority, this position will be dedicated half-time to Washington support of expanding posts' technical and programming abilities in this area. Officer will liaise with resource offices in IIP and elsewhere at State and communicate this expertise to the field. The other half of the position will be dedicated to supporting the enhanced diaspora relations coordination. In FY 2011 – reconfigure current media officer position. New FTE for media officer position submitted in FY 2012 BSRP but not accepted by the AF Bureau. Resubmit for FY 2013 BSRP.
*Start Timing:* FY 2011
*Lead:* PA Chief
*Type:* internal
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* yes, FTE
*Goals:* I, II, V
*Strategies:* A, E, G
*Performance Indicators:* PAO, PDOD and PA Chief satisfaction with social/new media coverage and outreach support. Position duties and responsibilities to be reviewed after first six months; new FTE established by FY 2014.

8. New deputy PACO/special projects civil service position
*Plan of Action:* AF/PDPA established thematic teams to track and communicate developments to PAOs in priority AF policy areas: women's empowerment, Muslim engagement, food security, economic development, environment and good governance. The PACO is responsible for staffing these teams, from public affairs and public diplomacy employees of AF/PDPA. The PACO needs assistance in both managing the field supervision and support aspects of the position as well as the thematic team responsibilities. Establish a Civil Service FTE in this role to give the office continuity and a knowledge base over time. Civil Service position submitted in FY 2012 BSRP but not accepted by Bureau. Resubmit for FY 2013 BSRP.
*Start Timing:* FY 2013
*Lead:* PDOD
*Type:* AF & HR
*Needed to begin:* FTE & space
*Direct Financial Implications:* yes; personnel costs
*Goals:* I, II, IV
*Strategies:* A, E, G
*Performance Indicators:* New position filled by FY 2014



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9. PILOT: "Public Environment" issue paper for A/S & higher trips
*Plan of Action:* PD-DAS will assess public diplomacy and public affairs perspectives and issues in trip paper and decide whether an additional issue paper is needed. May decide to pilot media environment or other as an "optional issues" paper.
*Start Timing:* FY2011
*Lead:* PD-DAS
*Type:* AF Front Office decision
*Needed to begin:* AF approval
*Direct Financial Implications:* None
*Goals:* II
*Strategies:* B
*Performance Indicators:* Utility for the traveler. Informal satisfaction/utility evaluation conducted after pilot.

**Actions to Achieve Public Diplomacy Goals**

1. PD desk officers develop PD, educational, cultural, media, and social networking expertise in portfolio countries
*Plan of Action:*
   a. AF/W portfolio of 16 countries too large to expect in-depth expertise in all countries. Add an assistant AF/W PD desk officer to this portfolio using a Diplomacy 3.0 country affairs position authorized for FY 2010;
   b. FSI training for new PD desk officers as appropriate (AF area studies/Washington tradecraft/Intro to PD);
   c. Formal handover notes from departing staff beginning summer 2010;
   d. PD desks travel to every post in portfolio at least once during tour;
   e. PD Desk Officer Manual that will include checklists for PAO consultations, information about the portfolio posts, administrative information about AF/PDPA, and more;
   f. Beginning in summer FY 2010, PD desks attend geographic offices' internal meetings whether or not embedded. PACO speaks with geographic area directors to begin "virtual embedding";
   g. PD desks institute weekly conversation with portfolio PAOs

   *Start Timing:* summer 2010 cycle
   *Leads:* All PD
   *Type:* AF, HR, FSI, Internal
   *Needed to begin:* Space for new officer
   *Direct Financial Implications:* travel funds; moving/remodeling costs
   *Goals:* I, II
   *Strategies:* A, B, C, D
   *Performance Indicators:* PD desks travel to every post in portfolio at least once during tour beginning FY 2011; Advisor produces manual by July 2010; assistant AF/W PD desk officer begins FY 2011; AF/W, PAO, & PDPA satisfaction with AF/W PD desks evaluated 3 & 6 months after 2nd AF/W officer arrives; new PD

desk officers take up portfolios properly trained; FY 2010 - AF/S handover notes. FY 2012 AF/W & AF/E handover notes; PAO satisfaction with desk officer support evaluated by PACO or Deputy six months into each desk's tour.

2. Embed desk officer positions in geographic offices

*Plan of Action:* The PD desk officers will be supervised by AF/PDPA but will be an integral part of the geographic offices' day-to-day work as public diplomacy experts, providing direction and support to PAOs in the field, and informing and supporting policy-making in AF by providing expertise on attitudes/opinions of target African audiences, potential interpretations by African publics of U.S. government policies and actions; U.S. government programs, tools and outreach strategies to inform, inspire, and persuade those publics, and people-to-people exchanges designed to build long-term ties. Officers rated by AF/PDPA PACO and reviewed by appropriate geographic office director. AF/PDPA leadership team and advisor set expectations for interaction between and among PD desks, AF/PDPA home office, PAOs and geographic offices with first set of newly embedded PD desk officers. AF/PDPA leadership team and advisor works on internal communications/coordination strategies designed to facilitate PDPA teamwork and information flows and bridge HST/SA-3 distance between desks and rest of AF/PDPA. For example, instituting very short daily meetings to update PD desks on AF/PDPA and to inform AF/PDPA about front office/other bureau thinking and priorities.

*Start Timing:* FY2010
*Lead:* PD-DAS, PDOD, Deputy and PACO
*Type:* AF
*Needed to Begin:* AF/EX space evaluation & desk space
*Direct Financial Implications*: moving/remodeling
*Goals:* I, II, IV
*Strategies:* A, B
*Performance Indicators:* 6 month evaluation examines stakeholder satisfaction -- Posts, Front Office, PD desk officers, home office, geographic offices; new PD desk officer position description and work requirements reflect expectations and core functions; evaluation of communications strategies/coordination meetings for participant satisfaction/utility after first two week, then again after three months.

3. Improve support for first-time PAOs

*Plan of Action:* Large post/small post shadow/buddy system established in Africa with mentoring of first-time PAOs by experienced PAOs in their sub-region. PAO SharePoint or other website or other means to share advice among themselves and continued management and program support from ARS. Also pursue with FSI a new Single Officer Post PAO training module that includes a formal mentoring for first-time PAOs at small posts around the world.

*Start Timing:* FY 2011
*Lead:* Deputy
*Type:* internal
*Needed to begin:* New course module – FSI; other travel funds
*Direct Financial Implications*: travel

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*Goals*: I, IV
*Strategies:* D, F
*Performance Indicators:* Coaching/mentoring system established for AF including strategic decision-making and post/Washington interaction and expectations; PAO evaluation of utility after first year of operation; module added to PAO training course at FSI specifically on single-officer posts.

4. Meet Specific Public Diplomacy Program Objectives
*Plan of Action:*
   a. Preserve current and establish new American Centers.
      FY 2010 baseline: Ouagadougou.
      FY 2011 – Maputo, Kinshasa and Lusaka upgraded;
      FY 2012 – Kano established;
      FY 2013 - Mombasa or elsewhere to reach goal of five new/refurbished American Centers by 2014;
   b. Double PD training opportunities in Africa.
      FY 2009 baseline: 3 courses offered; 75 LES & FSOs trained in strategic planning;
      FY 2010: new courses piloted. (9 – strategic planning, social media, alumni, grants, MAT & PD transition – for 150 participants in region);
      FY 2011: previous year experience evaluated and training plan established for FY 2011 & FY 2012;
      FY 2012 – 150 receive training in PD regionally.
   c. FSO position at South Africa Media Hub
   d. PAOs at PD transition posts - Add 8 PAO positions.
      FY 2010 Baseline: 9 posts with no PAO.
      FY 2011 - 7 new PAO positions filled and support/oversight plan for PD transition posts developed by PDPA;
      FY 2013 one additional PAO position established
   e. PILOT: Podcasting production and training capabilities at Public Affairs Sections in Africa. FY 2010 Pilot: AF/PDPA works with IIP to provide regional training & podcasting kits; FY 2010 & FY 2011 evaluation of results; FY 2011 decision on pilot project.
   f. Nearly 100% increase in English Access Microscholarship students.
      Baseline FY 2009: 900 new students in AF plus 900 currently studying under FY08 funding - 1,800 total.
      FY 2010 funding: 1,000 new students in AF plus 900 from FY09; Total - 1,900 students
   g. Educational advisors at every embassy in AF.
      FY 2010 baseline: local hire advisors added in Khartoum & Brazzaville. No advisors in Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome, Seychelles & Somalia. Program moribund in Botswana.
      FY 2011 - add advising program in Gabon. Revive in Botswana.
   h. Double number of Regional English Language Officers to 4 by FY 2014.
      FY 2009 baseline: 1 covering southern Africa out of Pretoria; 1 covering West Africa based in Dakar.



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FY 2010 - new RELO in Dar es Salaam to cover East Africa and the Horn. Position for 4th RELO to cover parts of West and Central Africa submitted for FY 2012 BSRP but not accepted. Try again for FY 2013.

i. Pilot hand-held mobile devices for engagement/distribution of information. R/PPR completes Electronic Media Outreach Program Evaluation by FY 2011. These results and analysis inform future actions.

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Leads:* PDOD & Cultural Coordinator
*Type:* Coordination with R, OBO, ECA, and DS
*Needed to begin:* Appropriate approvals and funding
*Direct Financial Implications:* Yes, several
*Goals:* III, IV, V
*Strategies:* C, D, E, F, G
*Performance Indicators:* 5 new/refurbished American Centers by 2014; Evaluation and training plan established by FY 2012; South Africa Media Hub position established and filled by FY 2011; 9 new PAO positions established with smooth transition from PD-lite to full PAS; successful pilot: 12 AF posts engaged in regular podcasting production and distribution; evaluation/assessment of podcasting effectiveness carried out in FY 2011; ENGLISH ACCESS MICROSCHOLARSHIP students: FY 2011 - 2,200 students total; FY 2012 - 2,500 students total; FY 2013 - 3000 students total; FY 2014 - 3,500 students total; Educational Advising: 25% increase in number of African students in American Universities by 2015 academic year; by FY 2014 - 4th RELO to cover parts of West and Central Africa; Hand-held mobile devices for engagement performance indicator TBD from results of Electronic Media Outreach Program Evaluation.

5. Streamline and improve results/impact and public environment reporting from the field
*Plan of Action*: Embrace the Mission Activity Tracker (MAT) and reduce requirements for PD activity reporting from the field on other platforms. MAT training for AF/PDPA; MAT expectations from PAOs; R/PPR adds MAT update "RSS-type" alert; AF/PDPA nominates for Outstanding MAT reporting awards, not posts. MAT training continues in the field in FY 2011 & FY 2012. Each PAS to submit at least one major analytical reporting cable a year.

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* Cultural Coordinator, PACO & PD-DAS
*Type:* Internal & Coordination with R/PPR, ECA, IIP
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals:* II
*Strategies:* D
*Performance Indicators*: From 12% results reporting in MAT to 50% results reporting in MAT.

6. Annual AF PAO Conference in Washington, DC.
*Plan of Action:* Link to R's global PAO conference. FY 2011 scheduled for October 2010.

*Start Timing:* FY 2011
*Lead:* PDOD & R
*Type:* Coordination
*Needed to begin:* Funding
*Direct Financial Implications:* travel
*Goals:* I, IV
*Strategies:* C, D, E, F
*Performance Indicators:* Participant satisfaction

7. MSRPs – PD included in all goal papers and specific PD goal paper
*Baseline:* FY 2012 MSRP posts given the option by R to include PD goal paper or not.

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* PACO, PD desks, PD-DAS
*Type:* Internal & R
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* none
*Goals:* II, V
*Strategies:* B, F, G
*Performance Indicators:* For FY2013 and FY 2014, PD is well incorporated into all MSRPs and separate PD goal paper from all posts.

8. Increase interagency coordination with an emphasis on Africom and USAID
*Plan of Action:* PD-DAS to take the lead once position is located in the front office. Will work on Washington-based interagency coordination and on ensuring PAOs have the lead on coordinating interagency messaging/media at posts. Meanwhile, AF/PDPA to identify appropriate public affairs/public engagement personnel in other agencies with a focus on Africom and USAID. PD desk officers to arrange and accompany PAOs to interagency consultations before heading to post.

*Start Timing:* FY 2011
*Lead:* PD-DAS & PACO
*Type:* AF & Coordination
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals:* I, II
*Strategies:* E, F
*Performance Indicators:* Interagency contact list for AF/PDPA. # of posts with mission-wide integrated communications strategies/media plans. Other performance indicators TBD by PD-DAS

9. AF/PDPA makes better use of public opinion polling/academic analysis and data on Africa
*Plan of Action:* PACO working with Fellow or intern to pull together guide to Open Source Center, INR, DoD, and private sector, public opinion polling. PD Desks and



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PACO to network with academic community in coordination with outreach coordinator. Baseline: In FY 2010 public opinion polling not routinely checked, accessed or used by AF/PDPA.

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* PACO
*Type:* Coordination w/INR and others
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* none
*Goals:* II
*Strategies:* B, D
*Performance Indicators:* AF/PDPA has access to and utilizes public opinion polling as part of their analysis and information sharing in AF. At least one DAR, info memo or trip paper references public opinion polling data per quarter.

10. Annual Franklin and/or Science & Technology Fellow in AF/PDPA

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* Deputy, PACO
*Type:* Done
*Needed to begin:* Completed.
*Direct Financial Implications*: travel, space and associated Fellow costs
*Goals:* II
*Strategies:* D, C
*Performance Indicators:* Annual fellows beginning in FY 2011; PDPA & Fellow satisfaction

11. Improve links to public-private partnerships

*Plan of Action:* New special projects/cultural affairs person will arrive on/about January 2011. This officer to gather information from other bureaus and offices (ECA, S/GPI, EB) on existing State Department public-private partnerships and coordinate with outreach coordinator and posts on interest in new partnerships.

*Start Timing:* FY 2011
*Lead:* Cultural Coordinator, Special Projects/Cultural Affairs
*Type:* internal & coordination
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* perhaps
*Goals:* I, II
*Strategies:* E
*Performance Indicators*: Start after January 2011 When new person in the position; Information gathering then find PDPA niche

12. Chief of Mission EERs include public affairs achievements

*Plan of Action:* PD-DAS will decide whether or not to pursue

*Start Timing:* FY 2012
*Lead:* PD-DAS
*Type:* AF Front Office decision
*Needed to begin*: AF approval



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*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals:* I, II
*Strategies:* C
*Performance Indicators:* 100% of AF FY 2012 Chiefs of Missions performance evaluations include public affairs/public diplomacy achievements

**Actions to Achieve Public Affairs Goals**

1. Increase strategic value of outreach to the Africa Bureau
*Plan of Action*: In addition to current who, what, where, when and why, Speaker Bureau and Front Office speaking request template includes context, and strategic policy goal linkages. FY 2011 - establish baselines and measuring tool for assessing the impact of outreach. Clarify source for domestic outreach travel budget. Enter new contacts into AF/PDPA contact database.
*Start Timing*: June 2010
*Lead*: PA Chief
*Type*: Internal
*Needed to begin*: Contact database for contact entering
*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals*: I, II, V
*Strategies*: C, G
*Performance Indicators:* Context, audience and strategic policy goal linkages standard for 100% of speaking requests; BSRP FY 12 Performance Indicator includes audience numbers tracked and beginning FY 2012, impact of outreach tracked.

2. Enhance Diaspora Relations Coordination
*Plan of Action:* AF/PDPA has the lead for the Africa Bureau on diaspora relations coordination. This will entail increasing outreach to engage new audiences. In FY 2010, the outreach coordinator with support from an intern or fellow, researches and evaluates African diaspora communities, liaises with S/GPI, AF/RSA and AF geographic offices to devise strategies for engagement, arranges discussions between diaspora and Bureau representatives, and communicates results and possible follow-up activities to relevant Bureau offices and to PAOs. FY 2011: Track number of communities reached and use outreach measuring tool to assess impact of outreach. Clarify use of AF/PDPA travel funds for domestic outreach.
*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* PA Chief
*Type:* Coordination
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* travel funds
*Goals:* II, III
*Strategies:* D
*Performance Indicators:* FY 2011 - Establish diaspora outreach baseline.
Fulfill BSRP indicators: FY 2012 - 15% increase in outreach to African diaspora



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communities over FY 2011baseline. AF has utilizes an up-to-date diaspora outreach database. PDPA staff traveling in U.S. for domestic outreach purposes

3. Restructure morning media clips

*Plan of Action:* Analyzing and restructuring the morning news clips (one of the office's highest profile products) will either make it more valuable to readers or decrease the time that is spent compiling this product if its usefulness cannot be determined. Survey of media clip needs of Front Office, PAOs and AF office directors; analysis of major blogs and websites that cover Africa. Determine value-added PDPA clips can provide. Summer 2010 - survey designed and distributed

*Start Timing*: FY 2010
*Lead:* Advisor & Program Specialist
*Type:* internal
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications*: none
*Goals:* II, V
*Strategies:* C, G
*Performance Indicators*: clips have increased utility/importance to readers (reader satisfaction,) OR decreased production time (Fewer than 12 hours a week to produce)

4. Biweekly calendar of domestic outreach & media interviews

Plan of Action: Reinstate weekly coordination meeting with AF Front Office on A/S public speaking engagements. Bureau-wide public speaking compiled into a calendar and distributed (could be document sent via email, AF Opennet website calendar, Outlook calendar, or other.)

*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* PA Chief
*Type:* Internal
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* none
*Goals:* I, II
*Strategies:* B, C
*Performance Indicators:* Calendar kept up to date. Utility of calendar. Participant satisfaction with weekly coordination meetings.

5. PD-DAS takes on principal AF Bureau spokesperson role

*Plan of Action:* PD-DAS will take on public speaking and media interviews; Monthly public briefings moderated/given by PD-DAS, some with media some with diaspora and other groups.

*Start Timing:* After PD-DAS in place
*Lead:* PD-DAS
*Type:* Front Office
*Needed to begin:* PD-DAS in place
*Direct Financial Implications:* none
*Goals:* I, II

*Strategies:* C, E
*Performance Indicators:* Front office satisfaction

6. Internal Marketing: Update AF/PDPA information on State's internal websites
*Plan of Action:* Update AF Opennet website and Diplopedia to reflect PDPA activities, mission and work
*Start Timing:* FY 2010
*Lead:* PA Chief
*Type:* internal
*Needed to begin:* 0
*Direct Financial Implications:* none
*Goals:* I
*Strategies:* C
*Performance Indicator:* website kept up to date.

**Annex I**

**Acronyms**

| | |
|---|---|
| AF | Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/C | Office of Central African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/E | Office of East African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/EPS | Office of Economic and Policy Staff, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/EX | Office of the Executive Director, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/PA | Public Affairs side of the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/PD | Public Diplomacy side of the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/PDPA | Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/RSA | Office of Regional Security Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/S | Office of Southern African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| AF/W | Office of West African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| A/S | Assistant Secretary |
| BSRP | Bureau Strategic Resource Plan |
| DAR | Daily Activity Report |
| DoD | Department of Defense |
| DS | Diplomatic Security |
| ECA | Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State |
| FO | Front Office (Office of the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs) |
| FSI | Foreign Service Institute |
| FSO | Foreign Service Officer |
| HR | Human Resources |
| HST | Harry S. Truman Building (Main State Department Building) |
| IIP | International Information Programs, Department of State |
| INR | Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State |
| LES | Locally Employed Staff (at U.S. Missions abroad) |
| MAT | Mission Activity Tracker |
| MIST | Military Information Support Team |
| MSRP | Mission Strategic Resource Plan |
| OBO | Overseas Building Operations |
| OIG | Office of the Inspector General |
| OMS | Office Management Specialist |
| PA | Public Affairs |
| PACO | Planning and Coordination Officer, Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| PAO | Public Affairs Officer |
| PAS | Public Affairs Section of a U.S. Mission abroad |

| | |
|---|---|
| PD | Public Diplomacy |
| PD-DAS | Public Diplomacy Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State |
| PD Desks | Public Diplomacy Desks also called Public Diplomacy Country Affairs Officer |
| PDOD | Public Diplomacy Office Director (Director of the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State) |
| R | Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs |
| RELO | Regional English Language Officer |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| WAE | Term for a retired FSO who works on temporary duty for the Department |

## Annex II

***Approach & Methodology:***

The contractor is using a classic collaborative strategic planning process for strengthening and sustaining organizational development and achievement grounded in the work of John M. Bryson and his book *Strategic Planning for Public and Nonprofit Organizations,* 3rd edition (John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2004). Purpose trumps everything and the purpose must ultimately be to create public value.

This structured process included four phases:

A) The first phase was an assessment of the AF/PDPA office (weeks 1-8).
B) Phase two was the articulation of a common vision for what AF/PDPA's strategic role, function and results should be within the Bureau of African Affairs (Weeks 9-11).
C) The development and refinement of strategies to get from point A to point B as well as identifying performance measurements was phase three (Weeks 11-16) followed by the contractor writing up the plan (weeks 17-18). Phase four is then the actual implementation of these strategies (Week 16+).

A quietly, deliberately, disruptive process, inserting the contractor into the daily rhythms of the office including participation in routine meetings is designed to elicit strategic thinking during AF/PDPA's daily work. AF/PDPA staff has not hesitated to implement best practices as they arise.

The most important techniques utilized were individual thinking and group discussion. As the guide in this process, during the first phase the contractor is conducting on and off-site interviews of stakeholders within the Department of State in Washington D.C., in Kampala, Uganda during an FSI strategic planning course for Africa, and by phone to PAOs across Africa.

In addition to compiling the results of the interviews, as appropriate, the contractor also gathered information about trends, challenges and opportunities in Africa, reviewing pertinent internal and external documents; meeting weekly with the AF/PDPA Office Director and Deputy Director to review progress, share findings and consult on next steps; meeting weekly with a core group of AF/PDPA personnel who volunteered to form an internal, collaborative Organizational Development Team to review information gathered by the consultant and hash out ideas and concepts, and reviewing the substance of this Phase 1 report and its findings with the AF/PDPA office and individuals affected by this report.

The contractor assembled all materials from the questionnaires to the worksheets for analysis. The contractor has conducted and compiled all interviews. Fifty-three people were interviewed individually or in pairs.

During this first phase, "why" has been the most important question. For example: Why do you do X? Why does it matter? Why A and not B? Followed by "for whom?" (primary audience) and "what is the value added of that action/effort/paper?"

STAKEHOLDER INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

| Interview Date | Name | Office |
|---|---|---|
| 19-Jan | Bruce Wharton | AF/PDPA |
| 19-Jan | Ed Kemp | AF/PDPA |
| 20-Jan | Lynn Roche | AF/PDPA |
| 20-Jan | Bill Strassberger | AF/PDPA |
| 20-Jan | Lydia Ellison | AF/PDPA |
| 20-Jan | Lynn Allison | AF/PDPA |
| 21-Jan | Patricia Ehrnman | AF/PDPA |
| 21-Jan | Terri Rookard | AF/PDPA |
| 21-Jan | Karen Coates | AF/PDPA |
| 21-Jan | Tijen Aybar | AF/PDPA |
| 21-Jan | Molly Sanchez Crowe | AF/PDPA |
| 22-Jan | Russell Brooks | AF/PDPA |
| 22-Jan | Jon Tollefson | AF/PDPA |
| 22-Jan | Chris McShane | AF/PDPA |
| 25-Jan | Nicole Peacock | AF/PDPA |
| 27-Jan | Meg Keeton | AF/EX |
| 27-Jan | Louis Mazel | AF/RSA |
| 28-Jan | Tony Newton | AF/EPS |
| 29-Jan | Siria Lopez | AF/C |
| 29-Jan | Geeta Pasi | AF/E |
| 29-Jan | Sue Brown | AF/S |
| 29-Jan | Mary Beth Leonard | AF/W |
| 1-Feb | Eric Silla | AF-FO |
| 3-Feb | Rhonda Shore | S/CT |
| 3-Feb | Mark Zimmer | PAO Somalia |
| 4-Feb | Donna Winton | ARS |
| 4-Feb | Susan Povenmire | OES |
| 8-Feb | Peter Claussen | PAO Abuja |
| 9-Feb | Sara Devlin | PD/Econ/Pol Maseru |
| 10-Feb | Mary Scholl | PAO Accra |
| 10-Feb | Solomon Atayi | PAO Ndjamena |
| 11-Feb | Priscilla Hernandez | PAO Lusaka |
| 11-Feb | Edwina Sagitto | PAO Kigali |
| 12-Feb | Susan Domowitz | IIP |
| 17-Feb | Nick Von Mertens | AF/PDPA |
| 17-Feb | Alyson Grunder | PAO Addis |
| 18-Feb | Richard Johannsen | PAO Yaounde |
| 18-Feb | Carl Chan & Gerald McLoughlin | Advisory Commission on PD |
| 19-Feb | Andrew Cedar & Betsy Whitaker | R/PPR |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 23-Feb | John Haynes | PAO Nairobi |
| 24-Feb | Dennis Gombert | INR/OPN |
| 25-Feb | Paul Hinshaw | FPC |
| 26-Feb | Carol Kalin | R/GSEC |
| 1-Mar | Kelvin Kiyingi | Info Specialist - Kampala |
| 2-Mar | Dorothy Ngalombi | Cultural Affairs Specialist - Kampala |
| 2-Mar | Regina Addo | PAO Secretary - Accra |
| 2-Mar | Thais Ruboneka | Assistant IRC - Kigali |
| 3-Mar | Joann Lockhart | PAO Kampala |
| 3-Mar | Brigitte Pressler | PD Training Manager - Vienna |
| 3-Mar | Rogers Cidosa | Interpreter - Dar es Salaam |
| 4-Mar | Charles Mugabo | Public Affairs Specialist - Kigali |
| 4-Mar | John Dunne | DPAO Kampala |
| 4-Mar | Geraldine Seruyange | IRC Assistant - Kampala |
| 5-Mar | Roger Lyners | Info Specialist - Windhoek |

## Annex III

### AF/PDPA Staffing

AF/PDPA's domestic public affairs side has four dedicated positions to handle media, press guidance, statements, and outreach to the American public and the African diaspora in the United States. The public diplomacy side has seven positions in Washington and two for Americans at African Regional Services (ARS) in Paris. (ARS Paris provides programming tools and support to all African posts with an emphasis on Francophone countries and engages the sizeable Paris-based African media and diaspora communities.) Six people have portfolios that include both sides of the office: the office director, deputy director, administrative officer, program and project specialist, and OMS.

There are 48 posts in Africa, 39 of which have Public Affairs Sections headed by an American Public Affairs Officer (PAO). By mid-2011 this will be up to 46. About half the public affairs sections are single-officer sections, often an officer's first PD tour.

Other State bureaus have regional support specialists in public affairs sections in Africa including information resource officers, regional English language officers, and regional Information Resource Officers. In Kampala, an exemplary case, the PAO has opened the door to communications specialists from PEPFAR and other USG to sit in the Public Affairs Section. At other posts DoD MIST teams sit in the Mission's public affairs section.

**Annex IV**

***AF/PDPA Core Functions:***

1. Direction, support, and oversight to public diplomacy in Africa.
    a. Provide oversight, direction, and resources to PA sections in Africa;
    b. Provide support to PA sections in Africa including tailored information and advice and filter requests from Washington;
    c. Report on, and advocate for, the work of PA sections in Africa;
    d. AF lead on interagency strategic communications, media, and messaging;
    e. Recruit and select FSOs for PD positions at posts, and
    f. Develop and/or coordinate (as appropriate) PD programming tools and priorities for Africa with other Bureaus and with the private sector.
2. Inform and support policy-making
    a. Provide expertise on attitudes and opinions of African publics and on the major cultural, educational, media and communications technology (social networking) trends in Africa;
    b. Provide expertise on the international media's Africa coverage;
    c. Provide expertise on strategic communications and appropriate USG programs, tools and outreach strategies to inform, inspire and persuade African publics;
    d. Provide/organize opportunities for policymakers to interact with African public opinion leaders and civil society leaders, and
    e. Engage fully in drafting paper, responding to taskers, and other leadership support mechanisms from the PD and PA perspectives.

3. Public Affairs (domestic)
    a. Draft/coordinate press guidance, public statements and policy announcements;
    b. Engage U.S.-based media including, but not limited to, organizing interviews;
    c. Lead coordinator for AF public speaking opportunities and AF Speakers Bureau;
    d. Lead on engagement with the African Diaspora in the U.S., and
    e. Engage U.S. NGOs and other American stakeholders.

4. Manage and deploy resources in line with AF priorities.

5. Coordinate special activities/projects and new initiatives.

**Annex V**

# Actions Summary

As of June 1, 2010

## Actions to Achieve Both Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Goals

| LEAD | ACTION | PROGRESS |
|---|---|---|
| All Office | 1. Engage more in paper process/report more to the Front Office (weekly DARs etc.) | Starts June 2010<br>Target 1 per week |
| PDOD | 2. Increase administrative support to public affairs staff and cultural coordinator | |
| Deputy, CC | 3. Retain special projects/assistant cultural affairs position | STARTED – ELO position description submitted May 2010 |
| Advisor, PDOD | 4. BSRP includes public diplomacy/public affairs goal paper | COMPLETED - May 2010 for FY 2012 BSRP |
| PD-DAS | 5. Increase coordination and clarify PDPA roles to AF functional offices | STARTED – A/S approved space analysis. For AF/EX to complete |
| PDOD | 6. Establish all-AF/PDPA electronic filing and contact systems | |
| PA Chief | 7. Reconfigure media officer position to non-traditional media and outreach position | |
| PDOD | 8. New deputy PACO/special projects civil service position | FTE for new position submitted for FY2012 but not accepted by Bureau. Resubmit for FY 2013. |
| PD-DAS | 9. Pilot as appropriate: "Public Environment" issue paper for A/S & higher trips | |

## Public Diplomacy Actions

| LEAD | ACTION | PROGRESS |
|---|---|---|
| All PD | 1. PD desk officers develop PD, educational, cultural, media, and social networking expertise in portfolio countries<br>a. AF/W portfolio of 16 countries too large to expect in-depth expertise in all countries. Add an assistant AF/W PD desk officer to this portfolio using a Diplomacy 3.0 country affairs position authorized | APPROVED for FY 2011 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | for FY 2010;<br>b. FSI training for new PD desk officers as appropriate (AF area studies/Washington tradecraft/Intro to PD);<br>c. Formal handover notes from departing staff beginning summer 2010 (AF/S PD);<br>d. PD desks travel to every post in portfolio at least once during tour;<br>e. PD Desk Officer Manual that will include checklists for PAO consultations, information about the portfolio posts, administrative information about AF/PDPA, and more;<br>f. Beginning in summer FY 2010, PD desks attend geographic offices' internal meetings whether or not embedded. PACO speaks with geographic area directors to begin "virtual embedding";<br>g. PD desks institute weekly conversation with portfolio PAOs. | |
| PDOD, Deputy, PACO | 2. Embed desk officer positions in geographic offices | APPROVED |
| Deputy | 3. Improve support for first-time PAOs<br>a. Shadow/buddy system<br>b. Single Officer Post PAO training module at FSI | STARTED |
| CC, PDOD | 4. Meet Specific Public Diplomacy Program Objectives<br>a. Preserve current and establish new American Centers.<br>b. Double PD training opportunities in Africa.<br>c. FSO position at South Africa Media Hub<br>d. PAOs at PD-transition posts.<br>e. PILOT: Podcasting production and training capabilities at Public Affairs Sections in Africa.<br>f. Nearly 100% increase in ACCESS scholarship students by 2014.<br>g. Educational advisors at every embassy in AF.<br>h. Double number of Regional English Language Officers to 4 by FY 2014.<br>i. Pilot hand-held mobile devices for engagement/distribution of information. | <br>STARTED<br>STARTED<br>APPROVED<br>APPROVED<br>STARTED<br><br>STARTED<br><br><br>STARTED |
| CC & PACO, PD-DAS | 5. Streamline and improve results/impact and public environment reporting from the field (Embrace MAT) | STARTED |
| PDOD, R | 6. Annual AF PAO Conference in Washington, DC. | APPROVED for FY 2010 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PACO, PD Desks PD-DAS | 7. MSRPs – PD included in all goal papers and specific PD goal paper from every Mission with a PAS. | |
| PD-DAS, PACO | 8. Increase interagency coordination with emphasis on Africom and USAID | |
| PACO | 9. AF/PDPA makes better use of public opinion polling/academic analysis and data on Africa | |
| Deputy, PACO | 10. Annual Franklin and/or Science & Technology Fellow in AF/PDPA | APPROVED for FY 2010 |
| CC, SP | 11. Improve link to public-private partnerships | |
| PD-DAS | 12. Chief of Mission EERs include public affairs achievements | |

**Public Affairs Actions**

| LEAD | ACTION | PROGRESS |
|---|---|---|
| PA Chief | 1. Increase strategic value of outreach to the Africa Bureau | STARTED |
| PA Chief | 2. Enhance Diaspora Relations Coordination | STARTED |
| Advisor, Program Specialist | 3. Restructure morning media clips | STARTED |
| PA Chief | 4. Biweekly calendar of domestic outreach and media interviews | |
| PD-DAS | 5. PD-DAS takes on principal AF Bureau spokesperson role | |
| PA Chief | 6. Internal Marketing: Update AF/PDPA information on State's internal websites | |

**Key:**
PD-DAS – PD Deputy Assistant Secretary
PDOD – PD Office Director
Deputy – Deputy PD Office Director
PACO – Policy and Coordination Officer
CC – Cultural Coordinator
SP – Special Projects/Cultural Affairs Officer
Advisor – Senior Advisor for Strategic Planning



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770301 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# AF/PDPA 2010-2014 Organizational Development Plan

## Executive Summary

To address concerns raised by the OIG in its August 2009 inspection report of the Africa Bureau, the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (AF/PDPA) has engaged in an organizational development process. Over the past few months AF/PDPA has defined the philosophy, role, mission, audiences, core functions, and value added of public diplomacy and public affairs in the Africa Bureau and set goals and strategies for the AF/PDPA office to excel.

The Department of State's expertise on public diplomacy programs and activities in Africa, on the regional African public and media context, and on the Department's engagement with the media and American audiences on African issues should reside in AF/PDPA.

The mission of Africa Bureau (AF) public diplomacy and public affairs is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by understanding, engaging, informing and influencing the people of Africa and informing the people of the United States of America in order to create an enabling environment and strong relationships for a healthy, mutually-beneficial U.S.-African partnership.

This four-year organizational development plan lays down specific goals, strategies and actions/changes that will facilitate the highest level of performance of the office's core functions, address the office's performance challenges, and take advantage of opportunities. Throughout this plan is an ongoing commitment by AF/PDPA personnel to a new approach to their work. The commitment is to increased initiative, more strategic thinking, more frequent and earlier engagement in policy-making processes, and a fuller understanding by every staff member of how his/her work contributes to the larger whole. Over the course of the next few months, the approach of each AF/PDPA staff member will change as will a number of roles and portfolios. This plan assumes that the rest of the AF Bureau not only will be receptive to these changes but also will pro-actively seek AF/PDPA expertise and collaboration as appropriate.

The most visible outcome of this organizational development process will be the physical reorganization in the Africa Bureau. As soon as space is available, AF/PDPA will embed public diplomacy desk officers in the AF geographic offices. In order to make space available and to increase coordination among the bureau's functional offices, all of which do some engaging of civil society and private-sector audiences in the United States and in Africa, Assistant Secretary Carson has asked the bureau's executive office to conduct a full-bureau analysis of office space based on function, size and resource available. This analysis will inform the ultimate decisions as to who sits where.

However, the most significant outcome of this process will not be the shuffling of office space, but the results. The current AF/PDPA team is constantly short-staffed but at its core is an innovative, talented team of Civil and Foreign Service experts in engaging publics and the media and building long-term relationships for the United

> *"The U.S. must recognize the necessity of orchestrating networks of public, private and civic actors to address global problems"*
>
> -- Anne-Marie Slaughter



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770302 Date: 08/31/2015

States. With added expertise, further integration with the rest of the Bureau and a 21st century focus on networking, AF/PDPA will produce results: more effective public diplomacy in Africa and public affairs in the United States and better informed policy-making in Washington.

AF/PDPA is adopting five major goals and will use seven cross-cutting strategies to achieve the goals by taking dozens of specific steps and actions.

**AF/PDPA Goals - By 2014:**

I. AF/PDPA is valued for public diplomacy leadership in Africa and for public affairs leadership on Africa policy in the U.S.

II. Policy-making on Africa is informed by an understanding of public perspectives. State depends on AF/PDPA for expertise and advice on understanding, informing, engaging, and persuading publics in Africa and informing the U.S. public.

III. The conduct of public diplomacy in Africa and AF's public affairs in the U.S. is strengthened and enhanced via the achievement of specific, measurable public diplomacy and public affairs program objectives.

IV. AF attracts and retains a diverse, high-caliber public diplomacy and public affairs workforce.

V. Resources to engage publics in Africa and in America are sufficient and deployed in line with policy priorities.

**Strategies**

A. Address location and restructure to close access and communications gaps with AF, better support and guide the field, facilitate AF engagement with target domestic audiences, support expanding PD portfolios, make positions more desirable, and facilitate AF inter-office teamwork.

B. Engage fully in AF policy-making processes, especially the paper process.

C. Raise visibility of PD and PA work in AF.

D. Build and retain expertise in the field and in AF/PDPA.

E. Increase AF/PDPA networking and coalition building.

F. Empower the field and AF/PDPA

G. Align resources with policy priorities and stretch resources via partnerships with other USG, private, and non-profit organizations to maximize resource coordination on shared policy and program goals.



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770302 Date: 08/31/2015

**Actions to Achieve Both Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Goals**

1. Engage more in the paper process (report more to the Front Office via DARs, Info Memos etc.)
2. Increase administrative support to public affairs staff and cultural coordinator
3. Retain special projects/assistant cultural affairs position
4. AF Bureau BSRP includes public diplomacy and public affairs goal paper
5. Increase coordination and clarify PDPA roles to AF functional offices
6. Establish all-AF/PDPA electronic filing and contact systems
7. Reconfigure media officer position to non-traditional media and outreach position
8. New deputy PACO/special projects civil service position
9. Pilot if appropriate: "Public Environment" issue paper for A/S and higher trips

**Public Diplomacy Actions**

1. PD desk officers develop PD, educational, cultural, media, and social networking expertise in portfolio countries
2. Embed desk officer positions in geographic offices
3. Improve support for first-time PAOs
4. Meet Specific Public Diplomacy Program Objectives:
    a. Preserve current and establish new American Centers.
    b. Double PD training opportunities in Africa.
    c. FSO position at South Africa Media Hub
    d. PAOs at PD-transition posts.
    e. PILOT: Podcasting production capabilities at Public Affairs Sections in Africa.
    f. Nearly 100% increase in ACCESS scholarship students by 2014.
    g. Educational advisors at every embassy in AF.
    h. Double number of Regional English Language Officers to 4 by FY 2014.
    i. Pilot hand-held mobile devices for engagement/distribution of information.
5. Streamline and improve results/impact and public environment reporting from the field (Embrace MAT)
6. Annual AF PAO Conference in Washington, DC.
7. MSRPs – PD included in all goal papers and specific PD goal paper
8. Increase interagency coordination with an emphasis on Africom and USAID
9. AF/PDPA makes better use of public opinion polling/academic analysis and data on Africa
10. Annual Franklin and/or Science & Technology Fellow in AF/PDPA
11. Increase links to public-private partnerships
12. Chief of Mission EERs include public affairs achievements

**Public Affairs Actions**

1. Increase strategic value of outreach to the Africa Bureau
2. Enhance Diaspora Relations Coordination
3. Restructure morning media clips
4. Biweekly calendar of domestic outreach and media interviews
5. PD-DAS takes on principal AF Bureau spokesperson role
6. Internal marketing - update AF/PDPA information on State's internal websites



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770302 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 11:48 PM
**To:** H; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Re: S video on Mother's Day

I will prepare for you to sign tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 10 22:42:20 2010
Subject: Fw: S video on Mother's Day

Pls do note to Kristin Kane and give me back copy of her email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 15:36:56 2010
Subject: FW: S video on Mother's Day

MS -- A wonderful note!

From: Kane, Kristin M
Sent: Friday, May 07, 2010 3:34 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: S video on Mother's Day

Hi Lona, I just saw the S video for Mother's Day: After nearly 10 years of working for the Department, this ranks as one of my proudest, most fulfilling moments of serving as a Foreign Service Officer.

B6

Clearly I'm not the only one who has made these sacrifices or who has these frustrations; Secretary Clinton has heard our struggles (indeed has gone through her own struggles as a professional mom!), and she truly gets it.

I just wanted to tell somebody, and I remembered your name from the women's conference in December. Forgive this long message. Happy Mother's Day, and congratulations on working with such an incredible person.

Regards,

Kristin

Kristin M. Kane

Office of Public Affairs and Outreach

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

U.S. Department of State

Washington, DC

Tel: (202) 647-7994

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 4:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Kenyan Vice Foreign Minister bio

Madam Secretary,

As requested, below is a brief bio (compiled by DRL, INR, and AF) of Kenyan Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Richard Momoima Onyonka, who you met in Krakow at the Community of Democracies. Please let me know if you would like any further information or follow up on this.

Thanks,
Mike

Richard Momoima Onyonka is a Kenyan politician and belongs to the People's Democratic Party. Born in 1962 and hailing from the Bogeka clan, VM Momoima has lived in Otamba, Nyamataro, Mosocho and Nairobi. In 1982, following the failed Kenyan coup d'état attempt to overthrow President Daniel Arap Moi's government, VM Momoima was among the 900 people that were jailed. However, in 1984, he returned to the University of Nairobi and graduated with a Bachelors degree in commerce a year later. After graduation, VM Momoima attended North Carolina State University where he graduated with a Masters degree in management. He returned to Kenya in 1992 during the first multi party elections to help his father (then incumbent MP for Kitutu Chache and Minister for Planning and National Development) who was seeking re-election on a KANU (Kenya African National Union) ticket. VM Momoima's first political opportunity arose when his father passed away in 1996, which prompted an election in which he lost to a new comer during the party (KANU) nominations. Since the Kenyan parliamentary election in 2007, VM Momoima has represented the Kitutu Chache Constituency in the National Assembly of Kenya.

A financial economist by profession, VM Momoima currently runs personal businesses in Nairobi and Kisii and has held positions in the Kisii KANU branch. His priorities include economic empowerment, particularly for youth and women, education, and poverty reduction.

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 6:48 AM
**To:** H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Remarks

We have them.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue May 11 06:46:36 2010
Subject: Remarks

Will I get them before I deliver them?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 5:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Kenyan Vice Foreign Minister bio

Yes, I'll see if we can locate that

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, August 06, 2010 5:00 PM
To: Fuchs, Michael H
Subject: Re: Kenyan Vice Foreign Minister bio

Can you get a transcript of what he said in Krakow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Aug 06 16:34:39 2010
Subject: Kenyan Vice Foreign Minister bio

Madam Secretary,

As requested, below is a brief bio (compiled by DRL, INR, and AF) of Kenyan Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Richard Momoima Onyonka, who you met in Krakow at the Community of Democracies. Please let me know if you would like any further information or follow up on this.

Thanks,

Mike

Richard Momoima Onyonka is a Kenyan politician and belongs to the People's Democratic Party. Born in 1962 and hailing from the Bogeka clan, VM Momoima has lived in Otamba, Nyamataro, Mosocho and Nairobi. In 1982, following the failed Kenyan coup d'état attempt to overthrow President Daniel Arap Moi's government, VM Momoima was among the 900 people that were jailed. However, in 1984, he returned to the University of Nairobi and graduated with a Bachelors degree in commerce a year later. After graduation, VM Momoima attended North Carolina State University where he graduated with a Masters degree in management. He returned to Kenya in 1992 during the first multi party elections to help his father (then incumbent MP for Kitutu Chache and Minister for Planning and National Development) who was seeking re-election on a KANU (Kenya African National Union) ticket. VM Momoima's first political opportunity arose when his father passed away in 1996, which prompted an election in which he lost to a new comer during the

party (KANU) nominations. Since the Kenyan parliamentary election in 2007, VM Momoima has represented the Kitutu Chache Constituency in the National Assembly of Kenya.

A financial economist by profession, VM Momoima currently runs personal businesses in Nairobi and Kisii and has held positions in the Kisii KANU branch. His priorities include economic empowerment, particularly for youth and women, education, and poverty reduction.

Michael H. Fuchs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-1709

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Remarks

They came to you overnight.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue May 11 06:46:36 2010
Subject: Remarks

Will I get them before I deliver them?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 6:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: UNFPA head - update

FYI – see below for update on UNFPA head selection process.

---

**From:** Brimmer, Esther D
**Sent:** Friday, August 06, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Cc:** Schwartz, Eric P; Cook, Nerissa J; Anderson, Gerald C; Le Mon, Christopher J
**Subject:** UNFPA head - update

B6

Jake, Joe,
Here is the update from IO and PRM for the Secretary (as you recall she had met with the outgoing head of UNFPA):

Eric and I would like to update you on the Secretary-General's selection process of the next head of UNFPA.

Working closely with PRM and USUN, we gathered 22 names as possible candidates from various sources, including NGOs, governments, and respected individuals in the health sector. We whittled down this list to three people who have qualifications that we believe are necessary for the job: a deep understanding of and support for UNFPA's reproductive health/family planning mission and its critical role in implementing the ICPD Program of Action, strong leadership and advocacy skills, and strong management ability to oversee an organization with over 2000 employees worldwide.

We see the leading candidates as:

B6

USUN concurs and is in touch with the SG's office to convey our views. The SG will make his own shortlist based on a UN review panel's recommendations. He is expected to announce his selection in October to allow the designee some overlap with the incumbent, Thoraya Obaid, whose term expires at the end of the year. We will keep you apprised as the process continues.

Esther

*Dr. Esther Brimmer*
*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of International Organization Affairs*
*U.S. Department of State*

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue May 11 07:03:27 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add Barbara Walters, she's having heart surgery.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: nutrition speech

I'll get on all these. And yes you will have a teleprompter.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Sent: Tue May 11 07:13:32 2010
Subject: Re: nutrition speech

Thx for the changes you made. A few questions:

Is the Vitamin A research on p. 8 accurate given recent research that raised doubts about it efficacy?

Will you print out a copy of the MDGs for me to have for speech?

Is there a teleprompter?

Didn't Jim Grant also pioneer the widespread use of oral rehydration therapy? If so, we should include too.

It is so much better--thank you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 10 12:24:43 2010
Subject: nutrition speech

To more fully answer your question, the CARE speech is important because it focuses on a chronically overlooked issue (nutrition) that sits at the intersection of two of your signature issues. It gives us an opportunity to sharpen our development message. It also tees up the health care speech you might give before UNGA. This is a speech that only you could give and a number of constituencies will be delighted by it.

Hope this helps. I'm going through it now to make sure it more clearly answers your question.

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Fresh news, day after... Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo after gordon 051110.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 11, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: The day after Gordon

Whatever the outcome, whichever party ultimately makes a pact with the Lib-Dems, or whether neither does, the next British government will be remarkably weak, flimsy and fly apart within months. That is the only certainty now.

On Gordon's political suicide, David, Labour: Neither David Miliband nor Shaun (who has been constantly on the phone with Gordon and by his side since the election as a sort of therapist) were privy to the decision; nor did Gordon tell either before making his announcement on the steps of No. 10. Gordon's confidant in contemplating his end was only Peter, the penultimate scene (there must be at least one more) of their twisted relationship rooted in the Tony-Gordon-Peter triangle now transmuted into the perverse Gordon-Peter-David triangle. David is the heir, the son, "Our Boy," as Anji Hunter describes him to me, playing a version of the Tony role. Shaun and David met alone for an hour and a half late last night to discuss the whole situation. David is well aware of Peter's perversity, that Peter has been plotting to usurp his position as foreign secretary, that Peter seeks to direct his campaign as leader, that Peter wishes to be the arbiter and controlling figure in a government under David. At this point, David does not want Peter to run his campaign but involved. Does Peter know this? No. David is wary of a deal with the Lib-Dems and understands his perilous position in the event he were to become leader as the second unelected PM in a row. Upon reflection, it may be that a Labour-Lib-Dem alliance would not be the harbinger of a grand progressive coalition, but an illusion under these circumstances. If an arrangement were to be made the government would be extraordinarily unstable. Because it would be subject to the demands of every bit player, the government would have the potential of collapsing over every issue large or small. It could not last long. Under the stress, the result might be that in an inevitable election to be held six to eighteen months (at the outside) from now, the Conservatives would be posed to gain the majority just beyond their grasp. Shaun advised David to work things out with his brother Ed, trying to persuade him not to compete against him. If Ed runs for leader against David, Ed Balls, Gordon's heir in the same sense that

David is Tony's, might get through, which would put Labour back at square one, bearing the burden of Gordon again.

Meanwhile, Peter negotiates with the LD team, a meeting that has broken up by this afternoon. Meanwhile, the Scottish National Party, which two days ago was eager to lead the way to a coalition with Labour, the LDs, and other parties, has announced it has dropped out of any arrangment, which also means the Welsh national party, its partner, has dropped out. Meanwhile, David Blunkett, former Labour home secretary, has denounced any deal with the LDs. Meanwhile, some prominent LDs have denounced a Labour-LD coalition as a "coalition of the defeated" and a deal with the Tories as "the only game in town." Meanwhile, Clegg met privately with Cameron this morning while Peter, et al were meeting with the LD negotiators. Meanwhile, this afternoon, Cameron has upped his offer to the LDs on a referendum, insisting today is "decision time." Meanwhile, the Tory right denounces any deal with the LDs. Meanwhile, Clegg dithers.

It has been said of the Lib-Dem Party that anytime anyone tries to use it, it simply crumbles in their hands. So far, so good. I suspect for the party that allies with the LDs, the deal will be a poisoned chalice.

More to come soon…

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770313 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 11, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770313 Date: 08/31/2015

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It has been said of the Lib-Dem Party that anytime anyone tries to use it, it simply crumbles in their hands. So far, so good. I suspect for the party that allies with the LDs, the deal will be a poisoned chalice.

More to come soon...

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The backbench Labour revolt... SID

Just posted by the Guardian:

Many Labour MPs, including those from northern heartlands and Scotland, seem to be furious that they were not consulted on the deal. One party member close to a leadership campaign said: "The party is not a plaything of Lord Mandelson."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: nutrition speech

You were right about Vitamin A, no surprise (although a bit surprising that none of the experts noticed it). I've changed it to oral rehydration therapy. I've also added ORT to the Jim Grant story.

Huma has a copy of the MDGs for you.

I hope it's a lovely event! They are VERY excited to have you there.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 11, 2010 7:14 AM
To: Rooney, Megan
Subject: Re: nutrition speech

Thx for the changes you made. A few questions:

Is the Vitamin A research on p. 8 accurate given recent research that raised doubts about it efficacy?

Will you print out a copy of the MDGs for me to have for speech?

Is there a teleprompter?

Didn't Jim Grant also pioneer the widespread use of oral rehydration therapy? If so, we should include too.

It is so much better--thank you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 10 12:24:43 2010
Subject: nutrition speech

To more fully answer your question, the CARE speech is important because it focuses on a chronically overlooked issue (nutrition) that sits at the intersection of two of your signature issues. It gives us an opportunity to sharpen our development message. It also tees up the health care speech you might give before UNGA. This is a speech that only you could give and a number of constituencies will be delighted by it.

Hope this helps. I'm going through it now to make sure it more clearly answers your question.

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 12:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 12:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

Coalition with LDs
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: May 11, 2010 12:21 PM
Subject: Re: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

In a minority govt or coalition?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Tue May 11 12:20:15 2010
Subject: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

Gordon has resigned, left Downing St, Cameron now at Buckingham Palace seeing the Queen

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Tue, May 11, 2010 12:21 pm
Subject: Re: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

In a minority govt or coalition?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Tue May 11 12:20:15 2010

Subject: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cameron leaves Queen, to arrive at Downing St momentarily. he is PM. Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 4:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** So, done. Suggestion...

Of course, you'll speak to the new foreign secretary William Hague as soon as he is appointed, undoubtedly tomorrow. But you might wish to put in calls, perhaps tonight, but perhaps even better tomorrow, after everyone has had a night, to Gordon, David and Shaun. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 7:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Updates on Baker and Kissinger

FYI.

---

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 5:31 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Updates on Baker and Kissinger

Jake,
Please pass onto S. Thanks, Ellen

---

**From**: Limage, Simon G
**To**: Tauscher, Ellen O
**Sent**: Tue May 11 17:26:43 2010
**Subject**: Updates on Baker and Kissinger

Good afternoon Ellen,

I wanted to give you the latest on the New START briefings for Baker and Kissinger.

Baker: I've arranged for a phone briefing for Baker with Gary Samore, Jim Miller, Mike Elliott, and Tom DAgostino tomorrow at 11:30 am. The briefing with last 30 minutes and they are prepared to answer any questions he has. Baker is fairly familiar with the main issues, having already spoken with John Kerry and others.

Kissinger: I secured a 45 minute briefing for Kissinger on the 19th (next Wednesday) from 2:30 to 3:15. If you agree, you can host it here in your office.

Let me know if you have any questions,

Simon

Chief of Staff
Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security
U.S. Dept. of State
Room 7208
(202) 647-1749

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 8:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Steinberg on Dai

Jim just called to weigh in on the Dai call sheet. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

More generally, he thinks it should be an upbeat call - [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: For our records

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue May 11 21:33:13 2010
Subject: For our records

Here is the best spelling I've seen of our Qatari friend's name:

Sheikha Mozah Bint Nasser al-Missned

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Madam Secretary,

Ops has confirmed your call with Hungarian Prime Minister Bajnai at 7:30 a.m. this morning.

Regards,
Courtney

**From:** Wykle, Chadwick J
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:00 AM
**To:** Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
**Subject:** RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

The Secretary's call with Prime Minister Bajnai call is confirmed for today at **0730 EDT / 1330 Budapest**. We will put the call through to the Secretary at her residence.

**Chadwick J. Wykle**
Watch Officer
State Operations Center, S/ES-O
202-647-1512

**From:** Coleman, Claire L
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:00 PM
**To:** SES-O_S-Calls
**Subject:** The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai
**Importance:** High

Colleagues,

The Secretary is available to do the call tomorrow morning – Wednesday, May 12 at 0730 EDT. Please reach out to the Hungarian MFA.

The Secretary will be at her residence tomorrow morning for the call.

*Claire L. Coleman*
*Office Manager to the Secretary of State*
*U.S. Department of State*
*Tel: 202-647-7098*
*E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 6, 2010 7:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** MEPP

The prez has agreed to participate if we can nail down assurance. That means a call from you to their guy Monday (possibly Sun) and follow up by the prez.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: UNFPA head - update

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Aug 07 01:08:32 2010
Subject: Re: UNFPA head - update

Can we find out more about each?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Aug 06 18:27:58 2010
Subject: FW: UNFPA head - update

FYI – see below for update on UNFPA head selection process.

From: Brimmer, Esther D
Sent: Friday, August 06, 2010 5:52 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
Cc: Schwartz, Eric P; Cook, Nerissa J; Anderson, Gerald C; Le Mon, Christopher J
Subject: UNFPA head - update

Jake, Joe,

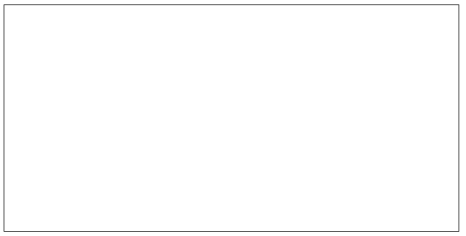
Here is the update from IO and PRM for the Secretary (as you recall she had met with the outgoing head of UNFPA):

Eric and I would like to update you on the Secretary-General's selection process of the next head of UNFPA.

Working closely with PRM and USUN, we gathered 22 names as possible candidates from various sources, including NGOs, governments, and respected individuals in the health sector. We whittled down this list to three people who have qualifications that we believe are necessary for the job: a deep understanding of and support for UNFPA's reproductive health/family planning mission and its critical role in implementing the ICPD Program of Action, strong

leadership and advocacy skills, and strong management ability to oversee an organization with over 2000 employees worldwide.

We see the leading candidates as:



B5

USUN concurs and is in touch with the SG's office to convey our views. The SG will make his own shortlist based on a UN review panel's recommendations. He is expected to announce his selection in October to allow the designee some overlap with the incumbent, Thoraya Obaid, whose term expires at the end of the year. We will keep you apprised as the process continues.

Esther

Dr. Esther Brimmer

Assistant Secretary

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

U.S. Department of State

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Syria pts for [redacted] B6

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin, Matthew T
To: 'george [redacted] B6
Cc: Hof, Frederic C; Hale, David M; Reed, Julia G
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:45:25 2010
Subject: Fw: Syria pts for [redacted]

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Matthew Irwin <[redacted]
To: Irwin, Matthew T
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:40:43 2010
Subject: Syria pts for [redacted] B6

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 1:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Syria pts for [redacted] B6

Will do

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 1:51 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Syria pts for [redacted]

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 13:43:38 2010
Subject: FW: Syria pts for [redacted] B6

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Irwin, Matthew T
To: 'george [redacted] B6
Cc: Hof, Frederic C; Hale, David M; Reed, Julia G
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:45:25 2010
Subject: Fw: Syria pts for [redacted]

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Matthew Irwin [redacted]
To: Irwin, Matthew T
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:40:43 2010
Subject: Syria pts for [redacted]

[redacted] B5



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:22 AM
**To:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer; H
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Hrc, sorry but this is back on.
Time was offered yesterday and they didn't confirm.

---

**From**: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
**To**: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc**: Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent**: Wed May 12 07:13:55 2010
**Subject**: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Madam Secretary,

Ops has confirmed your call with Hungarian Prime Minister Bajnai at 7:30 a.m. this morning.

Regards,
Courtney

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**From:** Wykle, Chadwick J
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:00 AM
**To:** Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
**Subject:** RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

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Watch Officer
State Operations Center, S/ES-O
202-647-1512

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**Importance:** High

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*Claire L. Coleman*
*Office Manager to the Secretary of State*
*U.S. Department of State*
*Tel: 202-647-7098*
*E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

No u r not. That's old and wrong.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed May 12 07:27:09 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Ok. But I saw in briefing that I was supposed to take questions at this Council of Americas--where did that come from? And am I committed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>; H
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 12 07:21:34 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

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Cc: Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
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To: Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

The Secretary's call with Prime Minister Bajnai call is confirmed for today at 0730 EDT / 1330 Budapest. We will put the call through to the Secretary at her residence.

Chadwick J. Wykle

Watch Officer

State Operations Center, S/ES-O

202-647-1512

From: Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:00 PM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai
Importance: High

Colleagues,

The Secretary is available to do the call tomorrow morning – Wednesday, May 12 at 0730 EDT. Please reach out to the Hungarian MFA.

The Secretary will be at her residence tomorrow morning for the call.

Claire L. Coleman

Office Manager to the Secretary of State

U.S. Department of State

Tel: 202-647-7098

E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 3:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) More rains hit flooded Pakistan

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sat Aug 07 15:01:04 2010
**Subject**: FW: (AP) More rains hit flooded Pakistan

SUKKUR (AP) - Downpours are again swelling rivers and streams in Pakistan, where some 1,500 people have died in flooding over the past two weeks.

Thousands are being evacuated as forecasters say more heavy rain could be on the way.

Pakistani officials estimate as many as 13 million people have been affected by the worst flooding in the country's 63-year history.

Pakistan's prime minister says Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton called him to offer every possible assistance, and NATO says it will help coordinate aid from partner nations.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 4:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** BN call

As I mentioned in an email yesterday, the team is proposing that you call Bibi on Monday afternoon. We can set it up if you give the green light.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 7:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office Re: Anything to report?

I am traveling overseas and only have sporadic access to my email. If you need immediate assistance, please call State Department Operations at 202-647-1512 and ask for Joanne Lasczcych who can assist you.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 7, 2010 10:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gomes

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Kim, Sung Y
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J; 'Stephen.Bosworth[redacted] Mace, Casey K; [redacted] Leou, Nancy W
Sent: Sat Aug 07 21:23:49 2010
Subject: Gomes

B6

Consular/medical team left for Beijing today and will get to PY on Monday. I'll inform Seoul and Tokyo Sunday night. Family knows.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 6:48 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: aid workers

[redacted] B5

jm

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Sunday, August 08, 2010 6:45 AM
**To:** Mellott, Joseph; Wharton, David B; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Moore, James R; Boyer, Spencer P; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J; Schwartz, Larry; Ensor, David B; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Dana S
**Cc:** DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Godec, Robert F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; 'Ramamurthy, Pradeep'; McDonough, Denis R.; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: aid workers

All:

See email chain below. We need to get this info into the system particularly in EUR and the Gulf region but we need to do so carefully and as David points out with a great deal of sensitivity for the families. [redacted]

[redacted] For example when I was in Jeddah I met with a group of prominent Islamic scholars several of whom were leading Saudi doctors. We talked about ways they could reach out to their colleagues in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We should get them this information and see if we can enlist them in this effort. Walter will know how to reach them. David will advise on best way to coordinate with families.

Thx.

jm

---

**From:** Ensor, David B
**Sent:** Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:43 PM
**To:** Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Hayden, Caitlin M; Keith, James R
**Subject:** RE: aid workers

Vikram,

We will definitely work on continuing to highlight this brutal outrage. The Embassy, the UK Embassy, as well as IAM and other NGOs here have been clear in their language. I know the Department will also be.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted] B5

David

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Singh, Vikram J
**Sent:** Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:19 PM
**To:** Ensor, David B; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** FW: aid workers

FYI from Jake Sullivan...

[redacted] B5

V-

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Saturday, August 07, 2010 2:22 PM
**To:** Singh, Vikram J
**Subject:** RE: aid workers

| | |
|---|---|
| | B5 |

We are already preparing to move on an S statement as further details come in.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 8:44 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** millscd@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Anything to report?

came to the beach on friday nite to having a good time - hope wedding was great.

nothing to report other than chris will stay through next fri

also talking to tom

On Sat, Aug 7, 2010 at 7:31 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
I'm in a car (on the way to another wedding!) on Long Island for the next hour. You can call me thru Ops on my bb. Hope you had a good day.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** AID Workers

We're preparing a statement to go out from you once it's confirmed that six of the deceased are Americans. Will send to you once otherwise fully cleared.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** H; McHale, Judith A; Reines, Philippe I
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: aid workers

+ Philippe

We believe you should go on camera tomorrow.

We have been working the written statement overnight and will put it out shortly.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Aug 08 08:21:27 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

Have we put out a statement yet? In addition to a written one, shall I do something on camera tomorrow? Pls tell David Ensor I'm sorry about his British friend and thank him for his work o this--and all else.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 06:47:43 2010
Subject: FW: aid workers

B5

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sunday, August 08, 2010 6:45 AM
To: Mellott, Joseph; Wharton, David B; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Moore, James R; Boyer, Spencer P; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J; Schwartz, Larry; Ensor, David B; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Dana S
Cc: DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Godec, Robert F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; 'Ramamurthy, Pradeep'; McDonough, Denis R.; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: aid workers

All:

See email chain below. We need to get this info into the system particularly in EUR and the Gulf region but we need to do so carefully and as David points out with a great deal of sensitivity for the families. [redacted] B5

[redacted] For example when I was in Jeddah I met with a group of prominent Islamic scholars several of whom were leading Saudi doctors. We talked about ways they could reach out to their colleagues in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We should get them this information and see if we can enlist them in this effort. Walter will know how to reach them. David will advise on best way to coordinate with families.

Thx.

jm

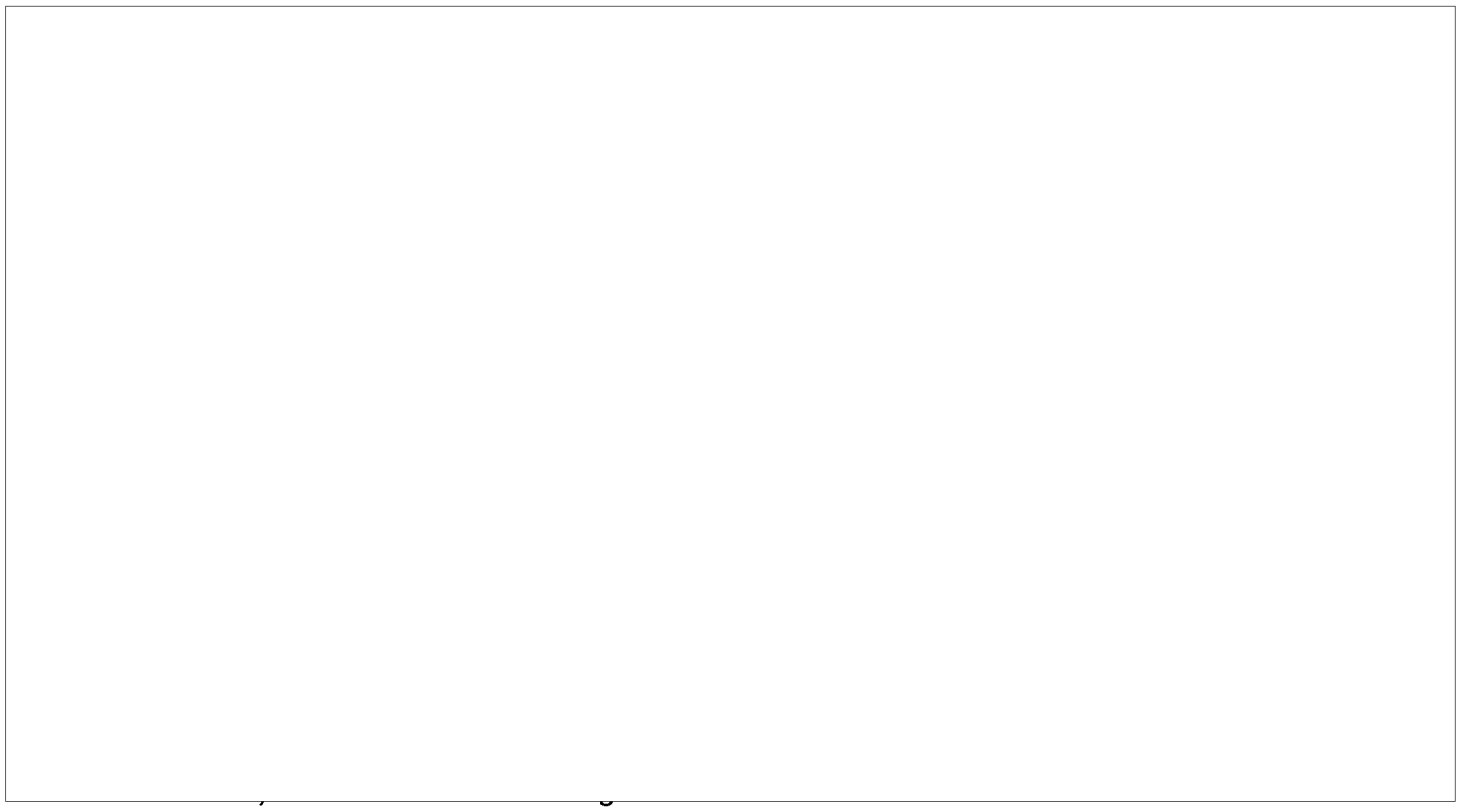
From: Ensor, David B
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:43 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Cc: Hayden, Caitlin M; Keith, James R
Subject: RE: aid workers

Vikram,

We will definitely work on continuing to highlight this brutal outrage. The Embassy, the UK Embassy, as well as IAM and other NGOs here have been clear in their language. I know the Department will also be.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5 B6



B5

David

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Singh, Vikram J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:19 PM
To: Ensor, David B; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Subject: FW: aid workers

FYI from Jake Sullivan...

[redacted] B5

V-

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 2:22 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J
Subject: RE: aid workers

[redacted]

We are already preparing to move on an S statement as further details come in.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: aid workers

Just spoke with David and PJ. The bodies have been recovered and identified. Phillipe is working with Kabul on your written statement. I raised the possibilty of your going on camera tomorrow and have asked Phillipe to weigh in on message and timing.
Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Aug 08 08:21:27 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

Have we put out a statement yet? In addition to a written one, shall I do something on camera tomorrow? Pls tell David Ensor I'm sorry about his British friend and thank him for his work o this--and all else.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 06:47:43 2010
Subject: FW: aid workers

B5

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sunday, August 08, 2010 6:45 AM
To: Mellott, Joseph; Wharton, David B; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Moore, James R; Boyer, Spencer P; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J; Schwartz, Larry; Ensor, David B; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Dana S
Cc: DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Godec, Robert F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; 'Ramamurthy, Pradeep'; McDonough, Denis R.; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: aid workers

All:

See email chain below. We need to get this info into the system particularly in EUR and the Gulf region but we need to do so carefully and as David points out with a great deal of sensitivity for the families.

B5

For example when I was in Jeddah I met with a group of prominent Islamic scholars several of whom were leading Saudi doctors. We talked about ways they could reach out to their colleagues in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We should get them this information and see if we can enlist them in this effort. Walter will know how to reach them. David will advise on best way to coordinate with families.

Thx.

jm

From: Ensor, David B
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:43 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Cc: Hayden, Caitlin M; Keith, James R
Subject: RE: aid workers

Vikram,

We will definitely work on continuing to highlight this brutal outrage. The Embassy, the UK Embassy, as well as IAM and other NGOs here have been clear in their language. I know the Department will also be.

B5

B5
B6

B5

B5

David

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Singh, Vikram J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:19 PM
To: Ensor, David B; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A

Subject: FW: aid workers

FYI from Jake Sullivan...

[redacted] B5

V-

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 2:22 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J
Subject: RE: aid workers

[redacted]

We are already preparing to move on an S statement as further details come in.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H; McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Re: aid workers

I just emailed you about statement

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; McHale, Judith A; Reines, Philippe I
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Aug 08 09:42:28 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

+ Philippe

We believe you should go on camera tomorrow.

We have been working the written statement overnight and will put it out shortly.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Aug 08 08:21:27 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

Have we put out a statement yet? In addition to a written one, shall I do something on camera tomorrow? Pls tell David Ensor I'm sorry about his British friend and thank him for his work o this--and all else.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 06:47:43 2010
Subject: FW: aid workers

[redacted]

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sunday, August 08, 2010 6:45 AM
To: Mellott, Joseph; Wharton, David B; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Moore, James R; Boyer, Spencer P; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J; Schwartz, Larry; Ensor, David B; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Dana S
Cc: DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Godec, Robert F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; 'Ramamurthy, Pradeep'; McDonough, Denis R.; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: aid workers

All:

See email chain below. We need to get this info into the system particularly in EUR and the Gulf region but we need to do so carefully and as David points out with a great deal of sensitivity for the families.

B5

For example when I was in Jeddah I met with a group of prominent Islamic scholars several of whom were leading Saudi doctors. We talked about ways they could reach out to their colleagues in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We should get them this information and see if we can enlist them in this effort. Walter will know how to reach them. David will advise on best way to coordinate with families.

Thx.

jm

From: Ensor, David B
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To: Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Cc: Hayden, Caitlin M; Keith, James R
Subject: RE: aid workers

Vikram,

We will definitely work on continuing to highlight this brutal outrage. The Embassy, the UK Embassy, as well as IAM and other NGOs here have been clear in their language. I know the Department will also be.

B5

B5
B6

B5

David

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Singh, Vikram J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:19 PM
To: Ensor, David B; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Subject: FW: aid workers

FYI from Jake Sullivan...

[redacted] B5

V-

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 2:22 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J
Subject: RE: aid workers

[redacted]

We are already preparing to move on an S statement as further details come in.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: aid workers

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Sun Aug 08 09:45:30 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

Let's bump Start to Wed.

----- Original Message -----
From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; H; McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 09:44:33 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

I just emailed you about statement

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; McHale, Judith A; Reines, Philippe I
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Aug 08 09:42:28 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

+ Philippe

We believe you should go on camera tomorrow.

We have been working the written statement overnight and will put it out shortly.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J

Sent: Sun Aug 08 08:21:27 2010
Subject: Re: aid workers

Have we put out a statement yet? In addition to a written one, shall I do something on camera tomorrow? Pls tell David Ensor I'm sorry about his British friend and thank him for his work o this--and all else.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 06:47:43 2010
Subject: FW: aid workers

[redacted] B5

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sunday, August 08, 2010 6:45 AM
To: Mellott, Joseph; Wharton, David B; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Moore, James R; Boyer, Spencer P; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J; Schwartz, Larry; Ensor, David B; Crowley, Philip J; Smith, Dana S
Cc: DiMartino, Kitty; Douglas, Walter T; Godec, Robert F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; 'Ramamurthy, Pradeep'; McDonough, Denis R.; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: aid workers

All:

See email chain below. We need to get this info into the system particularly in EUR and the Gulf region but we need to do so carefully and as David points out with a great deal of sensitivity for the families. [redacted] For example when I was in Jeddah I met with a group of prominent Islamic scholars several of whom were leading Saudi doctors. We talked about ways they could reach out to their colleagues in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We should get them this information and see if we can enlist them in this effort. Walter will know how to reach them. David will advise on best way to coordinate with families.

Thx.

jm

From: Ensor, David B
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:43 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Cc: Hayden, Caitlin M; Keith, James R
Subject: RE: aid workers

Vikram,

We will definitely work on continuing to highlight this brutal outrage. The Embassy, the UK Embassy, as well as IAM and other NGOs here have been clear in their language. I know the Department will also be.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted] B5

B5

David

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Singh, Vikram J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 11:19 PM
To: Ensor, David B; Bommer, Ashley F; McHale, Judith A
Subject: FW: aid workers

FYI from Jake Sullivan...

V-

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, August 07, 2010 2:22 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J
Subject: RE: aid workers

[redacted] B5

We are already preparing to move on an S statement as further details come in.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 10:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) - DPRK seizes ROK fishing boat amid tension

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Aug 08 10:20:48 2010
**Subject:** (AP) - DPRK seizes ROK fishing boat amid tension

SEOUL - The Republic of Korea said authorities from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea seized an ROK fishing boat in waters off the divided peninsula's eastern coast. ROK's coast guard said the fishermen were questioned for an alleged violation of the DPRK's exclusive economic zone. The fishing boat was then taken towards a DPRK port. The coast guard said it was not clear where exactly the fishing boat was operating when it was seized.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; megrooney[redacted] B6

MS -

Below is a statement drafted by Megan, reviewed and edited by me, Jake, SRAP and others, and with your ok will go out immediately (pls ignore any spacing or formatting issues):

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

[redacted] B5

###

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 11:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; 'megrooney [redacted]
**Subject:** Re:

Yes

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 8 Aug 2010 11:05:13
To: 'preines [redacted]
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted] 'megrooney [redacted] B6
Subject: Re:

[redacted] B5

Can you revise and send back?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: Jake Sullivan [redacted] megrooney [redacted]
Sent: Sun Aug 08 10:59:33 2010

MS -

Below is a statement drafted by Megan, reviewed and edited by me, Jake, SRAP and others, and with your ok will go out immediately (pls ignore any spacing or formatting issues):

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

[redacted] B5

B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 11:35 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

That's right. You should leave here at 7:45 to be safe to catch the 11.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Aug 08 11:31:59 2010
Subject: Shuttle

I'd like to aim for the 11 but keep the 12 in reserve. I think it will take 2--2-/2 hours to get to LaG. Is that right?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 1:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: UNFPA - additional information

Below is further info on the three UNFPA names. [redacted] B6

[redacted]

**From**: Schwartz, Eric P
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Brimmer, Esther D; Pollack, Margaret J
**Sent**: Sun Aug 08 13:44:36 2010
**Subject**: UNFPA - additional information

Jake:
Here is additional information on the three candidates USUN has submitted to the UN Secretariat.
Esther and Eric

B6

Please let us know if there is anything more that you need.

Esther and Eric

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 8:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

It shall be fixed.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed May 12 07:34:31 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Why does this keep happening?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 12 07:31:18 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

No u r not. That's old and wrong.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed May 12 07:27:09 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Ok. But I saw in briefing that I was supposed to take questions at this Council of Americas--where did that come from? And am I committed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>; H
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 12 07:21:34 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Hrc, sorry but this is back on.
Time was offered yesterday and they didn't confirm.

---

From: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Wed May 12 07:13:55 2010

Subject: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Madam Secretary,

Ops has confirmed your call with Hungarian Prime Minister Bajnai at 7:30 a.m. this morning.

Regards,

Courtney

From: Wykle, Chadwick J
Sent: Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:00 AM
To: Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

The Secretary's call with Prime Minister Bajnai call is confirmed for today at 0730 EDT / 1330 Budapest. We will put the call through to the Secretary at her residence.

Chadwick J. Wykle

Watch Officer

State Operations Center, S/ES-O

202-647-1512

From: Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:00 PM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai
Importance: High

Colleagues,

The Secretary is available to do the call tomorrow morning – Wednesday, May 12 at 0730 EDT. Please reach out to the Hungarian MFA.

The Secretary will be at her residence tomorrow morning for the call.

Claire L. Coleman

Office Manager to the Secretary of State

U.S. Department of State

Tel: 202-647-7098

E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 8:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Likely No AmCit Casualties In Afriqiyah Crash (SBU)

**From**: OpsAlert
**Sent**: Wed May 12 06:50:29 2010
**Subject**: Likely No AmCit Casualties In Afriqiyah Crash (SBU)

(SBU) Embassy Tripoli reports that a senior Libyan aviation official "confirmed" there were no Americans aboard the crashed Airbus 330. Additionally, Embassy Tripoli and ConGen Johannesburg have not fielded any inquiries about specific AmCit passengers.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, IIP, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 9:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Foreign Policy Magazine-Betrayed: They said we were there to save Afghan women. How Come we havent?

This is what we are up against.

# Betrayed

## They said we were there to save Afghanistan's women. So how come we haven't?

### BY VALERIE M. HUDSON, PATRICIA LEIDL | MAY 10, 2010



One day in November 2009, in Helmand province's capital of Lashkar Gah, a group of Afghan widows and divorcees met with Patricia, who had been commissioned to write a series of success stories for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). All the women were in their 20s, 30s, and 40s but looked to be in their 60s. Until very recently, none of them could work because they possessed no marketable skills, could neither read nor write, and were at risk of being killed if they left their homes. A number of women said that, before the program -- which focused on tailoring and basic literacy -- their children used to weep at night from hunger.

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As Patricia prepared to leave, the women fluttered around her like moths, touching her sleeves and speaking all at once. "What are they saying?" Pat asked the young Pashto-speaking interpreter. "They are telling you to go back to your country and to ask your people not to abandon them. The women of Afghanistan don't want you to leave. They will quite literally die if the Taliban return," she said.

In a recent question-and-answer period at one of our universities, Brigham Young, a student asked Gen. David Petraeus whether anyone thought to ask the women of Afghanistan how they felt about U.S. hopes to incorporate "reformed" Taliban into governance structures as the Americans leave.

Carefully avoiding the word "women," the general assured the questioning student that only "moderate" Taliban would be eligible for such rehabilitation. Left unaddressed was the definition of "moderate," which clearly depends on where you sit: If you sit in a burqa, there is no such thing as a "moderate" Taliban.

Petraeus might find it easy now to sidestep the question of what will happen to Afghanistan's women once the "moderate" Taliban come back, but it's likely to haunt him for a long time. Without the security of women there is no security -- and until we've done more to protect it, we have a moral and practical obligation to stay in Afghanistan.

In 2001, George W. Bush's administration interpreted the first post-invasion photos of Afghan girls heading to school and of Afghan women unveiling their faces as tangible evidence that conditions were improving in that benighted land. A few months after the invasion, in his 2002 State of the Union address, Bush announced, "The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free and are part of Afghanistan's new government."

The Americans strong-armed a handful of women into the *loya jirga* that then drafted the Afghan Constitution. They strong-armed a quota for women in the Afghan national legislature -- something that even American women are not treated to. U.S. troops built schools for girls and pushed for women to be included in the local *shuras*, and USAID ripped a page from Greg Mortenson's *Three Cups of Tea* and facilitated new training and educational opportunities for women.

But the current administration, despite its female secretary of State and its new Office of Global Women's Issues, appears to be ditching the women of Afghanistan like a blind date gone bad. You have to go back 10 months to find any sustained rhetoric from President Barack Obama about the importance of assuring the security of women in Afghanistan. Since then, and especially since last year's Afghan election, those fine words from a sitting president have all but disappeared. Many of the fine actions are gone, too. Push local shuras into including women in 2002? Yes. Push local shuras into including women in 2010? Forget it.

It's not difficult to understand why. Afghanistan is in crisis. The cynical policies that characterized the early to mid-stages of the occupation have come home to roost. President Hamid Karzai and his rogue's gallery of kleptocrats, human rights abusers, and drug lords are hanging onto power even as Karzai declares open season on the United Nations by accusing senior bureaucrats of organizing the widespread voter fraud that consolidated his *own* hold on power.

In the meantime, women have taken a back seat to realpolitik and the exigencies of a coalition exit strategy. But their suffering is real, as Afghanistan's poverty and chaos affect women possibly most of all. Maternal mortality in Afghanistan still makes the world's top three list, nine years after the U.S. invasion, resulting in a life expectancy for women of 46. In the countryside, Taliban zealots spray acid into girls' faces for going to school -- and only 27 percent of them do so in the first place. According to a recent survey by the U.N. Development Fund for Women, 87 percent of Afghan women report being beaten on a regular basis.

In July of last year, the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) issued a report that represents the most stinging official condemnation of the Karzai administration's abysmal track record on women to date. The report concluded, "The current reality is that ... women are denied their most fundamental human rights and risk further violence in the course of seeking justice for crimes perpetrated against them." Last year Karzai pardoned well-connected political thugs who -- before witnesses -- gang-raped a woman with a bayonet. Her husband, who had battled for redress, was assassinated soon thereafter. Women who dare to speak out against the widespread trampling of their rights face almost certain death while their murderers face 100 percent impunity.

For the warlords and mujahideen that make up the upper echelons of the Karzai government, the issue of gender equality was always an unwanted appendage to U.S. involvement -- but one that could easily be dispensed with through the deployment of flowery speeches and the token appointment of a lone female minister to the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Indeed, just before his recent "election," Karzai felt secure enough to sign into law a series of repressive measures designed to repeal what minimal gains women have made since the Taliban ouster.

Although eventually forced to back down over legislation that allows Shiite husbands to rape their wives, Karzai successfully signed into law other legislation that denies or severely limits women's rights to inherit, divorce, or have guardianship of their own children. The Shiite Personal Status Law also legalizes forced marriage and the rape of minors. It allows men to exert almost total control over female relatives and offers them the power to prohibit women's access to work, education, and health care by denying them the right to leave their homes except for "legitimate" purposes. Even Karzai's own wife -- a doctor whose skills are desperately needed -- is strictly sequestered. And if this sounds bad, just wait until the Americans leave.

This is not just about women. Gender inequality not only affects girls and women, but boys and men. In Afghanistan, because women are rarely able to leave the house, very young boys are often forced to carry an unwarranted amount of financial responsibility, something that limits their prospects as well.

Nor is it even just about Afghanistan. As Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said in March, "The subjugation of women is a threat to the national security of the United States." On a geopolitical level, Valerie's research has found that states with higher levels of violence against women are also less peaceful internationally. Indeed, violence against women is a better predictor of bellicosity than level of democracy, level of wealth, or presence of Islamic civilization. In a 2010 study, Valerie, along with Brad Thayer, also found high levels of gender inequality to be a strong aggravating factor in the development of Islamic suicide terrorism.

So, given the desperate need of Afghanistan's women and the serious consequences worldwide, why aren't we doing more to help? One reason is the fallacious notion, common among coalition members, that Afghan "culture" does not allow for gender equality and that forcing the issue will undermine Western interests. Pat heard this openly from one coalition representative, who prefers to remain anonymous: "There is no point in pushing gender equality. It will only alienate them [Afghans]." Of course, "them" here refers only to men.

But decision-makers forget that culture is not fixed, but is highly mutable and dynamic. More than 30 years ago, Afghan women were attending universities, teaching, working as doctors, nurses, and professors. Far from being a black hole of gender apartheid, Afghanistan, though impoverished, was more progressive than many of its Muslim neighbors. Furthermore, many young Afghans are open to new ways of doing things. In 2009, hundreds of Afghan men and women bravely stood together in Kabul to protest Karzai's support for a new and oppressive Shiite family law. If Americans assume that all Afghan men are Neanderthals incapable of sympathizing with the plight of their sisters, they are wrong.

Another, more unmentionable reason may be the chauvinism that permeates Western military culture. U.S. military life, despite increasing female recruitment and even "female engagement teams," remains a bastion of masculinity, with little sensitivity toward questions of female rights. For military leadership and recruits alike, immured as they are in an almost exclusively male world, the complete absence of women from Afghanistan's streets and villages elicited no comment from the Marines who surrounded Pat, though she as a woman noticed it immediately.

And the ready availability of pornography on U.S. bases, coupled with seamier depictions of life in the West, not only damages prospects for gender equality but by extension, Western interests. As one young, well-educated 24-year-old Afghan male pointed out, "Your culture has no respect for women at all. Look at your pornography and the way you exploit women in ways that we can't even imagine. Do you call that progress?" Added another Afghan USAID programmer working in Gardez, a man in his 50s who is the father of three girls, "It would be better for the coalition if they could figure out a way to limit this kind of material."

We can do better -- much better.

The Obama administration must instill in all military personnel and senior diplomats the necessity of fully protecting women's rights. Key to that is educating them about how gender equality furthers Western interests *and* security.

The military should spend less time courting "moderate" Taliban and more time showing Afghan community leaders how gender equality -- including female access to family planning methods -- will result in healthier families, lower maternal and child death rates, poverty alleviation, and greater self-determination. Gender should be included as a component in all

governance training and should be placed front and center in the upcoming "peace jirga" that will include the Taliban. Indeed, let half of the negotiating team representing the government and the coalition be female: yes, a full 50 percent.

Women must also be represented in the government. As Melanne Verveer, U.S. ambassador at large for global women's issues, noted last summer, speaking of female politicians in Afghanistan, "There is only one minister in the cabinet, and she is powerless. There is a low percentage of women in the civil service. There is only one female governor, in Bamiyan." Obama must insist on important changes for women before we leave and make subsequent aid contingent upon maintenance of a strong presence for women in the Afghan government.

Better yet, the coalition needs to support "regime change" through the building of democratic institutions that will groom a moderate, educated middle class of young women and men to eventually take over. Over two-thirds of the Afghan population is under the age of 25, which is either a real opportunity for social change -- if they are educated and given a chance to shape their society in a progressive way -- or a major obstacle, if they find themselves without jobs, unable to marry, and burdened with retrograde attitudes of what it means to be male and female.

We must hold Afghanistan responsible for its treaty obligations under the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. Afghanistan signed CEDAW without reservations (the United States interestingly, has not), and that means that it has committed to passing whatever legislation is necessary to implement the wide-ranging principles of gender equality enshrined in that treaty. This includes taking measures to ensure that women enjoy the same basic human rights and fundamental freedoms as men, having in place legal and judicial procedures to protect the rights of women, taking measures to eliminate sexist discrimination, and lastly, submitting national reports every four years to a U.N. advisory group of international experts, the CEDAW Committee, to ensure transparency on what measures the country has taken to implement the treaty's provisions.

Unanimously adopted in 2000, UNSC 1325 marked the first time the Security Council recognized the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and stressed the importance of their equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

Needless to say, women do *not* currently enjoy the same fundamental freedoms as men, and indeed, with the passing of the Shiite family law, many are worse off than they were before.

To change this, the coalition needs to stay in Afghanistan. Withdrawing at this critical juncture would doom Afghanistan and the entire region to instability and effectively consign one half of the population to premature death and an existence not fit for animals.

We are creating a shameful American tradition of leaving women no better off (Afghanistan) -- or even much worse off (Iraq) -- than before U.S. troops intervened. On the basis of America's track record, women around the world should have no faith that U.S. soldiers will improve their security. Despite Clinton's remarks on the link between gender equality and security, on the ground Americans act as if women's well-being, in the end, is not more than peripherally related to the issue of peace. As we have seen, this view could not be more wrong. Verveer's benchmarks concerning Afghanistan are the right ones: "Progress in Afghanistan must be measured not just in military terms, but also in terms of social, political, and economic participation of women in rebuilding Afghanistan and in the safeguarding of their human rights."

American women are right to ask why we are sending their sons and daughters to fight and die so that Afghan women can continue to be treated like an inferior subspecies of humanity. When you break faith with Afghan women, you break faith with American women. You also break faith with your reasons for being there in the first place.

Save big when you **subscribe** to FP.

Majid Saeedi/Getty Image

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Haiti MDTF Contribution of $55M!

fyi

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** 'rubens.gama 'Antonio.simoes
**Cc:** DeMarcellus, Roland F; Siemer, Marguerite E
**Subject:** Haiti MDTF Contribution of $55M!

B6

Dear Rubens and Antonio:

I just wanted to personally congratulate you on behalf of Brazil for being the first donor to sign on and contribute to the Haiti Reconstruction Fund.

I am sorry I was in Haiti yesterday and could not attend the signing ceremony.

Brazil's $55 million contribution is truly impressive! To my knowledge, there is no precedent for any other emerging donor contributing at this level to a multilateral post-disaster or post-conflict trust fund.

I hope your example encourages other donors to follow suit.

Thank you again for all you are doing for Haiti.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: SRAP

Yes lona has it on list

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 12, 2010 1:47 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma
Subject: SRAP

I want to see and thank the entire SRAP team on Friday on the 8th floor.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 3:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'betsyebeling [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sun Aug 08 14:47:21 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

I'm copying Huma, Lauren and Rob so we can prepare letter and send to you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:46:32 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

FedEx to my house [redacted] Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 7 Aug 2010 19:18:35
To: 'betsyebeling [redacted]
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Yes--I'll get it to you beforehand. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebelir [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:17:31 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Absolutely. Want me to carry it
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 7 Aug 2010 19:12:53
To: 'betsyebeling [redacted]
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Bill and I would like to send a letter if that's ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:10:57 2010
Subject: Re:

B6

No on the full read. Just spoke to Chris. and I will go Tues to the wake. will go to funeral with me Wed. Sad --
----Original Message------
From: HR C
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Re:
Sent: Aug 7, 2010 6:00 PM

Did you read all the way down? She died today. #s are in the bottom email. She was a valiant fighter who squeezed out a lot of life over a long time against tough odds. Here's to Judy and her indomitable spirit!

And, how are you, Dear One? I'm still seeing you and in my mind's eye on the dance floor last week--showing everyone how it's done! Let's hear it for the Sixties!! Much love to you all--xxoo H

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:16:43 2010
Subject: Re:

No about Oh no. What's happened?
------Original Message------
From: HR C
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Fw:
Sent: Aug 7, 2010 3:25 PM

Did you know about I just talked to who's at home.

I'm still recovering and need my own MOTB honeymoon!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 14:58:08 2010
Subject:

just died
Just heard from
is at house
or cell

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Nice article today

Compliment for you. B6

**From:** Liz Schrayer
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Nice article today

Thanks for getting back. Lona, I did hear last night. If her plans change, we would welcome her anytime!

BTW, I was at the CARE conference yesterday and her speech was fabulous! Very substantive and extremely well received. Congrats.

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D ; Liz Schrayer
**Sent:** Wed May 12 14:50:36 2010
**Subject:** RE: Nice article today
Unfortunately she will be traveling – Liz, I sent you a formal regret yesterday via email.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 2:50 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'Liz Schrayer'
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** RE: Nice article today

I see the 21 July date – let me check her calendar – looping in Lona

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 3:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Aug 08 15:21:49 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Letter should be from both Bill and me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Aug 08 15:16:43 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'betsyebeling [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sun Aug 08 14:47:21 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

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Subject: Re: [redacted]

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----- Original Message -----

B6

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To: 'betsyebeling
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Sent: Aug 7, 2010 6:00 PM

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To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:16:43 2010
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------Original Message------
From: HR C
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Fw:
Sent: Aug 7, 2010 3:25 PM

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I'm still recovering and need my own MOTB honeymoon!

----- Original Message -----

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 14:58:08 2010
Subject: [redacted] B6

[redacted] just died
Just heard from [redacted]
[redacted] is at house [redacted]
or cell [redacted]

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 5:17 PM
**To:** H

# Under-Skin Defibrillators Seen Closer to Reality

By BARRY MEIER

The likelihood that patients in the United States may some day receive heart defibrillators that can operate without electrical wires connected to their hearts has moved a step closer, according to a study published Wednesday.

The development of the new type of defibrillator has been long pursued by a researcher, Dr. Gust H. Bardy, at the Seattle Institute for Cardiac Research in Seattle. And in the study in The New England Journal of Medicine, Dr. Bardy and other researchers reported that initial trials of such a device in patients were successful.

Defibrillators fire an electrical jolt to interrupt a potentially fatal heart rhythm and restore normal beating. For a unit to function, a surgeon must thread an electrical sensing wire through a blood vessel into a patient's heart. The wires pose risks because they can, on rare occasion, puncture the heart during implantation or fracture while in place.

The new version delivers the electrical jolt by means of a sensor implanted under the skin near the chest bone. A power unit is placed under the skin on the side of the chest.

The new device is already for sale in some European countries, but Dr. Bardy and others cautioned that full-scale, long-term trials were still needed to prove the implant's worth to the Food and Drug Administration. Even if successful, the unit could not be used by all patients who needed a defibrillator, but several researchers said they were excited by the new study nonetheless.

Dr. Douglas P. Zipes, a professor at the Indiana University School of Medicine in Indianapolis, said the new device could someday displace existing models used in many patients Every month, about 10,000 patients in this country get a defibrillator, either for the first time or as replacements for devices whose batteries have worn out.

In recent years, the safety of defibrillator wires has come in particular focus because a model made by Medtronic has been prone to fracturing. Hundreds of patients who received the model have had to undergo new operations to replace it. Also, scar tissue often builds up around intravenous wires, a process that can make removing and replacing them difficult or dangerous.

Dr. Bardy said in a telephone interview that the deaths of several patients many years ago because of wire-related injuries were a factor in his interest in developing the new device.

"You are looking at a therapy that can avert, we hope, complications and be as effective," he said.

In the study published Wednesday, Dr. Bardy and others reported that the new device had undergone several successful initial trials, including one in which it was used for a year in about 60 patients.

The device is being developed by Cameron Health, a small company in San Clemente, Calif., that was co-founded by Dr. Bardy. Since the cardiologist began work on the project about a decade ago, the defibrillator he helped design has gone through several iterations.

The device will not be suitable for a significant number of heart patients, particularly those who require units that also include a pacemaker, which regulates a heart that is beating too fast or too slowly.

But Dr. Bardy estimated that the device could work in about 25 percent of patients who now get a defibrillator. These are largely patients at risk, because of genetic factors or certain types of heart diseases, for a type of erratic cardiac rhythm

that can cause sudden death. Dr. Bardy said the cost of the new device is about the same as a standard defibrillator. However, he said it could help reduce health care costs, because implanting it is much simpler.

Before the device can be sold here, Cameron Health will have to submit more extensive human trial data to the F.D.A.. Dr. Bardy said a larger study of the device has just begun in this country and overseas and that it will most likely take a year or more to assemble data from it for the agency's review.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, August 8, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Very good analysis of Iran from Gary Sick, I think. Sid

August 8, 2010
Gary Sick

# America and Iran: Strikes, Sanctions and Scapegoats

**For the pundits, there are only two questions about U.S.-Iran relations that are of any importance: (1) Will Israel and/or the United States attack Iran? and (2) will the new sanctions have enough bite to persuade Iran to change its nuclear policy? Despite all the printers ink spilled on these two issues, the answers are an easy no and no. Neither the United States nor Israel will take the military option off the table, thereby giving the pundits (and the crowd that is dying to repeat Iraq) latitude to keep the distant prospect of military action on the front pages, where it has been for years. As a lede, it sells columns and newspapers, so it will not go away. But as analysis it is either blinded by the momentary hype or else is simple wish fulfillment.**

**Uber-neocon John Bolton had it right. If any such attack were to occur, it would have been at the end of the Bush administration when there was nothing left to lose. Bolton thought it was so inevitable that he predicted it unequivocally in a *Wall Street Journal* column in 2008. Dick Cheney apparently agreed, judging from his subsequent statements of regret. So it is fair to say that George W. Bush, after looking the potential consequences, resisted the advice of his neocon advisers, his previously dominant vice president, and the reported direct request from the government of Israel — and rejected a strike. What is the likelihood that Barack Obama, with the same catastrophic scenario before him, will approve? Forget it.**

**Sanctions do not persuade dictatorial regimes to abandon projects that they think are central to their security and survival or even their self-image. Just look at Saddam Hussein. The international sanctions imposed on Iraq in the 1980s make the current Iran sanctions appear anemic in comparison. Every item that went in and out of Iraq was subject to approval by a UN committee dominated by a vindictive United States. Yet, although Iraq had abandoned its nuclear weapons program years earlier, Saddam could not bring himself to let his own people and his enemies know that. Instead he was prepared to gamble that the United States would not attack him.**

**One of the reasons for this bad bet was that he and his cronies were doing so well under the sanctions that there was no immediate necessity to come clean. They, after all, controlled the smuggling routes. And their henchmen managed the thriving and enormously lucrative black market. As for concern with their own people, a rotund Tariq Aziz, sitting with a fine Scotch and a Cuban cigar, informed a worried UN representative that it would be good for the Iraqi people to lose some weight. An Iraqi friend of mine told me at the time that the sanctions had made criminals of the entire Iraqi middle class, which had to resort to illegal behavior in order to survive. The biggest – and most successful – of this new criminal class was the privileged group immediately around Saddam Hussein.**

**Which brings us to Iran. The sanctions are more effective than many anticipated. They have built a web of financial restrictions and limitations around the already weak Iranian economy that is certain to cause significant problems for the leadership. Iran's critical energy sector is particularly vulnerable. It is in a pincer. Because of cheap energy prices inside the country, artificially propped up by massive subsidies, energy demand is soaring. This siphons off a lot of Iran's oil production, which would otherwise be sold on the world market for hard currency.**

**At the same time, because Iran's oil fields are old and complex, they require modern technology to maintain production. That technology – and the capital investment that can only be provided by the major international oil companies – has been absent for many years. It was driven away partly by the sanctions, ironically assisted by Iran's own short-sighted negotiating tactics that offered only the most meager profit margins to outside investors. As a result, Iran's oil production is in decline at the same time that more and more of it is being soaked up by domestic consumption. In a period of relatively low oil prices, this means that Iran's hard currency earnings are drying up at an alarming rate.**

**This unenviable economic situation is compounded by what has to be described as perhaps the least competent economic management team of any major country in the world. Ayatollah Khamene`i, the Supreme Leader, seems totally preoccupied with bolstering his own shaky political legitimacy by pandering to the Revolutionary**

**Guards who surround and protect him. The result is corruption on a scale beyond anything the shah's regime could have imagined.**

**President Ahmadinejad, also a creature of the Revolutionary Guards, is free to indulge his taste for outlandish and irresponsible rhetoric. His words keep the international and domestic spotlight glued to him; but the effect drives away prospective investors and facilitates the U.S. drive to enlist international support for sanctions against Iran. An American Jewish leader once joked with me that he suspected Ahmadinejad was a Mossad agent: no one, he observed, had been more helpful in promoting donations to Israel and Israeli causes. At the same time, under his leadership Iran has inflation and unemployment that are both in double digits.**

**But to be fair, Ahmadinejad is the first politician in modern Iranian history willing to address the "third rail" of Iranian politics – the immensely costly subsidies on food and energy. His initial efforts to reduce the amount of subsidized gasoline that Iranians could use met with outbursts of indignation, including torching filling stations. But these rules now seem to be grudgingly accepted and have eased slightly Iran's energy dilemma. He is now addressing the low tax rates assessed against merchants. This has also resulted in outrage, including closing the bazaars in Iran and other major cities. But his campaign seems to be making progress.**

**These are needed reforms that would be recommended by any responsible economic overseer, including the International Monetary Fund. Ahmadinejad attempts to balance his daring assaults on the entrenched economic interests by his belligerent rhetoric, always casting himself as the champion of the little guy. In that he resembles his populist predecessors, from Juan Peron to Huey Long to Hugo Chavez. Ahmadinejad takes on America and Israel the way Governor Long took on Standard Oil. But like other populists, Ahmadinejad is the prisoner of his own eccentric view of the world and his loyalty to lieutenants who may or may not be worthy of his faith in them.**

**The key question about Iran today is not whether it will be attacked or collapse under sanctions. It is whether Iran is capable under its present leadership to take a sober decision about how to deal with the outside world. The Revolutionary Guards have established a dominant position in Iran's military, its economy, and its politics. Iran increasingly comes to resemble the corporatist states of southern and eastern Europe in the 1920s and '30s that we call fascist. Iran is conducting an interior battle with its own demons, from the millenarians on the far right who choose to believe that Khamene`i is the personal representative of God on earth, to the pragmatic conservatives who simply want a more responsible leadership, to the reformists of the Green movement whose objective is to put the "republic" back into the Islamic Republic by giving the people a greater voice.**

**This is a yeasty and unpredictable mix. No one knows what is going to happen next.**

**And this is the reality that the Obama administration must deal with. The danger is not that the administration will back the wrong horse in Iran. The real danger is that the Obama administration will be so preoccupied with domestic American politics and its constant demand to look tough when dealing with Iran that it will inadvertently rescue this cruel but hapless regime from its own ineptitude by providing a convenient scapegoat for everything that goes wrong in Iran.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Spanta

I remember what I was going to say earlier – you might check in with Steve Bosworth on the Spanta thing. Fletcher might work, or else he might have thoughts about other policy schools.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** on a call - can you talk at 8:40am?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: John Kerry

Yes, I will work on a visit if you don't have a call set up.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu May 13 06:54:34 2010
Subject: John Kerry

Am I scheduled to talk w him? If not, could you get a call/visit scheduled?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 9:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sad news re [redacted] B6

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Aug 09 09:29:35 2010
Subject: Fw: Sad news re [redacted] B6

I'd like to send a letter to the rabbi. Pls get address and ask Rob to draft. Also, ask Bill's office if they are sending one too. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Aug 06 16:43:16 2010
Subject: Re: Sad news re [redacted] B6

Hi Hillary -

My dear Rabbi and ardent ardent Hillary supporter would be thrilled to hear from you.
Here is email: [redacted]

Cell phone: [redacted]

Home phone: [redacted]

Scroll all the way down to bottom for contact card.
Sorry left it off the email. I re-sent to Doug Band.

Hope you are well - kind of puts things in perspective.

[redacted]

So I will count my blessings - as I know you and the president counted yours last weekend.

Best wishes,

Lanny

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lanny J. Davis

Cc: Doug Band [redacted]
Sent: Fri Aug 06 14:58:26 2010
Subject: Re: Sad news re [redacted]

B6

I am so sorry to hear that. The contact info was not included. Could you pls resend? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Aug 05 23:31:17 2010
Subject: Sad news re [redacted]

Hi Hillary--See below. Our good friend and loyal Clinton supporter, [redacted], is very ill.
L

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis
To: Dan.Bank [redacted]
Sent: Thu Aug 05 22:29:59 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Doug--

Please tell President Clinton that [redacted] (of [redacted] in Potomac--my syagogue), close friend of our late friend [redacted], has been stricken with aggressive lymphoma and is undergoing immediate chemo-therapy. President Clinton knows [redacted] not only due to [redacted] - but invited him to conduct Hannukah service in Dec 1998 at WH.

His contact info is below. We are all praying for him.

Lanny

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:06 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: John Kerry

Had not heard but Iona taking care of it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Cc: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 06:54:34 2010
Subject: John Kerry

Am I scheduled to talk w him? If not, could you get a call/visit scheduled?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 2:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** For Karzai walk

SRAP pulled together the following:

We recommend you raise the following issues with President Karzai in your private session.

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H

Attended Ambassador Capricia's event last night at the Art Institute. It was a magical evening. We sat with the ambassador from Guyana and the ambassador from the Philippines. Lovely people. A staff from the Dept of State sat with us: Gladys hope she would report that we behaved. A lovely idea this field trip for the big guys/gals. —ambassadors pretending that they were more excited about going to the Merc. Rick's group doing a great job. Now if only the weather would cooperate. We had 2 ½ inches of rain this morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Davutoglu call

Here is what PJ said on the subject:

The Secretary this morning spoke with Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu regarding Iran. During the call, the Secretary stressed that, in our view, Iran's recent diplomacy was an attempt to stop Security Council action without actually taking steps to address international concerns about its nuclear program. There's nothing new and nothing encouraging in Iran's recent statements. It has failed to demonstrate good faith and build confidence with the international community, which was the original intent of the Tehran research reactor proposal. It has yet to formally respond to the IAEA. She stressed that the burden is with Iran and its lack of seriousness about engagement requires us to intensify efforts to apply greater pressure on Iran. That was the primary purpose of the conversation. They briefly touched on other subjects, including Middle East peace and the relationship between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** betsyebeling
**Cc:** H; Huma Abedin; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** RE:

B6

FYI - I am placing the note in the mail to you this afternoon via FedEx priority overnight. You should receive it tomorrow morning, before 10am. Here is the tracking number: . Let me know if you have any questions.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, August 08, 2010 2:47 PM
To: 'betsyebeling
Cc: Huma Abedin; Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Subject: Re:

I'm copying Huma, Lauren and Rob so we can prepare letter and send to you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:46:32 2010
Subject: Re:

FedEx to my house Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 7 Aug 2010 19:18:35
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Re:

Yes--I'll get it to you beforehand. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:17:31 2010
Subject: Re:

Absolutely. Want me to carry it
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 7 Aug 2010 19:12:53
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Re:

Bill and I would like to send a letter if that's ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 19:10:57 2010
Subject: Re:

B6

No on the full read. Just spoke to Chris. and I will go Tues to the wake. will go to funeral with me Wed. Sad --
----Original Message------
From: HR C
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Re:
Sent: Aug 7, 2010 6:00 PM

Did you read all the way down? She died today. #s are in the bottom email. She was a valiant fighter who squeezed out a lot of life over a long time against tough odds. Here's to Judy and her indomitable spirit!

And, how are you, Dear One? I'm still seeing you and in my mind's eye on the dance floor last week--showing everyone how it's done! Let's hear it for the Sixties!! Much love to you all--xxoo H

----- Original Message -----
From: betsyebeling
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 18:16:43 2010
Subject: Re:

No about Oh no. What's happened?
------Original Message------
From: HR C
To: 'betsyebeling
Subject: Fw
Sent: Aug 7, 2010 3:25 PM

Did you know about I just talked to who's at home.

I'm still recovering and need my own MOTB honeymoon!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 07 14:58:08 2010
Subject:

just died
Just heard from
is at house
or cell

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Eikenberry

He is going to Ft Campbell tomorrow and then heading back with the Afghan delegation straight from there. So it does not look like there will be an opportunity to see him with Jack tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** DR

Dennis finally completed his call with Molho, after two hours of secure phone technology travails. He gave me a brief readout. I can provide, or you might just call him.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Travel to China

---

**From**: Valenzuela, Arturo A
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Kelly, Craig A; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Sent**: Mon Aug 09 18:36:41 2010
**Subject**: Re: Travel to China

Hi Cheryl,

The U.S.-China dialogue on Latin American issues began in 2006 during the Bush administration, led by Tom Shannon, and recurred in 2007 and 2008. My trip to China will be the first such dialogue to take place during the Obama administration [redacted] B5 China is now a top-three trading partner of many Latin American countries and is in fact the number one trading partner of Brazil, as well as being a donor member of the Inter-American Development Bank and observer at the Organization of American States.

The purpose of these talks is three-fold: to inform the Chinese of our policy priorities in the Americas, to learn about their views on the region, and to explore potential areas of cooperation in the areas of economic and social development. In addition to the formal meetings with government officials, I will also be meeting with Latin American diplomats, Chinese academics and private sector groupings.

Our dialogue with China on Latin America is one of three sub-dialogues that are part of the broader U.S.-China strategic framework to ensure that the bilateral relationship is positive, cooperative, and comprehensive. The others are the China-Africa talks that AF hosted in Washington last month and the dialogue on South and Central Asia.

Best, Arturo

---

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Valenzuela, Arturo A
**Cc**: Kelly, Craig A; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crocker, Bathsheba N
**Sent**: Mon Aug 09 14:38:59 2010
**Subject**: Travel to China

Arturo

Can you give me some visibility into the goals for your travel to China?

Thanks.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 9, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Iran human rights statement

One thing I forgot to mention - Bill B and Mike Posner recommend that you release the below statement. Apparently Hamidi's execution is imminent. With your approval we'll put out.

DRAFT STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON
Urging Iran to Respect the Fundamental Freedoms of its Citizens

The United States is deeply concerned that Iran continues to deny its citizens their civil rights, as well as to intimidate and detain those Iranians who seek to hold their government accountable and who stand up for the rights of their fellow citizens. We remain troubled by the case of Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani, who garnered international attention for her verdict of death by stoning. While the Iranian government later stated she would not face execution by stoning, her fate has been left unclear. We are also troubled by reports that Ebrahim Hamidi, an 18-year old charged with homosexuality, faces imminent execution despite the fact that he is currently without legal representation. Neither of their cases have proceeded with the transparency or due process enshrined in Iran's own constitution and their lawyer, Mohammad Mostafaei, felt that he had no other choice than to flee Iran after he had been questioned by authorities and his family members had been detained.

We are also concerned about the fate of Iranians who are in danger of imminent execution for exercising their right to free expression after the June 2009 elections, including Jafar Kazemi, Mohammad Haj Aghaei, and Javad Lari.

The United States urges the Iranian government to halt these executions in accordance with its international obligations to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners and imprisoned human rights defenders. The United States will continue to stand with people all around the world who seek to exercise their universal rights and to speak out in defense of human liberties.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Do you have Richard and Lisa Perry's email addresses?

I just checked and we don't. I will get updated contact information for them today. All we have is a home phone number of [redacted] and a mailing address: [redacted] I'll send you the updates when I get it. B6

---

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Do you have Richard and Lisa Perry's email addresses?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Do you have Richard and Lisa Perry's email addresses?

Got it:

[redacted] B6

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Do you have Richard and Lisa Perry's email addresses?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FYI

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 11:21 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FYI

# American VIP humiliated at airport

**Prof. Donna Shalala, Clinton's secretary of health, arrives in Israel in order to fight academic boycott against Israel, claims she was held at Ben-Gurion Airport just because she has Arab last name**

Itamar Eichner

This is not how she imagined her visit to Israel. Prof. Donna Shalala, who served as the US Secretary of Health and Human Services for eight years under Clinton and is currently the president of the University of Miami, was held for two-and-a-half hours at Ben Gurion Airport during which she underwent a humiliating security debriefing because of her Arab last name – all this despite the fact that her hosts notified the airport ahead of time that she is a VIP.

The fact that Shalala arrived in Israel as part of an official delegation of the heads of universities fighting against the academic boycott against the Jewish State also seemed not to help her.

Shalala, 69, was born in the US to Lebanese immigrant parents. She is considered a true friend of Israel and has visited the country many times in the past.

She recently arrived in Israel as a guest of the American Jewish Congress with the objective of increasing collaboration among universities in Israel, the US, and the Palestinian Authority. During their visit, members of the delegation met with President Shimon Peres, Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon, and Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad.

The official visit ended on July 12, but Shalala stayed on for another two days for a private visit.

The AJC claims that it notified the Israel Airports Authority of Shalala's VIP status as is customary prior to her departure. However, the IAA claims that it has no record on file for Shalala prior to her arrival.

When Shalala arrived at the airport, she was not recognized as a VIP and was even afforded what she claims to be "special" treatment because of her Arab last name. She claims she was held for two-and-a-half hours during which she was asked invasive and humiliating personal questions. Despite the delay, she managed to board the flight to the US. Officials who spoke with her said she was deeply offended by the treatment she received.

An IAA spokesperson reported in response: "This incident is unknown to us. We performed a thorough check. There was no contact made with us or any other body. No unusual events were registered at Ben Gurion Airport, and we have no idea about this incident, which, from our perspective, never happened."

IAA officials said that root of the problem is that the host organizations don't bother accompanying their guests to the airport.

The incident was raised Wednesday during a discussion convened by Deputy Foreign Ministry Ayalon to discuss treatment of VIPs at Ben Gurion Airport. During the discussion, it was agreed that a new protocol will be drafted that will keep incidents to a minimum.

Shalala preferred not to comment on the article.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 6:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: women and reconciliation

FYI

---

**From:** Jackson Farrier, Belinda **On Behalf Of** SSRAP StaffAssistants
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 6:29 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** SSRAP_StaffAssistants
**Subject:** FW: women and reconciliation

Please pass the following message to the Secretary, per Ambassador Holbrooke.

Thank you.

Regards,
Belinda Jackson Farrier

---

**From:** Rina Amiri <[redacted] B6
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard; Singh, Vikram J
**Sent:** Tue Aug 10 16:29:01 2010
**Subject:** women and reconciliation

In light of our discussion re. women and reconciliation, I wanted to alert you to a recent incident that has generated a great deal of concern among Afghan women. Two days ago, a local Taliban commander executed a pregnant widow for having an "illicit affair" (the man was not punished). While there are varying accounts of the incident, the authorities have confirmed that she was shot in the head several times after being flogged up to 200 times in Qadis district (which is completely under the control of the Taliban) of Badghis.Government authorities have condemned the incident, noting that due process was not carried out.

In meetings today, Afghan women leaders, including some who in the past accepted reconciliation as inevitable, expressed both fear and bitterness over the incident and shared concerns that such brutality against women would be far more prevalent if reconciliation occurred. They noted frustration about the lack of transparency in the government's reintegration and reconciliation processes. A number of women questioned what the government is willing to bargain in order to achieve a peace settlement and the extent to which it is prepared to roll women's rights back to appease the Taliban. They noted that women's rights are treated as a nuisance by the government leadership rather than as an important element of the peace process.

Melanne also met with President Karzai and was dismayed when he told her that there weren't any women's names on the list of potential candidates for the High Peace Council. Stanekzai is said to have come up with a list of 300 names (FRIC reports that women were on the list) that has been wittled down to about 30 names. While the list is far from being finalized, President Karzai does not currently appear to be prioritizing women's inclusion in the body--despite the fact that the APRP commits to it. Afghan women have called for 20% to 30% inclusion of women in the High Peace Council and the Joint Secretariat. We will be meeting with Stanekzai trmw and raise this issue.

Best,

Rina

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 8:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti Discussions

Fyi traffic

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'pcharron [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Warnholz, Jean-Louis; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Aug 10 20:20:06 2010
**Subject:** Re: Haiti Discussions

Paul

Many thanks - I am looking forward to having the chance to work with you. Thank you for being so generous w/ your time and wisdom.

Cdm

---

**From:** Beverly Richmond <[redacted]
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Warnholz, Jean-Louis
**Sent:** Tue Aug 10 17:55:36 2010
**Subject:** Haiti Discussions

Dear Cheryl:

Jean-Louis and I had a lengthy conversation today covering a broad range of subjects relating to your interest in supporting textile and apparel activity in Haiti. He has subsequently shared with me a number of specific materials on the Haiti project, including an email of yours which highlights the objectives of the project and a suggested timeline, as well as the business proposal made by Hansoll. When I digest these latter materials, I will consider myself in a much better position to make responsive recommendations to you.

As I communicated to Jean-Louis, I am happy to be helpful to you and the State Department on this project. I can make myself available a couple of days a month for meetings and pretty much on an as needed basis for phone conversations. I retain my affiliation with Warburg Pincus, the global private equity firm. This requires my presence in New York (generally) a couple of days a week. As I think you know, I am also Chairman of the Board of Campbell Soup Company. This entails three or four days a month.

Fortunately, I am not really "retired." This means that I have some flexibility in how I spend my time. You should feel free to call on me.

I retain my interest in and connections with the retail and apparel industry. While I am far from an expert on sourcing and production of apparel and textiles, I have some relevant experience and many friends who will do their best to keep me from looking foolish.

I will be in Baltimore and Washington for the next few days. Either you or Jean-Louis should feel comfortable in calling on my cell phone [redacted] In the interim, I will review these materials and speak again with Jean-Louis.

Regards,

Paul

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 10, 2010 9:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Haiti Discussions

Y

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Aug 10 20:33:36 2010
Subject: Re: Haiti Discussions

Can you talk? I'm on the phone w Maggie but will be off around 9pm. Can I call you then?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Aug 10 20:21:24 2010
Subject: Fw: Haiti Discussions

Fyi traffic

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'pcharron [redacted] B6
Cc: Warnholz, Jean-Louis; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Aug 10 20:20:06 2010
Subject: Re: Haiti Discussions

Paul

Many thanks - I am looking forward to having the chance to work with you. Thank you for being so generous w/ your time and wisdom.

Cdm

---

From: Beverly Richmond [redacted]
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Warnholz, Jean-Louis
Sent: Tue Aug 10 17:55:36 2010
Subject: Haiti Discussions

Dear Cheryl:

Jean-Louis and I had a lengthy conversation today covering a broad range of subjects relating to your interest in supporting textile and apparel activity in Haiti. He has subsequently shared with me a number of specific materials on the Haiti project, including an email of yours which highlights the objectives of the project and a suggested timeline, as well as the business proposal made by Hansoll. When I digest these latter materials, I will consider myself in a much better position to make responsive recommendations to you.

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I will be in Baltimore and Washington for the next few days. Either you or Jean-Louis should feel comfortable in calling on my cell phone [redacted] In the interim, I will review these materials and speak again with Jean-Louis. B6

Regards,

Paul

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 5:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Haiti prosecutors urge prison for U.S. missionary

**From:** Morris, James M
**To:** NEWS-WHA; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-CA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu May 13 17:21:58 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Haiti prosecutors urge prison for U.S. missionary

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AP) - Prosecutors say a U.S. missionary should spend 6 months in prison for trying to take 33 children out of the country following the January 12 earthquake. Prosecutor Sonel Jean-Francois told a court it is clear Laura Silsby knew she had broken Haitian law. The prosecutor spoke after the Idaho woman testified on the first day of her trial.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Eikenberry

Makes sense. We'll get it done. Presume you want Jack on.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:16 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Eikenberry

I'd like to set up a secure call sometime over the weekend or before I leave on Thursday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 17:05:02 2010
Subject: Eikenberry

He is going to Ft Campbell tomorrow and then heading back with the Afghan delegation straight from there. So it does not look like there will be an opportunity to see him with Jack tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Eikenberry

Got it. We'll set it up.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:20 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Eikenberry

Not at first. I need to talk to him one on one and I can make Jack's points and mine. So please get Jack's concerns for me before the call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 13 18:17:14 2010
Subject: RE: Eikenberry

Makes sense. We'll get it done. Presume you want Jack on.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:16 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Eikenberry

I'd like to set up a secure call sometime over the weekend or before I leave on Thursday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 17:05:02 2010
Subject: Eikenberry

He is going to Ft Campbell tomorrow and then heading back with the Afghan delegation straight from there. So it does not look like there will be an opportunity to see him with Jack tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ashton cannot talk at 730.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Elena Kagan

Yes that is the cell number her office gave us- I've verified it so I assume it's for one of her aides. I left a couple of messages there but didn't hear back. I will try her office again to see if we can secure any better number. I also know huma emailed with elena earlier in the week.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu May 13 19:07:54 2010
Subject: Elena Kagan

The cell # for her belongs to someone else according to the vm. Can you get the right cell #?

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; abedinh@state.gov; RussoRV@state.gov
**Subject:**

Something has gone haywire with my blackberry (oh no!!) so I must apologize if you have already heard from me and if not, apologize again for the delay in getting back to you with my update. Rob, the letter arrived on time and and I delivered it to the family at the wake last night. and the kids were so touched by the letter and the effort made by all of you. said through tears: that wonderful woman!! And that you are, my Dear Gert. Your words meant so much to the kids and They were showing it, very carefully, to s family, especially her father. This was a hard one. Love you, B

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 9:51 AM
**To:** Ebeling, Betsy; H; Huma Abedin; Russo, Robert V
**Subject:** RE: [redacted]

He wrote a very beautiful email for hrc which we just printed for her

---

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma; Russo, Robert V
**Subject:** [redacted]

Something has gone haywire with my blackberry (oh no!!) so I must apologize if you have already heard from me and if not, apologize again for the delay in getting back to you with my update. Rob, the letter arrived on time and [redacted] and I delivered it to the [redacted] family at the wake last night. [redacted] and the kids were so touched by the letter and the effort made by all of you. [redacted] said through tears: that wonderful woman!! And that you are, my Dear Gert. Your words meant so much to the kids and [redacted]. They were showing it, very carefully, to [redacted]s family, especially her father. This was a hard one. Love you, B

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Bloomberg on Clinton statement

Good so far...

----- Original Message -----
From: Joe Cirincione <[redacted]> B6
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Aug 11 10:38:35 2010
Subject: Bloomberg on Clinton statement

Rich:

The first story is just perfect. Great message. We will amplify.

If there is a copy of her full remarks, we would love to have it. (And your's!)

Thanks,

Joe

>
>
>
> Clinton Says Senate 'Must Act' on Nuclear Arms Pact With Russia
>
> http://www.businessweek.com/news/2010-08-11/clinton-says-senate-must-act-on-nuclear-arms-pact-with-russia.html
>
> August 11, 2010, 9:54 AM EDT
>
> By Nicole Gaouette and Flavia Krause-Jackson
>
> Aug. 11 (Bloomberg) -- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the U.S. Senate must vote to ratify a treaty with Russia to cut nuclear weapons when lawmakers return in September from their monthlong recess.
>
> "Our national security is at risk," Clinton said in a statement to reporters at the State Department in Washington. "It's been more than eight months since we've had inspectors on the ground in Russia" who give "a vital window into Russia's arsenal."
>
> The agreement, which is a priority for President Barack Obama, would replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, or START, that expired in December and left the former Cold War rivals with no way to verify each other's nuclear weapons.
>
> Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, delayed a vote by the panel to round up more bipartisan support. The extra time may help get more Republicans on board, he said. Democrats control the Senate 59-41, with 67 votes, or two-thirds, needed for ratification.

>
> "When the Senate returns they must act," Clinton said today. The treaty "will advance our national security and provide stability and predictability between the world's two leading nuclear powers," she said.
>
> Democrats, including Kerry, say the U.S. will need to set an example of arms cuts as Obama and other top officials press their counterparts to impose more of their own sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program to complement United Nations penalties adopted earlier this year.
>
> Republicans including Arizona Senator Jon Kyl have balked at a treaty they say could hamstring U.S. plans for a European missile defense system that Russia opposes.
>
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

Senate will go into session tomorrow to pass border security bill by uc.

----- Original Message -----
From: Stout, Jennifer P
To: H_SeniorStaff
Sent: Wed Aug 11 15:44:52 2010
Subject: FW: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

-----Original Message-----
From: Engle, Tricia (DPC) [mailto:Tricia_Engle@dpc.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, August 11, 2010 3:43 PM
To: Undisclosed recipients
Subject: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

The Senate will convene tomorrow, Thursday, August 12th at 10 a.m., for the sole purpose of receiving and passing by consent H.R. 6080, border security, and a resolution on the death of Senator Stevens. This will be an extremely short session as we will just be doing these two items.

Once the session concludes tomorrow, we are out until September 13th. Tricia Engle Senior Floor Assistant to Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid

To view the Senate Democratic Floor Schedule visit http://democrats.senate.gov/calendar/

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Of course!

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Thu May 13 22:13:52 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

Can we set up a photo for the SRAP team when I see them?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 11:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: IMPORTANT. Memo for Hague meeting. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo hague meeting 102009.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

May 13, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Hague meeting

On your meeting on Friday, May 14, with new British Foreign Secretary William Hague you might explore a number of issues below. (I've discussed with Shaun.)

Northern Ireland. Cameron has pledged to reduce public sector spending in NI. But the impact of public sector spending there is not the same as in other parts of the UK because of 40 years of troubles. Political stability depends upon economic stability. Removing funding specifically threatens community policing, creating a vacuum that the Real IRA and other men of violence would rush into. Cutting the public sector would make it difficult to increase private sector investment. Does the new government understand the US interest in NI and appreciate the fragility of the situation?

Defense and Foreign Policy Cuts. The new government program is to slash the deficit, cutting deeply into government programs. This really cannot be done without defense and foreign policy reductions. Seek claficiation on exactly whether and where these cuts be made. Will they affect Afghanistan policy and over what schedule? How will cuts in the foreign service affect British influence in other areas?

Trident and Nuclear Deterrent. The coalition agreement between the Conservative and Liberal Democrats allows the LDs to abstain in parliamentary votes on four issues that will apparently let the Tories have their way: marriage tax allowances; nuclear power; college tuition fees; and Trident and the nuclear deterrent. During the campaign, the LDs ran on eliminating the Trident and erasing the UK nuclear deterrent. How will this actually work in practice?

Political Changes. The new government, because the coalition is fundamentally at odds with itself, has proposed to pass a parliamentary bill that establishes a five year term for a government and furthermore establishes that a vote of no confidence can only be passed on a 55 percent vote. You might just seek Hague's view on how this will work.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 14, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Diplomats: Iran expands enrichment facility

**From**: Shelstad, Jeffrey
**To**: NEWS-Iran; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-IO; NEWS-VCI; NEWS-ISN
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri May 14 08:19:36 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Diplomats: Iran expands enrichment facility

VIENNA - (AP) Iran has set up new equipment that will allow it to boost its efficiency at enriching uranium at higher levels, diplomats said May 14. The move is likely to give the U.S. more leverage with Russia and China in its push for new UN sanctions on Tehran. Iran's clandestine enrichment activities were discovered eight years ago and have expanded since to encompass thousands of centrifuges churning out material enriched to 3.5 percent. But despite three sets of Security Council sanctions meant to enforce demands of a freeze, Tehran moved to a new level in February, when it set up a small program to produce material enriched to near 20 percent.

**Jeff Shelstad**
**Watch Officer**
**Department of State Operations Center (S/ES-O)**
**ShelstadJ@state.gov (202) 647-1512**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 14, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Elena kagan returned your call

And left this return phone number: B6

[redacted]

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Saturday, May 15, 2010 6:54 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan (State); Cheryl Mills (State)
**Subject:** UN SG

Thanks for the chat yesterday, Hillary. With Martin's and Bruce Jones's help, I'm working on that one. Will get back to you.

On a very different matter—and that's why I'm cc'ing Cheryl and Jake—at some point when it's appropriate and convenient, I'd welcome a chance to give you—either directly or indirectly via C and/or J—a strongly held (and widely shared) view about the issue of UN leadership and the timetable therefore. Zero rush.

Hope it's a genuine weekend for you (whatever that means, grading on curve).

Strobe

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Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200

==========

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 15, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Lavrov

Will follow up on "memo" and Silicon Valley. Have a good weekend. Bill

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Burns, William J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat May 15 13:43:57 2010
Subject: Lavrov

B5

I assume you'll review the memcon.

As to Medvedev's Silicon Valley visit on June 23, we need to discuss and start planning asap. If you think it helpful, I will go out to meet him.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 11:15 AM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Latest Version of Draft S. Testimony for START Hearing
**Attachments:** Clinton Testimony on the New START Treaty -- 5.16.10 DRAFT.docx

Oscar can u pls print for hrc to review?

---

**From:** Turk, David M
**To:** Tauscher, Ellen O; Limage, Simon G; Boese, Wade; Gottemoeller, Rose E; Timbie, James P; Lodge, Terri S; Scanlon, Amy B; Rosenberger, Laura M; Chollet, Derek H; Sullivan, Jacob J; McEldowney, Nancy E; Einhorn, Robert J
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E; Stout, Jennifer P; Button, Case; Epping, Jerome N; Rooney, Megan; Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants; Muscatine, Lissa
**Sent:** Sun May 16 09:44:04 2010
**Subject:** Latest Version of Draft S. Testimony for START Hearing

Attached is the very latest version of the testimony for Tuesday's hearing, which tries to incorporate (and de-conflict) everyone's terrific edits and suggestions consistent with our need to keep this tight and accessible. Especially as there's some new language contained herein, I wanted to shoot this around one last time before we send it to S. If anyone has any serious reaction to anything contained herein, please flag by **3:00 pm today**. The speechwriters are also going to review, especially in an attempt to streamline. (The current draft stands at 1583 words.) Finally, I'll give it one more read-through before we send it along.

Thanks again for everyone's great work on this!

Dave

---

**From:** Turk, David M
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** Tauscher, Ellen O; Limage, Simon G; Boese, Wade; Gottemoeller, Rose E; Timbie, James P; Lodge, Terri S; Scanlon, Amy B; Rosenberger, Laura M; Chollet, Derek H; Sullivan, Jacob J; McEldowney, Nancy E; Purcell, Jane E; Einhorn, Robert J
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E; Stout, Jennifer P; Knight, Stephen B; Rooney, Matthew M; Trejo, Maria; Button, Case; Epping, Jerome N
**Subject:** Draft S. Testimony for START Hearing

S., D/S, P, T, VCI, EUR, and S/P colleagues,

Attached is a draft of S.'s testimony for next Tuesday's SFRC hearing on the New START Treaty. Please let us know if you have any proposed edits and suggestions as soon as possible, and no later than **2:00 pm tomorrow (Friday).** As you review this draft, a few reminders:

- The testimony should be around 5-8 minutes, and ideally on the lower end of that spectrum, so suggestions that are word-count-neutral (or suggestions stripping or streamlining verbiage) are much preferred.

- Unlike previous remarks, this is a public hearing and the testimony will be publicly available. I tried to strip out language from previous remarks accordingly, and I have one question embedded therein on one particular clause.

- While these remarks are drafted to be slightly more formal (as compared to the All Senators Brief), they still should be as accessible as possible, esp. given the lack of extensive substantive expertise by many of our SFRC Senators.

- Please return edits on a bureau-wide basis.

H, T, and VCI are also coordinating on a full briefing binder that we plan to deliver to S. by COB tomorrow. We can certainly shoot that around to anyone who would like a pdf copy.

Thanks,
Dave

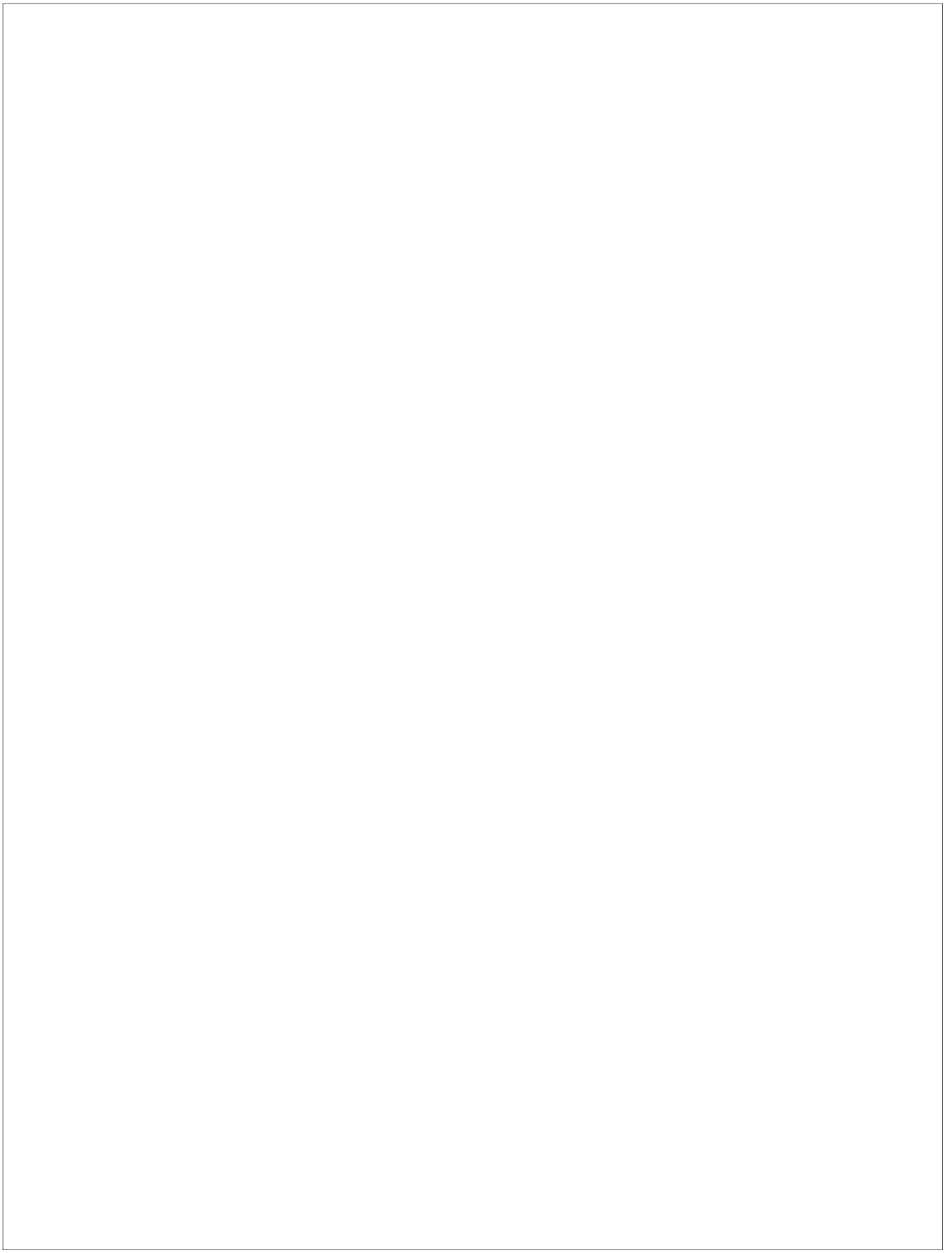
RELEASE IN PART
B5

# Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton
# Congressional Testimony on the New START Treaty
# Senate Foreign Relations Committee
# May 18, 2010

[5/16 draft]

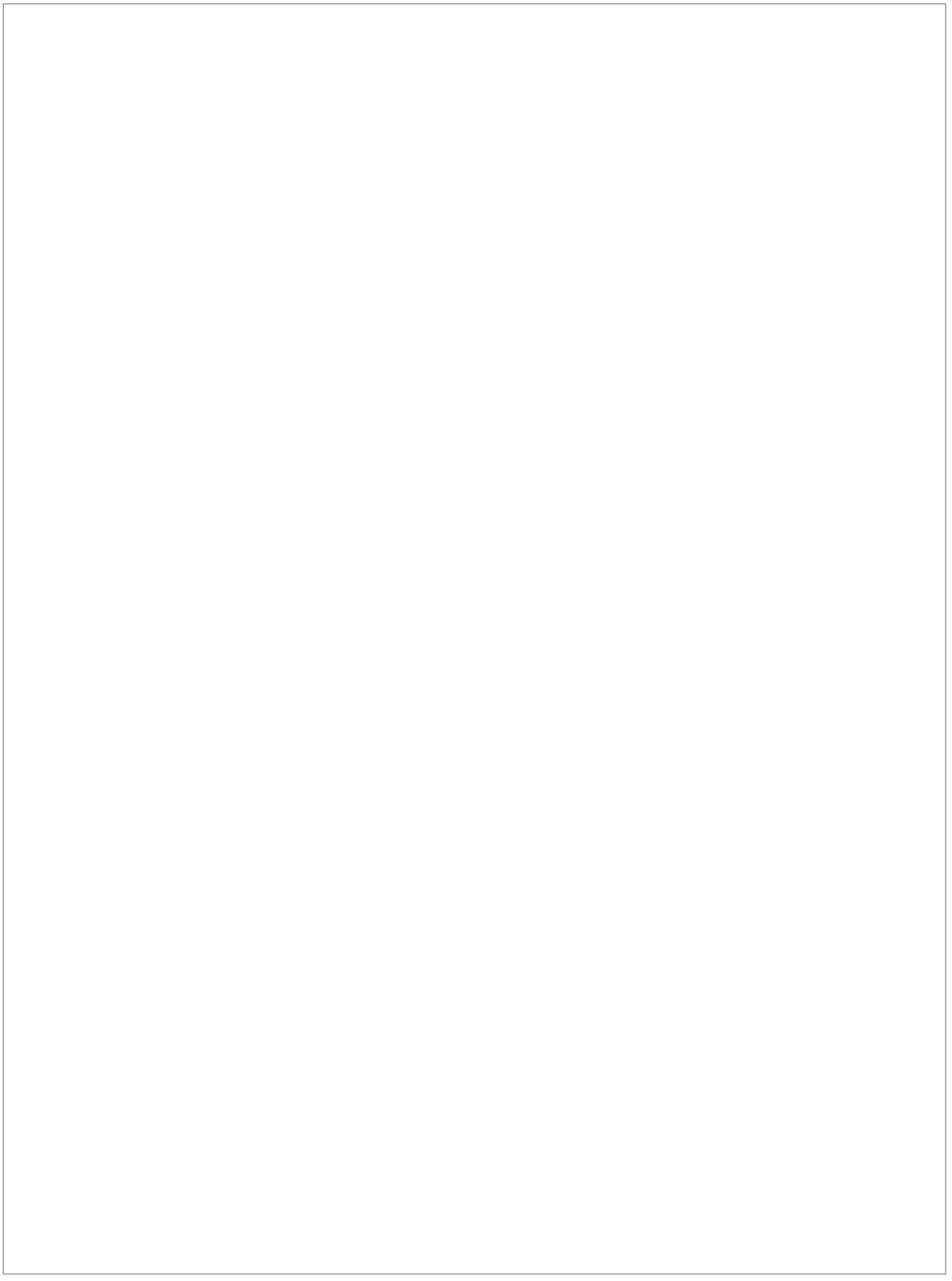
B5

B5



B5

B5



B5

Thank you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 2:04 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Question

Done
------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Cc: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Question
Sent: May 16, 2010 2:03 PM

In the cover news briefing for the clips today, there is a reference to Prince Turki blasting me over the WMD free Middle East proposal, saying we have a double standard re Iran and Israel. It's an AFP story but it is not printed in the clips. Can you pls track down, send to me and ask NEA for analysis? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Dalton Hatfield

I think you have the original/only copy... I may have scanned a copy before I gave it to you but not positive; Ill check my computer files and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun May 16 14:05:15 2010
Subject: Dalton Hatfield

Do you have a copy of the letter he sent me? I can't find my copy. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 11:33 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** finanical reg reform

They got cloture (60 votes exactly). Will vote on final passage today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 1:32 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** FYI: This appears today in NYT online and will be in Intl Herald Trib. Sid

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/16/opinion/16iht-edcohen.html?_r=1&emc=eta1&pagewanted=print

July 15, 2010

# Winners and Losers

By ROGER COHEN

NEW YORK — The Clintons threw a big Washington bash on June 30 for Hillary Clinton's longtime aide, Huma Abedin, and what struck one of the many guests was the absence of anyone from President Obama's tight White House inner circle.

Congressional heavyweights thronged the garden of the Clinton spread on Embassy Row, including House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. The city's big powerbrokers and various State Department honchos were there for a party marking Abedin's marriage to Congressman Anthony Weiner of New York. But White House insiders stayed away.

Well, as Bill Clinton told CNN recently, "I did everything I could to defeat President Obama and I wanted Hillary to win" — old wounds do not heal overnight. Indeed, they may not heal at all. When my informant said something about the old grievances not going away, the response from the hosts went something like this:

No, they don't and they never will. But, we're public servants and suckers for punishment, so we soldier on.

Speaking of soldiering on, Mrs. Clinton left for Europe the next day and while Americans celebrated July 4, she was in Armenia trying to sort out the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute and — equally thankless task — mediate between Armenia and Turkey on their disagreement over what happened in 1915.

You've got to salute Hillary. She's got guts to go with that razor-sharp mind. It's a heck of a job being secretary of state when the White House puts a tight collar around the big issues — Afghanistan, Iran, Israel-Palestine and Iraq — and you're left with Nagorno-Karabakh, disputed Ottoman crimes of World War I and, if you're lucky, U.S. bases on Okinawa.

The situation might be slightly less troubling if the boys in the White House — and they are overwhelmingly boys — were foreign-policy heavyweights. They're not. Indeed, I'm told Henry Kissinger refers to them as "the kids."

Chief among them, according to my colleague Helene Cooper, is Denis McDonough, the National Security Council's chief of staff. Earlier this month, Cooper wrote: "Forget Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton or Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates. When it comes to national security, Mr. Obama's inner circle is so tight it largely consists of Mr. McDonough, a 40-year-old from Minnesota who is unknown to most Americans."

I do know McDonough and I've spent a fair amount of time in Minnesota. He has many of the state's qualities: positive, brisk, can-do, affable and efficient.

But am I reassured when I read that Obama's national-security inner circle is comprised of him? Nope. He was a great guy to control the foreign-policy side of a campaign — as he did to perfection for Obama — but he's not a great guy to think big about the world.

Thinking big and bold is required right now. The clock is ticking on momentous presidential decisions. Among them are an Afghan extrication that will salvage a minimum of core U.S. security interests — which will require a bruising negotiation with the Taliban — and what to do about Iran when it becomes apparent by the end of this year that the latest sanctions have changed nothing. Obama's apparent carte blanche to Israel this month on Iran was disturbing.

Then there's Israel-Palestine, where Obama can't decide whether the cost of being an honest broker — pressure on both sides — is worth the domestic heat he takes for being critical of Israel, with the result that he's zigzagging to little effect.

After firing Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, Obama said he would tolerate debate but not division. My sense is his foreign-policy house is divided — and the weaker for it. Gen. James Jones, his national security adviser, speaks fine French —

the French love that — but he's left most people unconvinced. Tom Donilon, Jones' deputy, dances around the vacuum as best he can. Like McDonough, David Axelrod and Rahm Emanuel were brilliant campaign strategists, but should they be foreign-policy strategists?

In Clinton, Obama has a Baker-class secretary of state. For how much longer is he going to delegate her to Nagorno-Karabakh? The State Department, a repository of other underused talent, cannot be the White House annex for non-critical affairs.

Back in the 1860s, James Gordon Bennett, then the editor of the New York Herald, a forebear of the International Herald Tribune, gave these instructions to an intrepid foreign correspondent named Henry Morton Stanley:

"Draw a thousand pounds now; and when you have gone through that, draw another thousand, and when that is spent, draw another thousand, and when you have finished that, draw another thousand, and so on; but, FIND LIVINGSTONE."

He was referring to the lost African explorer, David Livingstone, whom Stanley eventually tracked down on Lake Tanganyika, uttering the immortal words: "Doctor Livingstone, I presume?"

That sort of journalism's gone out of fashion. So we can all thank Rolling Stone for opening its pocketbook and telling Michael Hastings to do whatever it took to find General McChrystal. In his brilliant piece, Hastings did that. He also found something else: an Afghan policy as fragmented as the team Obama running it.

McChrystal's gone, but not the dysfunction. A blow-up, I presume? Watch this space.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: finanical reg reform

Brown, Collins and Snowe voted yes. Feingold voted no.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 15, 2010 12:53 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: finanical reg reform

Who were the Rs? Did they lose any Ds?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jul 15 11:33:19 2010
Subject: finanical reg reform

They got cloture (60 votes exactly). Will vote on final passage today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Argentina and Same Sex marriage

FYI

---

**From:** Otero, Maria
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** Baer, Daniel B; Posner, Michael H; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A; Reynoso, Julissa; Peña, Laura
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Argentina and Same Sex marriage

This is huge news for Latin America, we should find a way to use this to advance our dialogue on LGBT in the region.

---

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 3:02 PM
**Subject:** Afternoon Brief 07/15/II (SBU Version)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
*Operations Center*

# *Afternoon Brief*

**Thursday, July 15, 2010**
**1500 EDT**

## AL-SHABAAB THREATENS MORE ATTACKS IN UGANDA

(U) The group's leader was quoted on Mogadishu radio stations, media report. ***(AP)***

## ARGENTINE SENATE PASSES SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BILL

(SBU) The bill would grant same-sex couples the same legal rights afforded to heterosexuals, according to press. Embassy Buenos Aires comments the law implicitly includes the right to adopt and is a significant blow to the Catholic Church in Argentina, which had declared the law "a destructive act on God's plan." ***(Ops/Embassy Buenos Aires e-mail, AP)***

## PAKISTAN AND INDIA'S MINISTERS MEET TO REBUILD TRUST

(SBU) Indian External Affairs Minister Krishna met with Pakistani Foreign Minister Qureshi in the highest level visit between the two since the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, according to press. The India desk comments the two met for an extended amount of time; however, significant obstacles remain, notably Pakistan's refusal to prosecute suspects of the Mumbai attacks. ***(Ops/India desk telcon, AP)***

## SUDAN EXPELS TWO AID WORKERS

(SBU) The expulsion of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) employees comes three days after the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for genocide for President al-Bashir, media

report. The Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan comments the action might not be in reaction to the ICC decision, but rather to an IOM move to quietly scale back cooperation on internally displaced persons. ***(Ops/S-USSES e-mail, Reuters)***

## FORMER ASSK AIDE RELEASED IN BURMA AFTER 14 YEARS

(SBU) Win Htein was released from prison after completing his sentence for providing false information to the foreign press, media report. The Burma desk comments the release is not a political step forward by the junta as he had served his full sentence and was not a leader in the National League for Democracy. ***(Ops/Burma desk telcon, AP)***

Additional updates on events in UGANDA are available through our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov

Drafted: NLMacklin/WParrs Approved: DBanks
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 6:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Colombia

FYI – the Colombians are starting to brief the press on evidence of FARC activity in Venezuela. We'll monitor over night and tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 7:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From Feltman on Iraq

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 15, 2010 8:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mitchell travel

Mitchell meets with BN tomorrow in Jerusalem, Abbas Saturday, BN again Saturday, then to Cairo for Mubarak on Sunday.

They will take the call down.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 8:23 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 7/16/10 Friday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **MEETING w/SENATOR JOHNNY ISAKSON**
10:00 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:15 am **MEETING ON CUBA ISSUES**
11:00 am Secretary's Conference Room

11:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:20 am Secretary's Office

11:20 am **PHOTOS w/YOUTH AWARDS HONOREES**
11:30 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:45 am **LUNCHEON FOR THE CEOS OF THE BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE**
12:30 pm James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

12:30 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Washington National Airport

12:50 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

1:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2172
En route New York, NY

2:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

2:35 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport
En route Private Residence

3:00 pm **PHONE INTERVIEW w/MARK LANDLER, *NEW YORK TIMES***
3:15 pm En route Private Residence

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

FYI:
12:00 pm **YOUTH AWARDS CEREMONY**
2:00 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 1:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** misc

B6

On another note, I hope we might have time to chat briefly before I leave State – maybe when you're in the office in mid-August. Two issues I want to discuss: 1) sports diplomacy 2) a series of speeches I'd love you to give on young people (the public diplomacy speech could be one piece).

I'd also be happy to share some observations about this place if that might be useful to you.

Safe travels.

Lissa Muscatine
Senior Advisor and Director of Speechwriting
Department of State
(w) 202-647-9841

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Corker

Wants to talk with you re Afghanistan and his displeasure with Holbrooke. They got into a verbal sparring match at the hearing. I thought holbrooke was polite and responsive.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Heads Up: Netanyahu Tape

FYI

**From:** Pelton, Erin <PeltonE@state.gov>
**To:** Tsou, Leslie M; Knopf, Payton L; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Sullivan, John L; Vasquez, Edgar J; Prince, Jonathan M; (U) Smith, Dana S
**Sent:** Fri Jul 16 11:32:40 2010
**Subject:** Heads Up: Netanyahu Tape

I expect this will get big play in the region. -Erin

http://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/39692/fibi-netanyahu/

# Fibi Netanyahu

## In 2001, PM boasted of manipulating Oslo accords

BY LIEL LEIBOVITZ | Jul 15, 2010 4:03 PM |

Meeting with Benjamin Netanyahu last week, President Obama could not have been more effusive. "I believe Prime Minister Netanyahu wants peace," Obama said. "I believe he is ready to take risks for peace."

A newly revealed tape of Netanyahu in 2001, being interviewed while he thinks the cameras are off, shows him in a radically different light. In it, Netanyahu dismisses American foreign policy as easy to maneuver, boasts of having derailed the Oslo accords with political trickery, and suggests that the only way to deal with the Palestinians is to "beat them up, not once but repeatedly, beat them up so it hurts so badly, until it's unbearable" (all translations are mine).

According to *Haaretz*'s Gideon Levy, the video should be "Banned for viewing by children so as not to corrupt them, and distributed around the country and the world so that everyone will know who leads the government of Israel."

Netanyahu is speaking to a small group of terror victims in the West Bank settlement of Ofra two years after stepping down as prime minister in 1999. He appears laid-back. After claiming that the only way to deal with the Palestinian Authority was a large-scale attack, Netanyahu was asked by one of the participants whether or not the United States would let such an attack come to fruition.

"I know what America is," Netanyahu replied. "America is a thing you can move very easily, move it in the right direction. They won't get in their way." He then called former president Bill Clinton "radically pro-Palestinian," and went on to belittle the Oslo peace accords as vulnerable to manipulation. Since the accords state that Israel would

be allowed to hang on to pre-defined military zones in the West Bank, Netanyahu told his hosts that he could torpedo the accords by defining vast swaths of land as just that.

"They asked me before the election if I'd honor [the Oslo accords]," Netanyahu said. "I said I would, but ... I'm going to interpret the accords in such a way that would allow me to put an end to this galloping forward to the '67 borders. How did we do it? Nobody said what defined military zones were. Defined military zones are security zones; as far as I'm concerned, the entire Jordan Valley is a defined military zone. Go argue."

Smiling, Netanyahu then recalled how he forced former U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to agree to let Israel alone determine which parts of the West Bank were to be defined as military zones. "They didn't want to give me that letter," Netanyahu said, "so I didn't give them the Hebron agreement [the agreement giving Hebron back to the Palestinians]. I cut the cabinet meeting short and said, 'I'm not signing.' Only when the letter came, during that meeting, to me and to Arafat, did I ratify the Hebron agreement. Why is this important? Because from that moment on, I de facto put an end to the Oslo accords."

President Obama, and anyone else concerned about Israel's commitment to the peace process, may watch the tape online here.

Erin Pelton | Deputy Spokesperson for Foreign Media | Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs | US Department of State
t: (202) 647-4148 | [redacted] | Email: PeltonE@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: The Cable - Development

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**From:** Hyde, Dana
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: The Cable - Development

In case you missed this....

## Angst about USAID's fate grows as development reviews stall

Posted: 15 Jul 2010 06:30 AM PDT

The development community is up in arms about the persistent delays in the administration's two major reviews o development policy, as internal disagreements continue to plague the ongoing efforts to reconcile America's development and foreign-policy goals.

The administration's two major development reviews, the White House's Presidential Study Directive on Global Development (PSD-7) and the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) are both missing in action as the administration crosses the 18-month mark. The interim report of the QDDR **was never released** and there's concern the final document might not be ready by the stated September deadline.

The PSD, **a draft version of which** was first published on *The Cable*, is being held up by a continuing and mounting disagreement between the White House and the State Department over how to divide power over development between Foggy Bottom and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

According to administration sources and development-community leaders, the dispute between the National Security Council and the office of the Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** came to a head at a principals' meeting in late June, when a near-final version of the PSD was discussed. Clinton, our sources report, refused to sign off on th PSD because she disagreed with that document's determination that USAID should be the lead agency in charge of individual development missions in the field.

Multiple issues are still in dispute between State and the NSC concerning the reviews, including the role of USAID Administrator **Rajiv Shah** and what level of autonomy USAID will be granted in determining its own policies, budgets, and priorities. Shah **has been rebuilding** USAID's intellectual capacity, but the aid community fears th Clinton intends to consolidate real power inside her office **despite her promise** to "elevate" and "integrate" development as the third pillar of national security alongside diplomacy and defense.

Many believe that the White House launched a not-so-subtle salvo at Clinton **by releasing a statement** on development at the G-8, just days after the contentious principals' meeting, that closely tracks what's known about the PSD and declaring it as U.S. policy before the internal negotiations with State were completed.

Leading development community-voices are now openly venting their frustration with the delays in the process.

"Eighteen months into the administration, the federal government remains abysmally organized to address Haiti, Pakistan and other development challenges," wrote **Nancy Birdsall**, the president of the Center for Global Development, **on the organization's website** Thursday. "When it comes to global development, I'd give President Obama and his top advisors an A for strategic vision and a big fat F for failure to get on with it."

In an open letter to Clinton, National Security Advisor **Jim Jones**, and National Economic Council chairman **Larry Summers**, Birdsall raised several issues that resonate with development advocates. She called the Millennium Challenge Corporation "**pathetically underfunded**," lamented that no one seems to know who's in charge of big initiatives on food security and global health, and complained that USAID **still has vacancies** for several senior staff positions.

Birdsall's calls for giving USAID total independence and cabinet-level status aren't likely to be final recommendations from either the White House or the State Department.

But her overall anxiety about USAID's status is widely shared in the development community. A team of top development leaders including former USAID administrator **Brian Atwood wrote today** to protest the **cuts in the foreign aid budget** that Congress is calling for.

"We are grateful for the emphasis the President has placed on development and foreign assistance -- a tradition he continues from President Bush. And we strongly support Secretary Clinton's call to make USAID 'the premier development agency in the world,' they wrote. "But this goal will only be achieved when USAID's personnel capacit is rebuilt and its funding enhanced."

World Food Prize Laureate Rev. **David Beckmann,** who co-chairs the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN), told *The Cable*, "The Obama administration is doing smart and creative things to help hungry and poor people around the world. But they are hung up by organizational confusion, and the president needs to make it clea that USAID, not the State Department, has lead responsibility for development."

MFAN even has a **running counter** on its website tracking the days since President Obama pledged to release his overall development policy.

Adding to the concern is the fact that two of the lead officials who are in charge of the QDDR will be departing the State Department soon. Deputy Secretary of State **Jack Lew has been tapped** to become the next director of the White House's Office of Management and Budget. Policy Planning chief **Anne Marie Slaughter** has made it known that her two-year leave from Princeton will require her to return to New Jersey at the end of the year.

State Department officials assure *The Cable* that the QDDR will be completed before Lew and Slaughter leave Fogg Bottom. Nevertheless, the delays are having an own effect of their own, said Birdsall.

"Time is not on our side," she told *The Cable* in an interview. "We're missing in action as a country."

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Corker

And pasted below is the exchange between Corker and Holbrooke:

CORKER:

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

I want to thank the ambassador for coming. I know he has a wealth of knowledge and certainly served our country for many years.

A number of us wrote a letter to you asking for this hearing, and my guess is you might have had hearings any way. But the reason we wrote the letter -- bipartisan letter -- was to provide Congress and the American people with a definition of the end state for our civilian operations in Afghanistan, clear objectives for the civilian mission, and a detailed plan for achieving those objectives, and the very specific, measurable metrics being used to measure progress towards achieving those objectives.

I have to say, I've been here for an hour and 10 minutes. I have heard nothing -- nothing -- about that. And while I respect the ambassador, I've heard a lot of process. I've heard a lot about meetings. I have no earthly idea -- no earthly idea what our objectives are on the civilian front.

And I don't know if you have time to begin doing that right now, but this has so far been an incredible waste of time, from the standpoint of -- of hearing, though.

And I have tremendous respect for you, but maybe we have the wrong witness. I hope we'll have maybe Secretary Clinton and Eikenberry, maybe Crocker. I know he's supposed to come.

But could you answer the question that was the purpose of these hearings in the first place?

HOLBROOKE:

I'm sorry. You don't feel that I've told you what our civilian programs are?

CORKER:

You've told me a lot of process. I'd like to know a definition of what our end state is for civilian operations, the very question we asked when we set this hearing up, is in Afghanistan, clear objectives for the -- for the -- detailed plan for achieving those. I'd like to hear you talk about that.

I mean, I'm glad we have a lot of interagency folks here, but I'm not hearing anything that talks about where we're going.

I'd also like to know how the withdrawal date that's been set affects that and how it affects those we're working with in the country.

HOLBROOKE:

First of all, Senator Corker, I believe I have discussed our civilian programs in very considerable detail within the constraints of time, but we did prepare a report for this committee earlier this year, which was entered into the record and which I will be happy to enter into the record again, if you wish. And you can go through every one of the programs.

The reason I brought my colleagues with me was to show that this was a whole-of-government, an unprecedented effort.

Now, on the specifics, since you want specifics, Afghanistan is an agricultural country. It exported agricultural products until 1978 and the Soviet invasion. We are trying to rebuild it. This was not being done for the first seven years of this war.

We have -- your -- your committee has given us a great deal of money for agriculture. And we are spending it wisely in a joint AID- USDA effort, which Senator Lugar has particularly been involved in, food, seeds, cash-for-work programs, encouraging alternatives to opium production.

HOLBROOKE:

Secondly, rule of law. We are spending -- we are spending the money you have authorized for us to create a justice system which can cut into the Taliban's propaganda about corruption and lack of a justice system.

Third, counter-narcotics. We have ended poppy eradication, a radical change, because all we were doing by eradicating poppy seeds, poppy crops, was driving farmers, poor farmers, into the hands of the Taliban.

Fourth, a major program of subnational governance, where we are putting aid directly to the district level.

Fifth, a major effort in specific areas, some of which were alluded to earlier, such as electricity for Kandahar. Senator Kerry asked earlier about Kandahar. One of the major issues here is to bring electricity to the people as a benefit of the international presence.

The whole range of activities we have is designed to support the country and to support General Petraeus' counter-insurgency effort. He and I -- I was his counterpart until two weeks ago when he moved to Kabul. We have worked intimately in an effort to create a joint civilian-military effort. And I am happy to provide you with every detail you wish in private briefings on behalf of me and my team.

Point number two in regard to the end state issue you raised. I want to be clear on the difference between end state and exit strategy.

If we -- this is my personal view, senator -- but if we walk away from Afghanistan, again, as we did 21 years ago, the consequences will be similarly catastrophic, because of the unique strategic position of Afghanistan and the reaction that would have in Pakistan, China, India and the country to Afghanistan's west, Iran, as well as the larger region that includes Russia, Saudi Arabia, India, and even extending to Western Europe, which is concerned about terrorism from that region, just as much as we are.

So, I hope that when we talk about end state, we talk about a sustainable end state which involves continued American economic and development assistance, and we continue to fulfill our obligations to train the police and the military. This will not be cheap. But it will be a fraction of the money that is now being authorized and appropriated for the military campaign.

When we will be able to transition to that is impossible for me or anyone to say. But it won't be on a single day. It will be a gradual process. And that is what the review in December and the president's decision-making will focus on.

CORKER:

In our foreign policy, generally speaking -- I know we've had some rough times over the last several years -- it's been something that we've been able to address in a bipartisan way. And I think that the issues that you're dealing with, that we're dealing with in Afghanistan are incredibly tough.

I still don't -- I haven't understood what the administration was saying in the beginning. That's not to be critical of them. I just don't understand. I still don't understand. I've met with you and your staff over at the State Department. It's just incredibly vague to me.

And I think what we are doing, we have partners, which include the Pakistanis and everybody around, that they don't know what we're doing. They don't know when we're leaving. They think we're leaving shortly, I think. We've just had colleagues who have come from there.

We've had a -- we've got a president there that's having to play both sides, because he wants to survive, because he doesn't know what our intentions are. The Pakistanis don't know what our intentions are, I don't think. And they're making accommodations on both sides.

So, I just have to tell you, I send letters to parents and spouses. And what I feel because of this lack of clarity is that we are in Afghanistan, because we're in Afghanistan, and that we don't have the will to be successful. And we don't have the will to leave, because of some of the things you just outlined.

But I just don't hear any clarity. And again, I want to support the administration. I want to support you, because that's what we need to do as a country, is let the shores (ph) align (ph), let the partisanship.

But I have to tell you, as a person who wants to do that, I still don't understand. OK? And I have average intelligence, so I would ask you to, please -- or maybe let's have some witnesses in here that can shed more light or be more specific. But I don't understand, and I'm very concerned.

And I think we're sending a lot of mixed signals. And I think there's a lot of dissension. Actually, as I listen to you, even within the administration itself, and that has to end.

And I just ask you, please. You have a lot of experience, help us understand. You haven't done that today. And I would ask the chairman to please have some witnesses come in and explain to us what the end state is, what we can envision Afghanistan being whenever this withdrawal does take place, because I still do not understand.

We've changed it. Now it's sort of a degraded country where they have conflict, but it's not out of control. I mean, the bar continues to change. And I'm just concerned as an individual, and yet I want us to be, if we can, all on the same page as much as possible. But I think to do that, this has got to be much clearer than has been outlined.

HOLBROOKE:

Senator, I'm sorry that my answers don't fully satisfy you. But I want to be very clear on this, because I understand your comments and I respect them.

First of all, the core question -- the one you are asked by your constituents, and I'm asked by everybody -- why are we in Afghanistan? The short, simple answer is 9/11, direct threats to our national security interests, and the fact that while our enemies against our homeland are on the Pakistani side of the border, this is a single struggle. And we have to strengthen the Afghan government and let -- and teach it to stand on its own feet over time, so that we can move forward, while we do other things that fall outside the scope of this hearing, to dismantle, deter and defeat Al Qaida.

Now, if you do not believe that it's a threat to the homeland, then we have an honest difference of opinion. But I think the Times Square bombing incident shows clearly how dangerous that situation is.

Secondly, on the civilian mission, again, it's in support of a single, civilian-military, counter-insurgency mission. And we have benchmarks, requested and required by the Congress, and submitted to you. And our overarching goal here is always the same, to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al Qaida and prevent its ability to threaten the United States.

And we believe, all of us -- and there is no division on this in the executive branch -- that the situation we face out there is a direct threat. We believe that before the Times Square situation occurred, and I don't think anything could have proved it more vividly.

And to achieve this, we have to degrade the Taliban as well, because they are part of the enemy's structure -- a different part, but an integral part -- that we face.

Now, the Afghan government doesn't yet have the capacity to deal with this on its own. How could they after 30 years of war? And so, the civilian part of it, the things I've just mentioned to you -- police, government capacity, rule of law, subnational government, training provincial officials, women's empowerment and a whole series of other major issues -- are part of our civilian programs.

And we're happy to come back up to your office -- we appreciated your visit to us -- and continue this dialogue.

Our civilian strategy is designed from keeping Al Qaida at bay, and it's designed to help Afghan institutions establish conditions for stable governance. Our plan has these benchmarks, which have been briefed to you and your colleagues, and we're happy to discuss them in detail at any time.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jul 16 13:30:08 2010
Subject: Corker

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**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Corker

He is calling to complain about Ambassador Holbrooke. He feels that Holbrooke is condescending and not forthcoming, including at this week's hearing. He also has broader concerns about the lack of a clear end state and metrics for our Afghan policy, but the main reason he wants to talk to you is about Holbrooke.

Holbrooke tried to faithfully answer his questions and frankly Corker was looking for a sound byte and he got one. We can offer him additional briefings and a readout after your upcoming trip if that would help.

You could use also this opportunity to thank him for sitting down earlier this week on the New START Treaty; to note that we received and are following up on his July 14 follow-up letter; and that we want to continue working with him to get him to a place where he can support the treaty.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jul 16 14:35:08 2010
Subject: Re: Corker

What is it he wants?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jul 16 14:24:36 2010
Subject: Re: Corker

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HOLBROOKE:

Senator, I'm sorry that my answers don't fully satisfy you. But I want to be very clear on this, because I understand your comments and I respect them.

First of all, the core question -- the one you are asked by your constituents, and I'm asked by everybody -- why are we in Afghanistan? The short, simple answer is 9/11, direct threats to our national security interests, and the fact that while our enemies against our homeland are on the Pakistani side of the border, this is a single struggle. And we have to strengthen the Afghan government and let -- and teach it to stand on its own feet over time, so that we can move forward, while we do other things that fall outside the scope of this hearing, to dismantle, deter and defeat Al Qaida.

Now, if you do not believe that it's a threat to the homeland, then we have an honest difference of opinion. But I think the Times Square bombing incident shows clearly how dangerous that situation is.

Secondly, on the civilian mission, again, it's in support of a single, civilian-military, counter-insurgency mission. And we have benchmarks, requested and required by the Congress, and submitted to you. And our overarching goal here is always the same, to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al Qaida and prevent its ability to threaten the United States.

And we believe, all of us -- and there is no division on this in the executive branch -- that the situation we face out there is a direct threat. We believe that before the Times Square situation occurred, and I don't think anything could have proved it more vividly.

And to achieve this, we have to degrade the Taliban as well, because they are part of the enemy's structure -- a different part, but an integral part -- that we face.

Now, the Afghan government doesn't yet have the capacity to deal with this on its own. How could they after 30 years of war? And so, the civilian part of it, the things I've just mentioned to you -- police, government capacity, rule of law, subnational government, training provincial officials, women's empowerment and a whole series of other major issues -- are part of our civilian programs.

And we're happy to come back up to your office -- we appreciated your visit to us -- and continue this dialogue.

Our civilian strategy is designed from keeping Al Qaida at bay, and it's designed to help Afghan institutions establish conditions for stable governance. Our plan has these benchmarks, which have been briefed to you and your colleagues, and we're happy to discuss them in detail at any time.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jul 16 13:30:08 2010
Subject: Corker

Wants to talk with you re Afghanistan and his displeasure with Holbrooke. They got into a verbal sparring match at the hearing. I thought holbrooke was polite and responsive.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Julissa

FYI – I invited her in since Ricardo reports to her and she and Craig have been doing the cuba engagement.

---

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 10:02 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: i have and read the paper now that i am in office - thanks

Arturo wants to do meeting solo -- so I am staying behind.
Hope it goes well.

---

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent**: Fri Jul 16 07:40:30 2010
**Subject**: i have and read the paper now that i am in office - thanks

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 7:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

!

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**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Fri Jul 16 18:31:22 2010
**Subject:** FW: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

[redacted] B5

PJ

---

**From:** Dougherty, Jill [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:16 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** FW: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

Is DOS open to this? Any efforts to do this?

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**From:** Dunlavey, Tom
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:14 PM
**To:** *DC State
**Cc:** *DC CNN HILL; *DC Seven (TBS)
**Subject:** FW: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

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**From:** Pontz, Eden
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 2:08 PM
**To:** *CNNNationalMore (CNN)
**Subject:** NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

This just sent out from Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand's Office following the Iroquois Nationals Lacross Team missing their first world championship game in England:

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**
**Friday, July 16, 2010**
**Contact: Glen Caplin (212) 688-9559**

# AFTER IROQUOIS LACROSSE TEAM DENIED ENTRY TO UK, GILLIBRAND ASKS SECRETARY OF STATE TO DEVELOP INTERNATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED TRAVEL DOCUMENTS FOR TRIBES AND NATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

***Gillibrand: "We Must Ensure that Native Americans Have the Same Freedom to Travel Around the World"***

*Washington, DC* – With the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse Team missing their first world championship game in England due to the British government's refusal to recognize their Haudenosaunee Confederacy-issued passports, U.S. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) today asked Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to work with Native American leaders and the Canadian and UK governments to develop internationally-recognized travel documents for the Iroquois nation as well as other tribes and nations in North America in order to prevent any Native American groups from being denied travel abroad in the future. Senator Gillibrand praised Secretary Clinton for clearing the way for the 23-member team to travel to the United Kingdom to participate in the Olympics of lacrosse and expressed disappointment in the outcome.

In a letter to Secretary Clinton, Senator Gillibrand wrote, "Considering the recent situation which prevented the members of the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse team and their supporters from traveling to the United Kingdom to participate in the international lacrosse tournament with the Haudenosaunee passports, and in an effort to prevent against such disappointment in the future, I therefore request that you work with Tribal governments, in concert with the Canadian government to the extent that Canada faces a similar situation, to come to an understanding with the United Kingdom and other foreign governments with the goal of establishing a document or process that would provide Native American travelers with the same freedom of movement enjoyed by all U.S. citizens."

The members of the Iroquois lacrosse team view their tribe as a sovereign nation and, like many Native Americans throughout New York, strongly and rightfully protect their own national identities and will not accept a U.S. or Canadian passport. This important recognition coupled with heightened aviation security standards after September 11th pose a challenge for the Iroquois lacrosse team, leaving them unable to leave New York and compete in England. To ensure that this does not happen again, Senator Gillibrand encouraged the U.S. and Canada to work with Native American leaders to develop a universally recognized document for all tribes and nations in North America that meet international travel standards.

Current standards for travel documents, developed by the International Civil Aviation Organization for Machine Readable Passports (MRPs), include a machine readable zone on the identity page with the name, passport number, nationality, date of birth, sex, passport expiration date and personal identity number of the passport holder.

On Wednesday, Secretary Clinton issued a one-time travel waiver and granted approval for them to re-enter the U.S., but the British government decided not to recognize the waiver and denied the team entry into the United Kingdom. The Iroquois lacrosse team defaulted on the first game and currently remains in New York ahead of tomorrow's second game.

Full text of the letter is below.

*Dear Madam Secretary,*

*I am writing to you with regard to the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse Team's recent inability to travel to the United Kingdom on Haudenosaunee passports. Thank you for your decision to allow a one-time waiver for the team to travel on their passports and for the efforts of your staff to work with the British consulate on behalf of the team's ability to travel. I am disappointed by the decision of the United Kingdom government to deny entry visas to the team despite your decision to grant them a waiver and assurance that they would be allowed to re-enter the United States, but am also hopeful that you will continue your efforts to facilitate travel of Native Americans internationally.*

*As you are aware, there is a large constituency of Native Americans in New York State. The tribes strongly guard their sovereignty and rightly celebrate and protect their own national identities. Treaties between the United States and tribal governments have established their status as sovereign nations within the United States. It is understandable that they should seek to maintain their national insignia to the greatest extent possible. Although current law provides that "a person born in the United States to a member of an Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian, or other aboriginal tribe"... "shall be nationals and citizens of the United States," we should also not fail to recognize the unique status that Native Americans enjoy.*

*In past instances, members of the Iroquois Confederacy have been allowed to travel internationally using a Haudenosaunee travel document. I fully understand that it is the right of each country to determine what is accepted as a valid travel document for entry into their country. However, it seems to me that other countries should be more amenable to consideration of United States Government's policies that accommodate the sovereignty of Native Americans while addressing the concerns of foreign governments.*

*It is my understanding that the Haudenosaunee Grand Council of Chiefs is in ongoing discussion with the Department of State regarding how to improve their passport so that it would meet the higher-level international travel security requirements. Considering the recent situation which prevented the members of the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse team and their supporters from traveling to the United Kingdom to participate in the international lacrosse tournament with the Haudenosaunee passports, and in an effort to prevent against such disappointment in the future, I therefore request that you work with Tribal governments, in concert with the Canadian government to the extent that Canada faces a similar situation, to come to an understanding with the United Kingdom and other foreign governments with the goal of establishing a document or process that would provide Native American travelers with the same freedom of movement enjoyed by all U.S. citizens.*

*I request your assessment of whether current law would allow the development of an alternative travel document that would be recognized by other governments such as the United Kingdom, your facilitation of enhancing the Haudenosaunee passport so that it complies with standard international practices, or if necessary, the determination of whether legislation would be necessary in order to move forward on resolving this issue.*

*Thank you for your attention to this matter, and I look forward to working with you to address these concerns.*

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 7:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

Exactly

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Jul 16 19:09:34 2010
Subject: Re: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jul 16 19:00:27 2010
Subject: Fw: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

!

---

From: Crowley, Philip J
To: Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Fri Jul 16 18:31:22 2010
Subject: FW: NY: Iroguois LAX Team Request

[redacted] B5

PJ

From: Dougherty, Jill [mailto:[redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, July 16, 2010 2:16 PM
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From: Dunlavey, Tom
Sent: Friday, July 16, 2010 2:14 PM
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Cc: *DC CNN HILL; *DC Seven (TBS)
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Contact: Glen Caplin (212) 688-9559

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Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) today asked Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to work with Native American leaders and the Canadian and UK governments to develop internationally-recognized travel documents for the Iroquois nation as well as other tribes and nations in North America in order to prevent any Native American groups from being denied travel abroad in the future. Senator Gillibrand praised Secretary Clinton for clearing the way for the 23-member team to travel to the United Kingdom to participate in the Olympics of lacrosse and expressed disappointment in the outcome.

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As you are aware, there is a large constituency of Native Americans in New York State. The tribes strongly guard their sovereignty and rightly celebrate and protect their own national identities. Treaties between the United States and tribal governments have established their status as sovereign nations within the United States. It is understandable that they should seek to maintain their national insignia to the greatest extent possible. Although current law provides that "a person born in the United States to a member of an Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian, or other aboriginal tribe"..."shall be nationals and citizens of the United States," we should also not fail to recognize the unique status that Native Americans enjoy.

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It is my understanding that the Haudenosaunee Grand Council of Chiefs is in ongoing discussion with the Department of State regarding how to improve their passport so that it would meet the higher-level international travel security requirements. Considering the recent situation which prevented the members of the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse team and their supporters from traveling to the United Kingdom to participate in the international lacrosse tournament with the Haudenosaunee passports, and in an effort to prevent against such disappointment in the future, I therefore request that you work with Tribal governments, in concert with the Canadian government to the extent that Canada faces a similar situation, to come to an understanding with the United Kingdom and other foreign governments with the goal of establishing a document or process that would provide Native American travelers with the same freedom of movement enjoyed by all U.S. citizens.

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Thank you for your attention to this matter, and I look forward to working with you to address these concerns.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 7:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Karzai meeting
**Attachments:** Karzai meet.docx

Transcript of Malinowski's meeting with Karzai attached.

**From:** Tom Malinowski [mailto B6
**Sent:** Friday, July 16, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** Ghori, Saba N; Verveer, Melanne S
**Cc:** Maria McFarland
**Subject:** Karzai meeting

Dear Melanne and Saba,

I've attached the notes from our meeting with Karzai; they may be helpful in preparing for next week.

On the positive side, he committed to including women in any formal negotiations with the Taliban. Hopefully we can nail that down firmly -- it would be both a good safeguard and a signal to the Taliban of the kind of Afghanistan they will be joining if they do indeed ever want to join it.

Beyond that, he was in "women's lives first, women's rights second" mode -- speaking passionately about the human cost of the conflict and the impossibility of Afghanistan enjoying genuine human rights until the fighting ends. He did this to the point of denying that any real human rights progress had come in his presidency (thus implying that bringing in Taliban would not make matters worse).

In terms of your messaging, it would be great if, when the Secretary stresses that reconciling insurgents should accept the Afghan constitution and laws, she specifically mentions the right of girls to go to school and work and take part in the political process. That would be consistent, I think, with what the administration has said before, but more explicit. Karzai told us that his government already stresses those specific rights (that's not true -- but it suggests that it would be hard for them to disagree if the US and international community made it part of their mantra).

It would also, of course, be great if she could find a way to express concern about giving reconciling Taliban leaders who have a track record of brutality, including attacks on girls schools and killings of women who defy their threats, positions in local or national government. One can support negotiations even with the worst of the worst of the Taliban, and offer them other kinds of incentives. But we should draw the line at offering positions of authority over the lives of the people they have been terrorizing (as the Pakistanis did, disastrously, in Swat).

Hope this helps,

Tom

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770493 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

Notes on Tom Malinowski/Rachel Reid meeting with Hamid Karzai
July 14, 2010

Karzai: Opening pitch: Where is the war on terror? Even the Americans say it is in Pakistan. That's where al Qaeda is. In Afghanistan, it is our insurgency, something between ourselves that we have to resolve. We have been at war for 30 years; nothing is more important than ending this.

I know the Taliban better than anyone else. They killed my father, they've killed thousands. We chased them out after just 1.5 months nine years ago. Yet today, people are still being killed.

I could say that I was happier with human rights in Afghanistan today than under the Soviets, or during the civil war, or under the Taliban, but it would be a political statement; it would not be from my heart. How can I claim that human rights are in a better situation here when there are thousands of people being killed?

More on toll of war – he shows us his daily casualty reports for the previous Wednesday, reads off the totals for Afghan civilians, ISAF troops, Afghan troops, and "enemy" troops (and then hastens to add that he disagrees with the term "enemy.")

What would you do if you see happy occasion in one corner of the room and a tragedy in the other? Do you go to the happy corner? No of course you go to the tragedy, and that is my focus/priority.

Malinowski – I respect your argument. Most leaders would tell us to focus on the positive. I've Never argued with a head of state that human rights situation in his country was actually better than he thinks. But have to disagree with you – as horrific as the problems still are, there has been progress in the last ten years in part because of steps your government has taken– for example, having 37% of girls in school is not good enough, but it's far better than nightmare that preceded it. (Karzai – yes, and there is a free press, elections, other progress). So yes, to deal with the massive suffering you need to pursue peace. But how do pursue peace without jeopardizing the gains made, including in women's rights?

Karzai – Peace will never jeopardize progress, war will.

Malinowski – Imagine there is a Taliban shadow governor who is responsible for the destruction of girls' schools and issuing death threats through night letters. Can you conceive of a deal in which that man is made the real governor of his district or province, if he simply agrees to respect the Afghan Constitution going forward?

Karzai – Not necessarily. But if he agrees to leave aside his arms, abide by the law, settle down to a life under the constitution.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770493 Date: 08/31/2015

One option is peace, one is a deal. The other is war. If it is a deal then you'll be the district governor but leave behind the violence. If that brings peace then what would you do? Knowing he has a bad character, and becomes the district governor, or that he continues the conflict?

Q to Tom -- what would you do if it was in Nashville, TN and this was the only way to stop a war claiming so many lives?

Malinowski – I wouldn't make him mayor of Nashville.

Karzai - We have that now in our government. We have people with terrible pasts in the government.

We had vetting but it went wrong. Look at what happened in parliamentary vetting. The weaker people who had committed fewer violations were removed; the bigger ones who committed worse acts were allowed.

Malinowski – we have more than just the two choices you suggested. There is a middle ground between trying to kill Taliban leaders and making them the leaders of one's community.

Karzai – OK, what does it look like?

Malinowski – peace and reconciliation, an agreement to stop fighting and killing each other, perhaps exile for some people, perhaps giving them the chance to run for political office on a level playing field with everyone else (including vetting). But not necessarily giving them jobs in which they will have authority over peoples' lives.

There are obviously more complicated issues having to do with transitional justice. As you know, we opposed the amnesty law (Karzai turns to his aides and says: "That was the thing the Parliament did, right?"). But even if one supports amnesties, that's different from allowing Taliban leaders positions of authority.

Karzai - If you have a choice between saving a girl's life and preserving her chance to go to school, which would you do first? Obviously, saving lives must come first. Ending this war must come first.

Malinowski - There is undeniable logic to that argument, but in practice we've found that you have to pursue peace and human rights together. Look at what happened to the Pakistanis in Swat. They made a hasty deal with the Pakistani Taliban, allowed them to come in and take power. Women were kept from school and work; there were awful cases of public whippings and abuse that shocked the Pakistani public. And before long, war broke out again and the Pakistani army had to retake what they gave away. They tried to trade rights for peace and got neither.

Karzai - Don't worry about the Taliban being part of government (suggests long way off, only talk). And if we get there, Afghan people will have a chance to decide these questions. Not up to me.

Malinowski – Good that women have been increasingly included in these discussions, including in the Peace Jirga. Will they be included in any negotiations with the Taliban?

Karzai - Yes. They will be present in the negotiations.

The overall question is the rights of the Afghan people. We are starving for human rights in Afghanistan. Most of all, the right to life.

Malinowski – When you say that Taliban members must abide by the Constitution and Afghan laws to reconcile, can you add a subordinate clause, specifically mentioning that they must accept the right of women to go to school, work, participate in politics? Those are all part of Afghan law; stressing them explicitly would reassure us and send the right signal to the Taliban.

Karzai: Turns to his aides: Don't we already say that? They answer "yes." We do, we have; it's in the declaration of the peace jirga [note: it is not].

MILITIAS

Karzai: Afghans don't want militias; it's a disaster for this country; we've made this very clear. They are security firms, transportation companies, they are everywhere.

Community guard police are what we need, recruited through police procedures and not paid by commanders; paid as individuals.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 17, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Karl and Zak en route to Islamabad

FYI -- Karl and Zakhilwal have gone to Islamabad to try to close the deal.

-----Original Message-----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
Sent: Saturday, July 17, 2010 7:19 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Nasr, S Vali R; Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Karl and Zak en route to Islamabad

For final effort. Karzai authgorized trip. Current Afghan team here not strong anouigh. Looks like a classic late last night for trade types. Hope we will have good news for you when you land. If not, we will probably ask H to make some calls. Richard

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, July 17, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi. circulated in Israeli and US Jewish publications. Note Bibi's private reference to Bill. Sid

http://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/39692/fibi-netanyahu/

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## A New Read on Jewish Life

# Fibi Netanyahu

## In 2001, PM boasted of manipulating Oslo accords

By Liel Leibovitz | Jul 15, 2010 4:03 PM

Netanyahu in 2001.
CREDIT: Channel 10

Meeting with Benjamin Netanyahu last week, President Obama could not have been more effusive. "I believe Prime Minister Netanyahu wants peace," Obama said [1]. "I believe he is ready to take risks for peace."

A newly revealed tape of Netanyahu in 2001, being interviewed while he thinks the cameras are off, shows him in a radically different light. In it, Netanyahu dismisses American foreign policy as easy to maneuver, boasts of having derailed the Oslo accords with political trickery, and suggests that the only way to deal with the Palestinians is to "beat them up, not once but repeatedly, beat them up so it hurts so badly, until it's unbearable" (all translations are mine).

According [2] to *Haaretz*'s Gideon Levy, the video should be "Banned for viewing by children so as not to corrupt them, and distributed around the country and the world so that everyone will know who leads the government of Israel."

Netanyahu is speaking to a small group of terror victims in the West Bank settlement of Ofra two years after stepping down as prime minister in 1999. He appears laid-back. After claiming that the only way to deal with the Palestinian Authority was a large-scale attack, Netanyahu was asked by one of the participants whether or not the United States would let such an attack come to fruition.

"I know what America is," Netanyahu replied. "America is a thing you can move very easily, move it in the right direction. They won't get in their way." He then called former president Bill Clinton "radically pro-Palestinian," and went on to belittle the Oslo peace accords as vulnerable to manipulation. Since the accords state that Israel would be allowed to hang on to pre-defined military zones in the West Bank, Netanyahu told his hosts that he could torpedo the accords by defining vast swaths of land as just that.

"They asked me before the election if I'd honor [the Oslo accords]," Netanyahu said. "I said I would, but ... I'm going to interpret the accords in such a way that would allow me to put an end to this galloping forward to the '67 borders. How did we do it? Nobody said what defined military zones were. Defined military zones are security zones; as far as I'm concerned, the entire Jordan Valley is a defined military zone. Go argue."

Smiling, Netanyahu then recalled how he forced former U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to agree to let Israel alone determine which parts of the West Bank were to be defined as military zones. "They didn't want to give me that letter," Netanyahu said, "so I didn't give them the Hebron agreement [the agreement giving Hebron back to the Palestinians]. I cut the cabinet meeting short and said, 'I'm not signing.' Only when the letter came, during that meeting, to me and to Arafat, did I ratify the Hebron agreement. Why is this important? Because from that moment on, I de facto put an end to the Oslo accords."

President Obama, and anyone else concerned about Israel's commitment to the peace process, may watch the tape online here [3].

**Related:** Tricky Bibi [2] [Haaretz]

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URLs in this post:
[1] said: **http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/09/world/middleeast/09mideast.html**
[2] According: **http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/tricky-bibi-1.302053**
[3] here: **http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleId=731025&sid=126**

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 17, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Civil Society and Women at the Kabul Conference

Fyi

---

**From**: Wayne, E Anthony
**To**: Eikenberry, Karl W; Keith, James R; Hadda, Katherine B; Verveer, Melanne S; Feldman, Daniel F
**Sent**: Sat Jul 17 14:49:51 2010
**Subject**: Civil Society and Women at the Kabul Conference

UNAMA chief Staffan De Mistura and his deputy Martin Kobler said they brokered an agreement today between Afghan NSA Spanta, Civil society reps and Sima Simar for the Kabul Conference. There will be one chair at the table and one chair behind. The civil society rep will sit at the table ( the woman who was mentioned earlier (P...?); sorry I don't recall right now; Kathy recognized her name). Sima Simar would sit behind. Eight minutes would be allow for speaking and the civil society rep will begin. Please, however, Staffan and Martin asked that we please keep this compromise quiet so it will hold. Staffan thanked us for our pushing the Afghan government in this direction by our quiet interventions over the past few days.

Best,
Tony

Earl Anthony Wayne
Deputy Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Kabul
Afghanistan

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 1:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Revenue collection

10.2 is latest figure based on end FY 09-10 data. (Pakistan fiscal year ends jun 30 so just finalized)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 2:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: RESENDING---This deal is still NOT quite nailed down after a nail-biting all-nighter.

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Nasr, S Vali R
Sent: Sat Jul 17 23:56:08 2010
Subject: RESENDING---This deal is still NOT quite nailed down after a nail-biting all-nighter.

We are pushing for closure and a joint public annoincement this pm. We may ask H to make 2 final calls, but not yet sure. Vital that press does not know anything yet. R

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 4:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Its take a little while for the Post to make it to tashkent

I am currently traveling out of the country. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Joanne Laszczych, (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

If it is an emergency after business hours, please reach out to our Operations Center to have them reach me.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 9:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 150-page doc

Vali felt that Anne's assessment of the new Pakistani submission was too negative. He believes it is their opening position - that it is quite sophisticated - and that it represents a real step forward from their initial 56-page list of demands.

He acknowledges that it is lighter on the things we care about, but notes for example that productive items like the strategic dialogue get far more space than unproductive items like civ-nuke.

He very much agrees with your concept of annotating the document.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Peter Erlinder
**Attachments:** image001.gif

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold
To: Sullivan, Jacob J;
Sent: Sun Jul 18 14:45:03 2010
Subject: FW: Peter Erlinder

Jake: A thank you for the Erlinders. You might convey to S at a moment when she is hearing only problems. Thanks, h
Harold Hongju Koh The Legal Adviser U.S. Department of State
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520
202 647 9598 o

B6

KohHH@State.gov<mailto:KohHH@State.gov>
Martin R. Flug Professor of International Law, Yale Law School (on leave), 203 432 1660

From: Kleinberger, Daniel
Sent: Sunday, July 18, 2010 2:11 PM
To: Koh, Harold
Subject: RE: Peter Erlinder

I have not seen him since his return. Below is an email that he sent today to the faculty.

If it is appropriate, please convey my thanks to Secretary. It must have been an extraordinary challenging set of decisions, balancing various aspects of U.S. interests - including avoiding the appearance that the U.S. claims a special right to interfere in another country's system of justice (ironic, in light of Peter's view of U.S. foreign policy).

Professor Daniel S. Kleinberger | Founding Director, Mitchell Fellows Program
| 651-290-6387 | Fax: 651-290-6414

B6

William Mitchell College of Law
875 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105

Dear WMCL Colleagues,
It will take some time for me to get my feet underneath me, and to catch up on all left undone during my recent involuntary vacation in Rwanda's prisons. However, I am well-enough to begin to appreciate how much the entire College community did to assist in securing my release.
I will probably never know all of the contributions to the campaign for my release that came from each of my WMCL colleagues, although Eric has filled me in on many of the efforts within the College, and reaching beyond the College, that helped turn my detention into a spontaneous movement for my release. I owe each of you a lot, particularly Jane and Melissa, who had to deal with the mess of ungraded exams and unreturned calls and emails.
My colleagues who wrote and called others on my behalf and even showed-up at rallies have my deepest appreciation.
While my detention and release have importance for our community, I thought it might be helpful to put your efforts into the larger context, which iput me in danger in Rwanda. At the bottom of this message is a Voice of America story that explains that my arrest is part of a much more significant story, which implicates the U.S. in the deaths of millions in Central Africa over the past three decades.
Since I have already promised my wife to NEVER do anything like this again, it is not a big stretch to make the same promise to each of you....but it is great to know that you were there when I needed you. Many, many thanks.
your grateful colleague,
C. Peter
VOA-Africa [cid:image001.gif@01CB267A.B4A44080] RSS
Feed<http://www1.voanews.com/templates/Articles.rss?sectionPath=/english/news/africa>
Rwanda Tribunal Lawyers Denounce Killing of One of Their Own

Nico Colombant | Washington 17 July 2010

An association of lawyers working at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has denounced the recent killing of one of their colleagues. They also expressed grave concern at the series of murders, arrests and assassination attempts in the run-up to Rwanda's presidential election next month.

The statement by a collective of defense lawyers at the Tanzania-based tribunal for Rwanda, known by its acronym ICTR (sic), was released following the killing of law professor Jwani Mwaikusa earlier this week near his home in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The head of the association, American lawyer and law professor Peter Erlinder, told VOA Mwaikusa had been very active at the tribunal. "Professor Mwaikusa had been successful in preventing a number of cases from being transferred from the ICTR to Rwanda and he also had recently completed a trial in which he announced he was going to be filing an appeal," he said.

Mwaikusa had said the trials would not be fair if they were held in Rwanda.

Erlinder himself was recently jailed for nearly a month in Rwanda on charges of challenging the government's official history of what happened during the 1994 genocide, after trying to represent an opposition leader who was also jailed on genocide denial charges.

The statement calls for an independent investigation of the Mwaikusa murder, as well as guarantees from the United Nations Security Council to ensure the safety of the tribunal's defense lawyers.

Erlinder also said evidence necessary to defense teams is being withheld at the tribunal, and he called for fully disclosing evidence of crimes committed in Rwanda in 1994 by both the former government and current leadership.

"We have a situation where the entire defense at the ICTR is finding itself in a situation where it is very hard to do its work," he said.

The statement by the lawyers said they were afraid Mwaikusa's murder was not isolated. It followed last month's assassination attempt against a former ally turned opponent of Rwandan President Paul Kagame in South Africa, the killing of a journalist in Kigali who was investigating the assassination bid, and the near decapitation of an official from Rwanda's opposition Democratic Green Party, who was found dead near his car earlier this week near the southern town of Butare.

Rwandan authorities have denied any link between the series of murders and attacks and the upcoming election, saying those who insinuate a crackdown is taking place are in their words "frustrated" politicians.

Mr. Kagame, who led the Uganda-backed ethnic minority Tutsi rebellion that took over Rwanda from its Hutu-led government after the genocide, was elected in 2003 with more than 95 percent of the vote. He has expressed confidence he will be re-elected in August.

Rwandan police say they arrested a man in connection with the killing of the opposition leader, saying he was a businessman connected with the Green Party.

Several suspects have been arrested in the case of the journalist.

But there is growing international pressure on Rwanda's government to clarify the situation.

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has called for a full investigation into the deaths of the journalist and the opposition leader.

Meanwhile, Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero recently called off a planned meeting with Mr. Kagame, after protests by Spanish human rights groups.

In Spain, a case is pending against dozens of current and former Rwandan officers who have been indicted on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity for alleged reprisal killings during and after the 1994 genocide, in which hundreds of thousands of people, most of them ethnic Tutsis, were killed.

Spanish law allows its courts to prosecute crimes against humanity even if those crimes took place elsewhere.

Prof. Peter Erlinder
Director, International Humanitarian Law Institute c/o Wm. Mitchell College of Law St. Paul, MN. USA
651-290-6384

-----Original Message-----
From: Koh, Harold [mailto:
Sent: Sunday, July 18, 2010 11:22 AM
To: Kleinberger, Daniel
Subject: RE: Peter Erlinder

B6

Thanks for remembering. A huge amount of State Dept time and energy was spent on it, including by the Secretary herself, and we were all glad and relieved when he was finally released. Is he ok? The reports of his disorientation were troubling...

Harold Hongju Koh

The Legal Adviser

U.S. Department of State

2201 C St. NW

Washington, DC 20520

202 647 9598 o

[redacted] B6

KohHH@State.gov<mailto:KohHH@State.gov>

Martin R. Flug Professor of International Law, Yale Law School (on leave), 203 432 1660

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From: Kleinberger, Daniel [redacted] B6

Sent: Sunday, July 18, 2010 12:11 PM

To: Koh, Harold

Subject: RE: Peter Erlinder

Dear Mr. Koh,

I realized yesterday that I had omitted to thank you for your help. As you know, Peter Erlinder is back.

I am grateful for your efforts and those of your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Daniel Kleinberger

Professor Daniel S. Kleinberger | Founding Director, Mitchell Fellows Program

[redacted] | 651-290-6387 | Fax: 651-290-6414 B6

William Mitchell College of Law

875 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105

-----Original Message-----

From: Koh, Harold [mailto:[redacted] B6

Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 11:43 PM

To: Kleinberger, Daniel

Subject: RE: Peter Erlinder

I am in Africa.We are working this issue very hard. Thanks for writing

Harold Hongju Koh

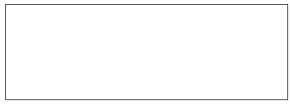
The Legal Adviser

U.S. Department of State

2201 C St. NW

Washington, DC 20520

202 647 9598 o



B6

KohHH@State.gov<mailto:KohHH@State.gov>

Martin R. Flug Professor of International Law, Yale Law School (on leave), 203 432 1660

From: Kleinberger, Daniel [redacted] B6

Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 2:00 PM

To: Koh, Harold

Subject: Peter Erlinder

Dear Mr. Koh,

I am a colleague of Professor Erlinder and also a graduate of Yale Law School ('79). I invoke the latter connection in hopes of obtaining your attention to a plea on Professor Erlinder's behalf.

Professor Erlinder and I agree on very little politically. Indeed, we disagree on almost every issue. However, I want the U.S. government to do everything it can to speedily obtain Professor Erlinder's release.

I readily acknowledge that I don't understand the underlying merits of the criminal matter. I have heard Professor Erlinder's assertions that his efforts (and those of his colleagues) have exposed many previously hidden truths and those assertions (which include condemnation of the U.N., one of my least favorite organizations) seemed credible to me.

But those merits are, in my opinion, entirely beside the point, as is the question of whether Professor Erlinder was foolish or brave to return to Rwanda. I respect both Don Quixote and Clarence Darrow. The point is that Professor Erlinder put himself at risk to "walk the walk" of a fundamental principle of any free society – the right to counsel. The defendants at the Nuremberg trials had counsel. The Israelis accorded Eichmann counsel.

It now appears that Professor Erlinder's detention may turn into a covert execution. "Under intense interrogation from detectives, detained American Prof. Peter Erlinder swallowed up to 50 tablets meant to treat hypertension and other medical conditions – which the Police now says is also another crime, RNA can exclusively reveal." Rwandan News Agency - Wednesday, 02 June 2010 13:28 by RNA Reporter http://rnanews.com/politics/3496-distressed-peter-erlinder-tries-to-commit-suicide--police-

Please use all the skills and resources at your command to cause our government to help Professor Erlinder to freedom before it is too late.

Thank you.

Daniel Kleinberger

Professor Daniel S. Kleinberger

Founding Director, Mitchell Fellows Program

William Mitchell College of Law

875 Summit Avenue

St. Paul, MN 55105

email: [redacted] B6

phone: 651 290-6387

fax: 651 290-6414

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This email has been scanned for all viruses.

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This email has been scanned for all viruses.

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This email has been scanned for all viruses.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 3:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Egypt: basis to move to direct peace talks lacking

FYI. Would like to check in with you on this in am.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Hale, David M; Rudman, Mara; Reed, Julia G
Sent: Sun Jul 18 15:30:01 2010
Subject: (AP) Egypt: basis to move to direct peace talks lacking

Jake:

Senator Mitchell asked that I forward the below clip to you. [redacted] B5

Best,
Alon

---

(AP) Egypt: basis to move to direct peace talks lacking

CAIRO (AP) - Egypt says more work needs to be done to bridge the gap between Israel and the Palestinians before they can move to direct peace talks. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu met separately with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo. None of them spoke to the press afterward. But Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit told reporters the basis to move from indirect to direct talks is still "lacking."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 18, 2010 11:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: "Do More"

Fyi - see below. I discussed with Larry. This is not about anything specific you've said, it's the PakMil's general rejoinder to the American message. But it is worth keeping this critique in mind.

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Cc:** Bommer, Ashley F
**Sent:** Sun Jul 18 22:22:53 2010
**Subject:** "Do More"

The expression "do more" repeated incessantly in today's press is essentially a negative characterization of the Secretary's position. In general, it is code for "After so much cost and so many losses and so many bombs in our cities, the Americans are telling us we're still not doing enough." This negative interpretation is used by the PakMil to convince Pakistanis that the U.S. is a malign influence and to avoid taking the steps we seek.

When you brief her this morning suggest the following:

- We avoid literally using the words "do more;" but
- Do not hesitate to specify what we want them to do; and
- Let's push back on this view: We acknowledge their contributions and their losses – and we are helping. We would never ask Pakistan to do more alone – we are doing more, too, including supporting Pakistan militarily and economically. Freedom requires constant vigilance and democracy is never "done."

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 1:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** BN-Mubarak

Here is the readout:

Here is Molho's readout of BN's meeting with Mubarak. Pretty consistent with what GM hear, [redacted] But Hale met with Suleiman last night [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

YM's Readout:

[redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/26/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 2:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Letter from and Meeting with Afghan Minister of Labor, Social Affiars, Martyrs and Disabled
**Attachments:** MoLSAMD Letter.jpg; MoLSAMD Letter page 2 doc.jpg

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**From**: Eikenberry, Karl W
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Holbrooke, Richard; Wayne, E Anthony; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Hadda, Katherine B; Ensor, David B; Adler, Michael J; Begley, Valerie
**Sent**: Mon Jul 19 02:06:33 2010
**Subject**: Letter from and Meeting with Afghan Minister of Labor, Social Affiars, Martyrs and Disabled

Dear Madam Secretary,

Minister Afzali of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled (MOLSA) is working hard in her new role as the only confirmed female minister within the Government of Afghanistan. MOLSA has been under-resourced by the international community and the USG, and while we are not shifting significant funds to her ministry, we have undertaken a high-payoff, focused program of mentoring and policy advice.

Minister Afzali views you as a role model and seeks your mentorship & support. She has explained some of her priorities in the attached correspondence and would like to meet briefly with you at the Kabul Conference, a meeting. Time permitting, we would recommend a brief session with some international and Afghan media present. Perhaps at some point Secretary Solis can visit here and deepen the partnership with Minister Afzali.

Respectfully,

Karl

PERSONAL
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 2:14 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: Letter from and Meeting with Afghan Minister of Labor, Social Affiars, Martyrs and Disabled
**Attachments:** MoLSAMD Letter.jpg; MoLSAMD Letter page 2 doc.jpg

From Karl

---

**From**: Eikenberry, Karl W
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Holbrooke, Richard; Wayne, E Anthony; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Hadda, Katherine B; Ensor, David B; Adler, Michael J; Begley, Valerie
**Sent**: Mon Jul 19 02:06:33 2010
**Subject**: Letter from and Meeting with Afghan Minister of Labor, Social Affiars, Martyrs and Disabled

Dear Madam Secretary,

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Minister Afzali views you as a role model and seeks your mentorship & support. She has explained some of her priorities in the attached correspondence and would like to meet briefly with you at the Kabul Conference, a meeting. Time permitting, we would recommend a brief session with some international and Afghan media present. Perhaps at some point Secretary Solis can visit here and deepen the partnership with Minister Afzali.

Respectfully,

Karl

PERSONAL
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Afghan official: 6 police killed, 4 injured when their vehicle hits roadside bomb in the south

---

**From**: Packer, Adam D
**To**: NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: Lukens, Lewis A; Moy, Kin W; Kidwell, Michael R; Narain, Paul F; Montgomery, Molly C; Kozlowski, Thomas G; Turner, Michael A; Olive, Alexis S; S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent**: Mon Jul 19 07:22:13 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Afghan official: 6 police killed, 4 injured when their vehicle hits roadside bomb in the south

Best regards,
Adam

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** TPs

Below are points for the press on the plane. I'll have a hard copy printed:

First major ministerial in Afghanistan since the 1970s. The very fact of it is a big deal.

Context is important. This is not out of the blue, it's not just a random gathering; it's part of a systematic process: Karzai's inauguration, announcement of the President's strategy, London conference, Peace Jirga, and now the Kabul conference.

Increasing Afghan leadership and ownership: They are presenting a set of concrete programs on governance, service delivery, security transition, economic development, and reintegration. These programs are detailed; they are serious; and they reflect months of work and consultation.

Increasing international alignment: The international community is coordinating with each other - through ISAF, Sedwill, de Mistura, etc. - and aligning its efforts with the Afghan programs and priorities being set forth at this conference. This is NOT a pledging conference. It is an opportunity to ensure we are effectively supporting Afghan government leadership and ownership

Follow-through and accountability: In his inauguration, Karzai laid out a credible vision; in London, the Afghan government committed to developing and pursuing specific plans in a variety of areas; at Kabul, we'll be heavily focused on implementation. This is about mutual accountability for the pledges made and the programs set forth.

July 2011: The president's strategy reflects both urgency and resolve: increased resources and intensity in our efforts to take the fight to the enemy and to build Afghan capacity to effect a conditions-based transition; and a long-term civilian commitment to support Afghanistan long into the future.

Clear strategy: Reverse the momentum of the Taliban; build the capacity of Afghan security forces; and as Afghans develop the capability to stabilize their country, we must draw down our combat presence and make a responsible transition to Afghan leadership.

Clear desired end-state: An Afghan state that is willing and strong enough to ensure that global terrorists never again have safe haven within its borders; can withstand internal and external threats; and can continue to make long-term political and economic progress, all with sustainable levels of international support.

Civ-mil cooperation: Unfortunate to lose General McChrystal, but maintained continuity with General Petraeus and we have only intensified our civ-mil engagement both in Kabul and Washington.

Reconciliation: Stress that it is Afghan-led. Note red-lines.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FYI on women and Kabul conference

**From:** Pauli, Rosemarie
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent:** Mon Jul 19 10:33:49 2010
**Subject:** FW: FYI on women and Kabul conference

FYI rm

http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-07-19/kabul-conference-afghan-womens-warning-for-international-donors/?cid=hp:mainpromo7

**Secretary Clinton may be one of the highest-profile attendees at Tuesday's Kabul Conference, but Afghan women fear their opinions won't be heard—and they worry new deals with fighters will roll back their hard-fought rights.**

As Hillary Clinton prepares to attend Tuesday's Kabul Conference, Afghan women are delivering a plain message to government and international officials: Women's voices should be heard.

"We have to be honest. With respect to the Kabul Conference, we have not been consulted," said Soraya Pakzad, founder of a women's shelter in the western Afghan city of Herat. Her comment came during an unusually heated question-and-answer session with Afghan Finance Minister Omar Zakhilwal and United Nations representative Staffan de Mistura marking the end of a two-day women's conference. "We want to be involved in policy-making. We don't want our presence to be purely symbolic."

"Women's rights and achievements should not be compromised in any peace negotiations or accords."

The Kabul Conference is, in part, built on symbolism. A follow-up to January's London Conference, the gathering marks the first time Afghanistan has played host to its international donors, a decision that is intended to showcase the transition from foreign to Afghan ownership of national priorities. More than 65 international delegations are expected to descend upon the Afghan capital, which is already enduring security crackdowns and traffic gridlock. Workers could be seen Sunday painting curbs and planting flowers in advance of the foreigners' arrival.

Discussions will center around five topics, including economic development, agriculture, governance, and security. The goal of the half-day event is to establish a framework for Afghan leadership in the setting—and execution—of the country's political and economic direction.

- Ann Marlowe: The Republican Fight Over Afghanistan

Although it remains to be seen how quickly the Afghan government, long under-resourced and beset by allegations of corruption, will be able to take the reins from its international donors, there is no question that Afghan ownership is the direction in which things are moving, on the political, economic, and security fronts. And that is precisely why women feel the stakes for this week's meeting are so high, particularly in light of new deals to empower local militias that might threaten women's rights.

"After the Kabul Conference, no one knows what else could be on the agenda apart from war escalations and negotiations," said Orzala Ashraf, an Afghan human rights activist. "This is very important for us, to get a serious and honest commitment from our government in the presence of all witnesses from the world that our voices will not be silenced."

Ashraf and a number of other women's advocates view Tuesday's talks are their last, best shot at speaking out about their concerns, with help from European and American officials who have been working hard to help them win a seat at the table. In another show of support, Secretary Clinton and Danish Foreign Minister Lene Espersen will meet Tuesday morning with a group of women leaders.

Regardless of this high-profile backing, many women say they have little faith in the process to produce anything aside from more paper and more unkept promises.

"Women are very tired of all these conferences; the government is going to have to show commitments," said Selay Ghaffar, an Afghan Women's Network board member. "We want things to change."

And it remains unclear how many Afghans outside Kabul, men or women, are paying attention to yet another gathering to discuss their future.

"Women in the provinces don't even know about this," said Zainab, a young math teacher from Helmand province. "I would say 60 percent of women have no idea this is going on."

Others say the presence of one or two women at the Kabul Conference isn't enough to make a difference. And they say they fear the recent move from NATO to empower local militias to fight the Taliban, particularly in southern Afghanistan.

"This is very dangerous," said Shahida Hussain, a human rights advocate from Kandahar who worked as a community organizer during the Taliban years. "We had militias during the communist years and Afghanistan was destroyed. We fear war again."

Women leaders say that they want peace and are glad to welcome back former fighters, but only if they respect women's constitutional guarantee to equal protections under the law.

"Women should be a constituent part of all bodies outlined in the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Plan," said the women in a statement at the end of their meeting. "Women's rights and achievements should not be compromised in any peace negotiations or accords."

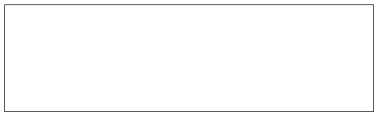
In the meantime, women continue to fight for a voice as Tuesday approaches. After a weeklong flurry of conference calls, embassy meetings, and lunchtime gatherings, two women aside from government ministers are now slated to speak.

And in a small victory for women, international officials agreed with Pakzad's assessment before pledging that women would be more involved going forward.

"I agree, you were not consulted," said da Mistura, appearing to contradict the Afghan finance minister, who only a few moments earlier had said that women's views had and would be included. "As usual, we have been paying lip service to you and we are all at fault for that."

--

Barnett R. Rubin



B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 2:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Readout from Afghan women's conference over the weekend.

The writer is someone who has worked with Afghan women in developing small businesses in Afghanistan and is doing a book about the experience.
She went back to Afghanistan for the conference that women had over the weekend and wrote the article that follows for today's Daily Beast.
Soraya mentioned here is one of our Women of Courage. Gayle (the writer) told me in a separate email that De Mistura was very sympathetic and said they should be consulted, that the current documents are working documents and he pledged that the women would be more inovled in the follow up. He also told them that he was very impressed that they had organized themselves in this 2-day conference to be able to play a more effective role. Zakhilwal was gracious, but said they were adequately consulted. So it goes.

## Secretary Clinton may be one of the highest-profile attendees at Tuesday's Kabul Conference, but Afghan women fear their opinions won't be heard—and they worry new deals with fighters will roll back their hard-fought rights.

As Hillary Clinton prepares to attend Tuesday's Kabul Conference, Afghan women are delivering a plain message to government and international officials: Women's voices should be heard.
"We have to be honest. With respect to the Kabul Conference, we have not been consulted," said Soraya Pakzad, founder of a women's shelter in the western Afghan city of Herat. Her comment came during an unusually heated question-and-answer session with Afghan Finance Minister Omar Zakhilwal and United Nations representative Staffan de Mistura marking the end of a two-day women's conference. "We want to be involved in policy-making. We don't want our presence to be purely symbolic."

"Women's rights and achievements should not be compromised in any peace negotiations or accords."

The Kabul Conference is, in part, built on symbolism. A follow-up to January's London Conference, the gathering marks the first time Afghanistan has played host to its international donors, a decision that is intended to showcase the transition from foreign to Afghan ownership of national priorities. More than 65 international delegations are expected to descend upon the Afghan capital, which is already enduring security crackdowns and traffic gridlock. Workers could be seen Sunday painting curbs and planting flowers in advance of the foreigners' arrival.
Discussions will center around five topics, including economic development, agriculture, governance, and security. The goal of the half-day event is to establish a framework for Afghan leadership in the setting—and execution—of the country's political and economic direction.
Although it remains to be seen how quickly the Afghan government, long under-resourced and beset by allegations of corruption, will be able to take the reins from its international donors, there is no question that Afghan ownership is the direction in which things are moving, on the political, economic, and security fronts. And that is precisely why women feel the stakes for this week's meeting are so high, particularly in light of new deals to empower local militias that might threaten women's rights.
"After the Kabul Conference, no one knows what else could be on the agenda apart from war escalations and negotiations," said Orzala Ashraf, an Afghan human rights activist. "This is very important for us, to get a serious and honest commitment from our government in the presence of all witnesses from the world that our voices will not be silenced."
Ashraf and a number of other women's advocates view Tuesday's talks are their last, best shot at speaking out about their concerns, with help from European and American officials who have been working hard to help them win a seat at the

table. In another show of support, Secretary Clinton and Danish Foreign Minister Lene Espersen will meet Tuesday morning with a group of women leaders.

Regardless of this high-profile backing, many women say they have little faith in the process to produce anything aside from more paper and more unkept promises.

"Women are very tired of all these conferences; the government is going to have to show commitments," said Selay Ghaffar, an Afghan Women's Network board member. "We want things to change."

And it remains unclear how many Afghans outside Kabul, men or women, are paying attention to yet another gathering to discuss their future.

"Women in the provinces don't even know about this," said Zainab, a young math teacher from Helmand province. "I would say 60 percent of women have no idea this is going on."

Others say the presence of one or two women at the Kabul Conference isn't enough to make a difference. And they say they fear the recent move from NATO to empower local militias to fight the Taliban, particularly in southern Afghanistan.

"This is very dangerous," said Shahida Hussain, a human rights advocate from Kandahar who worked as a community organizer during the Taliban years. "We had militias during the communist years and Afghanistan was destroyed. We fear war again."

Women leaders say that they want peace and are glad to welcome back former fighters, but only if they respect women's constitutional guarantee to equal protections under the law.

"Women should be a constituent part of all bodies outlined in the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Plan," said the women in a statement at the end of their meeting. "Women's rights and achievements should not be compromised in any peace negotiations or accords."

In the meantime, women continue to fight for a voice as Tuesday approaches. After a weeklong flurry of conference calls, embassy meetings, and lunchtime gatherings, two women aside from government ministers are now slated to speak.

And in a small victory for women, international officials agreed with Pakzad's assessment before pledging that women would be more involved going forward.

"I agree, you were not consulted," said da Mistura, appearing to contradict the Afghan finance minister, who only a few moments earlier had said that women's views had and would be included. "As usual, we have been paying lip service to you and we are all at fault for that."

*Gayle Tzemach Lemmon covered presidential politics as a producer at ABC News in Washington. Since 2005, she has been reporting on women entrepreneurs starting small and medium-sized businesses in post-conflict economies such as Afghanistan, Bosnia and Rwanda. She is currently working on a book scheduled for 2010 publication by HarperCollins about a young Afghan entrepreneur whose business supported her family and community during the Taliban years.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 3:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYT article on tax collection in Pakistan

Have you been dictating to the NYT?? Exactly what you have been emphasizing. AM

---

**From:** Catanzano, Amanda M
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Mon Jul 19 13:42:09 2010
**Subject:** NYT article on tax collection in Pakistan

Thought you might find this interesting given S' interest in taxation. I knew Pakistan was bad – but this is shocking. 2% of the population paying taxes??? On par with Sierra Leone in tax collection to GDP ratio.

# Pakistan's Elite Pay Few Taxes, Widening Gap

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — Much of Pakistan's capital city looks like a rich Los Angeles suburb. Shiny sport utility vehicles purr down gated driveways. Elegant multistory homes are tended by servants. Laundry is never hung out to dry.

But behind the opulence lurks a troubling fact. Very few of these households pay income tax. That is mostly because the politicians who make the rules are also the country's richest citizens, and are skilled at finding ways to exempt themselves.

That would be a problem in any country. But in Pakistan, the lack of a workable tax system feeds something more menacing: a festering inequality in Pakistani society, where the wealth of its most powerful members is never redistributed or put to use for public good. That is creating conditions that have helped spread an insurgency that is tormenting the country and complicating American policy in the region.

It is also a sorry performance for a country that is among the largest recipients of American aid, payments of billions of dollars that prop up the country's finances and are meant to help its leaders fight the insurgency.

Though the authorities have tried to expand the net in recent years, taxing profits from the stock market and real estate, entire swaths of the economy, like agriculture, a major moneymaker for the elite, remain untaxed.

"This is a system of the elite, by the elite and for the elite," said Riyaz Hussain Naqvi, a retired government official who worked in tax collection for 38 years. "It is a skewed system in which the poor man subsidizes the rich man."

The problem starts at the top. The average worth of Pakistani members of Parliament is $900,000, with its richest member topping $37 million, according to a December study by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency in Islamabad.

While Pakistan's income from taxes last year was the lowest in the country's history, according to Zafar ul-Majeed, a senior official in the Federal Board of Revenue, the assets of current members of Parliament nearly doubled from those of members of the previous Parliament, the institute study found.

The country's top opposition leader, Nawaz Sharif, reported that he paid no personal income tax for three years ending in 2007 in public documents he filed with Pakistan's election commission. A spokesman for Mr. Sharif, an industrialist who is widely believed to be a millionaire, said he had been in exile and had turned over positions in his companies to relatives.

A month of requests for similar documents for Pakistan's president and prime minister went unanswered by the commission; representatives for the men said they did not have the figures.

"Taxes are the Achilles' heel of Pakistani politicians," said Jahangir Tareen, a businessman and member of Parliament who is trying to put taxes on the public agenda. He paid $225,534 in income tax in 2009, a figure he made public in Parliament last month. "If you don't have income, fine, but then don't go and get into a Land Cruiser."

The rules say that anyone who earns more than $3,488 a year must pay income tax, but few do. Akbar Zaidi, a Karachi-based political economist with the Carnegie Endowment, estimates that as many as 10 million Pakistanis should be paying income tax, far more than the 2.5 million who are registered.

Out of more than 170 million Pakistanis, fewer than 2 percent pay income tax, making Pakistan's revenue from taxes among the lowest in the world, a notch below Sierra Leone's as a ratio of tax to gross domestic product.

Mr. Zaidi blames the United States and its perpetual bailouts of Pakistan for the minuscule tax revenues from rich and poor alike. "The Americans should say: 'Enough. Sort it out yourselves. Get your house in order first,' " he argued. "But you are cowards. You are afraid to take that chance."

Much of the tax avoidance, especially by the wealthy, is legal. Under a 1990s law that has become one of the main tools to legalize undocumented — or illegally obtained — money made in Pakistan, authorities here are not allowed to question money transferred from abroad. Businessmen and politicians channel billions of rupees through Dubai back to Pakistan, no questions asked.

"In this country, no one asks, 'How did you get that flat in Mayfair?' " said Shabbar Zaidi, a partner at A. F. Ferguson & Company, an accounting firm in Karachi, referring to an affluent area of London. "It's a very good country for the rich man. Chauffeurs, servants, big houses. The question is, who is suffering? The common man."

Then there are the tax-free goods supposedly meant for Afghanistan. Mr. Zaidi said much stayed in Pakistan illegally, including 50,000 tons of black tea that were imported last year. Afghans drink green tea.

"As per our information, not a single cup of black tea was drunk in Afghanistan," he said.

Tax collectors try to be tough. When Mr. Naqvi headed the tax authority, he tried to conduct a broad audit, prompting howls of protest. Lawyers from the Lahore High Court Bar Association — also evaders — even issued a ruling against him.

Mr. Majeed said his collectors now use individual electric bills to track down rich evaders, on the assumption that high bills mean air-conditioning, which means wealth. They recently issued hundreds of warnings to rich houses in Islamabad. But going after politicians, he said, is tricky. "Not while they're in power," he said, smiling.

Tax collection has risen by about 20 percent a year recently, he said, though it barely registers as an increase because more than half of Pakistan's economy is off the books.

Lacking the political will to collect income tax, Pakistan resorts to easier measures, like the sales tax, considered less fair because it hits the poor as hard as the rich. Muhamed Azhar, 26, a chauffeur in Karachi with a $123-a-month salary, pays the same sales tax rate as a National Assembly member who makes $1,400 a month with benefits. Earnings from real estate and land are rarely declared.

"The big people ruling us have houses and servants, and they should pay taxes," Mr. Azhar said, watching motorcades of sport utility vehicles zip by, en route to the local Parliament. He sometimes wonders whether they are even going to work at all. With all the tinted windows, guards and fuss, he has never actually seen them.

The overwhelming majority of Pakistan's tax burden is carried by the manufacturing sector for the domestic market, which, according to Mr. Majeed, makes up only 19 percent of Pakistan's economy but pays 51 percent of its taxes.

Most economic activity takes place in the shadows. Merchants — the most vociferous opponents of a value-added tax, a tax the International Monetary Fund has pressed Pakistan to adopt largely because it would require documentation — make up a fifth of the economy, but carry 6 percent of its tax burden. Out of millions of shops in Pakistan, just 160,000 are now registered for a general sales tax, Mr. Majeed said.

Particularly galling for Pakistan's middle class is the lack of a federal tax on agriculture, an industry that employs nearly half of Pakistan's population and whose profits go largely to the wealthy landowners who pack local Parliaments. When the World Bank finally forced adoption of a modest provincial tax in 1997 as a condition for a loan, few paid.

Mr. Tareen, the member of Parliament, said that when he first tried to pay, tax collectors refused to take the money, not wanting to rock the boat. He had to write a letter to a senior official to have it accepted.

It was not always like this. Nasir Aslam Zahid, a former Supreme Court justice in his 70s, blames what he calls moral decay in Pakistani society, in which respect for rules has fallen, merit has been forgotten and cheating has become a way of life.

"In my time, it was considered a moral thing for a person to file a tax return," he said. "Today, corruption has broken all records."

*Salman Masood contributed reporting.*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: house allocation

The House Appropriations Committee is apparently going to revise it's allocation for State/USAID – it is reportedly some $1.3 billion better (!). So, the overall cut would be closer to $2.7 billion, not $4 billion. Will report back when that is finalized. Some good news for a change.

---

**From:** Higgins, Craig [redacted] B6
**To:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Mon Jul 19 13:27:51 2010
**Subject:** RE:

Rich,

The Committee circulated a suballocations report to Full Committee members in advance of tomorrow's Full Committee mark-up on the Mil/Qual and Transpo/HUD bills. Adoption of that report will be the first order of business. The S-FOPS allocation proposed in that report is $53.983 billion, which is $1.327 billion above our provisional allocation and the Subcommittee mark. We expect that our Minority Members will oppose the additional funds.

Craig

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R [mailto:VermaRR@state.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 1:19 PM
**To:** Higgins, Craig
**Subject:**

Hi Craig –

Am hearing that you are getting a new allocation that would be some $1.3 billion better for the 150 account....any truth to those rumors?

Thx.

Rich

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 9:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Intervention

No!! And I'm clearly CCd; I have no idea why I missed this.

I will make these edits immediately and send to you, Huma, and Jake.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:29:34 2010
Subject: Fw: Intervention

Did you receive last night?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'rooneym@state.gov' <rooneym@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jul 19 15:23:40 2010
Subject: Intervention

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 9:44 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Intervention

Great.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:43:07 2010
Subject: Re: Intervention

I've made other edits as well but why don't you do yours and then bring it to me and I'll work off that. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:40:50 2010
Subject: Re: Intervention

No!! And I'm clearly CCd; I have no idea why I missed this.

I will make these edits immediately and send to you, Huma, and Jake.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:29:34 2010
Subject: Fw: Intervention

Did you receive last night?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'rooneym@state.gov' <rooneym@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jul 19 15:23:40 2010
Subject: Intervention

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 10:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Intervention

We didn't receive this email last night for some reason but we were working thru similar additions - Megan will have for you soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:29:34 2010
Subject: Fw: Intervention

Did you receive last night?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'rooneym@state.gov' <rooneym@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jul 19 15:23:40 2010
Subject: Intervention

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 19, 2010 10:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Intervention

We'll have it to you in 15 mins.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Jul 19 22:26:45 2010
Subject: Re: Intervention

Good. Pls beroing it over as soon as you can. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jul 19 22:21:49 2010
Subject: Re: Intervention

We didn't receive this email last night for some reason but we were working thru similar additions - Megan will have for you soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Rooney, Megan
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Jul 19 21:29:34 2010
Subject: Fw: Intervention

Did you receive last night?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'rooneym@state.gov' <rooneym@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jul 19 15:23:40 2010
Subject: Intervention

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 20, 2010 7:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Megrahi Hrg

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M; Rooney, Matthew M; Stout, Jennifer P
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J
Sent: Tue Jul 20 16:15:40 2010
Subject: Megrahi Hrg

Just spoke to Doug Frantz. A little intel (or not).

As you know, Menendez is driving the train on the June 29th hearing. He will chair. Lautenberg has requested the opportunity to ask questions from the dais, but right now the Committee is pushing back saying they don't want this to devolve into a circus.

Committee may ask State and/or DOJ to produce witness/es who can speak to the agreements entered into that permitted Megrahi to be prosecuted and jailed in Scotland in the first place. From State, they're not sure if that's someone from EUR, NEA, or elsewhere within the Department. This would be at the Committee's insistence and not necessarily Menendez's.

I asked who they think Menendez might want to call as a witness. They said Tony Blair. I laughed. They didn't. Am told the Committee is discouraging Menendez from even making the request. We'll see.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 21, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: editorial in today's WaPost

Fyi

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**From:** Ross, Alec J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Wed Jul 21 08:43:23 2010
**Subject:** Fw: editorial in today's WaPost

---

**From:** Scott, Ben
**To:** Innovation
**Sent:** Wed Jul 21 08:38:13 2010
**Subject:** editorial in today's WaPost

The Washington Post

# State Department is taking right steps to foster Internet freedom

Wednesday, July 21, 2010; A18

BILLIONS OF people live in countries where the Internet is not free. Confined behind the elaborate firewalls of authoritarian regimes such as China and Iran, they find their rights to expression threatened online and off -- by elaborate systems of monitoring and censorship and by harsh laws that punish bloggers with imprisonment or even death.

In January, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke powerfully in support of Internet freedom, saying, "We stand for a single Internet where all of humanity has equal access to knowledge and ideas. And we recognize that the world's information infrastructure will become what we and others make of it."

Since then, the State Department has brought the issue of online freedom to the table in its diplomacy around the world and joined with Internet providers and social media companies to foster public-private partnership in Internet freedom. Such collaboration is key, since authoritarian regimes so often contract out the daily work of censorship to private companies.

Congress, too, has showed commitment to openness online, allocating $35 million in funding between the 2009 and 2010 budgets for work that promotes Internet freedom. This money has yet to be spent, but the State Department finally has sent the names of designated recipients of the 2009 budget's $5 million in Internet freedom funding to Congress for its approval and soon will begin the process for distributing this year's grants.

As it moves forward on this vital issue, the State Department must carefully determine how best to spend its limited resources. Yes, there is no silver bullet to guarantee freedom on the Internet. But it is possible to do

great good with available funds. Investing in censorship-circumvention techniques like those that powered Tehran's "Twitter revolution" in June 2009 could have a tremendous, measurable impact.

Although this solution is not without its problems -- the best-known provider of this software is the Falun Gong-affiliated Global Internet Freedom consortium, and users behind China's Great Firewall may mistrust the technology of a group their government has banned -- the State Department must seriously consider channeling funds to organizations that have demonstrated great potential to make a difference.

The State Department is attempting a more holistic approach to Internet freedom, spreading funds across a variety of projects. Monitoring the efficacy of chosen solutions and rewarding those that produce results will be essential as this program continues.

A cyberspace without walls or barriers, where people can assemble and express themselves freely, without fear of censorship or imprisonment, will make the world safer for the United States and for democracies everywhere. Continued public-private partnership, prioritization of Internet freedom in diplomacy and the wise deployment of allocated funds will move this ideal closer to reality.

Ben Scott
Policy Advisor for Innovation
Office of the Secretary of State
e: scottdb@state.gov || 202-647-4705

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 21, 2010 3:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you!

Thank you for all you did on behalf of the Afghan women on your whirlwind visit. Emails of gratitude to you are pouring in from Afghanistan. Many of the women listened to your intervention and commented on that as well as your small meeting.

Yesterday, I had to speak at an event with the Congressional Women's Caucus on Maternal Health in Afghanistan. I said that as we were meeting in the Cannon Caucus Room , you were making a major maternal health announcement in Afghanistan. The women Members were overjoyed as were all the health advocates.

This article from the Guardian was sent to me by a UK parliamentarian who intends to echo your remarks. Also, Andrea Mitchell did a great piece on your meeting with the women on NBC.

> Hillary Clinton vows to defend rights of Afghan women
>
> US secretary of state tells foreign ministers meeting in Kabul women 'will not be sacrificed' in any peace deal with the Taliban
>
> Jon Boone in Kabul
> Wednesday July 21 2010
> The Guardian
>
>
> http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jul/20/hillary-clinton-afghan-women-taliban
>
>
> Jon Boone
>
> Hillary Clinton today promised that any peace deal with the ultra-conservative Taliban movement would not come at the cost of the rights of Afghan women.
>
> The US secretary of state told a conference of the world's foreign ministers that women in the country "will not be sacrificed" and announced a number of initiatives to improve their situation.
>
> Her intervention came when many diplomats assume that any deal with hardline insurgents will inevitably involve compromises that would have been unthinkable nine years ago, when the US-led invasion of Afghanistan was in part justified by the desire to emancipate Afghan women.
>
> But in a meeting with leading Afghan women today Clinton told them that any deal "can't come at the cost of women and women's lives".
>
> "We are aware of the concerns that many of you have expressed about the reconciliation process and we understand why you would have those concerns," Clinton told them.
>
> Anxious to put the issue on the agenda of her fellow foreign ministers, she told the conference that women and civil society groups "will be essential to this country's success."
>
> "If these groups are fully empowered to help build a just and lasting peace, they will help do so," she said. "If they are silenced and pushed to the margins of Afghan society, the prospects for peace and justice will be subverted."
>
> She also announced extra US funding for projects to improve maternal and child health, including one scheme that will

use mullahs to encourage women to make use of clinics. In rural Afghan society, where they are often not allowed to leave the house without their husband's permission, women are sometimes discouraged from seeking medical care.
>
> The final conference communique recognised "the centrality of women's rights to the future of Afghanistan".
>
> Earlier this month, a report by Human Rights Watch said the Afghan government was already doing little to protect women and that their rights should be a priority in any political agreement with the Taliban.
>
> The organisation said in areas under the control of militants, women suffer from violence and intimidation while girls' schools and female activists are attacked. The report identified one case where a female civil servant had to quit her job after receiving a "night letter" from insurgents threatening to kill her.
>
>
> If you have any questions about this email, please contact the guardian.co.uk user help desk: userhelp@guardian.co.uk.
>
>
>
>

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RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 22, 2010 8:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Clinton raises concern over Vietnam's rights record

**From**: Pearce, Jennifer
**To**: NEWS-EAP; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent**: Thu Jul 22 08:14:16 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Clinton raises concern over Vietnam's rights record

HANOI - Secretary Clinton expressed concern over Vietnam's arrests of dissidents, attacks on religious groups and curbs on Internet freedom, but said the countries remained friends. The United States and Communist-run Vietnam marked 15 years of diplomatic ties this month and Clinton said the two countries had "learned to see each other not as former enemies but as actual and potential partners, colleagues and friends. We have consistently moved in the direction of engagement and cooperation, even on those issues where we disagree." Clinton spoke during a two-day visit to Hanoi for the Asia-Pacific region's biggest security dialogue.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 22, 2010 10:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Big Win

Fyi.

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Gordon, Philip H; Dell, Christopher W; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Jul 22 10:34:02 2010
**Subject:** Big Win

B5

5. Holding: Unanimously decides to give advisory opinion, on merits finds
    a. Adoption of DI did not violate general intl law, 1244, or constitutional framework, therefore did not vio
    b. 9-5 provide advisory op: dissents by tomka, koroma, keith, bennoune +1 other
    c. On merits, 10-4 DI did not violate intl law-- tomka,DEC koroma,DISSENT bennoune, skutnikov DISSENT
    d. OTHERS ALL SEP OPS

MORE LATER, BUT ABOUT AS DECISIVE A WIN AS WE COULD HAVE HOPED FOR

Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser

United States Department of State
2201 C St. N.W. Suite 6421
Washington, D.C. 20520
202-647-9598 phone
[redacted] cell
202-647- 7096 fax

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 4:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iran, Turkey and Brazil agree on fuel swap deal

Fyi

---

**From:** Morgan, Jack A
**To:** NEWS-Iran; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun May 16 16:51:05 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iran, Turkey and Brazil agree on fuel swap deal

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Turkey's Foreign Minister said that an agreement had been reached between Iran, Turkey and Brazil over procedures to revive a stalled U.N.-backed nuclear fuel swap deal. When Ahmet Davutoglu was asked by reporters in Tehran whether there would be agreement on the nuclear fuel swap deal, he replied: "Yes, it has been reached after almost 18 hours of negotiations." Turkey's foreign ministry said a formal announcement might be made on the morning of May 17 after any final revisions by the Brazilian and Iranian presidents and the Turkish Prime Minister who reached the agreement at talks in Tehran.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 5:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** AFP

'Inept' US cannot fix Afghanistan: top Saudi prince Sun, May 16, 2010

RIYADH (AFP) – An "inept" United States cannot fix Afghanistan's problems and should simply focus on "chasing the terrorists" there, former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal said on Saturday.

The ex-ambassador to the United States also challenged Washington to produce results in just-started Middle East peace talks, and accused US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton of undermining efforts to make the region nuclear-free.

AFP – Saudi Arabia's former intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal delivers a speech during a conference ...

In a speech in Riyadh before diplomats, Turki said US-led NATO troops had irrevocably alienated the Afghan people and had no hope of rebuilding the country.

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Without a UN Security Council effort to protect Iraq's current borders, the consequence could be "regional conflict on a scale not seen since the Ottoman-Safavid wars of the 17th and 18th centuries," he warned.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 22, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Big Win

Fyi

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Jul 22 10:39:18 2010
**Subject:** RE: Big Win

We'll put out good statement; will send you.

B5

Will be in touch. But this is great outcome.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thursday, July 22, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** Gordon, Philip H
**Subject:** Fw: Big Win

Thoughts?

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Gordon, Philip H; Dell, Christopher W; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Jul 22 10:34:02 2010
**Subject:** Big Win

B5

B5

5. Holding: Unanimously decides to give advisory opinion, on merits finds
    a. Adoption of DI did not violate general intl law, 1244, or constitutional framework, therefore did not vio
    b. 9-5 provide advisory op: dissents by tomka, koroma, keith, bennoune +1 other
    c. On merits, 10-4 DI did not violate intl law-- tomka,DEC koroma,DISSENT bennoune, skutnikov DISSENT
    d. OTHERS ALL SEP OPS

MORE LATER, BUT ABOUT AS DECISIVE A WIN AS WE COULD HAVE HOPED FOR

Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
United States Department of State
2201 C St. N.W. Suite 6421
Washington, D.C. 20520
202-647-9598 phone
cell
202-647- 7096 fax

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 6:12 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: AFP

Defer to Jake, but checking in with NEA (Jeff's on travel so might take a little longer)

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 16 May 2010 18:10:38
To: 'preines [redacted] B6
Cc: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'<sullivanjj@state.gov>
Subject: Re: AFP

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: Jake Sullivan <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Sun May 16 17:06:46 2010
Subject: AFP

'Inept' US cannot fix Afghanistan: top Saudi prince Sun, May 16, 2010

RIYADH (AFP) – An "inept" United States cannot fix Afghanistan's problems and should simply focus on "chasing the terrorists" there, former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal said on Saturday.

The ex-ambassador to the United States also challenged Washington to produce results in just-started Middle East peace talks, and accused US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton of undermining efforts to make the region nuclear-free.

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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** preines H B6
**Subject:** Re: AFP

I'll talk to Bill about it - not at all sure what is driving this.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines B6
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun May 16 18:11:38 2010
Subject: Re: AFP

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-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 16 May 2010 18:10:38
To: 'preines B6
Cc: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'<sullivanjj@state.gov>
Subject: Re: AFP

B5

----- Original Message -----
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RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 22, 2010 12:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls clear: Statement on Conflict Minerals

Fyi

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
**Sent:** Thu Jul 22 12:21:47 2010
**Subject:** Pls clear: Statement on Conflict Minerals

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Conflict Minerals in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Last year in the Democratic Republic of Congo, I spoke out against the trade in "conflict minerals" that has funded a cycle of conflict there that has left more than 5 million people dead since 1998, displaced countless more, and spawned an epidemic of sexual and gender-based violence.

President Obama has now signed into law a measure that will require corporations to publicly disclose what they are doing to ensure that their products don't contain these minerals. The DRC has formally expressed its support for this law and has thanked both the executive and legislative branches of our government. This is one of several steps we are taking to stop this illicit and deadly trade.

After my visit to the Congo, I directed the State Department to develop a holistic strategy on this issue as part of our broader effort to engage effectively with the DRC. We continue to work with the government to crack down on corruption, both bilaterally and through the Great Lakes Contact Group. At the United Nations Security Council, we successfully pushed to expand the listing criteria in the DRC Sanctions Committee to include those supporting illegal armed groups through illicit trade of natural resources. We have provided support for initiatives on certification and due diligence that have been initiated by the government of the DRC, local and foreign industry groups, and regional and international institutions. And we have met with a wide range of industry representatives and discussed the responsibility of end-users to ensure their supply chains are free of conflict minerals.

All of these steps underscore the commitment of the United States to stand with the people of Congo and to work toward an end to this conflict.

###

Cleared:

D(S): J Steinberg
AF/FO: D Yamamoto
AF/PDPA: W Strassberger
E: O Kamanda
H: S Menz
P: Info

S/P: Info
EEB: Info

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Turkish PM to go to Iran during nuclear mediation

**From**: Shelstad, Jeffrey
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Sun May 16 12:04:31 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Turkish PM to go to Iran during nuclear mediation

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan will go to Tehran on May 16, a government official said, to join Brazilian and Turkish negotiators trying to convince Iran to revisit a stalled UN-backed nuclear fuel swap deal. Negotiations were underway on May 16 between Iranian officials and Brazilian President Lula da Silva and Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu.

**Jeff Shelstad**
**Watch Officer**
**Department of State Operations Center (S/ES-O)**
**ShelstadJ@state.gov (202) 647-1512**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 8:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Richard asking to talk to you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 9:05 PM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Dalton Hatfield

I'm pretty sure I gave the original to lauren as soon a I received it. Doubt I made a copy but I may have cause he'd asked for a tour. Let me check tomorrow.
------Original Message------
From: Hrc
To: Lauren C Jiloty
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: May 16, 2010 2:05 PM
Subject: Dalton Hatfield

Do you have a copy of the letter he sent me? I can't find my copy. Thx.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 23, 2010 5:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** AP/Afghanistan Sanctions

WASHINGTON (AP) - The Obama administration targeted key leaders of Afghanistan's Taliban with new financial sanctions Thursday in a move that could complicate relations with Pakistan and Afghan efforts to reconcile with insurgents.

The action by the Treasury Department will freeze the militants' assets, ban travel and trigger an arms embargo. It follows similar action by the United Nations earlier this week, and comes after calls from Gen. David Petraeus, the top military commander in Afghanistan, and Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, for sanctions against Afghan insurgent commanders operating in Pakistan.

Taken together, the U.S. and U.N. sanctions prohibit any financial transactions of the terror leaders in U.N. member countries, putting additional pressure on Pakistan to take broader actions against the Taliban militants.

Three financial kingpins were targeted with sanctions, including a key member of the Haqqani network, which directs operations against U.S. and coalition forces in Afghanistan from safe havens in Pakistan. Among those sanctioned Thursday was Nasiruddin Haqqani, an emissary for the Haqqani Network and brother of Sirajuddin Haqqani who leads the group with his father, Jalaluddin.

Others sanctioned included Gul Agha Ishakzai, the head of the Taliban's financial commission and Amir Abdullah, the former treasurer to captured Taliban leader Mullah Abdul Ghani Barader. The sanctions placed on the three leaders as terrorists would deprive them of the assets they need to fund their terror operations, said Adam J. Szubin, director of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control. "We will continue to aggressively work to expose and dismantle the financial networks of terrorist groups in support of the president's goal of a stable Afghanistan," he said.

According to officials, Ishakzai is the head of the Taliban's financial commission, has collected money for suicide attacks in Kandahar, Afghanistan, and has been involved in the disbursement of funds for Taliban fighters. He has served as a main financial officer and close adviser to Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar. Abdullah has reportedly traveled to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Libya and the United Arab Emirates to raise money for the Taliban and facilitate meetings and communications with key leaders. Nasiruddin Haqqani has collected funds for the Haqqani group, including from al-Qaida. Last week, Gen. David Petraeus, the top military commander in Afghanistan, urged officials to add commanders from the Haqqani network to the terrorist list. At the time, administration officials said a review was under way, largely accelerated after the May 1 failed Times Square bombing. The man who has pleaded guilty in the New York incident, Pakistani-born American Faisal Shahzad, said he trained with the Pakistani Taliban to build bombs, then returned to the U.S. to launch an attack that would avenge attacks on Muslims by U.S. forces overseas.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 10:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Iran

Latest update:

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 11:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Must read when you can. Sid

H: I'm sure you are preoccupied with the adventures of Lula, et al. Nonetheless, the article below, just posted by the NY Review, soon to be published, is a breakthrough piece that will have a large impact. It's worth reading, not least for Frank Luntz's poll numbers. The hysterical tone of much of the Israeli leadership and US Jewish community is partly rooted in this long-term and profound development. Sid

http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/

# The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment

**June 10, 2010**

## by Peter Beinart

E-mail Single Page Share More by Peter Beinart

Benjamin Netanyahu; drawing by John Springs

In 2003, several prominent Jewish philanthropists hired Republican pollster Frank Luntz to explain why American Jewish college students were not more vigorously rebutting campus criticism of Israel. In response, he unwittingly produced the most damning indictment of the organized American Jewish community that I have ever seen.

The philanthropists wanted to know what Jewish students thought about Israel. Luntz found that they mostly didn't. "Six times we have brought Jewish youth together as a group to talk about their Jewishness and connection to Israel," he reported. "Six times the topic of Israel did not come up until it was prompted. Six times these Jewish youth used the word '*they*' rather than '*us*' to describe the situation."

That Luntz encountered indifference was not surprising. In recent years, several studies have revealed, in the words of Steven Cohen of Hebrew Union College and Ari Kelman of the University of California at Davis, that "non-Orthodox younger Jews, on the whole, feel much less attached to Israel than their elders," with many professing "a near-total absence of positive feelings." In 2008, the student senate at Brandeis, the only nonsectarian Jewish-sponsored university in America, rejected a resolution commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Jewish state.

Luntz's task was to figure out what had gone wrong. When he probed the students' views of Israel, he hit up against some firm beliefs. First, "they reserve the right to question the Israeli position." These young Jews, Luntz explained, "resist anything they see as 'group think.'" They want an "open and frank" discussion of Israel and its flaws. Second, "young Jews desperately want peace." When Luntz showed them a series of ads, one of the most popular was entitled "Proof that Israel Wants Peace," and listed offers by various Israeli governments to withdraw from conquered land. Third, "some empathize with the plight of the Palestinians." When Luntz displayed ads depicting Palestinians as violent and hateful, several focus group participants criticized them as stereotypical and unfair, citing their own Muslim friends.

Most of the students, in other words, were liberals, broadly defined. They had imbibed some of the defining values of American Jewish political culture: a belief in open debate, a skepticism about military force, a commitment to human rights. And in their innocence, they did not realize that they were supposed to shed those values when it came to Israel. The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was a Zionism that recognized Palestinians as deserving of dignity and capable of peace, and they were quite willing to condemn an Israeli government that did not share those beliefs. Luntz did not grasp the irony. The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was the kind that the American Jewish establishment has been working against for most of their lives.

Among American Jews today, there are a great many Zionists, especially in the Orthodox world, people deeply devoted to the State of Israel. And there are a great many liberals, especially in the secular Jewish world, people deeply devoted to human rights for all people, Palestinians included. But the two groups are increasingly distinct. Particularly in the younger generations, fewer and fewer American Jewish liberals are Zionists; fewer and fewer American Jewish Zionists are liberal. One reason is that the leading institutions of American Jewry have refused to foster—indeed, have actively opposed—a Zionism that challenges Israel's behavior in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and toward its own Arab citizens. For several

decades, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to check their liberalism at Zionism's door, and now, to their horror, they are finding that many young Jews have checked their Zionism instead.

Morally, American Zionism is in a downward spiral. If the leaders of groups like AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations do not change course, they will wake up one day to find a younger, Orthodox-dominated, Zionist leadership whose naked hostility to Arabs and Palestinians scares even them, and a mass of secular American Jews who range from apathetic to appalled. Saving liberal Zionism in the United States—so that American Jews can help save liberal Zionism in Israel—is the great American Jewish challenge of our age. And it starts where Luntz's students wanted it to start: by talking frankly about Israel's current government, by no longer averting our eyes.

Since the 1990s, journalists and scholars have been describing a bifurcation in Israeli society. In the words of Hebrew University political scientist Yaron Ezrahi, "After decades of what came to be called a national consensus, the Zionist narrative of liberation [has] dissolved into openly contesting versions." One version, "founded on a long memory of persecution, genocide, and a bitter struggle for survival, is pessimistic, distrustful of non-Jews, and believing only in Jewish power and solidarity." Another, "nourished by secularized versions of messianism as well as the Enlightenment idea of progress," articulates "a deep sense of the limits of military force, and a commitment to liberal-democratic values." Every country manifests some kind of ideological divide. But in contemporary Israel, the gulf is among the widest on earth.

As Ezrahi and others have noted, this latter, liberal-democratic Zionism has grown alongside a new individualism, particularly among secular Israelis, a greater demand for free expression, and a greater skepticism of coercive authority. You can see this spirit in "new historians" like Tom Segev who have fearlessly excavated the darker corners of the Zionist past and in jurists like former Supreme Court President Aharon Barak who have overturned Knesset laws that violate the human rights guarantees in Israel's "Basic Laws." You can also see it in former Prime Minister Ehud Barak's apparent willingness to relinquish much of the West Bank in 2000 and early 2001.

But in Israel today, this humane, universalistic Zionism does not wield power. To the contrary, it is gasping for air. To understand how deeply antithetical its values are to those of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government, it's worth considering the case of Effi Eitam. Eitam, a charismatic ex–cabinet minister and war hero, has proposed ethnically cleansing Palestinians from the West Bank. "We'll have to expel the overwhelming majority of West Bank Arabs from here and remove Israeli Arabs from [the] political system," he declared in 2006. In 2008, Eitam merged his small Ahi Party into Netanyahu's Likud. And for the 2009–2010 academic year, he is Netanyahu's special emissary for overseas "campus engagement." In that capacity, he visited a dozen American high schools and colleges last fall on the Israeli government's behalf. The group that organized his tour was called "Caravan for Democracy."

Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman once shared Eitam's views. In his youth, he briefly joined Meir Kahane's now banned Kach Party, which also advocated the expulsion of Arabs from Israeli soil. Now Lieberman's position might be called "pre-expulsion." He wants to revoke the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who won't swear a loyalty oath to the Jewish state. He tried to prevent two Arab parties that opposed Israel's 2008–2009 Gaza war from running candidates for the Knesset. He said Arab Knesset members who met with representatives of Hamas should be executed. He wants to jail Arabs who publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day, and he hopes to permanently deny citizenship to Arabs from other countries who marry Arab citizens of Israel.

You don't have to be paranoid to see the connection between Lieberman's current views and his former ones. The more you strip Israeli Arabs of legal protection, and the more you accuse them of treason, the more thinkable a policy of expulsion becomes. Lieberman's American defenders often note that in theory he supports a Palestinian state. What they usually fail to mention is that for him, a two-state solution means redrawing Israel's border so that a large chunk of Israeli Arabs find themselves exiled to another country, without their consent.

Lieberman served as chief of staff during Netanyahu's first term as prime minister. And when it comes to the West Bank, Netanyahu's own record is in its way even more extreme than his protégé's. In his 1993 book, *A Place among the Nations*, Netanyahu not only rejects the idea of a Palestinian state, he denies that there is such a thing as a Palestinian. In fact, he repeatedly equates the Palestinian bid for statehood with Nazism. An Israel that withdraws from the West Bank, he has declared, would be a "ghetto-state" with "Auschwitz borders." And the effort "to gouge Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] out of Israel" resembles Hitler's bid to wrench the German-speaking "Sudeten district" from Czechoslovakia in 1938. It is unfair, Netanyahu insists, to ask Israel to concede more territory since it has already made vast, gut-wrenching concessions. What kind of concessions? It has abandoned its claim to Jordan, which by rights should be part of the Jewish state.

On the left of Netanyahu's coalition sits Ehud Barak's emasculated Labor Party, but whatever moderating potential it may have is counterbalanced by what is, in some ways, the most illiberal coalition partner of all, Shas, the ultra-Orthodox party representing Jews of North African and Middle Eastern descent. At one point, Shas—like some of its Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox counterparts—was open to dismantling settlements. In recent years, however, ultra-Orthodox Israelis, anxious to find housing for their large families, have increasingly moved to the West Bank, where thanks to government subsidies it is far cheaper to live. Not coincidentally, their political parties have swung hard against territorial compromise. And they have done so with a virulence that reflects ultra-Orthodox Judaism's profound hostility to liberal values. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, Shas's immensely powerful spiritual leader, has called Arabs "vipers," "snakes," and "ants." In 2005, after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon proposed dismantling settlements in the Gaza Strip, Yosef urged that "God strike him down." The official Shas newspaper recently called President Obama "an Islamic extremist."

Hebrew University Professor Ze'ev Sternhell is an expert on fascism and a winner of the prestigious Israel Prize. Commenting on Lieberman and the leaders of Shas in a recent Op-Ed in *Haaretz*, he wrote, "The last time politicians

holding views similar to theirs were in power in post–World War II Western Europe was in Franco's Spain." With their blessing, "a crude and multifaceted campaign is being waged against the foundations of the democratic and liberal order." Sternhell should know. In September 2008, he was injured when a settler set off a pipe bomb at his house.

Israeli governments come and go, but the Netanyahu coalition is the product of frightening, long-term trends in Israeli society: an ultra-Orthodox population that is increasing dramatically, a settler movement that is growing more radical and more entrenched in the Israeli bureaucracy and army, and a Russian immigrant community that is particularly prone to anti-Arab racism. In 2009, a poll by the Israel Democracy Institute found that 53 percent of Jewish Israelis (and 77 percent of recent immigrants from the former USSR) support encouraging Arabs to leave the country. Attitudes are worst among Israel's young. When Israeli high schools held mock elections last year, Lieberman won. This March, a poll found that 56 percent of Jewish Israeli high school students—and more than 80 percent of religious Jewish high school students—would deny Israeli Arabs the right to be elected to the Knesset. An education ministry official called the survey "a huge warning signal in light of the strengthening trends of extremist views among the youth."

You might think that such trends, and the sympathy for them expressed by some in Israel's government, would occasion substantial public concern—even outrage—among the leaders of organized American Jewry. You would be wrong. In Israel itself, voices from the left, and even center, warn in increasingly urgent tones about threats to Israeli democracy. (Former Prime Ministers Ehud Olmert and Ehud Barak have both said that Israel risks becoming an "apartheid state" if it continues to hold the West Bank. This April, when settlers forced a large Israeli bookstore to stop selling a book critical of the occupation, Shulamit Aloni, former head of the dovish Meretz Party, declared that "Israel has not been democratic for some time now.") But in the United States, groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference patrol public discourse, scolding people who contradict their vision of Israel as a state in which all leaders cherish democracy and yearn for peace.

The result is a terrible irony. In theory, mainstream American Jewish organizations still hew to a liberal vision of Zionism. On its website, AIPAC celebrates Israel's commitment to "free speech and minority rights." The Conference of Presidents declares that "Israel and the United States share political, moral and intellectual values including democracy, freedom, security and peace." These groups would never say, as do some in Netanyahu's coalition, that Israeli Arabs don't deserve full citizenship and West Bank Palestinians don't deserve human rights. But in practice, by defending virtually anything any Israeli government does, they make themselves intellectual bodyguards for Israeli leaders who threaten the very liberal values they profess to admire.

After Israel's elections last February, for instance, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice-chairman of the Presidents' Conference, explained that Avigdor Lieberman's agenda was "far more moderate than the media has presented it." Insisting that Lieberman bears no general animus toward Israeli Arabs, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that "He's not saying expel them. He's not saying punish them." (Permanently denying citizenship to their Arab spouses or jailing them if they publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day evidently does not qualify as punishment.) The ADL has criticized anti-Arab bigotry in the past, and the American Jewish Committee, to its credit, warned that Lieberman's proposed loyalty oath would "chill Israel's democratic political debate." But the *Forward* summed up the overall response of America's communal Jewish leadership in its headline "Jewish Leaders Largely Silent on Lieberman's Role in Government."

Not only does the organized American Jewish community mostly avoid public criticism of the Israeli government, it tries to prevent others from leveling such criticism as well. In recent years, American Jewish organizations have waged a campaign to discredit the world's most respected international human rights groups. In 2006, Foxman called an Amnesty International report on Israeli killing of Lebanese civilians "bigoted, biased, and borderline anti-Semitic." The Conference of Presidents has announced that "biased NGOs include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Christian Aid, [and] Save the Children." Last summer, an AIPAC spokesman declared that Human Rights Watch "has repeatedly demonstrated its anti-Israel bias." When the Obama administration awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mary Robinson, former UN high commissioner for human rights, the ADL and AIPAC both protested, citing the fact that she had presided over the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. (Early drafts of the conference report implicitly accused Israel of racism. Robinson helped expunge that defamatory charge, angering Syria and Iran.)

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are not infallible. But when groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference avoid virtually all public criticism of Israeli actions—directing their outrage solely at Israel's neighbors—they leave themselves in a poor position to charge bias. Moreover, while American Jewish groups claim that they are simply defending Israel from its foes, they are actually taking sides in a struggle *within* Israel between radically different Zionist visions. At the very moment the Anti-Defamation League claimed that Robinson harbored an "animus toward Israel," an alliance of seven Israeli human rights groups publicly congratulated her on her award. Many of those groups, like B'Tselem, which monitors Israeli actions in the Occupied Territories, and the Israeli branch of Physicians for Human Rights, have been at least as critical of Israel's actions in Lebanon, Gaza, and the West Bank as have Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

All of which raises an uncomfortable question. If American Jewish groups claim that Israel's overseas human rights critics are motivated by anti- Israeli, if not anti-Semitic, bias, what does that say about Israel's domestic human rights critics? The implication is clear: they must be guilty of self-hatred, if not treason. American Jewish leaders don't generally say that, of course, but their allies in the Netanyahu government do. Last summer, Israel's vice prime minister, Moshe Ya'alon, called the anti-occupation group Peace Now a "virus." This January, a right-wing group called Im Tirtzu accused Israeli human rights organizations of having fed information to the Goldstone Commission that investigated Israel's Gaza war. A

Knesset member from Netanyahu's Likud promptly charged Naomi Chazan, head of the New Israel Fund, which supports some of those human rights groups, with treason, and a member of Lieberman's party launched an investigation aimed at curbing foreign funding of Israeli NGOs.

To their credit, Foxman and other American Jewish leaders opposed the move, which might have impaired their own work. But they are reaping what they sowed. If you suggest that mainstream human rights criticism of Israel's government is motivated by animus toward the state, or toward Jews in general, you give aid and comfort to those in Israel who make the same charges against the human rights critics in their midst.

In the American Jewish establishment today, the language of liberal Zionism—with its idioms of human rights, equal citizenship, and territorial compromise—has been drained of meaning. It remains the lingua franca in part for generational reasons, because many older American Zionists still see themselves as liberals of a sort. They vote Democratic; they are unmoved by biblical claims to the West Bank; they see average Palestinians as decent people betrayed by bad leaders; and they are secular. They don't want Jewish organizations to criticize Israel from the left, but neither do they want them to be agents of the Israeli right.

These American Zionists are largely the product of a particular era. Many were shaped by the terrifying days leading up to the Six-Day War, when it appeared that Israel might be overrun, and by the bitter aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, when much of the world seemed to turn against the Jewish state. In that crucible, Israel became their Jewish identity, often in conjunction with the Holocaust, which the 1967 and 1973 wars helped make central to American Jewish life. These Jews embraced Zionism before the settler movement became a major force in Israeli politics, before the 1982 Lebanon war, before the first intifada. They fell in love with an Israel that was more secular, less divided, and less shaped by the culture, politics, and theology of occupation. And by downplaying the significance of Avigdor Lieberman, the settlers, and Shas, American Jewish groups allow these older Zionists to continue to identify with that more internally cohesive, more innocent Israel of their youth, an Israel that now only exists in their memories.

But these secular Zionists aren't reproducing themselves. Their children have no memory of Arab armies massed on Israel's border and of Israel surviving in part thanks to urgent military assistance from the United States. Instead, they have grown up viewing Israel as a regional hegemon and an occupying power. As a result, they are more conscious than their parents of the degree to which Israeli behavior violates liberal ideals, and less willing to grant Israel an exemption because its survival seems in peril. Because they have inherited their parents' liberalism, they cannot embrace their uncritical Zionism. Because their liberalism is real, they can see that the liberalism of the American Jewish establishment is fake.

To sustain their uncritical brand of Zionism, therefore, America's Jewish organizations will need to look elsewhere to replenish their ranks. They will need to find young American Jews who have come of age during the West Bank occupation but are not troubled by it. And those young American Jews will come disproportionately from the Orthodox world.

Because they marry earlier, intermarry less, and have more children, Orthodox Jews are growing rapidly as a share of the American Jewish population. According to a 2006 American Jewish Committee (AJC) survey, while Orthodox Jews make up only 12 percent of American Jewry over the age of sixty, they constitute 34 percent between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. For America's Zionist organizations, these Orthodox youngsters are a potential bonanza. In their yeshivas they learn devotion to Israel from an early age; they generally spend a year of religious study there after high school, and often know friends or relatives who have immigrated to Israel. The same AJC study found that while only 16 percent of non-Orthodox adult Jews under the age of forty feel "very close to Israel," among the Orthodox the figure is 79 percent. As secular Jews drift away from America's Zionist institutions, their Orthodox counterparts will likely step into the breach. The Orthodox "are still interested in parochial Jewish concerns," explains Samuel Heilman, a sociologist at the City University of New York. "They are among the last ones who stayed in the Jewish house, so they now control the lights."

But it is this very parochialism—a deep commitment to Jewish concerns, which often outweighs more universal ones—that gives Orthodox Jewish Zionism a distinctly illiberal cast. The 2006 AJC poll found that while 60 percent of non-Orthodox American Jews under the age of forty support a Palestinian state, that figure drops to 25 percent among the Orthodox. In 2009, when Brandeis University's Theodore Sasson asked American Jewish focus groups about Israel, he found Orthodox participants much less supportive of dismantling settlements as part of a peace deal. Even more tellingly, Reform, Conservative, and unaffiliated Jews tended to believe that average Palestinians wanted peace, but had been ill-served by their leaders. Orthodox Jews, by contrast, were more likely to see the Palestinian people as the enemy, and to deny that ordinary Palestinians shared any common interests or values with ordinary Israelis or Jews.

Orthodox Judaism has great virtues, including a communal warmth and a commitment to Jewish learning unmatched in the American Jewish world. (I'm biased, since my family attends an Orthodox synagogue.) But if current trends continue, the growing influence of Orthodox Jews in America's Jewish communal institutions will erode even the liberal-democratic veneer that today covers American Zionism. In 2002, America's major Jewish organizations sponsored a large Israel solidarity rally on the Washington Mall. Up and down the east coast, yeshivas shut down for the day, swelling the estimated Orthodox share of the crowd to close to 70 percent. When the then Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told the rally that "innocent Palestinians are suffering and dying as well," he was booed.

America's Jewish leaders should think hard about that rally. Unless they change course, it portends the future: an American Zionist movement that does not even feign concern for Palestinian dignity and a broader American Jewish population that does not even feign concern for Israel. My own children, given their upbringing, could as easily end up among the booers as among Luntz's focus group. Either prospect fills me with dread.

In 2004, in an effort to prevent weapons smuggling from Egypt, Israeli tanks and bulldozers demolished hundreds of houses in the Rafah refugee camp in the southern Gaza Strip. Watching television, a veteran Israeli commentator and politician named Tommy Lapid saw an elderly Palestinian woman crouched on all fours looking for her medicines amid the ruins of her home. He said she reminded him of his grandmother.

In that moment, Lapid captured the spirit that is suffocating within organized American Jewish life. To begin with, he watched. In my experience, there is an epidemic of not watching among American Zionists today. A Red Cross study on malnutrition in the Gaza Strip, a bill in the Knesset to allow Jewish neighborhoods to bar entry to Israeli Arabs, an Israeli human rights report on settlers burning Palestinian olive groves, three more Palestinian teenagers shot—it's unpleasant. Rationalizing and minimizing Palestinian suffering has become a kind of game. In a more recent report on how to foster Zionism among America's young, Luntz urges American Jewish groups to use the word "Arabs, not Palestinians," since "the term 'Palestinians' evokes images of refugee camps, victims and oppression," while "'Arab' says wealth, oil and Islam."

Of course, Israel—like the United States—must sometimes take morally difficult actions in its own defense. But they are morally difficult only if you allow yourself some human connection to the other side. Otherwise, security justifies everything. The heads of AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference should ask themselves what Israel's leaders would have to do or say to make them scream "no." After all, Lieberman is foreign minister; Effi Eitam is touring American universities; settlements are growing at triple the rate of the Israeli population; half of Israeli Jewish high school students want Arabs barred from the Knesset. If the line has not yet been crossed, where is the line?

What infuriated critics about Lapid's comment was that his grandmother died at Auschwitz. How dare he defile the memory of the Holocaust? Of course, the Holocaust is immeasurably worse than anything Israel has done or ever will do. But at least Lapid used Jewish suffering to connect to the suffering of others. In the world of AIPAC, the Holocaust analogies never stop, and their message is always the same: Jews are licensed by their victimhood to worry only about themselves. Many of Israel's founders believed that with statehood, Jews would rightly be judged on the way they treated the non-Jews living under their dominion. "For the first time we shall be the majority living with a minority," Knesset member Pinchas Lavon declared in 1948, "and we shall be called upon to provide an example and prove how Jews live with a minority."

But the message of the American Jewish establishment and its allies in the Netanyahu government is exactly the opposite: since Jews are history's permanent victims, always on the knife-edge of extinction, moral responsibility is a luxury Israel does not have. Its only responsibility is to survive. As former Knesset speaker Avraham Burg writes in his remarkable 2008 book, *The Holocaust Is Over; We Must Rise From Its Ashes*, "Victimhood sets you free."

This obsession with victimhood lies at the heart of why Zionism is dying among America's secular Jewish young. It simply bears no relationship to their lived experience, or what they have seen of Israel's. Yes, Israel faces threats from Hezbollah and Hamas. Yes, Israelis understandably worry about a nuclear Iran. But the dilemmas you face when you possess dozens or hundreds of nuclear weapons, and your adversary, however despicable, may acquire one, are not the dilemmas of the Warsaw Ghetto. The year 2010 is not, as Benjamin Netanyahu has claimed, 1938. The drama of Jewish victimhood—a drama that feels natural to many Jews who lived through 1938, 1948, or even 1967—strikes most of today's young American Jews as farce.

But there is a different Zionist calling, which has never been more desperately relevant. It has its roots in Israel's Independence Proclamation, which promised that the Jewish state "will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets," and in the December 1948 letter from Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, and others to *The New York Times*, protesting right-wing Zionist leader Menachem Begin's visit to the United States after his party's militias massacred Arab civilians in the village of Deir Yassin. It is a call to recognize that in a world in which Jewish fortunes have radically changed, the best way to memorialize the history of Jewish suffering is through the ethical use of Jewish power.

For several months now, a group of Israeli students has been traveling every Friday to the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah, where a Palestinian family named the Ghawis lives on the street outside their home of fifty-three years, from which they were evicted to make room for Jewish settlers. Although repeatedly arrested for protesting without a permit, and called traitors and self-haters by the Israeli right, the students keep coming, their numbers now swelling into the thousands. What if American Jewish organizations brought these young people to speak at Hillel? What if this was the face of Zionism shown to America's Jewish young? What if the students in Luntz's focus group had been told that their generation faces a challenge as momentous as any in Jewish history: to save liberal democracy in the only Jewish state on earth?

"Too many years I lived in the warm embrace of institutionalized elusiveness and was a part of it," writes Avraham Burg. "I was very comfortable there." I know; I was comfortable there too. But comfortable Zionism has become a moral abdication. Let's hope that Luntz's students, in solidarity with their counterparts at Sheikh Jarrah, can foster an uncomfortable Zionism, a Zionism angry at what Israel risks becoming, and in love with what it still could be. Let's hope they care enough to try.

*—May 12, 2010*

*Peter Beinart is Associate Professor of Journalism and Political Science at the City University of New York, a Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation, and Senior Political Writer for The Daily Beast. His new book,* The Icarus Syndrome: A History of American Hubris, *will be published in June.*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 12:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: also... Sid

You may have been alerted to this incident: the barring of Noam Chomsky from Israel. His political views may be ridiculous or objectionable, though he is the greatest linguistic scholar in the world, but barring him for his political opinions has created a needless PR disaster, not least for the US, as he is, after all, a US citizen, and a very prominent one internationally. It is unfortunate on every level. And the US should not be a passive onlooker. He is a US citizen barred for his political views, after all. This story is splashed across the European press this morning. Not what anyone needs, yes, yes, like a hole in the head, and bone stupid, but the US effort on his behalf to gain entry should be part of the story. This incident can be profitable if Israel understands it should not be doing this to US or European critics in the future. This is a downward slope, bad news for everyone involved. S

May 16, 2010, 11:01 pm

## Chomsky Barred From West Bank by Israel

*By ROBERT MACKEY*

Noam Chomsky, an American linguist and political thinker who has been critical of Israel, was denied entry into the West Bank on Sunday by Israeli immigration officials when he tried to cross into the Palestinian territory from Jordan to deliver a lecture.

Amira Hass of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz reported:

No reason was initially given for the decision, but the Interior Ministry later said immigration officials at the Allenby Bridge border crossing from Jordan had misunderstood Chomsky's intentions thinking initially he was also due to visit Israel. Chomsky, who is on a speaking tour in the region, was scheduled to speak at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank on Monday.

A spokeswoman for Israel's interior ministry also told Reuters that there had been a misunderstanding and "officials were trying to get clearance from the Israeli military, which controls access to the West Bank to allow Chomsky to enter."

In a television interview from Amman, Jordan, after he was rebuffed, Mr. Chomsky told Al Jazeera English, "the facts were completely clear to everyone; there was no basis for a misunderstanding." He explained that he was interrogated for several hours before being told that he would not be allowed to cross into the occupied Palestinian territory. The 81-year-old scholar added:

I can only say what was conveyed to me in the discussion with the official who was carrying out the interrogation — he was receiving instructions from the [Israeli] ministry of interior and relaying them. There were two basic points. One was that the government of Israel does not like the kinds of things I say — which puts them into the category of I suppose every other government in the world. The second was that they seemed upset about the fact that I was just taking an invitation from Bir Zeit and I had no plans to go on to speak in Israeli universities, as I have done many times in the past but not this time.

Mr. Chomsky had been invited to speak about American foreign and domestic policy by the philosophy department at the Palestinian university in Ramallah.

The renowned linguist was outspoken in his opposition to the Israeli offensive in Gaza, which ended in January 2009 and has criticized Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory many times.

In an interview with Deborah Solomon of The New York Times Magazine in 2003, Mr. Chomsky said, "I objected to the founding of Israel as a Jewish state. I don't think a Jewish or Christian or Islamic state is a proper concept. I would object to the United States as a Christian state." When Ms. Solomon pressed Mr. Chomsky on his opposition to Israel, saying, "Your father was a respected Hebraic scholar, and sometimes you sound like a self-hating Jew," he replied:

It is a shame that critics of Israeli policies are seen as either anti-Semites or self-hating Jews. It's grotesque. If an Italian criticized Italian policies, would he be seen as a self-hating Italian?

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** H

Davutoglu called about iran. Wants to speak sometime this morning. We are working to schedule.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** re form - weren't able to make changes so call to discuss

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 7:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Feingold letter

Rich is going to talk to Feingold's COS and walk him through the reasoning/defense of our policy. Since this is a classified letter, you couldn't talk about it in open session tomorrow in any event, but if he asks you can say that we have had substantive discussions with his staff on the concerns raised in the letter and you're happy to discuss it further in closed session.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 8:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Posner

Yikes. Will track down.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 17, 2010 8:18 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Posner

FOX is beating the heck out of Mike for what he said in his briefing on the China human rights dialogue about the Arizona law. Can you track down [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 23, 2010 12:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: WaPo editorial on Internet freedom

**From**: Posner, Michael H
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Burns, William J; Otero, Maria; Hormats, Robert D; McHale, Judith A; Campbell, Kurt M; Lew, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Verveer, Melanne S; Verveer, Philip L; Fernandez, Jose W; Mills, Cheryl D; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Ross, Alec J; Cohen, Jared A; Chitre, Nanda S; Verma, Richard R; Koh, Harold Hongju; Chollet, Derek H
**Cc**: Graze, Deborah E; Baer, Daniel B; Labowitz, Sarah
**Sent**: Fri Jul 23 11:39:33 2010
**Subject**: WaPo editorial on Internet freedom

All

The Post wrote a good editorial today on our Internet freedom work (see below). It's a far cry from what the editorial board had to say in November (here) and is the product of a lot of hard work from several bureaus and offices in the Department to drive Internet freedom as a policy priority. EEB and DRL will convene a meeting of the NetFreedom Taskforce next week at the working level to continue to advance Internet freedom within the building and with external audiences. It is nice to see some success in changing the narrative on this important but challenging issue.

Best

Mike

# State Department is taking right steps to foster Internet freedom

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/20/AR2010072005363_pf.html

Wednesday, July 21, 2010; A18

BILLIONS OF people live in countries where the Internet is not free. Confined behind the elaborate firewalls of authoritarian regimes such as China and Iran, they find their rights to expression threatened online and off -- by elaborate systems of monitoring and censorship and by harsh laws that punish bloggers with imprisonment or even death.

In January, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke powerfully in support of Internet freedom, saying, "We stand for a single Internet where all of humanity has equal access to knowledge and ideas. And we recognize that the world's information infrastructure will become what we and others make of it."

Since then, the State Department has brought the issue of online freedom to the table in its diplomacy around the world and joined with Internet providers and social media companies to foster public-private partnership in Internet freedom. Such collaboration is key, since authoritarian regimes so often contract out the daily work of censorship to private companies.

Congress, too, has showed commitment to openness online, allocating $35 million in funding between the 2009 and 2010 budgets for work that promotes Internet freedom. This money has yet to be spent, but the State Department finally has sent the names of designated recipients of the 2009 budget's $5 million in Internet freedom funding to Congress for its approval and soon will begin the process for distributing this year's grants.

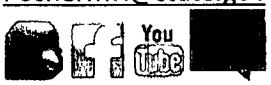
As it moves forward on this vital issue, the State Department must carefully determine how best to spend its limited resources. Yes, there is no silver bullet to guarantee freedom on the Internet. But it is possible to do great good with available funds. Investing in censorship-circumvention techniques like those that powered Tehran's "Twitter revolution" in June 2009 could have a tremendous, measurable impact.

Although this solution is not without its problems -- the best-known provider of this software is the Falun Gong-affiliated Global Internet Freedom consortium, and users behind China's Great Firewall may mistrust the technology of a group their government has banned -- the State Department must seriously consider channeling funds to organizations that have demonstrated great potential to make a difference.

The State Department is attempting a more holistic approach to Internet freedom, spreading funds across a variety of projects. Monitoring the efficacy of chosen solutions and rewarding those that produce results will be essential as this program continues.

A cyberspace without walls or barriers, where people can assemble and express themselves freely, without fear of censorship or imprisonment, will make the world safer for the United States and for democracies everywhere. Continued public-private partnership, prioritization of Internet freedom in diplomacy and the wise deployment of allocated funds will move this ideal closer to reality.

Michael H. Posner
Assistant Secretary of State for
Democracy, Human Rights and Labor
(202) 647-2126 office
(202) 647-5283 fax
PosnerMH@state.gov



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 2:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Dalton Hatfield

I checked and I do not have an electronic copy of this letter.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, May 16, 2010 2:05 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Dalton Hatfield

Do you have a copy of the letter he sent me? I can't find my copy. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 9:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Extradition rumors close Jamaica businesses early

Fyi

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**From**: Kelly, Craig A
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Aguilera, Patricia; Cue, Lourdes C
**Cc**: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Reynoso, Julissa
**Sent**: Mon May 17 19:58:42 2010
**Subject**: FW: (AP) Extradition rumors close Jamaica businesses early

To All:

Latest we have on following is that GOJ plans to make an announcement at 9:30 EDT tonight that govt is proceeding with extradition request. Separately, we are hearing that government may move to arrest him very soon – even tonight or tomorrow. Coke could well resist, so this could turn violent. We will see what the announcement says and then take stock. Even if govt announces, the follow-on legal process is lengthy.

ck

---

**From:** Staab, Virginia L
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 6:51 PM
**To:** WHA-CAR; WHA-FO
**Cc:** WHA-Press
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Extradition rumors close Jamaica businesses early

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**From**: Packer, Adam D
**To**: NEWS-CA; NEWS-WHA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Mon May 17 18:46:05 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Extradition rumors close Jamaica businesses early

KINGSTON, Jamaica - (AP) Police say businesses in Jamaica's capital have been closing early as rumors spread that the government has signed extradition papers for Christopher "Dudus" Coke, a man described by the U.S. as a major drug kingpin. Police commissioner Owen Ellington says officers are monitoring the situation and there is no threat to public safety. Local media say the government has denied signing extradition papers.

Adam Packer
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Lavrov

Per your discussion with jake, we are doing lavrov call at 8:30am. He hasn't confirmed yet.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 18, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 5/18/10 Tuesday

9:30 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route Dirksen Senate Office Building

9:35 am **CONFERENCE CALL w/HEARING PREP TEAM**
En route Dirksen Senate Office Building

9:45 am **ARRIVE** Dirksen Senate Office Building

10:00 am **TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS**
1:00 pm (t) **CMTE ON THE NEW START TREATY w/DEFENSE w/ SEC'Y GATES AND JCS CHMN MULLEN** 106 Dirksen Senate Office Building

1:00 pm (t) **DEPART** Dirksen Senate Office Building
En route State Department

1:15 pm (t) **ARRIVE** State Department

1:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:15 pm **MEETING w/STEVE BOSWORTH, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE**
2:45 pm **FOR NORTH KOREA POLICY AND AMB. KIM** Secretary's Office

2:45 pm **PREP MEETING FOR MEXICAN STATE VISIT**
3:30 pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **MEETING w/FARAH PANDITH, U.S. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE**
4:00 pm **TO MUSLIM COMMUNITIES** Secretary's Office

4:00 pm **MEETING ON U.S-INDIA STRATEGIC DIALOGUE ISSUES**
4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

TBD pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

TBD pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 18, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: B. KOUCHNER in Le Monde re Internet freedom

fyi

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**To:** Steinberg, James B; Rivkin, Charles H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennard, William E; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Hormats, Robert D; Otero, Maria; Burns, William J; Cohen, Jared A
**Sent:** Tue May 18 17:40:17 2010
**Subject:** B. KOUCHNER in Le Monde re Internet freedom

The below by Kouchner is worth reading if you haven't seen it.

**The Internet: a critical international policy issue, by Bernard Kouchner (May 10, 2010)**

In 2015, three and a half billion people - half of mankind - will have access to the Internet. There has never been such a revolution in the freedom of communication and the freedom of expression. But how will this new medium be used? What new distortions and obstacles will the enemies of the Internet come up with?

Modern technology leads to the best and the worst. Extremist, racist and defamatory websites and blogs disseminate odious opinions in real time. They have made the Internet into a weapon of war and hate. Websites are attacked and Internet users are recruited through chatrooms for destructive plots. Violent movements are infiltrating social networks to spread propaganda and false information.

It is very hard for democracies to control them. I do not subscribe to the naïve belief that a new technology, however efficient and powerful it may be, is bound by nature to advance liberty on all fronts.

Yet, all the same, the distortions are the exception rather than the rule. The Internet is above all the most fantastic means of breaking down the walls and boundaries that close us off from each other. For the oppressed peoples, who have been deprived of their right to self-expression and the right to choose their own future, the Internet provides power beyond their wildest hopes. In minutes, news and images recorded on a telephone can be disseminated worldwide in cyberspace. It is increasingly difficult the hide a public demonstration, an act of repression or a violation of human rights.

In authoritarian and repressive countries, mobile telephones and the Internet have given rise to public opinion and civil society. They have also given citizens a critical means of expression, despite all the restrictions.

However, the temptation to repress free expression is always present. The number of countries that censor the Internet, that monitor web users and punish them for their opinions, is increasing at an alarming rate. The Internet can be used against citizens. It can be a formidable intelligence-gathering tool to spot potential dissidents. Some regimes are already acquiring increasingly sophisticated surveillance technology.

If all of those who are attached to human rights and democracy refused to compromise their principles and used the Internet to defend freedom of expression, this kind of repression would be much more difficult. I am not

talking about absolute freedom that opens the door to all sorts of abuses. Nobody is promoting that. Instead, I'm talking about real freedom, which is based on the principle of respecting human dignity and human rights.

In the last few years, multilateral institutions, such as the Council of Europe, and non-governmental organisations, such as Reporters Without Borders, along with thousands of individuals around the world, have made a strong commitment to these issues. This is proof, if proof were needed, that this issue does not pit the West against the rest of the world. No fewer than 180 countries meeting for the World Summit on the Information Society acknowledged that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights applies fully to the Internet, especially Article 19, which establishes freedom of expression and freedom of opinion. And yet, some fifty countries fail to live up to their commitments.

For the occasion of World Press Freedom Day, I have brought together experts, NGO leaders, journalists, business people and intellectuals this week. Their discussions have confirmed my conviction that the path we want to take is the right one. I think that we should create an international instrument for monitoring the commitments that governments have made and for calling them to task when they fail to live up to them. I think we should provide assistance to cyberdissidents, who should get the same support as other victims of political repression, and of the need to show our solidarity with them publicly, in close collaboration with the NGOs working on these issues. I think that we should also discuss the wisdom of adopting a code of conduct regarding the export of technologies for censoring the Internet and tracking web users.

These issues, along with others, such as the protection of personal data on the Internet and the right of digital amnesty for everyone promoted by my colleague Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet, should be addressed within a framework that brings together government, civil society and international experts.

Another project is close to my heart. It will be a long and difficult task to implement it, but it is critical. It is to give the Internet a legal status that reflects its universality. One that recognizes it as an international space, so that it will be more difficult for repressive governments to use the sovereignty argument against fundamental freedoms.

This is a critical issue. I think that the battle of ideas has started with, on one side, the advocates of a universal and open Internet, based on freedom of expression and freedom of association, on tolerance and respect for privacy and, on the other side, those who want to transform the Internet into a multitude of spaces that are closed off from each other to serve the purposes of a regime, propaganda and all forms of fanaticism.

Freedom of expression is "*the foundation of all other freedoms*". Without it, there are no "*free nations*", Voltaire said. This *spirit of the Enlightenment*, which is universal, should run through the new media. The defence of fundamental freedoms and human rights must be the priority for governance of the Internet. It is everyone's business.

*Bernard Kouchner, Minister for Foreign and European Affairs*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 6:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tony blair confirmed for 8am call.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Zachary Iscol [redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 10:26 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma (Clinton) (Clinton) Abedin
**Subject:** The Western Front

Secretary Clinton and Huma!

Hope you're both well. The DVD screener should arrive at Huma's sometime this morning.

I can't wait for to hear what you think of the film and, if you have the time, how we can strengthen themes and sections to make it a more relevant and effective educational and policy influencing tool. We are currently at various stages of reaching out or building partnerships with a wide variety of organizations from Facing History and Ourselves to JStreet to the Marine Corps to the United Nations
(informally) to various think tanks, and human rights organizations.
We have big plans for the film and hope to use it as a platform to foster critical cross-cultural conversations.

And a disclaimer- the film is still a work in progress. We are drastically changing the intro, moving some sections around, and adding a story about the Marines sending senior Marine Officers to Jordan to negotiate and build partnerships with Al Anbar's exiled tribal leaders.

I am so excited for you to see it.

Have a safe trip, I hope to see you soon, and all the best,

Love,

Zach

---

Zachary J. Iscol
The Editorial Project
www.editorialproject.com
www.thewesternfrontmovie.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 23, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** H

I'm not sure where you are but jim steinberg needs to talk to you secure asap.
Also, tony blair called back, he's free for next 3 hours.
And pm papandreou called, wants to give you readout from his middle east trip.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 4:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Many thanks

For meeting with Quinn. It meant so much to him and was the perfect capstone of his year with us. See you in Shanghai.
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Lincoln

Lincoln 145,207 (44.51%)
Halter 138,660 (42.51%)
Morrison 42,349 (12.98%)
Because neither Lincoln nor Halter got 50%, runoff scheduled for June 8th.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 7:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mexican treatment of the undocumented

FYI, from WHA:

Mexican law enforcement officials cannot stop individuals and require proof of migratory status. However, like SB1070, officials in the course of official "contact" (i.e. Traffic stops, investigations, hot pursuit) are authorized to request proof of migratory status. They do this in practice routinely. Frequently, individuals who cannot prove legal status are referred to INM (federal CBP-equivalent). In practice, GoM authorities at all levels engage in exploitative treatment of migrants, primarily Central Americans heading to the US. These abuses have been well documented by international human rights groups, as well as by multiple documentary and news media reports.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 8:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Korea Expo --please read before you leave
**Attachments:** Action_Memo_to_S_on_Yeosu_2012_participation_5-4-10.docx

See b/l as context fyi

---

**From**: Pally, Maura M.
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
**Sent**: Wed May 19 18:11:36 2010
**Subject**: Korea Expo --please read before you leave

Jake-
I have been trying unsuccessfully to get a memo up to S on Korea's invitation to participation in the 2012 expo. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

UNCLASSIFIED

# ACTION MEMO FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM: ECA – Maura Pally
EAP – Kurt Campbell

SUBJECT: U.S. Participation at Expo 2012 Yeosu Korea

**Recommendation**

Unless the Department implements an alternative model for participation, ECA recommends that you sign the attached letter (Tab B) informing the Koreans that there will be no official U.S. participation at the 2012 Yeosu Expo. EAP opposes.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Date _____

Alternatively, EAP recommends that you sign the proposed Letter of Intent (Tab C), tentatively accepting the Korean invitation. ECA opposes.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Date _____

**Background**

In November 2009, the Department received a formal invitation from the Republic of Korea to participate in the Expo 2012 Yeosu Korea, an off-year expo. ECA recommends against participation unless the Department can implement an alternative model for participation and EAP recommends participation. Both positions are outlined in the attachments.

Attachment:

Tab A – Background and Positions
Tab B – Proposed letter to Ambassador Han declining invitation
Tab C – Proposed Letter of Intent to Ambassador Han

Tab A: Background and Positions

**Background**

In November 2009, the Department received a formal invitation from the Republic of Korea to participate in Expo 2012 Yeosu Korea. Large-scale expos, known as "registered expos," including Shanghai 2010, are held every five years; however, Yeosu is an off-year "recognized expo," and, as such, is shorter in length (three months duration), smaller in scale, and has a narrower theme than registered expos. To date, 35 countries have agreed to participate. The cost of U.S. participation has been tentatively estimated at $10-15 million.

Since 1994, when Congress legislated that the Department may not expend funds for international expos unless specifically authorized or appropriated, the U.S. has only participated in one off-year expo: Lisbon 1998. Funding for the off-year Lisbon expo came primarily through appropriated funds transferred to USIA from other federal government agencies, with the remainder coming from private sector contributions. In 1999, Congress tightened restrictions by further legislating that no funds made available to the Department by another federal agency may be obligated or expended for such expo purposes without prior congressional notification. Since then, 100% private sector funding has been sought for all U.S. Pavilions at world expos and no appropriations have been requested from Congress.

**ECA's Position**

B5

B5

## EAP's Position

UNCLASSIFIED

Drafted by: ECA/PE/C – Catherine Pfaffenroth, 632-9362, 3/17/10

Clearances:

| | |
|---|---|
| ECA/PE | Chris Miner |
| ECA/PE/C | Len Korycki |
| EAP /FO | Joseph Donovan |
| EAP/K | Dan Larsen |
| EAP/PD | Jennifer Galt |
| L/FO | James Thessin |
| L/PD | Lorie Nierenberg |
| GPI | Kris Balderston |
| P | Laura Rosenberger |
| P | Kristen Pisani |
| D (S) | Pamela Park |
| S/P | James Green |
| R | Gabrielle Guimond |
| M | Patrick Kennedy |

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

B5

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

His Excellency
Han Duk-soo
Ambassador of the Republic of Korea

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

B5

Sincerely,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

His Excellency
Han Duk-soo
Ambassador of the Republic of Korea

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 11:15 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Senate floor update

**From**: Rademacher, Paul R
**To**: H_SeniorStaff
**Sent**: Wed May 19 19:47:42 2010
**Subject**: Senate floor update

Senator Reid just announced the cloture vote on the Financial Regulations Bill will be tomorrow at 2:30.

He also said that the Supp will be the next bill up. So the Supp is going to be on the floor for several days next week.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 19, 2010 11:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reminder richard called for you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 5:50 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Carson, Johnnie
**Subject:** Fyi

GAY COUPLE SENTENCED TO 14 YEARS IN PRISON IN MALAWI(SBU) The court imposed the maximum sentence against the couple, accusing them of unnatural acts and gross indecency, according to press. Embassy Lilongwe notes the decision reflects strong sentiment across the country opposing gay rights, adding the information minister stated the government was pleased with the conviction. (Ops/Embassy Lilongwe telcon, AP)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 8:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mexican treatment of the undocumented

Hear hear

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu May 20 07:45:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mexican treatment of the undocumented

Another example of "you should take the log from your own eye before criticizing the speck in your neighbor's."

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 19 19:51:50 2010
Subject: Mexican treatment of the undocumented

FYI, from WHA:

Mexican law enforcement officials cannot stop individuals and require proof of migratory status. However, like SB1070, officials in the course of official "contact" (i.e. Traffic stops, investigations, hot pursuit) are authorized to request proof of migratory status. They do this in practice routinely. Frequently, individuals who cannot prove legal status are referred to INM (federal CBP-equivalent). In practice, GoM authorities at all levels engage in exploitative treatment of migrants, primarily Central Americans heading to the US. These abuses have been well documented by international human rights groups, as well as by multiple documentary and news media reports.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 9:04 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Pls remind me to discuss a matter w you both

Our schedule is pretty tight on the flight to Elmendorf - but we should be able to find a few minutes for you on the leg to Tokyo

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
Subject: Pls remind me to discuss a matter w you both
Sent: May 20, 2010 7:54 AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 10:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Ecuador Stop

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Bennett, Virginia L; Kelly, Craig A
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S
Sent: Thu May 20 00:18:39 2010
Subject: Ecuador Stop

As we discussed in the trip meeting-- I feel that we might miss an important opportunity if we don't try to fit Ecuador into the Andean trip (Venezuela and Bolivia are out of the question). We could stop in Ecuador by leaving Peru early Tuesday morning after the OAS GA. The Secretary could deliver her speech in Ecuador, visit w the President and arrive in Colombia in the late afternoon. Delivering the speech in Quito would avoid upstaging the OASGA FMs in Lima.

The visit to Ecuador would advance already positive areas of cooperation, as well as underscore our desire to see Correa succeed in achieving constructive institutional reform, while respecting and preserving democratic governance. Correa's promise to reform Ecuador's political system and address social inequities resonates with a public disillusioned by decades of corruption and political instability. His agenda is principally driven by nationalism, not anti-Americanism, and although some of his economic policies mirror those of Venezuela, he is not following a recipe laid down by Chavez.

Despite its rhetoric, the Correa government has cooperated closely with the USG in many areas, including counter narcotics, anti-corruption, and alternative development assistance. Although Ecuador can be a challenging partner, our efforts to engage constructively with him are paying off. We had an excellent conversation during my April visit to Quito, including an open and candid conversation on sensitive issues like freedom of the press and maintaining a constructive dialogue with civil society. (The gift I gave him for his birthday, an edition of Living History signed by the Secretary, had a strong positive impact on him. He said that his mother-- who lived much of her life in California is a great admirer of the Secretary. ) Reporting after my meetings in Quito was very positive and seemed to indicate that Correa is ready to move beyond the stale rhetoric surrounding the Colombia Defense Cooperation Agreement. Indeed, there is a terrific opportunity to work tri-laterally with Peru, Ecuador and Colombia not only on counter drug matters-- but also on environmental issues like deforestation and climate change given the enormous extension of the amazon basin in those three countries. All three presidents welcomed the suggestion when I raised as a possibility. Working with them helps to pull Ecuador away from Venezuela while helping to improve cooperation w Colombia.

In sum, a visit to Ecuador would add a sub-regional theme to the trip, engaging with the Andean countries in Lima, Quito, and Bogota; and then with CARICOM in Barbados. The Secretary has been to Canada, Mexico, Central America, and the Southern Cone.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 6:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Not sure where u went but we can't find reporter anyway.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: wonderful story

So nice

---

**From**: John Podesta <jpodesta [redacted] B6
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Thu May 20 13:49:32 2010
**Subject**: Fw: wonderful story

From my daughter Megan

---

**From**: Megan Rouse
**To**: John Podesta
**Cc**: Mary Podesta
**Sent**: Thu May 20 12:47:55 2010
**Subject**: wonderful story

I heard a wonderful story last night praising Hillary Clinton for her work on behalf of children.

Last night I met Don Graves, he runs the Independent Living Skills Program (ILSP) in Contra Costa County. The program helps children in the foster care system, and among other things, teaches them skills needed to live on their own as adults.

Don told a heart-warming story of how then First Lady Hillary Clinton came out to visit with the kids in the program and hear their concerns. A major concern was that resources for kids coming out of foster care ended at age 18 and 6 months -- they needed more help. Within two years of the visit, President Clinton signed the Foster Care Independence Act, providing more money and more resources for ages 18 - 21. I think it is widely accepted that Hillary championed this legislation, and this was surely echoed by Don. He was beaming with admiration for her and what she accomplished to help the kids.

He went on to say that one of the participants in the program, Alfred Perez, who was part of the original discussion with the First Lady, was invited to the White House to see the bill signed. Alfred Perez later served on the Pew Commission on Foster care and is now teaching at the University of Chicago. http://www.ssa.uchicago.edu/faculty/ptlect/perez-a.shtml

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 21, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rough day in New York

Fyi on the wmd free zone in the me.

---

**From:** Scanlon, Amy B
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent:** Fri May 21 09:12:59 2010
**Subject:** FW: Rough day in New York

Jake –

You may be interested in the latest from New York.

Amy

---

**From:** Timbie, James P
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** Joseph, Jofi; Daniel, Jody L; Davies, Glyn T; Burk, Susan F; Anderson, Brooke D (USUN); Einhorn, Robert J; Rosenberger, Laura M; Scanlon, Amy B; Struwe, Rebecca L; Sindle, James M; Scheinman, Adam M.; 'Samore, Gary S.'; Tauscher, Ellen O
**Subject:** Rough day in New York

U/S Tauscher met with Abdelaziz and Kelly in New York today.

The day began with receiving the Arab League counter to the U.S. short version. [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted]

Jim

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770637 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad, Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am asking your help in supporting the State and USAID budget request for FY 2011. I appreciate the difficult budget environment that confronts the Congress, but I strongly believe this budget request is critical to advancing U.S. national security and our interests around the world.

Our request totals $52.8 billion – a $4.9 billion increase over 2010. Of that increase, $3.6 billion goes directly to "frontline states" – Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. All other State and USAID funding grows by $1.3 billion or a 2.7 percent increase, and allows us to tackle the transnational problems of poverty, food insecurity, climate change, and disease that pose serious threats to American interests.

Our diplomatic and development tools enhance American leadership, strengthen our alliances, and build new partnerships to confront pressing global challenges. Full funding in FY 11 will allow us to continue making tangible progress in securing the hard fought gains achieved in Iraq, and to continue supporting and deploying hundreds of civilians in Afghanistan and Pakistan to help stabilize dangerous but improving situations.

The recent attacks on United States personnel and facilities from Juarez, Mexico, to Peshawar, Pakistan, reinforce what we already know – America's diplomats and development professionals are on the front lines, protecting, and securing our vital national security interests around the world.

Congress has rightly demanded that we use all the tools in our national security tool belt; that we put more diplomats and development experts on the ground, shoulder-to-shoulder with our troops; and that we do everything possible to secure America's interests around the world. We are doing our part at the State Department and USAID, but we need your help with the FY 11 request. Our

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770637 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770642 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad, Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am asking your help in supporting the State and USAID budget request for FY 2011. I appreciate the difficult budget environment that confronts the Congress, but I strongly believe this budget request is critical to advancing U.S. national security and our interests around the world.

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770642 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770642 Date: 08/31/2015



missions are increasingly integrated with those of our Defense Department counterparts, as we have seen demonstrated time and again in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other parts of the world. Cuts to the civilian components can no longer be seen in isolation or having little impact on our national security strategy.

Our investments in development and diplomacy are smart, cost-effective, and squarely in the best interests of American taxpayers and our national security. They are also relatively small compared to the cost of active military engagement, and they can end up delivering impactful savings. In Iraq, for example, our $2.6 billion request for State and USAID will allow the Defense Department budget to decrease by about $16 billion – a powerful illustration of the return on civilian investments.

I ask for your strong support of our budget request and you have my pledge that we will work diligently to ensure that this funding is used as efficiently and effectively as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770642 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 24, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** HBJ

Mitchell's team contacted me to make sure you had received the HBJ readout. I received it yesterday and it should be in the set of Middle East docs I gave to Huma to give to you when we got off the plane. It should be in your materials. Apologies for not flagging yesterday when we landed.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, July 24, 2010 12:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: I-PadQuestions

Pulse - automatically updates when you open it. If you look to the left of each name of the news org, you'll initially see a circle like symbol. That means it's updating.

Oh, actually the problem you are having is that it needs to find WiFi - do you have WiFi in whatever home you're in now? We just need to set that up once and it will subsequently connect whenever it senses that wifi.

And yes on Monday can spend some quality time.[redacted] B5

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: I-PadQuestions
Sent: Jul 24, 2010 12:12 PM

How do I get the Pulse to update? It still shows what it did when you first demo'd it for me.

Do I need to charge it? If so, how? I have no cords.

Does Huma now know enough to help? Can you show me on Monday?

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, July 24, 2010 12:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: I-PadQuestions

Let me ask Justin/Huma
And on Monday I'll set it up so that it has a near permanent Internet feed

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: I-PadQuestions
Sent: Jul 24, 2010 12:34 PM

I don't know if I have wi-fi. How do I find out?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Jul 24 12:20:14 2010
Subject: Re: I-PadQuestions

Pulse - automatically updates when you open it. If you look to the left of each name of the news org, you'll initially see a circle like symbol. That means it's updating.

Oh, actually the problem you are having is that it needs to find WiFi - do you have WiFi in whatever home you're in now? We just need to set that up once and it will subsequently connect whenever it senses that wifi.

And yes on Monday can spend some quality time. [redacted] B5

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: I-PadQuestions
Sent: Jul 24, 2010 12:12 PM

How do I get the Pulse to update? It still shows what it did when you first demo'd it for me.

Do I need to charge it? If so, how? I have no cords.

Does Huma now know enough to help? Can you show me on Monday?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 22, 2010 5:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Wash Post, friend of mine's column, on Clapper, see Lang's comments. Sid

I am currently out of the office on official travel and will return on Tuesday, June 1st. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572.

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, July 24, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Turkey-Brazil-Iran

Looks like there will be a three-way meeting in Turkey tomorrow. [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

[redacted]

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/23/2025

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Further on statement

Yes. We are already working on that.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun May 23 10:24:48 2010
Subject: Further on statement

Should I mention the cabinet and other high rankers like Ex-Im?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Hmm, she just emailed.
Also, kurt and jeff went to press to talk to them briefly since it was already set up. Jake talked to them about it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:29:53 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

I tried but got vm.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:25:51 2010
Subject: [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Yes I asked for the same

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:36:55 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Ok. I also emailed her. Can I get a full list of us participants w the full names of agencies--i don't know what USDTA is!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:34:09 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Hmm, she just emailed.
Also, kurt and jeff went to press to talk to them briefly since it was already set up. Jake talked to them about it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:29:53 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

I tried but got vm.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:25:51 2010
Subject: [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Request for S phone call

B5

I saw he put in a call for you.

---

**From:** Mandel, Lawrence C (Amman)
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Walles, Jacob; S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O; Beecroft, Robert S (Amman)
**Sent:** Sun Jul 25 09:56:57 2010
**Subject:** Request for S phone call

Jake,

I just got off the phone with A/S Feltman and he asked that I send this note to you. I am the Charge' at Embassy Amman.

A few minutes ago we received a phone call from the Foreign Ministry advising that Foreign Minister Judeh would like to speak with the Secretary today, at any time that is convenient for her. King Abdullah II will be meeting tomorrow with Abu Mazen, and there are some issues concerning the meeting that FM Judeh wishes to discuss.

I advised the FM's office that I would relay the request and advise them of the response. They are awaiting a return call.

Many thanks,
Larry Mandel

U.S. Embassy Amman

*Embassy Amman's work week is Sunday through Thursday. Amman is seven hours ahead of Washington time.*

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 6:35 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Carlos Pascual

Mexico

And there is some Judith McHale component to it because she is going down there to consult on this spreadsheet

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: The Gates-Clinton axis

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** The Gates-Clinton axis

POLITICO

# The Gates-Clinton axis

By: Ben Smith and Jen DiMascio and Laura Rozen
May 24, 2010 04:50 AM EDT

The White House likes to release images of President Barack Obama at the head of the long Situation Room conference table, sober and experienced advisers lining either side.

But there is another meeting – with no cameras and no Obama – where the Cabinet's two most formidable figures seek to put their own stamp on the administration's national security agenda. It is the conversation Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton try to have each week when they're both in Washington, often in the company of National Security Adviser Jim Jones.

In an administration dominated by a powerful White House staff, Clinton and Gates have emerged as the giant exception and the only important center of gravity outside 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Their close relationship has been central to the unusual degree of agreement on critical issues, most notably the Afghan surge but also a range of other initiatives, from increasing the size of the State Department's foreign aid budget to imposing new sanctions on Iran.

"It's a phalanx," former Pentagon official Leslie Gelb said of the Clinton-Gates alliance. "I can't remember a really important issue where they have disagreed. They are both center-right; they have their four feet firmly planted on that ground. And that is, they are not going to open themselves up to serious attack from the right, whether it's Iraq or Afghanistan or Iran or you name it."

Gates, known inside the White House as "Yoda," is unquestionably the most powerful member of the Obama Cabinet — the only one with the muscle to push back. Clinton, meanwhile, is the most popular, her approval ratings cruising well above Obama's own. An alliance is good for each of them.

Clinton saves Gates from political isolation as a Republican in a Democratic administration

and has signed on to a policy agenda he has set, adding her voice to his demands for more troops and her department's civilian resources to the war in Afghanistan.

Gates, for his part, has saved Clinton from a different kind of marginalization by a powerful White House staff, which has a sometimes-rocky relationship with her own staff of loyalists, a residue of thebitter 2008 campaign. He's offered her a potent back channel to power and — some of her most political allies have told other Democrats — a path forward inside the administration.

Gates, who has long signaled an eagerness to retire, just launched what appears to be his final initiative, a tough push to scale back the Pentagon's gargantuan bureaucracy. Clinton, with her hawkish image and ties to Gates and to military brass, would be his most logical successor — and some of her most senior allies have begun quietly to float the notion.

The two meet regularly, though talk of weekly lunches was disrupted by the aggressive travel schedules both keep. They most recently lunched together April 26 at the State Department, a source said, but meet almost weekly, along with Jones, at the White House. The two are said to be personally compatible. Both, one source noted, are Midwestern United Methodists.

Connecticut Rep. John Larson, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, said Gates and Clinton have briefed the caucus three times together and present a united front. "The overlap and the ease which they transition from point to point — very notable," he said. "We have all Cabinet members move through the caucus. It's not always so notable that they transition from point to point, seamlessly and are on the same page."

Such a close alliance between the two leading members of a modern president's Cabinet is hardly typical.

"A lot of presidents have had to spend quite a bit of time adjudicating disputes between the Pentagon and Foggy Bottom," said Strobe Talbott, a State Department official under President Bill Clinton.

More often, they're fighting their own wars. Some of the deepest intramural hatreds in American government have run across the Potomac, a tradition embodied most recently by Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell, secretaries of defense and state in the administration of President George W. Bush, who famously did not get along.

"My sense is that each of them understands the way in which the other one's function can help advance the cause," said Talbott. "Bob Gates totally understands the need for a very proactive and well-funded development policy in order to keep weak states from becoming failed states."

The relationship is, indeed, part of a pattern for Gates, one that's made him one of the most successful and enduring government officials of the past half-century. A career CIA analyst who served as deputy national security adviser under Brent Scowcroft in the George H.W. Bush White House before becoming the first career officer to lead the spy agency, Gates spent 13 years in academia before being named Rumsfeld's successor in 2006.

Still, those who know Gates worried that after Obama made the surprise decision to keep him on at the Pentagon, he would inevitably be an outlier in a Democratic administration. But the quick bond he formed with Hillary Clinton and others were part of a familiar strategy.

"He's by nature an alliance builder," said a senior official from the Bush and Clinton administrations.

Gates did not have a relationship with George W. Bush either when he took over from Rumsfeld in 2006. But he had worked with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Stephen Hadley, Rice's successor as national security adviser during Bush's administration. That helped him get along in the Cabinet, and he didn't stop there.

In contrast to Rumsfeld, who was dismissive of Capitol Hill, Gates courted key members of Congress, particularly Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.), the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. After Levin brought up concerns about confirming Marine Gen. Peter Pace for a second two-year term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gates pulled back on the nomination.

He has followed that pattern in the Obama administration. When Jones was taking knocks in the press for being less powerful than his top deputies, Gates called on Washington Post columnist David Ignatius, to defend Jones — a fellow supporter of the military and someone in his age bracket — as "the glue that holds this team together," a dexterous bit of politics that allowed him to do Jones a favor while simultaneous capitalizing on what's perceived as his bureaucratic weakness.

Some of Gates's admirers see the relationship with Hillary Clinton in a similar light and argue that he's been able to use her to achieve his policy goals — and not vice versa.

"The reality is that no one, including the White House, is willing to cross Gates because we desperately need him for political cover on everything, whether it be defense budget reform, arms control or[Afghanistan and Pakistan] and Iraq," a Democratic foreign policy official said, challenging a reporter to "name me one issue where [Clinton] had a strong viewpoint and then successfully maneuvered the administration in her direction."

Pentagon spokesman Geoff Morrell dismissed the notion that Gates has used Clinton to his advantage as "complete nonsense."

"Is this a mutually beneficial relationship? Sure, everyone benefits when the secretaries of state and defense have a good working relationship. Are they using each other to advance personal agendas? Absolutely not," he said. "They happen to be very like-minded on many issues. She is, as he often says, very 'tough-minded' — and he respects that about her. I know it's not very juicy, but there's no secret alliance here. The fact is they simply see eye to eye more often than not."

Clinton, too, has experience in navigating the highest levels and of building unlikely alliances.

"This replicates one of her most effective moves in the Senate, which was to figure out who the power brokers were, study up on them and make sure she could work effectively with them," said Heather Hurlburt, executive director of the National Security Network, a

Democratic group.

And if Gates has been a behind-the-scenes architect of policy, Clinton's role is more public: She is "one of the articulators of the overall strategy that we adopted" on Iran and China, Jones recently told Newsweek.

Some critics of Obama's policy, though, see the two hawks as having pulled the president to the right. The two were particularly instrumental in making the case internally for an Afghan troop surge, and they were close enough to sell it jointly, appearing together on television to defend the plan.

Just last week, Clinton and Gates testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to validate the administration's commitment to modernize the nation's nuclear arsenal, and to preserve the ability to design new warhead components if needed.

The administration's stance was a victory for Gates, as the Pentagon appears to have fought hard to keep the nuclear capacity — reportedly over the objections of other members of the administration's inner circle, including Vice President Joe Biden.

Ironically, close observers say, the chief diplomat has emerged, if anything, as blunter and more hawkish than the diplomatic secretary of defense. After an attempted bombing in New York's Times Square appeared to have links to the Pakistani Taliban, Clinton publicly warned of "very severe consequences" should an attack be traced back to Pakistan.

Gates took a far milder line.

"It's their country," he said. "They remain in the driver's seat, and they have their foot on the accelerator."

IRIDES

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Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 8:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Next Year

There's only one way to top tonight's entertainment when we next host the S&ED...

We have one year to train Renee Fleming to simultaneously sing and juggle chainsaws

Let's see them beat THAT

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Mitchell, George [redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Here's my personal email

I asked State Ops to call Moratinos; they said you had previously asked and they wanted to know which order to call. Do you want to call him first or do you want me to call and report to you and then you call?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 09:19:11 2010
Subject: Here's my personal email

Pls use this for reply--HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 7:03 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Good press from Carla Hills

Great interview w/ her on cnn or msnbc where she talked about how impt it is to have a strategic and economic dialogue and how the long term importance is less specific deliverables than increased understanding of why each side takes the positions it does prduces good results over time -- that we've seen that in the past. Given that she is a former USTR and a Republican, it was a good plug. and you look great on CNN! AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 11:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Confidential

Trust your instincts re what just went on in the small group mtg. On the bus over kurt and jeff were much more optimistic, so your sense of the overall direction of the mtg was right. Based on the conversation on the bus after the mtg, I would ask some tough questions and don't be put off. AM

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mitchell, George < [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 11:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Here's my personal email

I talked with Frattini again and went over the point again. He said he understands and agrees.

[redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

He again said he understands and agrees.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 09:19:11 2010
Subject: Here's my personal email

Pls use this for reply--HRC

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/24/2025**

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** This evening

I just got Huma's message about dinner. My blackberry died and I was recharging it so didn't have it with me. I would have loved to have had dinner with you and Melanne and had a chance to catch up. Our meetings went well this afternoon.

Hope the rest of the trip goes well. Look forward to seeing you next week. I'm heading down to Mexico on Wednesday afternoon to work with Carlos on the strategic communications issues.

Safe travels.

Jm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/25/2035

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Mon Apr 26 20:22:46 2010
Subject: Re: Update on your trip to Doha

Travel well. I'll look forward to hearing your report.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; DiMartino, Kitty <DiMartinoK@state.gov>; Douglas, Walter T <DouglasWT@state.gov>; Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Apr 26 15:09:15 2010
Subject: FW: Update on your trip to Doha

FYI, I will be going to Doha this weekend to meet with Al Jazeera. Also plan to meet with CENTCOM and then onto Kabul for two days of meetings. Back next Thursday.

jm

From: Somerset, Ann D
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 3:04 PM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; Davidson, Mark J; Mellott, Joseph; Sreebny, Daniel
Subject: Update on your trip to Doha

Judith,

Below is a rough outline of your trip to Doha, as it currently stands.

LOGISTICS:

You are currently scheduled to arrive in Doha on May 1 at 6:30 and depart May 2 at 7 pm. Traveling with you will be Kitty DiMartino, Joe Mellott, Mark Davidson, and GSEC's LTC Eric Schoennauer. Dana Smith will fly in from the Media Hub in Dubai to meet you in Doha.

Key events:

Dinner with Al Jazeera (AJ) staff: AJ Director General Wadah Khanfar will host a dinner on May 1 with senior AJ staff, including AJ English Managing Director Tony Burman. We expect 7 people on the AJ side and 6 on ours. (The dinner is schedule for 8pm in a private room in the Four Seasons; post is making reservations for the party to stay in the same hotel.)

Meeting with AJ Board Members at AJ Headquarters: This will give you an opportunity to engage the Qatari leadership of the network. Discussions topics should include the mid-May Washington visit by some AJ Board representatives. We expect Wadah Khanfar to also participate in this meeting.

(TBC) Meeting with Prime Minister Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabir al-Thani (HBJ): As PM, HBJ is the ultimate Qatari authority on AJ. The meeting will also allow you to raise bi-lateral engagement issues as necessary. We expect to know in a few days if HBJ will be available.

Meetings with CENTCOM: You will meet with CENTCOM staff at Al Udeid airbase just outside of Doha. They will brief you on their [redacted] within their AOR, but with particular focus on activities in [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

MEDIA:

Feature on AJ Arabic: 15 minute "feature" piece filmed at AJ Studios on the Administration's commitment to engagement with Muslim communities worldwide. This will be a good opportunity to highlight the Entrepreneurship

Summit. We can expect you to also get questions on PD programs in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. You will be interviewed by one of AJ's "top" journalists; exactly who is still to be determined. The interview will be in English with simultaneous interpretation into Arabic. It will likely air a number of times on AJ.

Feature on AJ English: This would be a second 15 minute "feature" piece similar to the one for AJ Arabic. If we are pressed for time we can consider just doing the AJ Arabic feature.

Roundtable with local Qatari media: This will include journalists from a number of local Qatari media outlets. This is another opportunity to talk about the Administration's commitment to engagement, but with a more targeted focus on bilateral engagement and exchange programs.

Note – Wadah Khanfar has been closely engaged on, if not driving, the portions of your program that deal with AJ. Post reports that he is very pleased to have this opportunity for you to engage with AJ leadership in Doha.

Best,

Ann

Ann Somerset

Special Assistant

Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)

U.S. Department of State

2201 C St, NW Rm 5932

W: 202.647.9130| [redacted] | *: SomersetAD@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2010 12:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 5/25/10 Senior Staff Meeting

**From:** Smith, Daniel B
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2010 9:43 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** 5/25/10 Senior Staff Meeting

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

JAMAICA

- Eric Boswell reported that the embassy and two international schools that U.S. dependent children attend are closed today because of violence connected with the efforts to arrest the drug trafficker Coke. Consular Affairs put out a new Travel Warning yesterday warning against travel to the Kingston area. DS has a heavy security team on the ground.

CONGRESSIONAL ISSUES

- The Supplemental is on the Senate floor today. Not too many troublesome amendments yet. Not clear whether Senator Landrieu will submit hers.

- Rich noted an effort to get State nominees approved this Thursday – 6 are on the calendar, but two (Robert Ford and Carmen Aponte) will not move for other reasons.

LEGAL ISSUES

- Harold noted that, if at all possible, he would like to brief the Secretary on the ICC Review Conference and the "crime of aggression" issue before he leaves for the conference in Uganda this week.

- [redacted] B5

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

- PJ pointed to an article in today's *Washington Post* as part of a concerted effort to focus on the transition from a military to a civilian-led effort in Iraq.

- Glenn Kessler called last night regarding a snarky piece he is writing about the relative lack of the Secretary's travel to Israel in comparison with her predecessors.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

---

**From**: Stancer, Wendy R
**To**: Stancer, Wendy R; SES-O_S-Calls
**Sent**: Sun Jul 25 11:22:42 2010
**Subject**: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

Jordanian FM Judeh would like to speak with the Secretary SECURE. He would be available to come in to Embassy Amman for the call.

---

**From:** Stancer, Wendy R
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** SES-O_S-Calls
**Subject:** Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary

Colleagues,

Embassy Amman reports the FM would like to speak with the Secretary today, at any time that is convenient for her. King Abdullah II will be meeting tomorrow with Abu Mazen, and there are some issues concerning the meeting that FM Judeh wishes to discuss.

**Wendy R. Stancer**
**Watch Officer**
**State Department Operations Center**
**Tel: 202.647.1512**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2010 2:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Hill on Cheonan

**Importance:** High

Fyi

---

**From:** Kim, Sung Y
**To:** Crocker, Bathsheba N; D Duty Officer4; 'Bosworth, Stephen' [redacted]; Campbell, Kurt M; Rosenberger, Laura M; 'Bader, Jeffrey A.' [redacted]; 'Russel, Daniel R.' [redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Sent:** Tue May 25 14:04:51 2010
**Subject:** Hill on Cheonan

Sheba – Please pass to D.

The interagency briefing for Hill staff (leadership, foreign affairs, appropriations, arms services) today was uneventful. Mostly predictable questions (where is China; effect on Iran resolution; defense posture...) and no criticism of the way the Administration has handled this so far. Interestingly, no question or push on SSTL. If this exchange is a good indication of Hill temperature, I think we are doing ok at the moment.

Sung

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mitchell, George [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 11:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Here's my personal email

OK, will do. Please let me know results of Ashton call as this will be helpful to know in my calls with other EU FMs.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:34:32 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

You should call.I'm trying to reach Ashton after call w Bibi at 11:45.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mitchell, George [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:54:41 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

I asked State Ops to call Moratinos; they said you had previously asked and they wanted to know which order to call. Do you want to call him first or do you want me to call and report to you and then you call?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 09:19:11 2010
Subject: Here's my personal email

Pls use this for reply--HRC

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: GM's conversation with FM Frattini

Fyi

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~
Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/24/2025

----- Original Message -----
From: Reed, Julia G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Rudman, Mara
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:33:50 2010
Subject: GM's conversation with FM Frattini

Dear Jake,
The Senator asked that I send you this read out. He just finished discussing this call with S. There has now been a second call with Frattini to clarify Abu Mazen's message to Berlusconi from the first call. Second call readout will be coming shortly.

Thanks,
Julia

MEMCON
Senator Mitchell - FM Frattini
July 25, 2010

Senator Mitchell spoke to FM Frattini at 8:30 AM.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

FM Frattini said [redacted] that Italy and the EU would continue to encourage both sides to move rapidly into direct negotiations.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Request for S phone call

It appears that he wants to raise some sensitive issues with you - so it's hard to do up a specific call sheet. B5

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:26:00 2010
Subject: Re: Request for S phone call

I don't have a call sheet for him.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:47:50 2010
Subject: Fw: Request for S phone call

B5

I saw he put in a call for you.

---

From: Mandel, Lawrence C (Amman)
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Walles, Jacob; S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O; Beecroft, Robert S (Amman)
Sent: Sun Jul 25 09:56:57 2010
Subject: Request for S phone call

Jake,

I just got off the phone with A/S Feltman and he asked that I send this note to you. I am the Charge' at Embassy Amman.

A few minutes ago we received a phone call from the Foreign Ministry advising that Foreign Minister Judeh would like to speak with the Secretary today, at any time that is convenient for her. King Abdullah II will be meeting tomorrow with Abu Mazen, and there are some issues concerning the meeting that FM Judeh wishes to discuss.

I advised the FM's office that I would relay the request and advise them of the response. They are awaiting a return call.

Many thanks,

Larry Mandel

U.S. Embassy Amman

Embassy Amman's work week is Sunday through Thursday. Amman is seven hours ahead of Washington time.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

Roger.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:37:26 2010
Subject: Re: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

I'm talking w Bibi at 11:45. Can you schedule this call for after 1?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:23:33 2010
Subject: Fw: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

---

From: Stancer, Wendy R
To: Stancer, Wendy R; SES-O_S-Calls
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:22:42 2010
Subject: Update: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary on a secure line

Jordanian FM Judeh would like to speak with the Secretary SECURE. He would be available to come in to Embassy Amman for the call.

From: Stancer, Wendy R
Sent: Sunday, July 25, 2010 10:01 AM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: Jordanian Foreign Minister Judeh has requested to speak with the Secretary

Colleagues,

Embassy Amman reports the FM would like to speak with the Secretary today, at any time that is convenient for her. King Abdullah II will be meeting tomorrow with Abu Mazen, and there are some issues concerning the meeting that FM Judeh wishes to discuss.

Wendy R. Stancer

Watch Officer

State Department Operations Center

Tel: 202.647.1512

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mitchell, George < [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, July 25, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** ReedJG@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Here's my personal email

I talked with Moratinos. He said he talked with with Abbas and Erakat (and will see them in Amman on Tuesday; he thinks the meeting in Brussels tomorrow will last only one day) [redacted] I told him that I would report to you and get back to him; he requested that you call Ashton; I said I would pass along the request (I didn't feel at liberty to disclose that you had already done so). B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:37:50 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/24/2025

I will but it's not scheduled yet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mitchell, George [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 25 11:37:11 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

OK, will do. Please let me know results of Ashton call as this will be helpful to know in my calls with other EU FMs.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:34:32 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

You should call.I'm trying to reach Ashton after call w Bibi at 11:45.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mitchell, George [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Jul 25 10:54:41 2010
Subject: Re: Here's my personal email

I asked State Ops to call Moratinos; they said you had previously asked and they wanted to know which order to call. Do you want to call him first or do you want me to call and report to you and then you call?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mitchell, George
Sent: Sun Jul 25 09:19:11 2010
Subject: Here's my personal email

Pls use this for reply--HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2010 9:04 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Assessing our progress to date and proposing possible ways to create more leverage

For your reading pleasure on the way home, S/P has been working on a project that I discussed with Jake a while back -- aimed at figuring out where we could do better and above all create more leverage to achieve our goals. The papers are blunter than anything you would see from the bureaus -- they should not necessarily be read as policy blueprints but rather as illustrations of alternative strategies. We have made sure that the special assistants have them on the plane. I will also share the individual papers with the relevant assistant secretaries. We will then be happy to take the project further if you approve.

You will be happy to know that rain has stopped at the Expo!
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2010 3:49 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Nelson and Byrd

See below....Nelson to support Don't Ask Don't Tell measure. Spoke with Byrd's people too....they think he is leaning to support it, but would know for sure later today.

Nelson to back 'Don't ask' repeal
By: Jen DiMascio
May 26, 2010 12:08 PM EDT

Nebraska Sen. Ben Nelson (D) will back repeal of don't ask don't tell, likely putting repeal proponents over the top in their quest to end the ban on gays serving openly in the military.

"I don't believe that most Nebraskans want to continue a policy that not only encourages but requires people to be deceptive and to lie. The 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy does just that," Nelson said. "It also encourages suspicion and senior officers to look the other way. In a military which values honesty and integrity, this policy encourages deceit."

"I will support the Lieberman compromise because it removes politics from the process. It bases implementation of the repeal on the Pentagon's review and a determination by our military leaders that repeal is consistent with military readiness and effectiveness, and that the Pentagon has prepared the necessary regulations to make the changes," he said, adding that he spoke with Defense Secretary Robert Gates about the issue.

"He advised that while he preferred waiting until the study is completed, he can live with this compromise," Nelson said.

Given statements made by Sens. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.), Bill Nelson (D-Fla.) and Susan Collins (R-Maine) that they, too, will vote for repeal, Nebraska's Nelson would be the critical 15th vote required for repeal to be included in the defense authorization bill.

Their decisions were also made after earlier news this week that both the White House and Gates could live with a compromise amendment sponsored by Sens. Joe Lieberman (I-Conn.), Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Rep. Patrick Murphy (D-Pa.).

"We thank Senator Nelson for his support and are extremely grateful. He and other senators supporting repeal will be on the right side of history," said Joe Solmonese, president of the Human Rights Campaign. "While Senator Nelson's vote is critical, no vote will be taken for granted in these final hours before the Senate committee vote."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, July 26, 2010 8:15 AM

*http://blogs.ft.com/martin-wolf-exchange/2010/07/25/the-political-genius-of-supply-side-economics/*

*Follow this link to read about Martin Wolf, the FT's chief economics commentator.*
Back to Martin Wolf's Exchange homepage

## The political genius of supply-side economics

Martin Wolf
Financial Times

# July 25, 2010 4:18pm | Share

The future of fiscal policy was intensely debated in the FT last week. In this Exchange, I want to examine what is going on in the US and, in particular, what is going on inside the Republican party. This matters for the US and, because the US remains the world's most important economy, it also matters greatly for the world.

My reading of contemporary Republican thinking is that there is no chance of any attempt to arrest adverse long-term fiscal trends should they return to power. Moreover, since the Republicans have no interest in doing anything sensible, the Democrats will gain nothing from trying to do much either. That is the lesson Democrats have to draw from the Clinton era's successful frugality, which merely gave George W. Bush the opportunity to make massive (irresponsible and unsustainable) tax cuts. In practice, then, nothing will be done.

Indeed, nothing may be done even if a genuine fiscal crisis were to emerge. According to my friend, Bruce Bartlett, a highly informed, if jaundiced, observer, some "conservatives" (in truth, extreme radicals) think a federal default would be an effective way to bring public spending they detest under control. It should be noted, in passing, that a federal default would surely create the biggest financial crisis in world economic history.

To understand modern Republican thinking on fiscal policy, we need to go back to perhaps the most politically brilliant (albeit economically unconvincing) idea in the history of fiscal policy: "supply-side economics". Supply-side economics liberated conservatives from any need to insist on fiscal rectitude and balanced budgets. Supply-side economics said that one could cut taxes and balance budgets, because incentive effects would generate new activity and so higher revenue. The political genius of this idea is evident. Supply-side economics transformed Republicans from a minority party into a majority party. It allowed them to promise lower taxes, lower deficits and, in effect, unchanged spending. Why should people not like this combination? Who does not like a free lunch?

How did supply-side economics bring these benefits? First, it allowed conservatives to ignore deficits. They could argue that, whatever the impact of the tax cuts in the short run, they would bring the budget back into balance, in the longer run. Second, the theory gave an economic justification – the argument from incentives - for lowering taxes on politically important supporters. Finally, if deficits did not, in fact, disappear, conservatives could fall back on the "starve the beast" theory: deficits would create a fiscal crisis that would force the government to cut spending and even destroy the hated welfare state.

In this way, the Republicans were transformed from a balanced-budget party to a tax-cutting party. This innovative stance proved highly politically effective, consistently putting the Democrats at a political disadvantage. It also made the Republicans de facto Keynesians in a de facto Keynesian nation. Whatever the rhetoric, I have long considered the US the advanced world's most Keynesian nation – the one in which government (including the Federal Reserve) is most expected to generate healthy demand at all times, largely because jobs are, in the US, the only safety net for those of working age.

True, the theory that cuts would pay for themselves has proved altogether wrong. That this might well be the case was evident: cutting tax rates from, say, 30 per cent to zero would unambiguously reduce revenue to zero. This is not to argue there were no incentive effects. But they were not large enough to offset the fiscal impact of the cuts (see, on this, Wikipedia and a nice chart from Paul Krugman).

Indeed, Greg Mankiw, no less, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under George W. Bush, has responded to the view that broad-based tax cuts would pay for themselves, as follows: "I did not find such a claim credible, based on the available evidence. I never have, and I still don't." Indeed, he has referred to those who believe this as "charlatans and cranks". Those are his words, not mine, though I agree. They apply, in force, to contemporary Republicans, alas,

Since the fiscal theory of supply-side economics did not work, the tax-cutting eras of Ronald Reagan and George H. Bush and again of George W. Bush saw very substantial rises in ratios of federal debt to gross domestic product. Under Reagan and the first Bush, the ratio of public debt to GDP went from 33 per cent to 64 per cent. It fell to 57 per cent under Bill Clinton. It then rose to 69 per cent under the second George Bush. Equally, tax cuts in the era of George W. Bush, wars and the economic crisis account for almost all the dire fiscal outlook for the next ten years (see the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities).

Today's extremely high deficits are also an inheritance from Bush-era tax-and-spending policies and the financial crisis, also, of course, inherited by the present administration. Thus, according to the International Monetary Fund, the impact of discretionary stimulus on the US fiscal deficit amounts to a cumulative total of 4.7 per cent of GDP in 2009 and 2010, while the cumulative deficit over these years is forecast at 23.5 per cent of GDP. In any case, the stimulus was certainly too small, not too large.

The evidence shows, then, that contemporary conservatives (unlike those of old) simply do not think deficits matter, as former vice-president Richard Cheney is reported to have told former treasury secretary Paul O'Neill. But this is not because the supply-side theory of self-financing tax cuts, on which Reagan era tax cuts were justified, has worked, but despite the fact it has not. The faith has outlived its economic (though not its political) rationale.

So, when Republicans assail the deficits under President Obama, are they to be taken seriously? Yes and no. Yes, they are politically interested in blaming Mr Obama for deficits, since all is viewed fair in love and partisan politics. And yes, they are, indeed, rhetorically opposed to deficits created by extra spending (although that did not prevent them from enacting the unfunded prescription drug benefit, under President Bush). But no, it is not deficits themselves that worry Republicans, but rather how they are caused: deficits caused by tax cuts are fine; but spending increases brought in by Democrats are diabolical, unless on the military.

Indeed, this is precisely what John Kyl (Arizona), a senior Republican senator, has just said:

> "[Y]ou should never raise taxes in order to cut taxes. Surely Congress has the authority, and it would be right to — if we decide we want to cut taxes to spur the economy, not to have to raise taxes in order to offset those costs. You do need to offset the cost of increased spending, and that's what Republicans object to. But you should never have to offset the cost of a deliberate decision to reduce tax rates on Americans"

What conclusions should outsiders draw about the likely future of US fiscal policy?

First, if Republicans win the mid-terms in November, as seems likely, they are surely going to come up with huge tax cut proposals (probably well beyond extending the already unaffordable Bush-era tax cuts).

Second, the White House will probably veto these cuts, making itself even more politically unpopular.

Third, some additional fiscal stimulus is, in fact, what the US needs, in the short term, even though across-the-board tax cuts are an extremely inefficient way of providing it.

Fourth, the Republican proposals would not, alas, be short term, but dangerously long term, in their impact.

Finally, with one party indifferent to deficits, provided they are brought about by tax cuts, and the other party relatively fiscally responsible (well, everything is relative, after all), but opposed to spending cuts on core programmes, US fiscal policy is paralysed. I may think the policies of the UK government dangerously austere, but at least it can act.

This is extraordinarily dangerous. The danger does not arise from the fiscal deficits of today, but the attitudes to fiscal policy, over the long run, of one of the two main parties. Those radical conservatives (a small minority, I hope) who want to destroy the credit of the US federal government may succeed. If so, that would be the end of the US era of global dominance. The destruction of fiscal credibility could be the outcome of the policies of the party that considers itself the most patriotic.

In sum, a great deal of trouble lies ahead, for the US and the world.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 26, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Arab League Follow-up Committee

I mistakenly wrote in your notes that it was tomorrow – it is of course Thursday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 26, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Sydney Morning Herald) Abbas ready for direct talks with Israel

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**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Mon Jul 26 17:04:54 2010
**Subject**: (Sydney Morning Herald) Abbas ready for direct talks with Israel

Palestinian President Abbas said he was ready for direct negotiations with Israel, following Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's accusations that the Palestinians are avoiding the talks. "We are ready to hold direct peace negotiations with Israel," Abbas told reporters after talks with Jordan's King Abdullah II in Amman. "We have negotiated with Israeli governments before, more than once. Why would we avoid such talks? We are not."
Netanyahu told the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and defense earlier July 26 the Palestinians were trying to sneak out of direct negotiations while Israel was ready to start them "immediately." "We have an understanding with the Americans that we need to move now, without any delay, to direct negotiations, but in response, we have a clear Palestinian attempt to avoid this process," Netanyahu said. "They are trying to stall and to sneak away from direct negotiations and to cause the Arab League to shackle the talks."
Netanyahu's remarks come just days ahead of a meeting in Cairo between Abbas and the Arab League at which the Palestinian leader will discuss the indirect talks with Israel, which began in May, and will also address the pressing question of a shift to direct negotiations.
Abbas has repeatedly said he would not move to direct talks without tangible progress on the key issues of borders and security, and without a complete freeze on Jewish settlement building on occupied Palestinian land.
Abbas is due to meet Spanish Foreign Minister Moratinos July 27 in Amman before flying to Cairo.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, July 26, 2010 5:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Sydney Morning Herald) Abbas ready for direct talks with Israel

FYI

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**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**Sent:** Monday, July 26, 2010 5:05 PM
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Subject:** (Sydney Morning Herald) Abbas ready for direct talks with Israel

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Abbas is due to meet Spanish Foreign Minister Moratinos July 27 in Amman before flying to Cairo.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 9:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Barak

Sorry to bother you, and promise to keep it to a minimum, [redacted] B5 B6

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king seeks Syrian help to ease Lebanon tensions

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO; SES_DutyDeputies
**Sent:** Tue Jul 27 07:59:49 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Saudi king seeks Syrian help to ease Lebanon tensions

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi ruler King Abdullah meets Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad on July 29 to try to ease tensions in Lebanon, capitalizing on an apparent weakening in Iran's position after a round of tough new sanctions. The monarch will hold talks with Assad in Damascus before heading to Beirut where he will meet his ally Premier Saad al-Hariri, President Michel Suleiman and pro-Western Lebanese political leaders, Saudi officials said. The monarch hopes to convince Assad to accompany him to Beirut from Damascus, Lebanese officials say, although Syria has not confirmed that Assad will oblige.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Kerry dismisses leak papers as largely meaningless

---

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES_DutyDeputies; SES-O_SWO
**Sent:** Tue Jul 27 10:25:37 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Kerry dismisses leak papers as largely meaningless

WASHINGTON (AP) - A senior Democratic senator is largely dismissing the significance of classified U.S. military documents released over the weekend that portrayed a range of problems in the Afghan war. At a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing, the panel's chairman, Senator John Kerry (D-MA), said people should not "overhype or get excessively excited about" the disclosures. He said the release was unlawful and could potentially endangered U.S. troops in Afghanistan. But he also said the secret documents should be given little weight because in many cases they reflect raw intelligence, not carefully calibrated assessments of trends on the ground. Kerry's committee is holding a hearing on the prospects for achieving a reconciliation between the Afghan government and the Taliban insurgency.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Hi

Ok - I am sending huma a revised call grid this afternoon.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 27, 2010 12:52 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: Hi

Pls add to call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Tina Flournoy, Office of the President [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jul 20 22:12:16 2010
Subject: Hi

Have a little issue that I would like to discuss with you over the phone. Not a long conversation but need to do one on one. Thanks I know you're busy with a few things!!

This e-mail and any attachments are confidential and are intended solely for the named addressee(s). If you are not a named addressee, you should not copy, alter, post, forward, distribute or disseminate the contents of the e-mail or attachments. Any views or opinions expressed are solely those of the individual and do not necessarily represent those of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 1:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: New Batch?

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 12:47 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: New Batch?

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** Rhodes, Benjamin J.
**Cc:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Verma, Richard R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feldman, Daniel F; Singh, Vikram J; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** New Batch?

Just heard from a reporter from McClatchy that the next release, timing unknown, will include analytical State cables.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 6:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Supp

Passed 308-114.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 1:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tonight or tomorrow

I can do 830pm at your house(or anytime tomorrow)

Cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** PIR <preines[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 2:36 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Women

I for one loved that you finally called out the ogrish males on your staff who roll their eyes at womens issues and events

But fyi I'm pretty sure I saw [redacted] roll their eyes at the very moment that you were obviously referring to them.

They just don't get it

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 4:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tonight or tomorrow

Tomorrow you and I have office time at 230pm for 45 min

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu May 27 13:22:34 2010
Subject: Tonight or tomorrow

I can do 830pm at your house(or anytime tomorrow)

Cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 4:33 PM
**To:** H
**Attachments:** ole0.bmp

# FISA director leaves legacy of collaboration

## Breaking down barriers

Wednesday, May 26, 2010

By Tina Calabro, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Pam Panchak/Post-Gazette

FISA Foundation retiring executive director Dee Delaney, left, with the new executive director, Kristy Trautmann.

To people in the local disability community, Dee Delaney is a household name.

When news came this spring of her intention to retire as executive director of FISA Foundation in August, one could almost hear a collective gasp. With 14 years at the helm of the small but influential foundation, Ms. Delaney has had a pronounced and lasting influence on quality of life in our region.

On behalf of FISA, Ms. Delaney has changed the local landscape not only by funding projects with far-reaching results, but by bringing people together to craft solutions to longstanding problems and by becoming personally involved in many of the projects the foundation funds.

She became the first executive director of FISA Foundation when it began in 1996 with proceeds from the sale of Harmarville Rehabilitation Center, a nonprofit, to HealthSouth, a for-profit organization.

The new foundation would continue the mission of the Federation of Independent School Alumnae, an organization that opened a convalescent home for women in 1911 and the Harmarville Rehabilitation Center in 1954. That mission was to improve the lives of women, girls and people with disabilities in Western Pennsylvania.

Ms. Delaney, who had been involved with Harmarville since 1980 -- starting as a volunteer and ending as development director of its foundation -- sought the job of leading FISA. "I realized the impact the foundation could have. FISA is not a large foundation, but it's a very focused foundation," she said.

Over the past 14 years, FISA's endowment has grown to more than $38 million. Over $17 million has been granted to 726 projects in 298 organizations.

A roll call of projects funded by FISA reflects progressive thinking about including of people with disabilities in all aspects of life, especially access to health care. Programs have become national models.

Women with disabilities, for example, often encounter barriers in typical healthcare settings. Standard exam tables and diagnostic equipment were designed for the able-bodied, and medical staff often struggle to accommodate individuals with special needs. FISA provided the seed money for the Center for Women with Disabilities at Magee-Womens Hospital of UPMC, one of the first such clinics in the nation. FISA is involved in the overall issue of improving access to healthcare for people with disabilities.

Likewise, people with disabilities have difficulty obtaining dental care. A FISA-funded project at Achieva is creating statewide, systemic solutions. FISA also provided support for the Center for Patients with Special Needs at Pitt's School of Dental Medicine.

FISA has also taken the lead on training arts and cultural venues how to make events more accessible and helping places of worship more welcoming.

"Dee is a national leader in the field. If there were more people like her, we wouldn't have the issues we have," said Kim Hutchinson, executive director of the Disability Funders Network, based in Virginia. Ms. Delaney has been a board officer for the group since 2004.

Nancy Murray, president of the ARC of Greater Pittsburgh, said the issues Ms. Delaney has helped solve are ones that people have been working on for years.

"People talk about strategies, but never move forward to solutions. Dee brings all the stakeholders together to get to the solutions," said Ms. Murray.

"I think Dee has greatly influenced the next generation of nonprofit and philanthropic leaders, leading by example on the value of true collaboration," said Susie Chase, a board member of FISA and former executive director of Working Order, a FISA grantee.

"With Dee, it is never about her own role, or FISA's role, it is always about unmet needs in the community and the work that needs to be done. That seems to bring out the best in every partner, and in everyone who has the privilege of working with her."

Ms. Chase added that advice and technical assistance Ms. Delaney provided to Working Order "were of equal or greater value to the organization than the grant funds."

"I still, after many years, never come away from a meeting with Dee that I haven't learned something, been inspired to work harder, and understood more clearly the value of someone else's ideas and efforts."

In her retirement, Ms. Delaney plans to "give back to the community in new ways," she said. A new frontier is helping young people with disabilities prepare for employment and leadership. "We have to keep the fire burning."

On May 19, FISA announced that Kristy Trautmann, who has served as the foundation's program director for six years, was promoted to executive director.

"We sought a person who would follow Ms. Delaney's visionary leadership and guide the foundation into the next decade," said Jane Burger, who chaired the search committee. "We know that we have found such a person in Kristy Trautmann. She understands the challenges facing the populations the foundation supports and has the trust of the board and the community."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 4:57 PM
**To:** H

FYI

George Richert
May 25, 2010 6:00 p.m.

A new Buffalo Bill is catching the world's attention.

On the practice field Tuesday afternoon, he was just another Bill, a rookie no less, but he's catching a lot of attention in his family's homeland.

In China this week, during a speech to dignitaries at the USA Pavilion, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said this:

"From Yo-Yo Ma to I.M. Pei to Commerce Secretary Gary Locke and Energy Secretary Chu, Chinese-Americans have achieved great success in business, government, the arts, sciences and sports. And to that end, I was pleased to hear that the Buffalo Bills have recently drafted the first Chinese-American to play in the NFL," said Clinton.

Buffalo Bills offensive tackle Ed Wang said, "It felt good. She's a very important person, and so for someone like that to talk about me, it just feels good."

Wang didn't know until he heard from News 4 that he was mentioned in Shanghai. The 6'5", 250 pound Bills rookie wasn't born in China, but both of his parents were Chinese Olympians in track and field, so he loves breaking new ground in football.

>>>In George's reporter's notebook, he explains why the Buffalo Bills limit media access to the first 15 minutes of practice

"It is important to me just because I am the first, and I take a lot of pride in being Chinese, but at the same time, I know that I'm out here to play football," said Wang.

Wang is expected to make the team, and his goal is to make a difference.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Azerbaijan letter-critical

FYI – from Morningstar:

The Turkey-Azerbaijan Agreement was not signed last week in spite of both leaders having said that it would be. Erdogan and Aliyev are now saying June 7 or 8. We have learned that a serious commercial arose that needs to be resolved. I hope it will be but am making no predictions. One could also speculate that Medvedev's visit to Turkey may have been a factor. S should be aware of this. Thanks...Dick

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 7:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: SFRC Megrahi Hearing POSTPONED

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Schwartz, Jonathan B
**Cc**: Verma, Richard R; Rooney, Matthew M
**Sent**: Tue Jul 27 18:41:47 2010
**Subject**: RE: SFRC Megrahi Hearing POSTPONED

Statement from Menendez, Schumer, Lautenberg, and Gillibrand.

No mention of State.

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**July 27, 2010**

**CONTACTS:**

Menendez Press Office 202-224-4744

Lautenberg Press Office 202-224-3224

Gillibrand Press Office 202-224-3873

Brian Fallon (Schumer) 202-224-7433

# MENENDEZ – JOINED BY LAUTENBERG, GILLIBRAND AND SCHUMER – ANNOUNCES NEW PLAN TO GET ANSWERS ABOUT LOCKERBIE BOMBER RELEASE

*Investigation will be launched to gather new information, Senate hearing date will be re-set*

**WASHINGTON** – U.S. Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ), who will chair a Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the release of the Pan Am Flight 103 bomber, today was joined by Senators Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) and Charles Schumer (D-NY) in announcing a new plan to gather critical information on the issue. Because the key Scottish government, British government and BP witnesses declined to testify at the hearing scheduled for Thursday, Menendez and his colleagues announced that the hearing date will be re-set and that they will work with the Foreign Relations Committee to launch an investigation into the matter and provide the basis for the re-scheduled hearing.

Senator Menendez explained the new plan: **"We are at a place where no witness of consequence has the courage to step forward and clear the air – they would prefer to sweep this under the rug. Because of this stonewalling, we are shifting our efforts to a longer-term, multi-dimensional inquiry into the release of al-Megrahi. The hearing will be postponed and rescheduled, and it will be coupled with an investigation into al-Megrahi's release. In declining our witness request, the Scottish government did offer to provide answers to further questions we may have. We appreciate that, and will take them up on that offer. We will work with the Foreign Relations Committee to launch the investigation into this matter – asking the pointed questions that we would have in person, and requesting additional documents. Our requests will be frequent and public – we don't intend for this issue to be forgotten or swept under the rug. When our information is more complete, we will release it publicly, hold the hearing and discuss what we have found."**

Senator Lautenberg said: **"I will not rest until there is a clear and credible record of what led to the early release of the Lockerbie bomber. In the last year, troubling questions surrounding the circumstances of al-Megrahi's release have come to the surface. The families of the victims of Pan Am 103 have already suffered so much, and the release of this convicted terrorist has only amplified their anguish and grief. For their sake, we must get to the bottom of these questions. Those who commit vicious acts of terrorism have to know that they will be punished without compassion, and a rigorous investigation will help send that message."**

Senator Gillibrand said: **"It has become clear that there is a great deal of information already in the public domain that has not been fully investigated. Already we have seen an abundance of circumstantial evidence that justice and the international fight against terror were compromised to serve the interests of BP and possibly other companies. The only independent review of this matter was done by the Scottish Parliament, which said they were 'extremely concerned' about the basis on which compassionate release was granted. The Scottish review was also limited in scope and did not examine the external influences on Al-Megrahi's release. Our investigation will review past evidence and new information that we intend to gather in a new light, so that we can answer questions about whether BP tried to free Al-Megrahi. What has happened here is a total miscarriage of justice. Al-Megrahi should never have been released, and we must answer exactly why this happened."**

Senator Schumer said: **"It is time for the UK and Scottish Governments to prove they are part of the solution here and not part of the problem. Day after day, week after week, more and more questions get raised and we need all parties to this controversy involved in answering them. We will continue in our quest for the truth so that justice can be served and the families of the victims can have their faith in the legal process restored."**

Invited to the hearing, but declining to appear were: **Scottish Justice Secretary Kenny MacAskill** (made the decision to release al-Megrahi), **Dr. Andrew Fraser** (Scottish prison system doctor cited by MacAskill as responsible for the medical prognosis that led to the release), **Jack Straw, the former British Justice Secretary** (has acknowledged that his government pushed for al-Megrahi's release as part of a prisoner transfer agreement), **BP CEO Tony Hayward** (directly involved in negotiations with Libya), and **Sir Mark Allen** (former British MI6 hired by BP and acted as a liaison between the company and the Libyan and British governments).

###

Afshin Mohamadi

Communications Director

Sen. Robert Menendez (D-NJ)

202-224-4744

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 6:04 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Schwartz, Jonathan B
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R; Rooney, Matthew M
**Subject:** SFRC Megrahi Hearing POSTPONED

No word on the new date.

Reason being given to families and others is that lack of cooperation by UK and Scots in providing a witness undermined the hearing.

Menendez however vowed not to drop the issue or his pursuit of a hearing at a later date.

**Miguel E. Rodriguez**
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs
Bureau of Legislative Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2645
rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** H

FYI – the Senate is likely to pass the supp tonight. And, no nominees from any government agency will be confirmed tonight or tomorrow. Would like to discuss the potential for recess appointments with you and Cheryl.

The Brookings event, especially your opening remarks, were excellent. Very thoughtful, with lots of real-life examples. We have gotten lots of positive feedback.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:29 PM
**To:** H; preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Brookings

Getting good feedback on your remarks. The early stories look good, too. More than one person has asked me, did she do all that off the cuff?

I'll leave Philippe to answer the tax the rich question, but I loved it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:17 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines [redacted] B6
Subject: Brookings

Are you getting any feedback? How soon will FOX attack me for my "tax the rich" comments?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

One could serve till the end of 2011. And if recess appointed, the name stays on the exec calendar and chances are the individual would still be confirmed the old fashioned way. So there would be no need to be reappointed. The fact is most people who are recess appointed do get confirmed.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu May 27 19:10:54 2010
Subject: Re:

How long can a recess appointee serve and can one be reappointed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 18:40:05 2010
Subject:

FYI – the Senate is likely to pass the supp tonight. And, no nominees from any government agency will be confirmed tonight or tomorrow. Would like to discuss the potential for recess appointments with you and Cheryl.

The Brookings event, especially your opening remarks, were excellent. Very thoughtful, with lots of real-life examples. We have gotten lots of positive feedback.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 6:29 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

FYI

**From**: Chartrand, Jennifer
**To**: H_SeniorStaff
**Sent**: Tue Jul 27 18:08:55 2010
**Subject**: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 27, 2010 9:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

Yes Haiti money was in.

Also had a good meeting with corker and isakson. They liked our negotiating record summary, but they don't want to vote on the treaty in committee next week. Looks like we are headed for september for committee and hopefully floor action as well.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Tue Jul 27 21:50:26 2010
Subject: Re: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

Thank goodness. Was Haiti $ in there?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jul 27 18:29:15 2010
Subject: Fw: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

FYI

---

From: Chartrand, Jennifer
To: H_SeniorStaff
Sent: Tue Jul 27 18:08:55 2010
Subject: House Supp vote 308-114 - It passed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 28, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AFP) Jordanian premier reshuffles cabinet

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES_DutyDeputies
**Sent**: Wed Jul 28 08:48:04 2010
**Subject**: (AFP) Jordanian premier reshuffles cabinet

AMMAN (AFP) - Jordanian Prime Minister Samir Rifai reshuffled his cabinet on July 28, dropping six ministers and replacing them with seven others. The ministers of justice, education, agriculture, tourism, information and cabinet affairs left the government, while Labour Minister Ibrahim Omush changed his portfolio to become state minister for prime ministry and legal affairs. Seven new members entered the government, after they were sworn in by King Abdullah II.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 28, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** [redacted] sheet. B5

Purpose: [redacted]

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 28, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

As said: Yeah. Yeah yeah.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 27, 2010 8:57 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re:

Hallelujah!

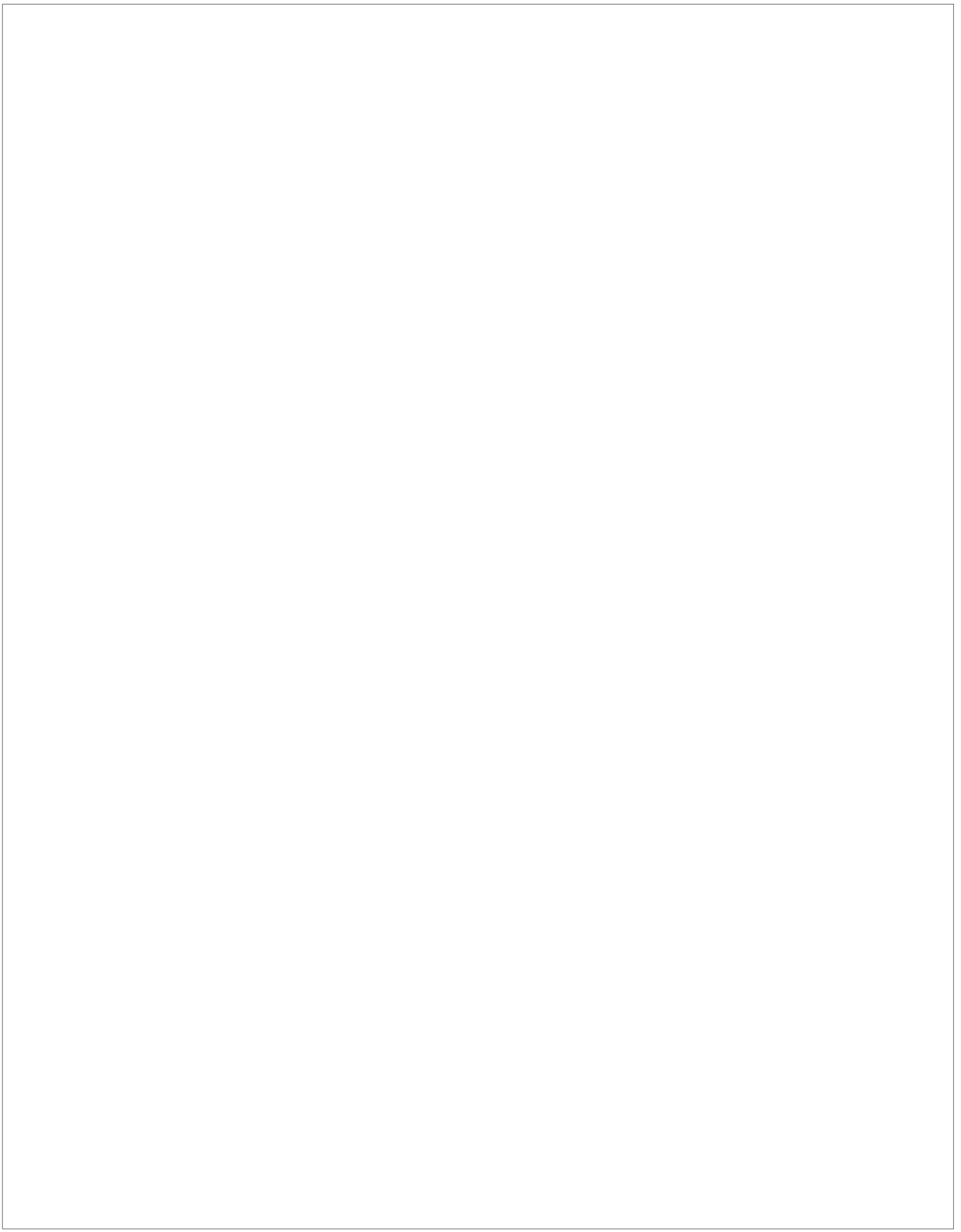
----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Tue Jul 27 16:49:24 2010
Subject:

Good news!!

Tue, July 27, 2010 1:25:42 PM

RE: me, of course

B6



B6

This email is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged and confidential. If the reader of this email message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution, or copying of this communication is prohibited. If you have received this email in error, please notify the sender and destroy/delete all copies of the transmittal. Thank you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 28, 2010 2:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Are you still in DC?

I'm not. I'm in new york now. Sorry.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jul 28 13:53:56 2010
Subject: Are you still in DC?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 28, 2010 2:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** are you free?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Items

A few quick items:

1. Saw you did a conference call with Jim, Tom, and Bill. Bill had called me about the Lavrov call – I don't know where you ended up, but we thought you might consider [redacted] B5

   [redacted]

   Let me know what you think.

2. You might ask [redacted] B5

   [redacted]

3. Kurt called to say that the Aussie FM wants to speak with you "for two minutes" to give you some "good news on Afghanistan." Good news calls are hard to come by, so...

4. I'd like to download two conversations with you tomorrow – first, with [redacted] B6 second, with Frank Ricciardone.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 9:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

---

**From**: Balderston, Kris M
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent**: Thu May 27 19:28:46 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Huma/Lauren

I am headed back from China and I do not have S' email but I wanted to pass on this info regarding Father Charlie Beirne, a friend to both of us and frmr Prez of LeMoyne College who is now at a hospice at Fordham University in the Bronx. He greatly admires S and they always had a special relationship. We had planned for him to come down and have lunch w us (incldg Mark Landler of the NYT who I have informed).

Charlie called me last night and he is stoic and brave but I think he would appreciate a call from S - who is simply admires

This is a Jesuit that showed his bravery by calling the Secy General of the Jesuits to ask to replace his Jesuit friend who had been massacred (along w others) by the military at a University in Central America.

---

**From**: abe <abe
**To**: Balderston, Kris M
**Sent**: Thu May 27 16:09:26 2010
**Subject**: Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Kris

Hope all is well on your end. Just wanted to pass this sad update along. I know you and the Senator would want to know.

Abe

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "Office Of The President" <
**Date:** Thu, 27 May 2010 10:13:39 -0400
**To:** Anne Endries<; Mary Cotter; Daniel Crough<;
Donald LaCasse<; Jack Collins<; Jack Boorman<
Margaret Dwyer<; Robert Turner<; Vincent Spina<;
Thomas Wynne<; James Gaspo<; G. Edward Grant,
Jr.<; Michael Holland<; Carol
Fletcher<; Susan Stratton<; William
Barrett< Jeffrey von Arx, S.J.<; Dena
Feeney<; Henry Fust<; Joseph O'Hare, S.J.; Pidge
James<; William Flynn<; Bob Yeazel<;
Joseph Marina>; Elizabeth Hicks<; William Dolan,
S.J.<; Fred Pestello; Robert Errico<;

B6

Francis Hilton, S.J. [redacted]; Walter Benson, Jr. [redacted] Stephen Helmer [redacted]; Michael Falcone [redacted]; Noreen Falcone [redacted]; Paul Drescher [redacted]; Abraham Lackman [redacted]; James Malvaso [redacted]; Richard Salmi, S.J. [redacted]; Darlene Kerr [redacted]; Clifford Auth, [redacted]; Thomas Costello, D.D. [redacted]; James Carrick [redacted] William Edwards [redacted] Jerry Brown [redacted]; John Vensel [redacted]; James Rybicki [redacted]; Debbie DiFino [redacted]; Sharon Kinsman [redacted]
**Cc:** Maria Lee [redacted]; Judy Owen [redacted]; Denise Chartrand [redacted]
**Subject:** Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

B6

Dear Trustees and Trustee Associates,

I am writing to share an update on Fr. Beirne's health. Fr. Beirne called this morning to let me know that his cancer has reached a stage where he has made the decision not to have any further clinical intervention. He prefers to live out the time he has remaining, six months by the doctors' projections, without the sapping of his energy and other side effects posed by his recent treatments. I have his permission to share this sad news with you. You may write to Fr. Beirne at Murray-Weigel Hall where he is now living (see address below) or phone him on his cell phone at [redacted]

B6

Murray-Weigel Hall
515 E. Fordham Road
Bronx, NY 10458-5029

I am sure that you join me in offering prayers for Fr. Beirne as he faces the challenges his illness presents in his final months with us.

Sincerely,

Fred P. Pestello, Ph.D.

President
Le Moyne College
1419 Salt Springs Road
Syracuse, NY 13214-1301
Phone: 315.445.4120
FAX: 315.445.4691

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 10:31 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Loretta Sanchez

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Verma, Richard R
Sent: Thu May 27 22:14:34 2010
Subject: Loretta Sanchez

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 10:44 PM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Re: Engel meeting

We'll make sure a rep is there.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Thu May 27 22:10:19 2010
Subject: Engel meeting

Why is there no rep from WHA in my meeting w Engel and Mack tomorrow?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 11:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Brookings

Sorry,[redacted]
just seeing this.

Sanger has a blog item on the NYT site about the comment, but more of a political take in that if you run for president again your opponents will pull the Brookings tape. And a couple of wingnut blogs asking why you don't just volunteer more of your own money to taxes, and that you chose Brazil as a "socialist country that sides with our enemies as a model.". But frankly, I had to look pretty hard to find that, I was the 19th person to read it. Not 19,000th. 19th.

Most coverage was either straightforward about the NSS, or your comments about the debt as a national security problem.

But feedback I got was strong, people always always always love you in that format.

------Original Message------
From: Jake Sullivan
To: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: RE: Brookings
Sent: May 27, 2010 7:29 PM

Getting good feedback on your remarks. The early stories look good, too. More than one person has asked me, did she do all that off the cuff?

I'll leave Philippe to answer the tax the rich question, but I loved it.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:17 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines[redacted]
Subject: Brookings

Are you getting any feedback? How soon will FOX attack me for my "tax the rich" comments?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 6PT/Revcon

The current revcon document includes a paragraph on North Korea. [redacted] B5

How would you like to proceed?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 7:57 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am (t) **PHONE CALL w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE (T)**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am **BILATERAL w/SRI LANKAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL**
10:30 am **AFFAIRS G.L. PEIRIS**

10:30 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
10:35 am Secretary's Office

10:35 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/SRI LANKA FM PEIRIS**
10:50 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:00 am **MEETING w/QUINN MEACHAM**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **MEETING w/CONGRESSMEN ELIOT ENGEL AND CONNIE MACK**
12:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY SCOTT GRATION**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **MEETING w/CONGRESSWOMAN LORETTA SANCHEZ**
1:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

1:30 pm **WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT MEETING**
2:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:15 pm Secretary's Office

3:30pm **MEETING w/DENNIS ROSS**
4:15pm Secretary's Office

TBD **DEPART** State Dept *En Route Private Residence

TBD **ARRIVE** Private Residence
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:07 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

I defer to Huma on AGOA, happy to follow up on Consular Affairs.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 7:55 AM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

When and where is the next AGOA Conference?

Sometime in June I want to schedule the following meeting for an hour w top leadership:

Consular Affairs

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:08 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

We'll find out.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri May 28 07:54:57 2010
Subject: Schedule

When and where is the next AGOA Conference?

Sometime in June I want to schedule the following meeting for an hour w top leadership:

Consular Affairs

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H; Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** RE: mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

We can certainly add to your schedule today.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 8:29 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

Am I meeting w Cheryl?

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 28 07:57:26 2010
Subject: mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am (t) PHONE CALL w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE (T)

10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am BILATERAL w/SRI LANKAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL

10:30 am AFFAIRS G.L. PEIRIS

10:30 am PRESS PRE-BRIEF

10:35 am Secretary's Office

10:35 am JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/SRI LANKA FM PEIRIS

10:50 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:00 am MEETING w/QUINN MEACHAM

11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am MEETING w/CONGRESSMEN ELIOT ENGEL AND CONNIE MACK

12:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:00 pm OFFICE TIME

12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY SCOTT GRATION

1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm MEETING w/CONGRESSWOMAN LORETTA SANCHEZ

1:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

1:30 pm WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT MEETING

2:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:30 pm OFFICE TIME

3:15 pm Secretary's Office

3:30pm MEETING w/DENNIS ROSS

4:15pm Secretary's Office

TBD DEPART State Dept *En Route Private Residence

TBD ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 9:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Turkey letter

From Bill.

---

**From:** Burns, William J
**Sent:** Friday, April 16, 2010 8:11 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Einhorn, Robert J
**Subject:** Re: Turkey letter

Bob and I talked. His (and Secretary's )approach [redacted] B5
[redacted] Hope you have good weekend. Bill

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Burns, William J; Einhorn, Robert J
**Sent:** Fri Apr 16 19:51:11 2010
**Subject:** Turkey letter

Hi Bill and Bob –

I just saw Bob's note from the hi side. Did this work out?

Jake

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 5:03 PM
**To:** H

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** H; preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Posner

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines [redacted] <preines [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri May 28 20:19:06 2010
Subject: Posner

O'Reilly is still going after Mike over the Chinese/ Arizona law comment. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus
**Attachments:** 2010 Maya Angelou Academy Graduation E-Vite copy.jpg

FYI - will get Rob to write him a note unless you already did one for his own graduation.

-----Original Message-----
From: David Domenici [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 9:05 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

Cheryl:

Graduation Ceremony for Academy kids is Friday, June 11th, at 630pm. At our Shaw Campus. 1851 9th Street, NW

You might want to let the Secretary know that [redacted] is going to be the graduation speaker. My guess is she can't come, but maybe she'd want to drop him a note. If so, let me know, I'll draft something for. B6

d

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 6:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Lavrov

I will be on a plane from 630 til 1245 eastern but easily reachable thereafter.

I recommend [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 6:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 8:15 PM
To: Marshall, Capricia P
Subject: Re:

----- Original Message -----
From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 28 17:02:50 2010
Subject:

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 7:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls

Calls confirmed:
Smith @ 8am
Lavrov @ 830am
Miliband @ 9am
Papandraeou originally confirmed. [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Musa kusa trip canceled.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** [redacted] is monday better? B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] is monday better? B6

Will do - [redacted]

X0
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat May 29 10:24:43 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted] is monday better?

[redacted] Monday is good too if better for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 09:55:24 2010
Subject: [redacted] is monday better?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Samuel Berger
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 2:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: SRB op-ed in Wash Post Outlook section Sunday

HRC: Below is an oped on the National Security Strategy I wrote for tomorrow's Outlook.

Unfortunately, they give it a horrible title, but I think the piece turned out alright.

Best, Sandy

**By Samuel R. Berger**

*Samuel R. Berger, chair of the global strategy firm Albright Stonebridge Group, served as national security advisor to President Clinton from 1997 to 2001.*

President Obama's National Security Strategy, released by the White House on Thursday, tackles a delicate but unavoidable question: How do we respond to new and old security challenges in an era of financial distress at home and a reordering of political power abroad?

For some time now, it has been clear that the definition of U.S. national security strategy needs rethinking. The September 11 attacks, global economic crisis, cyber-terror threats and even the environmental catastrophe in the Gulf underscore that the challenges America faces in 2010 have changed even from just a decade ago. And while America's military supremacy is certainly not at risk, new international arrangements - such as the shift from the G-7 club of powerful nations to the G-20, which incorporates emerging nations from China to Brazil - are needed so that the costs and benefits of a stable international order are shared. The United States cannot solve most global threats without others, nor should we bear the burden alone.

Enter the National Security Strategy. In my experience, these congressionally mandated documents can easily become laborious and impenetrable, or mere compendiums of bureaucratic pleading from various parts of the government. (Make sure you do right by Japan! Don't step on the Pentagon!) The challenge, which President Clinton insisted upon to me and his other advisers, is to provide a strategic framework that is clarifying to the rest of the world and informs administration decision makers up and down the line. It's not a blueprint for action, but a means to convey the president's principles and priorities.

In Obama's case, the new sober and comprehensive 52-page strategy incorporates the new realities and breaks with past strategies in several key respects. But it also reflects an understanding that we face enduring challenges - nuclear proliferation, terrorism and regional conflicts - for which the best response is a return to fundamentals.

One such fundamental is the strength of our economy. At a time when the after-effects of a financial crisis and the fiscal burden of two long wars have raised fears of an overextended America, the administration makes a case for economic and technological renewal as a crucial underpinning of U.S. security. The president made this case in his West Point speech last weekend. "At no time in human history," he said, "has a nation of diminished economic vitality maintained its military and political primacy."

Another fundamental challenge is arms control and nuclear proliferation. By seeking strategic arms cuts with Russia, the president has returned to a long bipartisan tradition that languished during the prior administration. And by convening a

global summit on securing nuclear material this spring, Obama has given new urgency and global purchase to the effort started in 1991 when Sens. Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar first initiated a program to lock down nuclear materials.

On terrorism, the strategy builds on the past, but breaks with it as well. Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama each have deployed all of America's tools: military power, homeland defense, law enforcement, sanctions, intelligence and vigorous efforts to cut off terrorist financing. But the critical difference in the Obama strategy is that it rejects the Global War on Terror lens through which the prior administration viewed the challenge. "This is not a global war against a tactic - terrorism - or a religion - Islam," the new strategy says. "We are at war with a specific network, al-Qaeda and its terrorist affiliates."

This sharper focus avoids alienating many in the Muslim world, ensures the support of key allies who never accepted the broader construct and avoids the overreactions that led us to forsake the fight against al-Qaeda fight in Afghanistan and turn our efforts to the unrelated threat from Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

In perhaps the most dramatic departure from the strategy of its predecessor, the Obama administration has restored a less provocative policy on the use of military force. In the 2002 national security strategy, President Bush articulated the rationale for preemptive war just weeks before seeking a U.N. resolution to invade Iraq. The new strategy restores the principles that have guided administrations for decades: the use of force should be a last resort, should weigh all the costs and benefits, and should have as much international support as possible. The administration reserves the right to act unilaterally - for example against al-Qaeda and its allies - but resurrects the principle President Clinton often described as "together where possible, alone where necessary."

President Obama's critics have focused on his diplomatic engagement with hostile states like Iran and North Korea. The President sets forth his rationale: "to create opportunities to resolve differences, strengthen the international community's support for our actions, learn about the intentions and nature of closed regimes, and plainly demonstrate to the public within those nations that their governments are to blame for their isolation."
In the case of Iran, Washington's outstretched hand has not resulted in Iran's compliance. But attempts to engage have helped ensure that the world's attention is focused on Iran's intransigence rather than Washington's refusal to negotiate.

Without a doubt, there are gaps between principle and practice. Despite the Obama administration's stated goal of doubling exports in the next five years, it has not put its muscle behind trade agreements with South Korea, Panama and Colombia. And the clarity of its call to respect human rights has at times been muted in the face of tough realities. Sixteen months into this administration there has been much progress, but many of the true tests of this strategy lie ahead.

In the strategy's conclusions, the Obama administration evokes an even earlier era, calling for both political parties to restore the cooperation and common purpose so crucial to our success during the dark days of the Cold War. Despite the intense debates at the time over nuclear arms control, Central America and détente, nearly all American supported the containment of communism.

In that same spirit, the administration's framework deserves broad bipartisan support. We can and should argue out our differences over detention of prisoners, methods to disarm dangerous states, how hard to push for democratic rights, or the costs of climate change legislation. But at the same time, we can rally around the overriding U.S. foreign policy goals spelled out in the strategy: renewing our economy at home to ensure leadership abroad; defeating al-Qaeda; succeeding in Afghanistan; preventing nuclear proliferation; curbing climate change; and promoting an international order of enlightened self-interest, economic prosperity and the fundamental values upon which America is based.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 10:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: From Arturo

See below from arturo.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Sat May 29 19:04:28 2010
Subject: From Arturo

Jake- Huma-- a couple of matters I would appreciate your conveying to the Secretary orally-- or if you prefer you could send them to her directly via e-mail.

Madame Secretary:

I have decided to go to Bolivia Monday night-- returning Wednesday. I did not add Bolivia to my previous Andean trip because they were in the middle of elections [redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] these still have not been determined by the administration. [redacted]

Best, Arturo

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines@ B6
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 12:12 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Posner

Things aren't as bad as they seem.

It took a little bit to figure out, but turns out that O'Reilly didn't have a new show last night - in its place they re-aired the show from May 17th, the original night Posner got beat up. I guess O'Reilly is taking a 4-day weekend, don't ask me why they picked that show to air in its place. So you were watching a repeat:
http://www.billoreilly.com/show?action=viewTVShow&showID=2612

------Original Message------
From: Jake Sullivan
To: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Posner
Sent: May 28, 2010 9:50 PM

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'preines <preines B6
Sent: Fri May 28 20:19:06 2010
Subject: Posner

O'Reilly is still going after Mike over the Chinese/ Arizona law comment. B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 11:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bolivia and Cuba

Thanks very much. Will do. Have a good weekend.

Best, Arturo

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Sent: Sun May 30 07:22:39 2010
Subject: Bolivia and Cuba

Arturo--

Huma forwarded your email and I agree with your plans to visit Bolivia and for us to talk w Sen, Menendez. We should discuss how best to do that after your return later this week. Safe travels--H

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

I will prepare for you to sign next week. Enjoy the rest of the weekend!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sun May 30 19:33:07 2010
Subject: Re: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

I'm copying Rob so a note can be prepared.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 28 21:54:31 2010
Subject: FW: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

FYI - will get Rob to write him a note unless you already did one for his own graduation.

-----Original Message-----
From: David Domenici [mailto:
Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 9:05 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

Cheryl:

Graduation Ceremony for Academy kids is Friday, June 11th, at 630pm. At our Shaw Campus. 1851 9th Street, NW

You might want to let the Secretary know that is going to be the graduation speaker. My guess is she can't come, but maybe she'd want to drop him a note. If so, let me know, I'll draft something for. B6

d

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ukraine

This is from Fr. Borys Gudziak, the wonderful priest you met in Lviv. He gave you a tour of the Cathedral and you had a wonderful chat with him at the time. Since then, much progress has been made there. He became head of the new Ukrainian Catholic University and has really come in to his own as a respected leader and scholar.
Unfortunately, his situation and that of the Catholic community and academic freedom has come under siege since Yanokovich became president. I have a series of emails from the US Ukrainian community, in addition to this email directly from Gudziak, They are alarmed about developments. I've been in touch with John Tefft and sent him everything. He is aware of recent events.
I will make a folder of the correspondence for you since the community here and in Ukraine sees you as their champion. This is not a good turn of events.

---

From: gudziak
To: pverveer
Sent: 5/29/2010 3:09:23 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: difficulties for UCU

Dear Melanne,

It has been awhile since we have been in touch. As you now we are under special pressure at the Ukrainian Catholic University. It is a question of our welfare and future. But not only. Almost no educational institutions have taken a stand in defense of democracy and even western Ukrainian politicians are capitulating under pressure. So is business. The approach of the new authorities is quick and systematic. Top and middle positions in all spheres of government, administration, state security, police have been rapidly changed and are effectively moving in on the freedom of the press and discourse.
Our students are scared.
Some are active, but some fear for the university, that it may loose accreditation. A father and his daughter-student came to my office in a state of anxiety.
Some students are afraid to blog and post comments because they fear that they will be traced and that their parents will loose their jobs.
There is clear evidence from one of our banks that the authorities are beginning to dig into the question of our finances. Provocations, moral defamation, planting of drugs and weapons in student residences as happened in 2004 before the election could be next.
The most effective defense is speaking out.

I am grateful for your solicitude and wanted to ask for two things.

1 To ask the Secretary of State to bring this to the attention of the president and vice president and to do what she can in our defense.

2. to help us get the story to some of the main media outlets: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, CNN, etc. One story by any of these for us and for the people in Ukraine that have the courage to speak the truth is invaluable.

We have had some great support already. But I have a sense that this adventure is only beginning and we have to be ready for everything.

Please pass on my respect to Secretary Clinton.

May God bless you!
Fr. Borys

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 9:33 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Facebook Freed in Pakistan

**Importance:** High

FYI

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 2:16 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; Bommer, Ashley F; Singh, Vikram J
**Cc:** Zilligen, Joseph H; Mellott, Joseph
**Subject:** Facebook Freed in Pakistan
**Importance:** High

1.4(D)
B1

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Larry Schwartz
Minister Counselor for Public Affairs
Embassy of the United States of America
Islamabad - PAKISTAN
Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040
Mobile:

B6

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/30/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

POLITICO Breaking News:
---

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has canceled his visit to the White House in the aftermath of the Israeli military's action against a flotilla seeking access to Gaza, the AP reports. White House spokesman Bill Burton said in advance of Netanyahu's decision that the White House was currently "to understand the circumstances surrounding this tragedy."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Spot Report No. 1 - Latest Situation on Gaza Aid Flotilla (SBU)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Mon May 31 06:18:32 2010
**Subject:** Spot Report No. 1 - Latest Situation on Gaza Aid Flotilla (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

# *SPOT REPORT NO. 1*

## *LATEST SITUATION ON GAZA AID FLOTILLA*

**Monday, May 31, 2010**
**0615 EDT**

## ISRAELI NAVY INTERCEPTS GAZA FLOTILLA, 15 ACTIVISTS KILLED

- (SBU) Nine of the 15 killed are reportedly Turkish citizens, according to press. In addition, dozens of activists and six Israeli commandos are reported injured. The wounded are being taken to hospitals in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa.
  (***Ops/Embassy Tel Aviv e-mail, France 24***)
- (SBU) There are currently no reports of wounded or killed American citizens. (***Ops/Embassy Tel Aviv e-mail***)
- (SBU) The incident occurred around 0430 local time May 31, when Israeli soldiers boarded the Turkish flagged ship "Blue Marmara," approximately 70 miles off Israel's coast. (***Ops/Embassy Ankara e-mail***)
- (U) Raed Salah, the head of the northern faction of the Islamic Movement, has been wounded in the incident and is undergoing surgery in an Israeli hospital, media report. (***Jerusalem Post***)

## FLOTILLA HEADED TO ASHDOD; ISRAELI POLICE ON HIGH ALERT

- (U) The Israeli police are on their highest state of alert and have instituted several road blocks, including one in the Temple Mount area. (***YNet News***)

## ISRAELI CONSULATE ISTANBUL SURROUNDED BY THOUSANDS

- (SBU) Consulate General Istanbul reports Turkish police are deployed around the Israeli Consulate and there are no reports of violence or injuries. At least 5000 protestors are marching from the consulate toward the city's main square, according to press.
  (***Ops/Consulate General Istanbul e-mail, AP***)
- (SBU) Consulate Adana issued a Warden Message May 31 advising American citizens of potential anti-U.S. and Israeli demonstrations. (***Ops/Consulate Adana e-mail***)

## TURKEY "STRONGLY PROTESTS" INCIDENT; EU CALLS FOR INQUIRY

- (SBU) The Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a statement calling the incident "unacceptable" and demanding an "urgent explanation" from Israel, according to press. Embassy Ankara reports the Turkish MFA has summoned Israel's ambassador to Turkey but that Ambassador Levi has been unable

to meet with Turkish officials due to a protest surrounding the Israeli Embassy. (***Ops/Embassy Ankara e-mail, AP***)

- (U) EU High Representative Ashton expressed her deep regret at the loss of life and violence and demanded a full inquiry. ***(Reuters)***
- (U) Arab League Secretary General Moussa called for an emergency meeting June 1 to discuss Israel's "terrorist act." (***Reuters***)
- (U) President Abbas called for three days of mourning throughout the Palestinian Territories. (***Reuters***)

Drafted: JAMorgan Approved: PSlattery
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSC, HSC, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, FBIS, NCTC, DHS
SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 10:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ehud barak

He called for you. Wants to discuss situation in israel and trip cancellation. Says he's flexible time wise. Phil gordon and jeff feltman obviously following situation. We don't have a formal talking points yet.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Several observations on the Israeli raid. Sid

First observation: Bibi's Entebbe in reverse. The father, Benzion Netanyahu, 100 years old, secretary to Jabotinsky, and denounced as too radical by Begin, adored his son Yoni, heroically killed at Entebbe. Benyamin has never measured up. Benzion has constantly criticized him in public for his deviations from the doctrine of Greater Israel. Bibi desperately seeks his father's approbation and can never equal his dead brother. See Benzion's most recent scathing undermining of his son Bibi and Bibi's tearful tribute to his brother just last month. The raid on the ship to Gaza resembles the raid on Entebbe, except that there are no hostages, no guns, it's not in Africa, and it's a fiasco; otherwise, it's Entebbe. (Then, there's Ehud Barak reliving his youth as a raider killing Palestinians in Lebanon, a feat memorialized in Spielberg's film, Munich. Ultimately, it didn't work out well that time either. The film captures the moral quandaries, which appear to have escaped the participants.)
Further observation: The international press will inquire whether the Obama administration gave a wink or nod as the Bush administration did for the Lebanon and Gaza incursions. Be prepared.
Further: Of course, the consequences for US foreign policy and national security are negative across the board: from the analogy of the North Korean ship sinking and the Chinese posture to support for Iranian sanctions, etc., etc. Did the Israelis not hear Petraeus's testimony?
Further: Of course, whatever the outcome of such a raid, one of the inevitable ones would be the death of the peace process, such as it is, on the very eve of Bibi's scheduled visit to Obama, which would have been, under any circumstance, in light of the raid, profoundly humiliating for the president. Or are the Israelis bone stupid? I don't think so.
Cheers,
Sid

# Like Father, Like Son? Netanyahu's Father Says Son Not Serious About Two-State Solution.

**July 8, 2009 · 1 Comment**

In a controversial interview with Israel's Channel II News, the father of Prime Minister Netanyahu, Professor Benzion Netanyahu, says that his son does not support a Palestinian state. The elder Netanyahu, claims that the prime Minister told him he deliberately placed impossible conditions before the Palestinians.
Here are excerpts from the interview. When asked if his son really changed his position concerning a Palestinian state, the 100 year-old historian unequivocally answered: (translation mine)

> "He does not support. He supports such conditions that they (the Arabs) will never accept it. That is what I heard from him. I didn't propose these conditions, he did. They will never accept these conditions. Not one of them."

When asked about his own personal opinion about a Palestinian state, the senior Netanyahu stated:

> Herzl and Nordau (fathers of zionist movement) did not labor to create a Palestinian state. This land is Jewish land and not a land for the Arabs. There is no place here for Arabs, and there wont be a place here for the Arabs. They will never agree to the conditions.

Published: 04/18/10, 9:03 AM / Last Update: 04/18/10, 9:21 AM

# Netanyahu Visits Grave of Brother Who Fell in Entebbe Rescue

by Tzvi Ben Gedalyahu
Follow Israel news on and

On Saturday night, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu visited the grave of his brother Yoni, who fell during the daring rescue of hijacked Israelis in Entebbe, Uganda in 1976.

He and his wife Sarah decided to go to the gravesite on Mount Herzl 24 hours before the beginning of Remembrance Day for Fallen Soldiers in order to prevent security tie-ups for thousands of other Israelis who will visit the cemetery Sunday night and Monday.
The Netanyahus were moved emotionally after seeing for the first time a commemorative decoration that the IDF carved into the gravestone of Yoni, who led the rescue operation and was the only soldier to die in the maneuver. One of his less known heroic deeds is his saving a soldier from across Syrian lines in the Yom Kippur War in 1973.
Sirens will sound throughout Israel for one minute at 8 p.m. (1 p.m. EDT) Sunday night to mark the beginning of Memorial Day for 22,682 Fallen Soldiers and 2,431 victims of Arab terrorist attacks following the re-establishment of the State of Israel after 2,000 years. Another 1,500 civilians were killed between 1860 and the 1948 War for Independence, when seven Arab nations attacked the fledging, newly declared state just three years after the Holocaust ended.
On Monday morning, a two-minute siren will sound at 11 a.m. (4 a.m. EDT). (IsraelNationalNews.com)

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 12:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

***Netanyahu pleased: I didn't capitulate***

*Ben Caspit, Maariv, May 27 2010 [page 2 with front page lead; Hebrew original here and at bottom of post]*

*In the course of intimate conversations over the past few weeks with top political officials and civil servants, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has said, according to his interlocutors, that he managed to defeat the US administration.*

*Netanyahu is pleased by the fact that the Americans failed, so he said, to twist his arm and that ultimately, in the duel between him and the Obama administration, he was the one who emerged with the upper hand. We did not make concessions on our red lines and they failed to make us fold and to drag us to places we didn't want to go, said Netanyahu, according to people who heard him speak.*

*Netanyahu is convinced that he is not going to be forced to extend the settlement construction freeze, which is due to expire in September. According to senior officials in Jerusalem, an agreement has already been reached with the administration that the Israeli government will not announce an extension of the construction freeze in the territories, and the Americans will "make sure" that the Palestinians do not withdraw from the talks. Israel, however, will not take "aggressive" action and construction will be resumed only in areas that are clearly within the consensus inside the settlement blocs.*

*The Prime Minister's Bureau vigorously denied the above report. "The statements attributed to the prime minister are incorrect," said a spokesman in the Prime Minister's Bureau. "They were not said by Netanyahu in any forum. The reason is simple: the prime minister does not think that, Prime Minister Netanyahu holds in great esteem the commitment by President Obama and the administration to Israel's security and their efforts to renew the peace process in our region."*

*Eli Bardenstein adds: The formal invitation that Netanyahu received yesterday to meet with President Obama next week might attest to a radical change in the White House's attitude towards him. Political sources in Israel described the planned meeting as "the peak of the campaign for Israel and the Jews that has been pursued by the Obama administration in the past number of weeks." The sources said that the meeting was geared to put an end to the grave crisis that erupted some two months ago between the Obama administration and Netanyahu over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and particularly over the continued construction in East Jerusalem, and to mend the mistaken impression that was received as if Israel was "no longer an absolute ally of the United States."*

*That crisis, which was initiated by the Americans, elicited fierce criticism in the United States, and sparked a desire among members of the Obama administration to rectify the situation.* ***Another reason for the administration's desire to end the crisis is the fear of failure in the upcoming Congressional elections in November. "The Democratic Party's coffers are empty. Many Democrat members of Congress and Senators have complained that if the hazing of Israel were to continue, they would be unable to obtain donations from Jews and were liable to lose the elections," said one source in Washington.***

*The prevalent assessment is that Netanyahu will be received far more warmly in Washington next week than he was two months ago. This time the meeting will be covered by the media and the two leaders are expected to have their picture taken together and to give statements to the media.*

*That said, sources in Washington noted that "Netanyahu is leery of the meeting with Obama and of walking into a trap once again. He knows that the smiles notwithstanding, behind closed doors he is going to have to give answers to very difficult questions, like 'how do you envision the end of the negotiations with the Palestinians.'"*

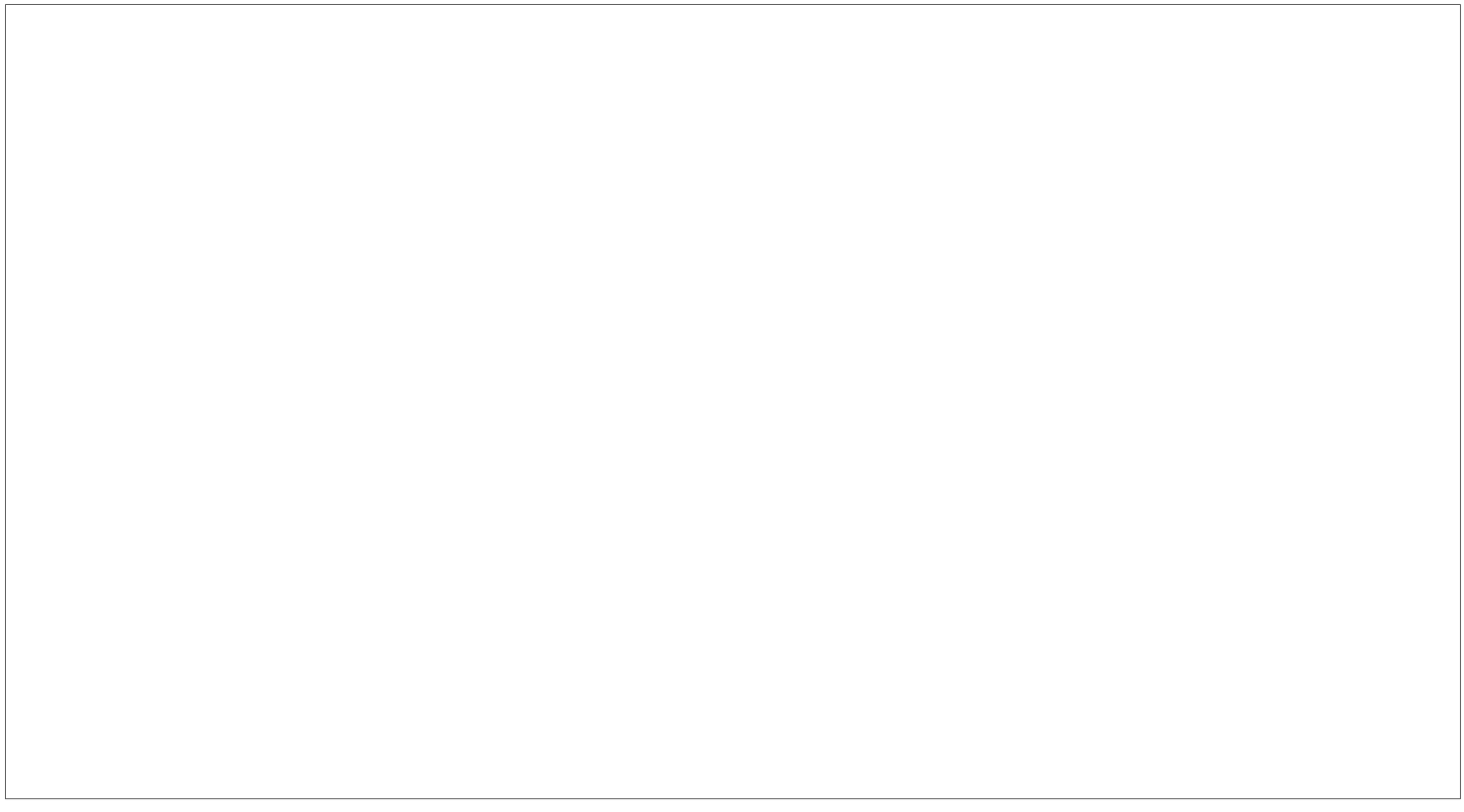
*Netanyahu is to begin his political travels today in Paris, where he is to attend the ceremony in honor of Israel's acceptance into the OECD. The prime minister will be arriving in a city that is on strike, which is liable to impede his movement through the city streets to the center of Paris for his meetings.*

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** US statement in SC

Draft statement for use in the Council Chamber, May 31, 2010

Thank you, Mr. President. Assistant Secretary-General Fernandez-Taranco, thank you for your briefing.



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 1:37 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

That is correct. We are set on 6.
Isabelle coming at 7:30 to whitehaven.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 13:34:26 2010
Subject: Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 2:09 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

We have a reservation for tonight's 9pm (the last one). I can move to the 8pm if that's what we would like to do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 13:46:59 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

Ok but I'm confused since I remember talking w Lona about changing to 8 tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 13:36:41 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

That is correct. We are set on 6.
Isabelle coming at 7:30 to whitehaven.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 13:34:26 2010
Subject: Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; H
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Oh sorry. I didn't know you wanted to change to tonite for sure.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 14:08:38 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

We have a reservation for tonight's 9pm (the last one). I can move to the 8pm if that's what we would like to do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 13:46:59 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

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From: Huma Abedin
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To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 13:34:26 2010
Subject: Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 3:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

FYI

---

**From:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Mon May 31 15:45:40 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

Jake -

FYI - here is the final as released. - Erica

Sent from my Blackberry - apologies for typos and brevity.

---

**From:** USUN, PRESS
**To:** USUN, PRESS
**Sent:** Mon May 31 15:40:41 2010
**Subject:** Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

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USUN PRESS RELEASE #109 May 31, 2010
AS DELIVERED

***Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010***

---

Thank you, Mr. President and thank you, Assistant Secretary-General Fernandez-Taranco.

The United States is deeply disturbed by the recent violence and regrets the tragic loss of life and injuries suffered among those involved in the incident last night aboard the Gaza-bound ships. We are working to

ascertain the facts. We expect a credible and transparent investigation and strongly urge the Israeli government to investigate the incident fully.

As I stated in the Chamber in December 2008, when we were confronted by a similar situation, mechanisms exist for the transfer of humanitarian assistance to Gaza by member states and groups that want to do so. These non-provocative and non-confrontational mechanisms should be the ones used for the benefit of all those in Gaza. Direct delivery by sea is neither appropriate nor responsible, and certainly not effective, under the circumstances.

The United States remains deeply concerned by the suffering of civilians in Gaza, and the deterioration of the situation there, including the humanitarian and human rights situation. We continue to believe the situation is unsustainable and is not in the interests of any of those concerned. We will continue to engage the Israelis on a daily basis to expand the scope and type of goods allowed into Gaza to address the full range of the population's humanitarian and recovery needs. Hamas' interference with international assistance shipments and the work of nongovernmental organizations complicates efforts in Gaza. Its continued arms smuggling and commitment to terrorism undermines security and prosperity for Palestinians and Israelis alike.

We will continue to work closely with the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, along with international NGOs and the UN, to provide adequate access for humanitarian goods, including reconstruction materials, through the border crossings, while bearing in mind the Government of Israel's legitimate security concerns.

Ultimately, this incident underscores the need to move ahead quickly with negotiations that can lead to a comprehensive peace in the region. The only viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an agreement, negotiated between the parties, that ends the occupation that began in 1967 and fulfills the aspirations of both parties for independent homelands through two states for two peoples, Israel and an independent, contiguous, and viable state of Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. We call again on our international partners – both inside and outside this Council – to promote an atmosphere of cooperation between the parties and throughout the entire region.

Thank you, Mr. President.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 31 16:01:00 2010
Subject: Re: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

Are you back yet? If so, pls call me thru Ops.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 15:51:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

FYI

---

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 31 15:45:40 2010
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

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FYI - here is the final as released. - Erica

Sent from my Blackberry - apologies for typos and brevity.

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Sent: Mon May 31 15:40:41 2010
Subject: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

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USUN PRESS RELEASE #109 May 31, 2010
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Thank you, Mr. President.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 6:09 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Schedule

MS, tomorrow you were scheduled to have a pre-brief prior to the Netanyahu meeting which included Senator Mitchell. Would you like to still see him (he was scheduled around 12:30pm)?
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 6:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Sounds good, ty.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 18:10:13 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Yes, I would.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 18:08:33 2010
Subject: Schedule

MS, tomorrow you were scheduled to have a pre-brief prior to the Netanyahu meeting which included Senator Mitchell. Would you like to still see him (he was scheduled around 12:30pm)?
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 6:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Yes, it is now at 11:15am. We can do a solid pre-brief at 10:30am with the whole team.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct)

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 18:14:23 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Also, did Jake reach you about moving the Dav'ou mtg back so we can be better prepared?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 18:11:59 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Sounds good, ty.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 18:10:13 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Yes, I would.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 18:08:33 2010
Subject: Schedule

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Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

[redacted] (direct)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 7:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

See below for a summary of Cathy Ashton's conversation w/ Lieberman from her policy planner. [redacted] B5
[redacted] AM

**From:** Schmid Helga [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Mon May 31 07:19:32 2010
**Subject:** Teleconference HR Ashton/Israeli FM

Dear Anne Marie,
I am currently travelling with Cathy Ashton. She just spoke to Liberman [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1
Helga

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/30/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rice, Susan E (USUN) <RiceSE@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 11:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Here it is!

Many thanks. Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rice, Susan E (USUN)
Sent: Mon May 31 23:04:05 2010
Subject: Here it is!

Susan--Pls feel free to use (whatever my current address may be!) anytime. Thx for another great effort. Call if you need me. HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (AP) Arab League backs Palestinians on restarting talks

FYI

---

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** (AP) Arab League backs Palestinians on restarting talks

CAIRO (AP) - Qatar's prime minister says the Arab nations have endorsed direct Palestinian talks with the Israelis but left the timing to the Palestinians themselves. Sheik Hamad bin Jassem Al Thani, who chaired the meeting of Arab foreign ministers in Cairo said July 29 the timing of the direct talks "is a matter for the Palestinian side to decide." The U.S. and the Europeans have been pushing Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas to restart the direct talks, which broke off in 2008, immediately. Abbas, however, has said he would only restart talks if Israel agrees to a halt in settlement construction and accepts a Palestinian state in territories seized in the 1967 Middle East war, the West Bank, Gaza, and east Jerusalem. He first wants progress in the current U.S. mediated indirect talks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Arab League backs Palestinians on restarting talks

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Jul 29 10:06:50 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Arab League backs Palestinians on restarting talks

CAIRO (AP) - Qatar's prime minister says the Arab nations have endorsed direct Palestinian talks with the Israelis but left the timing to the Palestinians themselves. Sheik Hamad bin Jassem Al Thani, who chaired the meeting of Arab foreign ministers in Cairo said July 29 the timing of the direct talks "is a matter for the Palestinian side to decide." The U.S. and the Europeans have been pushing Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas to restart the direct talks, which broke off in 2008, immediately. Abbas, however, has said he would only restart talks if Israel agrees to a halt in settlement construction and accepts a Palestinian state in territories seized in the 1967 Middle East war, the West Bank, Gaza, and east Jerusalem. He first wants progress in the current U.S. mediated indirect talks.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 7/29 staff meeting notes

**From:** Bennett, Virginia L
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 11:58 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Mull, Stephen D
**Subject:** 7/29 staff meeting notes

Pat K chaired both the 8:45 and the 9:15 meetings.

On the Arizona immigration law – Harold noted that AZ [redacted] B5

[redacted] Roberta Jacobson added that our conversations with Mexican officials are much more positive today than they were yesterday.

In Hill news, the Judiciary Committee went with the broadest consular notifications category language, i.e. not just limited to the Avena Mexican death row plaintiffs. Rich was skeptical that the bill would get to the floor before the recess. Harold is going to work on possibly [redacted] Separately, Senate Republicans (not including Corker or Isakson) have signed a letter indicating their intent to vote again [redacted] to B5 be marked up next week instead. Last, Bob Einhorn is appearing today before the HOGR with Treasury and GAO on Iran sanctions implementation.

Rich did note he is kicking around the idea [redacted]

[redacted] B6

The Colombia / Venezuela fracas seems to be petering out a bit and we are less concerned than we had been; Roberta reported that we are watching the UNASUR meeting carefully but we anticipate the August 7 inauguration will provide a new chapter opening. Lula is traveling to both Venezuela and Colombia before the inauguration.

Last, the FAA is holding up the public announcement on Mexico until after the Mexican transport secretary visits on Monday.

virginia

*Virginia L. Bennett*
*Deputy Executive Secretary*

*7-5302*

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 12:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 7/29 staff meeting notes

**From**: Bennett, Virginia L
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc**: Mull, Stephen D
**Sent**: Thu Jul 29 11:58:28 2010
**Subject**: 7/29 staff meeting notes

Pat K chaired both the 8:45 and the 9:15 meetings.

On the Arizona immigration law – Harold noted that AZ [redacted] B5

[redacted] Roberta Jacobson added that our conversations with Mexican officials are much more positive today than they were yesterday.

In Hill news, the Judiciary Committee went with the broadest consular notifications category language, i.e. not just limited to the Avena Mexican death row plaintiffs. Rich was skeptical that the bill would get to the floor before the recess. Harold is going to work on possibly [redacted] Separately, Senate Republicans (not including Corker or Isakson) have signed a letter indicating their intent to vote again [redacted] to be marked up next week instead. Last, Bob Einhorn is appearing today before the HOGR with Treasury and GAO on Iran sanctions implementation. B5

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virginia

*Virginia L. Bennett*
*Deputy Executive Secretary*
*7-5302*

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 12:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank you calls

What do u think?

----- Original Message -----
From: Rudman, Mara
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Jul 29 12:47:19 2010
Subject: FW: Thank you calls

Jake and Huma,

[redacted] B5

[redacted] et us know.
Thanks
Mara

-----Original Message-----
From: Hale, David M
Sent: Thursday, July 29, 2010 12:34 PM
To: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Irwin, Matthew T; Waters, John R; 'george[redacted] B6
Cc: Walles, Jacob; Rudman, Mara; Tsou, Leslie M
Subject: Thank you calls

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted]>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

HRC: the email below is from [redacted] Love that guy. He wanted to share this news with you. Kudos!!!!

---

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Subject:** Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

FW: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....member of the Trans community telling me that she would "crawl through broken glass" for HRC. A LOT of people are very grateful to her for her support of the travel changes that the State Dept. has initiated. One more time for me to remind them that she's still "our girl." Have much fun and a little relaxation this weekend!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 5:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

Oh yeah.....

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 29, 2010 4:03 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

Pls thank for passing on the positive reactions.

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Thu Jul 29 15:44:07 2010
Subject: FW: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

HRC: the email below is from Love that guy. He wanted to share this news with you. Kudos!!!!

---

From:
Sent: Thursday, July 29, 2010 2:03 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....

FW: Just talked to yet ANOTHER....member of the Trans community telling me that she would "crawl through broken glass" for HRC. A LOT of people are very grateful to her for her support of the travel changes that the State Dept. has initiated. One more time for me to remind them that she's still "our girl." Have much fun and a little relaxation this weekend!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Af-Pak

Nothing earth-shaking in the meeting. Better to report by phone than in writing.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 29, 2010 5:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Draft [redacted] statement B5

Below is a draft [redacted] statement:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 30, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) U.S. Embassy staff in Paris fall ill; mail suspected

---

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany; M_Staff; DS Command Center; DGHR-PC
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Jul 30 07:56:54 2010
**Subject**: (AP) U.S. Embassy staff in Paris fall ill; mail suspected

PARIS (AP) - The U.S. Embassy in Paris says two of its employees are undergoing medical tests after handling a suspicious letter. Embassy spokesman Paul Patin says employees in the mailroom identified a "suspicious letter" and French authorities were summoned to examine it. He says "we have no indication that anyone is in danger or hurt" but that the two employees who handled the letter are being examined by medical authorities. A Paris police official says the two were feeling "unwell" and that the incident is being investigated.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 30, 2010 12:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Okay- i didn't do it - [redacted] advised i am getting report on monday so we set time for 1:30pm monday B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, July 30, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israel launches air strikes on Gaza

**From**: Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: McGovern, Bridget (Helen-Mary)
**Sent**: Fri Jul 30 16:58:25 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Israel launches air strikes on Gaza

GAZA (Reuters) - Israel carried out air strikes on targets in the Gaza Strip after a rocket fired from the Palestinian territory exploded in the city of Ashkelon, local witnesses said. Palestinians reported several explosions in Gaza City and Israeli aircraft could be heard flying over the territory. There were no immediate reports of injuries. The Israeli military had no immediate comment. Earlier, Palestinian militants in Gaza fired a rocket into Ashkelon on Israel's Mediterranean coast, causing damage but no injuries.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 11, 2010 6:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

I should have left the blackberry in dc...but yes thanks for the reminder!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Aug 11 17:55:26 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

Remember, you're on vacation!

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Aug 11 16:21:03 2010
Subject: Fw: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

Senate will go into session tomorrow to pass border security bill by uc.

----- Original Message -----
From: Stout, Jennifer P
To: H_SeniorStaff
Sent: Wed Aug 11 15:44:52 2010
Subject: FW: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

-----Original Message-----
From: Engle, Tricia (DPC) [mailto:Tricia_Engle@dpc.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, August 11, 2010 3:43 PM
To: Undisclosed recipients
Subject: Schedule for Thursday, August 12, 2010

The Senate will convene tomorrow, Thursday, August 12th at 10 a.m., for the sole purpose of receiving and passing by consent H.R. 6080, border security, and a resolution on the death of Senator Stevens. This will be an extremely short session as we will just be doing these two items.

Once the session concludes tomorrow, we are out until September 13th. Tricia Engle Senior Floor Assistant to Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid

To view the Senate Democratic Floor Schedule visit http://democrats.senate.gov/calendar/

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 12, 2010 8:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israel said to reject Palestinian formula for talks

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany; SES_DutyDeputies
**Cc:** Shaker, Joan P
**Sent:** Thu Aug 12 08:06:19 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israel said to reject Palestinian formula for talks

JERUSALEM (Reuters) – Israel has rejected a Palestinian proposal to begin face-to-face peace talks on the basis of a statement by major powers that would set their terms of reference. Reports in the left-wing dailies Haaretz and Maariv said Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told U.S. envoy George Mitchell that he wants direct talks to start immediately but will not accept any preconditions. Netanyahu spokesman Mark Regev had no direct comment on the reports, which said Mitchell's mission had "failed." Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas refuses to engage in direct talks before Netanyahu agrees to a clear agenda.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 10:10 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: WFP-UNICEF call

FYI

Now one event (WFP and UNICEF – Sheeran and Lake will now be part of our event at UNGA).

cdm

---

**From:** Huang, Cindy Y
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Nagy, Eleanor; Haslach, Patricia M; Seiden, Maya D; Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** WFP-UNICEF call

Cheryl, Pat chaired the call with WFP-UNICEF-Ireland this morning, and Eleanor, Laura and I also participated from our side. All agency reps were very supportive of merging the events, with US-Irish co-hosting. Per your email last night, we need to work on the framing/wording around the role of WFP-UNICEF in Part II/Roundtable. Am available to discuss this and the overall blocking whenever you have time.
Thanks! Cindy

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 12, 2010 8:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Conversation with President John Atta Mills Re Kosmos-ExxonMobil Deal

Fyi - Johnnie's conversation w prez of Ghana.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/11/2035

**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Cook, Akunna E
**Sent:** Thu Aug 12 20:48:09 2010
**Subject:** Conversation with President John Atta Mills Re Kosmos-ExxonMobil Deal

Jake: I told the Secretary that I would give her a brief readout of my conversation with President Mills about the Kosmos-ExxonMobil deal. Can you pass this brief summary to her? We will send a full IM later. B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Madam Secretary:

I spoke to President John Atta Mills for about fifteen minutes on Thursday evening, August 12.

[redacted]

[redacted] I agreed to meet Mills and his ambassador next Tuesday. President Mills is currently in the U.S. on vacation and to [redacted] B6

Respectfully, Johnnie Carson

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, August 12, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Advance copy, to be published Monday. Sid

Published on *The New Republic* (http://www.tnr.com)

# The Unnecessary Fall

A counter-history of the Obama presidency.

- John B. Judis
- August 12, 2010 | 12:00 am

On April 14, 2009, as Barack Obama's standing in the polls was beginning to slip, and as Tea Party demonstrators were amassing in Washington for tax day protests, the president gave a lengthy address atGeorgetown University explaining the "five pillars" of his economic policies. The speech was intended to promote a memorable slogan for Obama's program that would evoke comparisons with Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

Obama's contribution was to be the New Foundation. "We must lay a new foundation for growth and prosperity–a foundation that will move us from an era of borrow and spend to one where we save and invest," he declared. Obama would repeat the phrase seven times that day and on many more occasions over the next months. At Obama's private White House dinner with presidential historians that June, the historians were no more impressed than the public with the New Foundation as a slogan. "I don't think it's going to work," Robert Dallek warned. Doris Kearns Goodwin said it sounded "like a woman's girdle."

One of these historians might have been able to forewarn Obama that the slogan had been unsuccessfully deployed by a Democratic president once before. In his 1979 State of the Union address, Jimmy Carter began, "Tonight, I want to examine in a broad sense the state of our American Union–how we are building a new foundation for a peaceful and a prosperous world." Carter would use the phrase five times in the speech, including in its conclusion, where he asked members of Congress to join him "in building that new foundation." Like Obama's effort, the phrase inspired, at most, a few underwear jokes and was then forgotten.

Obama's evocation of Carter was obviously unintended–but the Man from Plains is indeed the specter now hanging over his presidency. Of course, Obama has already accomplished more in his first 20 months than Jimmy Carter did during his entire presidency. But there is a disturbing political resemblance between the two presidencies. Both men ran inspired campaigns in which they positioned themselves above the scandals and partisan quarrels of their predecessors and

initially stirred hopes of a "transformational" presidency. But, as presidents, both men somehow failed to connect with large parts of the electorate.

To be sure, there are a number of very specific reasons why Carter and Obama landed in political trouble. Both men contended with rising unemployment–Carter with rampant inflation as well–and voters' approval of a president and his party tend to track closely with changes in the economy. Carter faced friction in his own party and the rise of a powerful business lobby, and Obama has dealt with a Republican Party that has frustrated his dreams of a post-partisan presidency. Yet the most important reason for their difficulties–evident in their inept attempts to brand their programs–has been an inability to develop a politics that resonates with the public.

In the United States, politics pivots around the allegiance of the middle class, even as its identity has changed from yeoman farmers and mechanics to store clerks, office workers, x-ray technicians, and small business owners. They are, in Bill Clinton's words, "those who work hard and play by the rules." They are the central characters in a populist rhetoric that goes back to the early republic. It depicts the middle class as embattled and threatened either from forces below (impoverished immigrants, welfare cheaters, ghetto rioters) or above (Wall Street speculators, state bureaucrats, K Street lobbyists). Populism can be embraced by Glenn Beck or Tom Harkin. It is intrinsically neither left-wing nor right-wing.

Politicians, such as Franklin Roosevelt or Ronald Reagan, who found a way of using populism's appeal during downturns have enjoyed success, while those who have spurned it have suffered accordingly. If, in circumstances like the present one, you don't develop a populist politics, your adversaries will use populism to define you as an enemy of the people. That's what Carter discovered during the stagflation of the late '70s. And that's what has happened in the last 20 months of the Great Recession to Barack Obama and to the Democratic Party he leads.

Obama took office with widespread popular support, even among Republicans, and some of his first efforts, including the $800 billion stimulus, initially enjoyed strong public favor. But that wide appeal began to dissipate by the late spring of 2009. Disillusion with Obama fueled the November defeat of Democratic gubernatorial candidates in New Jersey and Virginia. By January 2010, it was a crucial factor in Republican Scott Brown's astonishing victory over Martha Coakley in Massachusetts.

In the postmortem debate over these defeats, some Democrats have blamed Obama's dogged pursuit of health care reform while the economy was hemorrhaging jobs. That may have been a factor, but the real damage was done earlier. What doomed Obama politically was the way he dealt with the financial crisis in the first six months of his presidency. In an atmosphere primed for a populist backlash, he allowed the right wing to define the terms.

As Obama was delivering his inaugural address, the financial crisis was already in full swing; and it was already apparent that financial speculation, outright fraud, and irresponsible and sometimes illegal housing-loan practices had played a very large role in precipitating the crisis. The public was up in arms. But, instead of rallying the public against the "money changers," as Roosevelt had done in his first inaugural, Obama, taking a leaf from Jimmy Carter's infamous "malaise" speech, put the blame on the public as a whole. "Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age," he declared.

Over the next month, Obama would periodically criticize bankers after embarrassing revelations–at various times calling the bonuses they gave themselves "shameful" and an "outrage"–but, after hearing complaints about his rhetoric from the

bankers, he would back off. At a private meeting on March 28 with 13 Wall Street CEOs, the president, his spokesman Robert Gibbs said, "emphasized that Wall Street needs Main Street and Main Street needs Wall Street." And, in his Georgetown speech, Obama returned to his theme of collective responsibility. The recession, Obama said, "was caused by a perfect storm of irresponsibility and poor decision-making that stretched from Wall Street to Washington to Main Street."

Obama's policy followed the same swerving course as his rhetoric. One week, he would favor harsh restrictions on bank and insurance-company bonuses, but, the next week, he would waver; one week, he would support legislation allowing bankruptcy judges to reduce the amount that homeowners threatened with foreclosure owed the banks; the next week, he would fail to protest when bank lobbyists pressured the Senate to kill these provisions. But, more importantly, Obama–in sharp contrast to Roosevelt in his first months–failed to push Congress to immediately enact new financial regulations or even to set up a commission to investigate fraud. (When Congress finally appointed a commission in July 2009, Obama and his party put a milquetoast Democratic politician, former California State Treasurer Philip Angelides, in charge of it.)

Obama's appointments also conveyed an impression that he wanted to let Wall Street off the hook. He appointed Timothy Geithner to be treasury secretary. Geithner claimed that he was not part of Wall Street, but, in his capacity as president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, he had served under a board of directors headed by JP Morgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon. As New York Fed president, Geithner had been partly responsible for the decision to let Lehman Brothers go under, for the unpopular tarp program, and for American International Group (AIG) paying back its Wall Street creditors with government money. Geithner chose as his chief of staff a former lobbyist for Goldman Sachs. Retiring Democratic Senator Byron Dorgan told me, "Most Americans were reading about the massive compensations and bailouts, and the administration largely hired people from the culture of Wall Street."

By the spring, Obama's apparent tilt to Wall Street had sparked a right-wing populist revolt in the country. The newly formed Tea Party movement, Beck and Fox News, and a host of right-wing bloggers were leading the charge; but, in a less extreme form, the general public shared their anger. In an early April New York Times/CBS News poll, the public disapproved of Obama's aiding the banks by 58 percent to 33 percent. In this same poll, public approval of Obama's handling of the economy began to fall. Pollsters who did focus groups also traced disillusionment with Obama's economic policies to his handling of the financial crisis.

Congressman Barney Frank, who defends Obama's policies, acknowledges that the president's political difficulties began with the revelation that AIG, which had received $170 billion from the government, had paid out $165 billion in bonuses to the division that had brought the company down. Geithner had known about the bonuses but insisted there were no legal grounds to block them. (It then came out that Geithner had pressured Senate Banking Committee Chairman Chris Dodd to insert a provision in the stimulus bill that protected the bonuses.) "The pitchforks were out. It added injury to injury," Frank says. That's when public opinion of Geithner plummeted. According to a Rasmussen poll, 24 percent had a favorable view of Geithner and 44 percent an unfavorable one.

The public's view of the bank bailout and the AIG bonuses colored its view of the auto bailout, the stimulus, and health care reform. One of the rallying cries for the populist opposition to Obama was "where's my bailout?" (Obama himself acknowledged that it was "one of the most frequent questions" he was asked in letters.) The auto program became a bailout for the Big Three CEOs; the stimulus became a bailout of government itself; and health care reform was a bailout for the uninsured–or "reparations," as Rush Limbaugh put it. Wrote right-wing blogger Michelle Malkin, "hardworking citizens were getting sick of being played for chumps" by "moochers, big and small, corporate and individual, trampling

over themselves with their hands out demanding endless bailouts." Obama and the Democrats were successfully portrayed as aiding "the moochers," but not the "hardworking citizens." In American politics, that's a recipe for political disaster.

Some in the White House political operation recognized in the late spring that the administration's economic efforts were being defined by right-wing populism and tried to push Obama to take a more populist tack. A group within the White House began calling themselves the "pitchfork gang," but they would find their attempts to convince Obama to get tough on Wall Street or on insurance companies undermined by Geithner and by National Economic Council head Larry Summers, who were worried about upsetting business confidence. "There was a continual tension in the White House," says a person who was privy to the discussions. "One week, we would be very hot, and then, the next week, we would dial it back."

By early January of this year, Obama was clearly losing the battle for the middle class. According to a CNN poll, 60 percent of Americans thought Obama "had paid more attention to the problems faced by banks and other financial institutions" than to the "problems faced by middle class Americans." Only 28 percent, barely more than a quarter, thought he had paid more attention to the middle class. As Brown surged ahead of Coakley in the polls, the White House temporarily embraced a populist approach. On January 14, Obama called the bank bonuses "obscene" and said, "we want our money back." In a January 22 speech at Lorain County Community College in Elyria, Ohio (a far cry from Georgetown), Obama used the word "fighting" 13 times and "fight" nine times. "I will not stop fighting for you," he declared.

But, faced with a falling stock market and anger from Wall Street, Obama once again turned conciliatory. On February 10, he said that he didn't "begrudge" the $17 million bonus awarded to Dimon and the $9 million to Goldman Sachs CEO Lloyd Blankfein. "I know both guys. They are very savvy businessmen."

Obama's reluctance to rail against Wall Street might have led to a watered-down financial reform bill, or even no bill at all, but, on April 16, the Securities and Exchange Commission indicted Goldman Sachs for fraud. The next week, an emboldened Obama went to New York to criticize the bankers directly for their "failure of responsibility." As a result of the indictment and Obama's rediscovery of his anger, Republicans became somewhat less obstructionist, moderate Republicans broke with the party's leadership, and moderate Democrats fell into line. Congress produced a much stronger bill than the Democrats had ever expected.

But Obama's embrace of populism has remained fitful and sporadic. After the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Verizon's Ivan Seidenberg, the head of the Business Roundtable, criticized Obama for being anti-business in June, the president dispatched Geithner, White House aide Valerie Jarrett, and Bill Clinton to appease the business community. Obama has said enough to anger the CEOs, but he has failed to convey to the greater public that he is fighting for them.

Obama's unwillingness to buck Wall Street and the Business Roundtable, along with his delayed and muddled response to the BP disaster in the Gulf, has eroded the public's confidence in his leadership. In Pew's midyear report card on Obama's image, the greatest drop from February 2009 to this June was in the perception of Obama as a "strong leader." Voters will sometimes tolerate policies they question from presidents like John Kennedy or Reagan, whom they regard as "strong," but not from politicians like Jimmy Carter, whom they regard as weak.

What of the other factors behind Obama's political difficulties? There is no doubt that, if the economy were growing faster, and if unemployment were dropping below 9 percent, Obama and the Democrats would be more popular and not fearing a

November rout. But, unfortunately, the economy's sluggish recovery cannot be completely disentangled from the White House's weak political performance.

In January, when the White House debated how large a stimulus to propose, Christina Romer, the head of the Council of Economic Advisors, proposed a $1.2 trillion Keynesian jolt. David Obey, the chairman of the House Budget Committee, told The Fiscal Times that Obama's Treasury Department asked initially for a $1.4 trillion bill. But the administration finally proposed a stimulus between $700 and $800 billion that included large tax cuts that were more likely to stimulate saving than consumption–and spending that would be unlikely to produce many jobs until the end of Obama's first term. In the stimulus's first year, the administration spent only $17 billion of the $139 billion allocated for infrastructure spending.

Prominent economists, including Paul Krugman and Joseph Stiglitz, made the case that a much larger stimulus was necessary to reverse (rather than merely reduce) the rise in unemployment, and that, if a modest stimulus failed to reduce unemployment, Republicans would convince the public that the stimulus was toxic medication and would block additional Keynesian measures. That argument has been proven sadly correct. Some White House advisers appear to have underestimated the depth of the Great Recession. Others seem to have doubted the administration had the political clout to get more from Congress.

But the White House might have gotten more if Obama had proclaimed a national economic emergency (which it was); framed the issue in terms of rescuing the middle class from damage done by Wall Street speculators, short-sighted CEOs, and Chinese mercantilism; and directly attacked Republicans as heartless obstructionists. When Obama belatedly made this sort of case on the eve of the financial reform vote this year, he got a much stronger bill than anyone had anticipated. So it's not clear that the failure to get a larger stimulus–which has ended up hurting the administration politically–wasn't itself a result of political timidity.

The president has also suffered from an inability to explain to the public why he sought such a large stimulus and what he thought it could accomplish. Obama's New Foundation speech at Georgetown was soon forgotten. Afterward, Obama, to the dismay of Democrats in Congress and some of his White House aides, pretty much dropped the jobs issue. From then to Labor Day, he devoted a July visit to Buffalo and an August stopover in southern Indiana to the issue–at a time when the right wing was mobilizing against him. Obama didn't just fail to develop a consistent narrative about the economy; he didn't really try.

Contrast Obama's attempt to develop a politics to justify his economic program with what Reagan did in 1982. Faced with steadily rising unemployment, which went from 8.6 percent in January to 10.4 percent in November, Reagan and his political staff, which included James Baker, Mike Deaver, and Ed Rollins, forged a strategy early that year calling for voters to "stay the course" and blaming the current economic troubles on Democratic profligacy. "We are clearing away the economic wreckage that was dumped in our laps," Reagan declared. Democrats accused them of playing "the blame game," but the strategy, followed to the letter by the White House for ten months, worked. The Republicans were predicted to lose as many as 50 House seats, but they lost only 26 and broke even in the Senate.

Some commentators have noted Reagan's popularity was even lower than Obama's. But, on key economic questions, he did much better than Obama and the Democrats are currently performing–and voters expressed far greater patience with Reagan's program. According to polls, even as the unemployment rate climbed, a narrow plurality still expressed confidence that Reagan's program would help the economy. On the eve of the election, with the unemployment rate at a

postwar high, a New York Times/CBS News poll found that 60 percent of likely voters thought Reagan's economic program would eventually help the country. That's a sign of a successful political operation. If Obama could command those numbers, Democrats could seriously limit their losses in November. But Obama has not been able to develop a narrative that could convince people to trust him and the Democrats.

Why has the White House failed to convince the public that it is fighting effectively on its behalf? The principal culprit is clearly Barack Obama. He has a strange aversion to confrontational politics. His aversion is strange because he was schooled in it, working as a community organizer in the 1980s, under the tutelage of activists who subscribed to teachings of the radical Saul Alinsky. But, when Obama departed for Harvard Law School in 1988, he left Alinsky and adversarial tactics behind.

The young lawyer who returned to Chicago and won a seat in the Illinois state Senate in 1996 practiced a very different style of politics. Obama's principal accomplishments in Springfield were bills restricting lobbying and requiring videotaping of confessions in potential death penalty cases. He was not a typical blue-collar, bread-and-butter Chicago Democrat, but the kind of good government liberal that represents the upscale districts of the city, seeing in politics a higher calling and ill at ease with (although not in open opposition to) the city's Democratic machine. He was also a post-racial politician who eschewed the hard-edged, angry rhetoric of Jesse Jackson. (That, too, is oddly reminiscent of Carter, who partly campaigned in 1976 as the white Southern antidote to George Wallace's angry racial populism.)

Obama carried this outlook into the U.S. Senate, into his campaign for the presidency, and then, into the presidency itself. He is a cerebral, dispassionate, post-partisan; he wants to "end the political strategy that has been based on division," to "turn the page" on the culture wars of the 1960s and the partisan battles of the 1990s. During the campaign, his aides jokingly referred to him as the "black Jesus." While he can tolerate and even brush aside conflict, he is reluctant to actively foment it. "In a time of crisis, we can't afford to govern out of anger," he declared in February 2009. During his campaign and his first year in office, he held to a blind faith in bipartisanship, even as the Republicans voted as a bloc against his legislation. He is, perhaps, ill-suited in these respects for an era of bruising political warfare.

His advisers have clearly reinforced these inclinations. In the campaign, they fashioned him as the outsider candidate of "hope" and "change" and have extended this strategy into the presidency itself. They see him as standing above party. In a meeting with congressional leaders last April, senior adviser David Axelrod rejected the complaint that Obama accorded equal blame to Democrats and Republicans with his descriptions of the "cynical politics in Washington." Within the White House, top aides still speak of promoting the Obama "brand." Organizing for America, the administration's campaign organization, which is supposed to be focusing on the 2010 elections, recently devoted its resources to organizing parties across the country to celebrate Obama's forty-ninth birthday.

These efforts to elevate Obama above the hurly-burly of Washington politics have been disastrous. Obama's image as an iconic outsider has become the screen on which Fox News, the Tea Party, radicalright bloggers, and assorted politicians have projected the image of him as a foreigner, an Islamic radical, and a socialist. He has remained "the other" that he aspired to be during the campaign, but he and his advisers no longer control how that otherness is defined.

The White House and cabinet officials he appointed have reinforced his aversion to populism. As Jonathan Alter recounts in The Promise: President Obama, Year One, Geithner and Summers repeatedly blocked attempts to get tough on Wall Street on the grounds that doing so would threaten the recovery itself by upsetting the bankers. For most of his first year, Alter writes, "Obama bought the Geithner-Summers argument that the banks were fragile and couldn't be confronted

while they remained in peril." Its reluctance to come down on the bankers crippled the administration politically, making it far more difficult for it to get its way with Congress on a second stimulus program that would have boosted the recovery and Democrats' political prospects. Bad politics can trump good policy.

Populism has profound shortcomings as a worldview. It tends toward demagoguery. In its relentless focus on the middle class, it can ignore or stigmatize those below it. It can prove hostile to a long-range scientific outlook. A more populist Obama, for instance, might have postponed the battle for climate change legislation or national health insurance and probably would have taken a weaker stand on immigration. But populism has been an indelible part of the American political psyche, and those who are uncomfortable making populist appeals, like Hoover or Carter–or, more recently, presidential candidate John Kerry–suffer the consequences at the polls.

If Obama's politics leads to a Republican takeover of one or both houses of Congress, and even to a Republican president in 2012, then much of what Obama has accomplished could be undone. It's unlikely that a new Republican president and Congress would actually repeal the health care or the financial reform bill. But the former could be starved of public funds and deprived of regulatory oversight; and the latter could be neutered by a hostile treasury secretary and by weak or hostile presidential appointees to the Securities and Exchange Commission or the new Consumer Financial Protection Agency. Reform legislation needs administrations and congresses committed to reform. That is where politics has to come in; and that's where the Obama administration, with its aversion to populism, has fallen short.

*John B. Judis is a senior editor of* The New Republic *and a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*

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**Source URL:** http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/magazine/76972/obama-failure-polls-populism-recession-health-care

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 10:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Yes, there is a vast right wing conspiracy. Sid

Or I could send the endless pieces on Obama and his troubles or Haaretz on the new negotiations. I'll skip the torrent of Obama pieces (see Politico lead piece today, if you want to catch the full updraft of new conventional wisdom), but include Haaretz below from its editorial editor and Teddy Kollek's former spokesman:

[redacted]

- Home
- Print Edition
- News

- Published 01:58 23.08.10
- Latest update 01:58 23.08.10

# With a victory like this...

## The direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians have preconditions - dictated by Israel.

By Akiva Eldar Tags: Israel news Middle East peace
Two years ago, a basketball tournament was held at Tel Aviv University with the participation of student teams from 14 countries, including a Palestinian team from the occupied territories. The games were purportedly held "without preconditions," and every team put its best players on the court and aimed to win.
But unsurprisingly, the Shin Ben security service permitted only seven Palestinian players, including bench players, to enter Israel. Some of the key players on the team were compelled to stay at home. After several losses (by 30 to 40 points), when it was the Palestinians' turn to face a team from one of the Israeli colleges, their coach announced that he had decided to spare his players another humiliation, and requested that the game be canceled.
The illuminating movie "Friendship Games," to be shown tonight on the Yes Docu channel (directed by Ram Levy, along with Ibtisam Mara'ana, Duki Dror and Yoav Shamir), documents the tournament, which was the initiative of Ed Peskowitz, an American Jew and co-owner of the Atlanta Hawks basketball team in the NBA. The camera follows the Israeli coach to the Palestinian locker room. After a long while, he tells his players that in order to even out the teams, two of them will join the other side. He tells two of the Israeli bench players, including one known as Fatso, to don the shirts of the Palestinian team. The game ends with a decisive victory for the Israeli team and a strong sense of missed opportunity.
The direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, like the basketball game, have preconditions. Not the conditions demanded by the Palestinians, but conditions dictated by Israel. The refusal to freeze Israeli building in East Jerusalem is a precondition, just like the demand to freeze it. The refusal to resume negotiations from the point where talks between the previous prime minister, Ehud Olmert, and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas left off after the Annapolis conference is no less a precondition than the demand to resume talks from square one.
The head referee, the president of the United States, has twisted the arms of his colleagues in the Quartet and is dragging Abbas to Washington. Barack Obama decided that the negotiations will be held without any commitment regarding building in East Jerusalem, and will be opened without even a declaration of principles stating that the talks will be held on the basis of a general formula, like peace and security for Israel and a state along the 1967 borders for the Palestinians.
It's time to jump into the fountain in Rabin Square and cheer: The Palestinians have been shafted!
If Benjamin Netanyahu's aim is to play around as much as possible with the ball, and sometimes kick the opponent, then he can really chalk up another victory. But Israel's success in the negotiations, like the success of the student team in the tournament, is not measured by the terms "victory" or "defeat." What is victory over a weak Palestinian team worth, if it was won in friendly games that ended with virtually no interaction between the participants? What is a political process with the Palestinians worth if it erodes Abbas' standing and leads nowhere?

What have we to gain from humiliating our partner before his constituency on the way to the negotiating table? If Israel's approach on every one of the core issues is that winning is everything, there's no point in bothering so many VIPs with another unnecessary summit. Let's assume that we'll succeed, with the help of the Jewish power around Obama, to twist Abbas' arm some more and extract, for example, an agreement in which he concedes sovereignty over the Temple Mount. How many hours would such an agreement last?
All we need is a few more "victories" like the invitation to the launch of direct negotiations, "without preconditions," and we'll lose our last partners to a settlement that will prevent Israel from turning into an apartheid state or a Palestinian state (the binational model is a nightmare, as far as I'm concerned).
What will we do if Abbas announces that he's had enough of losing in purportedly friendly games, and that he's decided the time has come to step down? Will we declare another victory and invite Hamas leader Khaled Meshal and Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to the party?

This story is by:

- Akiva Eldar

Akiva Eldar is the chief political columnist and an editorial writer for Haaretz. His columns also appear regularly in the Ha'aretz-Herald Tribune edition. In May 2006 The Financial Times selected him among the most prominent and influential commentators in the world, "whose comments inspire callers from across the political spectrum".
Between 1993 and 1996, Eldar served as the Haaretz U.S. Bureau Chief and Washington correspondent, covering the peace process, U.S.-Israel relations, American issues and Israel-Diaspora relations. Prior to this, Eldar spent 10 years as the diplomatic correspondent for Haaretz, as well as its municipal correspondent for Jerusalem from 1978 to 1983. Before joining Haaretz, Eldar was a reporter and editor for Israel Radio and spent two years as spokesperson for former Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek.

Eldar is the author of several books on Israel and the Middle East, including "The ambush on Jerusalem", which deals with U.S.-Israel-Jewish community relations, and "Lords of the Land", an exploration of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank. In 2007 he received the annual "Search for Common Ground" award for Middle East journalism.

Eldar was a special consultant to Abba Eban's PBS television documentaries on the history of Israel and the Oslo peace initiative. He regularly appears on major television and radio networks in the U.S., Canada, Australia, Europe and Israel. He appeared many times on news programs such as Nightline, The Lehrer Show, Charlie Rose Show, CNN News and CBS Morning News, current affair programs on Israeli television, as well as NPR talk shows.

Eldar contributes to the op-ed pages of The New York Times, LA Times, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The International Herald Tribune and The New York Jewish Week. During his stay in the U.S. Mr. Eldar lectured extensively for the Jewish community and on campuses throughout the U.S., Canada and Australia. He has also participated in various Israeli-Arab-European seminars.

Mr. Eldar was born in Haifa, Israel in 1945. He is a graduate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he majored in Economics, Political Science and Psychology.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Mon, Aug 23, 2010 10:13 am
Subject: Re: H: Yes, there is a vast right wing conspiracy. Sid

B6

Ah, a little lite vacation reading!

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6

To: H

Sent: Mon Aug 23 10:06:23 2010

Subject: H: Yes, there is a vast right wing conspiracy. Sid

A must read piece that looks at the Koch brothers' control and funding of the tea party and right wing.

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer?printable=true#ixzz0xQuvTcbT

<http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer?printable=true#ixzz0xQuvTcbT>

A REPORTER AT LARGE

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05770951 Date: 08/31/2015

COVERT OPERATIONS

# The billionaire brothers who are waging a war against Obama.

by Jane Mayer
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/bios/jane_mayer/search?contributorName=jane%20mayer>

AUGUST 30, 2010

David H. Koch in 1996. He and his brother Charles are lifelong libertarians and have quietly given more than a hundred million dollars to right-wing causes.

On May 17th, a black-tie audience at the Metropolitan Opera House applauded as a tall, jovial-looking billionaire took the stage. It was the seventieth annual spring gala of American Ballet Theatre, and David H. Koch was being celebrated for his generosity as a member of the board of trustees; he had recently donated $2.5 million toward the company's upcoming season, and had given many millions before that. Koch received an award while flanked by two of the gala's co-chairs, Blaine Trump, in a peach-colored gown, and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, in emerald green. Kennedy's mother, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, had been a patron of the ballet and, coincidentally, the previous owner of a Fifth

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Avenue apartment that Koch had bought, in 1995, and then sold, eleven years later, for thirty-two million dollars, having found it too small.

The gala marked the social ascent of Koch, who, at the age of seventy, has become one of the city's most prominent philanthropists. In 2008, he donated a hundred million dollars to modernize Lincoln Center's New York State Theatre building, which now bears his name. He has given twenty million to the American Museum of Natural History, whose dinosaur wing is named for him. This spring, after noticing the decrepit state of the fountains outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Koch pledged at least ten million dollars for their renovation. He is a trustee of the museum, perhaps the most coveted social prize in the city, and serves on the board of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, where, after he donated more than forty million dollars, an endowed chair and a research center were named for him.

One dignitary was conspicuously absent from the gala: the event's third honorary co-chair, Michelle Obama. Her office said that a scheduling conflict had prevented her from attending. Yet had the First Lady shared the stage with Koch it might have created an awkward tableau. In Washington, Koch is best known as part of a family that has repeatedly funded stealth attacks on the federal government, and on the Obama Administration in particular.

With his brother Charles, who is seventy-four, David Koch owns virtually all of Koch Industries, a conglomerate, headquartered in Wichita, Kansas, whose annual

revenues are estimated to be a hundred billion dollars. The company has grown spectacularly since their father, Fred, died, in 1967, and the brothers took charge. The Kochs operate oil refineries in Alaska, Texas, and Minnesota, and control some four thousand miles of pipeline. Koch Industries owns Brawny paper towels, Dixie cups, Georgia-Pacific lumber, Stainmaster carpet, and Lycra, among other products. Forbes ranks it as the second-largest private company in the country, after Cargill, and its consistent profitability has made David and Charles Koch—who, years ago, bought out two other brothers—among the richest men in America. Their combined fortune of thirty-five billion dollars is exceeded only by those of Bill Gates and Warren Buffett.

The Kochs are longtime libertarians who believe in drastically lower personal and corporate taxes, minimal social services for the needy, and much less oversight of industry—especially environmental regulation. These views dovetail with the brothers' corporate interests. In a study released this spring, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst's Political Economy Research Institute named Koch Industries one of the top ten air polluters in the United States. And Greenpeace issued a report identifying the company as a "kingpin of climate science denial." The report showed that, from 2005 to 2008, the Kochs vastly outdid ExxonMobil in giving money to organizations fighting legislation related to climate change, underwriting a huge network of foundations, think tanks, and political front groups. Indeed, the brothers have funded opposition campaigns

against so many Obama Administration policies—from health-care reform to the economic-stimulus program—that, in political circles, their ideological network is known as the Kochtopus.

In a statement, Koch Industries said that the Greenpeace report "distorts the environmental record of our companies." And David Koch, in a recent, admiring article about him in New York, protested that the "radical press" had turned his family into "whipping boys," and had exaggerated its influence on American politics. But Charles Lewis, the founder of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan watchdog group, said, "The Kochs are on a whole different level. There's no one else who has spent this much money. The sheer dimension of it is what sets them apart. They have a pattern of lawbreaking, political manipulation, and obfuscation. I've been in Washington since Watergate, and I've never seen anything like it. They are the Standard Oil of our times."

few weeks after the Lincoln Center gala, the advocacy wing of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation—an organization that David Koch started, in 2004—held a different kind of gathering. Over the July 4th weekend, a summit called Texas Defending the American Dream took place in a chilly hotel ballroom in Austin. Though Koch freely promotes his philanthropic ventures, he did not attend the summit, and his name was not in evidence. And on this occasion the audience was roused not by a dance performance but by a series of speakers denouncing President Barack Obama. Peggy Venable, the organizer of the summit, warned that

Administration officials "have a socialist vision for this country."

Five hundred people attended the summit, which served, in part, as a training session for Tea Party activists in Texas. An advertisement cast the event as a populist uprising against vested corporate power. "Today, the voices of average Americans are being drowned out by lobbyists and special interests," it said. "But you can do something about it." The pitch made no mention of its corporate funders. The White House has expressed frustration that such sponsors have largely eluded public notice. David Axelrod, Obama's senior adviser, said, "What they don't say is that, in part, this is a grassroots citizens' movement brought to you by a bunch of oil billionaires."

In April, 2009, Melissa Cohlmia, a company spokesperson, denied that the Kochs had direct links to the Tea Party, saying that Americans for Prosperity is "an independent organization and Koch companies do not in any way direct their activities." Later, she issued a statement: "No funding has been provided by Koch companies, the Koch foundations, or Charles Koch or David Koch specifically to support the tea parties." David Koch told New York, "I've never been to a tea-party event. No one representing the tea party has ever even approached me."

At the lectern in Austin, however, Venable—a longtime political operative who draws a salary from Americans for Prosperity, and who has worked for Koch-funded political groups since 1994—spoke less warily. "We love what the Tea Parties are doing, because that's how we're going to take back America!" she declared, as

the crowd cheered. In a subsequent interview, she described herself as an early member of the movement, joking, "I was part of the Tea Party before it was cool!" She explained that the role of Americans for Prosperity was to help "educate" Tea Party activists on policy details, and to give them "next-step training" after their rallies, so that their political energy could be channelled "more effectively." And she noted that Americans for Prosperity had provided Tea Party activists with lists of elected officials to target. She said of the Kochs, "They're certainly our people. David's the chairman of our board. I've certainly met with them, and I'm very appreciative of what they do."

Venable honored several Tea Party "citizen leaders" at the summit. The Texas branch of Americans for Prosperity gave its Blogger of the Year Award to a young woman named Sibyl West. On June 14th, West, writing on her site, described Obama as the "cokehead in chief." In an online thread, West speculated that the President was exhibiting symptoms of "demonic possession (aka schizophrenia, etc.)." The summit featured several paid speakers, including Janine Turner, the actress best known for her role on the television series "Northern Exposure." She declared, "They don't want our children to know about their rights. They don't want our children to know about a God!"

During a catered lunch, Venable introduced Ted Cruz, a former solicitor general of Texas, who told the crowd that Obama was "the most radical President ever to occupy the Oval Office," and had hidden from voters a secret agenda—"the

government taking over our economy and our lives." Countering Obama, Cruz proclaimed, was "the epic fight of our generation!" As the crowd rose to its feet and cheered, he quoted the defiant words of a Texan at the Alamo: "Victory, or death!"

Americans for Prosperity has worked closely with the Tea Party since the movement's inception. In the weeks before the first Tax Day protests, in April, 2009, Americans for Prosperity hosted a Web site offering supporters "Tea Party Talking Points." The Arizona branch urged people to send tea bags to Obama; the Missouri branch urged members to sign up for "Taxpayer Tea Party Registration" and provided directions to nine protests. The group continues to stoke the rebellion. The North Carolina branch recently launched a "Tea Party Finder" Web site, advertised as "a hub for all the Tea Parties in North Carolina."

The anti-government fervor infusing the 2010 elections represents a political triumph for the Kochs. By giving money to "educate," fund, and organize Tea Party protesters, they have helped turn their private agenda into a mass movement. Bruce Bartlett, a conservative economist and a historian, who once worked at the National Center for Policy Analysis, a Dallas-based think tank that the Kochs fund, said, "The problem with the whole libertarian movement is that it's been all chiefs and no Indians. There haven't been any actual people, like voters, who give a crap about it. So the problem for the Kochs has been trying to create a movement." With the emergence of the Tea Party, he said,

"everyone suddenly sees that for the first time there are Indians out there—people who can provide real ideological power." The Kochs, he said, are "trying to shape and control and channel the populist uprising into their own policies."

A Republican campaign consultant who has done research on behalf of Charles and David Koch said of the Tea Party, "The Koch brothers gave the money that founded it. It's like they put the seeds in the ground. Then the rainstorm comes, and the frogs come out of the mud—and they're our candidates!"

The Kochs and their political operatives declined requests for interviews. Instead, a prominent New York public-relations executive who is close with the Kochs put forward two friends: George Pataki, the former governor of New York, and Mortimer Zuckerman, the publisher and real-estate magnate. Pataki, a Republican who received campaign donations from David Koch, called him "a patriot who cares deeply about his country." Zuckerman praised David's "gentle decency" and the "range of his public interests."

The Republican campaign consultant said of the family's political activities, "To call them under the radar is an understatement. They are underground!"

Another former Koch adviser said, "They're smart. This right-wing, redneck stuff works for them. They see this as a way to get things done without getting dirty themselves." Rob Stein, a Democratic political strategist who has studied the conservative movement's finances, said that the Kochs are "at the epicenter of

the anti-Obama movement. But it's not just about Obama. They would have done the same to Hillary Clinton. They did the same with Bill Clinton. They are out to destroy progressivism."

ddly enough, the fiercely capitalist Koch family owes part of its fortune to Joseph Stalin. Fred Koch was the son of a Dutch printer who settled in Texas and ran a weekly newspaper. Fred attended M.I.T., where he earned a degree in chemical engineering. In 1927, he invented a more efficient process for converting oil into gasoline, but, according to family lore, America's major oil companies regarded him as a threat and shut him out of the industry. Unable to succeed at home, Koch found work in the Soviet Union. In the nineteen-thirties, his company trained Bolshevik engineers and helped Stalin's regime set up fifteen modern oil refineries. Over time, however, Stalin brutally purged several of Koch's Soviet colleagues. Koch was deeply affected by the experience, and regretted his collaboration. He returned to the U.S. In the headquarters of his company, Rock Island Oil & Refining, in Wichita, he kept photographs aimed at proving that some of those Soviet refineries had been destroyed in the Second World War. Gus diZerega, a former friend of Charles Koch, recalled, "As the Soviets became a stronger military power, Fred felt a certain amount of guilt at having helped build them up. I think it bothered him a lot."

In 1958, Fred Koch became one of the original members of the John Birch Society, the arch-conservative group known, in part, for a highly skeptical view of

governance and for spreading fears of a Communist takeover. Members considered President Dwight D. Eisenhower to be a Communist agent. In a self-published broadside, Koch claimed that "the Communists have infiltrated both the Democrat and Republican Parties." He wrote admiringly of Benito Mussolini's suppression of Communists in Italy, and disparagingly of the American civil-rights movement. "The colored man looms large in the Communist plan to take over America," he warned. Welfare was a secret plot to attract rural blacks to cities, where they would foment "a vicious race war." In a 1963 speech that prefigures the Tea Party's talk of a secret socialist plot, Koch predicted that Communists would "infiltrate the highest offices of government in the U.S. until the President is a Communist, unknown to the rest of us."

Koch married Mary Robinson, the daughter of a Missouri physician, and they had four sons: Freddie, Charles, and twins, David and William. John Damgard, the president of the Futures Industry Association, was David's schoolmate and friend. He recalled that Fred Koch was "a real John Wayne type." Koch emphasized rugged pursuits, taking his sons big-game hunting in Africa, and requiring them to do farm labor at the family ranch. The Kochs lived in a stone mansion on a large compound across from Wichita's country club; in the summer, the boys could hear their friends splashing in the pool, but they were not allowed to join them. "By instilling a work ethic in me at an early age, my father did me a big favor, although it didn't seem like a favor back then," Charles has written. "By

the time I was eight, he made sure work occupied most of my spare time." David Koch recalled that his father also indoctrinated the boys politically. "He was constantly speaking to us children about what was wrong with government," he told Brian Doherty, an editor of the libertarian magazine Reason, and the author of "Radicals for Capitalism," a 2007 history of the libertarian movement. "It's something I grew up with—a fundamental point of view that big government was bad, and imposition of government controls on our lives and economic fortunes was not good."

David attended Deerfield Academy, in Massachusetts, and Charles was sent to military school. Charles, David, and William all earned engineering degrees at their father's alma mater, M.I.T., and later joined the family company. Charles eventually assumed control, with David as his deputy; William's career at the company was less successful. Freddie went to Harvard and studied playwriting at the Yale School of Drama. His father reportedly disapproved of him, and punished him financially. (Freddie, through a spokesperson, denied this.)

In 1967, after Fred Koch died, of a heart attack, Charles renamed the business Koch Industries, in honor of his father. Fred Koch's will made his sons extraordinarily wealthy. David Koch joked about his good fortune in a 2003 speech to alumni at Deerfield, where, after pledging twenty-five million dollars, he was made the school's sole "lifetime trustee." He said, "You might ask: How does David Koch happen to have the wealth to be so generous? Well, let

me tell you a story. It all started when I was a little boy. One day, my father gave me an apple. I soon sold it for five dollars and bought two apples and sold them for ten. Then I bought four apples and sold them for twenty. Well, this went on day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, until my father died and left me three hundred million dollars!"

David and Charles had absorbed their father's conservative politics, but they did not share all his views, according to diZerega, who befriended Charles in the mid-sixties, after meeting him while browsing in a John Birch Society bookstore in Wichita. Charles eventually invited him to the Kochs' mansion, to participate in an informal political-discussion group. "It was pretty clear that Charles thought some of the Birch Society was bullshit," diZerega recalled. DiZerega, who has lost touch with Charles, eventually abandoned right-wing views, and became a political-science professor. He credits Charles with opening his mind to political philosophy, which set him on the path to academia; Charles is one of three people to whom he dedicated his first book. But diZerega believes that the Koch brothers have followed a wayward intellectual trajectory, transferring their father's paranoia about Soviet Communism to a distrust of the U.S. government, and seeing its expansion, beginning with the New Deal, as a tyrannical threat to freedom. In an essay, posted on Beliefnet, diZerega writes, "As state socialism failed . . . the target for many within these organizations shifted to any kind of regulation at all. 'Socialism' kept being defined

downwards."

Members of the John Birch Society developed an interest in a school of Austrian economists who promoted free-market ideals. Charles and David Koch were particularly influenced by the work of Friedrich von Hayek, the author of "The Road to Serfdom" (1944), which argued that centralized government planning led, inexorably, to totalitarianism. Hayek's belief in unfettered capitalism has proved inspirational to many conservatives, and to anti-Soviet dissidents; lately, Tea Party supporters have championed his work. In June, the talk-radio host Glenn Beck, who has supported the Tea Party rebellion, promoted "The Road to Serfdom" on his show; the paperback soon became a No. 1 best-seller on Amazon. (Beck appears to be a fan of the Kochs; in the midst of a recent on-air parody of Al Gore, Beck said, without explanation, "I want to thank Charles Koch for this information." Beck declined to elaborate on the relationship.)

Charles and David also became devotees of a more radical thinker, Robert LeFevre, who favored the abolition of the state but didn't like the label "anarchist"; he called himself an "autarchist." LeFevre liked to say that "government is a disease masquerading as its own cure." In 1956, he opened an institution called the Freedom School, in Colorado Springs. Brian Doherty, of Reason, told me that "LeFevre was an anarchist figure who won Charles's heart," and that the school was "a tiny world of people who thought the New Deal was a horrible mistake." According to diZerega, Charles supported the school

financially, and even gave him money to take classes there.

Throughout the seventies, Charles and David continued to build Koch Industries. In 1980, William, with assistance from Freddie, attempted to take over the company from Charles, who, they felt, had assumed autocratic control. In retaliation, the company's board, which answered to Charles, fired William. ("Charles runs it all with an iron hand," Bruce Bartlett, the economist, told me.) Lawsuits were filed, with William and Freddie on one side and Charles and David on the other. In 1983, Charles and David bought out their brothers' share in the company for nearly a billion dollars. But the antagonism remained, and litigation continued for seventeen more years, with the brothers hiring rival private investigators; in 1990, they walked past one another with stony expressions at their mother's funeral. Eventually, Freddie moved to Monaco, which has no income tax. He bought historic estates in France, Austria, and elsewhere, filling them with art, antiques, opera scores, and literary manuscripts. William founded his own energy company, Oxbow, and turned to yachting; he spent an estimated sixty-five million dollars to win the America's Cup, in 1992.

With Charles as the undisputed chairman and C.E.O., Koch Industries expanded rapidly. Roger Altman, who heads the investment-banking firm Evercore, told me that the company's performance has been "beyond phenomenal." Charles remained in Wichita, with his wife and two children, guarding his privacy while supporting

community charities. David moved to New York City, where he is an executive vice-president of the company and the C.E.O. of its Chemical Technology Group. A financial expert who knows Koch Industries well told me, "Charles is the company. Charles runs it." David, described by associates as "affable" and "a bit of a lunk," enjoyed for years the life of a wealthy bachelor. He rented a yacht in the South of France and bought a waterfront home in Southampton, where he threw parties that the Web site New York Social Diary likened to an "East Coast version of Hugh Hefner's soirées." In 1996, he married Julia Flesher, a fashion assistant. They live in a nine-thousand-square-foot duplex at 740 Park Avenue, with their three children. Though David's manner is more cosmopolitan, and more genial, than that of Charles, Brian Doherty, who has interviewed both brothers, couldn't think of a single issue on which the brothers disagreed.

As their fortunes grew, Charles and David Koch became the primary underwriters of hard-line libertarian politics in America. Charles's goal, as Doherty described it, was to tear the government "out at the root." The brothers' first major public step came in 1979, when Charles persuaded David, then thirty-nine, to run for public office. They had become supporters of the Libertarian Party, and were backing its Presidential candidate, Ed Clark, who was running against Ronald Reagan from the right. Frustrated by the legal limits on campaign donations, they contrived to place David on the ticket, in the Vice-Presidential slot; upon becoming a candidate, he could lavish as much of his personal fortune

as he wished on the campaign. The ticket's slogan was "The Libertarian Party has only one source of funds: You." In fact, its primary source of funds was David Koch, who spent more than two million dollars on the effort.

Many of the ideas propounded in the 1980 campaign presaged the Tea Party movement. Ed Clark told The Nation that libertarians were getting ready to stage "a very big tea party," because people were "sick to death" of taxes. The Libertarian Party platform called for the abolition of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A., as well as of federal regulatory agencies, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Energy. The Party wanted to end Social Security, minimum-wage laws, gun control, and all personal and corporate income taxes; it proposed the legalization of prostitution, recreational drugs, and suicide. Government should be reduced to only one function: the protection of individual rights. William F. Buckley, Jr., a more traditional conservative, called the movement "Anarcho-Totalitarianism."

That November, the Libertarian ticket received only one per cent of the vote. The brothers realized that their brand of politics didn't sell at the ballot box. Charles Koch became openly scornful of conventional politics. "It tends to be a nasty, corrupting business," he told a reporter at the time. "I'm interested in advancing libertarian ideas." According to Doherty's book, the Kochs came to regard elected politicians as merely "actors playing out a script." A longtime confidant of the Kochs told Doherty that the brothers wanted

to "supply the themes and words for the scripts." In order to alter the direction of America, they had to "influence the areas where policy ideas percolate from: academia and think tanks."

fter the 1980 election, Charles and David Koch receded from the public arena. But they poured more than a hundred million dollars into dozens of seemingly independent organizations. Tax records indicate that in 2008 the three main Koch family foundations gave money to thirty-four political and policy organizations, three of which they founded, and several of which they direct. The Kochs and their company have given additional millions to political campaigns, advocacy groups, and lobbyists. The family's subterranean financial role has fuelled suspicion on the left; Lee Fang, of the liberal blog ThinkProgress, has called the Kochs "the billionaires behind the hate."

Only the Kochs know precisely how much they have spent on politics. Public tax records show that between 1998 and 2008 the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation spent more than forty-eight million dollars. The Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation, which is controlled by Charles Koch and his wife, along with two company employees and an accountant, spent more than twenty-eight million. The David H. Koch Charitable Foundation spent more than a hundred and twenty million. Meanwhile, since 1998 Koch Industries has spent more than fifty million dollars on lobbying. Separately, the company's political-action committee, KochPAC, has donated some eight million dollars to political

campaigns, more than eighty per cent of it to Republicans. So far in 2010, Koch Industries leads all other energy companies in political contributions, as it has since 2006. In addition, during the past dozen years the Kochs and other family members have personally spent more than two million dollars on political contributions. In the second quarter of 2010, David Koch was the biggest individual contributor to the Republican Governors Association, with a million-dollar donation. Other gifts by the Kochs may be untraceable; federal tax law permits anonymous personal donations to politically active nonprofit groups.

In recent decades, members of several industrial dynasties have spent parts of their fortunes on a conservative agenda. In the nineteen-eighties, the Olin family, which owns a chemicals-and-manufacturing conglomerate, became known for funding right-leaning thinking in academia, particularly in law schools. And during the nineties Richard Mellon Scaife, a descendant of Andrew Mellon, spent millions attempting to discredit President Bill Clinton. Ari Rabin-Havt, a vice-president at the Democratic-leaning Web site Media Matters, said that the Kochs' effort is unusual, in its marshalling of corporate and personal funds: "Their role, in terms of financial commitments, is staggering."

Of course, Democrats give money, too. Their most prominent donor, the financier George Soros, runs a foundation, the Open Society Institute, that has spent as much as a hundred million dollars a year in America. Soros has also made

generous private contributions to various Democratic campaigns, including Obama's. But Michael Vachon, his spokesman, argued that Soros's giving is transparent, and that "none of his contributions are in the service of his own economic interests." The Kochs have given millions of dollars to nonprofit groups that criticize environmental regulation and support lower taxes for industry. Gus diZerega, the former friend, suggested that the Kochs' youthful idealism about libertarianism had largely devolved into a rationale for corporate self-interest. He said of Charles, "Perhaps he has confused making money with freedom."

Some critics have suggested that the Kochs' approach has subverted the purpose of tax-exempt giving. By law, charitable foundations must conduct exclusively nonpartisan activities that promote the public welfare. A 2004 report by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, a watchdog group, described the Kochs' foundations as being self-serving, concluding, "These foundations give money to nonprofit organizations that do research and advocacy on issues that impact the profit margin of Koch Industries."

The Kochs have gone well beyond their immediate self-interest, however, funding organizations that aim to push the country in a libertarian direction. Among the institutions that they have subsidized are the Institute for Justice, which files lawsuits opposing state and federal regulations; the Institute for Humane Studies, which underwrites libertarian academics; and the Bill of Rights

Institute, which promotes a conservative slant on the Constitution. Many of the organizations funded by the Kochs employ specialists who write position papers that are subsequently quoted by politicians and pundits. David Koch has acknowledged that the family exerts tight ideological control. "If we're going to give a lot of money, we'll make darn sure they spend it in a way that goes along with our intent," he told Doherty. "And if they make a wrong turn and start doing things we don't agree with, we withdraw funding."

he Kochs' subsidization of a pro-corporate movement fulfills, in many ways, the vision laid out in a secret 1971 memo that Lewis Powell, then a Virginia attorney, wrote two months before he was nominated to the Supreme Court. The antiwar movement had turned its anger on defense contractors, such as Dow Chemical, and Ralph Nader was leading a public-interest crusade against corporations. Powell, writing a report for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, urged American companies to fight back. The greatest threat to free enterprise, he warned, was not Communism or the New Left but, rather, "respectable elements of society"—intellectuals, journalists, and scientists. To defeat them, he wrote, business leaders needed to wage a long-term, unified campaign to change public opinion.

Charles Koch seems to have approached both business and politics with the deliberation of an engineer. "To bring about social change," he told Doherty, requires "a strategy" that is "vertically and horizontally integrated," spanning

"from idea creation to policy development to education to grassroots organizations to lobbying to litigation to political action." The project, he admitted, was extremely ambitious. "We have a radical philosophy," he said.

In 1977, the Kochs provided the funds to launch the nation's first libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute. According to the Center for Public Integrity, between 1986 and 1993 the Koch family gave eleven million dollars to the institute. Today, Cato has more than a hundred full-time employees, and its experts and policy papers are widely quoted and respected by the mainstream media. It describes itself as nonpartisan, and its scholars have at times been critical of both parties. But it has consistently pushed for corporate tax cuts, reductions in social services, and laissez-faire environmental policies.

When President Obama, in a 2008 speech, described the science on global warming as "beyond dispute," the Cato Institute took out a full-page ad in the Times to contradict him. Cato's resident scholars have relentlessly criticized political attempts to stop global warming as expensive, ineffective, and unnecessary. Ed Crane, the Cato Institute's founder and president, told me that "global-warming theories give the government more control of the economy."

Cato scholars have been particularly energetic in promoting the Climategate scandal. Last year, private e-mails of climate scientists at the University of East Anglia, in England, were mysteriously leaked, and their exchanges appeared to suggest a willingness to falsify data in order to buttress the idea that

global warming is real. In the two weeks after the e-mails went public, one Cato scholar gave more than twenty media interviews trumpeting the alleged scandal. But five independent inquiries have since exonerated the researchers, and nothing was found in their e-mails or data to discredit the scientific consensus on global warming.

Nevertheless, the controversy succeeded in spreading skepticism about climate change. Even though the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration recently issued a report concluding that the evidence for global warming is unequivocal, more Americans are convinced than at any time since 1997 that scientists have exaggerated the seriousness of global warming. The Kochs promote this statistic on their company's Web site but do not mention the role that their funding has played in fostering such doubt.

In a 2002 memo, the Republican political consultant Frank Luntz wrote that so long as "voters believe there is no consensus about global warming within the scientific community" the status quo would prevail. The key for opponents of environmental reform, he said, was to question the science—a public-relations strategy that the tobacco industry used effectively for years to forestall regulation. The Kochs have funded many sources of environmental skepticism, such as the Heritage Foundation, which has argued that "scientific facts gathered in the past 10 years do not support the notion of catastrophic human-made warming." The brothers have given money to more obscure groups, too, such as the

Independent Women's Forum, which opposes the presentation of global warming as a scientific fact in American public schools. Until 2008, the group was run by Nancy Pfotenhauer, a former lobbyist for Koch Industries. Mary Beth Jarvis, a vice-president of a Koch subsidiary, is on the group's board.

Naomi Oreskes, a professor of history and science studies at the University of California, San Diego, is the co-author of "Merchants of Doubt," a new book that chronicles various attempts by American industry to manipulate public opinion on science. She noted that the Kochs, as the heads of "a company with refineries and pipelines," have "a lot at stake." She added, "If the answer is to phase out fossil fuels, a different group of people are going to be making money, so we shouldn't be surprised that they're fighting tooth and nail."

David Koch told New York that he was unconvinced that global warming has been caused by human activity. Even if it has been, he said, the heating of the planet will be beneficial, resulting in longer growing seasons in the Northern Hemisphere. "The Earth will be able to support enormously more people because far greater land area will be available to produce food," he said.

n the mid-eighties, the Kochs provided millions of dollars to George Mason University, in Arlington, Virginia, to set up another think tank. Now known as the Mercatus Center, it promotes itself as "the world's premier university source for market-oriented ideas—bridging the gap between academic ideas and real-world problems." Financial records show that the Koch family foundations

have contributed more than thirty million dollars to George Mason, much of which has gone to the Mercatus Center, a nonprofit organization. "It's ground zero for deregulation policy in Washington," Rob Stein, the Democratic strategist, said. It is an unusual arrangement. "George Mason is a public university, and receives public funds," Stein noted. "Virginia is hosting an institution that the Kochs practically control."

The founder of the Mercatus Center is Richard Fink, formerly an economist. Fink heads Koch Industries' lobbying operation in Washington. In addition, he is the president of the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, the president of the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation, a director of the Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation, and a director and co-founder, with David Koch, of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation.

Fink, with his many titles, has become the central nervous system of the Kochtopus. He appears to have supplanted Ed Crane, the head of the Cato Institute, as the brothers' main political lieutenant. Though David remains on the board at Cato, Charles Koch has fallen out with Crane. Associates suggested to me that Crane had been insufficiently respectful of Charles's management philosophy, which he distilled into a book called "The Science of Success," and trademarked under the name Market-Based Management, or M.B.M. In the book, Charles recommends instilling a company's corporate culture with the competitiveness of the marketplace. Koch describes M.B.M. as a "holistic system"

containing "five dimensions: vision, virtue and talents, knowledge processes, decision rights and incentives." A top Cato Institute official told me that Charles "thinks he's a genius. He's the emperor, and he's convinced he's wearing clothes." Fink, by contrast, has been far more embracing of Charles's ideas. (Fink, like the Kochs, declined to be interviewed.)

At a 1995 conference for philanthropists, Fink adopted the language of economics when speaking about the Mercatus Center's purpose. He said that grant-makers should use think tanks and political-action groups to convert intellectual raw materials into policy "products."

The Wall Street Journal has called the Mercatus Center "the most important think tank you've never heard of," and noted that fourteen of the twenty-three regulations that President George W. Bush placed on a "hit list" had been suggested first by Mercatus scholars. Fink told the paper that the Kochs have "other means of fighting [their] battles," and that the Mercatus Center does not actively promote the company's private interests. But Thomas McGarity, a law professor at the University of Texas, who specializes in environmental issues, told me that "Koch has been constantly in trouble with the E.P.A., and Mercatus has constantly hammered on the agency." An environmental lawyer who has clashed with the Mercatus Center called it "a means of laundering economic aims." The lawyer explained the strategy: "You take corporate money and give it to a neutral-sounding think tank," which "hires people with pedigrees and academic

degrees who put out credible-seeming studies. But they all coincide perfectly with the economic interests of their funders."

In 1997, for instance, the E.P.A. moved to reduce surface ozone, a form of pollution caused, in part, by emissions from oil refineries. Susan Dudley, an economist who became a top official at the Mercatus Center, criticized the proposed rule. The E.P.A., she argued, had not taken into account that smog-free skies would result in more cases of skin cancer. She projected that if pollution were controlled it would cause up to eleven thousand additional cases of skin cancer each year.

In 1999, the District of Columbia Circuit Court took up Dudley's smog argument. Evaluating the E.P.A. rule, the court found that the E.P.A. had "explicitly disregarded" the "possible health benefits of ozone." In another part of the opinion, the court ruled, 2-1, that the E.P.A. had overstepped its authority in calibrating standards for ozone emissions. As the Constitutional Accountability Center, a think tank, revealed, the judges in the majority had previously attended legal junkets, on a Montana ranch, that were arranged by the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment—a group funded by Koch family foundations. The judges have claimed that the ruling was unaffected by their attendance.

deas don't happen on their own," Matt Kibbe, the president of FreedomWorks, a Tea Party advocacy group, told me. "Throughout history, ideas need patrons." The

Koch brothers, after helping to create Cato and Mercatus, concluded that think tanks alone were not enough to effect change. They needed a mechanism to deliver those ideas to the street, and to attract the public's support. In 1984, David Koch and Richard Fink created yet another organization, and Kibbe joined them. The group, Citizens for a Sound Economy, seemed like a grassroots movement, but according to the Center for Public Integrity it was sponsored principally by the Kochs, who provided $7.9 million between 1986 and 1993. Its mission, Kibbe said, "was to take these heavy ideas and translate them for mass America. . . . We read the same literature Obama did about nonviolent revolutions—Saul Alinsky, Gandhi, Martin Luther King. We studied the idea of the Boston Tea Party as an example of nonviolent social change. We learned we needed boots on the ground to sell ideas, not candidates." Within a few years, the group had mobilized fifty paid field workers, in twenty-six states, to rally voters behind the Kochs' agenda. David and Charles, according to one participant, were "very controlling, very top down. You can't build an organization with them. They run it."

Around this time, the brothers faced a political crisis. In 1989, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs investigated their business and released a scathing report accusing Koch Oil of "a widespread and sophisticated scheme to steal crude oil from Indians and others through fraudulent mismeasuring." The Kochs admitted that they had improperly taken thirty-one million dollars' worth of crude oil, but said that it had been accidental. Charles Koch told committee

investigators that oil measurement is "a very uncertain art."

To defend its reputation, Koch Industries hired Robert Strauss, then a premier Washington lobbyist; the company soon opened an office in the city. A grand jury was convened to investigate the allegations, but it eventually disbanded, without issuing criminal charges. According to the Senate report, after the committee hearings Koch operatives delved into the personal lives of committee staffers, even questioning an ex-wife. Senate investigators were upset by the Kochs' tactics. Kenneth Ballen, the counsel to the Senate committee, said, "These people have amassed such unaccountable power!"

By 1993, when Bill Clinton became President, Citizens for a Sound Economy had become a prototype for the kind of corporate-backed opposition campaigns that have proliferated during the Obama era. The group waged a successful assault on Clinton's proposed B.T.U. tax on energy, for instance, running advertisements, staging media events, and targeting opponents. And it mobilized anti-tax rallies outside the Capitol—rallies that NPR described as "designed to strike fear into the hearts of wavering Democrats." Dan Glickman, a former Democratic congressman from Wichita, who supported the B.T.U. tax, recalled, "I'd been in Congress eighteen years. The Kochs actually engaged against me and funded my opponent. They used a lot of resources and effort--their employees, too." Glickman suffered a surprise defeat. "I can't prove it, but I think I was probably their victim," he said.

The Kochs continued to disperse their money, creating slippery organizations with generic-sounding names, and this made it difficult to ascertain the extent of their influence in Washington. In 1990, Citizens for a Sound Economy created a spinoff group, Citizens for the Environment, which called acid rain and other environmental problems "myths." When the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette investigated the matter, it discovered that the spinoff group had "no citizen membership of its own."

In 1997, another Senate investigation began looking into what a minority report called "an audacious plan to pour millions of dollars in contributions into Republican campaigns nationwide without disclosing the amount or source," in order to evade campaign-finance laws. A shell corporation, Triad Management, had paid more than three million dollars for attack ads in twenty-six House races and three Senate races. More than half of the advertising money came from an obscure nonprofit group, the Economic Education Trust. The Senate committee's minority report suggested that "the trust was financed in whole or in part by Charles and David Koch of Wichita, Kansas." The brothers were suspected of having secretly paid for the attack ads, most of which aired in states where Koch Industries did business. In Kansas, where Triad Management was especially active, the funds may have played a decisive role in four of six federal races. The Kochs, when asked by reporters if they had given the money, refused to comment. In 1998, however, the Wall Street Journal confirmed that a consultant

on the Kochs' payroll had been involved in the scheme. Charles Lewis, of the Center for Public Integrity, described the scandal as "historic. Triad was the first time a major corporation used a cutout"—a front operation—"in a threatening way. Koch Industries was the poster child of a company run amok."

uring the Clinton Administration, the energy industry faced increased scrutiny and regulation. In the mid-nineties, the Justice Department filed two lawsuits against Koch Industries, claiming that it was responsible for more than three hundred oil spills, which had released an estimated three million gallons of oil into lakes and rivers. The penalty was potentially as high as two hundred and fourteen million dollars. In a settlement, Koch Industries paid a record thirty-million-dollar civil fine, and agreed to spend five million dollars on environmental projects.

In 1999, a jury found Koch Industries guilty of negligence and malice in the deaths of two Texas teen-agers in an explosion that resulted from a leaky underground butane pipeline. (In 2001, the company paid an undisclosed settlement.) And in the final months of the Clinton Presidency the Justice Department levelled a ninety-seven-count indictment against the company, for covering up the discharge of ninety-one tons of benzene, a carcinogen, from its refinery in Corpus Christi, Texas. The company was liable for three hundred and fifty million dollars in fines, and four Koch employees faced up to thirty-five years in prison. The Koch Petroleum Group eventually pleaded guilty to one

criminal charge of covering up environmental violations, including the falsification of documents, and paid a twenty-million-dollar fine. David Uhlmann, a career prosecutor who, at the time, headed the environmental-crimes section at the Justice Department, described the suit as "one of the most significant cases ever brought under the Clean Air Act." He added, "Environmental crimes are almost always motivated by economics and arrogance, and in the Koch case there was a healthy dose of both."

During the 2000 election campaign, Koch Industries spent some nine hundred thousand dollars to support the candidacies of George W. Bush and other Republicans. During the Bush years, Koch Industries and other fossil-fuel companies enjoyed remarkable prosperity. The 2005 energy bill, which Hillary Clinton dubbed the Dick Cheney Lobbyist Energy Bill, offered enormous subsidies and tax breaks for energy companies. The Kochs have cast themselves as deficit hawks, but, according to a study by Media Matters, their companies have benefitted from nearly a hundred million dollars in government contracts since 2000.

In 2004, Citizens for a Sound Economy was accused of illegitimately throwing its weight behind Bush's reëlection. The group's Oregon branch had attempted to get Ralph Nader on the Presidential ballot, in order to dilute Democratic support for John Kerry. Critics argued that it was illegal for a tax-exempt nonprofit organization to donate its services for partisan political purposes. (A

complaint was filed with the Federal Election Commission; it was dismissed.)

That year, internal rivalries at Citizens for a Sound Economy caused the organization to split apart. David Koch and Fink started a new group, Americans for Prosperity, and they hired Tim Phillips to run it. Phillips was a political veteran who had worked with Ralph Reed, the evangelical leader and Republican activist, co-founding Century Strategies, a campaign-consulting company that became notorious for its ties to the disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Phillips's online biography describes him as an expert in "grasstops" and "grassroots" political organizing. The Kochs' choice of Phillips signalled an even greater toughness. The conservative operative Grover Norquist, who is known for praising "throat slitters" in politics, called Phillips "a grownup who can make things happen."

Last year, Phillips told the Financial Times that Americans for Prosperity had only eight thousand registered members. Currently, its Web site claims that the group has "1.2 million activists." Whatever its size, the Kochs' political involvement has been intense; a former employee of the Cato Institute told me that Americans for Prosperity "was micromanaged by the Kochs." And the brothers' investment may well have paid off: Americans for Prosperity, in concert with the family's other organizations, has been instrumental in disrupting the Obama Presidency.

In January, 2008, Charles Koch wrote in his company newsletter that America

could be on the verge of "the greatest loss of liberty and prosperity since the 1930s." That October, Americans for Prosperity held a conference of conservative operatives at a Marriott hotel outside Washington. Erick Erickson, the editor-in-chief of the conservative blog RedState.com, took the lectern, thanked David Koch, and vowed to "unite and fight . . . the armies of the left!" Soon after Obama assumed office, Americans for Prosperity launched "Porkulus" rallies against Obama's stimulus-spending measures. Then the Mercatus Center released a report claiming that stimulus funds had been directed disproportionately toward Democratic districts; eventually, the author was forced to correct the report, but not before Rush Limbaugh, citing the paper, had labelled Obama's program "a slush fund," and Fox News and other conservative outlets had echoed the sentiment. (Phil Kerpen, the vice-president for policy at Americans for Prosperity, is a contributor to the Fox News Web site. Another officer at Americans for Prosperity, Walter Williams, often guest-hosts for Limbaugh.) Americans for Prosperity also created an offshoot, Patients United Now, which organized what Phillips has estimated to be more than three hundred rallies against health-care reform. At one rally, an effigy of a Democratic congressman was hung; at another, protesters unfurled a banner depicting corpses from Dachau. The group also helped organize the "Kill the Bill" protests outside the Capitol, in March, where Democratic supporters of health-care reform alleged that they were spat on and cursed at. Phillips was a featured speaker.

Americans for Prosperity has held at least eighty events targeting cap-and-trade legislation, which is aimed at making industries pay for the air pollution that they create. Speakers for the group claimed, with exaggeration, that even back-yard barbecues and kitchen stoves would be taxed. The group was also involved in the attacks on Obama's "green jobs" czar, Van Jones, and waged a crusade against international climate talks. Casting his group as a champion of ordinary workers who would be hurt by environmentalists, Phillips went to Copenhagen last year and staged a protest outside the United Nations conference on climate change, declaring, "We're a grassroots organization. . . . I think it's unfortunate when wealthy children of wealthy families . . . want to send unemployment rates in the United States up to twenty per cent."

Grover Norquist, who holds a weekly meeting for conservative leaders in Washington, including representatives from Americans for Prosperity, told me that last summer's raucous rallies were pivotal in undermining Obama's agenda. The Republican leadership in Congress, he said, "couldn't have done it without August, when people went out on the streets. It discouraged deal-makers"—Republicans who might otherwise have worked constructively with Obama. Moreover, the appearance of growing public opposition to Obama affected corporate donors on K Street. "K Street is a three-billion-dollar weathervane," Norquist said. "When Obama was strong, the Chamber of Commerce said, 'We can work with the Obama Administration.' But that changed when thousands of people went into the street

and 'terrorized' congressmen. August is what changed it. Now that Obama is weak, people are getting tough."

As the first anniversary of Obama's election approached, David Koch came to the Washington area to attend a triumphant Americans for Prosperity gathering. Obama's poll numbers were falling fast. Not a single Republican senator was working with the Administration on health care, or much else. Pundits were writing about Obama's political ineptitude, and Tea Party groups were accusing the President of initiating "a government takeover." In a speech, Koch said, "Days like today bring to reality the vision of our board of directors when we started this organization, five years ago." He went on, "We envisioned a mass movement, a state-based one, but national in scope, of hundreds of thousands of American citizens from all walks of life standing up and fighting for the economic freedoms that made our nation the most prosperous society in history. . . . Thankfully, the stirrings from California to Virginia, and from Texas to Michigan, show that more and more of our fellow-citizens are beginning to see the same truths as we do."

While Koch didn't explicitly embrace the Tea Party movement that day, more recently he has come close to doing so, praising it for demonstrating the "powerful visceral hostility in the body politic against the massive increase in government power, the massive efforts to socialize this country." Charles Koch, in a newsletter sent to his seventy thousand employees, compared the Obama

Administration to the regime of the Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez. The Kochs' sense of imperilment is somewhat puzzling. Income inequality in America is greater than it has been since the nineteen-twenties, and since the seventies the tax rates of the wealthiest have fallen more than those of the middle class. Yet the brothers' message has evidently resonated with voters: a recent poll found that fifty-five per cent of Americans agreed that Obama is a socialist. Americans for Prosperity, meanwhile, has announced that it will spend an additional forty-five million dollars before the midterm elections, in November. Although the group is legally prohibited from directly endorsing candidates, it nonetheless plans to target some fifty House races and half a dozen Senate races, staging rallies, organizing door-to-door canvassing, and running ads aimed at "educating voters about where candidates stand."

Though the Kochs have slowed Obama's momentum, their larger political battle is far from won. Richard Fink, interviewed by FrumForum.com this spring, said, "If you look at where we've gone from the year 2000 to now, with the expansion of government spending and a debt burden that threatens to bankrupt the country, it doesn't look very good at all." He went on, "It looks like the infrastructure that was built and nurtured has not carried the day." He suggested that the Kochs needed "to get more into the practical, day-to-day issues of governing."

n 1991, David Koch was badly injured in a plane crash in Los Angeles. He was the sole passenger in first class to survive. As he was recovering, a routine

physical exam led to the discovery of prostate cancer. Koch received treatment, settled down, started a family, and reconsidered his life. As he told Portfolio, "When you're the only one who survived in the front of the plane and everyone else died—yeah, you think, 'My God, the good Lord spared me for some greater purpose.' My joke is that I've been busy ever since, doing all the good work I can think of, so He can have confidence in me."

Koch began giving spectacularly large donations to the arts and sciences. And he became a patron of cancer research, focussing on prostate cancer. In addition to his gifts to Sloan-Kettering, he gave fifteen million dollars to New York-Presbyterian Hospital, a hundred and twenty-five million to M.I.T. for cancer research, twenty million to Johns Hopkins University, and twenty-five million to the M. D. Anderson Cancer Center, in Houston. In response to his generosity, Sloan-Kettering gave Koch its Excellence in Corporate Leadership Award. In 2004, President Bush named him to the National Cancer Advisory Board, which guides the National Cancer Institute.

Koch's corporate and political roles, however, may pose conflicts of interest. For example, at the same time that David Koch has been casting himself as a champion in the fight against cancer, Koch Industries has been lobbying to prevent the E.P.A. from classifying formaldehyde, which the company produces in great quantities, as a "known carcinogen" in humans.

Scientists have long known that formaldehyde causes cancer in rats, and several

major scientific studies have concluded that formaldehyde causes cancer in human beings—including one published last year by the National Cancer Institute, on whose advisory board Koch sits. The study tracked twenty-five thousand patients for an average of forty years; subjects exposed to higher amounts of formaldehyde had significantly higher rates of leukemia. These results helped lead an expert panel within the National Institutes of Health to conclude that formaldehyde should be categorized as a known carcinogen, and be strictly controlled by the government. Corporations have resisted regulations on formaldehyde for decades, however, and Koch Industries has been a large funder of members of Congress who have stymied the E.P.A., requiring it to defer new regulations until more studies are completed.

Koch Industries became a major producer of the chemical in 2005, after it bought Georgia-Pacific, the paper and wood-products company, for twenty-one billion dollars. Georgia-Pacific manufactures formaldehyde in its chemical division, and uses it to produce various wood products, such as plywood and laminates. Its annual production capacity for formaldehyde is 2.2 billion pounds. Last December, Traylor Champion, Georgia-Pacific's vice-president of environmental affairs, sent a formal letter of protest to federal health authorities. He wrote that the company "strongly disagrees" with the N.I.H. panel's conclusion that formaldehyde should be treated as a known human carcinogen. David Koch did not recuse himself from the National Cancer Advisory Board, or divest himself of

company stock, while his company was directly lobbying the government to keep formaldehyde on the market. (A board spokesperson said that the issue of formaldehyde had not come up.)

James Huff, an associate director at the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences, a division of the N.I.H., told me that it was "disgusting" for Koch to be serving on the National Cancer Advisory Board: "It's just not good for public health. Vested interests should not be on the board." He went on, "Those boards are very important. They're very influential as to whether N.C.I. goes into formaldehyde or not. Billions of dollars are involved in formaldehyde."

Harold Varmus, the director of the National Cancer Institute, knows David Koch from Memorial Sloan-Kettering, which he used to run. He said that, at Sloan-Kettering, "a lot of people who gave to us had large business interests. The one thing we wouldn't tolerate in our board members is tobacco." When told of Koch Industries' stance on formaldehyde, Varmus said that he was "surprised."

he David H. Koch Hall of Human Origins, at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, is a multimedia exploration of the theory that mankind evolved in response to climate change. At the main entrance, viewers are confronted with a giant graph charting the Earth's temperature over the past ten million years, which notes that it is far cooler now than it was ten thousand years ago. Overhead, the text reads, "HUMANS EVOLVED IN RESPONSE TO A CHANGING WORLD." The

message, as amplified by the exhibit's Web site, is that "key human adaptations evolved in response to environmental instability." Only at the end of the exhibit, under the headline "OUR SURVIVAL CHALLENGE," is it noted that levels of carbon dioxide are higher now than they have ever been, and that they are projected to increase dramatically in the next century. No cause is given for this development; no mention is made of any possible role played by fossil fuels. The exhibit makes it seem part of a natural continuum. The accompanying text says, "During the period in which humans evolved, Earth's temperature and the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere fluctuated together." An interactive game in the exhibit suggests that humans will continue to adapt to climate change in the future. People may build "underground cities," developing "short, compact bodies" or "curved spines," so that "moving around in tight spaces will be no problem."

Such ideas uncannily echo the Koch message. The company's January newsletter to employees, for instance, argues that "fluctuations in the earth's climate predate humanity," and concludes, "Since we can't control Mother Nature, let's figure out how to get along with her changes." Joseph Romm, a physicist who runs the Web site ClimateProgress.org, is infuriated by the Smithsonian's presentation. "The whole exhibit whitewashes the modern climate issue," he said. "I think the Kochs wanted to be seen as some sort of high-minded company, associated with the greatest natural-history and science museum in the country.

But the truth is, the exhibit is underwritten by big-time polluters, who are underground funders of action to stop efforts to deal with this threat to humanity. I think the Smithsonian should have drawn the line."

Cristián Samper, the museum's director, said that the exhibit is not about climate change, and described Koch as "one of the best donors we've had, in my tenure here, because he's very interested in the content, but completely hands off." He noted, "I don't know all the details of his involvement in other issues."

The Kochs have long depended on the public's not knowing all the details about them. They have been content to operate what David Koch has called "the largest company that you've never heard of." But with the growing prominence of the Tea Party, and with increased awareness of the Kochs' ties to the movement, the brothers may find it harder to deflect scrutiny. Recently, President Obama took aim at the Kochs' political network. Speaking at a Democratic National Committee fund-raiser, in Austin, he warned supporters that the Supreme Court's recent ruling in the Citizens United case—which struck down laws prohibiting direct corporate spending on campaigns—had made it even easier for big companies to hide behind "groups with harmless-sounding names like Americans for Prosperity." Obama said, "They don't have to say who, exactly, Americans for Prosperity are. You don't know if it's a foreign-controlled corporation"—or even, he added, "a big oil company." ♦

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

No because we have not gotten comments back yet, unless you want to wait to see another version tomorrow.

Sent from my iPhone. Apologies for any typos.

On Aug 23, 2010, at 9:30 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Should I wait for your next draft then?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:25:07 2010
> Subject: Re: Foreign Affairs
>
> Any time between about 1 and 4 would be best if that works for you.
> The draft as it stands now is a conglomeration of points from AMS,
> Jake, and me, but I wasn't able to write through the whole thing
> before you got it.
>
>
> On Aug 23, 2010, at 9:22 AM, H wrote:
>
>> I would like to call you later today. What times work for you after
>> noon?
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
>> To: H
>> Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:19:38 2010
>> Subject: Foreign Affairs
>>
>> We are expecting comments back from the larger group this afternoon
>> and will begin to incorporate them this evening. The draft needs
>> polishing, as you can see. Will you be sending your own comments or
>> waiting for the next draft? Thx.
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 6:57 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Mario and alonzo both say earlier the better. They think 2pm is ok but they wouldn't go any later than that. Let's see if the shuttles this am are affected cause of weather. So we can reassess in an hour or 2.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Aug 13 06:55:28 2010
Subject: Shuttle

I'm willing to leave whenever it makes most sense so I don't have to worry about the weather. What do you think?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** an idea, perhaps useless, but nonetheless...

H: This may be worthless meandering on my part, but if the US unveils its own position in the new negotiations, inevitable if they are not to collapse, perhaps that position should incorporate at its heart what the Israeli government has already agreed to in the final status negotiations at Camp David, along, of course, with certain adjustments and amendments to account for the past ten years in terms of boundaries, etc. This puts the burden on Bibi to repudiate Barak in principles and details if he pushes back, splitting his coalition, and appearing to be the rejectionist. Also it makes the US seems utterly reasonable, for the Israelis have already agreed to the core of these positions and arguments cannot be made that they would undermine security, etc. Furthermore, three-quarters at least of US Jews supported the Camp David peace effort. S

RELEASE IN PART B6

---

**From:** Cheryl Mills <[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 7:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office Re: We need to make personnel decisions today.

I am traveling overseas and only have sporadic access to my email. If you need immediate assistance, please call State Department Operations at 202-647-1512 and ask for Joanne Lasczcych who can assist you.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

Great. Thx.

Sent from my iPhone. Apologies for any typos.

On Aug 23, 2010, at 10:27 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> I will call you later to discuss.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Muscatine Lissa [redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Aug 23 10:25:02 2010
> Subject: Re: Foreign Affairs
>
> No because we have not gotten comments back yet, unless you want to
> wait to see another version tomorrow.
>
> Sent from my iPhone. Apologies for any typos.
>
> On Aug 23, 2010, at 9:30 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
>
>> Should I wait for your next draft then?
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
>> To: H
>> Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:25:07 2010
>> Subject: Re: Foreign Affairs
>>
>> Any time between about 1 and 4 would be best if that works for you.
>> The draft as it stands now is a conglomeration of points from AMS,
>> Jake, and me, but I wasn't able to write through the whole thing
>> before you got it.
>>
>>
>> On Aug 23, 2010, at 9:22 AM, H wrote:
>>
>>> I would like to call you later today. What times work for you after
>>> noon?
>>>
>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
>>> To: H
>>> Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:19:38 2010

>>> Subject: Foreign Affairs
>>>
>>> We are expecting comments back from the larger group this afternoon
>>> and will begin to incorporate them this evening. The draft needs
>>> polishing, as you can see. Will you be sending your own comments or
>>> waiting for the next draft? Thx.
>>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 11:15 AM
**To:** H

Call participants:

- Counselor Cheryl Mills
- Senator George Mitchell
- Mr. Dennis Ross
- Mr. Dan Shapiro
- Assistant Secretary Jeff Feltman
- Deputy Assistant Secretary Jake Walles
- Deputy Special Envoy David Hale
- Ms. Huma Abedin

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: an idea, perhaps useless, but nonetheless...

Don't operate from blank slate or allow Bibi to set the terms. There are already terms.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Aug 23, 2010 10:59 AM
Subject: Re: an idea, perhaps useless, but nonetheless...

Not useless--thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 23 10:58:06 2010
Subject: an idea, perhaps useless, but nonetheless...

H: This may be worthless meandering on my part, but if the US unveils its own position in the new negotiations, inevitable if they are not to collapse, perhaps that position should incorporate at its heart what the Israeli government has already agreed to in the final status negotiations at Camp David, along, of course, with certain adjustments and amendments to account for the past ten years in terms of boundaries, etc. This puts the burden on Bibi to repudiate Barak in principles and details if he pushes back, splitting his coalition, and appearing to be the rejectionist. Also it makes the US seems utterly reasonable, for the Israelis have already agreed to the core of these positions and arguments cannot be made that they would undermine security, etc. Furthermore, three-quarters at least of US Jews supported the Camp David peace effort. S

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 7:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/13/10 Friday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **MEETING w/ERIC GOOSBY**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:15 am **PHOTOS**
10:30 am Secretary's Office *Jared Cohen, Paul Narain (wife: [redacted], Yale Alumni (Jake, Julianna Bentes) B6

10:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:30 pm Secretary's Office

11:30 am **PHONE CALL w/ KENYAN PM RAILA ODINGA**
11:40 am Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **PHONE CALL w/COLOMBIAN FM MARIA ANGELA HOLGUIN**
12:10 pm Secretary's Office

12:15 pm **UNGA MEETING**
12:45pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:45 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:20pm Secretary's Office

1:20 pm (t) **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

1:40 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

2:00 pm (t) **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2174
En route New York, NY

3:25 pm (t) **ARRIVE** New York, LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm (t) **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:25 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Test

Received. However, I did not get the one you sent to my state e-mail earlier. There must be some problem with the State e-mail filters. I will be monitoring this e-mail closely.

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty[redacted]
> Date: Mon, 23 Aug 2010 16:04:12 -0400
> Subject: Fw: Test
>
> Did you get the first to you state address or this one to personal?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: H
> To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
> Sent: Mon Aug 23 12:34:03 2010
> Subject: Test
>
> Pls respond so I know you got this.
>
> Also, pls print for me a piece by Neal Gabler in Politico today about disinformation.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma[redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

We haven't heard yet that it will. But we are both monitoring.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Aug 15 09:18:50 2010
Subject: Shuttle

I just heard the weather report that there will be thunderstorms later. Pls check to be sure they aren't supposed to affect flying. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 2:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nepal Plane Crash; 3 Amcits Confirmed Aboard (U)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 02:08:54 2010
**Subject:** Nepal Plane Crash; 3 Amcits Confirmed Aboard (U)

(U) Embassy Kathmandu reports Agni Airlines flight 101 crashed at approximately 7:00 am local and was transporting 3 confirmed Amcits to Lukla, a tourist destination near Mt. Everest. Post reports the flight was carrying 6 foreign nationals and approximately 8 Nepalis.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 5:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Heavy Fighting in Mogadishu; Legislators Possibly Killed

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 04:47:10 2010
**Subject:** Heavy Fighting in Mogadishu; Legislators Possibly Killed

(SBU) AP reports at least 40 civilians have been killed and more than 130 wounded in fighting between Islamist insurgents and government forces backed by African Union (AU) peacekeepers. Embassy Nairobi adds militants have reportedly attacked a hotel primarily used by Members of Parliament.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reminder: Mousa call scheduled for 3:00 PM / now / as soon as you are ready

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 4:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** continuing...

H: When Madeleine first became Secretary of State, I organized a group of people for her to discuss the anniversary of the Marshall Plan to prepare her for her speech. Some were younger, but most were like [redacted] etc. We had a long dinner. It was, I think, fruitful for her. (I recall Greg Craig there, then as head of Policy Planning.) There are a lot of people not in government who have expertise and judgment that are not being tapped, some of them younger. There are of course a number of people who have not been tapped into the administration and wish to be. [redacted] for example, is someone I've talked with recently, who very much wants to serve as an ambassador or in some capacity.) [redacted], whom I mentioned, and whose CV [redacted] I've included below, is someone who is very knowledgeable, tough minded, has ideas, and is capable, in his 40s. He's the kind of person who might be considered to succeed Anne-Marie Slaughter. There are others out there: [redacted] for example, who you may remember [redacted] is incredibly effective, but has been kept out of this administration because as a lawyer he's had to register as a lobbyist. He's one of many. Really counter-productive to develop such self-undermining rules. [redacted] thinks hard about diplomacy, and we've been in conversation about how to develop these ideas further. The younger generation is interesting. [redacted] is worth paying attention to, among them. More to discuss. Sid

B6



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update Regarding Fighting and Casualties in Mogadishu

**From**: Jackson, Christine P
**To**: D(L); D(S); F Front Office DL; P; R_Special Assistants; CA-Staffers Mailbox; DRL-FO-DL; INL-MGR-DL; INR-STAFFER; INR-Watch; M_Staff; SCA-FO-DL; S; PA Alerts; AF-Front Office Staff-DL
**Cc**: SES-O
**Sent**: Tue Aug 24 06:35:48 2010
**Subject**: Update Regarding Fighting and Casualties in Mogadishu

Colleagues:

Further to our earlier alert, the press is widely reporting Somali gunmen disguised in army uniforms stormed a hotel popular with government officials on Tuesday, and a legislator said at least 15 parliamentarians were killed. There was no immediate claim of responsibility for the attack.

The African Union confirmed at least 15 people were killed in the attack on the Huna Hotel, in a government-controlled neighborhood between the presidential palace and the Indian Ocean. It did not say whether the dead were all MPs.

Embassy Nairobi spoke with President Sheikh Sharif who confirmed that seven MPs are now dead and numerous others are wounded. The number of attackers is not clear, but they were dressed in Transitional Federal Government military uniforms. At least two blew themselves up.

**Christine P. Jackson**
Watch Officer
Operations Center - U.S. Department of State
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) al-Shabab claims responsibility for Mogadishu attack.

**From:** Hsiang, Margaret E
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 06:57:10 2010
**Subject:** (AP) al-Shabab claims responsibility for Mogadishu attack.

MOGADISHU (AP) - The Somali government says 31 people were killed during an attack by a suicide bomber and gunmen on a Mogadishu hotel. Among the dead are six members of parliament. A statement from the government says some attackers were dressed as security forces.

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 9:55 AM
**Subject:** Max's new epilogue to paperback edition of "Republican Gomorrah": The Right's Days of Rage

[redacted]

# Days of Rage -- The Noxious Transformation of the Conservative Movement into a Rabid Fringe

**By Max Blumenthal, Nation Books**
**Posted on August 10, 2010, Printed on August 17, 2010**
**http://www.alternet.org/story/147784/**

*Editor's Note: The following is the new epilogue from Max Blumenthal's book,* Republic Gomorrah, *now out in paperback (Basic/Nation Books, 2009).*

> *"He will tell you that he wants a strong authority to take from him the crushing responsibility of thinking for himself. Since the Republic is weak, he is led to break the law out of love for obedience. But is it really strong authority that he wishes? In reality he demands rigorous order for others, and for himself disorder without responsibility." --*

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*Jean-Paul Sartre,*
*"Anti-Semite and*
*Jew"*

I am not sure when I first detected the noxious fumes that would envelop the conservative movement in the Obama era. It might have been early on, in April 2009, when I visited a series of gun shows in rural California and Nevada. Perusing tables piled high with high-caliber semi-automatic weapons and chatting with anyone in my vicinity, I heard urgent warnings of mass roundups, concentration camps, and a socialist government in Washington. "These people that are purchasing these guns are people that are worried about what's going on in this country," a gun dealer told me outside a show in Reno. "Good luck Obama," a young gun enthusiast remarked to me. "We outnumber him 100 to 1." At this time, the Tea Party movement had not even registered on the national media's radar.

In September 2009, I led a panel discussion about this book inside an auditorium filled with nearly 100 students and faculty at the University of California-Riverside. Beside me sat Jonathan Walton, an African-American professor of religious studies and prolific writer, and Mark Takano, an erudite, openly gay former Democratic congressional candidate and local community college trustee. In the middle of our discussion, a dozen College Republicans stormed the front of the stage with signs denouncing me as a "left-wing hack" while a hysterical young man leaped from the crowd, blowing kisses mockingly at Takano while heckling Walton as a "racist." Afterward, university police

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officers insisted on escorting me to my ride after the right-wing heckler attempted to follow me as he shouted threats.

Who was this stalker? Just a concerned citizen worried about taxes? His name was Ryan Sorba and he was an operative of a heavily funded national conservative youth outfit, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Besides founding dozens of Republican youth groups across the country, Sorba has devoted an exceptional amount of energy to his interest in homosexuals. His intellectual output consists of a tract titled *The Born Gay Hoax*, arguing that homosexuality is at once a curable disease and a bogus trend manufactured by academic leftists. Adding to his credentials, Sorba has a history of run-ins with the law, he explained when I called him about the order.

My encounter with this aggressive right-wing cadre seemed a strange, isolated event. But the hostility turned out to be symptomatic of the intensifying campaign to delegitimize President Obama and his allies in Congress. The Right's days of rage were only beginning.

Through his first year in office, Obama seemed oblivious to the threat of the far right. He campaigned against partisanship, declaring that there were "no red states" and no "conservative America." Apparently, he thought it was merely a contrivance or myth that there were people who rejected science, demonized gays, assailed minority and women's rights -- or that they genuinely believed in what they said.

Speaking of changing Washington, Obama seemed to think that the entire history of politics since the rise of Reagan and the Right and their strategies of polarization was not deeply rooted but a superficial problem attributable to certain "divisive" personalities, easily wiped away with gestures toward bipartisanship. His view of the parties was that they were simply mirror images sharing fundamental beliefs but separated by "partisans." The skilled and devoted community organizer could bring them together. Many of his supporters in the media, often part and parcel of political wars over the years, reinforced and amplified his innocence, proclaiming he was the one at last who could "bridge the partisan divide." Andrew Sullivan, a disaffected conservative who once called critics of George W. Bush policies "fifth columnists" but now fervently supporting Obama, wrote that the new president was destined to become "a liberal Reagan who can reunite America." This optimism pervaded the Obama White House as the president and his aides sought out Republicans willing to vote for his programs. After all, why couldn't we all just get along?

In his autobiographical book *The Audacity of Hope*, Obama highlighted a key component of his political strategy: "I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes project their own views." Once he was elected, conservatives concluded that they could reverse Obama's strength by transforming him into a human tableau for the

most fearsome images they could conjure.

Obama's multiracial background was crucial in cultivating resentment among the shock troops. Those who rejected Obama's legitimacy to serve as president on the basis of his background gave birth to the "Birther" movement that sought to challenge his citizenship. The movement's most visible figure, and therefore the most eccentric, was Orly Taitz, a dentist and self-trained lawyer who had immigrated from the former Soviet republican of Moldova to Israel before settling in the conservative bastion of Orange County, California. Convinced by claims on the far-right Web site WorldNetDaily that Obama planned to create a "civilian national security force," Taitz told me she "realized that Obama was another Stalin--it's a cross between Stalinist USSR and Hitler's Germany."

After becoming transfixed by online conspiracy theories claiming Obama's family had forged his birth certificate in Hawaii, Taitz snapped into action. She filed a lawsuit in November 2008 with California Secretary of State Debra Bowen demanding an investigation into Obama's eligibility to serve as president. Taitz's plaintiff in the case was Wiley Drake, an Orange County radio preacher and former second vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention who once publicly prayed for Obama's death. While her lawsuit went nowhere, and subsequent suits earned her angry rebukes from judges, Taitz became an instant media sensation, delivering

heavily accented screeds against Obama before friendly interviewers from Sean Hannity to CNN's Lou Dobbs, who Taitz called her "greatest supporter" and who was eventually fired as an indirect result of his hosting of her.

In March 2009, Texas Rep. Randy Neugebauer signed on to a Birther bill proposing that future presidential candidates must prove their citizenship before becoming eligible to campaign. The Birther movement had found its voice in government and made an indelible impact on the Republican grassroots. By June 2009, 28 percent of Republican respondents to a Kos/Research 2000 poll said they thought Obama wasn't born in the United States, while 30 percent "weren't sure." "Obama should be in the Big House," Taitz shrieked to me, "not the White House!"

When Obama announced health care reform as the first major initiative of his administration, the conservative movement activated a campaign of demonization -- transformational politics -- designed to turn Obama into the "Other," making him seem as unfamiliar, and therefore as threatening, as possible. When the president urged the Congress to deliver a health care reform bill in 2009, the Right staged a living theater of political hatred, Obama's dream of bipartisanship transformed into a nightmarish version of "Marat/Sade." On September 12, 2009, tens of thousands of far-right activists belonging to a loose confederation of anti-government groups called the Tea Party Patriots converged on

Washington's National Mall for a giant protest against the Obama health care plan. The date was significant: Fox News's top-ranked talk show host Glenn Beck had declared the birth of the "9-12 Project" to restore the sense of unity -- and siege mentality -- that Americans experienced on September 11, 2001. But this time, Obama -- not Osama -- was the enemy.

While covering the rally, I witnessed sign after sign declaring Obama a greater danger to America's security than al-Qaida; demonstrators held images that juxtaposed Obama's face with images of evildoers from Hitler to Pol Pot to Bin Laden; others carried signs questioning Obama's status as a U.S. citizen. "We can fight al-Qaida, we can't kill Obama," said an aging demonstrator. Another told me, "Obama is the biggest Nazi in the world," pointing to placards he had fashioned depicting Obama and House Majority Leader Nancy Pelosi in SS outfits. According to another activist, Obama's agenda was similar to Hitler's: "Hitler took over the banking industry, did he not? And Hitler had his own personal secret service police. [The community-organizing group] ACORN is an extension of that."

The seemingly incongruous Tea Party propaganda recalled signs waved by right-wing Jewish settlers during rallies against Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his support of the peace process, portraying him as an SS officer and as the French collaborator Marshall Petain. In 1995, amid the provocative atmosphere, a young right-wing Jewish zealot assassinated Rabin.

The Israeli tragedy was a cautionary example of targeted hatred leading to violence.

Members of the Tea Party "Patriots" did not seem to care that their rhetoric was irrational, or that comparing Obama to Hitler and Stalin was contradictory and obviously hyperbolic. Their motives were entirely negative. By purging government of the multicultural evil that had seized power through illicit means (several activists told me they believed ACORN helped Obama steal the election), they were convinced that a mythical golden American yesteryear would return. They had no interest in building anything new or even articulating an agenda, much less discussing the merits of policies. The Tea Party's primary concern was cultural purification -- freedom from, not freedom to. Against the dark image of the president and his liberal allies, Tea Party activists defined themselves as the children of light. The racial subtext was always transparent.

The Tea Party's strategy rested on a guerrilla campaign of chaos and sabotage designed not only to intimidate Democrats but also to disorient independent voters who might have supported health care reform. The Tea Partiers were convinced this would be an easy feat, since they believed the majority of the country was on their side -- that they represented the "Real America." At the 9-12 rally Matt Kibbe, one of the march organizers, told the crowd that ABC News was reporting that 1 million to 1.5 million people were in attendance, something ABC denied, saying

"ABCNews.com reported an approximate figure of 60,000 to 70,000 protesters." Then Armey led the crowd in a chant of "Freedom works! Freedom works!" Unknown to most of the Tea Partiers, they were intoning the name of a corporate-funded Beltway advocacy group, not the battle cry of Mel Gibson William Wallace in *Braveheart*.

Contrary to its image as a grassroots movement mobilized to stifle the machinations of Washington elites, the Tea Party movement was the creation of a constellation of industry-funded conservative groups with close Republican ties. The movement's leading puppet-master was Dick Armey, who directed resources and talking points to the Tea Party "Patriots" from his Washington, D.C.-based advocacy group, FreedomWorks. Among the corporate clients of Armey's lobbying firm, which he was forced to leave as a result of his involvement in the Tea Parties, was the pharmaceutical giant Bristol Myers Squibb, a company with a clear interest in defeating health care reform. (Armey's other "real American" clients included the Marxist terror cult, People's Mojahedin of Iran, which received funding and assistance from Saddam Hussein in order to launch terrorist strikes throughout the 1990's against Iranian civilian targets.) Armey collected a consulting fee of $250,000 directly from FreedomWorks and $300,000 from allied astroturf front groups. FreedomWorks paid out much of its money to an assortment of Republican political consultants.

If Armey was the Tea Party king,

Sarah Palin was eager to be crowned the Tea Party queen. Just days after Obama's inauguration, Palin abruptly quit her job as Alaskan governor to vie for the honor. Palin's motives for quitting became clear when she inked a lucrative deal to write her political memoir *Going Rogue*, signed on as a regular contributor to Fox News, and received $1 million an episode for a reality show on cable television, "Sarah Palin's Alaska." Palin's book tour, which sent her through Middle America in a luxuriously outfitted bus, resembled both a presidential campaign and a traveling carnival.

Whether or not Palin intends to run for president, her growing media presence has magnified her influence within the Republican Party. Yet the ever-expanding Palin phenomenon was greeted with hostility by Republican politicos desperately seeking to expand the party's base after the drubbing in 2008. Former McCain campaign manager Steve Schmidt warned that Palin's nomination in 2012 would be "catastrophic" for the GOP. His doomsday prediction was backed by an October Gallup poll revealing her as one of the most polarizing and unpopular political figures in the country with a disapproval rating of over 50 percent. Unfortunately for Schmidt and other party pragmatists, those who approve of Palin represent the heartbeat of the Republican Party, its most fervent activists, and cannot be dissuaded from following her, even if she is leading the party off a cliff.

A November 2009 special

congressional election in New York's heavily Republican 23rd district was the first major test of Palin's power. Along with a parade of nationally recognized conservatives, Palin endorsed Doug Hoffman, an unknown far-right third-party candidate closely allied with the Tea Party, helping to force a popular moderate Republican politician, Dede Scozzafava, from the race. In the end, Palin's ideological purge in upstate New York led to an improbable Democratic victory, the first in that district in more than 100 years. After the disaster Palin and her allies claimed victory, insisting they had at least hastened the purge of ideologically impure Republicans from the party. She went on to endorse Rand Paul, the son of right-wing libertarian Rep. Ron Paul and a candidate in Kentucky's GOP senatorial primary, while Dick Cheney went out of his way to endorse Rand's regular Republican opponent, Trey Grayson, the Kentucky secretary of state.

Following the Tea Party script of avoiding social issues like abortion and gay marriage in order to obscure the large presence of the Christian Right within the movement's ranks, the self-described "hardcore pro-lifer" Palin recast herself as a libertarian concerned primarily with issues of "economic freedom." She claimed the Democratic "cap and trade" plan to limit carbon emissions would harm the livelihood of blue-collar workers, and she assailed health care reform as a Trojan Horse for "socialism" (though she admitted her family "used to hustle over the border" to take advantage of

Canada's single-payer health care system). But no Palin attack had as much effect as the one she blasted out on her Facebook page claiming the Obama health care plan included a provision for "death panels" that would recommend euthanasia for severely ill patients like her Down syndrome-afflicted son, Trig. With the click of a button, Palin transformed the tone of the health care debate from rancorous to poisonous.

The source of Palin's "death panels" smear was a practiced propagandist, former New York Lieutenant Governor Betsy McCaughey. When President Bill Clinton introduced health care reform during his first term, McCaughey falsely claimed in an article published in the *New Republic* and widely circulated by Republicans, that the plan would force consumers to drop their private plans and buy into the government's program (the article would go on to win a National Magazine Award and then be retracted years later by the *New Republic*'s editors). Now she was back in the spotlight, pushing a rumor that would be voted by the non-partisan fact-checking Web site Politifact.com as "the lie of 2009." McCaughey's latest innuendo was boosted by the cult of political crank Lyndon LaRouche, which mobilized to push the rumor into the mainstream.

In June 2009, one of LaRouche's top lieutenants publicly confronted Ezekiel Emanuel, the National Institute of Health's chief bioethicist and brother of White House chief of staff Rahm Emanuel, accusing him of

seeking to reintroduce Hitler's T-4 program to kill the handicapped through health care reform. "President Obama has put in place a reform apparatus reviving the euthanasia of Hitler Germany in 1939, that began the genocide there," LaRouche staffer Anton Chaitkin charged. Soon, LaRouche's followers were on street corners around the country with posters depicting Obama with a Hitler moustache. At a town hall forum on health care reform hosted by Democratic Rep. Barney Frank, a LaRouche follower waved one of the Obama-as-Hitler posters and demanded, "Why do you continue to support a Nazi policy, as Obama has expressly supported this policy?"

Two months later, after Palin whispered the rumor on Facebook, prominent conservatives from former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich to ranking Senate Finance Committee member Charles Grassley parroted her claims before audiences of indignant Tea Partiers. Not to be outdone, Glenn Beck devoted an extended rant on his show to the reality of death panels. Echoing the LaRouche cultists, Beck accused Ezekiel Emanuel of "the devaluing of human life, putting a price on each individual." He thundered, "The death panel is not a firing squad. Rationing is inevitable and they know it!"

The death panel rumor served a variety of functions, all useful to the movement, but not necessarily to the Republican Party. Most importantly, the rumor resonated both with hard-core libertarians who resented the very existence

of the federal government and Christian Right activists who viewed the legalization of abortion as a slippery slope to government-sponsored euthanasia. The hysteria it engendered helped repair the rift exposed by the Terri Schiavo charade in 2005, when the evangelical conservative James Dobson publicly clashed with Armey, the libertarian leader, over the right of the government to interfere in a private family matter of life and death.

The slurring of Obama as a sort of sleeper agent crypto-Muslim helped bring the neoconservatives back into the fray. The new neo-con generation was led by Dick Cheney's daughter, Liz, who founded an anti-Obama advocacy group, Keep America Safe, by leveraging donations from pro-Israel sources. Asked by CNN's Larry King about the Birther movement that was challenging Obama's status as an American citizen, Liz Cheney remarked, "One of the reasons you see people so concerned about this is people are uncomfortable with having for the first time ever, I think, a president who seems so reluctant to defend the nation overseas." With the libertarians, Christian Right, and the neo-cons seated around the same table, united in resentment of the alien president, the conservative movement was whole again.

The experiments in "Terror Management Theory" of Sheldon Solomon, professor of psychology at Skidmore College, Jeff Greenberg, professor of psychologist at the Unviersity of Arizona, and Tom Pyszczynski, professor of psychology at the

University of Colorado, have demonstrated the connection between fear of death and intensification of conservative attitudes. The findings help explain the effectiveness of the death panel rumor and insinuations by conservative figures that Obama was not truly American and somehow sympathetic to Islamic terrorists. Indeed, these seemingly irrational smears were guided by tactical reasoning, calculated to agitate voters with constant reminders of their own mortality. Whether or not Independents responded, the rhetoric of death kept the Tea Party crowd in a persistent state of panic and rage, ensuring a standing army ready to fan out to rallies and town halls at the first sign of liberal malfeasance.

Obama's first year in office was marked by more than raucous protests; there were several disturbing murders committed by far-right extremists. In April 2009, a 22-year-old neo-Nazi wannabe named Richard Poplawsi mowed down a SWAT team of Pittsburgh cops, killing three. Poplawski's best friend told reporters the young killer "grew angry recently over fears Obama would outlaw guns." Later it was discovered that Poplawski had posted a video clip to a neo-Nazi Web site portraying Fox's Glenn Beck contemplating the existence of concentration camps. (After a characteristically thorough investigation, Beck conceded they were not real.) On another occasion, the killer posted a video promoting Tea Party rallies. A month after the Pittsburgh bloodbath, Scott Roeder, a supporter of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue,

shot Dr. George Tiller to death while he prayed at his church in Wichita, Kansas. Tiller was declared fair game by the anti-abortion movement because of his role as Kansas's only late-term abortion provider. During at least 28 episodes of Bill O'Reilly's "O'Reilly Factor," O'Reilly had referred to Tiller as "Tiller the baby killer," a criminal guilty of "Nazi stuff." "I wouldn't want to be [Tiller] if there is a Judgment Day," O'Reilly proclaimed.

In August 2009, a middle-aged professional named George Sodini walked into a health club in suburban Pittsburgh and gunned down three women. The mainstream press explained Sodini's motives away by homing in on passages in his online diaries describing his loneliness, inability to convince women to have sex with him, and descent into chronic masturbation. Nearly every major media outlet omitted or ignored a long deranged entry in which Sodini projected his sexual frustration onto Obama, whom he seemed to view as a symbol of black male virility and predation.

The day after Obama's election victory, Sodini wrote: "Good luck to Obama! He will be successful. The liberal media LOVES him. Amerika has chosen The Black Man. Good! In light of this I got ideas outside of Obama's plans for the economy and such. Here it is: Every black man should get a young white girl … Kinda a reverse indentured servitude thing. Every daddy know when he sends his little girl to college, she be … real good. I saw it. 'Not my little girl', daddy says! (Yeah right!!) Black dudes have thier

[sic] choice of best white??
[ellipses in original]."

In another posting to an anti-Clinton forum in 1994, during the height of the Republicans' Whitewater investigation, Sodini revealed that he had purchased a bumper sticker reading, "Stop Socialism, Impeach Clinton," from a National Review ad. A year later, Sodini ranted on an anti-government militia site, "I am convinced that more drastic action is required to bring the country back to the Constitutional order that it was 200 years ago. I don't think any group of political leaders will achieve this for us." Whether or not Sodini's murder spree was motivated by his political passions, he was pathologically death-driven and fixated on the phantasmagoria of right-wing imagery. In his final diary entry, Sodini proclaimed, "Death lives!"

More than any other media figure of the Obama era, Glenn Beck encouraged the campaign of racial demonization and conspiracy that consumed the Tea Party "Patriots." During a broadcast of "Fox and Friends," Beck opined that Obama "has exposed himself over and over and over again as a guy who has a deep-seated hatred for white people, or the white culture." As evidence, Beck pointed to White House green-jobs czar Van Jones, an African American former community organizer who was eventually forced to resign as a direct result of Beck's crusade. From there, Beck targeted another black Obama adviser, Valerie Jarrett, highlighting her ties to ACORN while upholding her and Jones as evidence of Obama's

"socialist" agenda. In another broadcast, Beck played an audio clip of unidentified African Americans referring to "Obama money" as they collected welfare checks in Detroit. Then he showed footage of members of a Kansas City-based youth group practicing a step show, a traditional African-American group dance apparently unfamiliar enough to Beck and his transfixed audience that he felt at liberty to claim the footage as evidence that "Obama's SS" was being trained across inner-city America.

In September 2009, Beck relentlessly targeted ACORN, the Right's new favorite hobgoblin, admitting that he intended to use the poor people's advocacy group to distract his viewers from the health care debate. "Trust me," Beck said, "Everybody now says they're going to be talking about health care. I don't think so." (His statement was reminiscent of Rush Limbaugh's scandal-mongering remark during the early Clinton administration: "Whitewater is about health care.") Beck promptly cued up a series of hidden camera videos shot by conservative youth activists James O'Keefe and Hannah Giles inside ACORN field offices. In the videos, O'Keefe baited African-American staffers into making statements explaining that Giles, who claimed she was a prostitute, could obtain low-income housing. O'Keefe edited in images of himself clad in an outlandish pimp costume to create the impression that he was dressed that way during the meetings with ACORN; however, Giles later admitted her partner had lied

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about wearing his costume to further incriminate ACORN. In the end, ACORN was exonerated of all criminal wrongdoing while in a separate incident O'Keefe was arrested and charged with a federal crime after he and several conservative pals disguised themselves as telephone repairmen and attempted to wiretap phone lines in the office of Senator Mary Landrieu of Louisiana. Like Ryan Sorba, O'Keefe and his posse were movement cadres paid and directed by well-funded conservative outfits; O'Keefe had been trained by the Leadership Institute, the right-wing youth group that nurtured leading lights like Jack Abramoff, Karl Rove, Ralph Reed, and Jeff Gannon.

While O'Keefe and his buddies plea-bargained with prosecutors, Beck basked in his formula for success. His show earned the highest ratings at Fox News, topping network franchises like O'Reilly and Sean Hannity. In the process, Beck's opinions became firmly implanted in the nervous systems of Tea Party activists. "Glenn Beck has taught us everything we know," a demonstrator at the 9-12 rally told me. "He's opened our eyes to so much."

But unlike the right-wing radio warhorses who helped usher in Newt Gingrich's Republican counter-revolution of 1994, Beck was not an authentic product of the movement. When Rush Limbaugh first began dominating the AM airwaves, Beck was mired in the world of mid-level commercial radio, delivering corny yarns about lesbians and celebrity trash in hopes of

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becoming the next Howard Stern. By night, as he has tirelessly recounted, he medicated his anxiety with cocaine and alcohol, destroying his first marriage in the process. "We remember Glenn from the womanizing, the drinking, the drugs. Everybody who knew him at the time saw what a complete mess he was," a shock jock from Tampa, Florida, who called himself Bubba the Love Sponge remarked to me during a broadcast of his nationally syndicated show.

Like Dusty Rhodes, the pseudo-populist demagogue of Elia Kazan's 1957 film, *A Face in the Crowd*, Beck was a self-destructive drifter who might have been crumpled up with a bottle of Mad Dog 20/20 in an alleyway or been locked away in a prison cell had fame not found him first. Beck was only able to stabilize his life when he made his escape from freedom, marrying a conservative Mormon, converting to her religion, and transmuting his urge to abuse drugs into conservative radio diatribes. When Beck first broke into television on CNN's Headline News Channel, he struggled to articulate a coherent political worldview. If he distinguished himself from other big-time conservative hosts in any way, he did so through strained and often snide attempts at humor, remnants of his failed radio career. Nevertheless, with help from his liberal agent, Matthew Hiltzik, Beck snagged a primetime slot at Fox News in early 2009. Around this same time, Beck began promoting the work of an arcane Mormon conspiracy-peddler named W. Cleon Skousen, whom he

described as his political lodestar. Suddenly, Beck had something more to offer than irritable mental gestures.

Thanks to Beck's designation of Skousen's pseudohistorical tract *The 5000 Year Leap* as "required reading" on the Web site of his 9-12 Project, and his promotion of the book on his show, the previously obscure Skousen became the Hidden Imam of the Tea Party movement. By the summer of 2009, Skousen's *Leap* was among the top 10 books on Amazon.com and a fixture on literature tables at Tea Party gatherings. It went from selling a puny couple of thousand copies in 2007 to selling over 200,000 copies in 2009. Just why the book generated such an instant appeal is difficult to understand. It is little more than a slapdash of quotes from the Founding Fathers, often taken out of context and deliberately oversimplified, to explain why America is the greatest nation in history. In the process, Skousen claims that church and state separation is un-American, that "coercive taxation" is communist, and that marriage is the underpinning of a free society. Benjamin Franklin, who wrote at length on the merits of "amours" with "old women," and who famously solicited prostitutes and fathered a son of out of wedlock, was the ultimate authority Skousen quoted on the importance of marriage.

Though Skousen claims the Founders as the world's foremost source of eternal wisdom, he buttressed his points with fringe sources like the conspiracist Norman Dodd's screeds about the

Illuminati. According to Skousen, Dodd claimed that "powerful influences congregating in the United States" like the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds had forced the United States into World War I. Skousen published Dodd's manifestoes in his obscure journal *Freemen's Digest*, which he founded for the express purpose of propagating conspiracies.

Skousen's paranoid politics were an outgrowth of his participation in extreme anti-communist groups during the 1950s. He boasted of a close friendship with then-FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and said he provided him with research on communist plots, claims disputed by FBI historians. (During a recent interview, Skousen's son, Paul, told me that contrary to rumors of Hoover's cross-dressing and homosexual dalliances, he would set the top cop up on blind dates with live women.) Skousen was fired from his job as Salt Lake City's police chief for, in the words of the city's conservative Mormon mayor, "conduct[ing] his office as chief of police in exactly the same manner in which the communists operate their government." From there, Skousen sailed off to the far shores of the Right-peddling conspiracy tracts like *The Naked Communist*, and earning condemnation from his beloved FBI, which accused him in an internal memo of "promoting [his] own anti-communism for obvious financial purposes."

Skousen's vocal support for the far-right John Birch Society's claim that communists controlled President Dwight Eisenhower

cost him the support of the corporate backers who had paid for his Red-bashing lecture tours. He went off the radar for several years, returning during the late 1960s to accuse the Jewish Rothschild family of secretly bankrolling everyone from Ho Chi Minh to the civil rights movement. By the late 1970s, even the Church of Latter Day Saints distanced itself from Skousen and his conspiracy theories. His work fell through the margins and might have disappeared entirely had Beck not revived it, turning *The 5000 Year Leap* into the bible of the Tea Party movement. Journalist Alexander Zaitchik observed in his authoritative profile of Skousen on Salon.com that Skousen's renewed influence through Beck and the Tea Party "suggests that the modern base of the Republican Party is headed to a very strange place."

Besides influencing Beck, Skousen's teachings inspired one of the Tea Party movement's most visible grassroots celebrities, retired Sheriff Richard Mack. I met Mack in February at a far-right rally just outside of Montgomery, Alabama. On a makeshift stage towed into the middle of a rodeo arena by a pickup truck, Mack recalled with reverence his mentorship by Skousen, who he said taught him everything he needed to know about the Constitution. Mack urged his spellbound audience to stockpile ammo and store food. "If you control the food supply," Mack warned, "you control the people. And that's the first step to slavery."

Already a hero to conservatives

for successfully suing the Clinton administration over the provision in the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act requiring law enforcement to conduct criminal background checks of gun purchasers, Mack reemerged in the Obama era as the archetypal local lawman who vowed to resist the tyrannical federal government. Along with a few dozen former and active military and law enforcement personnel, Mack helped form a self-styled Tea Party militia called the Oathkeepers. Galvanized by their fear of creeping socialism, the Oathkeepers solemnly swore to refuse tyrannical federal orders such as cooperating with foreign troops and forcing Americans into concentration camps. Because the group's members trained for combat, the vow came with suggestion of armed resistance.

Besides Mack, the Oathkeepers attracted a coterie of militia movement retreads into its ranks. The most well-established figure was Mike Vanderboegh, a longtime militia fanatic who published a booklet in the mid-1990s entitled *Strategy and Tactics for a Militia Civil War*, calling for sniper attacks on "war criminals, secret policemen, rats." With Obama in office, Vandeboegh churned out anti-government screeds on right-wing blogs with renewed passion and supported his efforts by cashing in the $1,300 in federal disability compensation he received each month.

For all the energy the far right exerted in its campaign to strangle Obama's agenda, it was a Democrat who posed the greatest

threat to the passage of health care reform. Representative Bart Stupak of Michigan had been in office since 1993, placing him among the senior leadership of the so-called centrist Blue Dog Democrats. When health care reform was introduced in Congress, Stupak became the leader of an informal caucus of anti-abortion Democrats, making him the de facto swing vote on the House version of the bill. By extension, Stupak was the point man in the campaign to ensure that the bill would not allow federal funding for abortion for low-income women.

But after close consultation with leaders of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Stupak went a step further. He introduced a draconian amendment to block women from paying for abortions from even their own private insurance plans. The amendment, which passed the House but was shut down in the Senate, became a key sticking point in health care negotiations. "He's a big hero now in the pro-life community," former Bush Catholic issues adviser Deal Hudson told me in November 2009. "Thanks to him, this is the first time I can remember the pro-life Democrats having any power."

To the chagrin of the Republicans, Stupak entertained offers of compromise from the Democratic leadership. According to Hudson, the Catholic Bishops were keen to see health care reform pass, but only if the bill contained a clear provision forbidding patients from spending federal money on abortion. Finally, in March, after pressure from House Majority

Leader Nancy Pelosi, Obama agreed to sign an executive order forbidding the federal funding of abortion. Stupak had been mollified. Now he and his anti-abortion caucus pledged to deliver the swing votes the Democrats needed to pass the bill. As soon as reports seeped out declaring the imminent passage of health care reform, major right-wing blogs like RedState.org churned out virulent denunciations of Stupak, calling him a traitor and sellout. The blog comment sections filled up with dozens of diatribes referring to Stupak in language previously reserved for Dr. George Tiller: "Bart the Baby-Killer."

On March 20, thousands of Tea Party activists surrounded the Capitol's Longworth Building in expectation of Obama's pep talk to the House Democrats and the health care vote. Democratic Representative John Lewis, a hero of the civil rights movement, and Representative Barney Frank, the first openly gay member of Congress, passed through the crowd on their way inside the Capitol. "Nigger!" a demonstrator barked at Lewis. Another called Frank a "faggot," eliciting laughter and cheers from nearby protesters. Meanwhile, as another African-American Democrat, Representative Emanuel Cleaver, ascended the Capitol steps, a protester who had been screaming at Lewis and Frank spat on his face.

With the demonstration carried on into the night, cries of "Kill the bill!" drifted into calls for violence. "I would gladly stand with any of you men here and take these fascists down," a man

in camouflage battle dress uniform proclaimed in front of an amateur videographer, pointing toward the Capitol. "You haven't heard the last of me!"

The next day, Republican members of Congress emerged from the Longworth Building to salute the Tea Partiers. The demonstrators cheered wildly for their proxies on the inside. Finally, after hours of impassioned speeches on the House floor, the bill passed. But the drama was hardly over.

Republican Representative Joe Pitts, an anti-abortion Catholic who co-authored Stupak's original amendment, demanded a motion to bring it back to the floor for a vote, a transparent exercise in grandstanding that was certain to fail. In response, Stupak rushed to the podium with a stinging rebuke to Pitts and the Republicans. "The motion to commit does not support life," Stupak declared. "It is the Democrats who have stood up...." Heckling from the Republican side interrupted his statement. As Stupak looked around the House chamber, Rep. Randy Neugebauer, a right-wing Republican from Texas who openly supported the Birther movement, began shouting at him from the backbench, "Baby killer!" Other Republicans joined in, parroting base insults.

While the Republicans sank their heads in defeat, some more militant devotees of the Tea Party movement called for a right-wing Kristallnacht. "If you wish to send a message that Pelosi and her party cannot fail to hear, break their windows,"

Vanderboegh of the Oathkeepers wrote on a far-right blog hours after the bill passed. "Break them NOW. Break them and run to break again." Within three days, windows and doors at Democratic Party headquarters in New York, Kansas and Arizona had been shattered.

Meanwhile, at least 10 Democratic members of Congress reported receiving death threats. Images of nooses were faxed to the offices of Stupak and James Clyburn, an African-American congressman from South Carolina. Representative Anthony Weiner, an especially vocal proponent of health care reform, received a menacing letter filled with white powder. The brother of Representative Tom Perriello, another health care supporter, had his home gas line deliberately sabotaged after a local Tea Party organizer posted his address online (he had meant to post the congressman's) and encouraged activists to "drop by" to express their anger about Perriello's recent vote. In Tucson, Arizona, the windows of Democratic Representative Gabrielle Giffords' office were shattered by shots from a pellet gun. And a brick was thrown through the window of Representative Louise Slaughter's office in New York as her voicemail filled with threats of impending sniper attacks.

After the passage of the health care bill, the Tea Party floated into a gray zone between authoritarianism and anarchy. Crusading to restore a holy social order, they promoted disorder. Claiming to protect democracy, they smashed windows of elected representatives. Warning of death

panels, they called in death threats. With the atmosphere of violence thickening, Palin took to her Twitter account to issue a battle cry: "Don't Retreat, Instead--RELOAD!" Thus concluded the first phase of the Obama era that was to usher in a peaceable kingdom of bipartisanship.

*Max Blumenthal is the author of Republican Gomorrah (Basic/Nation Books, 2009). Contact him at maxblumenthal3000@yahoo.com.*

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**View this story online at: http://www.alternet.org/story/147784/**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

---

**From:** Kounalakis, Eleni T
**Sent:** Friday, August 13, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:**

Cheryl – Just a note to say that I have heard how hard you are working on Haiti. With everything you have to tend to, I just want to say what an inspiration it was to me to hear about your personal involvement.

My first 7 months in Hungary has turned out to be exciting, interesting and challenging. I love it! Thanks again for your role in helping me get here. If you ever need anything, don't hesitate to call.

All the best, Eleni

**Ambassador Eleni Tsakopoulos Kounalakis**
**Embassy of the United States of America, Budapest**
**Szabadság tér 12**
**1054 Budapest**
**Hungary**

**Tel: +36-1-475-4634**
**Fax: +36-1-475-4799**

This e-mail is UNCLASSIFIED per the definitions in E.O. 12958

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:57 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

FYI, I am forwarding you a message I just sent to Raj about the article in today's Washington Post.

B5

He and I agreed to work closely on this issue. I have asked INR to get us some research on the security issue which the implementing partners frequently raise Note the comment in the Post about the security situation.

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I will keep you posted.

jm

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 14, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Notes from Anne

-- Ambassador Patterson met with Zardari last night and urged him to continue his public engagements on the flooding crisis. She believes he is getting the message. B5

-- President Zardari visited flood sites in northwestern Pakistan. He will do so again tomorrow.

-- Zardari still plans to be out of Pakistan on August 18 in Sochi. We have assurances, though, that this will be a one-day trip.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

B5

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:10:07 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 07:57:14 2010
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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I will keep you posted.

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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jm

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 14, 2010 12:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** A few more points

This is what I got from s/rap:
-- Pakistan has asked the UNGA to convene a special plenary session on Pakistan on August 19 in New York. Zardari will likely mention this and request the Secretary's participation.

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 14, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Zardari

Fyi - this should be good.

---

**From:** Davis, Timmy T
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent:** Sat Aug 14 13:07:03 2010
**Subject:** Zardari

Huma and Jake,

Just want to make you aware that Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee called in to Ops for the country code to Pakistan. She said she intended to call Zardari.

No further information.

Thanks.

Tim

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 8:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:24:03 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Bcc Cheryl and me on what you send.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:22:17 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

B5

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:10:07 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 07:57:14 2010
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RELEASE IN PART
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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** H; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Adding Cheryl back to chain. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Cheryl--can you, Jack and Jake use this [redacted] HRC

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From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:24 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H; McHale, Judith A
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

yep

-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:23 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Lew, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Responding just to you and Cheryl. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:29 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Yep - help - that's the point I was trying to make.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:24:24 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Cc: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:23:17 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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Sent: Tue Aug 24 07:57:14 2010
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

FYI, I am forwarding you a message I just sent to Raj about the article in today's Washington Post. [redacted]

B5

He and I agreed to work closely on this issue. I have asked INR to get us some research on the security issue which the implementing partners frequently raise Note the comment in the Post about the security situation.

As you know we are moving forward on the broader branding issue and plan to have a team of experts advise us as we move forward.

I will keep you posted.

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:31 AM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Roger.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:29:35 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:26:57 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Responding just to you and Cheryl.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Cheryl--can you, Jack and Jake use this HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 07:57:14 2010
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

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I will keep you posted.

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Senators calls

Ops says that senator gregg would like to speak with you at 230 pm today. If that time is amenable to you, they will line up the other senate calls around the same time frame. I'm happy to confirm with them.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Senators calls

Yes I will look into it right away and get back to you asap

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Tue Aug 24 10:25:55 2010
Subject: Re: Senators calls

I can't do at 2:30. Could we try to schedule calls today btw now and noon or tomorrow btw 11-12 noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 10:06:00 2010
Subject: Senators calls

Ops says that senator gregg would like to speak with you at 230 pm today. If that time is amenable to you, they will line up the other senate calls around the same time frame. I'm happy to confirm with them.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:44 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Senators calls

Ops can get cochran at 1100 am. They will attempt to line up the others before noon. If any fall, we can try for the window tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Tue Aug 24 10:25:55 2010
Subject: Re: Senators calls

I can't do at 2:30. Could we try to schedule calls today btw now and noon or tomorrow btw 11-12 noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 10:06:00 2010
Subject: Senators calls

Ops says that senator gregg would like to speak with you at 230 pm today. If that time is amenable to you, they will line up the other senate calls around the same time frame. I'm happy to confirm with them.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:24:24 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Cc: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:23:17 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Adding Cheryl back to chain.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Cheryl--can you, Jack and Jake use this HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 07:57:14 2010

Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

FYI, I am forwarding you a message I just sent to Raj about the article in today's Washington Post.

B5

He and I agreed to work closely on this issue. I have asked INR to get us some research on the security issue which the implementing partners frequently raise Note the comment in the Post about the security situation.

As you know we are moving forward on the broader branding issue and plan to have a team of experts advise us as we move forward.

I will keep you posted.

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

B5

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 14, 2010 2:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (RIA Novosti) Russia thanks U.S. for help in smothering wildfires - Foreign Ministry

Fyi

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** Banks, Dana
**Sent:** Sat Aug 14 13:58:53 2010
**Subject:** (RIA Novosti) Russia thanks U.S. for help in smothering wildfires - Foreign Ministry

MOSCOW (RIA Novosti) – Russia is grateful to the United States over the assistance in tackling the wildfires raging across the country, Russian Foreign Ministry said. U.S. President Barack Obama made a phone call to his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev August 13 to express his condolences about the disastrous environmental situation in Central Russia and the readiness to supply firefighting equipment. The United States sent to Russia two planes August 13 with state-of-the-art nonflammable uniform for firefighters, special shoes, helmets and glasses onboard. Additional two aircraft with firefighting equipment are expected to arrive.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 11:34 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Call report--Cochran

Thanks for the read-out. That's relatively hopeful. I am beginning to think the new OMB Director will need to have a mini-summit on modernization

B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 11:22 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Call report--Cochran

He said he hoped he can be "helpful" and thinks pairing START w modernization made sense. I told him that w/out START, the Dems would not support $ for nukes. I also told him I would be available to discuss anytime.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
**Subject:** Re: GHI speech

Great to hear.

I'm also now working on a final round of edits from Jack, Eric, Raj, and others -- also trimming and improving the flow of the speech a bit. You'll get this revised draft tonight. If you think it is improved, we'll use it, or we can use the draft you made your changes to, if you'd prefer.

Lissa will be in the office tomorrow to handle your edits.

You will have a teleprompter.

No reason that I know of not to include Zuma; I will add a reference.

Thank you!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Aug 15 16:57:19 2010
Subject: GHI speech

Thx for your work on the speech. I have a few edits which I can bring in tomorrow to make changes.
Megan, if you're not there, who will do them?

Also, do I have a teleprompter?

Is there a reason we don't mention Zuma in the para on S Africa?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Talks

Fyi from Sen Mitchell - he'd like to discuss results of AM meeting with you.

---

**From:** Mitchell, George < [redacted] B6
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sun Aug 15 18:12:33 2010
**Subject:** Talks

David Hale just finished meeting with Abbas; you will shortly get an email from Dan S with a summary. I'd like to fill Secy in by phone; please check and let me know asap when. I'm reachable this evening at [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel: No conditions for talks with Palestinians

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; Bitter, Rena; Pascual, Michael T
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sun Aug 15 18:59:17 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Israel: No conditions for talks with Palestinians

RAMALLAH (AP) – Israel will not accept conditions for resuming direct negotiations with the Palestinians, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and top Cabinet ministers affirmed in a meeting, reflecting a hard line just as invitations to the talks appeared to be near. The Palestinians want the framework and agenda of negotiations worked out ahead of time.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 7:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: QDDR

Yes -- last draft I read several hours ago was almost there. Let me check w/ Sonni.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Aug 15 18:15:11 2010
Subject: QDDR

Will I get a draft tonight?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 11:46 AM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

B5

I have asked INR if there is any research on the security issue to help guide us and I assume we could also reach out to the IC to get their in-put.

I am working on a note to Denis which I will send to him before I leave for Argentina tonight. I'll copy all of you on it. Let me know if you want me to run the draft by you before I send it. It will follow the lines of my note to Raj.

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:58 AM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'; Sullivan, Jacob J; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:24:24 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Cc: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 09:23:17 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan B5

Adding Cheryl back to chain.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 08:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Cheryl--can you, Jack and Jake use this HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
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Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

FYI, I am forwarding you a message I just sent to Raj about the article in today's Washington Post.

He and I agreed to work closely on this issue. I have asked INR to get us some research on the security issue which the implementing partners frequently raise Note the comment in the Post about the security situation.

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I will keep you posted.

jm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
To: Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
Subject: FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

B5

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** millscd@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk?

did kidlet duty all weekend - will call you when you land

On Sun, Aug 15, 2010 at 6:10 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
I'm on the way to the 8pm shuttle. Free until then and after thru ops on my bb or at home.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Madeleine's Track 2 with Turkey

Madeleine mentioned at Aspen and then called on Friday to remind me that USIP has asked her to spearhead a Track 2 dialogue with Turkey. She thinks it is a good idea; as do I. If you agree, we shd obviously check with Phil and then get back to Madeleine. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 9:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: QDDR

I'm sorry -- we missed our window today. I shd have insisted we send you the draft we had as of 10 am this morning rather than Sonni doing another round of edits so that you could have used valuable weekend time. We have a draft we can send you now, but you should probably see it when you are fresh. Time got away from us; my apologies. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Aug 15 18:15:11 2010
Subject: QDDR

Will I get a draft tonight?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 15, 2010 10:03 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** A bilat w/ Cathy Ashton on DC

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Draft of email I will send to Denis today. Comments ?

DRAFT

Denis:

[redacted] B5

jm

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

[redacted]

B5

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 6:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** This am

Ms: I have an 830 [redacted] this morning, so rob and monica will be taking care of you until I can make it into the office around 930. B6
###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 12:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Us-eu

This is memo eur put together for us-eu ministerial. We will end trip on 14th so if we did, will be on 14th or before. We are re-mapping trip. Justin can also print.

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM:EUR – Philip H. Gordon

SUBJECT: Proposal for a U.S.-EU Ministerial, October 15, Brussels

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 12:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Us-eu

With the big plane and everyone on it?
Or we stop and switch planes?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Aug 24 12:40:28 2010
Subject: Re: Us-eu

Can we fly direct from Brussels to San Francisco and do Commonwealth Club speech?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Aug 24 12:38:13 2010
Subject: Us-eu

This is memo eur put together for us-eu ministerial. We will end trip on 14th so if we did, will be on 14th or before. We are re-mapping trip. Justin can also print.

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM:EUR – Philip H. Gordon

SUBJECT: Proposal for a U.S.-EU Ministerial, October 15, Brussels

B5

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 7:25 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

19th afternoon has been confirmed
Taking a plane is a good idea so u have some flexibility.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon Aug 16 07:23:48 2010
Subject: Schedule

Pls find a time for Melanne to see me before I leave Thursday.

Do you know yet when I have to go to UN on Thursday? Should I take a plane? I'll have my Mom w me.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 12:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HRC Middle East II .doc
**Attachments:** HRC Middle East II .doc; HRC Middle East II .doc

Fyi - Sandy sent the attached thoughts that I think you'll find quite useful. I think you should see/call him when you're back.

---

**From:** Samuel Berger
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 12:26:51 2010
**Subject:** HRC Middle East II .doc

B6

Jake: Is this timely and useful? Sandy

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will do. I believe we are aiming for early afternoon at the UN, happy to arrange the plane accordingly.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon Aug 16 07:23:48 2010
Subject: Schedule

Pls find a time for Melanne to see me before I leave Thursday.

Do you know yet when I have to go to UN on Thursday? Should I take a plane? I'll have my Mom w me.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; H
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will likely start at 3.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon Aug 16 07:32:34 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Will do. I believe we are aiming for early afternoon at the UN, happy to arrange the plane accordingly.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon Aug 16 07:23:48 2010
Subject: Schedule

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Do you know yet when I have to go to UN on Thursday? Should I take a plane? I'll have my Mom w me.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 8:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/16/10 Monday

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Sun Aug 15 20:55:02 2010
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/16/10 Monday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:15 am **SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR JAMES JEFFREY,**
10:35 am **U.S. AMBASSADOR TO IRAQ** Treaty Room, 7th Floor

10:40 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:10 am Secretary's Office

11:10 am **DEPART** State Department *En route SAIS

11:20 am **ARRIVE** SAIS

11:30 am **POLICY SPEECH ON GLOBAL HEALTH**
12:30 pm Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW

12:35 pm **DEPART** SAIS *En route State Department

12:45 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

12:45 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:30 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT TEAM MEETING**
3:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:30 pm **POLICY DISCUSSION**
5:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room

5:00 pm **MEETING w/LISSA MUSCATINE**
5:30 pm Secretary's Office

5:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

To: HRC
From: Sandy
Subject: Middle East

Congratulations on the resumption of direct talks. As evidenced by your activity over the past several weeks your involvement in the peace process inevitably has deepened as the need for high-level U.S. intervention has grown. I believe that is a positive result. But the more fundamental issue remains what your role can and should be going forward in order to maximize chances of diplomatic success.

## I. State of Play

As the U.S. embarks on the next stage in the Israeli-Palestinian process, it faces a series of tactical and strategic challenges regarding policy, politics and personality.

1. *At a policy level*, the meager results of indirect talks and difficulties in transitioning to direct talks have underscored the lack of trust between the two sides as well as existing substantive gaps. With direct talks begin in the coming days, one obstacles will have been removed, but several remain. Some or all of these may have been resolved in connection with gaining agreement to direct talks.

    a. How to handle the renewal or non-renewal of Israel's settlement moratorium?
    b. What is the goal of the direct talks and is there a consensus on this matter between the parties? A comprehensive agreement on permanent (CAPS) that covers all the details? A framework agreement on permanent status (FAPS) that outlines the governing parameters, along the lines of the 2000 Clinton parameters? Or, less ambitiously, a short (one or two page) statement of principles?
    c. What role will the U.S. play? Will George or another U.S. official be present in all meetings? Will Netanyahu accept that? Is there an argument for allowing the two sides to deal with one another without any intermediary, at least for a while, so that they do not seek to play to the U.S.?
    d. What will the U.S. do in the event of an impasse or breakdown? Should it present bridging proposals and, if so, when?
    e. How much work should be done, in parallel and simultaneously with the direct talks, between the U.S. and the Palestinians on the one hand and the U.S. and Israel on the other?

    Beyond those questions, I am persuaded the most important factor is and is likely to remain what Netanyahu is prepared to do. You have witnessed first-hand how difficult it can be to deal with the Palestinians and the Arab world more generally; how fragile is Abbas's political position; how indecisive they can be. Still, at bottom, we have a relatively clear sense of their positions on the core issues should we ever reach a moment of truth. That is not the case with Netanyahu who either does not know himself or is not prepared to share and who, until now, has neither felt the urgency to reach a deal nor the discomfort of the status quo.

Assuming Bibi can be convinced of the benefits of a deal along lines acceptable to the Palestinians, this will not occur solely on the basis of his talks with Abbas, whom he likes but does not truly respect and who he fears will not be in a position to deliver. Rather, it will happen only if he feels that (1) it is under the leadership of a U.S. administration he genuinely trusts; (2) he is convinced that the combination of the agreement and U.S. assurances meets his core needs in terms of Israeli security and international recognition of its Jewish character; and (3) he feels that, again with U.S. help, he can sell it to his people and survive -- or even thrive -- politically.

Getting Bibi to accept the core compromises will not be enough, of course. Other basic elements of the strategy must involve reaching out effectively to the Israeli public and ensuring strong, vocal Arab support for a U.S.- sponsored deal without which Abbas cannot say yes and Israelis will lack the incentive to do so. But the point is that a prerequisite for a successful peace effort is for the U.S. to convince the prime minister -- through various forms of overt persuasion and implicit pressure -- to make the necessary compromises. ***At the end of the day, if Bibi is to make a deal, it will be a deal with the U.S. as much as with the Palestinians.***

2. *At a political level*, the past year has clearly demonstrated the degree to which the U.S. has been hamstrung by its low ratings in Israel and among important segments of the domestic Jewish constituency. This is a critical dimension not for electoral reasons, but because the U.S.'s best chance of influencing Bibi is to build support for a deal in Israel and at home among those who care most. That capacity has been improved to some extent as a result of the successful July visit by Netanyahu and the string of military/security deals between our two countries. But we must be honest: there sill is a long way to go. If anything, the recent Obama/Bibi illustrated a new, potentially perverse dynamic: ***the U.S. president at this juncture needs the Israeli prime minister to validate his pro-Israeli credentials more than the Israeli prime minister needs the U.S. president to vouch for his pro-peace ones.***

3. *At the level of personalities*, George, with all his skill and perseverance, cannot by himself secure serious concessions from the parties by himself.. In recent discussions, both Israelis and Palestinians described him as someone they respected but to whom they would not make major concessions. This is the curse of the day-to-day negotiator. When they are ready to deal, they will only deal with the players they perceive with authority. It was not different for Dennis during the Clinton Administration. This does not mean that Mitchell does not have a crucial role going forward. Indeed, he can be empowered by your more active involvement.

The president faces a different but no less difficult problem. He is not trusted in Israel and, though the July meeting might have altered the situation somewhat, not trusted by Bibi. Domestically, he faces a reservoir of skepticism on this issue which reflects many factors, including inexcusable prejudice, but which could obstruct his effectiveness both as an interlocutor and as a salesman. Besides, as we learned during WJC's presidency, it would be a mistake for Obama to get too deeply invested in

negotiations prior to the end-point; he does not have the time and should not expend the political capital prematurely. To do so, moreover, would automatically be to devalue the role of anyone beneath him, thus making the peace process as a whole excessively dependent on his involvement.

## II. Your Role

Under these circumstances, in my view, your deeper involvement is both essential and potentially highly beneficial. It should be a selective involvement; Mitchell still must be the day-to-day negotiator and others also must play a part. In particular, I would not recommend you get overly mired in the details of the direct talks or the set of questions I described above (about their format, goal, U.S. role, etc) other than at critical junctures. Nor would I advise you to get pulled into a Christopher-style shuttle diplomacy which would quickly depreciate your value.

Rather, by injecting yourself strategically at the right time and in the right way, you could fill the gaps identified above. This is because you are uniquely placed to address the need both for a higher-level mediator and for someone who enjoys considerable credibility in Israel and the U.S. (Bibi reportedly told someone recently he was prepared to deal substantively with Obama and with you).

Your role would be twofold

1. *To serve as the higher-level interlocutor on matters of final status.* To a large degree, Abbas's positions are already known; they will have to be further explored and he will have to be pushed, and you should engage him. But we probably know his zone of possible agreement. Not so with Bibi and, I believe, you are ideally suited to begin a series of in-depth conversations aimed at understanding his key concerns, how they can be met, what he would need from us and others, and how far, at the end of the day, he is prepared to go with the Palestinians if his security and other needs are met. Bibi knows and trusts you; in fact, you are almost certainly the high-level U.S. official he trusts most. If you succeed in taking him into your confidence and work with him over time, you could pave the way for an Israeli-U.S. understanding that would underpin an Israeli-Palestinian agreement. At times, this will require being tough and pushing back against some of his most extreme demands (the militarily questionable request for a very long term Israeli presence in the Jordan Valley being one of them) and proposing more rational alternatives. But the point is that without getting Bibi to trust and level with us, without him feeling both what he has to lose but also what he has to gain, this process is unlikely to go anywhere.

   To repeat, this should not be at Mitchell's expense. It should be a parallel, reinforcing process in which you would deal one-on-one with Abbas and Netanyahu at periodic intervals, for extensive periods of time.

2. *To help restore the U.S.'s image and credibility in Israel and among important domestic constituencies.* You have the history, background and credentials to do so

here and in Israel and thus to overcome some of the suspicion with which Obama must contend. Over time, through a series of visits and public statements, you would seek to make the case for a peace agreement in positive terms, focusing on what benefits it would bring to Israelis rather than on the costs they would incur: secure and recognized borders; stronger security ties to the U.S. and others; an end to the conflict; normal relations with the Arab world; and strengthened international legitimacy.

## III. Potential Downsides and Responses

1. *Dragging you into the weeds of negotiations.* A risk exists that, though repeated meetings with Bibi and Abbas, you will be drawn into detailed discussions over the nature of the territorial compromise, the precise security arrangements, etc. This would be unhelpful both to the process and to you. There is a fine line between discussing the principles that should guide the final outcome and the precise details of that outcome, but it will be important not to cross it. Your role should be to extract from Bibi important understandings and parameters (e.g., security arrangements on the Jordan valley that minimize infringements on Palestinian sovereignty and minimize the duration of any residual Israeli presence) and then have your respective negotiators work out the details

2. *Disempowering George.* A related danger is to render George powerless by creating the sense that everything can and should be dealt with through you. Besides potentially leading him to step down, this outcome would not serve your interests for the reasons just cited, your effectiveness being a function of your remaining somewhat removed from the day-to-day specifics of the talks. In fact, as I see it, this process could and should end up strengthening George's presently hand by clarifying it. Once you and Bibi will have reached agreement on broad principles, the two of you will provide instructions to your respective negotiators to find solutions that reflect them. In that sense, both George and his counterpart will have a stronger and clearer mandate than currently is the case.

3. *Involving you in a failed enterprise.* Of all the potential downsides, this is the most significant one and ought not to be dismissed lightly. Failure is a real possibility. Palestinians are in disarray. The Arab world is profoundly divided, with forthcoming successions in Egypt and Saudi Arabia that will weaken two of the states upon which we most rely. And a serious questionmark hovers over Bibi's politics, his head and his heart. As a result, a powerful argument could be made that you would be better off keeping at arms' length from this process, especially given how much else is on your plate. That said, I disagree for the following reasons:

    a. By not getting involved, you risk the worst of two worlds: being associated with a failure (which, by virtue of your position, you inevitably would be) and being criticized for not having been engaged in an effort to avert it.
    b. Over the past year and a half, you *have* been involved -- traveling to the region; seeking to convince Abbas to enter into talks; commenting on the

settlement freeze in Jerusalem -- and you will not be able to escape that kind of involvement in the future. The problem is that your engagement has appeared to be sporadic rather than strategic -- that you've been deployed when it has been deemed necessary to get out of an impasse rather than in order to implement a long term, well thought-out plan. I do not think that has served you well.

c. While one cannot by any means be confident of success, I believe an agreement is possible but that it only has a chance if we can work effectively to bring Bibi into a position where he believes that the costs of a historical compromise are outweighed by its benefits.

d. If we don't try all we can over the next year or year and a half, you will in all likelihood be forced to deal extensively with the Middle East -- albeit not in a peacemaking but in a crisis-managing mode. Without movement on the peace process, Abbas could depart, Fayyad's state-building plan could be gone in smoke, hostilities might break out between Israel, Syria and Hizbollah and the U.S. would have to deal with Iran in an even less hospitable regional climate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** Spoke Too Soon on North Korea

Unfortunately, we just received our first news query on the North Korea consular visit, out of the region. We are working this issue with EAP but will likely acknowledge the fact when asked at the briefing today.

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Twenty injured in crash of Henan Airlines Flight VD8387 in northeast China

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**From**: OpsAlert
**Sent**: Tue Aug 24 12:46:19 2010
**Subject**: Twenty injured in crash of Henan Airlines Flight VD8387 in northeast China

(SBU) The plane, which held 91 passengers, took off from Heilongjiang Province's capital of Harbin shortly before 2100 local/0900 EDT and crashed at 2210 local/1010 EDT in Yichun City, media report. Consulate Shenyang notes the injured have been taken to a local hospital and there are no reports of fatalities. Post adds Yichun City is a remote town with few foreign visitors.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 1:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: HRC Middle East II .doc

Yes - I would put him and Martin Indyk on the list.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 12:55:02 2010
Subject: Re: HRC Middle East II .doc

I agree. I've been thinking of people I should call before talks.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Aug 24 12:45:04 2010
Subject: Fw: HRC Middle East II .doc

Fyi - Sandy sent the attached thoughts that I think you'll find quite useful. I think you should see/call him when you're back.

---

B6

From: Samuel Berger
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Aug 24 12:26:51 2010
Subject: HRC Middle East II .doc

Jake: Is this timely and useful? Sandy

RELEASE IN PART
B4,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 6:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: ExxonMobil Pulls Out of Ghana Deal

FYI.

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**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 6:58 PM
**To:** Teitelbaum, Donald
**Cc:** Yamamoto, Donald Y; Sullivan, Jacob J; Leonard, Mary Beth; Scott, Robert K; Fernandez, Jose W; Paradiso, Dante X
**Subject:** ExxonMobil Pulls Out of Ghana Deal

**SENSITIVE BUT UNLASSIFIED:**

Don: Hold on to your chair. ExxonMobil has just pulled the plug on the Kosmos deal and is walking away from its attempts to acquire the production rights in the Jubilee field. [redacted] B4 B6

ExxonMobil's senior management had just informed Kosmos/Blackstone that they were exercising a clause in the Kosmos-ExxonMobil sales agreement to cancel the deal. Kosmos was stunned by the decision, but thinks ExxonMobil's position to withdraw is firm and likely irreversible. [redacted]

Kosmos is preparing a press statement to be issued tomorrow. [redacted] ExxonMobil would probably inform me of their decision tonight or tomorrow morning. (As soon as we see the press releases, we will forward them to you.) If I have not heard anything from Exxon by mid morning Tuesday, I will reach out to Sim Moats.

[redacted]

Depending on what happens in the next 24 hours, I may not travel to Connecticut to see President Mills.
Let's talk tomorrow. Johnnie

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 7:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Russian forest fires

FYI.

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 7:00 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Russian forest fires

Jake: When I briefed S this morning on what we were doing on Russian forest fires she asked what others were doing, and I said I'd get back to her. Answer is below. Could you pls pass this info along? Thanks.

Eleven **European** countries (France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus and Latvia) have supplied firefighters (515 total currently in Russia) and heavy firefighting equipment (fire trucks, mobile pumping stations, bulldozers etc.), three airplanes and six helicopters. Italy and France are providing the fire fighting aircraft. The European Commission has offered to transport affected children to EU states or non-affected areas of Russia for treatment of respiratory illnesses. It has also provided masks, water, health assistance, and general non-food items. **China** has provided $4m total in cash and relief supplies so far. NATO offered to help but Moscow was uninterested.

**U.S.** assistance totals $4.5m, including $3.5m in specialized firefighting equipment, $350k in planned capacity building, and $50k in humanitarian assistance (bedding, food parcels). Russia has publicly thanked the U.S. for its assistance.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Monday, August 16, 2010 11:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; CDM; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** "minister in a skirt"

http://mobile.nytimes.com/article?a=644869

North Korea Takes to Twitter and YouTube By CHOE SANG-HUN The New York Times August 17, 2010

SEOUL, South Korea - North Korea has taken its propaganda war against South Korea and the United States to a new frontier: YouTube and Twitter.

In the last month, North Korea has posted a series of video clips on YouTube brimming with satire and vitriol against leaders in South Korea and the United States.

In one clip, it called Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton a "minister in a skirt" and Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates a "war maniac," while depicting the South Korean defense minister, Kim Tae-young, as a "servile dog" that likes to be patted by "its American master."

Such language used to be standard in North Korea's cold-war-era propaganda. Its revival is testimony to the increased chill in relations between the Koreas in recent months.

In the past week, North Korea also began operating a Twitter account under the name uriminzok, or "our nation."

Both the Twitter and YouTube accounts are owned by a user named "uriminzokkiri." The Web site www.uriminzokkiri.com is run by the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea, a propaganda agency in Pyongyang.

Lee Jong-joo, a spokeswoman for the Unification Ministry in Seoul, said, "It is clear that these accounts carry the same propaganda as the North's official news media, but we have not been able to find out who operates them."

The two Koreas agreed to stop their psychological war after their first summit meeting in 2000. But South Korea resumed propaganda radio broadcasts in May, when it accused the North of torpedoing one of its warships, killing 46 sailors.

North Korea, which denies involvement, has vowed to retaliate. It appears to have found a way with Twitter and YouTube, with their intended audience clearly South Koreans. (North Korea keeps its people isolated from the outside world.)

"YouTube and Twitter gave North Korea a high-tech detour for its propaganda," said Paik Hak-soon, an analyst at Sjong Institute. "But fundamentally, it's not new technology but rather political tension that drives the North to lash out desperately in the face of mounting international pressure."

During the cold war era, South Korea punished people caught listening to North Korean broadcasts. Several years ago, during the brief era of its "sunshine policy" of engaging the North, the South allowed its people access to North Korean Web sites. But today, when a computer user in South Korea clicks on an item on the North Korean Twitter account, a government warning against "illegal content" pops up.

These blocks have triggered criticism here that the Seoul government does not trust its people to form their own opinions about the totalitarian North.

But the government says the North is using the Internet to spread conspiracy theories about who was behind the sinking of the South Korean warship, including one claim that an American submarine did so to foster a militant mood in the South.

The Twitter account, which provides links to the North Korean Web site, had 928 followers as of Monday. But a few YouTube video clips uploaded by the North commanded thousands of views.

In one such clip, North Korea attacked Yu Myung-hwan, the South Korean foreign minister, who recently criticized "pro-North Korean youths" who voted for the opposition in the June local elections, saying, "If they like the North so much, they should go and live under Kim Jong-il."

The clip's narrator calls Mr. Yu a "pro-American flunky" and advised Mr. Yu to earn a living "mopping the floor of the Pentagon."

Another clip claimed that North Korea would prevail in a war with the "American imperialists" because it was armed with nuclear-fusion technology; because of its juche, or ideology of "self-reliance"; and because of a philosophical treatise written by Kim Il-sung, the North's founding president and the father of Kim Jong-il, who died in 1994.

"I don't think this propaganda from the North will have any significant impact among South Koreans," said Yoo Ho-yeol, an expert on North Korea at Korea University here. "People watch this for fun, not to be influenced."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 7:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/17/10 Tuesday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **MEETING w/LISSA MUSCATINE**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:10 am **PHOTOS**
10:15 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:15 am **VIDEOS (6)**
10:30 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

10:30 am **BRIEFING w/STAFF**
12:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **OTR LUNCH**
2:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:30 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **MEETING w/JOSE FERNANDEZ**
3:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:00 pm **MEETING w/UNGA TEAM**
3:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 2:46 PM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Fyi, note I sent to Denis.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** McDonough, Denis R.
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Denis:

B5

I'll keep you posted as things move forward.

jm

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Pauli, Rosemarie
**Subject:** FW: Billions of aid dollars buy U.S. little goodwill in Pakistan

Raj:

Hope the trip went well. You may have already seen the attached article but in light of our recent conversations I wanted to forward it on to you.

B5

Please know that I will help you in any way I can to deal with this situation.

Look forward to discussing it further when you return.

jm

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082305476.html

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 5:41 PM
**To:** H

Blago found guilty of lying to the FBI; will be retried on the other 23 counts; jury hung on 27 counts (4 agst his brother)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H; 'laurenjiloty [redacted] 'JilotyLC@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

no word from mashabane yet.
Or menendez (though menendez did try my cell while I was on plane) And alexander is available all day tomorrow till 1pm if u want to call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Aug 24 17:55:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Lauren--did you ever receive this email?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:58:49 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Ok. Is the South African call scheduled yet? Are there any calls outstanding for today or tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:55:46 2010
Subject: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H; laurenjiloty[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

I did not. Very aggravating. There is some kind of disconnect. We are still waiting to hear back on mashabane's availability. Nothing yet scheduled for tomorrow, but we still have menendez and alexander outstanding. Menendez's staff owes us a call back. Alexander is free up until 1pm tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'Laurenjiloty[redacted] Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 17:55:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Lauren--did you ever receive this email?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:58:49 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Ok. Is the South African call scheduled yet? Are there any calls outstanding for today or tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:55:46 2010
Subject: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 7:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: [redacted] References B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Pakistan Flood Releif report

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 4:32 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Pakistan Flood Releif report

Not bad actually...

---

**From:** Millette, James L
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Thessin, James H
**Cc:** Davisson, Brandon; Anderson, Roger W
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 16:10:23 2010
**Subject:** Pakistan Flood Releif report

Pat as of 8/23 for the Pakistan Flood Relief:

1. Have received $21, 170 in pledge funds from texting all at $10 each so 2,117 pledges
2. Have received $73,358 in credit card donations from 608 donors
3. Have received $ 1,725 in ACH donations from 15 donors
4. Have received $14,025 in mailed in checks from 92 donors
5. Have received $ 3 in cash from one donor

So in total we have received $110,281 in pledges and donations from 2833 donors (assuming all my math is right)

On average this is about $39 per donation/pledge if you excluded the ten dollar pledges/donations the average donation was $124 dollars

As we discussed I will provide a more standardized reporting every Tuesday and Thursday - just let me know if you want anyone else included on the reporting - jim

Jim Millette
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Global Financial Services
US Department of State
(843) 308-5578
Millettejl@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 7:29 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

I'm sure if she's around. Will ask.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 17 19:27:17 2010
Subject:

Can I see her Thursday morning for both?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 7:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: talk with Qureshi

FYI. We are working some of this into the remarks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
Sent: Tuesday, August 17, 2010 5:50 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: talk with Qureshi

Jake--pls share this immensely worrying email on vali's talk in NY this afternoon with Hillary asap, and make sure it is reflected in her remarks Thursday. RH

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 17 17:44:22 2010
Subject: talk with Qureshi

----- Original Message -----
From: Vali Nasr [redacted] B6
To: Nasr, S Vali R
Sent: Tue Aug 17 17:36:06 2010
Subject: talk with Qureshi

I just spoke at length with Qureshi--he had just checked into his hotel. Some of what he said may be useful for Secretary's speech, others are generally
instructive:

1- He has a 3.5 minute curtain raiser comment planned about what has happened followed by a five minute "documentary" on the floods that they plan to distribute as CDs.

2-The flood is the biggest since 1929 (almost two decades before Pakistan was
born)

3-The Monsoon season will last another 3-4 weeks, and if rains continue things will get a lot worse. He says we are only witnessing the effects of the first flood wave, the second is about to happen, and they are expecting a third wave before the end of the monsoon. The current flood is largely caused by the swelling of Kabul and Indus rivers, the next waves will include the major rivers running from India through Azad Kashmir and Punjab into Sind. The pressure is already building in Indian dams and soon they have to release the water.
Pakistan is talking to India, but there is little India can do about the issue.
Flooding in eastern rivers will engulf Baluchistan and Punja as well, more agricultural lands, creating more refugees and forcing the first wave of refugees to move again.

4-The greatest damage is done in the two areas of the country where the security problem is worst: Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Southern Punjab. Devastation is not just by the water but also by the refugee problem (major issue in Punjab and Baluchistan). As a result tents and refugee relief is the most needed follow up to helicopter support. The problem in these areas will impact fight against extremism, but he said that exodus to larger cities, and dryer rural districts is bound to cause a variety of other social and political problems.

5-The Pakistan government was caught by surprise by the magnitude of the problem, especially at local level. Local authorities in may cases were busy evacuating their own families, and then were overwhelmed by the size of the problem. The only functioning effort was by the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) that was created as part of 2005 earthquake relief, and is led by General Nadim (working closely with ODRO). But Qureshi says that while NDMA functions well at national level, at local level it lacks capacity.

6-The largest challenge is complete collapse of local government (the level at which implementation is and will have to happen. And this involves not just PPP, but PMLN and MQM and ANP as well. As a result, the flood has created interest in cooperation between all political parties, since local governments of all of them are lacking and face protest.

7-In Islamabad Gilani is in charge, but in effect the army has stepped in to fill the vaccuum for lack of local government. But even the army is not up to the task.

8-Because of collapse of local government and infrastructure, helicopters were the single most important thing, and there the US contribution was singularly important.

9-He said friend and foe in Pakistan praises what US has done. The eprception is that the US was first out of gate to help Pakistan. What has impressed Pakistanis is not just the assistance, but what US officials have said publicly, and the very visible compassion they have shown for Pakistan. He singled out Ambassador Holbrooke's passionate plea for assistance to Pakistan as having made an important impact.

10-Qureshi said he is deeply worried that the international community may not understand that the worst is yet to come, not just floods but what comes after.
He said: Pakistan will have tom revise its budget, its cotton exports are gone and it will ahve to import food it once produced to feed its own. It will have to invest hugely in infrastructure and rural development, He said the "economic future is bleak" and if "we don't act quickly the consequences will be disasterous". Pakistan he said needs immediate relief, but also investment in capacity building and reconstruction.

11-He is considering skipping DC this trip (to be confirmed), and organizing a separate trip there later that would include visit to the Hill and doing the think tank round.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 8:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Talked to Doug

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
Sent: Tuesday, August 17, 2010 7:17 PM
To: Singh, Vikram J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Talked to Doug

I set up a private VTC with him for noon friday, and will try to brief you before 1pm meeting.
He has read our memo "three times"and agrees with 90 per cent. (Ha!) Says only difference is on the issue you know about. (Ha!) We"ll see. . . . .

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:05 PM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Well its clearly a state vs outside email issue. State has been trying to figure it out. So lj is getting all your emazils cause she's on her personal account too.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>; 'Laurenjiloty [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Aug 24 18:00:59 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

I don't understand what the problem could be.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Aug 24 18:00:03 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

I did not. Very aggravating. There is some kind of disconnect. We are still waiting to hear back on mashabane's availability. Nothing yet scheduled for tomorrow, but we still have menendez and alexander outstanding. Menendez's staff owes us a call back. Alexander is free up until 1pm tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'Laurenjiloty [redacted]; Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 17:55:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Lauren--did you ever receive this email?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:58:49 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Ok. Is the South African call scheduled yet? Are there any calls outstanding for today or tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>

Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:55:46 2010
Subject: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 6:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Nor do I. Its strange that it seems to be a recent problem with our emails, and there is no rhyme or reason to why some go through and others don't. In the mean time, ill always confirm for you right away when I receive your emails, even if an answer is still pending.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 18:00:59 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

I don't understand what the problem could be.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Aug 24 18:00:03 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

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----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 17:55:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Lauren--did you ever receive this email?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:58:49 2010
Subject: Re: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

Ok. Is the South African call scheduled yet? Are there any calls outstanding for today or tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>

To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Aug 24 15:55:46 2010
Subject: Call: Amb. Holbrooke has a call into you via ops

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls

- did u get yu call sheet in pouch. Let me know if u want to schedule.
- alexander available until 1.
- menendez: can talk at 8pm today or tomorrow or thurs after 12pm
- mashabane is traveling in china so no word yet.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 17, 2010 11:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Most importantly....

I enjoyed our talk too, but forgot to mention the most important thing of all -- how much I appreciate your bringing me to State and giving me this opportunity. I have learned so much, meant so many smart and capable people, and hope I have contributed in some small way to what you are working so hard to accomplish.

I'll write a formal letter for "the file" when I leave conveying all of these thoughts,, but I wanted to say something in person too.
Unfortunately, I got carried away on sports diplomacy and everything else and . . . .another senior moment!

I'll let you know when I have had a chance to talk to Judith and Ann about the ideas I'm putting together on sports. I do think there is potential to do much more than is being done now -- and more creatively.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:39 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok I will get to work on them right away and let you know.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:37 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok. But I want to talk w FM Yu and Lamar Alexander as soon as they could be set up.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:30:06 2010
Subject: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FA draft coming b/w 12 and 1

I will spare you the details of the computer disaster we suffered, which always happens at critical times, but we lost a night of work. We are back on draft and will have a draft ready for you to engage much more closely with -- line edits etc around noon. We will also have to send that version to WH to have any hope of making friday deadline, which is absolutely hard. We will still b able to make changes in editing process though.

B5

The good news is that I do think the piece is getting better and better, which is also improving the QDDR itself.

AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:03 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

MS - Bob Einhorn is asking that you hold on the Yu call for now. The Deputy FM is currently in DC. Will meet w/ Einhorn at 1:00pm. Einhorn will reassess the need for a call after his meeting.
I've reached out to Sen. Alexander's office and am waiting to hear back from them about his availability.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:37 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok. But I want to talk w FM Yu and Lamar Alexander as soon as they could be set up.

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To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:30:06 2010
Subject: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Will do. Still waiting on a call-back from his staff. I asked them if we could do within the next hour (before 11:30 am)

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:22 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok. Just let me know when I can talk to Alexander.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:03:27 2010
Subject: RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

MS - Bob Einhorn is asking that you hold on the Yu call for now. The Deputy FM is currently in DC. Will meet w/ Einhorn at 1:00pm. Einhorn will reassess the need for a call after his meeting.
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From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 9:37 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok. But I want to talk w FM Yu and Lamar Alexander as soon as they could be set up.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:30:06 2010
Subject: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.

###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 6:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thanks

One nice thing out of an otherwise messy trip (elections) . . .

----- Original Message -----
From: Aguerre, Jose Agustin < [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Aug 17 22:37:34 2010
Subject: Thanks

Cheryl. What happened this past couple of weeks has been amazing. We've been working with the Haitians and the Hansolls, trying to put everything together for months now. Since your appearance on the scene, things have caught amazing speed and vertigo, and having President Clinton and you chair today's ceremony has been an honour and privilege. We still have to deliver more than promises, but the motivation you've brought into the Haitian and our own teams is just tremendous, so I am extremely optimistic about the outcome and our capacity to do things on time. Again, thanks!
AGUSTIN

José Agustín Aguerre
Gerente de País
Grupo de Atención a Haití
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
Mail: [redacted]

---
Sent from my Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 7:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Thanks

I am currently traveling with intermittent access to email. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv (toivnf@state.gov) at 202-647-8633 or Joanne Laszczych (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

If it is an emergency after business hours, please reach out to our Operations Center to have them reach me.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Thanks

Tell you in person

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Aug 18 07:18:11 2010
Subject: Re: Thanks

Kudos! What are they doing in Haiti?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Aug 18 06:54:43 2010
Subject: Fw: Thanks

One nice thing out of an otherwise messy trip (elections) . . .

----- Original Message -----
From: Aguerre, Jose Agustin [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Aug 17 22:37:34 2010
Subject: Thanks

Cheryl. What happened this past couple of weeks has been amazing. We've been working with the Haitians and the Hansolls, trying to put everything together for months now. Since your appearance on the scene, things have caught amazing speed and vertigo, and having President Clinton and you chair today's ceremony has been an honour and privilege. We still have to deliver more than promises, but the motivation you've brought into the Haitian and our own teams is just tremendous, so I am extremely optimistic about the outcome and our capacity to do things on time. Again, thanks!
AGUSTIN

José Agustín Aguerre
Gerente de País
Grupo de Atención a Haití
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
Mail: [redacted]

---
Sent from my Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Alexander can talk at 10:50 AM this morning (in 20 minutes). I can lock it in for that time and have Ops connect to you.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:22 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Ok. Just let me know when I can talk to Alexander.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:03:27 2010
Subject: RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

MS - Bob Einhorn is asking that you hold on the Yu call for now. The Deputy FM is currently in DC. Will meet w/ Einhorn at 1:00pm. Einhorn will reassess the need for a call after his meeting.
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----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:30:06 2010
Subject: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 8:11 AM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Flights

Ok sounds good

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Aug 19 08:08:57 2010
Subject: Flights

I want to fly back tonight--probably leave around 11. And then probably back to White Plains unless I fly to Westhampton from DC. Let's discuss this am.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Problem: Bustan Plan

FYI - Jerusalem mayor causing problem again with sensitive housing plan that could result in further demolitions/dislocations.

Dan and David have engaged Molho.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
To: Hale, David M; Rudman, Mara; Prince, Jonathan M; Hof, Frederic C; [redacted] Feltman, Jeffrey D; Walles, Jacob; Sutphin, Paul R; Tsou, Leslie M; Djerassi, Alexander M; Sullivan, Jacob J; Goldberger, Thomas H; Rubinstein, Daniel H; 'george[redacted]
Cc: Irwin, Matthew T; Reed, Julia G; Pilz, Amanda C
Sent: Wed Aug 25 07:51:10 2010
Subject: Problem: Bustan Plan

B6

The Jerusalem city council is set to review the Kings Garden/Gan Hamelech/Bustan plan tomorrow. Recall that the plan received approval by a municipal sub committee in late June. The entire city council must now review and approve the plan because of an administrative appeal filed against it by a Meretz city council member (this appeal process requires that the entire city council review the plan at some point.) Lots of other details here that Jerusalem will be including in a front channel cable. Amanda Pilz, CCed here, drafted.

Bottom line though is that (1) this is on the agenda at the explicit direction of the Mayor and deputy mayor and (2) there is no statutory or other need for this review tomorrow.

Also note that this is not the final step in the process. After full Jerusalem municipal approval the plan must go to Ministry of Interior bodies. So there is a whole lot of theater involved in this.

Lastly, recall that the Gan Hamelech plan involves extensive demolitions and the redevelopment of Bustan, a section of the Silwan which is a stone throw away from the Old City. (When S made her comments on demolition in November 2009 she was referring to Bustan demolitions)

[redacted]

B5

Best,
Alon

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs article

We were aiming for a draft by the end of the day. Part of the problem is that we have also gotten detailed comments from jack and raj, as well as v good comments from Jake, that sonni is trying to include. Lissa and I will meet as soon as we get in and see how fast we can get you something. I know you are heading for well-deserved vacation, but cd you still find some time to review a final draft this weekend? AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Wed Aug 18 08:07:47 2010
Subject: Foreign Affairs article

Will I get next draft today? I'm running out of time to work on it. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Will do.

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Pls do.

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To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
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From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:30:06 2010
Subject: Call: Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage

Has a call into you re: the American Turkish Council.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 8:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AFP) Haiti delays final list of presidential candidates

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO
**Sent:** Wed Aug 18 01:29:35 2010
**Subject:** (AFP) Haiti delays final list of presidential candidates

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AFP) – Haiti's electoral board has decided to push back until August 20 its release of the final list of presidential candidates, a statement released August 17 said. Several of the 34 candidates including hip-hop star Wyclef Jean have had their presidential eligibility requirements questioned at the electoral body.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Two tops of FA piec
**Attachments:** FA Openings for S.docx; ATT00001.txt; FA Openings for S.docx; ATT00001.txt

Huma -- Could you print this document. It has the two different openings for the FA piece. Thx. Lissa

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs article

Yes. We are trying to re-do the opening per Jake right now. Also adding more granularity.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Wed Aug 18 08:07:47 2010
Subject: Foreign Affairs article

Will I get next draft today? I'm running out of time to work on it. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 9:18 AM
**To:** H

H: Interesting and relevant contribution to debate on interrelated jobs issue and China policy. Go back to your proposals on revival of manufacturing sector, too. What is Bill's program on 1m jobs you mentioned? If they won't listen, he should simply do an op-ed. Sid

## Does Thomas Friedman Have to Talk to "Senior Economic Policy Makers" to Get So Many Things Wrong?

Dean Baker is co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research in Washington, DC.

Wednesday, 18 August 2010 04:04

Thomas Friedman begins his piece today by telling readers that: "over the past few weeks I've had a chance to speak with senior economic policy makers in America and Germany." This might lead readers to believe that he is about to share some great insights that would only be possible for someone with special access to these senior economic policy makers.

Readers with this expectation will be seriously disappointed. There is nothing here that is more insightful than what can be found on the Washington Post's editorial pages on an average workday. Friedman rehashes the usual cliches, with the usual lack of thought. In doing so, he gets both the story of the recent past and the present seriously wrong.

Starting with the past, he badly misrepresents the prior business cycle:

"we've just ended more than a decade of debt-fueled growth during which we borrowed money from China to give ourselves a tax cut and more entitlements but did nothing to curtail spending or make long-term investments in new growth engines."

The main problem facing the U.S. economy of the last decade was a lack of demand. This was in large part due to the fact that China lent to us. China's lending was its policy of propping up the value of the dollar in order to maintain its export market in the United States. (At the start of the decade, the Clinton administration had also tried to promote an over-valued dollar.) The over-valued U.S. dollar made imports from China and other countries very cheap in the United States and made our exports expensive in other countries. This led to a large and growing trade deficit over most of the business cycle. The trade deficit replaced domestic demand, preventing the economy from approaching normal levels of employment (even with the boost from the housing bubble) until just before the crash.

There is no reason whatsoever to believe that China's decision to prop up the dollar was in any way affected by the Bush tax cuts. In other words, neither the Bush tax cuts nor the growth in entitlements had anything to do with our borrowing from China. The issue was China's decision to lend and thereby prop up the dollar. Given the weakness of demand through most of the decade, these expenses could have been easily filled by domestic production without borrowing from abroad.

Friedman does no better when he shifts the discussion from the past to the present. He refers to businesses' reluctance to hire as the result of "unusual uncertainty," a phrase attributed to Federal Reserve Board Chairman Ben Bernanke. Of course there is no reluctance to hire, there is simply a lack of demand for labor. A reluctance to hire would be reflected in an increasing number of hours per worker, as employers sought to meet their demand for labor by working the existing workforce more hours.

This is not happening. There is a modest uptick in hours from the low point of the downturn, but the increase in hours per worker is certainly no more rapid than in other recessions and the average workweek is still far shorter in just about every sector than it was before the downturn.

Later he tells readers:

"America's solvency inflection point is coinciding with a technological one. Thanks to Internet diffusion, the rise of cloud computing, social networking and the shift from laptops and desktops to hand-held iPads and iPhones, technology is destroying older, less skilled jobs that paid a decent wage at a faster pace than ever while spinning off more new skilled jobs that pay a decent wage *but require more education than ever*."

This is a great story -- social networking is soaring, IPads are everywhere -- does Friedman have any evidence whatsoever that this development has increased the demand for educated workers and reduced the demand for less educated workers? If so, this would be the place in his column to present the evidence. Otherwise, readers might think that the 4.7 percent unemployment rate for college grads (nearly triple the pre-recession level), coupled with a decline in their real wages over the decade, implies a reduced demand for the labor of highly educated workers as well as less educated workers.

Friedman's proposed fix also seems a bit wide of the mark. He insists:

"There is only one way to deal with this challenge: more innovation to stimulate new industries and jobs that can pay workers $40 an hour, coupled with a huge initiative to train more Americans to win these jobs over their global competitors. There is no other way."

We better hope there is another way. A wage of $40 an hour would put a worker well over the 90th percentile on the wage distribution. Even if we double the number of jobs in this pay range -- an incredible accomplishment -- what happens to the other 80 percent of the workforce?

Friedman then warns us of the challenge from Europe by getting Germany's past and present wrong:

"Keeping up with Germany won't be easy. A decade ago Germany was the 'sick man of Europe.' No more. The Germans pulled together. Labor gave up wage hikes and allowed businesses to improve competitiveness and worker flexibility, while the government subsidized firms to keep skilled workers on the job in the downturn."

Germany clearly has done some changes that benefited its economy, like work sharing, and some that haven't, but its past as the "sick man of Europe" is an invention of Friedman or his highly placed sources. Germany always ran a trade surplus. That is the most basic measure of a country's competitiveness: foreigners are buying its goods. Germany's unemployment rate in 2000 averaged 7.5 percent, not hugely different than its current 7.0 percent rate.

The story here is that Friedman seems to have completely missed the basics of the current economic crisis in spite of his weeks of conversing with senior economic policy makers. The current crisis is due to a lack of demand pure and simple. If we generate demand either through more expansionary Fed monetary policy, greater fiscal stimulus, or increased exports due to a falling dollar, there is no reason to believe that the economy will not return to high levels of employment. Certainly Friedman has presented no evidence that increased demand will not generate increased employment as it always has.

The longer term debt problem is overwhelmingly a health care story. Apparently Mr. Friedman's sources don't have access to documents like the Medicare trustees report, which imply that U.S. health care costs will be controlled and there will be no serious long-term deficit problem. This may prove wrong, but it seems that it would have at least been worth noting in his column. Of course, if we have not fixed our health care system, we can always achieve huge saving by relying on the more efficient health care systems in other countries.

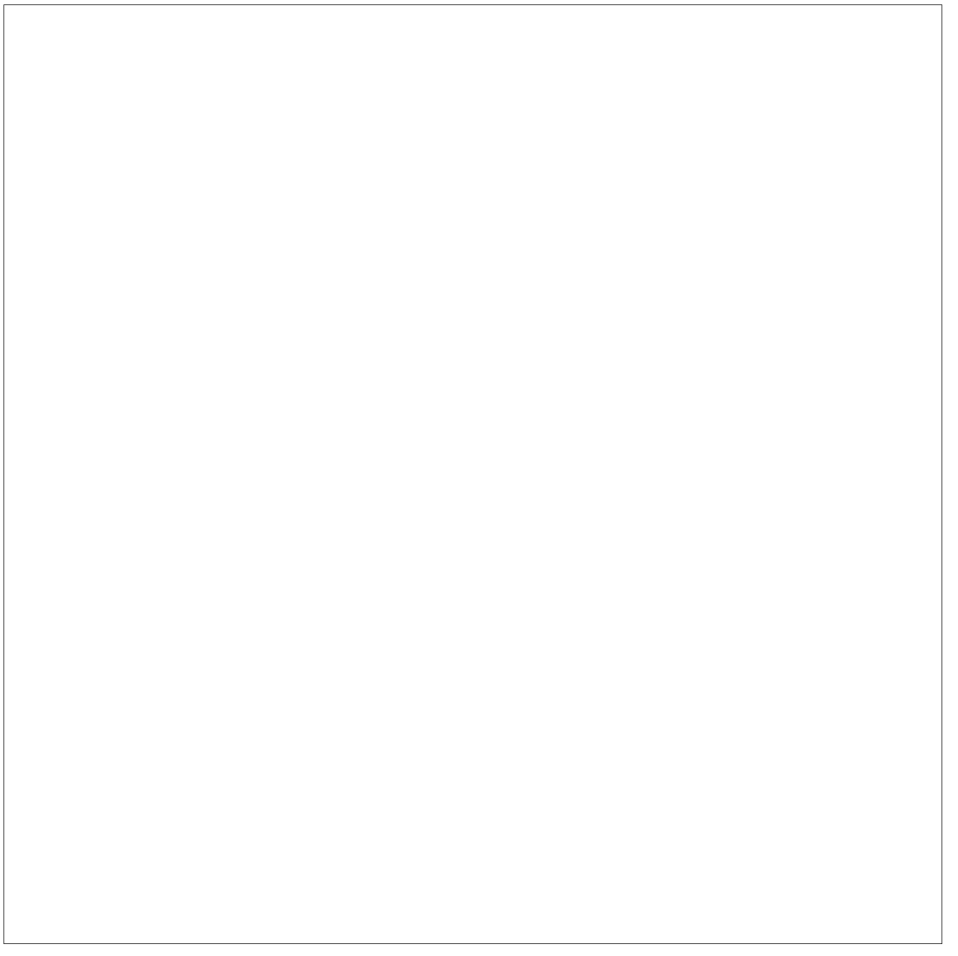
If Friedman's intention was to scare us, he succeeded. After all, if senior economic policy makers in the U.S. and Germany are as badly misinformed as Friedman implies, then we can expect some very bad times ahead.

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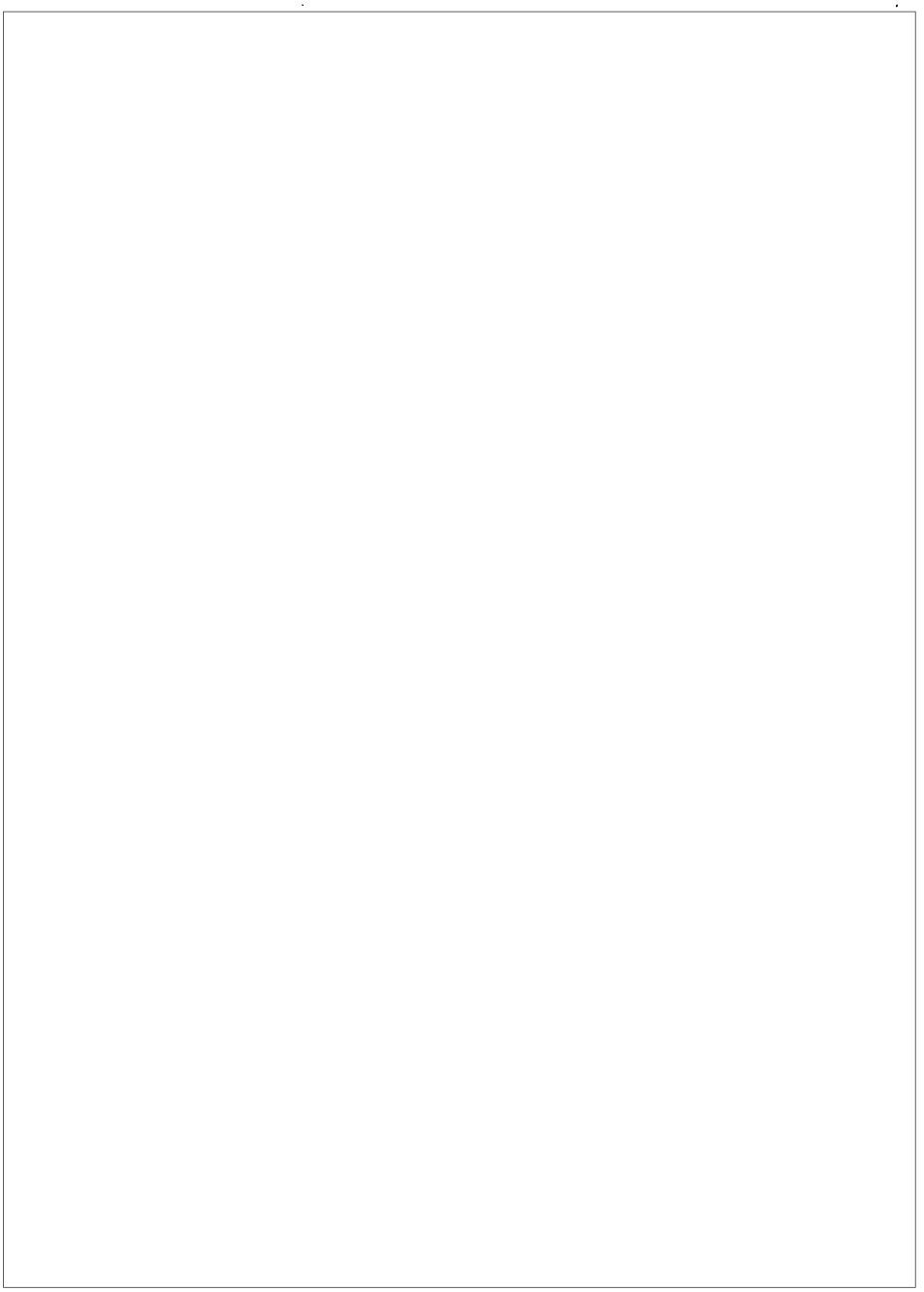
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**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

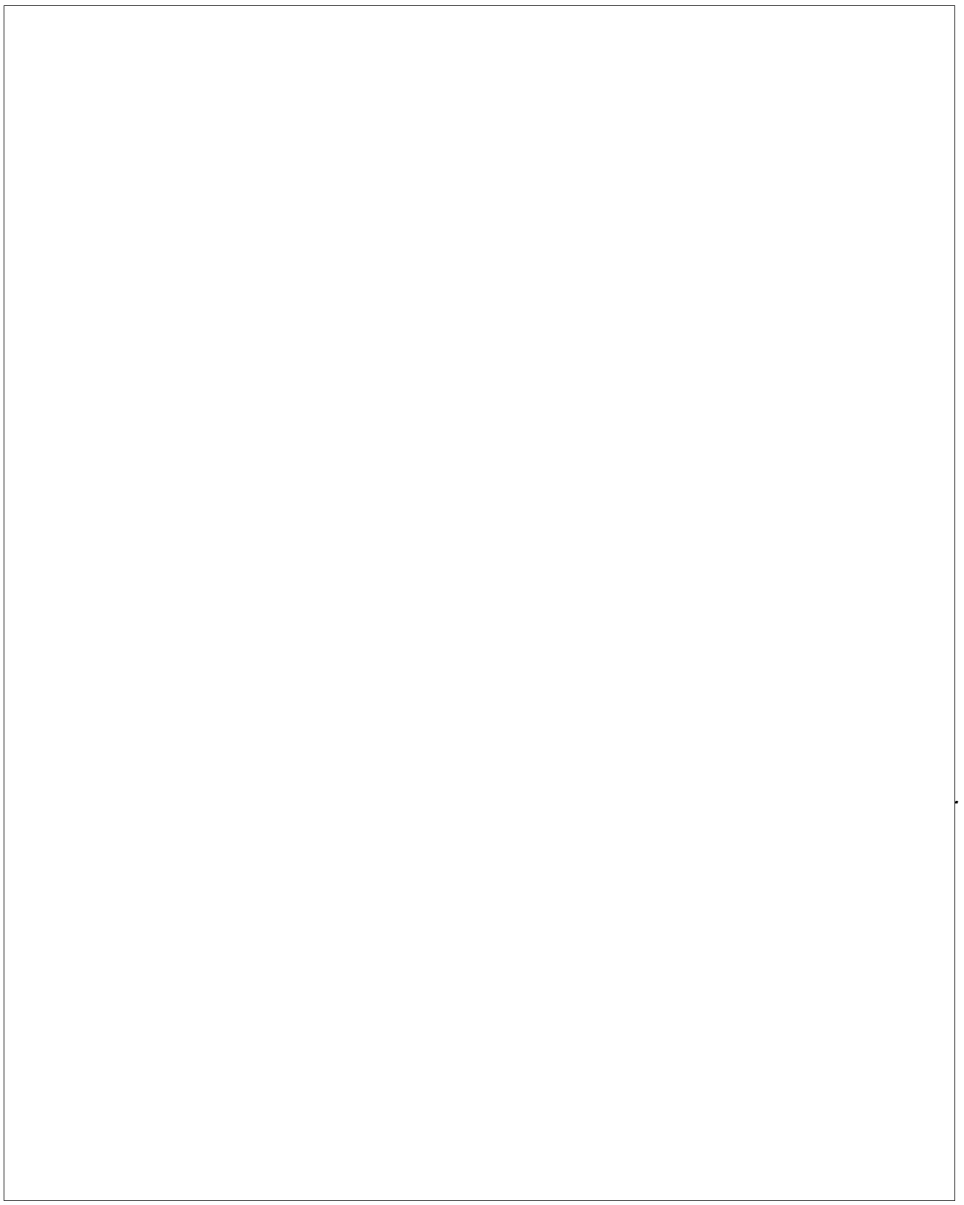
**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**



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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy <
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 17, 2010 6:44 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re:

Pretty puny outcome for all the hype.

And, how are you doing? We're trying to get away for a week on Friday. I'd really like to go to one of those Swiss sleep sanitariums if they still exist.

Love and hugs----xxoo Gert

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy <
To: H
Sent: Tue Aug 17 17:40:57 2010
Subject:

Blago found guilty of lying to the FBI; will be retried on the other 23 counts; jury hung on 27 counts (4 agst his brother)

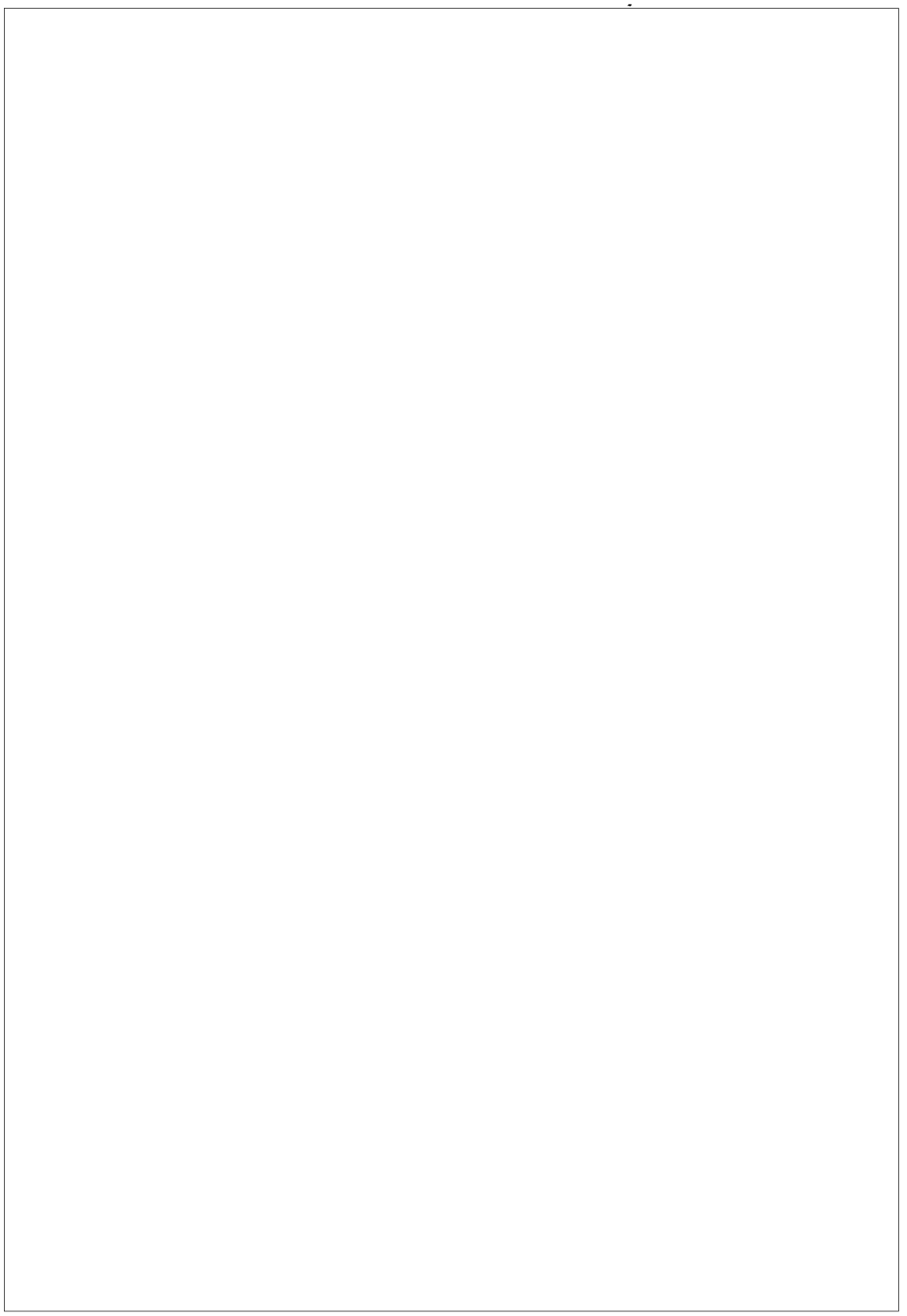
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**DRAFT 21 (VERSION THIS MORNING)**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**

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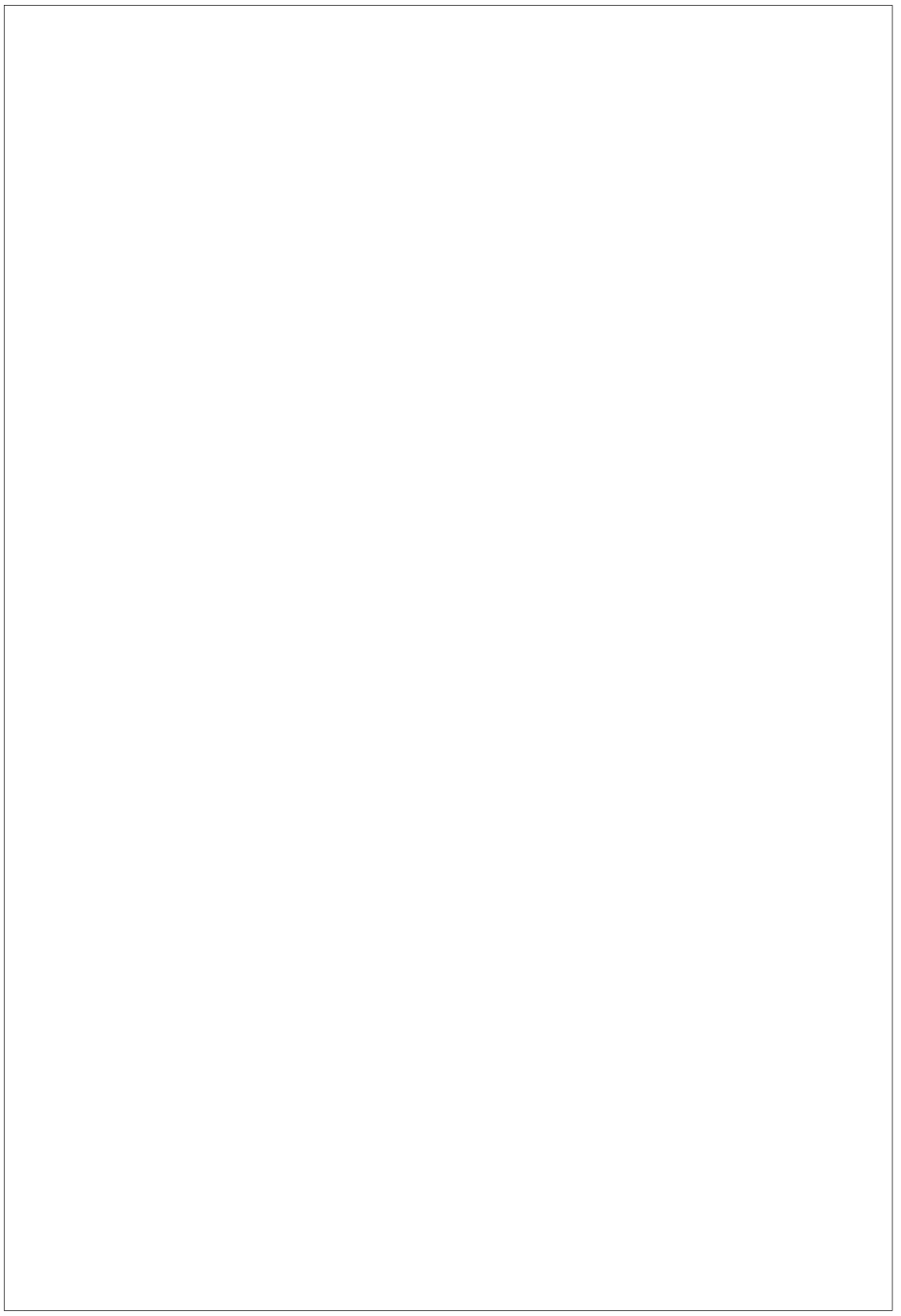
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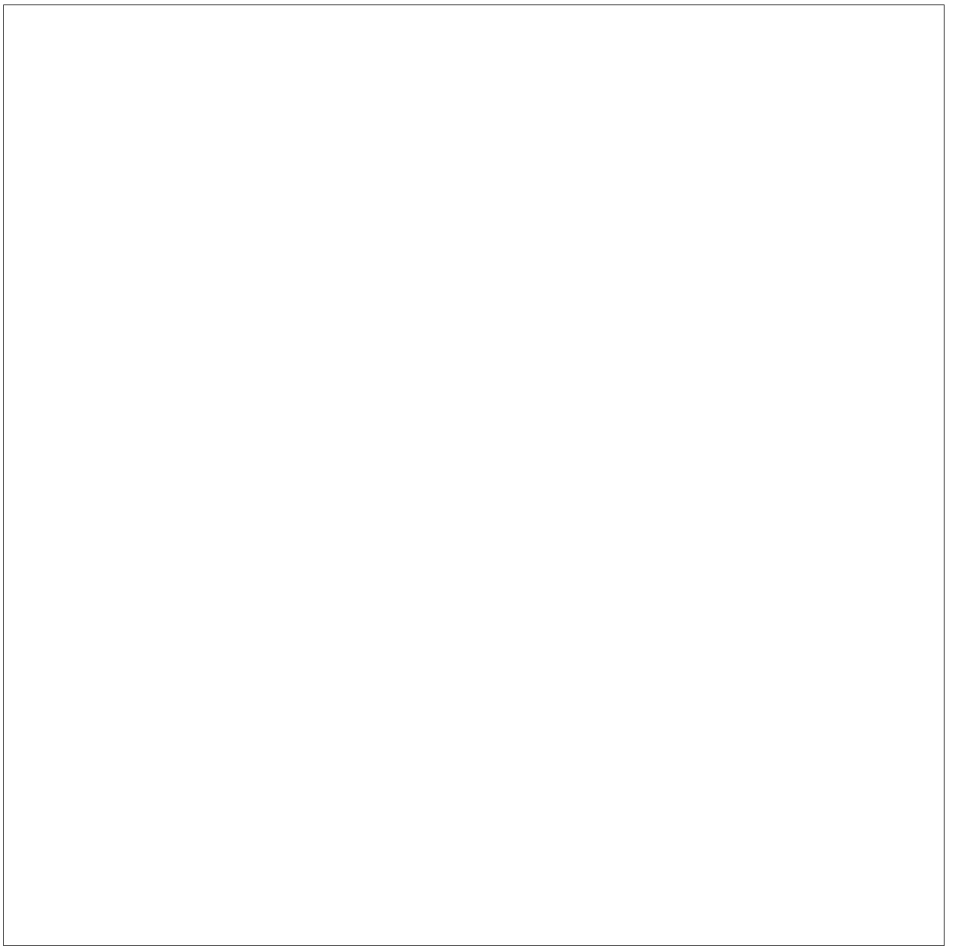


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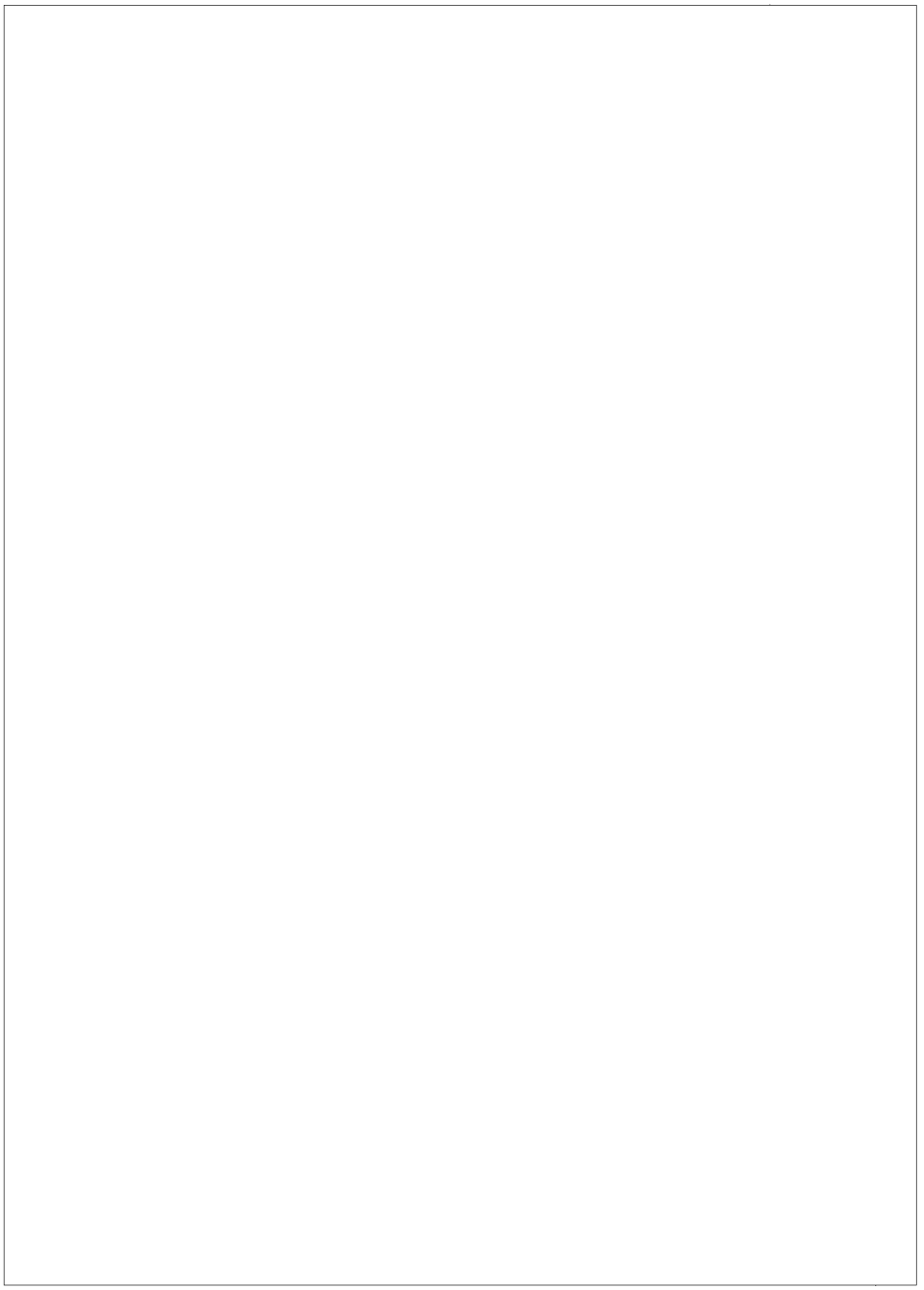
Draft 20 (last night)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

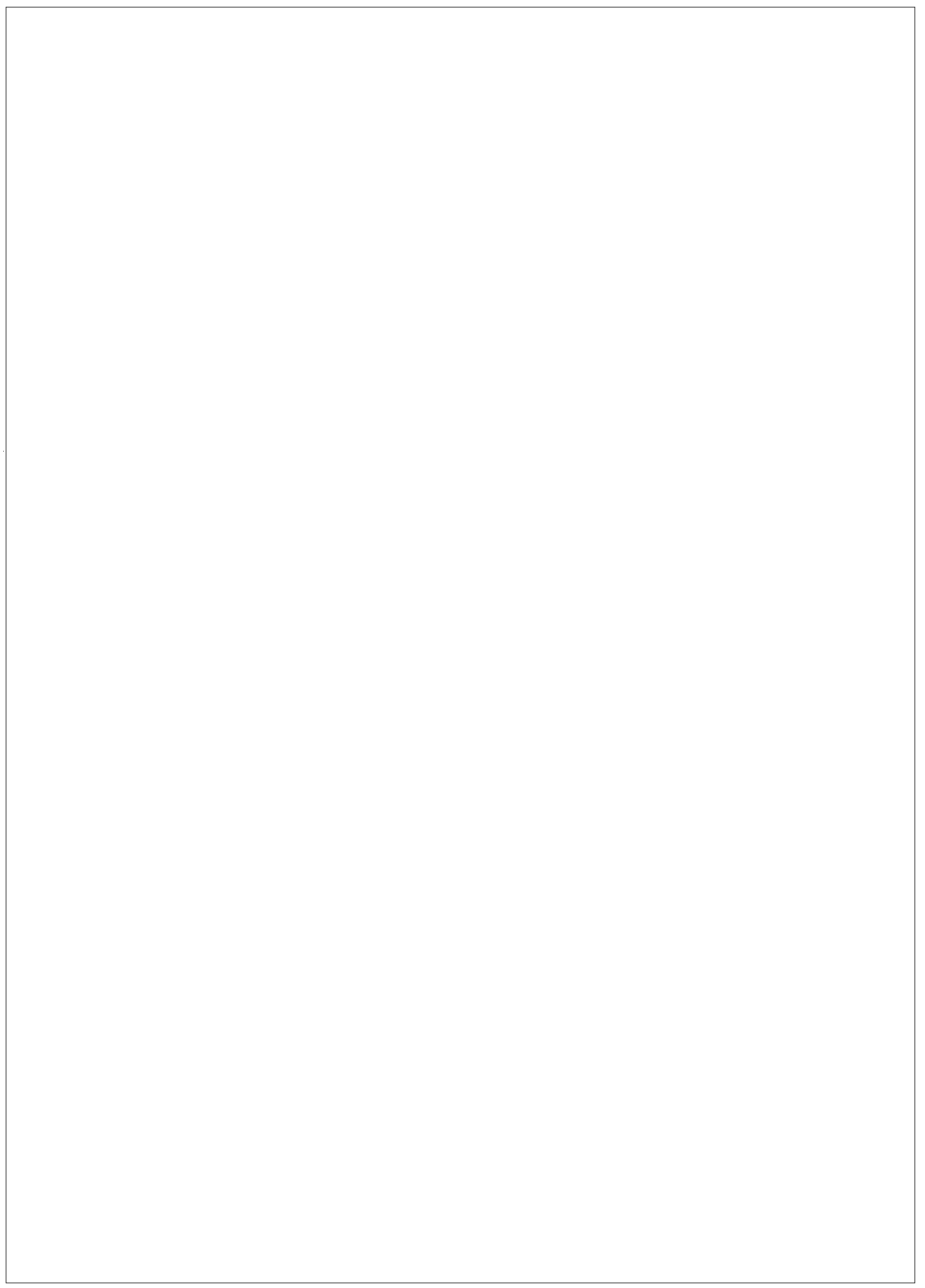
LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER



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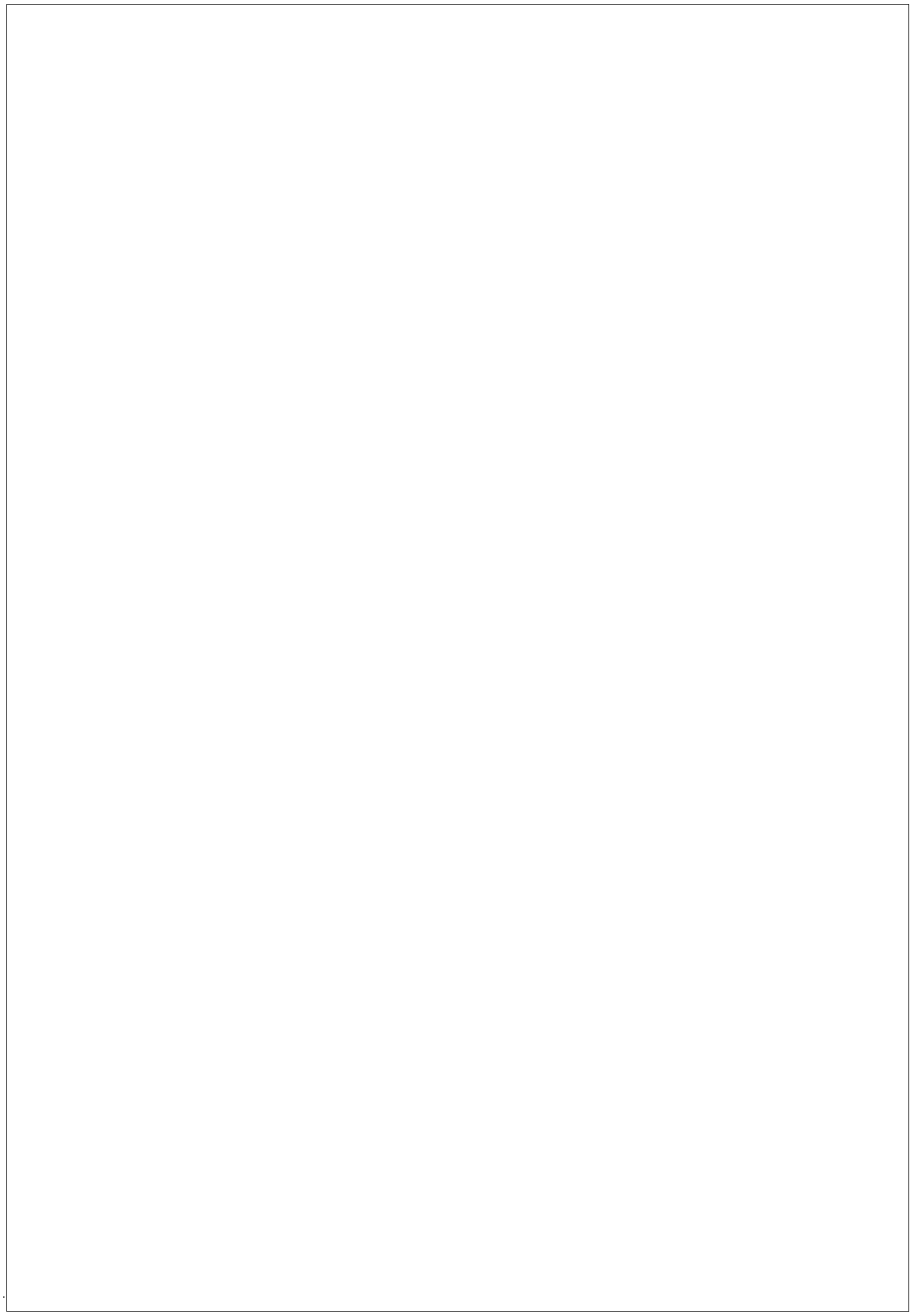
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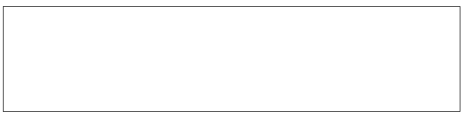
**DRAFT 21 (VERSION THIS MORNING)**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**

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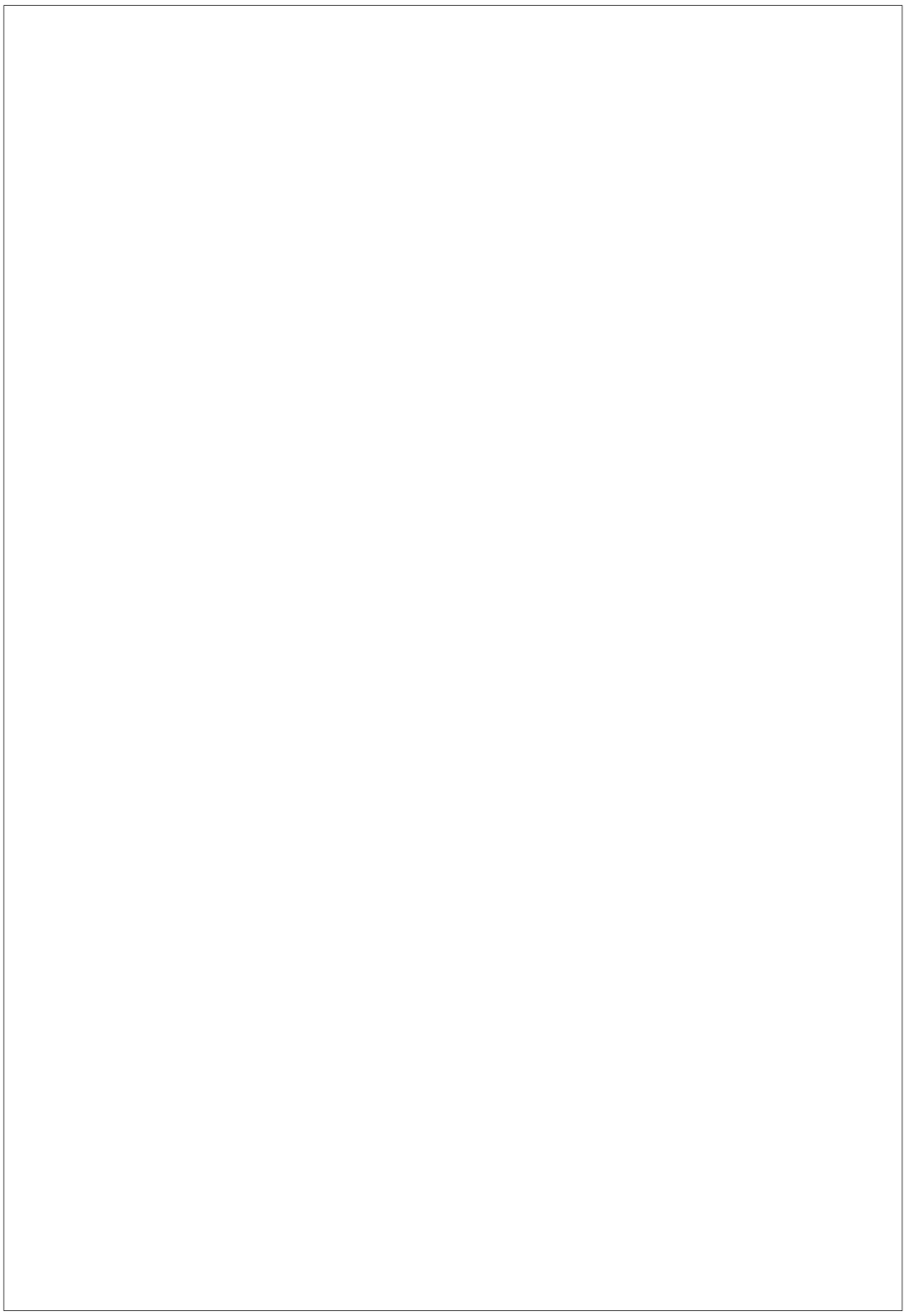
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 6:31 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FA article update

I don't want to keep you hanging all evening. I will spare you the excuses; we think we can have you something by 9:00. In some ways it's getting rougher before it's getting smoother, as we get the top right and add examples. But it would be very good to have you engage again to make sure we are going in the right direction. This draft also benefits from extensive comments from Jack, Raj, and Jake. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

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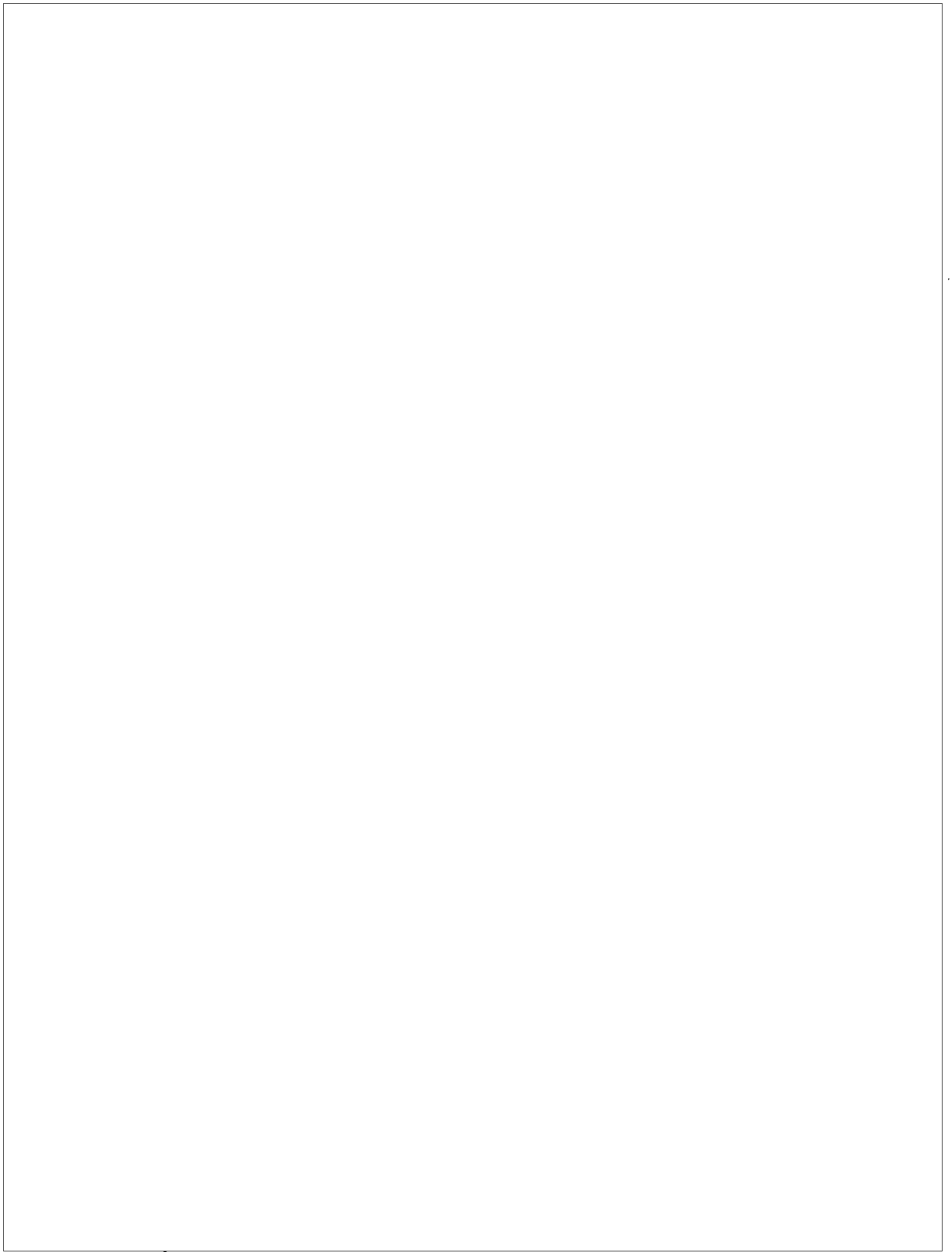
RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 8:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake is free to talk whenever you are.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Reference Letter

B6



B6



RELEASE IN FULL

ATT00001 (8)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 18, 2010 10:32 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FA article

As you have probably figured out by now, it's not ready. We were prepared to send you something rough, but it's just not in a state where it makes sense for you to engage. I will call Jim Hoge tomorrow and get another week of need be; Lissa is going to take over the drafting tomorrow with the aim of getting you a draft by late afternoon that you can really take some time with; we will then take your comments Friday or Sat (if you need more time) and then not bother you again until we have a final. I'm sorry, but it is most important that this be good.
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 7:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) US announces aid boost to Pakistan after flooding

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Thu Aug 19 04:30:48 2010
**Subject**: (AP) US announces aid boost to Pakistan after flooding

GHAZI AIR BASE (AP) – The United States will increase its aid to flood-ravaged Pakistan to $150 million, U.S. Sen. John Kerry said, stressing that Washington did not want Islamist extremism to increase on the back of the crisis. The United States has deployed army helicopters to hard hit areas as part of a package worth $90 million. U.S. Sen. John Kerry, who is visiting Pakistan to see the flood damage, said that would increase to $150 million. The figure is expected to be announced at a U.N. general assembly meeting in New York August 19. He was speaking after meeting U.S. military personnel taking part in helicopter relief missions.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/19/10 Thursday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route **State Department**

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:30 am Secretary's Office

10:30 am **TAPED TELEVISION INTERVIEW w/ANWAR IQBAL, *DAWN NEWS***
10:40 am Marshall Room

10:45 am **TAPED TELEVISION INTERVIEW w/SAMI ABRAHAM, *GEO TV***
10:55 am Marshall Room

11:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:40 am Secretary's Office

11:45 am **DEPART** State Department
En route Andrews AFB

12:10 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews AFB

12:20 pm **DEPART** Andrews AFB via US Air Force Military Aircraft Tail #70400
En route New York, NY-LaGuardia Airport

1:10 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

1:20 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport
En route United Nations

2:00 pm **ARRIVE** United Nations

2:00 pm **MEETING w/FOREIGN MINISTER MEHMOOD QURESHI, PAKISTAN**
2:20 pm Room GA-TSC-03C (P5 Meeting Room) *Camera spray at top.

2:40 pm **MEETING w/SECRETARY GENERAL BAN KI-MOON**
3:00 pm GA-200 (Room directly behind the General Assembly Dias) *Camera spray at top.

3:00 pm **REMARKS AT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL PLENARY SESSION**
4:20 pm (t) **ON FLOOD RELIEF FOR PAKISTAN** General Assembly Hall

4:20 pm (t) **DEPART** United Nations
En route Private Residence

5:10 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence ###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Calls

Waiting on yu.
Alexander will be pretty soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:25:16 2010
Subject: Re: Calls

Schedule Yu and Alexander for before noon. Just let me know when.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:18:10 2010
Subject: Calls

- did u get yu call sheet in pouch. Let me know if u want to schedule.
- alexander available until 1.
- menendez: can talk at 8pm today or tomorrow or thurs after 12pm
- mashabane is traveling in china so no word yet.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** worth reading, even if you know the intel

H: I'm sure you know the facts in this well-informed piece, how Mullah Omar was saved by ISI, for example, but the idea of Afghanistan as an aspect of Indo-Pak war is the best and overarching strategic concept. Sid

http://www.newstatesman.com/asia/2010/08/india-pakistan-afghanistan

PRINT CLOSE

# The military and the mullahs

William Dalrymple
Published 23 August 2010
The Pakistani state has a long history of nurturing jihadis as a means of dominating Afghanistan and undermining India. It is proving a fatal alliance.

It may have been a nightmarish year for Pakistan but it has been a pretty good one for the country's inscrutable chief of army staff, the most powerful man in the Land of the Pure, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani.
For a start, the army's response to the floods has compared well to the usual corrupt incompetence of Pakistan's civilian politicians, guided by their chateau-hopping president, Asif Ali Zardari (while minister for investment, he was nicknamed "Mr 10 Per Cent"; he has now been upgraded to "Mr 110 Per Cent"). This has led to discussion in army circles about whether it is time to drop the civilian fig leaf and return the country to the loving embrace of its military. So serious is this threat, that one of the country's most senior and well-connected journalists, Najam Sethi, editor-in-chief of the *Friday Times*, went on the record this month to warn that elements in the army were plotting yet another coup. "I know this is definitely being discussed," he said.
Then there was the news that Kayani was going to be allowed to keep his job for a second term: "an extraordinary situation requires an extraordinary decision to overcome it", explained a brigadier, writing in the Nation newspaper. Kayani, a former head of Pakistan's notorious intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), can now continue to run the army, and by default Pakistan's foreign policy, until November 2013.
But Kayani's biggest triumph this year, arguably the greatest of his career, was his visit to Kabul in July as the honoured guest of the Afghan president, Hamid Karzai. The visit marked an important thawing in Pak-Afghan relations, which have been glacial ever since Karzai came to power in 2001. It also coincided with the sacking of Amrullah Saleh, Karzai's pro-Indian and rabidly anti-ISI former security chief. Saleh is a tough Tajik who rose to prominence as a mujahedin protégé of Ahmed Shah Massoud, the Indian-backed "Lion of Panjshir". The Taliban, and their sponsors in the ISI, had regarded Saleh as their fiercest opponent, something Saleh was enormously proud of.
When I had dinner with him in Kabul in May, he spoke at length of his frustration with the ineffectiveness of Karzai's government in taking the fight to the Taliban, and the extent to which the ISI was managing to aid, arm and train its puppet insurgents in North Waziristan and Balochistan. Saleh's sacking gave notice of an important change of direction by Karzai. As Bruce Riedel, Barack Obama's Af-Pak adviser, said when the news broke, "it means that Karzai is already planning for a post-American Afghanistan".
It seems that Kayani and Karzai are discussing some sort of accommodation between the Afghan government and ISI-sponsored elements in the Taliban, maybe those of Sirajuddin Haqqani, which could give over much of the Pashtun south to pro-Pakistan Taliban, but preserve Karzai in power in Kabul after the US withdrawal. The expulsion of India, Pakistan's great regional rival, from Afghanistan, or at least the closing of its four regional consulates, would be a top priority for the ISI in return for any deal that kept Karzai in power.
With the US toppling of the Taliban after the 11 September 2001 attacks, Pakistan's influence disappeared abruptly from Afghanistan and
India quickly filled the vacuum. To the ISI's horror, in the early years of this decade, India provided reconstruction assistance and training worth roughly £835m in total. It also built roads, sanitation projects, the new Afghan parliament and free medical facilities across the country. It even offered to help train the Afghan army. Nato refused. As General

Stanley McChrystal put it in a report last year, "while Indian activities largely benefit the Afghan people, increasing Indian influence in Afghanistan is likely to exacerbate regional tensions and encourage Pakistani countermeasures".
McChrystal was right. The Pakistanis have always been paranoid about the small Indian presence in Afghanistan. "We have strong evidence [that India is] using Afghanistan against Pakistan's interests to destabilise Pakistan," a foreign ministry spokesman claimed in March. Pakistan's military establishment, terrified of the economic superpower emerging to the south, believes it would be suicide to accept an Indian presence in what it regards as its Afghan backyard - a potential point of retreat for the army in the event of an Indian invasion, something Pakistani analysts refer to as vital "strategic depth".
According to Indian diplomatic sources, there are still fewer than 3,600 Indians in Afghanistan; there are only ten Indian diplomatic officers, as opposed to nearly 150 in the UK embassy. Yet the horror of being encircled has led the ISI to risk Pakistan's relationship with its main strategic ally, the US, in order to keep the Taliban in play and its leadership under ISI patronage in Quetta - a policy Kayani developed while head of the ISI. Karzai's new deal with the Pakistanis, and his clear intention to try to reach some accommodation with their proxies among the Taliban, therefore represents a major strategic victory for Kayani and Pakistan's military, as well as a grave diplomatic defeat for India.
Pakistan's support for the Taliban today is only the most recent chapter of an old story of complicity between jihadi movements and the Pakistani state. Since the days of the anti-Soviet mujahedin, Pakistan's army saw violent Islamic groups as an ingenious and cost-effective means of both dominating Afghanistan (which they finally achieved with the retreat of the Soviets in 1987) and bogging down the Hindu-dominated Indian army in Kashmir (which they managed with great effect from 1990 onwards).
The former ISI director and Dick Dastardly lookalike Hamid Gul, who was largely responsible for developing the strategy, once said to me: "If the jihadis go out and contain India, tying down one million men of their army on their own soil, for a legitimate cause, why should we not support them?" Next to Gul in his Islamabad living room lay a piece of the Berlin Wall presented to him by the city's people for "delivering the first blow" to the Soviet empire through his use of jihadis in the 1980s. The WikiLeaks documents suggest he is still busy liaising with jihadis in his "retirement".
The Pakistani military top brass were long convinced that they could control the militants they have nurtured. In a taped conversation between President Pervez Musharraf and Muhammad Aziz Khan, his chief of general staff, that India released in 1999, Aziz said the army had the jihadis by their "tooti" (balls). Yet the Islamists have increasingly followed their own agendas, sending suicide bombers out against not just Pakistan's religious minorities and political leaders, but even the ISI headquarters. Nonetheless, many in the army still believe the jihadis are a more practical defence against Indian hegemony than nuclear weapons. For them, supporting Islamist groups is not an ideological or religious whim, so much as a practical and patriotic imperative - a vital survival strategy for a Pakistani state.
The army and ISI continued this duplicitous and risky policy after 11 September 2001 despite Musharraf's public promises to the contrary. The speed with which the US lost interest in Afghanistan after its invasion and embarked on plans to invade Iraq convinced the Pakistani army that the Washington had no long-term commitment to Karzai's regime. This led to the generals keeping the Taliban in reserve, to be used to reinstal a pro-Pakistani regime in Kabul once the American gaze had turned elsewhere.
So it was that the ISI gave refuge to the leadership of the Taliban after it fled from Afghanistan in 2001. Mullah Mohammed Omar was kept in an ISI safehouse in Quetta; his militia was lodged in the sprawling suburb of Pashtunabad. There, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar presided over the Taliban military committee and war chest. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of Hizb-e-Islami, was lured back from exile in Iran and allowed to operate freely outside Peshawar, while Jalaluddin Haqqani, one of the most violent Taliban commanders, was given sanctuary in North Waziristan. Other groups were despatched to safehouses in Balochistan.
By 2004, the US had filmed Pakistani army trucks delivering Taliban fighters at the Afghan border and recovering them a few days later; wireless monitoring at the US base at Bagram picked up Taliban commanders arranging with Pakistani army officers at the border for safe passage as they came in and out of Afghanistan. Western intelligence agencies concluded that the ISI was running a full training programme for the Afghan Taliban, turning a blind eye as they raised funds in the Gulf and allowing them to import materiel, mainly via Dubai. By 2005 the Taliban, with covert Pakistani support, were launching a full-scale assault on Nato troops in Afghanistan and being given covering fire as they returned to their bases in Pakistan.
At the same time, Taliban attacks on Indian interests in Afghanistan intensified, beginning the process of turning the Afghan conflict, like that in Kashmir, into what it is today: an Indo-Pak proxy war. The Indian embassy in Kabul was twice bombed - in July 2008 and October 2009 - as were two city-centre hotels thought to have been used by the Research and Analysis Wing (Raw), the Indian intelligence agency. Seven Indian civilians and two Indian military officers died in the blasts.
The degree to which the ISI has been controlling the Afghan Taliban has only just become clear, and not just in the documents published by WikiLeaks. A report by Matt Waldman of the Carr Centre for Human Rights at Harvard, based on interviews with ten former senior Taliban commanders, closely documents how the ISI "orchestrates, sustains and strongly influences" the Taliban and shows how the ISI is even represented on the Taliban's supreme leadership council, the Quetta Shura.
Meanwhile, in the Punjab, Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, founder of Lashkar-e-Toiba, and the man believed to have been behind the 2008 Bombay attacks, has been allowed to continue operating from Muridke, near Lahore. "The powerful western world is terrorising Muslims," he told a conference in Islamabad this year. "We are being invaded, manipulated

and looted. We must fight the evil trio of America, Israel and India. Suicide missions are in accordance with Islam. In fact, a suicide attack is the best form of jihad."

At the same time as pursuing its policy of selectively using jihadis, Pakistan has appeased the US by giving generous assistance to the CIA in arresting foreign Arab al-Qaeda personnel. A major assault was also launched against both the militants who took over the Lal Masjid and the ultra-radical Pakistan Taliban who took over the Swat Valley and announced their intention of turning the country into an Islamic Emirate. In the course of these operations and others in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, more than 1,500 Pakistani soldiers and policemen were killed; another 250,000 people were made homeless in the Pak army assault on Bajaur. The ISI has even been prepared to arrest any members of the Afghan Taliban who didn't follow orders. Hence the seizure in Karachi, in February, of the Taliban second-in-command, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, along with about a dozen other senior Taliban whom the ISI regarded as infringing on their hospitality by opening talks with the Karzai administration via the Saudis, without ISI clearance.

Yet, even though the Pakistani army has conducted major offensives in six of the tribal areas, the seventh, North Waziristan, has been left alone, as it is home to the ISI's favourite proxies: Haqqani and Hekmatyar. Similarly, Pakistan's foot-dragging response to the 2008 attacks on Bombay, and the lack of response to the attacks on minority faith groups in Pakistan over the past few months, show that the Janus-faced policy remains in place. This summer, the chief minister of the Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif, was quoted heatedly denying that there were any militant groups working in the Pakistani Punjab, or that the Punjabi Taliban even existed. There are still, in the eyes of many in the Pakistani establishment, good Taliban and bad Taliban, useful militants and expendable ones.

In their eyes, the ongoing defeat of Nato in Afghanistan, with US and British troops suffering record casualties last month, is a vindication of its long-term strategy. Islamabad has succeeded in regaining influence in Afghanistan and Delhi has been checked. But India will not take this lying down. Already the Indian press has reported attempts to resuscitate the Northern Alliance as a contingency against the Taliban's takeover of the south, and here India is working in conjuction with Russia, Iran and the central Asian "stans". The Indian national security adviser, Shivshankar Menon, was despatched to Afghanistan in March, and the foreign minister, S M Krishna, has visited Tehran. Post-American Afghanistan is looking increasingly likely to be divided between the Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara north and the Pashtun south, either formally, with a partition, or more likely, to slip into inter-ethnic civil war, with India supporting and arming the north and Pakistan the south.

As diplomacy gathers pace, the Afghan Taliban, who already control over 70 per cent of the country. continue to increase their power. The most worrying development has been the spread of Taliban units to the previously peaceful north, where they have taken over pockets of Pathan settlement around Kunduz and Badakhshan. The death of the British aid worker Karen Woo on 5 August was a direct result.

In Pakistan, too, jihadi activity is growing. Last year there were 87 suicide attacks across the country, killing roughly 3,000 people and the ISI this week stated that, for the first time in the nation's history, it regarded home-grown Islamic militants to be a bigger threat to the integrity of the nation than India. Yet the army continues to obsess about India. In a recent speech, Kayani emphasised that although the army knows the dangers of militancy, it was against Indian attacks that he was principally focused. At a time when Pakistan's economy is in crisis, electricity supply increasingly erratic and the educational system in complete breakdown, Kayani has secured a huge increase in the country's defence budget.

It is not a pretty picture: growing violence everywhere, increasing Indo-Pak tensions and a defeat for western interests in the region. Worst of all, because the Pakistani army regards this as a major triumph, it is unlikely to change its policy any time soon.

*William Dalrymple's "Nine Lives: in Search of the Sacred in Modern India" won the first Asia House Literary Award in May and is newly published in paperback (Bloomsbury, £8.99)*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 12:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Indian PM shows solidarity with Pakistan against floods

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Thu Aug 19 11:07:01 2010
**Subject:** FW: Indian PM shows solidarity with Pakistan against floods

Can you flag for S – Singh is doing a good thing here.

---

**From:** membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com [mailto:membership_services@fma.sosiltd.com] **On Behalf Of** News Desk
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** Afghanistan-Pakistan News Alerts; CENTCOM News Alerts; PACOM News Alerts
**Subject:** Indian PM shows solidarity with Pakistan against floods

Indian PM shows solidarity with Pakistan against floods

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 19 (Xinhua) -- Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh called his Pakistani counterpart Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani over phone Thursday to convey the condolences and commensurations of his government and the people of India on the loss of precious lives and damage to the properties and infrastructure caused by floods in Pakistan.

The Indian prime minister said that the member States in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation should come together to help Pakistan in every way possible at this critical juncture, according to the Pakistani PM office.

Gilani thanked his Indian counterpart for his kind gesture of calling him to express his sympathies and solidarity with Pakistan in its hour of trial.

He briefed the Indian prime minister over the huge damage caused by this unprecedented natural calamity in all the provinces of the country, which, according to UN estimates, was far bigger than the effects of earthquakes and tsunami which hit Pakistan in 2005 and Haiti last year respectively.

Gilani also availed the opportunity to reiterate Pakistan's keen desire to have friendly, cooperative and good neighborly relations with India.

He hoped that in accordance with the agreement reached in Thimphu in Bhutan in April, the bilateral dialogue between the two countries would progress a meaningful, substantive and result- oriented way by addressing all the issues of concern to both countries including Kashmir dispute.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: If Facebook existed in the old days...

Nice work from one of our star PAO's --- Joann Lockard in Kampala

jm

**From:** Lockard, Joann M
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 6:21 AM
**To:** Diallo, Robin D; Stewart, Kristin M; Millar, Diane M; Mallinger, Stephen M; Sene, Demba ; Diallo, Khalil B; Roche, Lynn W
**Subject:** RE: If Facebook existed in the old days...

We're still working on Facebook...But I've got YouTube now!

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jc2GyLiiNgo

*Joann M. Lockard*

Joann M. Lockard
Public Affairs Officer
U.S. Mission Uganda
Plot 1577 Ggaba Road
P.O. Box 7007
Kampala, Uganda

Tel: (256) 414-259-791 x6310
Fax: (256) 414-250-314
Mobile: [redacted] B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:56 AM
**To:** lmuscatine B6
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Two tops of FA piec

Yes

----- Original Message -----
From: Lissa Muscatine
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:36:26 2010
Subject: Two tops of FA piec

Huma -- Could you print this document. It has the two different openings for the FA piece. Thx. Lissa

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 11:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Two tops of FA piec
**Attachments:** FA Openings for S.docx; ATT3298894.txt; FA Openings for S.docx; ATT3298894.txt

Justin printing for you
Talked to einhorn, he doesn't have mtg till 1pm. So if you called, needs to be after meeting. And there will be a new call sheet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:36:26 2010
Subject: Two tops of FA piec

Huma -- Could you print this document. It has the two different openings for the FA piece. Thx. Lissa

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** H; williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Loved dinner last night

The girls' team will deliver!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'williamsbarrett [redacted]
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Aug 19 13:06:52 2010
Subject: Loved dinner last night

And I passed on our "girl talk" to Cheryl who's anxious to follow up. I suggested a four way call w the three of us and Melanne and so am copying both to try to start scheduling it.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 2:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Fw: My status

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Sep 30 20:09:05 2010
Subject: My status

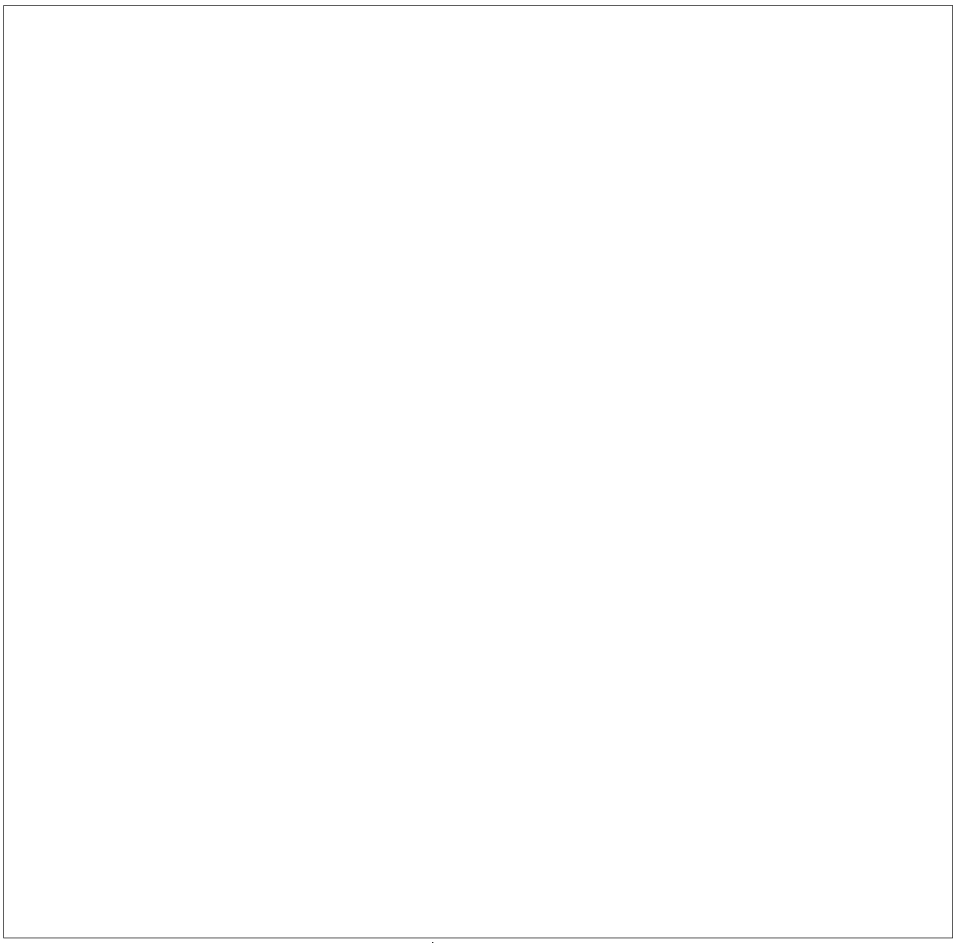
Mitchell and team leave at 5 tomorrow for Qatar. My inclination is that my value add to the team declines in making these Arab rounds, so I was thinking of flying back overnight tomorrow night. But if you believe I can be of use out here, I'm certainly prepared to stay.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Draft 20 (last night)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

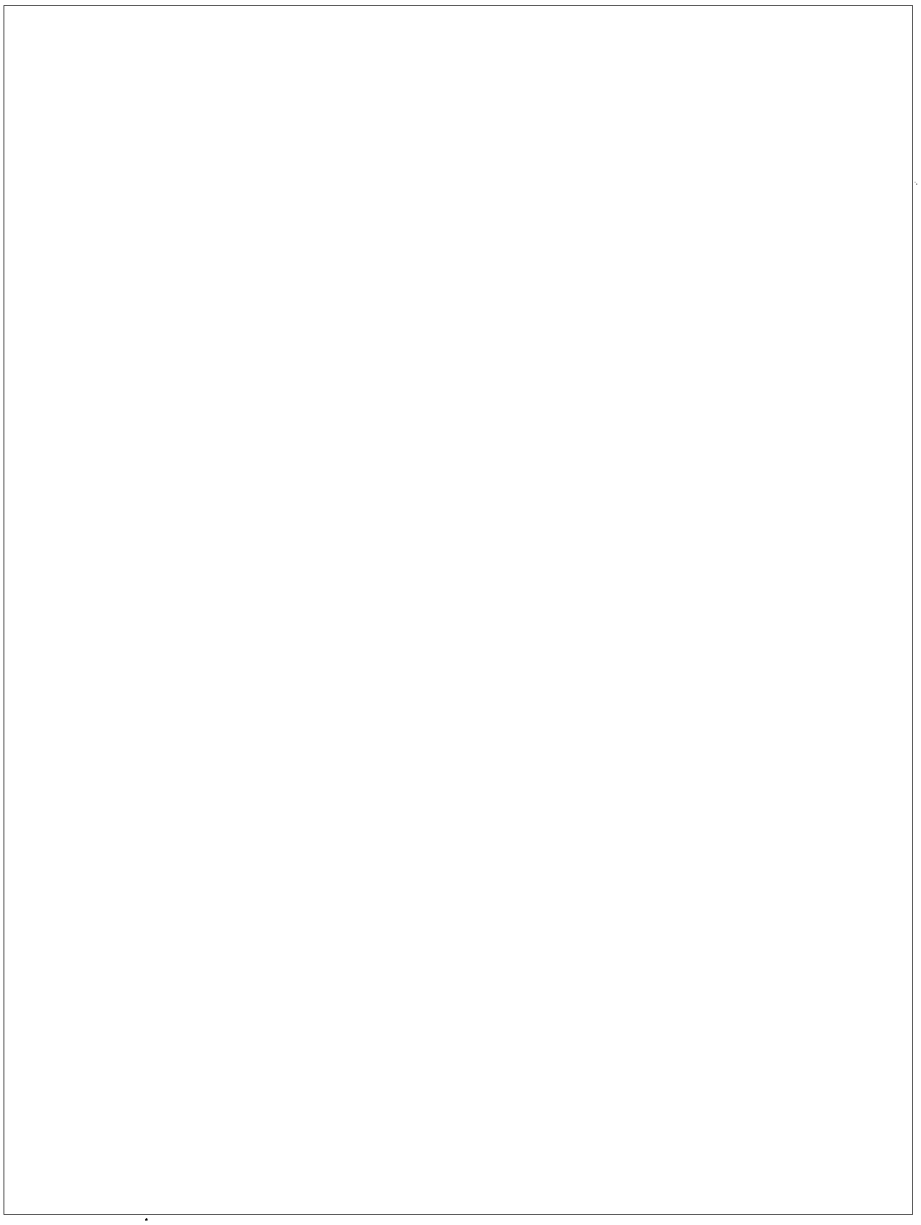
LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER



B5

B5





B5

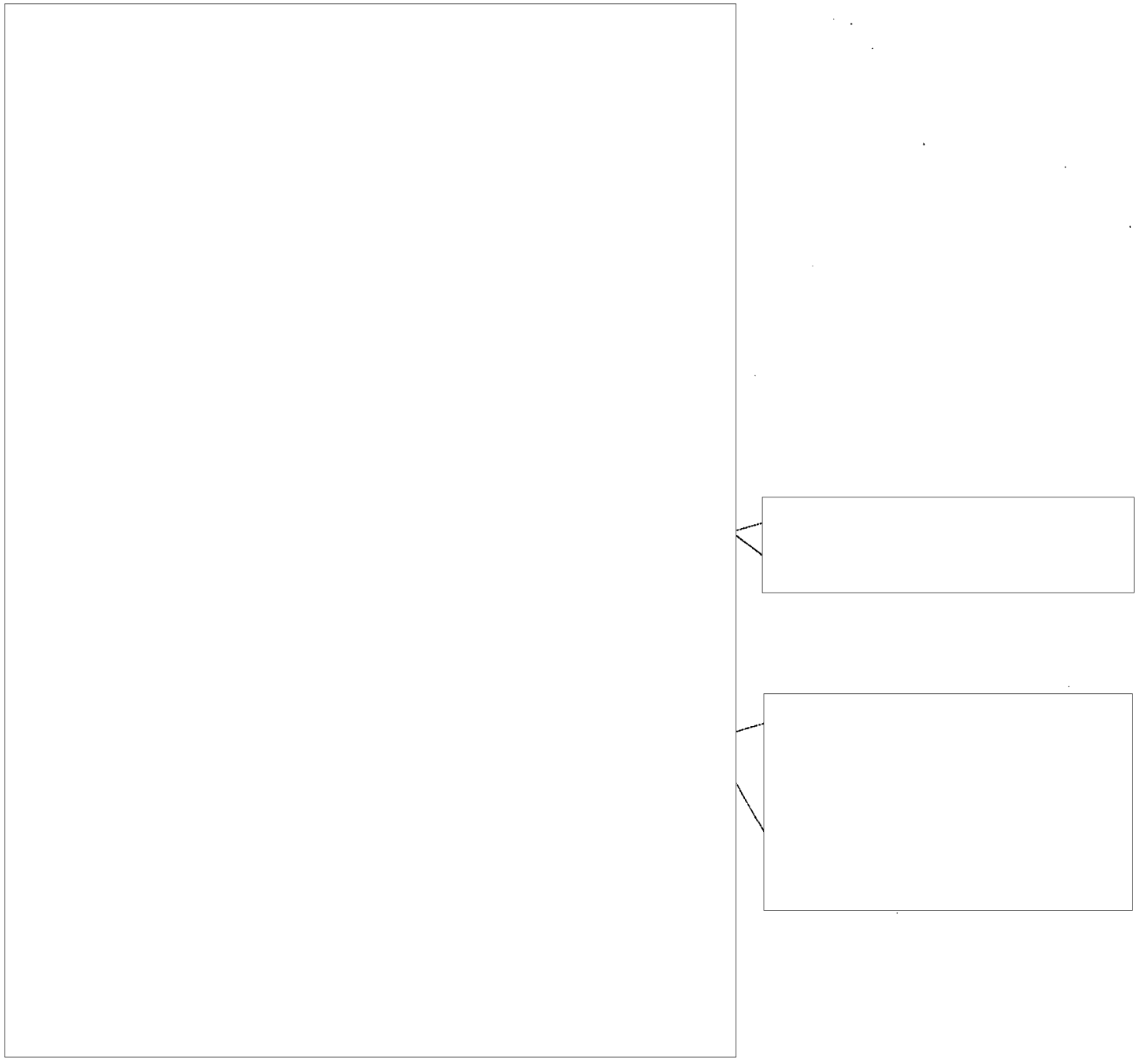
RELEASE IN PART
B5

**DRAFT 21 (VERSION THIS MORNING)**

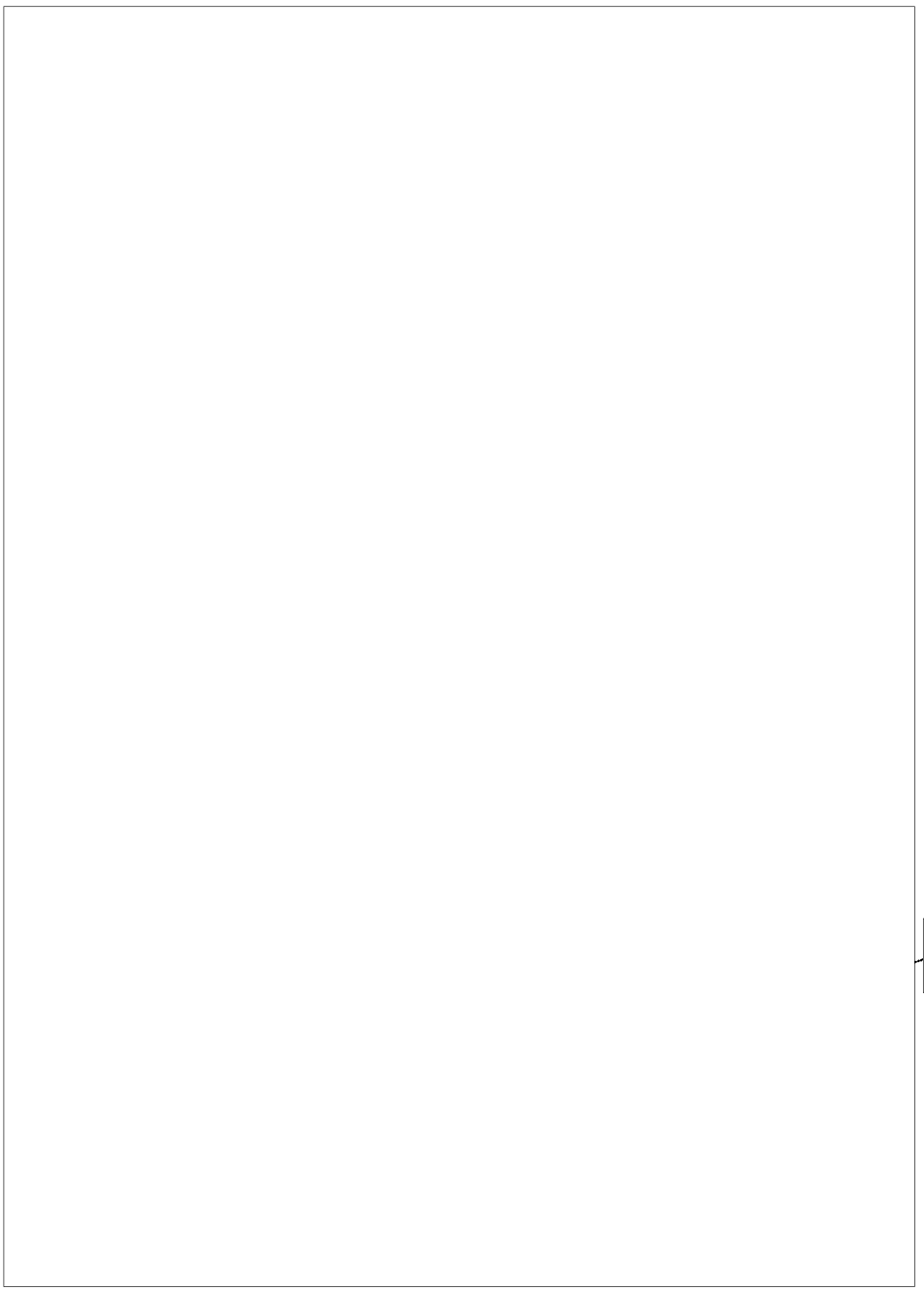
**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**

B5

B5



B5





RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 2:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Future call

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 2:28 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Future call

Yep, one of my plans is to bring all the girl effect people together to get their ideas. Maria is definitely on the list. I'm off to Italy but reachable.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Aug 19 13:37:26 2010
Subject: RE: Future call

It's a great idea. I think this woman Mari Eitel can be helpful given what they did with the girl effect video.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 1:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Future call

Hi there, I will be on vacation (FNALLY), but reachable. Just have your guys work with Anita in my office to set up a time. When I'm back, I want to talk to you about a couple of personnel issues too. I love H's idea aboit girls and we're already thinking about it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) U.S. Senate panel approves new arms treaty with Russia

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Sep 16 13:32:23 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) U.S. Senate panel approves new arms treaty with Russia

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - A U.S. Senate panel approved a new strategic nuclear arms control treaty with Russia on September 16, advancing one of President Barack Obama's main foreign policy priorities to an uncertain future in the full Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 14-4 to approve the new START treaty. The full Senate must consent to the agreement before it can go into effect, but with Congress in the hottest part of the political season before mid-term congressional elections, it is unclear when the treaty will get a vote on the Senate floor. The agreement signed by Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev in April commits former Cold War foes Washington and Moscow to reducing deployed nuclear warheads by about 30 percent.

It picked up some Republican support in the foreign relations committee from Senators Bob Corker and Johnny Isakson. They voted aye along with Richard Lugar, previously the only Senate Republican who had publicly supported the treaty. But since 67 votes are needed to meet the two-thirds minimum required for treaties to pass the full Senate, at least eight Republicans will have to vote for it. Most Republicans have remained uncommitted for months, leaving the treaty's fate in limbo. The weak Republican support to date and the fact the Senate has a lot of business to take care of before the congressional November 2 elections, makes the new START treaty a likely candidate for the "lame duck" session to follow.

Obama wants the new START ratified this year as part of his "reset" of relations with Russia and a step toward his goal of a world without nuclear weapons. Russia must also ratify the treaty, but is waiting to see what the United States will do. The treaty is broadly supported as an important step forward in arms control by former senior security officials from both Republican and Democratic administrations. But some Republican senators say they worry it may limit U.S. missile defenses, and some want Obama to promise to spend more money modernizing the nuclear weapons that remain.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Future call

David is interested - we will need to discuss what I add to my discussion with tom re portfolio

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Future call

I'm sitting in the UN--anything I need to know?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Aug 19 14:57:07 2010
Subject: FW: Future call

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 2:28 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Future call

Yep, one of my plans is to bring all the girl effect people together to get their ideas. Maria is definitely on the list. I'm off to Italy but reachable.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Aug 19 13:37:26 2010
Subject: RE: Future call

It's a great idea. I think this woman Mari Eitel can be helpful given what they did with the girl effect video.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 1:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Future call

Hi there, I will be on vacation (FNALLY), but reachable. Just have your guys work with Anita in my office to set up a time. When I'm back, I want to talk to you about a couple of personnel issues too. I love H's idea aboit girls and we're already thinking about it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 11:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Calls

7pm start time
Casual buffet dinner at their house in east hampton Book party for rosanne cash

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Aug 25 11:08:08 2010
Subject: Re: Calls

Can you give me info again on Tom and Ann's event tonight?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:51:23 2010
Subject: Re: Calls

Waiting on yu.
Alexander will be pretty soon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:25:16 2010
Subject: Re: Calls

Schedule Yu and Alexander for before noon. Just let me know when.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Aug 25 09:18:10 2010
Subject: Calls

- did u get yu call sheet in pouch. Let me know if u want to schedule.
- alexander available until 1.
- menendez: can talk at 8pm today or tomorrow or thurs after 12pm
- mashabane is traveling in china so no word yet.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 5:00 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Muscatine, Lissa
**Subject:** We have another week on FA article

Jim Hoge says that he REALLY would like it by next Wed but can stretch it to next Friday – after that it's a "no go." AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 5:01 PM
**To:** H

This is the proposed statement:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

One-Year Anniversary of Release of Abdel Basset Mohamed al-Megrahi

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 6:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WashPost

You've probably heard but they are holding the article for a day at least.

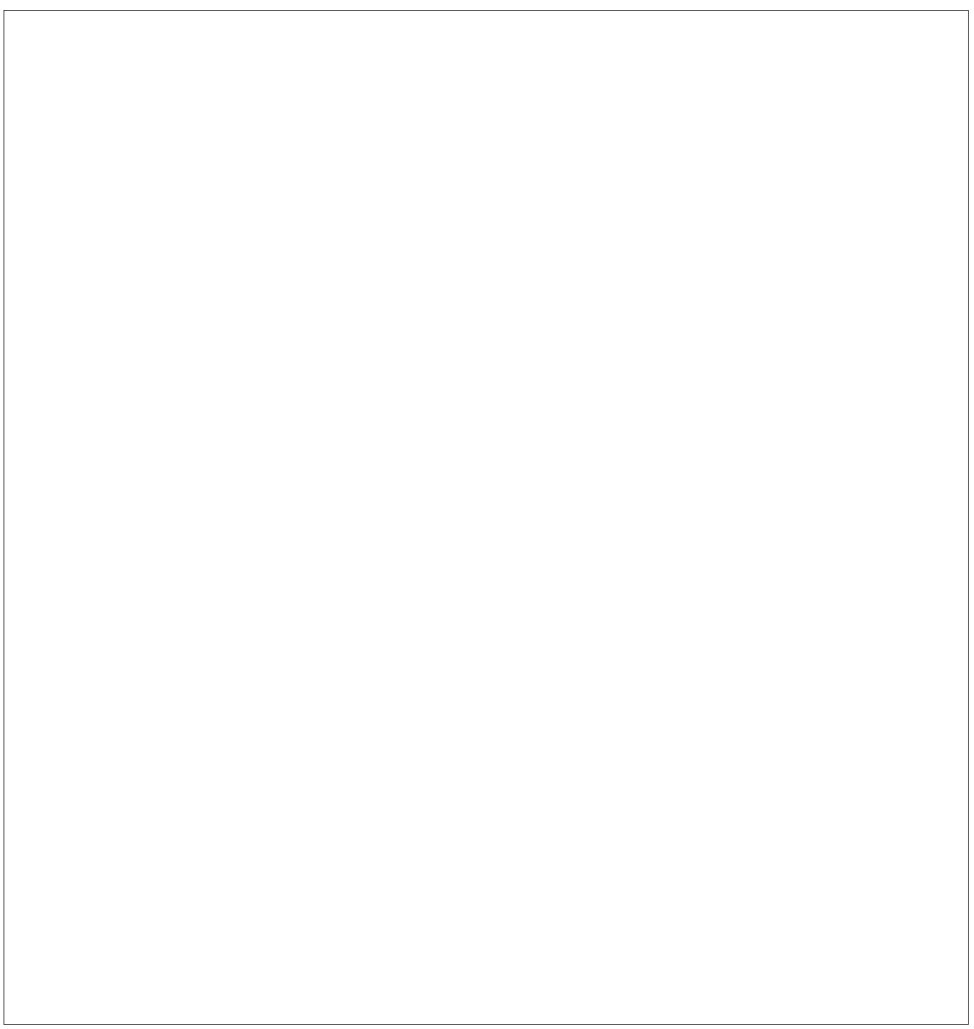
RELEASE IN PART B5

DRAFT 15

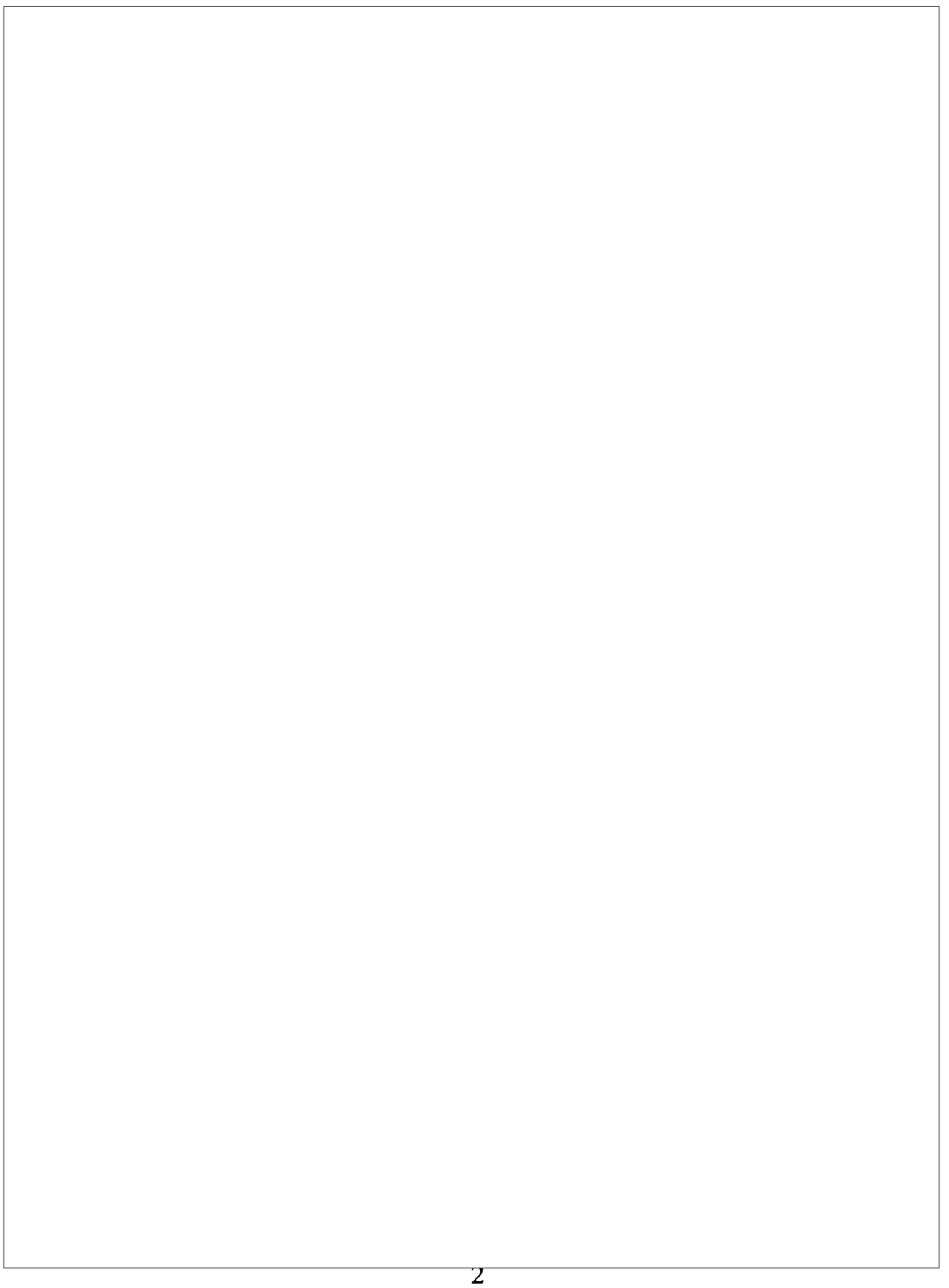
lm /thurs 4:45 pm

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

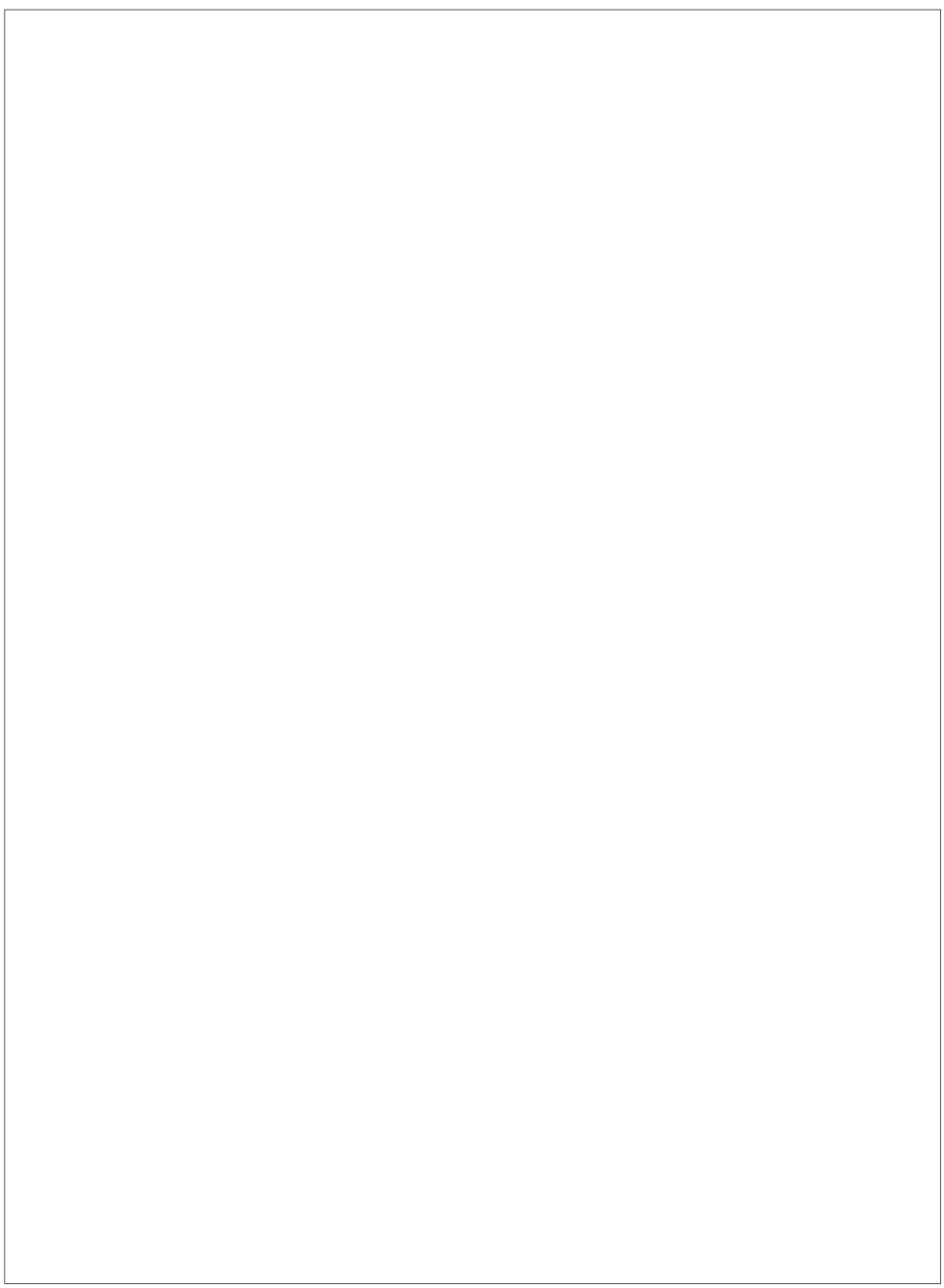
B5



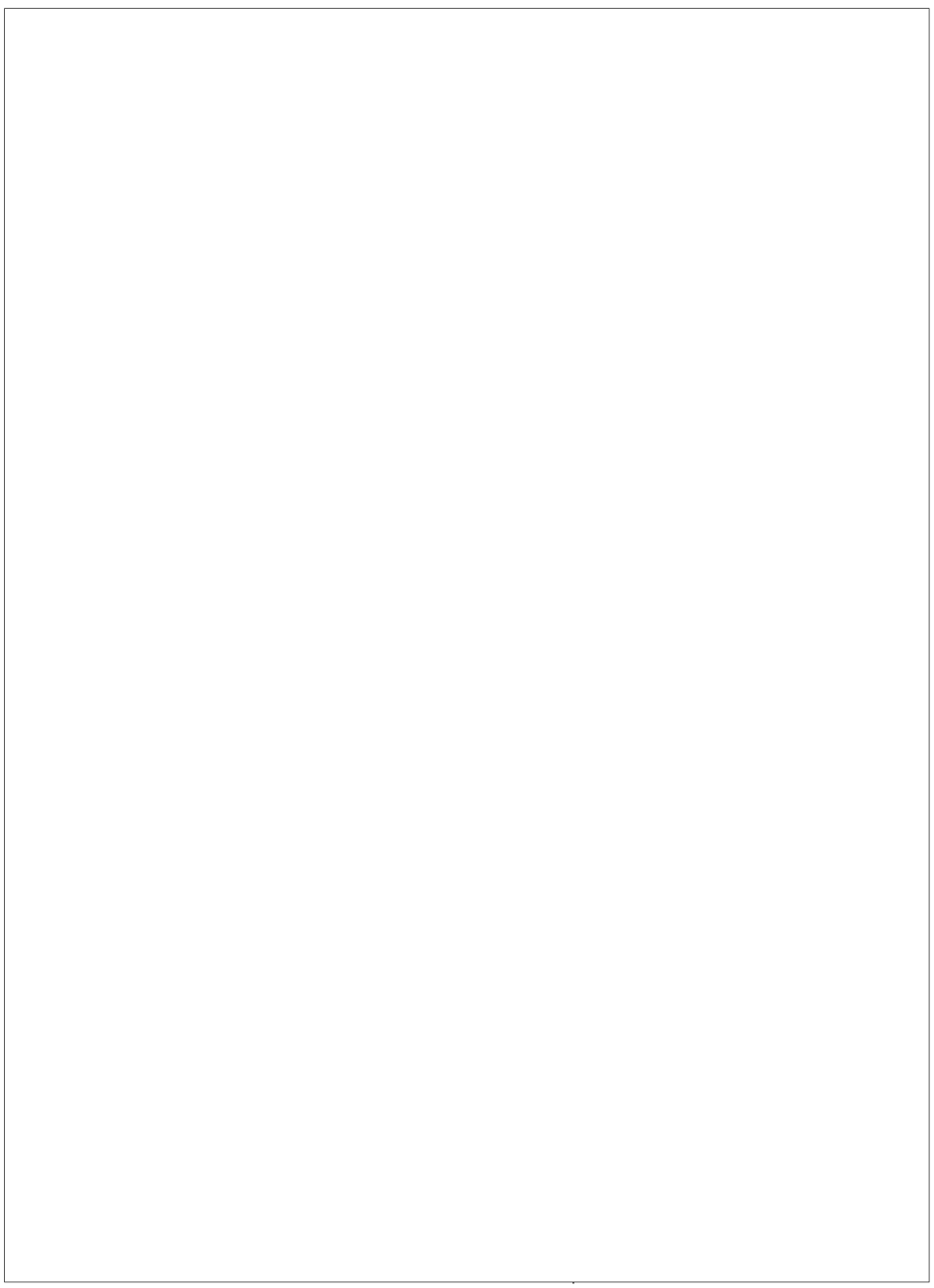
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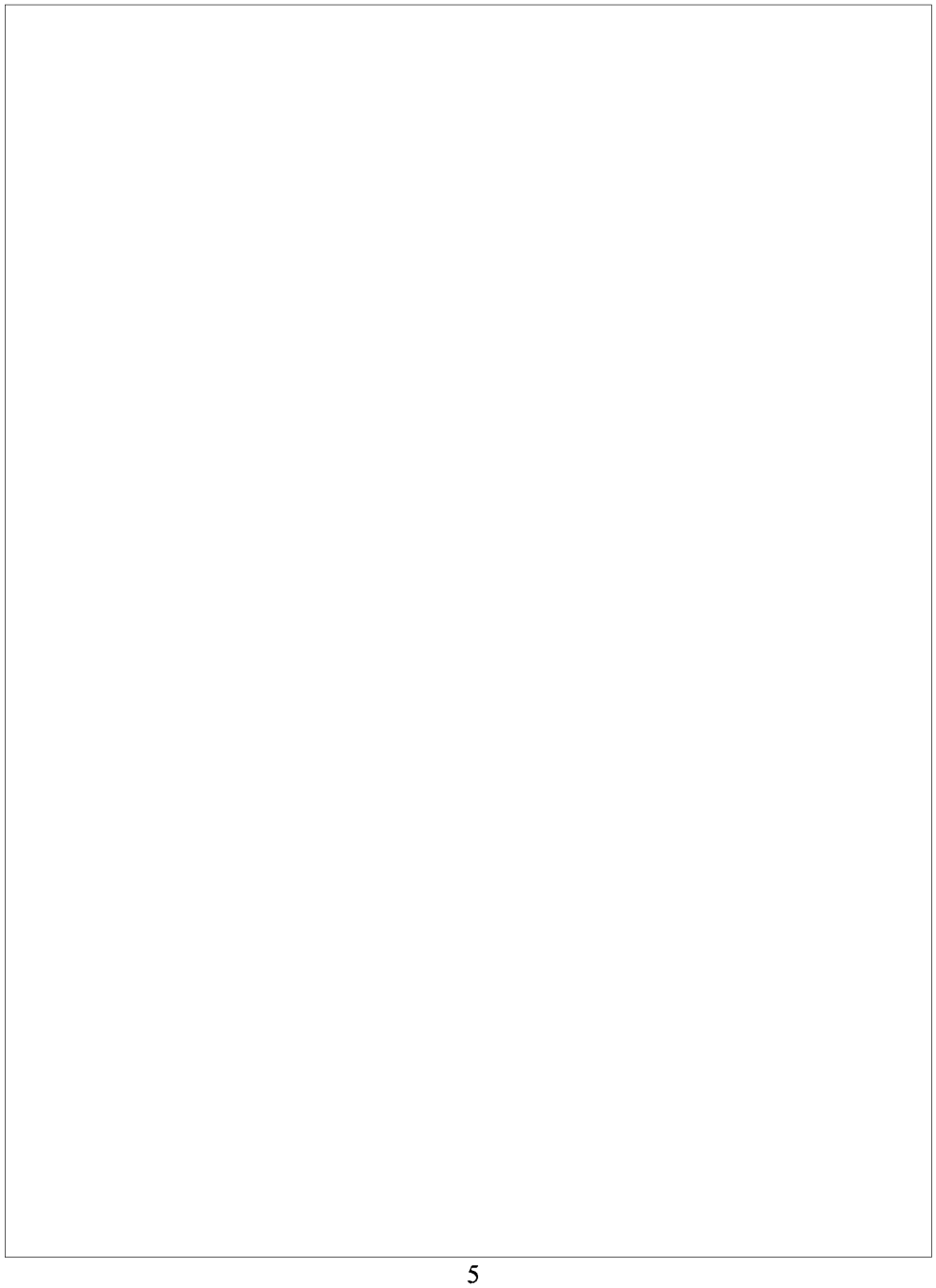
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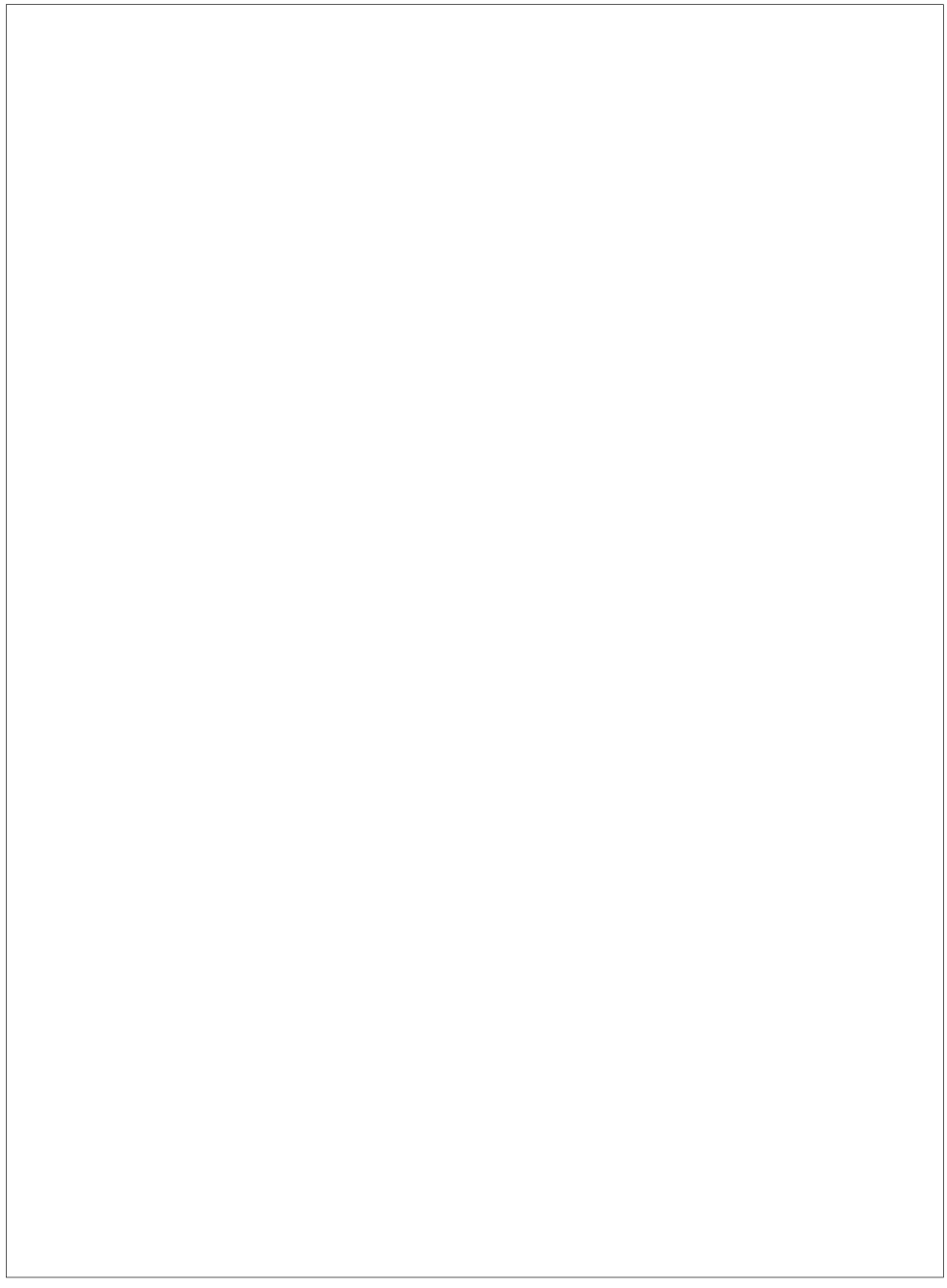
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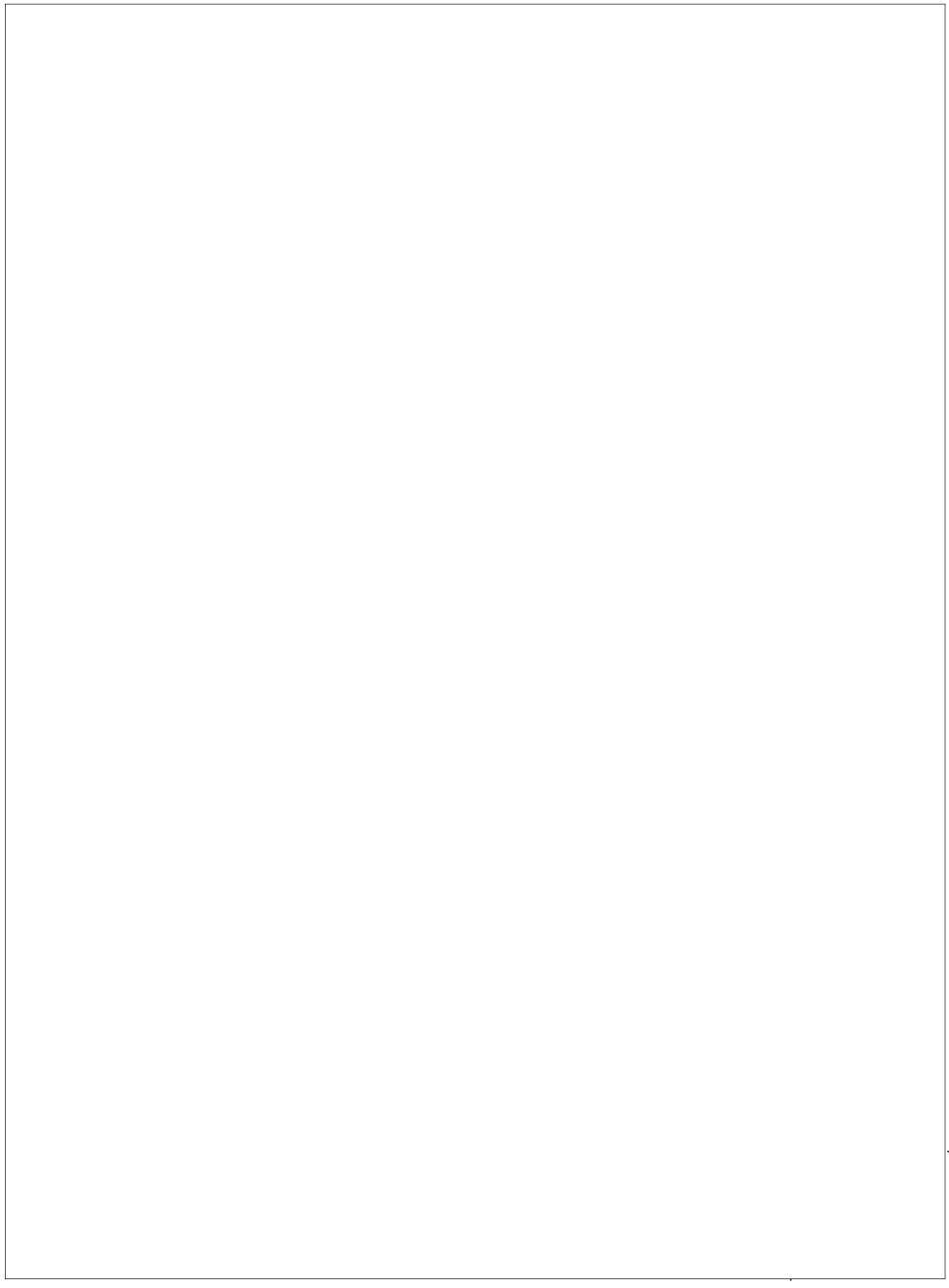


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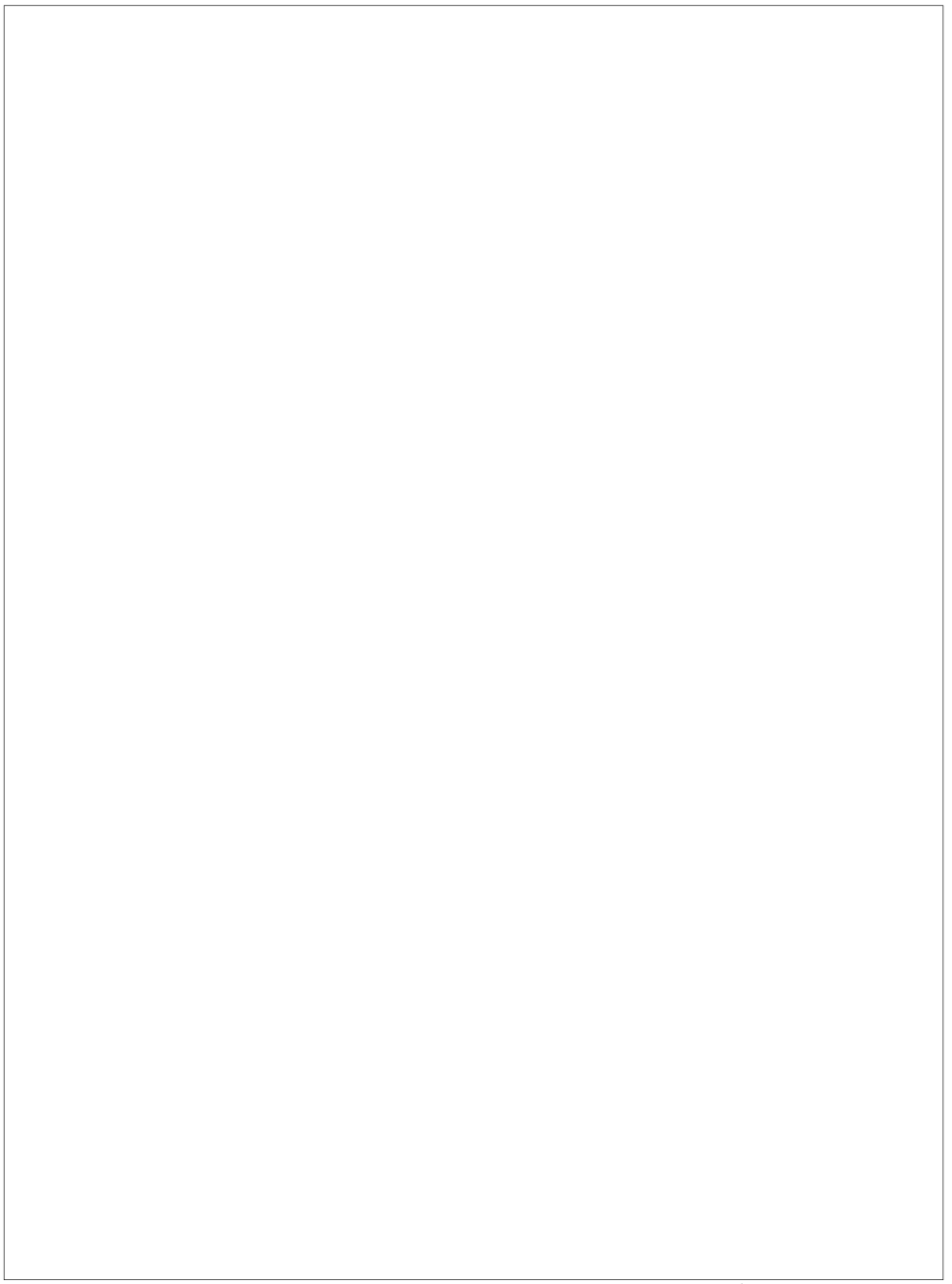


B5

B5



B5





B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: What's your ETA?

She's driving and not checking email maybe.
Just called. She thinks 7:15pm is realistic.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Aug 19 18:18:56 2010
Subject: What's your ETA?

How close are you to getting here to our house?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 6:45 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: What's your ETA?

Sorry for the delay. Abt 15 minutes away. We hit some traffic in new jersey.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Aug 19 18:18:56 2010
Subject: What's your ETA?

How close are you to getting here to our house?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 6:57 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: HERE IT IS

I just got it. CDM now has.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 19, 2010 6:43 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Fw: HERE IT IS

Did you get a copy?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 19 18:30:47 2010
Subject: HERE IT IS

Lissa has done heroic work pulling this together – it is still rough in many places and needs lots to be added with respect to what the QDDR is actually going to do in each of the three buckets, but it now makes a strong case [redacted] B5

Lissa, Sonni and I have all blocked out time tomorrow and Saturday to make revisions and get it to a point where we can recirculate to Jack and Raj, as well as to Bill Burns and Jim, who both want to see it.

Happy reading (we hope). AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 7:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** WashPost

Also, WashPost has now flipped it's decision and intends to run the piece. RCH will reach out to Hiatt, but it's not clear what else we can do.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 19, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Wyclef not on Haiti candidates list - electoral source

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu Aug 19 19:17:33 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Wyclef not on Haiti candidates list - electoral source

PORT-AU-PRINCE (Reuters) - Haiti hip-hop star Wyclef Jean is not on the list of approved candidates who satisfy legal requirements to run in a Nov. 28 presidential election, a member of the provisional electoral council told Reuters.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 1, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Mitchell, Ross and Indyk...

FYI

**From:** Jonathan Prince [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, November 01, 2010 10:03 AM
**To:** Jacob Sullivan; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fwd: Mitchell, Ross and Indyk...

Translated from Ma'ariv

MITCHELL LIKELY TO PAY THE PRICE

*Ma'ariv* (11/1/2010, p. 6) by Eli Bardenstein -- The US administration intends to replace its special envoy to the Middle East, George Mitchell, said sources in Washington. A number of additional top officials are expected to be replaced at the same opportunity.

The reasons for Mitchell's replacement are the failure he and his team have had at renewing the talks between Israel and the Palestinians, the Administration's desire to bring new blood into the efforts, and pressures to resume the peace process in the region.

One of the names that has already begun to circulate as a potential successor is the former US ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk. Another possible course of action suggested by the blog "Politico" is to divide Mitchell's job into two: Indyk will deal with the Palestinians, while Obama's senior aide, Dennis Ross, will deal with the Israelis.

Mitchell's spokesman, Jonathan Prince, has already left his post under unclear circumstances and has turned to the world of private business. The State Department denied allegations that Prince left because of criticism that he had aired about Ross maintaining positions that were closer to the Israeli positions than to those of the White House.

Another top official in Mitchell's team, Mara Rudman, was supposed to have left her post as the director of Mitchell's staff for a senior position in the State Department, but decided to remain after she was not given the job.

Reports have repeatedly been received in Jerusalem about mounting tension between Mitchell and his team, on the one hand, and Dennis Ross, who works directly for the White House, on the other. The two parties were said to be divided over the way in which it would be possible to persuade Netanyahu to renew the direct talks. Ross, who served in the past in Mitchell's current capacity and headed an Israeli research center—the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute—is believed to have been opposed to the intense pressure that the US administration applied on Israel, arguing that that pressure would not yield the desired results. Ross believed that the administration would be better served by "working with the Israelis and understanding them

better," said one source in Jerusalem. An alternate position was maintained by Mitchell and Rudman, who believed that it would be advisable to pressure Netanyahu. It now appears that Ross's approach has prevailed, and that the administration is going to replace the people who guided the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

As *Ma'ariv* reported, Netanyahu is scheduled to fly to New Orleans next week to attend the general assembly of the Jewish communities, where he will meet Vice President Joe Biden. From there, Netanyahu will make a short visit to New York, where he will meet other Jewish leaders and will give interviews to the American media.

Netanyahu is not going to meet President Obama this time, despite intense efforts that were made by his office to arrange such a meeting. The reason the two men are not going to meet is that President Obama is scheduled to leave for long trip to India, Indonesia and South Korea on the day that Netanyahu arrives. One observer in Washington said: "Obama ran as far away from Bibi as possible in order to avoid a meeting with him. If he could, Obama would take a space ship to Mars."

Netanyahu decided to defy protocol and to go to the United States in any event, Obama's absence notwithstanding .

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 7:45 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 8/20/10 Friday

8:00 am **Call w/ Israeli PM Netanyahu**
8:10 am Private Residence

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:15 am Secretary's Office

11:20 am **DEPART** State Department
En route Andrews Air Force Base

11:50 am **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

12:00 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base
En route White Plains, Westchester County Airport

1:00 pm **ARRIVE** White Plains, Westchester County Airport

1:10 pm **DEPART** Westchester County Airport
En route Private Residence

1:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 1, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Can the Dude Abide? (not that I like her...)

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Monday, November 01, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'Minyon Moore'; 'williamsbarrett [redacted]' B6
**Subject:** Can the Dude Abide? (not that I like her...)

The New York Times

October 30, 2010

# Can the Dude Abide?

By MAUREEN DOWD

WASHINGTON

Barack Obama became president by brilliantly telling his own story. To stay president, he will need to show he can understand our story.

At first it was exciting that Obama was the sort of brainy, cultivated Democrat who would be at home in a "West Wing" episode.

But now he acts like he really thinks he's on "West Wing," gliding through an imaginary, amber-lit set where his righteous self-regard is bound to be rewarded by the end of the hour.

Hey, dude, you're a politician. Act like one.

As the head of the Democratic Party, the president should have supported the Democratic candidate for governor in Rhode Island, the one the Democratic Governors Association had already lavished more than $1 million in TV ads on. If Obama was going to refuse to endorse Frank Caprio out of respect for Lincoln Chafee, the former Republican who endorsed him for president and is now running as an independent, the president should have at least stayed out of Providence.

Reductio ad absurdum: After two years of taking his base for granted, the former Pied Piper of America's youth had to spar with Jon Stewart to try to get the attention of young people who once idolized him.

Obama still has the killer smile, but he's more often sniffy than funny. When Stewart called White House legislation "timid," Obama got defensive and offered a less-than-thrilling new mantra: "Yes, we can but ..."

"We have done things that people don't even know about," said Obama, who left his Great Communicator mantle back in Grant Park on election night.

In 2008, the message was him. The promise was him. And that's why 2010 is a referendum on him.

With his coalition and governing majority shattering around him, President Obama will have to summon political skills — starting Wednesday — that he has not yet shown he has.

His arrogance led him to assume: If I build it, they will understand. He can't get the gratitude he feels he deserves for his achievements if no one knows what he achieved and why those achievements are so vital.

Once it seemed impressive that he was so comfortable in his own skin. Now that comfort comes across as an unwillingness to be wrong.

We want the best people to govern us, but many voters are so turned off by Obama's superior air that they're rushing into the arms of disturbingly inferior pols.

Obama admitted to The Times's Peter Baker: "There is probably a perverse pride in my administration — and I take responsibility for this; this was blowing from the top — that we were going to do the right thing, even if short term it was unpopular."

But who defines what's "right"?

With the exception of Obama, most Americans seemed to agree that the "right" thing to do until the economy recovered was to focus on jobs instead of getting the Congress mired for months in making over health insurance and energy policy. And the "right" thing to do was to come down harder on the big banks for spending on bonuses instead of lending to small businesses that don't get bailouts.

Many of us thought the "right" thing to do was to ratify the civil rights of gay Americans in marriage and the military. (A new Pentagon study shows that most U.S. troops and their families don't care if gays are allowed to serve openly.)

In an interview with progressive bloggers, the president was asked why he was lagging behind Republicans like Ted Olson on gay marriage.

Noting that he has a lot of friends and staffers in committed gay relationships, Obama conceded only that his attitude was evolving. "I think it's pretty clear where the trend lines are going," the president said.

Trend lines? Really inspiring, dude.

One top aide told me that the president — who perversely tried to marginalize a once-captivated press corps — was beginning to realize that he had not used his charm as effectively as he could have.

His inner circle believed too much in the power of the Aura and in protecting the Brand. They didn't think they needed to sell anything or fight back when the crazies started sliming them. They didn't care that the average citizen needed an M.B.A. to understand the financial plan and a Ph.D. to fathom what the health care plan would mean.

Because Obama stayed above it all on health care and delegated to Max Baucus, he missed the moment in August of 2009 when Sarah Palin and the Tea Party got oxygen with their loopy rants on death panels. It never occurred to the Icon that such wildness and gullibility would trump lofty rationality.

As the president tries to ride the Tea Party tiger, let's hope for this change: that he puts some audacity in his audacity.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 6:32 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** From jimmy carter

**From:** Jimmy [redacted] B6
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Wed Sep 01 06:30:01 2010
**Subject:** MidEast talks

To Secretary Clinton: I'm very grateful for your kind reception yesterday. [redacted]

My hope is that progress can now be made in the Middle East, Korea, Sudan, and Cuba, and we are eager to help if you call on us. For instance, we have an enormous group of religious leaders with whom we have been working, which includes prominent Mainline Protestants, Catholics, Evangelicals, African-Americans and Hispanics from across the theological and political spectrum. They can issue public statements, OpEds, etc. to support your efforts with the Israelis and Palestinians. Just have one of your staff members let me know at any time. Also, The Elders are eager for our efforts to be constructive. Our prayers and hopes are with you. Jimmy

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <laurenjiloty
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 9:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

Rec'd and printed all 13. Will be on your desk.

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty B6
> Date: Wed, 1 Sep 2010 07:17:06 -0400
> Subject: Fw:
>
> Pls print.
> ------Original Message------
> From: Hillary Clinton
> To: Hillary Clinton
> Subject:
> Sent: Aug 28, 2010 2:04 PM
>
> AIDS contracting.
> Change rules if you put $ into health can't withdraw indigenous $
> EO on guidelines for AIDS contracting. Or I make a speech and issue guidelines

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <laurenjiloty
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 9:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Did you receive all the emails I sent you for printing?

Yep! Received 13. Printed and on your desk.

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty JilotyLC@state.gov
> Date: Wed, 1 Sep 2010 08:58:20 -0400
> Subject: Did you receive all the emails I sent you for printing?
>
> Pls just put on my desk. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 9:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi, it's the economy, any gesture to reverse this... Sid

B6

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/5799a774-b534-11df-9af8-00144feabdc0,dwp_uuid=236ce648-33fa-11da-adae-00000e2511c8,print=yes.html

# Financial Times FT.com

COLUMNISTS

## Martin Wolf

# Obama was too cautious in fearful times

By Martin Wolf
Published: August 31 2010 22:48 | Last updated: August 31 2010 22:48

Suppose that the US presidential election of 1932 had, in fact, taken place in 1930, at an early stage in the Great Depression. Suppose, too, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had won then, though not by the landslide of 1932. How different subsequent events might have been. The president might have watched helplessly as output and employment collapsed. The decades of Democratic dominance might not have happened.

On such chances the wheel of history turns. But this time was different: the crisis brought Barack Obama to power close to the beginning of the economic collapse. I (among others) then argued that policy needed to be hugely aggressive. Alas, it was not. I noted on February 4 2009, at the beginning of the new presidency: "Instead of an overwhelming fiscal stimulus, what is emerging is too small, too wasteful and too ill-focused." A week later, I asked: "Has Barack Obama's presidency already failed? In normal times, this would be a ludicrous question. But these are not normal times. They are times of great danger. Today, the new US administration can disown responsibility for its inheritance; tomorrow, it will own it. Today, it can offer solutions; tomorrow it will have become the problem. Today, it is in control of events; tomorrow, events will take control of it. Doing too little is now far riskier than doing too much." This was right.

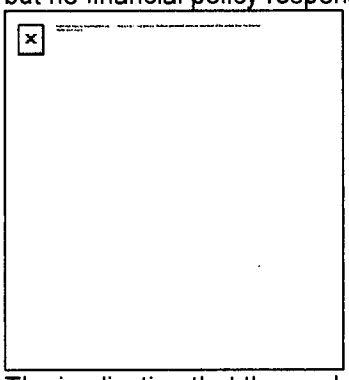
The direction of policy was not wrong: policymakers – though not all economists – had learnt a great deal from the 1930s. Sensible people knew that aggressive monetary and fiscal expansion was needed, together with reconstruction of the financial sector.

But, as Larry Summers, Mr Obama's chief economic adviser, had said: "When markets overshoot, policymakers must overshoot too". Unfortunately, the administration failed to follow his excellent advice. This has allowed opponents to claim that policy has been ineffective when it has merely been inadequate.

In consequence, the administration has lost credibility with the public and the chances of a renewed fiscal expansion have disappeared. With the Federal Reserve cautious, too, the likelihood of a lengthy period of weak growth and heavy joblessness is high. So, too, are the chances of domestic and global political friction.

True, the idea that the policies adopted in the last few months of the Bush administration and the first months of this one were far better than nothing is weirdly controversial in the US. A recent paper by Alan Blinder, former vice-chairman of the Fed, and Mark Zandi of Moody's argues that such critics are wrong. They use a standard macro-economic model to assess what would have happened without any intervention, without the financial interventions (including monetary policy) and without the fiscal action. They conclude that the peak to trough decline in gross domestic product would have been close to 12 per cent with no policy response, compared to an actual decline of just 4 per cent (see chart). Similarly, the unemployment rate would have peaked at 16.5 per cent, instead of the actual 10 per cent. The bigger collapse would also

have meant a fiscal deficit of $2,600bn in fiscal year 2011. The outcome is also disastrous with the modest fiscal response but no financial policy response. It is a little better the other way round.



The implication that the modest stimulus package of February 2009 – a mere 5.7 per cent of 2009 GDP, spread over several years – made a positive contribution is supported by the analysis of the Congressional Budget Office: it argues that in 2010, US GDP will be between 1.5 per cent and 4.1 per cent higher and the unemployment rate between 0.7 and 1.8 percentage points lower, as a result of the package.

Panglossians who believe the private economy is always in equilibrium, unless governments intervene, disagree. I wish there were some way to run this experiment without hurting hundreds of millions of people. But I find the idea that allowing the collapse of much of the financial system, avoiding unconventional monetary policy and struggling to close the fiscal deficit would have been consistent with a more rapid and sustained recovery quite bizarre.

A fascinating perspective does come, however, from comparisons with what happened in other advanced countries. The recession in US output (and so demand) has been relatively small, but the decline in employment has been exceptionally large, as a result of an extraordinary surge in US productivity (see charts). This contrast between what would happen to output and what would happen to employment was missed in the initial Congressional Budget Office analysis of the stimulus.

Since the US was the epicentre of the financial crisis, the relatively small decline in output is remarkable. Moreover, since fiscal and monetary stimuli bear directly on demand and output, not jobs, this is a policy success. At the same time, the enthusiasm with which US managers laid off workers is also extraordinary. No doubt, some of this is due to the collapse in construction. But some of it must be due to the ease with which US companies can lay off workers and the incentives for managers to maintain profits in a downturn at the expense of jobs.

Debate is emerging on how much of the surge in unemployment is structural. My answer, from European experience, is that one way to ensure it becomes structural is to let it linger. In the short run, the simplest way to prevent that from happening is to expand demand and so output. Since there is huge slack in the labour market, not the slightest threat of inflation – far more a risk of deflation – and no constraint from bond or foreign exchange markets on further monetary and fiscal stimulus, these are the policies that have to be pursued. Yet, alas, the Fed seems to have decided to fall asleep and the administration has lost the initiative.

So what is going to happen? I assume that, after the midterm elections, resurgent Republicans will offer new tax cuts and ignore the fiscal deficits. They will pretend that this has nothing to do with any reviled stimulus, though it is much the same thing – increasing fiscal deficits, thereby offsetting private frugality. That would put the administration on the spot. It would have to choose between vetoing the tax cuts and accepting them, so allowing the Republicans to get the credit for their "yacht and mansion-led" recovery. Any recovery is better than none. But it could have been much better than this. Those who were cautious when they should have been bold will pay a big price.

martin.wolf@ft.com

*More columns at* www.ft.com/martinwolf

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RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: further to this morning's session with P's

Word from palestinians

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Wed Sep 01 09:41:57 2010
**Subject:** FW: further to this morning's session with P's

S should see this.

*Jeffrey Feltman*
*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*
202-647-7209

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Rubinstein, Daniel H
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 01, 2010 8:38 AM
**To:** Hale, David M; 'Shapiro, Daniel B.'
**Subject:** further to this morning's session with P's

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/01/2025**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Neera Tanden
**Sent:** Monday, November 1, 2010 11:35 PM
**To:** H

B6

Hi Hillary,

I hope you are enjoying your travels. I'm trying to keep the Go, Fight, Win spirit, but I must confess, it's a bit hard.

I promise I will do this rarely, if at all, in the future, but I am once again sending my column. This time I am doing so because it references you and also because it created some buzz related to the primaries.

Looking forward to seeing you in December.

Neera

POLITICS

# The Female Factor

*How the Democrats can regain women's faith—and fight for their interests.*

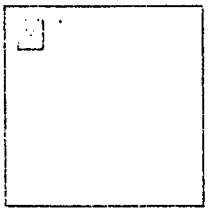
- *Neera Tanden*
- October 31, 2010 ; 12:00 am
- More
- Print
-

MORE FROM THIS AUTHOR

Neera Tanden: How Obama Can Win the Battle Over the Economy

What Will It Take For the Left to Rally Behind Obama Again?

Tanden: Why Liberal Dissatisfaction With Obama Is Way Overblown



Last week, as Democratic candidates across the country reached out to female voters in the final swing before Election Day, the White House released a report on how the president's economic agenda helps women. The report highlights the Obama's administration's efforts and accomplishments on behalf of women's economic success—small business expansion that helps female business owners, jobs tax credits that will help women (and men) find jobs, and laws to enforce equal pay for equal work, among other

initiatives. Yet the report passed with little fanfare and even less media attention—like so many other aspects of the president's remarkably pro-woman policy agenda.

It's almost tragic how this agenda has fallen under the radar during Obama's first two years in office. We hear too often about abortion's controversial role in the year-long health care negotiations—but not enough about other women-centered issues that, after being promoted by activists for years, have finally made it into legislation. These go beyond the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. The American Reinvestment and Recovery Act dramatically expanded child care provisions and Head Start. The health care bill contained over $1 billion to support nurses visiting new and expectant mothers at home, a program that women's groups and economists alike have championed as a smart investment. An even bigger victory is the CLASS Act, also part of the health care bill, which provides a basic cash benefit to people (often women) who are taking care of the elderly at home.

Yet I can probably count on my hand the number of people, including women, who actually know about these new laws. Amid the din of bad news about the economy and misinformation about health care reform, these policies don't stand a chance, sadly, of getting much media coverage. It doesn't help that the Democrats haven't done enough to shine a public spotlight on them.

But they could soon be lost in an even deeper abyss: The rampant individualism and free-market fundamentalism supported by the Republican Party, which seems on the precipice of controlling the House and possibly the Senate, could undo these initiatives entirely. What's more, the new Republican wave could mute the voice of women and their most important advocates on the national stage.

**The Tea Parties,** fueled by wealthy multimillionaires, are running extreme candidates—including women like Sharron Angle and Christine O'Donnell—who want to get rid of policies that help women the most. If the health care bill gets repealed, for instance, the new provisions for long-term care would go out the window, making decades worth of advocacy work moot.

But the Tea Parties threaten women in other ways, too. If the Republicans take back the House, the Democratic Party will lose one of its most powerful women: Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who currently has more clout than any woman on the other side of the aisle. Meanwhile, Republicans like Sarah Palin and Nikki Haley will only gain political power—and, with that power, attract more attention to their extreme views. If these Republicans become the nation's loudest voices of seemingly strong women, that could portend for a shift among younger women's allegiances toward the Republican Party and its platform.

Already, despite the stark realities about what Republicans will likely take away from women once they are in power, we are seeing rumbling of such a change: After forming the backbone of Democratic majorities for years, working-class women are wobbling in their support for the Obama administration. According to a *Wall Street Journal* poll from last week, while female college graduates favor Democratic over Republican control (56 percent to 36 percent), women with only some college or a vocational education are running almost even (45 percent to 44 percent).

Perhaps, in their growing economic anxiety, this group of women wants to throw out incumbents they perceive have not sufficiently focused on their economic progress. But, of course, if the media paid more attention to Obama's pro-woman agenda—and both advocates and policymakers did more to broadcast it—these key voters would know that the Democrats, not Republicans, are the politicians who have their interests in mind.

Democrats can't let this continue—they can't allow Republicans to brand themselves as the party of strong female leaders, or allow women to gradually become a constituency of the right. That's why it's critical to have standout women in the party. If Pelosi loses, is there a powerful enough Democratic woman to compete with these Republicans in the national spotlight? There's Hillary Clinton who, as Secretary of State, has sent a powerful signal to the country and the world about the importance of female leadership in the Obama administration. But, as a technically non-partisan international figure, Hillary won't be able to do public battle with the rising right.

Perhaps a Governor Sink—if she wins—in Florida could be among a new class of strong female Democrats. The Obama administration would also do well to elevate women in the executive branch and turn public attention to those who are already there.

In addition to presenting women as the face of the party, Democrats must focus on issues like long-term care, child care, and equal pay, all of which could rise to the legislative fore in the coming months. Republicans will likely directly attack or cut back investments in these initiatives. When this happens, the White House (and Democrats more broadly) would be wise to explain what it will mean for women if these initiatives are gutted or lost—and to fight tooth and nail to make sure that doesn't happen.

If it doesn't take these steps, the Democratic Party could lose its grasp on a critical, even central part of its coalition. And women, in the long run, would suffer under conservative laws that parrot family values, but do nothing to value families.

*Neera Tanden is the chief operating officer of the Center for American Progress. She served in the Obama and Clinton administrations.*

MORE ARTICLES ON: Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton, Republican Party, White House

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Impact of US assistance in Pakistan

See below. Terrific piece from the BBC which I will circulate.

Meant to mention yesterday that I am going to Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Santiago next week. In Buenos Aires and Montevideo I will speaking at two business conferences being hosted by Council of the Americas and in Chile I will be visiting some of the public diplomacy programs we launched after the earthquake.

You may recall that I have a long-standing relationship with Christina Kirchner going back to my Discovery days. We had quite a large and successful business there. We are trying to arrange for me to meet with her when I am in BA and Arturo has briefed me on points he would like me to make if I get to spend some time with her.

I thought yesterday went well although I think it is going to be hard going to keep the world interested and committed to raising the necessary funding.

[redacted] B6

jm

**From:** Mellott, Joseph
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Fw: Impact of US assistance in Pakistan

Judith -

See below from [redacted] at BBC. B6

Joe
Joe Mellott
Sent from my Blackberry

**From** [redacted] B6
**To**: Mellott, Joseph
**Sent**: Fri Aug 20 06:29:43 2010
**Subject**: Impact of US assistance in Pakistan

Joe

How are things?

I thought Judith might be interested in this piece by the BBC's Islamabad editor. [redacted] The piece should be on BBC News website soon. B6

[redacted] B6

Haroon Rashid,
Kalam Valley, NorthWeat Pakistan

A population of around 70,000 in Pakistan's remote Kalam valley in Swat district is cut off after road links were swept away by flood waters three weeks back. Dozens of multi-story hotels perched on the river banks can't be seen anymore. The people are without electricity and telephone services too.

But despite this dismal picture, what follows natural disasters is not always all bad.

International assistance led by the US forces here is changing people's perceptions while local volunteers have joined hands to start rebuilding bridges and roads to restore their connection with the outside world.

Until last year Kalam, as rest of the Swat district, was hit hard by Islamic militancy. They espoused anti-US agenda. But Pakistani troops helped by local people flushed the Taleban out of the picturesque valley surrounded by tall green mountains. The incident of a few women too killing some Taleban is still proudly told here.

With the routing of Taleban last year and arrival of the US Marines helicopters in Kalam, local perception of the Americans is changing fast. Suddenly the local population, mostly Pashtoon, now appreciate the American presence.

Thirty-year old Habib Rasul, a local Taxi driver, says before floods they used to consider Americans enemy. "We used to consider them bad, our enemies. Muslim countries did not give us any assistance but they did so they're good."

Kalam is cut off by road. Depending on weather, US military helicopters are bringing in relief goods, mostly flour and medicines in a number of sorties each day. They land at Kalam's green Shahi ground where hundreds of affectees' sit around the helipad waiting for their turn for aid or to be taken on board.

Despite the helipad open to general public, no untoward incident has so far taken place. But the Pakistani authorities it seems don't wish to take any chances. Apart from two Pakistani military commandoes on each chopper, the helipad's security is in the Pakistani military's hands.

On their way back, these Blackhawks take the sick and the wounded out of the secluded valley.

'A friend in need is a friend indeed. In the past we thought the Americans were supporting militants, that it was their game, but now I am sure ninety-five percent of people in Kalam believe they are friends," says a local social worker Ehsanul Haq. "We're grateful to them."

Kalam is a place for leisure lover and hikers. The small tourist resort had around 300 small and medium sized hotels. But the spread of militancy had badly affected the local hotel economy for two years. In a bid to attract tourists and restore their confidence, the military in July held a festival in Kalam. But a few days later, floods wreaked havoc with the local hotel industry. Over 4000 tourists had to be evacuated in helicopters. The local hoteliers fear getting the tourists back now would take a lot of time.

Another positive thing to come out of the current disaster is the local population's decision not to wait for any government help and start rebuilding bridges and clear roads.

Malik Ghazan Khan, head of local volunteers, told the BBC they know if they look towards the government it could take months or even years. "We are doing it on the basis of self help because who else can assist us at this moment except God. The Chief Minister has told us they can't do it immediately. He said they had to go through processes and procedures so it takes time. So we have decided to do it ourselves by taking God name. I salute the brave people of Kalam, they have so far reconstructed six bridges. We have made 18 to 20 kms road useable now."

These volunteers have their own problems. Three fell in the gushing river Swat in front of us while putting a log across the river. Luckily all three were rescued but one had his leg broken and had to be evacuated the next day.

Like food and medicines, fuel is in short supply too. A volunteer Noorul Ahad told me they don't have the fuels. "While fasting its impossible for us to travel 20 kms up and down a day."

**Haroon Rashid,**
BBC Pakistan.
[redacted]
www.bbcurdu.com

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Blasts in Pakistan's Lahore kill at least 3

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Pakistan
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Wed Sep 01 10:38:05 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Blasts in Pakistan's Lahore kill at least 3

LAHORE (Reuters) – Two bombs exploded at a Shi'ite procession in the Pakistani city of Lahore, killing at least three people and wounding 25, police and witnesses said, after a lull in violence during devastating floods. The attacks came after two days of government air raids on militant strongholds in the northwest region.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi, pat lang

H: Pat Lang's view of the resumed talks. Sid

"Israeli-Palestinian peace talks expected to resume in September" Washpost

"The Middle East peace process resumed in May, after a hiatus of 19 months, but it stalled again over the terms of moving from indirect talks, mediated by U.S. envoy George Mitchell, to direct negotiations.
Israel insists it is ready for direct talks, provided there are no preconditions. The Palestinians are ready provided there is a clear agenda. Israel says an agenda means preconditions. Resolving the snag over terms is crucial, diplomats say." Washpost

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The former NY Times reporter Judy Miller likes to address me as "gloomy gus" or some such thing when I encounter her. Well, stand by for some more gloom.
The second Camp David talks failed because Dennis Ross and company placed the Palestinian delegation in a position in which a "solution" was demanded and expected by the Americans and Israelis on the basis of bargaining during the negotiations themselves.
This seemed reasonable at the time to the US and Israeli negotiators. After all, is this not what one does? Should not the outcome be the product of the dialectic of argument and persuasion?
Arabs generally think not. They tend to believe that negotiations are for the purpose of of arranging the details of outcomes that are understood in advance of the conference itself. For them, anything else is an attempt to win concessions through trickery.
"The Palestinians are ready provided there is a clear agenda. Israel says an agenda means preconditions."
Hello! What kind of nonsense is this? Have we learned nothing?
And then, there is the "little" matter of the non-participation of Hamas. Does the Obama Administration really think that this 600 pound gorilla can be ignored? Is this some sort of scheme on the part of Natanyahu, and "the boys" to discredit Abbas so that an isolated Hamas can be attacked and destroyed later?
Realism in diplomacy is a desirable thing. George Mitchell used to be smarter than this. His staff should be advising him not to do this. Failure will be catastrophic.
All the players should be engaged, and they are not. The outcome should be known in advance and it is not.
This is both childish and destructive. pl
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/19/AR2010081907203.html

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi. more on mid-term strategy... Sid

Since you are on this tack: This is a cri de coeur from the guy who wrote "The Political Brain" and was a major Obama supporter, Drew Westen. I'll write you another memo very soon... Sid

AlterNet / *By Drew Westen*
24 COMMENTS

# What Created the Populist Explosion and How Democrats Can Avoid the Shrapnel in November

To say that the American people are angry is an understatement. The only question at this point is how to mitigate the damage when the bomb detonates in November.
*September 1, 2010* |

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To say that the American people are angry is an understatement. The political brain of Americans today reflects a volatile mixture of fear and fury, and when you mix those together, you get an explosion. The only question at this point is how to mitigate the damage when the bomb detonates in November.

The bad news is that it's too late for Democrats to do what would have been both good policy and good politics (and what the House actually did do), namely to pass a major jobs bill when it was clear that the private sector couldn't keep Americans employed. The "Obama Doctrine" should have been that Americans who want to work and have the ability to contribute to our productivity as a nation should have the right to work, and that if the private sector can't meet the demand for jobs, we have plenty of roads and bridges to fix, new energy sources to develop and manufacture, and schools to build and renovate so our kids and workers returning for training can compete in the 21st century global economy. From having spent much of the last four years testing messages on a range of issues, from immigration to taxes and deficits, I can say with some certainty that nothing John Boehner or Eric Cantor could say could come within 30 points of generating the enthusiasm -- particularly among swing voters -- of a message that began, "We don't have a shortage of work ethic in this country, we have a shortage of work." That message resonates across the political spectrum. And it isn't even the strongest message we've tested in the last weeks or months that beats back the toughest deficit-cutting language the other side can muster.

But it's too late for that. The administration opted for an alternative doctrine, which Larry Summers enunciated on *This Week* several months ago: that unemployment is going to remain high for the foreseeable future and eventually come down -- as if there's nothing we can do about it -- and that they will push here and there for small symbolic measures whose symbolism tends to escape people who are out of work. It's hard to be excited by symbolism when your children

are hungry or the bank is repossessing your home -- although you didn't do anything to deserve it -- while the people who did are once again making out like bandits.

Although the situation looks bleak for Democrats in November, it ain't over 'til it's over. Republicans are shooting themselves in the foot all over the country, running Tea Party candidates who are so far to the right you can't see Middle America from their porch. And some endangered Democrats will likely see victory in November from theirs if they understand the public mood and speak to it.

What is that public mood? It can be characterized by a single phrase -- populist anger -- and it cuts across partisan lines. On the right, it is alloyed with racial anxiety and prejudice. On the left, it is alloyed with tremendous disappointment at what could have been if we had the kind of bold leadership for which times like these cry out. And among people in the vast political center, populist anger is alloyed with anxiety and uncertainty -- about their jobs, their homes, and their children's future.

**How to Create a Populist Explosion: A Tragedy in Two Acts**

So how did we get here? The story can be told as a tragedy in two acts.

Act I: The GOP Sets the Country on a Course of Economic Destruction and the President Calls for Truth and Reconciliation without the Truth Part

- A strong economic downturn devolves into a Great Recession, as the stock market crashes and major banks fail. By October 2008, upper middle class moderate Republicans in the suburbs are so frightened by what's happening to their assets that they're willing to give Democrats a chance.
- A Republican administration that believes in neither government nor regulation creates a 700 billion bank bailout with no accountability. Unlike Republicans, who would say "no" in a situation like this and let a Great Recession turn into a Great Depression, Democrats do the right thing, but they don't make it clear from the start that these are Bush Bailouts and remind Americans, over and over, that the cause of all the bankruptcies is the bankruptcy of Republican ideology.
- A charismatic young president raises people's hopes and expectations, as he uniquely can. Americans are frightened, but they are willing and waiting to hear an alternative narrative to "government is the problem, not the solution" and a path back to economic recovery and security.
- The White House refuses to tell the American people three stories they desperately need to hear.
- The first is why the economy has gone into the ditch, and who did it. The president is steadfast in his position that we should "look forward, not backward," even as the GOP is blocking his every initiative to clean up its mess. As conservative attacks on him and Democrats increase, he refuses to indict the Republicans in Congress or President Bush for having destroyed our economy and putting one in eight Americans out of work and one in five either behind on their mortgage or in the process of having their homes foreclosed by the same bankers who gambled them away. Why did he need to tell the American people who was responsible for their misery -- and to repeat it again and again? Because otherwise, if the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression didn't subside within a year and half, voters would start to associate it with him and his party. This is Neuroscience 101 -- it's how mental associations are formed. But the president never even uttered George W. Bush's name in his first year in office, and the first time he did mention Bush was to appoint him, along with former President Clinton, to co-lead American relief efforts in Haiti. The president doesn't like putting antagonists in any of his stories, but if forced to, he would cite unnamed "naysayers," "Washington politics as usual," or "Congress," which was counterproductive given that Congress was held by his party. The guiding belief at the White House implicit in this messaging strategy was that Americans have a good grasp on economics and good memories.
- The second story the American people needed to hear from the president was why deficit spending is essential when the economy is spiraling downward. It's not a hard story to tell, even in a sound bite. But one of the best educators to occupy the Oval Office in decades chose not to educate -- he actually did it once, with prodding, but never repeated what was a superb explanation --- nor did he remind voters every time his opponents attacked him for deficit spending that they had left him with a 1.2 trillion dollar deficit on the day he walked into office because of their unpaid-for tax cuts to millionaires and unpaid-for war on Iraq that called on no one to sacrifice except our soldiers and their families (and our kids and grandkids, who will be paying off this war for generations). A year later, with Democrats on the ropes, the president started to tell that story. It was the right move, but appeared defensive because it hadn't been part of his guiding narrative from the start.
- The third story the president needed to offer was an alternative narrative on government. The president and his party were about to offer effective government as a solution to multiple problems after 30 years of solid branding by conservatives since Ronald Reagan about how government is the problem. But the narrative never came.
- The White House and Democratic Congress pass what virtually all economists outside the Goldman Sachs-to-Washington pipeline consider a half-stimulus that they predict will likely produce half-results. It fulfilled its promise. But the equally predictable political result was a discrediting of the concept of government intervention to stimulate the economy in the eyes of the public -- enough to scare off Democratic lawmakers from doing what they learned about Keynesian economics in intro economics for the indefinite future. Instead of blasting the Republicans for having hurled the country toward an abyss that would now take drastic measures to avert and warning the American people that this could easily be the first of two or three trillion-dollar packages that might be

needed to get Americans back to work and to get the gears of the economy grinding again before we could start returning to the kinds of surpluses Bill Clinton had left the last time a Democrat was in the White House, the president chose to compromise with a party that was so unpopular when he took office that only 20 percent of voters at that point would even admit to a pollster that they considered themselves Republicans -- the lowest point for the GOP since the rise of public opinion polling 50 years earlier.

- The economy continues its free-fall, shedding 700,000 jobs a month. Meanwhile, Democrats don't take the kind of dramatic steps necessary to stop the bleeding. Americans are becoming desperate, but they remain hopeful that this new president will turn things around, and that perhaps the jobs provisions of the new "stimulus" act will do cauterize the wound. Meanwhile, the stimulus is being portrayed by Republicans as a mixture of pork and fat, and no one is effectively answering the charges, creating increasingly negative associations to an act that was never adequately crafted or sold.
- The logical follow-up to a bill designed to pull the economy out of a ditch is to make such a bill unnecessary in the future, by attacking Wall Street for having thrown us into crisis and passing strong legislation to rein in the excesses that created the economic meltdown. This would have sealed the American people's loyalty to the new president and Congress. (Heading into November, this is, in fact, the most popular piece of legislation the Democrats have passed, but it took them nearly a year and a half to get there, and by then, neither the president nor the Democratic Congress enjoyed the good will of the average American.) Instead, the same banks that received bailouts are foreclosing in record rates on the homeowners whose payroll taxes funded the bailouts but don't seem to get the same kind of attention to their needs from the federal government. Adding insult to injury, the banks double and triple credit card interest rates to as high as 30 percent, including on people's existing credit card debt -- while continuing to receive no-interest loans from the federal government.
- Despite talk of accountability, no one is fired (except one auto executive), virtually no one is prosecuted or even investigated as far as anyone knows, and banks that received bailouts flaunt record bonuses.

**Act II: An Anemic Economy Meets an Anemic Health Care Plan**

- The public has been clamoring for health care reform. Over 40 million people don't have health insurance at all, and the 85 percent of voters who do have health care have seen their costs double during the Bush years at the same time as real income has declined. Effective narratives on health care are widely available that win by a 2:1 margin against the toughest Harry-and-Louise anti-reform language from the other side. The opposition knows it, as evident in a leaked memo by Republican wordsmith Frank Luntz, who warns that this will be an uphill climb for opponents of reform, who would do well to accept some major elements of it.
- But instead of using any of the well-tested narratives that were highly effective during the campaign or devising any new ones of its own, the administration decides to try to "sell" health care without a narrative. (I wrote about this in detail a year ago and will not repeat that history here, except in telegraphic form.) The president refuses to state where he stands on any of the substantive debates about health reform for a year, such as whether we should have a "public option" (a term so ill-conceived it's hard to believe the public supported it anyway; imagine the support it might have received if it had been called instead "the one health care plan the health insurance companies don't get to control"). Instead, the White House uses phrases such as "bending the cost curve" while conservatives flood the airwaves with evocative phrases such as "government takeover," "a bureaucrat between you and your doctor," and "death panels."
- Instead of using Big Pharma and the health insurance industry as the villains of the health care story, which would explain why we need an overhaul rather than a Band-Aid, the White House once again offers a story without protagonists or antagonists, and cuts secret deals with both industries that become public.
- Over interminable months of trying to get the votes of the same Republicans who fought against Medicare for seniors for 30 years until the program was just too popular to keep attacking it and who are still trying to gut Social Security despite its popularity, the public then watches what George Will describes as the "serial bribery" of Republican and Democratic Senators alike, as each gets to take his or her turn as the 60th vote.
- At the 11th hour, as a compromise plan is finally going to pass, the president nixes the idea of a Medicare-like alternative Americans can choose over a health-insurance industry plan if they so desire, despite 60 percent of even swing voters wanting it included in the bill.
- Instead of being the signature bill that demonstrates both that Democrats can govern effectively and that government can be a force for good for working and middle class Americans (who have just been told that the better plans they've negotiated or been offered for years by their employers are "Cadillacs" that are going to be taxed out of existence), the entire process proves to the average American that government can't do anything right and scares moderate Democrats away from voting for any other bill that would ever put them on the record supporting government or spending.
- "Government" hits an all-time low in the polls, matching the popularity of big corporations, CEOs, and bailouts.
- Populist anger emerges as the primary emotion across the political spectrum, and the president's job approval with swing voters drops into the high thirties.

- Following the conventional wisdom, Democrats return to their all-too-familiar defensive crouch, and conclude that when in trouble, tack right. On health care, the president and his Cabinet fan out all over television to "reassure" the public on health care that abortion won't be covered (thanks for the reassurance, but most of us didn't find that reassuring), that domestic partners won't be covered, and that immigrants won't be covered. None of these issues needed to be conceded. (I know this because I tested messages on them, and well- messaged progressive positions on them would have boosted the popularity of the bill with swing voters.)
- The White House starts adopting failed conservative policies and talking points that leave the public utterly confused about where the president, and by extension, his party, stands on the central issues of the day. The president talks about cutting deficits and increasing spending in the same breath, using the metaphor of families tightening their belt in tough times, which only strengthens resolve against stimulating a faltering economy; pledges support for massively expanding offshore drilling and "clean coal" (which doesn't exist, by the way) in a speech on climate change; and sends in 1200 additional National Guards to Arizona as an apparent reward for passing "No Latino Left Behind," while publicly objecting to the legislation.
- The underlying psychological assumption of these moves is that if you mix policies from the right and left in equal parts, you win the center. In fact, no one has ever won the center that way. It appears weak, opportunistic, and incoherent to the average swing voter, which is particularly problematic at a time when people in the center desperately want to know that their leaders have a vision and a coherent plan for what to do (which is why both FDR and Ronald Reagan were so effective in moving voters in the center). It doesn't win any votes on the right. But it does have one predictable effect: It sucks the motivation out of your base, who feel demoralized and betrayed (if they're part of the "professional left") or less likely to vote (if they're average voters who don't follow politics carefully but just don't feel very enthusiastic anymore, even if they don't really know why).
- Capping it all off, the BP disaster occurs two weeks after the president has adopted the "drill here, drill now," "all of the above" position of the Republican Party and the oil companies. This could have been the perfect opportunity to go on the offensive, contrast what Democrats stand for (common sense, protection of our safety, the land we leave our children, and key American industries and jobs, and sticking up for ordinary Americans against big businesses and their lobbyists) with what Republicans stand for; and connect the dots between what happened on Wall Street (with regulators owned and operated by the companies they were supposed to regulate) and what happened in the Gulf (where precisely the same thing happened). Instead, the administration finds itself on the defensive, increasingly sounding like a subsidiary of BP, allowing BP to call the shots and control information for weeks, defending increasingly hard-to-believe statistics, and issuing press releases that appear indistinguishable from those issued by BP but are inconsistent with assessments of independent scientists.

**Where Do We Go from Here?**

So that is where we find ourselves today: a Democratic Party and Democratic base that is demoralized and unlikely to vote in high numbers in November; a Republican Party that is selling replanted Bushes with tremendous enthusiasm; and a vast political center filled with voters who are utterly confused and unsure who to turn to but certain that things aren't going well.

In January 2009 no one could have predicted that Democrats would be in this predicament today. Perhaps Democrats might lose a few seats lost in an off-year election, but certainly no more than that. We had just seen -- and the American public knew we had just seen -- the most disastrous performance by a president and party in living history, and the American people had elected a tremendously charismatic young president with enormous Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress. They had given the president and Congress a strong mandate for whatever kind of change was necessary to get us out of economic free-fall and to put Americans back to work.

But there were red flags already by the end of Obama's first week in office that led me to offer the following advice to the new administration: Tell the story of how we got in this mess or you'll own it. Tell a coherent story about deficit spending. Re-brand government because there's only one story out there now (Reagan's), and it's not one that supports a progressive agenda. Never let attacks go unanswered, because doing so only emboldens your opposition and leads the public to believe that you have no answers to them. And if you throw a bipartisan party and no one comes, don't throw another one. All of what followed has been as predictable as it has been unfortunate. A year and a half later, the White House hasn't consistently done any of these things, although the President is now intermittently doing some of them, and when he does, he does them well.

The question today is whether Democrats can channel the populist anger we are seeing around the country this late in the game. The answer is that we'd better try. Having recently tested messages on economics and jobs, including how to talk about deficits and taxes -- widely assumed to be Democrats' Achilles Heel, particularly now -- there is little question that if Democrats and progressives from center to left simply say what they believe in ways that are evocative, values-driven, and speak to people's worries and anger, many stand a good chance of surviving November, particularly when their opponents have nothing to say other than warmed-over rhetoric about cutting taxes to millionaires and multinationals and fiscal restraint except where it cuts into profits of their campaign contributors. Even the most evocative boilerplate conservative messages fall flat against honest messages that speak to the need to get Americans working again. And on issue after issue, no message is more resonant right now than one that sides with working and middle class Americans and small business owners against special interests, big business, and their lobbyists.

But actions speak louder than words, and Americans want to see action. It may be too late for the kind of jobs bill we should have seen a year and a half ago, but it isn't too late for Democrats to go on the offensive against the Republicans -- virtually all of them -- who opposed extending unemployment insurance to millions of Americans who were thrown out of work by the Republicans' corporate sponsors. It isn't too late for Democrats to contrast their support for the highly popular aid to state and local governments that just saved the jobs of hundreds of thousands of teachers, firefighters, and police all over the country with Republicans' desire to throw them out onto the street. It isn't too late to make a voting issue out of the bill the Republicans are stalling that would give small businesses a fighting chance in an economy stacked against them, and to make clear that one party stands for small businesses, which create 75 percent of the new jobs in this country, and the other party stands for big businesses that outsource American jobs and offshore their profits to avoid paying their fair share of American taxes. It's not too late to pass a bill that would limit credit card interest rates to a reasonable percent above the rate at which credit is made available to credit card companies. It's not too late to pass the first badly need "fix" to the health care reform act to demonstrate to Americans that Democrats mean it when they say this was just the first step, namely a law that stops insurance companies from increasing their premiums by 40 percent while cutting the size of their networks by 50-75 percent, which violates the principles of affordability and choice that were so essential to efforts to sell health care reform to the public. It's not too late to vow to change the rules of the Senate to prevent the use of the filibuster to give every special interest veto power over every important piece of legislation. It's not too late to introduce legislation that's been on hold in both the House and Senate to guarantee fair elections, so that the voice of everyday Americans is heard over the voice of the special interests that finance political campaigns.

On every one of these issues, a strong populist message trounces anything the other side can say. But Democrats need to play offense. They need to take up-or-down votes on bill after bill, including those they expect the other side to block, knowing that every one of those votes has the leverage of a campaign ad behind it. They need to change the narrative from what sounds to the average American like a whiny and impotent one -- "the Republicans won't let us do it" -- to a narrative of strength in numbers shared with their constituents. And they need to make every election a choice between two well-articulated approaches to governance -- and to offer their articulation of both sides' positions and values.

That leads to a final point. What Democrats have needed to offer the American people is a clear narrative about what and who led our country to the mess in which we find ourselves today and a clear vision of what and who will lead us out. That narrative would have laid a roadmap for our elected officials and voters alike, rather than making each legislative issue a seemingly discrete turn onto a dirt road. That narrative might have included -- and should include today -- some key elements: that if the economy is tumbling, it's the role of leadership and government to stop the free-fall; that if Wall Street is gambling with our financial security, our homes, and our jobs, true leaders do not sit back helplessly and wax eloquent about the free market, they take away the dice; that if the private sector can't create jobs for people who want to work, then we'll put Americans back to work rebuilding our roads, bridges, and schools; that if Big Oil is preventing us from competing with China's wind and solar energy programs, then we'll eliminate the tax breaks that lead to dysfunctional investments in 19th century fuels and have a public-private partnership with companies that will create the clean, safe fuels of the 21st century and the millions of good American jobs that will follow.

That's what Democrats stand for. It's time they said it.

Drew Westen, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology and Psychiatry at Emory University, founder of Westen Strategies, and author of The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 4:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Yemen charges U.S.-born cleric Anwar al-Awlaki with plotting to kill foreigners (SBU)

**From:** OpsAlert@state.gov <OpsAlert@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 04:30:43 2010
**Subject:** Yemen charges U.S.-born cleric Anwar al-Awlaki with plotting to kill foreigners (SBU)

(SBU) Yemeni prosecutors charged in absentia al-Qaida linked radical cleric al-Awlaki, according to press. Embassy Sanaa confirms the indictment against al-Awlaki for participating in armed gang activity and inciting the killing of foreigners. Post adds the indictment establishes a legal basis for his arrest and potential trial.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, S/HSC, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, AVC, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 11:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Most importantly....

Thanks for your nice words. They mean a lot. I will always, always play for your team, officially or not!

Many more thoughts on sports diplomacy that I'm excited about. And yes, once a jock, now an aging jock!

On QDDR article, you'll see that a lot is missing (most notably a section on the Middle East, as well as China, Western Hemisphere (we should probably mention ECPA), a good energy example per David Goldwyn, et. al). it may also be too Pakistan heavy, though it is a great example of everything we are trying to do. My main goal was to try to ground the many elements at play in a more coherent narrative with a theme and thread that carried through. Didn't have enough time on the bottom third. Hopefully this version gives us something to work with, though.

And I really hope you get some semblance of time off this week. If only the world would, for once, cooperate.

On Aug 19, 2010, at 3:51 PM, H wrote:

> It has, as always, been a joy to have you on the team. We've worked
> together for so long, that I always feel better when I know you're
> there--putting words in my mouth and watching my back.
>
> I enjoyed our talk and was delighted to hear about all you're planning
> to do--especially on the sports front. Just goes to show, once a jock
> always a jock!
>
> Thx too for the rescue effort you're doing on the QDDR article.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine <
> To: H
> Sent: Tue Aug 17 23:43:47 2010
> Subject: Most importantly....
>
> I enjoyed our talk too, but forgot to mention the most important thing
> of all -- how much I appreciate your bringing me to State and giving
> me this opportunity. I have learned so much, meant so many smart and
> capable people, and hope I have contributed in some small way to what
> you are working so hard to accomplish.
>
> I'll write a formal letter for "the file" when I leave conveying all
> of these thoughts,, but I wanted to say something in person too.
> Unfortunately, I got carried away on sports diplomacy and everything
> else and . . . .another senior moment!
>
> I'll let you know when I have had a chance to talk to Judith and Ann

> about the ideas I'm putting together on sports. I do think there is
> potential to do much more than is being done now -- and more
> creatively.
>
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 7:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Shaun, NI and Joe Wilson. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo shaun ni conf 101210.docx; hrc memo shaun ni conf 101210.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

October 12, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Shaun, NI

1. Not only is Shaun eager to come to the NI conference but Ed Miliband also very much would like him to attend. Should Shaun contact Jake or Declan, or should they contact him? Ed M. would like Shaun to establish the channel to you and also through me. If you have time the three of us might meet to discuss current UK politics and policies.
2. Joe Wilson is in Washington next week for the special advance showing of the movie, "Fair Game," (starring Sean Penn as Joe, Naomi Watts as Valerie). He wants to know if you want to attend one of the showings or whether he can arrange for a special private showing for you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 4:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Dutch prosecutors say Yemenis freed

---

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Wed Sep 01 15:34:50 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Dutch prosecutors say Yemenis freed

THE HAGUE (AP) - Two Yemeni men arrested on arrival from the United States on suspicion they may have been conducting a dry run for an airline terror attack were released without charge September 1 after investigations turned up no evidence to link them to a terror plot, Dutch prosecutors said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palestinian PM lays new claim to east Jerusalem

Fyi

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 08:40:40 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Palestinian PM lays new claim to east Jerusalem

DAHIAT AL-BARID (AP) - The Palestinian prime minister has staked a new claim in Israel-controlled east Jerusalem, announcing that his government has helped fund the renovation of 14 schools there.

Israel said it will not give up any part of Jerusalem, including the eastern sector, which it captured in 1967. The Palestinians want to make east Jerusalem their future capital.

The Israeli government has tried to suppress any activity by Prime Minister Fayyad's Palestinian Authority in east Jerusalem and has warned him against entering Jerusalem on November 2 to make the announcement about the renovations.

Fayyad avoided confrontation and chose a West Bank school on the edge of Jerusalem. The West Bank government has spent more than $5 million on the renovations.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Hamas claims responsibility for September 1 West Bank attack

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Wed Sep 01 21:30:21 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Hamas claims responsibility for September 1 West Bank attack

GAZA CITY (AP) - In a text message to reporters early September 2, Hamas claimed responsibility for a September 1 drive-by shooting in the northern West Bank which injured to Israelis.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Baseball cap

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Nasr, S Vali R
Cc: Ruggiero, Frank J; Feldman, Daniel F; McHale, Judith A; Singh, Vikram J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A); Bommer, Ashley F
Sent: Thu Sep 16 15:21:28 2010
Subject: Re: Baseball cap

Vali--per your query, the cap I wore says "USAID from the People of the United States" and on the back "DART". It was practically the only sign, however temporary, that there was a US civilian effort in Sindh. So it got some media attention, which was good.

Every other country's aid here, even Iran's, is better branded than us. Only our helicopters are visible. China's field hospital (which I drove by in Thatta) Turkey, Saudi Arabia (I visited their refugee camp, where they are building a mosque), Australia (field hospital in multan), Switzerland, UK, etc. While we hide and the NGO partners refuse to admit that we fund them.

In addition, our employees are prevented from spending time in the affected areas, which they can visit only under very stringent conditions and heavy security imposed by RSOs. For example, the fabled AID DART teamn can hardly get out of I'bad and relies primarily on reports from NGois, a notably unreliable method.

We are going to try to change this. It won't be easy.

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Sep 16 14:42:55 2010
Subject: Re: Baseball cap

I don't know but there seems to be a lot of commentary about your cap; does it say something like a "gift from the US?"

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Nasr, S Vali R
Sent: Thu Sep 16 14:32:31 2010
Subject: Re: Baseball cap

Does that have deeper meaning, Dr Freud?

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R

To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>; Bommer, Ashley F
Cc: Pauli, Rosemarie
Sent: Thu Sep 16 12:45:17 2010
Subject: Baseball cap

Seems like Pakistani press is taking particular interest in RCH baseball cap.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 9:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Fyi Fw: USS IWO JIMA DEPLOYS TO HAITI AS TROPICAL STORM APPROACHES
**Attachments:** USS IWO JIMA DEPLOYS TO HAITI AS TROPICAL STORM APPROACHES.doc

Hurricane Tomas in route to Haiti to hit 4 Nov right now on southern claw.

SouthCom's announcement:

USS IWO JIMA DEPLOYS TO HAITI AS TROPICAL STORM APPROACHES

MIAMI - U.S. Southern Command directed the amphibious ship USS Iwo Jima (LHD 7) to steam toward Haiti today in preparation for the forecasted arrival of tropical storm Tomas later this week.

Iwo Jima will deploy to Haiti from Suriname, where it arrived Thursday on its final country visit for Continuing Promise 2010, a four-month, humanitarian civic assistance deployment to eight nations in the Caribbean region. The ship is scheduled to arrive in Haiti later this week.

Large amphibious ships, like Iwo Jima, resemble small aircraft carriers and include the ability to support helicopter and landing craft operations to quickly move personnel and cargo, making it an ideal platform to support humanitarian-relief missions on short notice.

A crew of 1,600 military and civilian medical, engineering, aviation, logistical and other support personnel are embarked aboard Iwo Jima, including U.S. Navy engineers, a contingent of 500 Marines with logistical-support expertise, volunteers from the U.S. Public Health Service and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as medical, dental and engineering professionals from Europe, North America and South America.

Eight CH-46 Sea Knight, medium-lift, dual-rotor helicopters; two MH-60 Knight Hawk helicopters and two amphibious landing craft units (LCU's) are on Iwo Jima to support the ship's operations.

Iwo Jima is a Wasp-class amphibious ship capable of speeds in excess of
20 knots that can provide robust ship-to-shore, as well as shore-to-shore logistics support during contingencies ranging from traditional military operations to humanitarian and disaster-relief missions.

Because of the Caribbean region's history of severe-weather events during the peak months of the hurricane season, the ship has remained in the area throughout its present deployment, ready to support U.S.
disaster relief efforts when directed.

Iwo Jima was in Port-de-Paix, Haiti, from July 24 through Aug. 3. It was the first stop on CP10 and the crew provided medical assistance to more than 4,000 Haitian citizens, performed 32 surgeries, completed six engineering projects, and delivered 231 pallets of humanitarian-assistance supplies donated by NGOs.

In September 2008, the amphibious ship USS Kearsarge deployed to Haiti to support U.S. relief efforts after a succession of storms (Fay, Gustav, Hanna and Ike) devastated the country. Kearsarge provided robust air and sealift support, delivering 3.3 million pounds of food, water and other aid to communities impacted by the disasters.
###

Related links:
About Continuing Promise 2010:
http://www.southcom.mil/AppsSC/factFiles.php?id=155
Photo of USS Iwo Jima:
http://www.southcom.mil/AppsSC/images/uploads/634159131775283089.jpg

CLASSIFICATION:UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 6:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Hamas says will continue attacks on Israelis

**From:** Goldberg, Joshua W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Thu Sep 02 05:39:30 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Hamas says will continue attacks on Israelis

GAZA (Reuters) - A Hamas spokesman said the Islamist group would pursue attacks against Israelis despite a crackdown against its activists in the occupied West Bank since a deadly shooting that killed four settlers. Sami Abu Zuhri said "operations of resistance will continue and the measures by the occupation and Fatah will not block them", referring to Israel and the Palestinian Authority which has arrested hundreds of Hamas members since the August 31 attack.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 6:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israeli settlers start new construction, defy talks

**From:** Goldberg, Joshua W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Thu Sep 02 05:48:01 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israeli settlers start new construction, defy talks

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Hours before peace talks were set to begin in Washington, Jewish settlers announced plans to launch new construction in their West Bank enclaves. Naftali Bennett, director of the settlers' YESHA council, said settlers would begin building homes and public structures in at least 80 settlements, breaking a partial government freeze on building that ends on Sept. 26.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 8:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: From Joe Wilson
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image002.png; image001.jpg; image002.png

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** Joe Wilson
**To:** "sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wed, Oct 13, 2010 00:11:03 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** From Joe Wilson

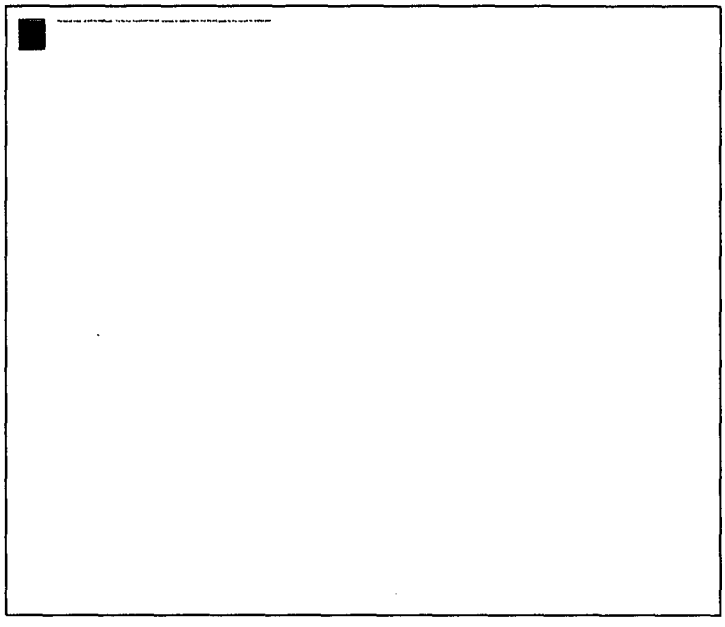
Dear Hillary,

Next Sunday (October 17th) Valerie and I arrive in DC for a week of screenings of Fair Game, the film of our fight with the Bush administration. I plan to be in DC through the following Thursday. There are screenings in Silver Spring on Tuesday at the American Film Institute festival and on Wednesday in Georgetown as a benefit for the Treatment Action Group, an HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment organization. You, Potus (ret) and whomever you would like to bring are invited to either or both. Alternatively, I would be pleased to arrange a private screening for you and your guests either at your home or elsewhere. Depending on the time, either Valerie or I would be delighted to attend and answer questions afterwards.

If these dates do not work for you, I am also happy to ensure that a screening is arranged whenever is convenient.

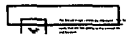
Valerie and I think that the film tells the story of that time and are proud of it. I would be pleased to share it with you.

With warmest regards. Joe



Ambassador Joseph Wilson
Chairman, Symbion Africa
tel.
Email: joseph.wilson
Personal Email: joe
skype:
www.symbion-power.com
http://www.vimeo.com/6884821

B6



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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/2/10 Thursday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **PREP MEETING**
9:45 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:00 am **TRILATERAL w/ISRAELI PM BINYAMIN NETANYAHU AND**
10:30 am (t) **PALESTIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY PRESIDENT MAHMOUD ABBAS** Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

10:30 am (t) **TRILAT w/ISRAELI PM BINYAMIN NETANYAHU, PALESTIAN**
11:30 am (t) **NAT'L AUTHORITY PRES. MAHMOUD ABBAS, & SPECIAL ENVOY GEORGE MITCHELL** Secretary's Outer Office, 7th Floor

11:30 am (t) **BILATERAL w/ ISRAELI PM BINYAMIN NETANYAHU AND**
12:30 pm (t) **PALESTIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY PRESIDENT MAHMOUD ABBAS** Secretary's Outer Office, 7th Floor

12:30 pm (t) **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm (t) Secretary's Office

6:00 pm (t) **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 5:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: New Start passes out of SFRC 14-4

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Tauscher, Ellen O
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Gottemoeller, Rose E; Limage, Simon G
Sent: Thu Sep 16 15:10:43 2010
Subject: New Start passes out of SFRC 14-4

We pick up Lugar, Corker and Isakson. [redacted] B5

Happy to discuss.
Best,
Ellen

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI. Freeman reflects Saudi view and most of State. Sid

**America's Faltering Search for Peace in the Middle East: Openings for Others?**

Remarks to staff of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
and, separately, to members of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.)
1 September 2010, Oslo, Norway

You have asked me to speak to current American policies in the Middle East, with an emphasis on the prospects for peace in the Holy Land. You have further suggested that I touch on the relationship of the Gulf Arabs, especially Saudi Arabia, to this. It is both an honor and a challenge to address this subject in this capital / at this ministry.

The declaration of principles worked out in Oslo seventeen years ago was the last direct negotiation between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs to reach consequential, positive results. The Oslo accords were a real step toward peace, not another deceptive pseudo-event in an endlessly unproductive, so-called "peace process." And if that one step forward in Oslo in 1993 was followed by several steps backwards, there is a great deal to be learned from how and why that happened.

There can be no doubt about the importance of today's topic. The ongoing conflict in the Holy Land increasingly disturbs the world's conscience as well as its tranquility. The Israel-Palestine issue began as a struggle in the context of European colonialism. In the post-colonial era, tension between Israelis and the Palestinians they dispossessed became, by degrees, the principal source of radicalization and instability in the Arab East and then the Arab world as a whole. It stimulated escalating terrorism against Israelis at home and their allies abroad. Since the end of the Cold War, the interaction between Israel and its captive Palestinian population has emerged as the fountainhead of global strife. It is increasingly difficult to distinguish this strife from a war of religions or a conflict of civilizations.

For better or ill, my own country, the United States has played and continues to play the key international part in this contest. American policies, more than those of any other external actor, have the capacity to stoke or stifle the hatreds in the Middle East and to spread or reverse their infection of the wider world. American policies and actions in the Middle East thus affect much more than that region.

Yet, as I will argue, the United States has been obsessed with *process* rather than substance. It has failed to involve parties who are essential to peace. It has acted on Israel's behalf to preempt rather than enlist international and regional support for peace. It has defined the issues in ways that preclude rather than promote progress. Its concept of a "peace process" has therefore become the handmaiden of Israeli expansionism rather than a driver for peace. There are alternatives to tomorrow's diplomatic peace pageant on the Potomac. And, as Norway has shown, there is a role for powers other than America in crafting peace in the Holy Land.

Over thirty years ago, at Camp David, Jimmy Carter pushed Israel through the door to peace that Egypt's Anwar Sadat had opened. Twenty years ago, the first Bush administration pressed Israel to the negotiating table with Palestinian leaders, setting the stage for their clandestine meetings in Oslo. The capacity of the United States to rally other governments behind a cause that it espouses may have atrophied, but American power remains far greater than that of any other nation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Middle East.

For more than four decades, Israel has been able to rely on aid from the United States to dominate its region militarily and to sustain its economic prosperity. It has counted on its leverage in American politics to block the application of international law and to protect itself from the political repercussions of its policies and actions. Unquestioning American support has enabled Israel to put the seizure of ever more land ahead of the achievement of a modus vivendi with the Palestinians or other Arabs. Neither violent resistance from the dispossessed nor objections from abroad have brought successive Israeli governments to question, let alone alter the priority they assign to land over peace.

Ironically, Palestinians too have developed a dependency relationship with America. This has locked them into a political framework over which Israel exercises decisive influence. They have been powerless to end occupation, pogroms, ethnic cleansing, and other humiliations by Jewish soldiers and settlers. Nor have they been able to prevent their progressive confinement in checkpoint-encircled ghettos on the West Bank and the great open-air prison of Gaza.

Despite this appalling record of failure, the American monopoly on the management of the search for peace in Palestine remains unchallenged. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia – once a contender for countervailing influence in the region – has lapsed into impotence. The former colonial powers of the European Union, having earlier laid the basis for conflict in the region, have largely sat on their hands while ringing them, content to let America take the lead. China, India, and other Asian powers have prudently kept their political and military distance. In the region itself, Iran has postured and exploited the Palestinian cause without doing anything to advance it. Until recently, Turkey remained aloof.

On rare occasions, as in the case of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the Arabs have backed their verbal opposition to Israel with action. Egypt and Jordan have settled into an unpopular coexistence with Israel that is now sustained only by U.S. subventions. Saudi Arabia has twice taken the initiative to offer Israel diplomatic concessions if it were to conclude arrangements for peaceful coexistence with the Palestinians. But, overall, Arab governments have earned the contempt of the Palestinians and their own people for their lack of serious engagement. For the most part, Arab leaders have timorously demanded that America solve the Israel-Palestine problem for them, while obsequiously courting American protection against Israel, each other, Iran, and – in some cases – their own increasingly frustrated and angry subjects and citizens.

Islam charges rulers with the duty to defend the faithful and to uphold justice. It demands that they embody righteousness. The resentment of mostly Muslim Arabs at their governing elites' failure to meet these standards generates sympathy for terrorism directed not just at Israel but at both the United States and Arab governments associated with it.

The perpetrators of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the United States saw it in part as reprisal for American complicity in Israeli cruelties to Palestinians and other Arabs. They justified it as a strike against Washington's protection of Arab governments willing to overlook American contributions to Muslim suffering. Washington's response to the attack included suspending its efforts to make peace in the Holy Land as well as invading and occupying Afghanistan and Iraq. All three actions inadvertently strengthened the terrorist case for further attacks on America and its allies. The armed struggle between Americans and Muslim radicals has already spilled over to Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, and other

countries. Authoritative voices in Israel now call for adding Iran to the list of countries at war with America. They are echoed by Zionist and neo-conservative spokesmen in the United States,

The widening involvement of Americans in combat in Muslim lands has inflamed anti-American passions and catalyzed a metastasis of terrorism. It has caused a growing majority of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims to see the United States as a menace to their faith, their way of life, their homelands, and their personal security. American populists and European xenophobes have meanwhile undercut liberal and centrist Muslim arguments against the intolerance that empowers terrorism by equating terrorism and its extremist advocates with Islam and its followers. The current outburst of bigoted demagoguery over the construction of an Islamic cultural center and mosque in New York is merely the most recent illustration of this. It suggests that the blatant racism and Islamophobia of contemporary Israeli politics is contagious. It rules out the global alliances against religious extremists that are essential to encompass their political defeat.

President Obama's inability to break this pattern must be an enormous personal disappointment to him. He came into office committed to crafting a new relationship with the Arab and Muslim worlds. His first interview with the international media was with Arab satellite television. He reached out publicly and privately to Iran. He addressed the Turkish parliament with persuasive empathy. He traveled to a great center of Islamic learning in Cairo to deliver a remarkably eloquent message of conciliation to Muslims everywhere. He made it clear that he understood the centrality of injustices in the Holy Land to Muslim estrangement from the West. He promised a responsible withdrawal from Iraq and a judicious recrafting of strategy in Afghanistan. Few doubt Mr. Obama's sincerity. Yet none of his initiatives has led to policy change anyone can detect, let alone believe in

It is not for me to analyze or explain the wide gaps between rhetoric and achievement in the Obama Administration's stewardship of so many aspects of my country's affairs. American voters will render their first formal verdict on this two months from tomorrow, on the 2nd of November. The situation in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and adjacent areas is only part of what they will consider as they do so. But I do think it worthwhile briefly to examine some of the changes in the situation that ensure that many policies that once helped us to get by in the Middle East will no longer do this.

Let me begin with the "peace process," a hardy perennial of America's diplomatic repertoire that the Obama Administration will put back on public display tomorrow. In the Cold War, the appearance of an earnest and "even-handed" American search for peace in the Holy Land was the price of U.S. access and influence in the Middle East. It provided political cover for conservative Arab governments to set aside their anger at American backing of Israel so as to stand with America and the Western bloc against Soviet Communism. It kept American relations with Israel and the Arabs from becoming a zero-sum game. It mobilized domestic Jewish support for incumbent presidents. Of course, there hasn't been an American-led "peace process" in the Middle East for at least a decade. Still the conceit of a "peace process" became an essential political convenience for all concerned. No one could bear to admit that the "peace process" had expired. It therefore lived on in phantom form.

Even when there was no "peace process," the possibility of resurrecting one provided hope to the gullible, cover to the guileful, beguilement for the press, an excuse for doing nothing to those gaining from the status quo, and – last but far from least – lifetime employment for career "peace processors." The perpetual processing of peace without the requirement to produce it has been especially appreciated by Israeli leaders. It has enabled them to behave like magicians, riveting foreign attention on meaningless distractions as they systematically removed Palestinians from their homes, settled half a million or more Jews in newly vacated areas of the occupied territories, and annexed a widening swath of land to a Jerusalem they insist belongs only to Israel.

Palestinian leaders with legitimacy problems have also had reason to collaborate in the search for a "peace process." It's not just that there has been no obviously better way to end their people's suffering. Playing "peace process" charades justifies the international patronage and Israeli backing these leaders need to retain their status in the occupied territories. It ensures that they have media access and high-level visiting rights in Washington. Meanwhile, for American leaders, engagement in some sort of Middle East "peace process" has been essential to credibility in the Arab and Islamic worlds, as well as with the ever-generous American Jewish community. Polls show that most American Jews are impatient for peace. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, they are eager to believe in the willingness of the government of Israel to trade land for it.

Previous "peace processes" have exploited all these impulses. In practice, however, these diplomatic distractions have served to obscure Israeli actions and evasions that were more often prejudicial to peace than helpful in achieving it. Behind all the blather, the rumble of bulldozers has never stopped. Given this history, it has taken a year and a half of relentless effort by U.S. Special Envoy George Mitchell to persuade the parties even to meet directly to *talk about talks* as they first did here in Oslo, seventeen years ago. When the curtain goes up on the diplomatic show in Washington tomorrow, will the players put on a different skit? There are many reasons to doubt that they will.

One is that the Obama administration has engaged the same aging impresarios who staged all the previously failed "peace processes" to produce and direct this one with no agreed script. The last time these guys staged such an ill-prepared meeting, at Camp David in 2000, it cost both heads of delegation, Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat, their political authority. It led not to peace but to escalating violence. The parties are showing up this time to minimize President Obama's political embarrassment in advance of midterm elections in the United States, not to address his agenda – still less to address each other's agendas. These are indeed difficulties. But the problems with this latest – and possibly final – iteration of the perpetually ineffectual "peace process" are more fundamental.

The Likud Party charter flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan River and stipulates that: *"The Palestinians can run their lives freely in the framework of self-rule, but not as an independent and sovereign state."* This Israeli government is committed to that charter as well as to the Jewish holy war for land in Palestine. It has no interest in trading land it covets for a peace that might thwart further territorial expansion. It considers itself unbound by the applicable UN resolutions, agreements from past peace talks, the "Roadmap," or the premise of the "two-state solution."

The Palestinians are desperate for the dignity and security that only the end of the Israeli occupation can provide. But the authority of Palestinian negotiators to negotiate rests on their recognition by Israel and the United States, not on their standing in the occupied territories, Gaza, or the Palestinian diaspora. Fatah is the ruling faction in part of Palestine. Its authority to govern was repudiated by voters in the last Palestinian elections. The Mahmoud Abbas administration retains power by grace of the Israeli occupation authorities and the United States, which prefer it to the government empowered by the Palestinian people at the polls. Mr. Abbas's constitutional term of office has long since expired. He presides over a parliament whose most influential members are locked up in Israeli jails. It is not clear for whom he, his faction, or his administration can now speak.

So the talks that begin tomorrow promise to be a case of the disinterested going through the motions of negotiating with the mandate-less. The parties to these talks seek to mollify an America that has severely lessened international credibility. The United States government had to borrow the modest reputations for objectivity of others – the EU, Russia, and the UN – to be able to convene this discussion. It will be held under the auspices of an American president who was

publicly humiliated by Israel's prime minister on the issue that is at the center of the Israel-Palestine dispute – Israel's continuing seizure and colonization of Arab land.

Vague promises of a Palestinian state within a year now waft through the air. But the "peace process" has always sneered at deadlines, even much, much firmer ones. A more definitive promise of an independent Palestine within a year was made at Annapolis three years ago. Analogous promises of Palestinian self-determination have preceded or resulted from previous meetings over the decades, beginning with the Camp David accords of 1979. Many in this audience will recall the five-year deadline fixed at Oslo. The talks about talks that begin tomorrow can yield concrete results only if the international community is prepared this time to insist on the one-year deadline put forward for recognizing a Palestinian state. Even then there will be no peace unless long-neglected issues are addressed.

Peace is a pattern of stability acceptable to those with the capacity to disturb it by violence. It is almost impossible to impose. It cannot become a reality, still less be sustained, if those who must accept it are excluded from it. This reality directs our attention to who is not at this gathering in Washington and what must be done to remedy the problems these absences create.

Obviously, the party that won the democratically expressed mandate of the Palestinian people to represent them – Hamas – is not there. Yet there can be no peace without its buy-in. Egypt and Jordan have been invited as observers. Yet they have nothing to add to the separate peace agreements each long ago made with Israel. (Both these agreements were explicitly premised on grudging Israeli undertakings to accept Palestinian self-determination. The Jewish state quickly finessed both.) Activists from the Jewish diaspora disproportionately staff the American delegation. A failure to reconcile either American Jews or the Palestine diaspora to peace would doom any accord. But the Palestinian diaspora will be represented in Washington only in tenuous theory, not in fact.

Other Arabs, including the Arab League and the author of its peace initiative, Saudi Arabia, will not be at the talks tomorrow. The reasons for this are both simple and complex. At one level they reflect both a conviction that this latest installment of the "peace process" is just another in a long series of public entertainments for the American electorate and also a lack of confidence in the authenticity of the Palestinian delegation. At another level, they result from the way the United States has defined the problems to be solved and the indifference to Arab interests and views this definition evidences. Then too, they reflect disconnects in political culture and negotiating style between Israelis, Arabs, and Americans.

To begin with, neither Israel nor the conveners of this proposed new "peace process" have officially acknowledged or responded to the Arab peace initiative of 2002. This offered normalization of relations with the Jewish state, should Israel make peace with the Palestinians. Instead, the United States and the Quartet have seemed to pocket the Arab offer, ignore its precondition that Israelis come to terms with Palestinians, and gone on to levy new demands.

In this connection, making Arab recognition of Israel's "right to exist" the central purpose of the "peace process" offends Arabs on many levels. In framing the issue this way, Israel and the United States appear to be asking for something well beyond pragmatic accommodation of the reality of a Jewish state in the Middle East. To the Arabs, Americans now seem to be insisting on Arab endorsement of the idea of the state of Israel, the means by which that state was established, and the manner in which it has comported itself. Must Arabs really embrace Zionism before Israel can cease expansion and accept peace?

Arabs and Muslims familiar with European history can accept that European anti-Semitism justified the establishment of a homeland for traumatized European Jews. But asking them even implicitly to agree that the forcible eviction of Palestinian Arabs was a morally appropriate means to this end is both a nonstarter and seriously off-putting. So is asking them to affirm that resistance to such displacement was and is sinful. Similarly, the Arabs see the demand that they recognize a Jewish state with no fixed borders as a clever attempt to extract their endorsement of Israel's unilateral expansion at Palestinian expense.

The lack of appeal in this approach has been compounded by a longstanding American habit of treating Arab concerns about Israel as a form of anti-Semitism and tuning them out. Instead of hearing out and addressing Arab views, U.S. peace processors have repeatedly focused on soliciting Arab acts of kindness toward Israel. They argue that gestures of acceptance can help Israelis overcome their Holocaust-inspired political neuroses and take risks for peace.

Each time this notion of Arab diplomacy as psychotherapy for Israelis has been trotted out, it has been met with incredulity. To most in the region, it encapsulates the contrast between Washington's sympathy and solicitude for Israelis and its condescendingly exploitative view of Arabs. Some see it as a barely disguised appeal for a policy of appeasement of Israel. Still others suspect an attempt to construct a "peace process" in which Arabs begin to supply Israel with gifts of carrots so that Americans can continue to avoid applying sticks to it.

The effort to encourage Arab generosity as an offset to American political pusillanimity vis-à-vis Israel is ludicrously unpersuasive. It has failed so many times that it should be obvious that it will not work. Yet it was a central element of George Mitchell's mandate for "peace process" diplomacy. And it appears to have resurfaced as part of the proposed follow-up to tomorrow's meeting between the parties in Washington. It should be no puzzle why the Saudis and other Arabs could not be persuaded to join this gathering.

As a last thought before turning to what must be done, let me make a quick comment on a relevant cultural factor. Arabic has two quite different words that are both translated as "negotiation," making a distinction that doesn't exist in either English or Hebrew. One word, *"musaawama,"* refers to the no-holds-barred bargaining process that takes place in bazaars between strangers who may never see each other again and who therefore feel no obligation not to scam each other. Another, *"mufaawadhat,"* describes the dignified formal discussions about matters of honor and high principle that take place on a basis of mutual respect and equality between statesmen who seek a continuing relationship.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's travel to Jerusalem was a grand act of statesmanship to initiate a process of *mufaawadhat* – relationship-building between leaders and their polities. So was the Arab peace initiative of 2002. It called for a response in kind. The West muttered approvingly but did not act. After a while, Israel responded with intermittent, somewhat oblique suggestions of willingness to haggle over terms. But an offer to bicker over the terms on which a grand gesture has been granted is, not surprisingly, seen as insultingly unresponsive.

I cite this not to suggest that non-Arabs should adopt Arabic canons of thought, but to make a point about diplomatic effectiveness. To move a negotiating partner in a desired direction, one must understand how that partner understands things and help him to see a way forward that will bring him to an end he has been persuaded to want. One of the reasons we can't seem to move things as we desire in the Middle East is that we don't make much effort to understand how others reason and how they rank their interests. In the case of the Israel-Palestine conundrum, we Americans are long on empathy and expertise about Israel and very, very short on these for the various Arab parties. The essential militarism of U.S. policies in the Middle East adds to our difficulties. We have become skilled at killing Arabs. We have forgotten how to listen to them or persuade them.

I am not myself an "Arabist," but I am old enough to remember when there were more than a few such people in the American diplomatic service. These were officers who had devoted themselves to the cultivation of understanding and empathy with Arab leaders so as to be able to convince these leaders that it was in their own interest to do things we saw as in our interest. If we still have such people, we are hiding them well; we are certainly not applying their skills in our Middle East diplomacy.

This brings me to a few thoughts about the Western and Arab interests at stake in the Holy Land and their implications for what must be done.

In foreign affairs, interests are the measure of all things. My assumption is that Americans and Norwegians, indeed Europeans in general, share common interests that require peace in the Holy Land. To my mind, these interests include – but are, of course, not limited to – gaining security and acceptance for a democratic state of Israel; eliminating the gross injustices and daily humiliations that foster Arab terrorism against Israel and its foreign allies and supporters, as well as friendly Arab regimes; and reversing the global spread of religious strife and prejudice, including, very likely, a revival of anti-Semitism in the West if current trends are not arrested. None of these aspirations can be fulfilled without an end to the Israeli occupation and freedom for Palestinians.

Arab states, like Saudi Arabia, also have compelling reasons to want relief from occupation as well as self-determination for Palestinians. They may not be concerned to preserve Israel's democracy, as we are, but they share an urgent interest in ending the radicalization of their own populations, curbing the spread of Islamist terrorism, and eliminating the tensions with the West that the conflict in the Holy Land fuels. These are the concerns that have driven them to propose peace, as they very clearly did eight years ago. For related reasons, Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has made inter-faith dialogue and the promotion of religious tolerance a main focus of his domestic and international policy.

As the custodian of two of Islam's three sacred places of pilgrimage – Mecca and Medina – Saudi Arabia has long transcended its own notorious religious narrow-mindedness to hold the holy places in its charge open to Muslims of all sects and persuasions. This experience, joined with Islamic piety, reinforces a Saudi insistence on the exemption of religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem from political interference or manipulation. The Ottoman Turks were careful to ensure freedom of access for worship to adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths when they administered the city. It is an interest that Jews, Christians, and Muslims share.

There is, in short, far greater congruity between Western and Arab interests affecting the Israel-Palestine dispute than is generally recognized. This can be the basis for creative diplomacy. The fact that this has not occurred reflects pathologies of political life in the United States that paralyze the American diplomatic imagination. Tomorrow's meeting may well demonstrate that, the election of Barack Obama notwithstanding, the United States is still unfit to manage the achievement of peace between Israel and the Arabs. If so, it is in the American interest as well as everyone else's that others become the path-breakers, enlisting the United States as best they can in support of what they achieve, but not expecting America to overcome its incapacity to lead.

Here, I think, there is a lesson to be drawn from the Norwegian experience in the 1990s. The Clinton Administration was happy to organize the public relations for the Oslo accords but did not take ownership of them. It did little to protect them from subversion and overthrow, and nothing to insist on their implementation. Only a peace process that is protected from Israel's ability to manipulate American politics can succeed.

This brings me to how Europeans and Arabs might work together to realize the objectives both share with most Americans: establishing internationally recognized borders for Israel, securing freedom for the Palestinians, and ending the stimulus to terrorism in the region and beyond it that strife in the Holy Land entails. I have only four suggestions to present today. I expect that more ideas will emerge from the discussion period. A serious effort to cooperate with the Arabs of the sort that Norway is uniquely capable of contriving could lead to the development of still more options for joint or parallel action on behalf of peace.

Now to my suggestions, presented in ascending order of difficulty, from the least to the most controversial.

First, **get behind the Arab peace initiative**. Saudi Arab culture frowns on self-promotion and the Kingdom is less gifted than most at public diplomacy. Political factors inhibit official Arab access to the Israeli press. The Israeli media have published some – mostly dismissive – commentary on the Arab peace initiative but left most Israelis ignorant of its contents and unfamiliar with its text. Why not buy space in the Israeli media to give Israelis a chance to read the Arab League declaration and consider the opportunities it presents? I suspect the Saudis, as well as other members of the Arab League, would consider it constructive for an outside party to do this. It might facilitate other sorts of cooperation with them in which European capabilities can also compensate for Arab reticence. The Turks and other non-Arab Muslims should be brought in as full participants in any such efforts. This wouldn't be bad for Europe's relations with both. By the way, given the U.S. media's notorious one-sidedness and American ignorance about the Arab peace plan, a well-targeted advertising campaign in the United States might not be a bad idea either.

Second, **help create a Palestinian partner for peace.** There can be no peace with Israel unless there are officials who are empowered by the Palestinian people to negotiate and ratify it. Israel has worked hard to divide the Palestinians so as to consolidate its conquest of their homeland. Saudi Arabia has several times sought to create a Palestinian peace partner for Israel by bringing Fatah, Hamas, and other factions together. On each occasion, Israel, with U.S. support, has acted to preclude this. Active organization of non-American Western support for diplomacy aimed at restoring a unity government to the Palestinian Authority could make a big difference. The Obama Administration would be under strong domestic political pressure to join Israel in blocking a joint European-Arab effort to accomplish this. Under some circumstances, however, it might welcome being put to this test.

Third, **reaffirm and enforce international law.** The UN Security Council is charged with enforcing the rule of law internationally. In the case of the Middle East, however, the Council's position at the apex of the international system has served to erode and subvert the ideal of a rule-bound international order. Almost forty American vetoes have prevented the application to the Israeli occupying authorities of the Geneva Conventions, the Nuremberg precedents, human rights conventions, and relevant Security Council directives. American diplomacy on behalf of the Jewish state has silenced the collective voice of the international community as Israel has illegally colonized and annexed broad swaths of occupied territory, administered collective punishment to a captive people, assassinated their political leaders, massacred civilians, barred UN investigators, defied mandatory Security Council resolutions, and otherwise engaged in scofflaw behavior, usually with only the flimsiest of legally irrelevant excuses.

If ethnic cleansing, settlement activity, and the like are not just "unhelpful" but illegal, the international community should find a way to say so, even if the UN Security Council cannot. Otherwise, the most valuable legacy of Atlantic civilization – its vision of the rule of law – will be lost. When one side to a dispute is routinely exempted from principles, all exempt themselves, and the law of the jungle prevails. The international community needs collectively to affirm that Israel, both as occupier and as regional military hegemon, is legally accountable internationally for its actions. If the UN General Assembly cannot "unite for peace" to do what an incapacitated Security Council cannot, member states should not shrink

from working in conference outside the UN framework. All sides in the murder and mayhem in the Holy Land and beyond need to understand that they are not above the law. If this message is firmly delivered and enforced, there will be a better chance for peace.

Fourth, **set a deadline linked to an ultimatum.** Accept that the United States will frustrate any attempt by the UN Security Council to address the continuing impasse between Israel and the Palestinians. Organize a global conference outside the UN system to coordinate a decision to inform the parties to the dispute that if they cannot reach agreement in a year, one of two solutions will be imposed. Schedule a follow-up conference for a year later. The second conference would consider whether to recommend universal recognition of a Palestinian state in the area beyond Israel's 1967 borders or recognition of Israel's achievement of *de jure* as well as *de facto* sovereignty throughout Palestine (requiring Israel to grant all governed by it citizenship and equal rights at pain of international sanctions, boycott, and disinvestment). Either formula would force the parties to make a serious effort to strike a deal or to face the consequences of their recalcitrance. Either formula could be implemented directly by the states members of the international community. Admittedly, any serious deadline would provoke a political crisis in Israel and lead to diplomatic confrontation with the United States as well as Israel, despite the Obama Administration itself having proclaimed a one-year deadline in order to entice the Palestinians to tomorrow's talks. Yet both Israel and the United States would benefit immensely from peace with the Palestinians.

Time is running out. The two-state solution may already have been overtaken by Israeli land grabs and settlement activity. Another cycle of violence is likely in the offing. If so, it will not be local or regional, but global in its reach. Israel's actions are delegitimizing and isolating it even as they multiply the numbers of those in the region and beyond who are determined to destroy it. Palestinian suffering is a reproach to all humanity that posturing alone cannot begin to alleviate. It has become a cancer on the Islamic body politic. It is infecting every extremity of the globe with the rage against injustice that incites terrorism.

It is time to try new approaches. That is why the question of whether there is a basis for expanded diplomatic cooperation between Europeans and Arabs is such a timely one. And it is why I was pleased as well as honored to have been asked to set the stage for a discussion of this issue.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 2:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You look beautiful!!!!
**Attachments:** ole0.bmp; ole0.bmp



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Eyes on Hillary Clinton as She Leads Mideast Peace Talks

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Thursday, September 02, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Eyes on Hillary Clinton as She Leads Mideast Peace Talks

abcNEWS

# Eyes on Hillary Clinton as She Leads Mideast Peace Talks

## Opinions Are Split on Whether Secretary of State Has Skills Necessary for Negotiations

**By JAKE TAPPER**

**WASHINGTON, Sept. 2, 2010 —**

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton today stepped into the international spotlight, assuming the day-to-day responsibility of trying to broker a Mideast peace that has eluded her predecessors for decades.

Seated between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas at the State Department, Clinton heralded the first direct negotiations between the parties in nearly two years.

Whether both sides can overcome a history of failed negotiations and dashed hopes will depend in large part on the individual leaders making difficult concessions, Clinton said.

"We cannot and will not impose a solution. Only you can make the decisions necessary to reach an agreement and secure a peaceful future for the Israeli and Palestinian people," she said.

Clinton appeared to embrace the opportunity and the symbolism of the moment ▯ speaking slowly and authoritatively, embracing her partners on both sides, and reminding the world of the difficulties to be expected on the road ahead.

"Those who oppose the cause of peace will try in every way possible to sabotage this process, as we have already seen this week," she said, referring to the killing Tuesday of four Israeli civilians by Hamas.

But "the core issues at the center of these negotiations -- territory, security, Jerusalem, refugees, settlements and others -- will get no easier if we wait, nor will they resolve themselves."

The talks, which also included Jordan's King Abdullah II and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, represent a formidable challenge for Clinton, who has spent months coaxing both sides back to the negotiating table.

They also raise the stakes for President Obama, who has set a goal of creating a two-state solution. He met with Netanyahu and Abbas in private sessions at the White House Wednesday and said he was "cautiously hopeful" a deal could be reached one year from now.

But experts say success in the months ahead will also depend on Clinton's skill as a diplomat and mediator.

"I think she has credibility. Now whether that translates into diplomatic skills, I don't know," said Shibley Telhami, the Anwar Sadat professor for peace and development at the University of Maryland. "Frankly, she's untested as a mediator."

Other observers see Clinton's experience as a politician as an asset because she will be able to not only discuss the policies but understand the politics of how Palestinian and Israeli leaders "sell" the negotiations to their peoples at home.

In an ABC News exclusive interview, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair said Clinton has the best type of political mind. "[It] knows where you meet the point of principle and knows where you need the subtlety and the compromise," he said.

**1979 Camp David Accords: the Gold Standard**

Ahead of the talks, Clinton had requested historical background materials concerning past efforts at peace in the region, the ultimately unsuccessful one led by her husband, a source close to the secretary of state said.

"She has this relationship with this fellow who has spent some time talking to leaders -- you know President Clinton -- and she has benefitted from his direct experience," said State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley.

Clinton regards President Jimmy Carter's 1979 Camp David Accords brokered between Israel and Egypt as the gold standard for negotiations, the Clinton source said.

When then-Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin refused to authorize the dismantling of any Israeli settlements, Carter's team suggested having the Israeli Parliament make the decision -- and it did. Carter has credited thinking outside of the box and being innovative as the key.

"You have to be innovative and get a lot of outside help to find some alternative route that might bring you to the same goals," Carter told interviewer Don Richardson in "Conversations With Carter."

"You really need to look at life or the negotiation as if it were a chessboard. Anticipating what the next move is and what the next move is after that," said Aaron David Miller, an adviser on the region to six secretaries of state.

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who negotiated an end to the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, said that audaciousness was part of testing the limits.

"The art of statesmanship is to find a position between stagnation and overextension, hopefully at the outer limit of what is possible," he said during a June 2008 interview on CNN.

Former President Clinton once suggested that willpower also comes in handy. In his autobiography, "My Life," he described one very late night at Wye River -- where he conducted his own Mideast peace talks -- where his "strategy for success had now boiled down to endurance; I was determined to be the last man standing."

What the negotiators are doing when they're not negotiating might also play a role, Carter has said. By holding peace talks at Camp David, "it was a harmonious environment because Egyptians and Israelis who had been devoting their adult life to killing each other were required to swim in the same swimming pool, watch the same movies, play on the same tennis courts, throw horseshoes together, sit on the same rock and talks. That was all part of it."

*ABC News' Kirit Radia, Enjoli Francis and Devin Dwyer contributed to this report.*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 5:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Arab League chief: talks no use if settlements built

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu Sep 16 16:54:35 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Arab League chief: talks no use if settlements built

CAIRO (Reuters) - The Arab League backs the Palestinians' refusal to continue direct peace talks if Israel resumes building settlements, the organization's chief said September 16. "If settlement construction does not stop, then there is no use for continuing negotiations," Amr Moussa told a press conference, saying this was the opinion of the Arabs and Palestinian President Abbas. "Negotiating with occupation is simply a waste of time."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 5:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: September 14 & 15

Gotta love him

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Thursday, September 02, 2010 4:46 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** September 14 & 15

A quick note as I head for an interview with Israeli Channel 10. Have done intensive work today with regional media, including CNN-I, AJ and AJE, about 10 in all when the evening winds down. We have had a good day in shaping the outcome of today's activity. Coverage has been broadly supportive. The Palestinians went somewhat negative on Andrea Mitchell's show, but I appeared as did Michael Oren and we balanced that out fairly well. [redacted] B5

[redacted] Let me know.

PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Joint Interview

MS –

Jake just relayed your desire to cancel tomorrow's interview. But I want to make sure you are aware of a few things that he was not in a position to share:

1) The Israeli & Palestinian interviewers and their teams skipped returning home today with their principals at great cost and energy in order to stay the extra day to you. One skipped traveling onward with Abbas.
2) Both the Israeli & Palestinian media outlets involved immediately announced their joint interview and are hyping its unprecedented nature
3) Because of #2, U.S. media is fully aware that this interview is scheduled for tomorrow morning.

So three points:

1) There is an incredibly high expectation for this interview occurring and canceling, no matter the reason cited, will be taken to mean something negative2) The point of this interview was to shape the narrative coming out of today, and canceling will only contribute to a negative narrative in that we will be canceling on the most important figure in Israeli media, and I do not see Channel 2 taking that well3) As positive as the symbolism of this interview was meant to be, we run the risk of the negative symbolism by canceling.

Typically when you want to cancel something I roll with it. But I want to strenuously object to doing so in this case. I understand you told the participants they should refrain from public comment, but first, that doesn't mean you have to and second, you know they won't really refrain. And I am certain they will appreciate the effusive things you have to say about them during this interview. Not to mention that the reason for canceling is something we ourselves could have foreseen before going so far down the road, and should have - which I don't think is fair or reflects well on you.

Lastly, on a much more practical note: to get you out of this I am going to have to bribe Channel 2 with a significant and exclusive interview when we are in Jerusalem in two weeks, and I guarantee you that will be far more painful than tomorrow's relative short and peaceful format.

If you'd like to discuss I'm at my desk and available or can call you through Ops.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 6:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Joint Interview

Before I call Udi Segal of Channel 2 I would like your ok to commit you to an interview while in Jerusalem on the next trip. [redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines [redacted] B6
Date: Thu, 2 Sep 2010 22:32:54
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Reply-To: preines [redacted]
Cc: CDM<cheryl.mills [redacted] Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Lona Valmoro [redacted]
Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Joint Interview

MS –

Jake just relayed your desire to cancel tomorrow's interview. But I want to make sure you are aware of a few things that he was not in a position to share:

1) The Israeli & Palestinian interviewers and their teams skipped returning home today with their principals at great cost and energy in order to stay the extra day to you. One skipped traveling onward with Abbas.
2) Both the Israeli & Palestinian media outlets involved immediately announced their joint interview and are hyping its unprecedented nature
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If you'd like to discuss I'm at my desk and available or can call you through Ops.

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 9:03 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** reinesp@state.gov; sullivanjj@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Interview

[redacted] Otheriwse it would be Channel 2 solo, [redacted] and which you could do IN Israel

B5

Sent from my iPad

On Sep 2, 2010, at 9:00 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> What did you decide? I'm assuming you got my earlier email saying I'm willing to do if we have answer on moratorium.

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 9:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Interview

[redacted] B5

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Interview
Sent: Sep 2, 2010 9:07 PM

Ok either way but need to do both or none. [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: reinesp@state.gov <reinesp@state.gov>; sullivanjj@state.gov <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Sep 02 21:03:29 2010
Subject: Re: Interview

[redacted] Otheriwse it would be Channel 2 solo, [redacted] and which you could do IN Israel

B5

Sent from my iPad

On Sep 2, 2010, at 9:00 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> What did you decide? I'm assuming you got my earlier email [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 9:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Interview

Aye aye

------Original Message------ B6
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Interview
Sent: Sep 2, 2010 9:17 PM

So, I'll assume it's off unless you tell me otherwise before tomorrow am.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 02 21:11:09 2010
Subject: Re: Interview

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR B5
Subject: Re: Interview
Sent: Sep 2, 2010 9:07 PM

Ok either way but need to do both or none.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines B6
To: H
Cc: reinesp@state.gov <reinesp@state.gov>; sullivanjj@state.gov <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Sep 02 21:03:29 2010
Subject: Re: Interview

[redacted]

[redacted] Otheriwse it would be Channel 2 solo, [redacted] and which you could do IN Israel

B5

Sent from my iPad

On Sep 2, 2010, at 9:00 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> What did you decide? I'm assuming you got my earlier email [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: CNN Interview with YbA

**Importance:** High

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Sanderson, Janet A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Schlicher, Ronald L; Dibble, Philo L
Sent: Fri Sep 17 07:34:23 2010
Subject: FW: CNN Interview with YbA

Jake, we understand that S will talk to the Sultan this morning. Jeff wanted you to have this readout of bin Allawi's CNN interview before that call. It is, as Amb Schmierer said, unhelpful.

Janet

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

Janet A. Sanderson
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near East Affairs
Department of State
Tel: 202-647-7166

-----Original Message-----
From: Schmierer, Richard J
Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 6:59 AM
To: Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Pelton, Erin; Vasquez, Edgar J; Talwar, Puneet (OVP); Dibble, Philo L; Jensen, Robert R.
Cc: Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Pattarini, Daniel M; Attkisson, Patricia O; Bondy, Steven C; Specht, Linda; Fischer, Patrick J
Subject: RE: CNN Interview with YbA
Importance: High

Colleagues,

We wanted to alert you to the CNN interview below with Omani FM Yusef bin Alawi, which we came across earlier today; it is unexpected, and unhelpful. [redacted] B5

Richard J. Schmierer
Ambassador
Embassy of the United States of America
Muscat, Sultanate of Oman

Omani minister discusses talks to release hiker From Nic Robertson, CNN

STORY HIGHLIGHTS
Negotiators had easy access to Obama, Ahmadinejad The talks stalled after five months An Iranian nuclear scientist caused "disturbance" in July The hikers have been held more than a year

(CNN) -- President Barack Obama had a key role during negotiations between the Omanis and Iranians that led to the release of an American hiker detained after she and two companions allegedly strayed across an unmarked border between Iraq and Iran.

Yusuf bin Alawai bin Abdullah, Oman's minister responsible for foreign affairs, told CNN that "indecision and confusion" at the White House at times delayed the talks -- which began eight months ago when the United States requested assistance securing the release of Sarah Shourd, Shane Bauer and Josh Fattal.

"The White House was confused because it was working on several different tracks at the same time," he said in a telephone interview. There were delays "due to the White House administration."

But it was Obama who cleared up any problems, bin Alawai said. It was "easy for us to talk directly to the president," he said.

The Omanis also dealt with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, saying that negotiators enjoyed good access to both leaders.

The talks "stalled" after only three months. But Omanis helped facilitate a visit from the hikers' families to Tehran.

Talks began again only because of concerns about Shourd's health, the minister said. A spokeswoman for the hikers' families told CNN that Shourd told her mother during their only visit together that she had found a lump in her breast.

Shourd, 32, was released from Tehran's Evin Prison and traveled to Oman on Tuesday. Omani sources paid a $500,000 bail, a senior U.S. administration official said.

Bin Alawai said that Shourd is "in good form and good health" in Oman. There is nothing to stop her "enjoying her life in the U.S.," he said, but she is welcome to stay in Oman as long as she likes.

"There is no pressure on her to leave," he said.

Bin Alawai would not say who paid Shourd's bail.

"I don't want to talk about that" because it might be of "help in the future," he said. He did say, however, that it was a "legal process" that had some "small" problems that were quickly overcome but led to a short delay in the announced release.

Administration officials were somewhat confused over how to deal with the Iranians on some of the issues that came up, the minister said, particularly in July when Iranian nuclear scientist Shahram Amiri appeared at the Iranian interests section of the Pakistani Embassy in Washington demanding a ticket to Tehran.

"It caused a disturbance at the White House," bin Alawai said.

U.S. officials said Amiri defected to the United States in 2009 and provided information about Iran's alleged nuclear weapons program. Iran maintains he was abducted by U.S. agents in Saudi Arabia. Despite the "disturbance," bin Alawai said, the idea of an exchange of Amiri for the hikers surfaced.

"The Iranians were ready to think about an exchange," he said, but at the White House "not everyone was on board at that time."

Bin Alawai avoided saying that Shourd's release was part of an exchange, but allowed that "it may have helped" that Amiri eventually returned to Iran.

Iran has accused the three hikers of spying, but no charges have been filed. Shourd's fiance, Bauer, and Fattal, both 28, remain at Evin Prison. They were detained on July 31, 2009.

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** PIR [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 9:47 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
**Subject:** Interview is ON

Humpty Dumpty is back together again - so at 9:15 you will be jointly interviewed by Channel 2 and PTV

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 7:33 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Did you ask for frank ruggiero to be added to lisbon? He seems to think he's been requested

Calling you.

On Wed, Nov 17, 2010 at 7:13 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 10:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
**Subject:** Re: Interview is ON

And don't pretend you're not seeing this! We know your tricks

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines
Date: Fri, 3 Sep 2010 01:47:06
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Reply-To: preines
Cc: Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Lona Valmoro
Subject: Interview is ON

Humpty Dumpty is back together again - so at 9:15 you will be jointly interviewed by Channel 2 and PTV

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 10:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: good luck- re middle east

from Inez McCormack in Belfast

B6

From: vinezmcc
To: PVerveer
Sent: 9/2/2010 1:07:36 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: good luck- re middle east

melanne

please pass my love and best wishes to secretary clinton - know this is like pushing a boulder uphill but also know that trying the impossible is what got northern ireland out of the mire of the past and she was and is part of that 'pushing all participants to be 'more than they think they can be'

love and best wishes to her and to you and all involved

inez

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** H; PIR; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Interview

Dan who?

No, they are on

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Interview
Sent: Sep 3, 2010 7:35 AM

I just got the overnight delivery and there's a note from Dan saying it is nowq cancelled. Is that right?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 8:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Pepsi's Indra Nooyi

Yes, I will set something up for her.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 16, 2010 6:31 PM
To: 'ldavis [redacted] B6
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'Laurenjiloty [redacted]
Subject: Re: Pepsi's Indra Nooyi

Isn't Indra terrific? I would love to take a photo w her daughter anytime. Can you work w Lauren, whom I'm copying, to set up? Thx so much.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Wed Sep 15 20:05:35 2010
Subject: Pepsi's Indra Nooyi

Hi Hillary -

Met Indra today for the first time. Spent the entire time not talking about me and my new law firm (!) but about you and why we both admired and supported you so. And still do.

She is a most remarkable person. And quite devoted to you.

Her daughter Preetha, as you may know, started in Iowa and stayed on in campaign as volunteer all the way through South Dakota and Montana.

And in all that time she never personally met you -- and "still grieves" (her mon's words) your loss. (Joining a big club!!!)

Can I call Cheryl and arrange a quick stop-by and handshake and photo any time--no rush--at your convenience?

Hope you are well - you look better than ever--as does President Clinton! And we are not getting any younger!!!

Warmest regards,

Lanny

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** preines[redacted] H; Reines, Philippe I; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Interview

Huma has the QA and the transcript of Mitchell's briefing for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines[redacted]
To: Evergreen <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 07:36:22 2010
Subject: Re: Interview

B6

Dan who?

No, they are on

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Interview
Sent: Sep 3, 2010 7:35 AM

I just got the overnight delivery and there's a note from Dan saying it is nowq cancelled. Is that right?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/17/10 Friday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

Time Tbd **PHONE CALL w/SULTAN OF OMAN** *Secretary's Office

10:00 am **BILATERAL w/AUSTRALIAN FM KEVIN RUDD**
10:30 am Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

10:30 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
10:35 am Secretary's Office

10:35 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/AUSTRALIAN FM KEVIN RUDD**
10:45 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

10:45 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **FIRST U.S.-INDONESIAN JOINT COMMISSION MTG w/INDONESIAN FM**
12:45 pm **DR. MARTY NATALEGAWA** Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Camera spray preceding.

12:45 pm **BILATERAL w/INDONESIAN FM DR. MARTY NATALEGAWA**
1:00 pm James Madison Room

1:00 pm **WORKING LUNCHEON w/INDONESIAN DELEGATION**
1:45 pm James Monroe Room *Official photo at top.

1:45 pm **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office or 8th Floor Tbd

2:00 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/INDONESIAN FM NATALEGAWA**
2:15 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

2:30 pm **SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR GERALD FEIERSTEIN,**
2:50 pm **U.S. AMBASSADOR TO YEMEN** Treaty Room, 7th Floor

3:00 pm **PHOTOS (2)**
3:10 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:15 pm **MEETING w/INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY NIRUPAMA RAO**
3:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office *Official photo at top.

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:00 pm Secretary's Office

4:00 pm **FAREWELL FOR LISSA MUSCATINE**
4:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

4:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:20 pm Secretary's Office

5:25 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Andrews Air Force Base

5:55 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

6:00 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base via Military Plane Tail #Tbd
En route Westchester County Airport, White Plains

7:00 pm **ARRIVE** Westchester County Airport

7:05 pm **DEPART** Westchester County Airport *En route Private Residence

7:20 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 7:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Saudi king transfers National Guard duties to son

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Wed Nov 17 19:33:07 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Saudi king transfers National Guard duties to son

RIYADH (AP) - The Saudi king stepped down as head of the country's National Guard and transferred the influential position to his son, in an apparent sign that the elderly monarch is beginning to lessen his duties. The Saudi Press Agency reported that King Abdullah has named Prince Mitab bin Abdullah as commander of the National Guard. King Abdullah had headed the force since 1962. The 86-year-old king also handed over his traditional supervisory duties for the annual hajj pilgrimage to his deputy prime minister because doctors advised him to rest after rupturing a disc in his back. Abdullah appeared on Saudi television receiving well-wishers for the Eid al-Adha holiday.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 8:08 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **JOINT TAPED INTERVIEW w/UDI SEGAL, ISRAELI CHANNEL 2; & AMIRAH**
9:45 am **HANANIA RISHMAWI, PALESTINIAN TV** Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

9:45 am **VIDEOS (3)**
10:00 am Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

10:00 am **PHOTO w/ ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER**
10:05 am Secretary's Office

10:15 am **SPEECH PREP MEETING**
11:00 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:00 am **MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY SCOTT GRATION**
11:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:30 am **PRIVATE MEETING w/ TOMICAH**
11:45 am Secretary's Office

11:45 am **MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARTURO VALENZUELA**
12:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:15 pm (t) **PHONE CALL w/QATARI AMAR HAMAD BIN KHALIFA AL-THANI (T)**
Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington National Airport

1:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington National Airport

2:00 pm **DEPART** Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2174
En route New York, NY
3:25 pm **ARRIVE** New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm **DEPART** New York-LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** H; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:50:47 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Pls move Arturo to next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:07:50 2010
Subject: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

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9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

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9:45 am HANANIA RISHMAWI, PALESTINIAN TV Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

9:45 am VIDEOS (3)

10:00 am Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

10:00 am PHOTO w/ ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

10:05 am Secretary's Office

10:15 am SPEECH PREP MEETING

11:00 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:00 am MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY SCOTT GRATION

11:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:30 am PRIVATE MEETING w/ TOMICAH

11:45 am Secretary's Office

11:45 am MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARTURO VALENZUELA

12:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:15 pm (t) PHONE CALL w/QATARI AMAR HAMAD BIN KHALIFA AL-THANI (T)

Secretary's Office

12:30 pm OFFICE TIME

1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:20 pm DEPART State Department *En route Washington National Airport

1:40 pm ARRIVE Washington National Airport

2:00 pm DEPART Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2174

En route New York, NY

3:25 pm ARRIVE New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm DEPART New York-LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:25 pm ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

CLASSIFICATION:UNCLASSIFIED

Point of Contact:
U.S Southern Command,
Public Affairs Office
Mr. Jose Ruiz, Tel. 305-437-1205/1213
e-mail:
www.southcom.mil

B6

USS IWO JIMA DEPLOYS TO HAITI AS TROPICAL STORM APPROACHES

MIAMI - U.S. Southern Command directed the amphibious ship USS Iwo Jima (LHD 7) to steam toward Haiti today in preparation for the forecasted arrival of tropical storm Tomas later this week.

Iwo Jima will deploy to Haiti from Suriname, where it arrived Thursday on its final country visit for Continuing Promise 2010, a four-month, humanitarian civic assistance deployment to eight nations in the Caribbean region. The ship is scheduled to arrive in Haiti later this week.

Large amphibious ships, like Iwo Jima, resemble small aircraft carriers and include the ability to support helicopter and landing craft operations to quickly move personnel and cargo, making it an ideal platform to support humanitarian-relief missions on short notice.

A crew of 1,600 military and civilian medical, engineering, aviation, logistical and other support personnel are embarked aboard Iwo Jima, including U.S. Navy engineers, a contingent of 500 Marines with logistical-support expertise, volunteers from the U.S. Public Health Service and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as medical, dental and engineering professionals from Europe, North America and South America.

Eight CH-46 Sea Knight, medium-lift, dual-rotor helicopters; two MH-60 Knight Hawk helicopters and two amphibious landing craft units (LCU's) are on Iwo Jima to support the ship's operations.

Iwo Jima is a Wasp-class amphibious ship capable of speeds in excess of 20 knots that can provide robust ship-to-shore, as well as shore-to-shore logistics support during contingencies ranging from traditional military operations to humanitarian and disaster-relief missions.

Because of the Caribbean region's history of severe-weather events during the peak months of the hurricane season, the ship has remained in the area throughout its present deployment, ready to support U.S. disaster relief efforts when directed.

Iwo Jima was in Port-de-Paix, Haiti, from July 24 through Aug. 3. It was the first stop on CP10 and the crew provided medical assistance to more than 4,000 Haitian citizens, performed 32 surgeries, completed six engineering projects, and delivered 231 pallets of humanitarian-assistance supplies donated by NGOs.

In September 2008, the amphibious ship USS Kearsarge deployed to Haiti

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 8:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Oman: No plans to free two other Americans in Iran

**Importance:** High

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; S_SpecialAssistants; SES_DutyDeputies
**Cc**: McGovern, Bridget (Helen-Mary)
**Sent**: Fri Sep 17 08:35:45 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Oman: No plans to free two other Americans in Iran

MUSCAT (AP) - Oman's foreign minister says he's not aware of any current plans for Iran to release two other Americans still being held there but that his country is willing to act as an intermediary between Tehran and Washington. Oman played a key role in helping mediate the release of American Sarah Shourd from Iran. Two other Americans with whom she was arrested last year are still being held in Tehran on espionage charges. Oman's foreign minister, Yusuf bin Alawai bin Abdullah, said by phone that there are "great possibilities" in repairing relations between the United States and Iran. To help restore ties, he urged American officials to tone down what is seen as harsh rhetoric directed at Iran.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 8:54 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Yes, I will do another check in about an hour but sounds like things are fine.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:52:37 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Are we still ok on the 2pm shuttle?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:51:11 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:50:47 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Pls move Arturo to next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:07:50 2010
Subject: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

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9:45 am VIDEOS (3)

10:00 am Thomas Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

10:00 am PHOTO w/ ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

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11:45 am Secretary's Office

11:45 am MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARTURO VALENZUELA

12:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:15 pm (t) PHONE CALL w/QATARI AMAR HAMAD BIN KHALIFA AL-THANI (T)

Secretary's Office

12:30 pm OFFICE TIME

1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:20 pm DEPART State Department *En route Washington National Airport

1:40 pm ARRIVE Washington National Airport

2:00 pm DEPART Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2174

En route New York, NY

3:25 pm ARRIVE New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm DEPART New York-LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:25 pm ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

I didn't plan for him but can certainly reach out now to see if he is available. If he is not, should I move to next week?

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:53:21 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Also, is Johnnie Carson coming to mtg w Gration?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:51:11 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:50:47 2010
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

Pls move Arturo to next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 03 08:07:50 2010
Subject: Mini Schedule 9/3/10 Friday

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12:15 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:15 pm (t) PHONE CALL w/QATARI AMAR HAMAD BIN KHALIFA AL-THANI (T)

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1:20 pm DEPART State Department *En route Washington National Airport

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En route New York, NY

3:25 pm ARRIVE New York, New York-LaGuardia Airport

3:35 pm DEPART New York-LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

4:25 pm ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update on PSA

FYI

---

**From**: Dowd, Katie W
**To**: McHale, Judith A; McCall, Dawn L
**Cc**: MacInnes, Duncan H; Bosshardt, Marcia P; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Kenna, Corley; Smith, Dana S; Hensman, Chris D
**Sent**: Fri Sep 03 09:29:05 2010
**Subject**: Update on PSA

Wanted to update you all on the PSA and where things stand. The Ad Council placed the PSA on Wednesday.

Overall, based on the MNR report, our estimated online audience for the PSA launch story was 5.4 million, including stories on Yahoo Finance, Forbes, and CNN. For just over 24 hours since the MNR distribution, this is fantastic pickup per the Ad Council.

The Ad Council will continue to push this out domestically and giving us updates on where it is. They are targeting large sporting events like U.S Open, etc. If you would like the full report with specific stories, I can send separately however because the file is so large I do not want to max out everyone's inboxes.

On the International side and specifically S interest in placing with Al Jazeera, the Ad Council did a slightly modified version of the 30 sec PSA, removing the texting information on the final screen and is overnighting the tape to the State Department today. Once we have that (timing for Tuesday), we will work with Dana and PA to have the PSA placed accordingly where makes sense.

Larry has already said that local stations in Pakistan liked the ad and were using it/reporting on it. As he is obviously very busy, hard to know more beyond this point. IIP has been great and the revised ad is going up on America.gov. Will work them to see what other embassy sites, etc we can promote this with.

We will continue to work to place the ad and will have donation reports on Tuesday that hopefully will reflect monetary upticks as well. Let me know if you have any questions. Best, Katie

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 5:11 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: READOUT OF Child Visitation at the Al Gezira - October 8, 2010 B6
**Attachments:** READOUT OF Visit AT Al Gezir October 8 2010 Final.docx; READOUT OF Visit AT Al Gezir October 8 2010 Final.docx

Fyi:

READOUT OF MEETING AT Al Gezira Club WITH HIS CHILDREN
On October 8, 2010 went to the Al Gezira club to see his children as per the court ordered visitation dated June 30, 2010, which stipulated twice monthly visits on alternate Fridays. This was the first such visit to take place. The visit was scheduled for 12:00 p.m. and ACS Chief arrived at 11:55 a.m. checked in with the security office at the club and then waited at the playground for the children. At approximately 1:20 p.m., arrived with the children, her two brothers, and a cousin. There was a discernible State Security presence throughout the visit.

At one point, the ACS Chief received a duty call and stepped 20 feet away from the group to handle the call.

B6

Post continues to work closely with Egyptian authorities

---

**From**: Parra, Yolanda A
**To**: Scobey, Margaret; Jacobs, Janice L; Jacobs, Susan S; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Shampaine, Nicole D; Tueller, Matthew H; Mills, Cheryl D; Walles, Jacob; Schedlbauer, Amy W
**Cc**: Grandfield, Mary E; McGahuey, Ann B; Pittman, Saynora D; Eye, Stefanie B; Regan, Michael B; Powers, Roberto; Pride, Margaret J
**Sent**: Wed Oct 13 04:34:14 2010
**Subject**: READOUT OF Child Visitation at the Al Gezira - October 8, 2010

Attached is a copy of the readout of visit with his two boys in Cairo on October 8, 2010 pursuant to court ordered visitation. A cable with this information will follow. Yolanda

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jonathan prince [redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 4:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** thank you

Madam Secretary -

I just wanted to drop you a quick note to thank you again for the great opportunity to be part of your team over the last twenty months. I can't tell you how much I appreciate it - and how much of a pleasure it's been to watch you work when I've had the chance.

I will definitely stay involved in the Middle East stuff while I'm in the private sector. And - as I know you know - I hope I have the chance to do more for you down the road.

Please know that you can count on me for anything you need.

Best,

Jonathan

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Nice piece on Cameron Munter.

Safe travels.

Jm

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 09:32:22 2010
**Subject:** FW: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Dear Boss,
Still working it down the last day.
We got the Amb some good photo ops in the flood zone...
Larry

"A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (cir. 25,000) (11/02)

"... It was the picture of a U.S. helicopter parked at a helipad in Sukkur. Many people clad in military uniforms were unloading the relief goods for flood-affected people in the Sindh province. A middle-aged American national, wearing a shirt and grey pants and carrying a 40-kg flour bag, immediately caught my attention. It took me hardly a few seconds to recognize him. He was no other than the new U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Cameron Munter. During my recent visit to the United States, I had the chance to meet him at the residence of our Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Hussain Haqqani. In a lighter vein, he (Ambassador Munter) asked me and other Pakistani journalists, present on the occasion, that 'please don't pester me during my stay in Pakistan because I am very scared of the Pakistani media even now in my own country.' These words garnered a resounding laughter from all of us. It was my first meeting with Ambassador Munter. Now he is in Pakistan where the U.S. Ambassador is always more busy even than the host country's president. Within a week after his arrival in Pakistan, the U.S. Ambassador reached Sukkur along with relief goods for the flood-affected people who are still languishing in makeshift tents. To the much astonishment of common Pakistanis, he, along with other ordinary officials, started unloading the relief goods with his own hands, and all major newspapers of the country gave front-page coverage to this picture. This photo conveyed two messages to us: first, the great nations also have great traditions, and second, relatively small nations, like us, possess low status because our leaders are totally devoid of such humbleness. The U.S. ambassadors virtually

enjoy the viceregal status in third world countries, but despite enjoying such kingly powers they adopt very humble attitude towards other people. They treat even the attendants, drivers, and other employees in their personal staff as human beings. And whenever some natural disaster visits the populations of the host countries, the U.S. ambassadors in those states rush to help the devastated people. Ambassador Cameron Munter could also have behaved like our rulers and distribute relief goods among affected people while himself dressed in precious costumes... Even if his attitude was part of the U.S. propaganda, why our rulers cannot display such ostentations for the welfare of their subjects? The second message this picture conveyed is that we Pakistanis lack humbleness. For our politicians, the ordinary people are nothing more than votes who catapult them into the corridors of power. On the other hand, after winning the elections, American politicians live among their people. They travel side by side with the common man in public transport and shake hands with them in ordinary restaurants. This picture says that until Prime Minister Gilani picks up a flour bag on his shoulders and carries it to a common Pakistani, he cannot change the destiny of this nation."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Aunt says free hiker is returning to U.S. with mom

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Fri Sep 17 17:09:19 2010
**Subject**: FW: (AP) Aunt says free hiker is returning to U.S. with mom

BERKELEY (AP) - The aunt of an American woman released from an Iranian prison says her niece plans to hold a news conference in New York. Sarah Shourd's aunt, Karen Sandys (san-dees), told The Associated Press on September 17 that Shourd and her mother will travel September 18 from Oman to New York. Sandys says the news conference is planned for September 19, when Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad will be in New York for the UN General Assembly. Sandys says her niece is focused on securing the freedom of her friends, Josh Fattal and Shane Bauer.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: New poll underscores need to elevate Boehner. Sid

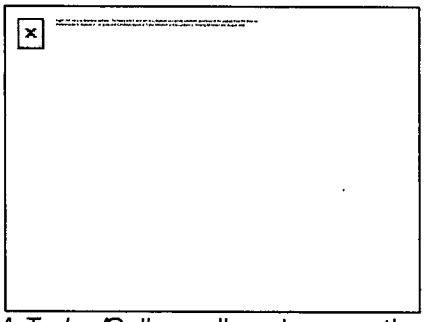
H: 58 days left. Whether the Democrats have the ability and will to execute is a separate subject: "If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly..." Making Boehner the GOP poster child should be systematic and relentless. Tick, tock, another day gone. Sid

**September 3, 2010**

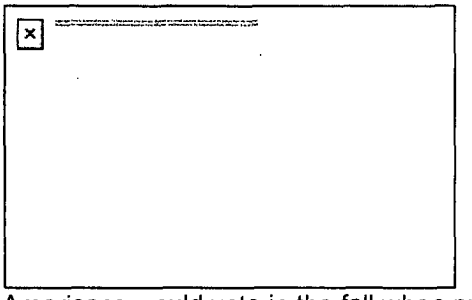
# Americans Most Likely to Favor GOP Newcomers for Congress

## Three in four believe influx of new members would improve Congress

by Jeffrey M. Jones
PRINCETON, NJ -- It appears that the best type of candidate to be this fall is a Republican challenger. Given a choice of four hypothetical candidates of differing party affiliations and experience, Americans are most likely to prefer "a Republican who has not served in Congress." Those who would prefer a Democratic candidate opt for an incumbent over a newcomer.



These results, based on an Aug. 27-30 *USA Today*/Gallup poll, underscore the advantageous political environment for Republicans and non-incumbents this midterm election season. Overall, a majority of Americans prefer a Republican candidate (regardless of experience) to a Democrat, 53% to 40%. And a majority also prefer a non-incumbent (regardless of party affiliation) to an incumbent, 54% to 39%.
The fact that Americans who prefer a Republican candidate want one who is new to Congress suggests that these voters want both GOP control of Congress and the new perspectives that come from members with no prior Washington experience. Americans who favor Democratic candidates, on the other hand, apparently are more satisfied with the type of experienced representatives now in Congress.
One would naturally expect Democrats to prefer Democratic candidates, and Republicans to prefer Republican candidates, and that is the case when looking at the data by party. But partisans' preferences for incumbents versus challengers seem to be influenced by their knowledge that the Democrats currently have a majority in Congress, and thus, more Democrats will be defending House seats this fall. Democrats are more likely to prefer a Democrat who is in Congress to a Democrat who is not, and Republicans are more likely to prefer a Republican outside of Congress to one who is currently serving there. Independents also show a strong preference for Republican non-incumbents.



The data do not necessarily indicate how Americans would vote in the fall when presented with a choice of two specific candidates for Congress. This fall, voters will generally be asked to choose between one Republican and one Democratic candidate, one of whom may be an incumbent. When asked in the same poll whether they are more likely to vote for the Republican or the Democratic congressional candidate in their district if the elections were held today, 48% of Americans say the Republican and 43% the Democrat.

The appeal of non-incumbents is apparent in another question in the poll that finds 75% of Americans saying Congress would be changed for the better if "most of the present members of Congress are replaced with new members." Only 14% think that would make Congress worse. This is consistent with Gallup's findings from earlier this year suggesting strong anti-incumbent sentiment.

Americans across key demographic subgroups widely share the belief that Congress would be improved if most members were turned out of office. However, there is a significant gap by political party, with 89% of Republicans versus 63% of Democrats saying that replacing most members of Congress would be beneficial. Again, the difference likely stems from Democrats' current status as the majority party in Congress.

**Implications**

In a year when Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the nation and give relatively low ratings to the president and Congress, it is not politically beneficial to be either an incumbent or a member of the ruling party. That is reflected in Americans' preference for a Republican newcomer over other types of candidates they may have a chance to vote for in this fall's midterm congressional elections. It is also reflected in prior analysis of historical Gallup data showing greater seat turnover in Congress when the president and Congress are unpopular.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 6:28 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** A moratorium by any other name....

I hope you get a true break this weekend; you certainly deserve it. And I am sure someone has already thought of this idea, but on the off chance it hasn't been raised, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 3:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Update

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Article I mentioned from Canada

FYI

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 3:38 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Article I mentioned from Canada

# Joining the conversation

**BY KATE HEARTFIELD, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**AUGUST 19, 2010

Ottawa Citizen

The U.S. Department of State has made it very clear: The security of information on BlackBerrys is not just about economics.

It's also, in the words of spokesman P. J. Crowley, "about what we think is an important element of democracy, human rights and freedom of information ... You should be opening up societies to these new technologies that have the opportunity to empower people ..."

Canada's government has made, at least in public, no such link between BlackBerrys and democratization. It has not spoken about the potential for authoritarian governments to abuse monitoring privileges. It has decided the demands placed on Canadian company Research in Motion by the governments of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and India add up to a business story, not a foreign-affairs story.

This is just one example of a larger political failure in Canada to appreciate the full foreign-policy potential of communication technology.

In the United States, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has called for a "21st-century statecraft" that harnesses tools such as Twitter and text messages.

Articles this summer in The New York Times Magazine and Foreign Policy have called it "digital diplomacy." Some, such as Canadian diplomacy expert Daryl Copeland, call it "e-diplomacy."

In 2010, the world sees Canada through YouTube.

"Diplomacy in the international arena is no longer about the big-D diplomat charging in on his white horse and expounding the virtues of Canada at cocktail parties," says Shauna Sylvester, who was the director of Canada's World, a three-year non-governmental project consulting citizens about foreign policy.

The United Kingdom's Digital Diplomacy web portal (yes, it has one) defines digital diplomacy as "solving foreign policy problems using the Internet." Social-media enthusiasts often talk about the wisdom of crowds; post a problem on the Internet today, and someone, somewhere, will post a solution tomorrow.

No one's likely to craft peace in the Middle East by creating a Facebook page. But Facebook pages, and other social media, can shift global public opinion in new directions. That, in turn, affects Canada's tourism, trade, security, immigration.

Canada's government has done some important work in digital diplomacy. "Canada was a pioneer in this field," says Copeland.

In 2003, for example, Canadian Foreign Minister Bill Graham solicited online comments about policy questions.

In 2005, the government created a virtual network called Connect2Canada.com "for friends of Canada and Canadians in the United States." It's still going strong and is a good example of 21st-century government communication, including an "ask the ambassador" link and a YouTube channel.

More recently, the government created an impressive, if unwieldy, interactive site for the G20 summit. It is also actively "correcting misinformation" in social media when it comes to the seal hunt.

But Sylvester says the enthusiasm for open government seemed to fade after the Conservatives took office in 2006. "Engagement was no longer part of the government's role."

There are people who get it in the public service today, and some very good initiatives. There are even a few ministers who get Twitter. But there is no Hillary Clinton pushing the government to do better, no office of digital diplomacy working on a strategy.

How we do it is almost as important as whether we do it at all. The tactic the government has taken on the seal hunt, for example, could have the intended effect of countering inaccuracy, or it could come across as a heavy-handed attempt to control the debate, especially if the government's not simultaneously engaged in more crowd-pleasing ways to get its message across. Some governments have had fun with social media, opening virtual embassies on Second Life, for example.

Wikipedia edits are another tricky area. As for seeding Twitter and the blogosphere with Canadian values, it has to be done with care. Security analyst Peter Jones points out that if, for example, an Iranian blogger becomes too closely associated with the West, his or her credibility could suffer.

The field of digital diplomacy is new, and fraught with risks. The opportunities, though, are exciting.

In that New York Times Magazine article, Alec Ross, Clinton's senior adviser for innovation, said the key question for 21st-century statecraft is "Is it open or is it closed?" That's a sensitive question for this Conservative government.

A real advance in e-diplomacy, a real engagement in the split-second, wide-open, on-the-record world of Twitter and Wikipedia, requires a prime minister who is willing to let public servants and diplomats have a constant unmediated conversation with the public. It means relinquishing central control of the message.

The alternative is to fade into irrelevance. Because that big, messy, whirlwind global conversation's going to happen anyway, whether Canada's part of it or not.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Jeffrey L Farrow <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Palau Agreement!

Signed by Pres. Toribiong a couple of hours ago after three days of negotiations that I conducted for Palau and DAS Frankie Reed led for the US. These were the first real negotiations of the process -- a step (which Jake Sullivan helped get taken) that was as needed as the changes in the US proposal they produced. Thanks for all that you did. It obtained US objectives as well as resulted in substantially greater fairness for a former territory, now freely associated state. Jeff

On Jul 28, 2010, at 8:46 AM, H wrote:

> Thx for the good wishes [redacted]
>
> I hope the Palau Compact can be resolved soon because I doubt we will have the funds to do it next year w the budget and the potential setbacks in the mid-terms. Pls try to work w everyone to finalize.
>
> And, give my warmest "Hola" to my friends in PR.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Jeffrey L Farrow <[redacted]>
> To: H
> Sent: Sun Jul 25 20:49:54 2010
> Subject: Palau but NOT a request
>
> I think Jack thinks I've fanned flames in Palau but I've actually encouraged concessions they've made and have conveyed their complaints to him and others to make sure their views are understood. The remaining issues are small -- but significant to them. And the FSOs who've been negative since the Bush Admin. are not the best messengers. I've advised dialogue at a political level. But this is just FYI.
>
> Congratulations on Chelsea! Puerto Rico still loves her (and you would probably win even more than 2-1 now). Jeff Farrow

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

READOUT OF [redacted] MEETING AT Al Gezira Club WITH HIS CHILDREN

On October 8, 2010 [redacted] went to the Al Gezira club to see his children, [redacted] as per the court ordered visitation dated June 30, 2010, which stipulated twice monthly visits on alternate Fridays. This was the first such visit to take place. The visit was scheduled for 12:00 p.m. [redacted] and ACS Chief arrived at 11:55 a.m. [redacted] checked in with the security office at the club and then waited at the playground for the children. At approximately 1:20 p.m., [redacted] arrived with the children, her two brothers, and a cousin. There was a discernible State Security presence throughout the visit.

[redacted]

At one point, the ACS Chief received a duty call and stepped 20 feet away from the group to handle the call. [redacted]

[redacted]

B6

Post continues to work closely with Egyptian authorities

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 4:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Article I mentioned from Canada

Give me 10 minutes to get to my car.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, August 20, 2010 4:01 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Article I mentioned from Canada

When can you talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Aug 20 15:59:35 2010
Subject: FW: Article I mentioned from Canada

FYI

From: Ross, Alec J
Sent: Friday, August 20, 2010 3:38 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Article I mentioned from Canada

Joining the conversation

By Kate Heartfield, The Ottawa CitizenAugust 19, 2010

Ottawa Citizen

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Rocket fired from Gaza hits Israel, no casualties

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Sep 04 07:03:33 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Rocket fired from Gaza hits Israel, no casualties

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Militants in the Hamas-ruled Gaza Strip fired a rocket into southern Israel on September 4, two days after the start of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, causing no injuries or damage, the Israeli military said. The cross-border rocket fire was the first since Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu met in Washington to relaunch peace negotiations.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 4:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Congrats Again

---

**From:** kris.durmer [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Congrats Again

Good afternoon, Cheryl - - Again, my congratulations to my favorite Secretary of State for the re-launch of Israeli - Palestinian negotiations. Good stuff! Would love to swing by to say "hello" to you all if you ever have a moment. Let me know.

My best,

Kris

Kris E. Durmer
General Counsel
U.S. General Services Administration
1800 F Street NW, Suite 4140
Washington, DC 20405
Tel: 202-501-2200
Fax: 202-501-2509
[redacted]

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 8:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) UN launches $2 billion Pakistan appeal

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Fri Sep 17 19:35:13 2010
**Subject**: (AP) UN launches $2 billion Pakistan appeal

UNITED NATIONS (AP) - The UN says it's making the largest disaster appeal ever, asking the world's governments and humanitarian groups to raise a total $2 billion for Pakistan's flood victims. Previously, the largest appeal for disaster relief was the $1.5 billion in aid for victims of the devastating January earthquake in Haiti. The $2 billion appeal announced on September 17 for Pakistan relief includes the nearly $500 million the UN asked countries and organizations to donate shortly after the onset of massive flooding nearly two months ago.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 11:21 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** For the CFR speech: A New American Century

I read the Roger Cohen piece and agree that it is v smart. And I've been thinking about the need for a headline/bumper sticker for the speech. How about "A New American Century"? We cd take on the critics directly and right up front and make the argument this way (a lot of this is already in the intro, but wd need to be pulled together differently).

1) We live in a new age of diplomacy - we are seeing the limits of force and we face collective problems that require bringing together a wider array of key players rather than any one nation dictating a solution. Active diplomacy is the only option. (This is the argument david rothkopf was making to mark landler when we thought landler was doing a profile - it resonated v well w/ landler.)

2) The U.S. is uniquely suited to lead in these circumstances. a) In situations where many nations must be brought together that do not trust each other, we are still seen as the most honest broker. b) In situations where many nations are sitting around the table contemplating a common problem, someone has to step forward and take responsibility for mobilizing action (which also includes the risk of failure). We are the nation most willing to do that, both because of our history and our values. (Here is where S can offer personal anecdotes re nations waiting for us to do something) c) in a world of global problems, we are the most global nation, with the greatest global reach, resources, and connections.

3) We see global leadership not only as a responsibility but also as an opportunity, b/c of our native confidence, optimism and faith that problems can be solved. We have a chance to shape a genuinely global agenda, focusing on development as well as traditional national security issues, and mobilizing business and civil society as well as governments. This is our time.

The speech would then go on, as it does now, to outline all the ways in which we are building relationships and solving problems now with traditional allies and new powers on the global landscape while building a longer term architecture of cooperation that is both truly global and adapted to solving 21st century problems.

AM

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 4:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Most importantly....

We are working to incorporate some of the missing links but I haven't gotten any comments from anyone. I am hoping Jake is reading it this afternoon and AMS says she will have comments by this evening. We can get another draft to you tomorrow if that would be best and save you some time. But do let me know if there is anything major that you think is off, or should be excised or any other red flags. I won't be able to work on it until later tonight (am driving Max to PA for a soccer tournament but can work on it when I get there).

On Aug 20, 2010, at 3:16 PM, H wrote:

> I think the article is headed in the right direction but I agree w you
> that the points you mention should be referenced. Are you getting
> comments from others? Should I wait for the next draft to comment?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Fri Aug 20 11:08:35 2010
> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>
> Thanks for your nice words. They mean a lot. I will always, always
> play for your team, officially or not!
>
> Many more thoughts on sports diplomacy that I'm excited about. And
> yes, once a jock, now an aging jock!
>
> On QDDR article, you'll see that a lot is missing (most notably a
> section on the Middle East, as well as China, Western Hemisphere (we
> should probably mention ECPA), a good energy example per David
> Goldwyn, et. al). it may also be too Pakistan heavy, though it is a
> great example of everything we are trying to do. My main goal was to
> try to ground the many elements at play in a more coherent narrative
> with a theme and thread that carried through. Didn't have enough time
> on the bottom third. Hopefully this version gives us something to work
> with, though.
>
> And I really hope you get some semblance of time off this week. If
> only the world would, for once, cooperate.
>
>
>
> On Aug 19, 2010, at 3:51 PM, H wrote:
>
>> It has, as always, been a joy to have you on the team. We've worked
>> together for so long, that I always feel better when I know you're

>> there--putting words in my mouth and watching my back.
>>
>> I enjoyed our talk and was delighted to hear about all you're
>> planning to do--especially on the sports front. Just goes to show,
>> once a jock always a jock!
>>
>> Thx too for the rescue effort you're doing on the QDDR article.
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted] B6
>> To: H
>> Sent: Tue Aug 17 23:43:47 2010
>> Subject: Most importantly....
>>
>> I enjoyed our talk too, but forgot to mention the most important
>> thing of all -- how much I appreciate your bringing me to State and
>> giving me this opportunity. I have learned so much, meant so many
>> smart and capable people, and hope I have contributed in some small
>> way to what you are working so hard to accomplish.
>>
>> I'll write a formal letter for "the file" when I leave conveying all
>> of these thoughts,, but I wanted to say something in person too.
>> Unfortunately, I got carried away on sports diplomacy and everything
>> else and . . . .another senior moment!
>>
>> I'll let you know when I have had a chance to talk to Judith and Ann
>> about the ideas I'm putting together on sports. I do think there is
>> potential to do much more than is being done now -- and more
>> creatively.
>>
>>
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Noor and ramsey

Howard Dean sent email at the bottom

Any background on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Toiv, Nora F
To: Jacobs, Janice L; Bernier-Toth, Michelle
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Sep 17 17:04:17 2010
Subject: FW: Noor and ramsey

Janice and Michelle-

Please see below. Can we have an update on the Egypt situation? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: deanhowardb [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 3:41 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl mills
Subject: Noor and ramsey

Apparently Secretary Clinton got Mubarak's agreement to release the boys. The father is headed to Cairo on Monday to pick them up at the embassy. Staff at the embassy and at the State Dept is now saying that this is only a visitation. As you can imagine the family is really upset and the supporters are livid. They are expecting that Colin will be headed back to the states with the boys Tuesday. The press wants to know what is going on. Any advice here, because I have no idea what is going on? Many thanks to you and esp to Hillary for getting us this far. Howard
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 4:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tried you through ops

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 8:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Two things

First, you've doubtless heard [redacted]. B5

Second, I just gave extensive comments to Lissa and AMS on the article. Think I see a path to a decent place.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 8:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Secretary Clinton video helps recruit host families!

**From:** Pally, Maura M.
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Aug 20 18:20:10 2010
**Subject:** FW: Secretary Clinton video helps recruit host families!

The Secretary did such a mitzvah by recording a video message for us encouraging American families to host exchange students. In a few short days the video has had a tremendous impact. We have heard from so many people who work to recruit host families about what a major effect the video will have on their efforts. One person even described showing the video on her mobile phone to someone who then agreed on the spot to host an exchange student for the first time. In addition to the anecdotal stories we are hearing, the video has had almost 6,500 views on our YouTube page, which is unheard of for an ECA-related video—especially one that's only been up 2 days!

Recruiting host families and schools is a continual challenge, and is it imperative to the success of our programs so we are so grateful for her contribution. This little bit will go a very long way. Please pass on our appreciation to her.

**From:** Davis, Elizabeth T
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 3:25 PM
**To:** Pally, Maura M.; Rosenberg, Dana C; Tischler, Laura L
**Cc:** Korycki, Leonard J; ECA_PE_C_PY
**Subject:** FW: Secretary Clinton video helps recruit a host family!

Another example of the tremendous response we are getting from grantees re: the Secretary's video. Please read the story below.
Betsy

Betsy Davis
Chief, Youth Programs Division
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Department of State
Tel 202-632-6411

**From:** Mike Finnell [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** Davis, Elizabeth T
**Subject:** Secretary Clinton video helps recruit a host family!

Hi Betsy,

I thought you might appreciate knowing that within the first hour of the video release by the State Department featuring Secretary Clinton we found a host family! I appreciate the endorsement and recognition from the top at the State Department for the incredible contributions American families make to youth exchange programs.

I am sharing the message below that we sent this afternoon to our thousands of host families, volunteers and alumni.

Kind regards,
Mike

Subject line: Secretary Clinton, my physical therapist's office, and YFU...

Dear fellow YFU'ers,

Earlier this week I was in my physical therapist's office filling out volumes of paperwork. I happened to be wearing my YFU polo shirt, and the receptionist asked what Youth For Understanding was all about. While I was telling her, my Palm beeped that I had a new message – it happened to be an email produced by the State Department of Secretary Clinton's endorsement of hosting and international exchange. I opened the email and clicked on the link. The two receptionists, a nurse and I huddled around my phone and watched Clinton speak to the importance of global exchange.

Luckily, I had saved several student profiles in my phone and was able to show the receptionists some of the unplaced students right then and there. I am not sure whether it was the video or the profiles but once I told her my own YFU story, one of the receptionists was hooked. She already has a student picked out, and her host family application is being completed today! It feels wonderful to change the life of a teenager thousands of miles away and a newfound friend in my own backyard.

**Mary Wennerstrum**
District Coordinator for Recruitment and Development

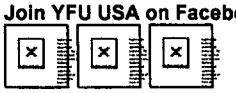
**Mike Finnell**
President
Youth For Understanding USA
Telephone: [redacted] B6
Toll Free: 1.800.424.3691
Fax: [redacted]
Website: www.yfu-usa.org

[redacted]

[redacted]

**Youth For Understanding (YFU) prepares young people for their responsibilities and opportunities in a changing, interdependent world.**

**Join YFU USA on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube**



RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: GOP, without a face wins on generic and issues. Put on a face on it. Sid

http://www.gallup.com/poll/142730/Americans-Give-GOP-Edge-Election-Issues.aspx

**September 1, 2010**

# Americans Give GOP Edge on Most Election Issues

## Greatest Republican advantages on terrorism, immigration, federal spending

by Jeffrey M. Jones

PRINCETON, NJ -- A new *USA Today*/Gallup poll finds Americans saying the Republicans in Congress would do a better job than the Democrats in Congress of handling seven of nine key election issues. The parties are essentially tied on healthcare, with the environment being the lone Democratic strength.

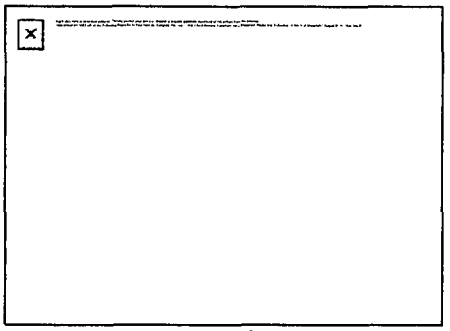
The Republicans' advantage on most issues is an indication of the currently favorable political environment for the party. Of particular note is the parity between the two parties on healthcare, an issue on which Americans historically have viewed the Democrats as superior.

A similar *USA Today*/Gallup poll conducted in October 2006, just prior to Democrats' major gains in that fall's elections, highlights the potential implications of these findings. That poll, which includes several issues measured in the current survey, found the Democrats leading on all eight issues tested at that time, including some usual Republican strengths like terrorism and moral values.

With Republicans now having the advantage on most issues, the party may be poised to make major gains in congressional seats, just as the Democrats did in 2006. Indeed, Gallup tracking of registered voters' preferences in the 2010 generic ballot for Congress continues to find the Republicans ahead of the Democrats, as it has for the past five weeks.

**The Economy Matters Most**

The Democrats' advantage on the issue of the environment is likely not something the party can leverage to improve its 2010 electoral fortunes, as Americans rank it at the bottom of the list in terms of its importance to their vote. Rather, economic concerns are paramount, with a majority of Americans rating the economy, jobs, and federal spending (along with government corruption) as extremely important.



The Republican advantages on these economic matters range from a low of +5 on jobs to a high of +15 on federal spending. Terrorism -- the issue on which Republicans have the greatest advantage over Democrats -- is rated as very important by 47% of Americans, putting it in the middle of the list.

**Bottom Line**

Republicans' perceptual advantage on most key election issues reinforces the party's advantageous positioning heading into the stretch run of the 2010 election campaign. It is not clear whether Americans give the Republicans the edge on these issues because they have confidence in the GOP to make progress in addressing the major problems facing the country, or whether the ratings have more to do with the public's frustration with the incumbent Democratic Party's performance to date.

The Democrats' hopes for improving their fortunes may hinge on convincing voters they have superior plans for jump-starting the economy, the issue of uppermost importance in Americans' minds. That could be tough to do when, after nearly 20 months of Democratic leadership in Congress and the White House, Americans' opinions of the economy remain negative and have become more pessimistic in recent weeks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 20, 2010 10:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** I hope you are having a wonderful time

Wherever you are. What a great note to start your vacation on. Lissa and I had a great conversation w/ Jake tonight; the argument is becoming clearer and clearer. I am leery of promises, but we are aiming for another draft to you before noon on Sunday.
Have fun!
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 10:21 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: A moratorium by any other name....

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Sep 17 18:28:21 2010
Subject: A moratorium by any other name....

I hope you get a true break this weekend; you certainly deserve it. And I am sure someone has already thought of this idea, but on the off chance it hasn't been raised,

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 9:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** briefed Ed Luce of FT on this... Sid

## Financial Times FT.com

US

## Politics & Foreign policy

# Clinton's aim is true as Democrats' top gun

By Edward Luce in Washington
Published: October 12 2010 20:43 | Last updated: October 12 2010 20:43

Nobody would go so far as to call it a comeback. But Bill Clinton's appearances on the midterm election trail are starting to turn voters' heads in a way that Barack Obama's simply are not.

Democratic operatives say that Mr Clinton, who went through in 1994 the kind of setback that pollsters say Mr Obama will face in less than three weeks, is more effective at presenting the election as a choice between starkly different alternatives rather than a referendum on what people think of the Obama administration.

So far the president, who has booked most of the next three weeks for campaigning, has been unable to pull that off. This week alone, Mr Clinton has shaken up two Senate races – in Kentucky and West Virginia – with appearances that have assisted Democratic candidates. Mr Clinton was due to speak in Las Vegas on Tuesday night to assist the embattled Harry Reid, the Senate majority leader, and then move onto California later in the week.

"Bill Clinton is about as close to a secret weapon as the Democratic party has got," says Norm Ornstein, a political analyst at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. "He has this ability to fire up the Democratic base that almost nobody else can do right now." Mr Clinton's intervention in Kentucky, where Jack Conway, the Democratic candidate, is locked in a tight race with Rand Paul, the Tea Party icon, is a good case in point.

At the weekend Mr Clinton described Mr Paul, who wants drastically to shrink the size of the US federal government and has talked of abolishing the Federal Reserve, as a "radical with no record to back it up". Mr Paul, who has never run for elected office, hit back by reminding voters of Mr Clinton's former Monica Lewinsky scandal. "I am not sure I would trust a man who had sex with an intern," said Mr Paul. "I mean, do you think he's an honourable person?"

Mr Paul's trip down memory lane appears to have backfired. Few voters seem to care any longer about a scandal that occurred amid what in retrospect looks like a golden age of balanced budgets, job creation and the absence of foreign wars.

"Bill Clinton's strength is that he knows how to fight back and turn adversity into advantage," says Tad Devine, a veteran Democratic operative. "He is also able to enter an individual race, take the temperature, understand what people are feeling and then base his appeal to voters on that."

In the West Virginia Senate race, where Joe Manchin, the governor, is trailing John Raese, a wealthy local businessman, Mr Clinton on Monday came out punching. Referring to Mr Raese's plush Florida vacation home, the former president said: "I'm here for a lot of reasons. One is that I don't think it's fair for West Virginia to have one senator and Florida to have three."

Acknowledging voter anger in a state where Mr Obama has 29 per cent rating, among the lowest in the country, Mr Clinton added: 'I am old enough to know that if you make a decision when you are mad – and I am not just talking about politics here – there is about an 80 per cent chance you will make a mistake."

In contrast, a lot of Democrats are critical of the way Mr Obama has framed the midterm campaign, shifting from one attack line to another without sticking to an overarching narrative. Last month, Mr Obama turned on John Boehner, the Republican congressional leader, in what looked like a move to depict him as the voters' alternative.

More recently, Mr Obama has switched to attacking the Chamber of Commerce for allegedly funnelling foreign money into attack ads. But it has generated a lot of criticism. "This election is awash with undisclosed money and it's fair to point out how disadvantaged the Democrats have been," says one consultant. "But it isn't good politics at this late stage when voters clearly want to hear about the economy."

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Jordan king to attend launch of Mideast talks

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_SWO
**Sent:** Sat Aug 21 07:56:28 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Jordan king to attend launch of Mideast talks

AMMAN (Reuters) - Jordanian King Abdullah has accepted an invitation by the United States to attend the launch of direct talks between Israelis and Palestinians that aim to forge a peace deal within 12 months, the state news agency said. The statement on the Petra news agency on August 21 said King Abdullah would hold a bilateral meeting with Obama. "The talks...will revolve around the steps necessary to be taken to ensure the negotiations reach their aim in ending the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the basis of a two-state solution," the statement said.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 11:47 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Subject:** RE: Noor and ramsey

PERFECT

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 10:51 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Re: Noor and ramsey

This is the custody case Dean emailed you about and John Kerry called me to discuss. I personally gave a letter to Mubarak and asked that the children be returned to their father in the US, or, at the least, be given court ordered visits. I don't know what, if anything, then happened.

I'm copying Jeff Feltman on this and asking him to have someone follow up w Dean and Kerry and to let us both know what's happening.

Thx, Jeff and let me know if there is anything more I need to do. HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 17 21:24:47 2010
Subject: FW: Noor and ramsey

Howard Dean sent email at the bottom

Any background on this?

----- Original Message -----

From: Toiv, Nora F

To: Jacobs, Janice L; Bernier-Toth, Michelle

Cc: Mills, Cheryl D

Sent: Fri Sep 17 17:04:17 2010

Subject: FW: Noor and ramsey

Janice and Michelle-

Please see below. Can we have an update on the Egypt situation? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: deanhowardb [redacted] B6

Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 3:41 PM

To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl mills

Subject: Noor and ramsey

Apparently Secretary Clinton got Mubarak's agreement to release the boys. The father is headed to Cairo on Monday to pick them up at the embassy. Staff at the embassy and at the State Dept is now saying that this is only a visitation. As you can imagine the family is really upset and the supporters are livid. They are expecting that Colin will be headed back to the states with the boys Tuesday. The press wants to know what is going on. Any advice here, because I have no idea what is going on? Many thanks to you and esp to Hillary for getting us this far. Howard

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 11:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: The Education of a President

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** The Education of a President

# The Education of a President

**These days, Obama** has been seeking guidance in presidential biographies. He is reading, among others, "The Clinton Tapes," Taylor Branch's account of his secret interviews with Bill Clinton during the eight years of his presidency. "I was looking over some chronicles of the Clinton years," Obama told me, "and was reminded that in '94 — when President Clinton's poll numbers were lower than mine, and obviously the election ended up being bad for Democrats — unemployment was only 6.6 percent. And I don't think anybody would suggest that Bill Clinton wasn't a good communicator or was somebody who couldn't connect with the American people or didn't show empathy."

In the fall of 1994, things were even better than Obama recalls: unemployment was in fact 5.6 percent. If the feel-your-pain president had trouble when the economy was not nearly as bad as it is now, with 9.6 percent unemployment, then maybe the issue for Obama is not that he is too cool or detached, as some pundits say. When the economy is bad, even the most talented of presidents suffer at the polls. "There is an anti-establishment mood," Rahm Emanuel, the former Clinton aide who served as Obama's first White House chief of staff, told me before he stepped down this month. "We just happen to be here when the music is stopping."

It would be bad form for the president to anticipate an election result before it happens, but clearly Obama hopes that just as Clinton recovered from his party's midterm shellacking in 1994 to win re-election two years later, so can he. There was something odd in hearing Obama invoke Clinton. Two years ago, Obama scorned the 42nd president, deriding the small-ball politics and triangulation maneuvers and comparing him unfavorably with Ronald Reagan. Running against Clinton's wife, Obama was the anti-Clinton. Now he hopes, in a way, to be the second coming of Bill Clinton. Because, in the end, it's better than being Jimmy Carter.

...

So it is a high priority for Obama to prevent any intraparty fight in 2012, and to date, despite the fire from the left, no serious challenger appears on the horizon. Putting Hillary Clinton in the cabinet may turn out to be one of Obama's smartest moves, because it not only eliminated her as a would-be challenger, but it also should presumably squelch the will-she-or-won't-she speculation that otherwise would have played out for months. (Instead, the guessing game has her replacing Biden on the ticket, however fanciful that might be.)

The New York Times

October 12, 2010

# The Education of a President

By PETER BAKER

**On a busy afternoon** in the West Wing late last month, President Barack Obama seemed relaxed and unhurried as he sat down in a newly reupholstered brown leather chair in the Oval Office. He had just returned from the East Room, where he signed the Small Business Jobs Act of 2010 — using eight pens so he could give away as many as possible. The act will be his administration's last piece of significant economic legislation before voters deliver their verdict on his first two years in office. For all intents and purposes, the first chapter of Obama's presidency has ended. On Election Day, the next chapter will begin.

As he welcomed me, I told him I liked what he had done with the place. Gone was George W. Bush's yellow sunburst carpet (it says "optimistic person," Bush would tell practically anyone who visited), and in its place was a much-derided earth-tone rug with inspirational quotations. The curved walls now had striped tan wallpaper, and the coffee table had been replaced by a walnut-and-mica table that, Obama noted, would resist stains from water glasses. The bust of Winston Churchill was replaced by one of Martin Luther King Jr. The couches were new. He told me he was happy with the redecorating of the office. "I know Arianna doesn't like it," he said lightly. "But I like taupe."

If there was something incongruous about the president of the United States checking out reviews of his décor by Arianna Huffington, well, let's face it, he has endured worse reviews lately. The president who muscled through Congress perhaps the most ambitious domestic agenda in a generation finds himself vilified by the right, castigated by the left and abandoned by the middle. He heads into the final stretch of the midterm campaign season facing likely repudiation, with voters preparing to give him a Congress that, even if Democrats maintain control, will almost certainly be less friendly to the president than the one he has spent the last two years mud wrestling.

While proud of his record, Obama has already begun thinking about what went wrong — and what he needs to do to change course for the next two years. He has spent what one aide called "a lot of time talking about Obama 2.0" with his new interim chief of staff, Pete Rouse, and his deputy chief of staff, Jim Messina. During our hour together, Obama told me he had no regrets about the broad direction of his presidency. But he did identify what he called "tactical lessons." He let himself look too much like "the same old tax-and-spend liberal Democrat." He realized too late that "there's no such thing as shovel-ready projects" when it comes to public works. Perhaps he should not have proposed tax breaks as part of his stimulus and instead "let the Republicans insist on the tax cuts" so it could be seen as a bipartisan compromise.

Most of all, he has learned that, for all his anti-Washington rhetoric, he has to play by Washington rules if he wants to win in Washington. It is not enough to be supremely sure that he is right if no one else agrees with him. "Given how much stuff was coming at us," Obama told me, "we probably spent much more time trying to get the policy right than trying to get the politics right. There is probably a perverse pride in my administration — and I take responsibility for this; this was blowing from the top — that we were going to do the right thing, even if short-term it was unpopular. And I think anybody who's occupied this office has to remember that success is determined by an intersection in policy and politics and that you can't be neglecting of marketing and P.R. and public opinion."

That presumes that what he did was the right thing, a matter of considerable debate. The left thinks he did too little; the right too much. But what is striking about Obama's self-diagnosis is that by his own rendering, the figure of inspiration from 2008 neglected the inspiration after his election. He didn't stay connected to the

people who put him in office in the first place. Instead, he simultaneously disappointed those who considered him the embodiment of a new progressive movement and those who expected him to reach across the aisle to usher in a postpartisan age. On the campaign trail lately, Obama has been confronted by disillusionment — the woman who was "exhausted" defending him, the mother whose son campaigned for him but was now looking for work. Even Shepard Fairey, the artist who made the iconic multihued "Hope" poster, says he's losing hope.

Perhaps that should have come as no surprise. When Obama secured the Democratic nomination in June 2008, he told an admiring crowd that someday "we will be able to look back and tell our children that this was the moment when we began to provide care for the sick and good jobs to the jobless; this was the moment when the rise of the oceans began to slow and our planet began to heal; this was the moment when we ended a war and secured our nation and restored our image as the last, best hope on earth."

I read that line to Obama and asked how his high-flying rhetoric sounded in these days of low-flying governance. "It sounds ambitious," he agreed. "But you know what? We've made progress on each of those fronts." He quoted Mario Cuomo's line about campaigning in poetry and governing in prose. "But the prose and the poetry match up," he said. "It would be very hard for people to look back and say, You know what, Obama didn't do what he's promised. I think they could say, On a bunch of fronts he still has an incomplete. But I keep a checklist of what we committed to doing, and we've probably accomplished 70 percent of the things that we talked about during the campaign. And I hope as long as I'm president, I've got a chance to work on the other 30 percent."

But save the planet? If you promise to save the planet, might people think you would, you know, actually save the planet? He laughed, before shifting back to hope and inspiration. "I make no apologies for having set high expectations for myself and for the country, because I think we can meet those expectations," he said. "Now, the one thing that I will say — which I anticipated and can be tough — is the fact that in a big, messy democracy like this, everything takes time. And we're not a culture that's built on patience."

**These days, Obama** has been seeking guidance in presidential biographies. He is reading, among others, "The Clinton Tapes," Taylor Branch's account of his secret interviews with Bill Clinton during the eight years of his presidency. "I was looking over some chronicles of the Clinton years," Obama told me, "and was reminded that in '94 — when President Clinton's poll numbers were lower than mine, and obviously the election ended up being bad for Democrats — unemployment was only 6.6 percent. And I don't think anybody would suggest that Bill Clinton wasn't a good communicator or was somebody who couldn't connect with the American people or didn't show empathy."

In the fall of 1994, things were even better than Obama recalls: unemployment was in fact 5.6 percent. If the feel-your-pain president had trouble when the economy was not nearly as bad as it is now, with 9.6 percent unemployment, then maybe the issue for Obama is not that he is too cool or detached, as some pundits say. When the economy is bad, even the most talented of presidents suffer at the polls. "There is an anti-establishment mood," Rahm Emanuel, the former Clinton aide who served as Obama's first White House chief of staff, told me before he stepped down this month. "We just happen to be here when the music is stopping."

It would be bad form for the president to anticipate an election result before it happens, but clearly Obama hopes that just as Clinton recovered from his party's midterm shellacking in 1994 to win re-election two years later, so can he. There was something odd in hearing Obama invoke Clinton. Two years ago, Obama scorned the 42nd president, deriding the small-ball politics and triangulation maneuvers and comparing him unfavorably with Ronald Reagan. Running against Clinton's wife, Obama was the anti-Clinton. Now he hopes, in a way, to be the second coming of Bill Clinton. Because, in the end, it's better than being Jimmy Carter.

Last month, I made my way through the West Wing talking not only with Obama but also with nearly two dozen of his advisers — some of whom spoke with permission, others without — hoping to understand how the situation looks to them. The view from inside the administration starts with a basic mantra: Obama inherited the

worst problems of any president in years. Or in generations. Or in American history. He prevented another Great Depression while putting in place the foundation for a more stable future. But it required him to do unpopular things that would inevitably cost him.

"He got here, and the expectations for what he could accomplish were very high and probably unrealistic," Pete Rouse told me. Indeed, David Axelrod and David Plouffe, the masterminds of the 2008 presidential campaign, said they cautioned Obama after his victory to brace himself for a precipitous drop in his popularity given the severity of his challenges. "I told him at some point that at the end of '10, his approval rating could be low- to mid-30s," Plouffe told me.

Yet even if the White House saw it coming, this is an administration that feels shellshocked. Many officials worry, they say, that the best days of the Obama presidency are behind them. They talk about whether it is time to move on. While not in the 30s, Obama's approval rating in surveys conducted by The New York Times and CBS News had fallen to 45 percent last month from 62 percent when he took office — just a point above where Clinton was before losing Congress in 1994 and three points above where Reagan was before the Republicans lost a couple dozen House seats in 1982. Joel Benenson, Obama's pollster, pointed out that even at 45 percent, the president's popularity eclipses that of Congress, the news media, the banks and other forces in American life. "We are in a time when the American public is highly suspect of any institution," he said, "and President Obama still stands above that." Obama's team takes pride that he has fulfilled three of the five major promises he laid out as pillars of his "new foundation" in an April 2009 speech at Georgetown University — health care, education reform and financial reregulation. And they point to decisions to end the combat mission in Iraq while escalating the war in Afghanistan. "History will judge Obama that the first two years were very productive," Rouse says.

But it is possible to win the inside game and lose the outside game. In their darkest moments, White House aides wonder aloud whether it is even possible for a modern president to succeed, no matter how many bills he signs. Everything seems to conspire against the idea: an implacable opposition with little if any real interest in collaboration, a news media saturated with triviality and conflict, a culture that demands solutions yesterday, a societal cynicism that holds leadership in low regard. Some White House aides who were ready to carve a new spot on Mount Rushmore for their boss two years ago privately concede now that he cannot be another Abraham Lincoln after all. In this environment, they have increasingly concluded, it may be that every modern president is going to be, at best, average.

"We're all a lot more cynical now," one aide told me. The easy answer is to blame the Republicans, and White House aides do that with exuberance. But they are also looking at their own misjudgments, the hubris that led them to think they really could defy the laws of politics. "It's not that we believed our own press or press releases, but there was definitely a sense at the beginning that we could really change Washington," another White House official told me. " 'Arrogance' isn't the right word, but we were overconfident."

The biggest miscalculation in the minds of most Obama advisers was the assumption that he could bridge a polarized capital and forge genuinely bipartisan coalitions. While Republican leaders resolved to stand against Obama, his early efforts to woo the opposition also struck many as halfhearted. "If anybody thought the Republicans were just going to roll over, we were just terribly mistaken," former Senator Tom Daschle, a mentor and an outside adviser to Obama, told me. "I'm not sure anybody really thought that, but I think we kind of hoped the Republicans would go away. And obviously they didn't do that."

Senator Dick Durbin, the No. 2 Democrat in the upper chamber and Obama's ally from Illinois, said the Republicans were to blame for the absence of bipartisanship. "I think his fate was sealed," Durbin said. "Once the Republicans decided they would close ranks to defeat him, that just made it extremely difficult and dragged it out for a longer period of time. The American people have a limited attention span. Once you convince them there's a problem, they want a solution."

Gov. Ed Rendell of Pennsylvania, though, is among the Democrats who grade Obama harshly for not being more nimble in the face of opposition. "B-plus, A-minus on substantive accomplishments," he told me, "and a D-plus or C-minus on communication." The health care legislation is "an incredible achievement" and the stimulus program was "absolutely, unqualifiedly, enormously successful," in Rendell's judgment, yet Obama allowed them to be tarnished by critics. "They lost the communications battle on both major initiatives, and they lost it early," said Rendell, an ardent Hillary Clinton backer who later became an Obama supporter. "We didn't use the president in either stimulus or health care until we had lost the spin battle."

That's a refrain heard inside the White House as well: it's a communication problem. The first refuge of any politician in trouble is that it's a communication problem, not a policy problem. *If only I explained what I was doing better, the people would be more supportive.* Which roughly translates to *If only you people paid attention, you wouldn't be kicking me upside the head.* Robert Gibbs, the White House press secretary, laughed at the ever-ready assumption that all problems stem from poor communication. "I haven't been at a *policy*-problem meeting in 20 months," he noted.

The policy criticism of Obama can be confusing and deeply contradictory — he is a liberal zealot, in the view of the right; a weak accommodationist, in the view of the left. He is an anticapitalist socialist who is too cozy with Wall Street, a weak-on-defense apologist for America who adopted Bush's unrelenting antiterror tactics at the expense of civil liberties.

"When he talked about being a transformational president, it was about restoring the faith of the American people in our governing institutions," says Ken Duberstein, the former Reagan White House chief of staff who voted for Obama in 2008. "What we now know is that that did not work. If anything, people are even more dubious about all of our institutions, especially government. So to that extent, the transformational side has not worked. And frankly I would settle these days — forget about transformational, how about a transactional president, somebody people could do business with? It seems there's an ideological rigidity that the American people did not sense."

The other side would like more ideological rigidity. Norman Solomon, a leading progressive activist and the president of the Institute for Public Accuracy, said Obama has "totally blown this great opportunity" to reinvent America by being more aggressive on issues like a public health care option. Other liberals feel the same way about gays in the military or the prison at Guántanamo Bay. "It's been so reflexive since he was elected, to just give ground and give ground," Solomon told me. "If we don't call him a wimp, which may be the wrong word, he just seems to be backpedaling." Solomon added: "It makes people feel angry and perhaps used. People just feel like, Gee, we really believed in this guy, and his rhetoric is so different than the way he's behaved in office."

Pummeled from both sides, Obama clearly seems frustrated and, at times, defensive. At a Labor Day event in Milwaukee, he complained that the special interests treat him badly. "They're not always happy with me," he told supporters. "They talk about me like a dog — that's not in my prepared remarks, but it's true."

The friendly fire may bother him even more. "Democrats just congenitally tend to see the glass as half empty," Obama said at a fund-raiser in Greenwich, Conn., last month. "If we get an historic health care bill passed — oh, well, the public option wasn't there. If you get the financial reform bill passed — then, well, I don't know about this particular derivatives rule, I'm not sure that I'm satisfied with that. And, gosh, we haven't yet brought about world peace. I thought that was going to happen quicker."

Then again, it is Obama himself, and not just his supporters, who casts his presidency in grandiose terms. As he pleaded with Democrats for patience at another fund-raiser in Washington two weeks later: "It took time to free the slaves. It took time for women to get the vote. It took time for workers to get the right to organize."

**One morning around** the 100-day mark in Obama's administration, the president and his top aides gathered for their morning meeting in the Oval Office. As they waited for David Axelrod, who was running late, someone noted the coming milestone and asked Obama what surprised him most since taking office. "The number of people who don't pay their taxes," he answered sardonically.

From the start, Obama has been surprised by all sorts of challenges that have made it hard for him to govern — not just the big problems that he knew about, like the economy and the wars, but also the myriad little ones that hindered his progress, like one nominee after another brought down by unpaid taxes. Obama trusted his judgment and seemed to have assumed that impressive people in his own party must have a certain basic sense of integrity — and that impressive people in the other party must want to work with him.

Four of the five presidents previous to Obama were governors who came to Washington vowing to fix it, only to realize that Washington defies the easy, and often hollow, rhetoric of change. While Obama was a senator when he set off on the campaign trail, he made the same pledges and has encountered the same reality. "The story of the first two years is the inherent conflict between a guy who ran from outside to change Washington, gets here and the situation was even worse than we thought it was," a senior aide told me. "Here's a guy who ran as an outsider to change Washington who all of a sudden realized that just to deal with these issues, we were going to have to work with Washington to fix that."

Obama does little to disguise his disdain for Washington and the conventions of modern politics. When he emerges from the Oval Office during the day, aides say, he sometimes pauses before the split-screen television in the outer reception area, soaks in the cable chatter, then shakes his head and walks away. "He's still never gotten comfortable here," a top White House official told me. He has little patience for what Valerie Jarrett, a senior adviser, calls "the inevitable theatrics of Washington."

But in politics, theater matters, whether it should or not, a lesson Obama keeps relearning, however grudgingly. His decision to redecorate the Oval Office was criticized as an unnecessary luxury in a time of austerity, no matter that it was paid for by private funds. On the campaign trail, he thought it was silly to wear a flag pin, as if that were a measure of his patriotism, until his refusal to wear a flag pin generated distracting criticism and one day he showed up wearing one. Likewise, he thought it was enough to pray in private while living in the White House, and then a poll showed that most Americans weren't sure he's Christian; sure enough, a few weeks later, he attended services at St. John's Church across from Lafayette Square, photographers in tow.

Obama came to office with enormous faith in his own powers of persuasion. He seemed to believe he could overcome divisions if he just sat down with the world's most recalcitrant figures — whether they be the mullahs in Tehran or the Republicans on Capitol Hill. As it turned out, the candidate who said he would be willing to meet in his first year with some of America's enemies "without precondition" has met with none of them. And the president who in his State of the Union address this year promised to meet monthly with leaders of both parties in Congress ended up doing so just half as often.

He has yet to fully decide whether he is of Washington or apart from it. During the health care debate, Obama had Emanuel cut deals with the pharmaceutical industry, while Axelrod presented the president as above the old business as usual. "Perhaps we were naïve," Axelrod told me. "First, he's always had good relations across party lines. And secondly, I think he believed that in the midst of a crisis you could find partners on the other side of the aisle to help deal with it. I don't think anyone here expected the degree of partisanship that we confronted." Emanuel said Republicans adopted a strategy of poisoning the public well. "Part of what they were doing was not just making us grind it out," he told me. "They were souring the country on the mood of the country."

Still, Obama plays the partisan game as well. After months of quiet negotiations, some administration officials thought they were close to a package of new financial regulations with Republican support when, to their chagrin, the White House decided to use the issue to wage a high-profile and politically useful battle with Wall

Street special interests. At that point, the chances for a deal across party lines collapsed, administration officials said, and Obama was left to rely almost entirely on Democratic votes.

Obama advisers who left the White House recently have been struck how different, and worse, things look from the outside. As he made a round of corporate job interviews after stepping down as White House budget director, Peter Orszag was stunned to discover how deep the gulf between the president and business had become. "I'd thought it was an 8, but it's more like a 10," he told me. "And rather than wasting time debating whether it's legitimate," he added, referring to his former colleagues, "the key is to recognize that it's affecting what they do."

Insulation is a curse of every president, but more than any president since Jimmy Carter, Obama comes across as an introvert, someone who finds extended contact with groups of people outside his immediate circle to be draining. He can rouse a stadium of 80,000 people, but that audience is an impersonal monolith; smaller group settings can be harder for him. Aides have learned that it can be good if he has a few moments after a big East Room event so he can gather his energy again. Unlike Clinton, who never met a rope line he did not want to work, Obama does not relish glad-handing. That's what he has Vice President Joe Biden for. When Obama addressed the Business Roundtable this year, he left after his speech without much meet-and-greet, leaving his aides frustrated that he had done himself more harm than good. He is not much for chitchat. When he and I sat down, he started our session matter-of-factly: "All right," he said, "fire away."

By all accounts, Obama copes with his political troubles with equanimity. "Zen" is the word commonly used in the West Wing. That's not to say he never loses his temper. He has been known to snap at aides when he feels overscheduled. He cuts off advisers who spout information straight from briefing papers with a testy "I've already read that." He does not like it when aides veer out of their assigned lanes, yet they have learned to show up at meetings with an opinion, because he zeroes in on those who stay silent. He was subdued during the Gulf of Mexico oil spill, when he found himself largely powerless. Other presidents took refuge at Camp David, but Michelle Obama has told dinner guests that her husband does not care for it all that much, because he is an urban guy. He blows off steam on the White House basketball court. "Come on, man, you've got to make that shot," he chides aides who play with him.

The most obvious sign of strain is in his hair. "He'll probably be unhappy with me for saying, but I've noticed he's gotten a little grayer," Defense Secretary Robert Gates told me over the summer. "These kinds of decisions do that to people." But the stress of the job remains mostly unspoken. "We usually will talk about writing the condolence letters," Gates added. "But other than that, we don't dwell on it." If anything, Obama more often than not bucks up young members of his staff, reminding them that politics, like life, is full of cycles and they will someday be able to tell their children that they were part of something big.

While Clinton made late-night phone calls around Washington to vent or seek advice, Obama rarely reaches outside the tight group of advisers like Emanuel, Axelrod, Rouse, Messina, Plouffe, Gibbs and Jarrett, as well as a handful of personal friends. "He's opaque even to us," an aide told me. "Except maybe for a few people in the inner circle, he's a closed book." In part because of security, just 15 people have his BlackBerry e-mail address. On long Air Force One flights, he retreats to the conference room and plays spades for hours, maintaining a trash-talking contest all the while, with the same three aides: Reggie Love, his personal assistant; Marvin Nicholson, his trip director; and Pete Souza, his White House photographer. (When I asked if he had an iPad, Obama said, "I have an iReggie, who has my books, my newspapers, my music all in one place.")

Jarrett attributes Obama's equilibrium to his upbringing. "He's really different," she told me. "It's rooted in his sense of self and how he grew up with a single mom, living at times on food stamps, working as a community organizer." As Gibbs put it: "He has a remarkable way of focusing on the big picture and the longer term. It's not to say that he's immune from criticism. But he can categorize in his head the difference between what's a setback, what's a bump along the way and what's just noise."

There is certainly no shortage of noise. But as Obama gets back on the campaign trail, aides have noticed his old spirit again. He particularly enjoys the so-called backyard sessions on the lawns of supporters. "That's the happiest I've seen him in a long time," an aide said. After one, Obama told the aide, "This reminds me of Iowa on the bus."

**Nostalgia for the good** old days of the campaign afflicts any White House in trouble. After all, those were the romantic moments when all was possible, when tens of thousands of people would gather in Grant Park to tear up over the promise of what will be. But in sober moments, Obama understands how selective the memories really are. "The mythology has emerged somehow that we ran this flawless campaign, I never made a mistake, that we were master communicators, everything worked in lock step," he told me. "And somehow now, as president, things are messy and they don't always work as planned and people are mad at us. That's not how I look at stuff, because I remember what the campaign was like. And it was just as messy and just as difficult. And there were all sorts of moments when our supporters lost hope, and it looked like we weren't going to win. And we're going through that same period here."

In covering the last three presidents, I have watched as each has been tested, albeit in very different circumstances — Clinton's impeachment over false testimony under oath about an affair with a White House intern, Bush's drive to begin a war that would drag on for years at enormous cost and Obama's struggle to turn around the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. They are starkly variable crises, but some dynamics are familiar: presidents who live and die by polls insist they are not important when they fall; they argue that they are focused on principle, not politics, when it's almost always a mixture of both; they acknowledge difficulties but say they will pass; they portray themselves as courageous when flying against public opinion; they complain that the news media distort the situation and fuel division; they blame their opponents for practicing the politics of destruction and obstruction.

Talking with Obama and his aides, it's eerie to hear echoes of Clinton and Bush. Obama says the easy issues never make it to him, only the hard ones; Bush often said the same thing. Obama says our war with terrorists will never end in a surrender ceremony; Bush often said the same thing. Obama says he does not want to kick problems down the road; Bush often said the same thing. In the days leading up to the 1994 midterm elections, Clinton mocked Republicans for promising to balance the budget while cutting taxes, saying, "They're not serious." In our conversation, Obama used some variation of the phrase "they're not serious" four times in referring to Republican budget plans.

That is not to say the three men are alike; indeed, they are vastly different. But putting ideology aside, Obama at times seems to be a cross between his two predecessors. Like Clinton, he digs into the intellectual underpinnings of a policy decision, studying briefing books and seeking a range of opinions. Some aides express frustration that he can leave decisions unresolved for too long. But like Bush, once he has made a decision, Obama rarely revisits it. And like Bush, he runs a pretty disciplined operation; he started our interview a half-hour ahead of schedule, just as Bush sometimes did. Clinton, on the other hand, still runs on Clinton Standard Time. Just a few weeks ago, he was more than six hours late for a scheduled interview with another journalist. One constant among all three: It took Clinton and Bush some time to really grow into the presidency, until they wore it comfortably.

As Obama looks to the experiences of Clinton and Reagan, who both rebounded from midterm debacles to win re-election, the lessons differ. In Reagan's case, the House was already in Democratic hands, so during his first two years, he forged coalitions of Republicans and conservative Democrats. After the opposition was strengthened in the 1982 elections, that was no longer viable, and Reagan began working more with Democratic leaders. Clinton likewise changed course after the 1994 elections, emphasizing more incremental, piece-by-piece change rather than sweeping proposals and pursuing goals like welfare reform and balanced budgets when he could agree with Newt Gingrich's new majority.

Clinton, though, was more instinctively centrist than Obama is, and his revival owed much to other factors, particularly his leadership after the Oklahoma City bombing and his budget standoff with Gingrich during the partial government shutdown. Some argue Obama might be better off with at least one Republican chamber so he too has a foil as Clinton did. But it is unclear if Obama is as agile a politician as Reagan or Clinton. "He's no Bill Clinton when it comes to having the ability to move and to wiggle," says Joe Gaylord, a top Gingrich adviser. "I find rigidity in Obama that comes from his life in liberalism." Ken Duberstein likewise doubts Obama's capacity for adjustment. "They're much better at the art of campaigning than the art of governing," he said.

Perhaps the more important historical pattern to consider is this one: The last four presidents who failed to win a second term were all challenged in their own party. Lyndon Johnson was driven out of the race in 1968 after nearly losing the New Hampshire primary to Eugene McCarthy. Gerald Ford fended off Reagan in 1976 but went on to lose the general election to Carter, who likewise had to beat a primary challenger four years later, Ted Kennedy, before falling to Reagan. And George H. W. Bush had to overcome Patrick Buchanan before losing to Clinton in 1992.

So it is a high priority for Obama to prevent any intraparty fight in 2012, and to date, despite the fire from the left, no serious challenger appears on the horizon. Putting Hillary Clinton in the cabinet may turn out to be one of Obama's smartest moves, because it not only eliminated her as a would-be challenger, but it also should presumably squelch the will-she-or-won't-she speculation that otherwise would have played out for months. (Instead, the guessing game has her replacing Biden on the ticket, however fanciful that might be.)

As the first African-American president, Obama is more aware than most of the limits of looking back. But he also has read enough presidential biographies to know he is not the first to encounter rocky times. "History never precisely repeats itself," Obama told me. "But there is a pattern in American presidencies — at least modern presidencies. You come in with excitement and fanfare. The other party initially, having been beaten, says it wants to cooperate with you. You start implementing your program as you promised during the campaign. The other party pushes back very hard. It causes a lot of consternation and drama in Washington. People who are already cynical and skeptical about Washington generally look at it and say, This is the same old mess we've seen before. The president's poll numbers drop. And you have to then sort of wrestle back the confidence of the people as the programs that you've put in place start bearing fruit."

**To better understand history,** and his role in it, Obama invited a group of presidential scholars to dinner in May in the living quarters of the White House. Obama was curious about, among other things, the Tea Party movement. Were there precedents for this sort of backlash against the establishment? What sparked them and how did they shape American politics? The historians recalled the Know-Nothings in the 1850s, the Populists in the 1890s and Father Charles Coughlin in the 1930s. "He listened," the historian H. W. Brands told me. "What he concluded, I don't know."

Obama's conclusions are still being formed. He has learned that "Washington is even more broken than we thought," as one aide put it. He has trusted his own judgment as he disregarded advisers who told him to scale back health care at various stages. And he has found that his vaunted speaking skills are not enough to change the dynamics of governance. "One of the lessons he has to learn is What is the best form of communication for him with the American people," the historian Doris Kearns Goodwin told me. "He's so good in front of an audience, and I get the sense that he needs the energy off the audience. And so speaking to television cameras doesn't really do that."

As we talked in the Oval Office, Obama acknowledged that the succession of so many costly initiatives, necessary as they may have been, wore on the public. "That accumulation of numbers on the TV screen night in and night out in those first six months I think deeply and legitimately troubled people," he told me. "They started feeling like: Gosh, here we are tightening our belts, we're cutting out restaurants, we're cutting out our

gym membership, in some cases we're not buying new clothes for the kids. And here we've got these folks in Washington who just seem to be printing money and spending it like nobody's business.

"And it reinforced the narrative that the Republicans wanted to promote anyway, which was Obama is not a different kind of Democrat — he's the same old tax-and-spend liberal Democrat."

Emanuel told me that the cascading crises in Obama's early days exacted a lasting toll. "The seeds of his political difficulty today were planted in taking those steps," he said. White House officials largely agree they should not have let the health care process drag out while waiting for Republican support that would never come. "It's not what people felt they sent Barack Obama to Washington to do, to be legislator in chief," a top adviser told me. "It lent itself to the perception that he wasn't doing anything on the economy." Plouffe agreed that guilt by association with Democratic lawmakers did not help. "When you swim in those waters, you're going to be affected by that," he said. "I do think he's paid a political price, somewhat, for having to be tied to Congress."

Still, for all the second-guessing, what you do not hear in the White House is much questioning of the basic elements of the program — Obama aides, liberal and moderate alike, reject complaints from the right that the stimulus did not help the economy or that health care expands government too much, as well as complaints from the left that he should have pushed for a bigger stimulus package or held out for a public health care option. "We asked for more stimulus than we ended up with," Larry Summers, the outgoing national economics adviser, told me. "But we fought as hard as we could, and I believe we got as much as Congress was ever going to give us at that time."

And they argue that any mistakes affected things only at the margins. "There's all this talk in this town — if we had done energy before health care, if we had focused more on small business, if we had done an Oval on the economy instead of Iraq, we would be doing better," Dan Pfeiffer, the communications director, says. "I don't believe that. We could always do things differently, and there are plenty of things I wish I had back. But I don't know they'd change the overall trend."

Melody Barnes, the president's domestic-policy adviser, says the biggest problem was that after eight years of Bush, Obama's supporters were very eager to change everything right away. "The pent-up demand across every issue area — around science, around education, around health care, immigration, you name it — there was a lot of desire to finally get these things done," she told me. "Every segment of the population had something that was very important to them that they really wanted to put over the finish line."

Obama is preaching patience in an impatient age. One prominent Democratic lawmaker told me Obama's problem is that he is not insecure — he always believes he is the smartest person in any room and never feels the sense of panic that makes a good politician run scared all the time, frenetically wooing lawmakers, power brokers, adversaries and voters as if the next election were a week away.

Instead, what you hear Obama aides talking about is that the system is "not on the level." That's a phrase commonly used around the West Wing — "it's not on the level." By that, they mean the Republicans, the news media, the lobbyists, the whole Washington culture is not serious about solving problems. The challenge, as they see it, is how to rise above a town that can obsess for a week on whether an obscure Agriculture Department official in Georgia should have been fired. At the same time, as Emanuel told me, "We have to play the game."

As Brands, the historian, put it, "It'll be really interesting to see if a president who is thinking long term can have an impact on a political system that is almost irredeemably short term in its perspective."

**"I'd rather be** a really good one-term president than a mediocre two-term president." So Obama told Diane Sawyer of ABC News last January at another low point, just after the Republican Scott Brown captured the

Massachusetts Senate seat held for decades by Ted Kennedy, costing Democrats their filibuster-proof control of the upper chamber and jeopardizing the president's health care plan.

It's a good line, but it's one of those things easier said in the first or second year of a presidency. By the third, it starts to become an actual choice. Forks in the road require a president to decide if he will advance ideas that will genuinely change the country even if deeply unpopular or if he will opt instead for a safer route that does not put re-election at risk. Obama aides like to argue that he has already demonstrated willingness to put aside politics by bailing out the banks and automakers, decisions that he saw as critical to preventing greater economic catastrophe (and that ultimately cost taxpayers far less than initially feared).

But would he jeopardize re-election absent an immediate crisis? The choice may confront him soon after the midterms when his bipartisan fiscal commission reports back by Dec. 1 with plans to tame the national deficit with a politically volatile menu of unpalatable options, like scaling back Medicare and Social Security while raising taxes. Obama also anticipates putting immigration reform, another divisive issue fraught with political danger, back on the table. "If the question is, Over the next two years do I take a pass on tough stuff," he told me, "the answer is no."

Obama's aides say they will most likely set up their re-election campaign around next March, roughly the same as when Bush and Clinton incorporated their incumbent campaign operations. They are more optimistic about 2012 than they are about 2010, believing the Tea Party will re-elect Barack Obama by pulling the Republican nominee to the right. They doubt Sarah Palin will run and figure Mitt Romney cannot get the Republican nomination because he enacted his own health care program in Massachusetts. If they had to guess today, some in the White House say that Obama will find himself running against Mike Huckabee, the former Arkansas governor.

With that campaign on the horizon, Obama asked Pete Rouse and Jim Messina to begin thinking about the next phase of his presidency, not just personnel but also priorities and message. Never mind that Rouse was among those who wanted to leave — for years, he has been saying he wanted out of politics but never says no to Obama. Indeed, when Rouse told colleagues he wanted to leave the White House by the end of this year, Messina bet him $400 that he would not. "We'll see what happens," Rouse told me when I asked about the bet last month. Then Obama made Rouse interim chief of staff. Rouse initially resisted moving into Rahm Emanuel's corner suite until colleagues threatened to move his files for him. Messina jokes that Rouse will turn off the Oval Office lights after eight years and before assuming his new job, running Obama's presidential library.

Rouse is managing a slow-motion White House shuffle. By year's end, there will be a new chief of staff, a new national-economics adviser, a new budget director, a new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and a new national-security adviser, among others. Axelrod and Messina expect to leave by spring to set up Obama's re-election effort, and Plouffe will almost certainly come into the White House in a senior role.

"There are a lot of lessons learned in the last two years in terms of how we might improve internal communication, encourage greater accountability without discouraging individual initiative," said one aide familiar with the discussions led by Rouse and Messina. Obama has been aggravated by friction among his advisers. "He's a little frustrated with the internal dysfunction," the aide said. "He doesn't like confrontation." But his initial choices to fill open slots have been drawn largely from his administration, suggesting more continuity than change.

Rouse and Messina see areas for possible bipartisan agreement, like reauthorizing the nation's education laws to include reform measures favored by centrists and conservatives, passing long-pending trade pacts and possibly even producing scaled-back energy legislation. "You'll hear more about exports and less about public spending," a senior White House official said. "You'll hear more about initiative and private sector and less

about the Department of Energy. You'll hear more about government as a financier and less about government as a hirer."

Obama expressed optimism to me that he could make common cause with Republicans after the midterm elections. "It may be that regardless of what happens after this election, they feel more responsible," he said, "either because they didn't do as well as they anticipated, and so the strategy of just saying no to everything and sitting on the sidelines and throwing bombs didn't work for them, or they did reasonably well, in which case the American people are going to be looking to them to offer serious proposals and work with me in a serious way."

I asked if there were any Republicans he trusted enough to work with on economic issues. The first name he came up with was Senator Judd Gregg of New Hampshire, who initially agreed to serve as Obama's commerce secretary before changing his mind. But Gregg is retiring. The only other Republican named by Obama was Paul Ryan, the Wisconsin congressman who has put together a detailed if politically problematic blueprint for reducing federal spending. The two men are ideologically poles apart, but perhaps Obama sees a bit of himself in a young, substantive policy thinker.

Even if such an alliance emerges, though, the next two years will be mostly about cementing what Obama did in his first two years — and defending it against challenges in Congress and the courts. "Even if I had the exact same Congress, even if we don't lose a seat in the Senate and we don't lose a seat in the House, I think the rhythms of the next two years would inevitably be different from the rhythms of the first two years," Obama told me. "There's going to be a lot of work in this administration just doing things right and making sure that new laws are stood up in the ways they're intended."

As a senior adviser put it, "There's going to be very little incentive for big things over the next two years unless there's some sort of crisis." Yet Obama and his aides still scorn Bill Clinton's small-bore approach. "It's fair to assume you're not going to see school uniforms play a big role in the next two years," Plouffe told me. "His view is you can't spend two years playing four-corners." Before he left, Emanuel told me: "I'm not of the view that you do nothing. I think you've got to have an agenda."

But what sort of agenda? Not as sweeping and not as provocative, say some advisers. "It will have to be limited and focused on the things that are achievable and high priorities for the American people," Dick Durbin told me. Tom Daschle said Obama would have to reach out to adversaries. "The lessons of the last two years are going to be critical," he told me. "The key word is 'inclusion.' He's got to find ways to be inclusive."

Rendell thinks otherwise. "Don't care so much about bipartisanship if the Republicans continue to refuse to cooperate," he advised. "Do what you have to do. Fight back." At the same time, he said, stop moaning about what he inherited: "After the election, I'd say no more pointing back, no more blaming the Bush administration. It's O.K. to do that during the campaign and then stop. But to do it as much as we do it, it sounds like a broken record. And after two years, you own it."

Obama will own it for another two years, or six if he can find his way forward. As an author, Obama appreciates the rhythms of a tumultuous story. But who is the protagonist, really? At bottom, this president is still a mystery to many Americans. During the campaign, he sold himself — or the idea of himself — more than any particular policy, and voters filled in the lines as they chose. He was, as he said at the time, the ultimate Rorschach test.

Now the lines are being filled in further. With each choice Obama makes, he further defines himself for better or worse in Americans' minds. He says he knows where he is going and is gathering momentum despite the hurdles ahead. As he told a group of visitors during the week last spring that Congress passed health care and his administration reached agreement on an arms-control treaty with Russia, "I start slow, but I finish strong."

He will have to, if the history he is writing is to turn out the way he prefers.

Peter Baker is a White House correspondent for The Times and a contributing writer for the magazine.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 5:19 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Tony Blair on the American Ideal

I just want to make sure you saw this. It is the end of a piece Tony Blair did for Time this week that is adapted from his book. It is very close to what you said on Friday. He also has a line at the beginning of the piece where he talks about loving "America's sense of aspiration." AM

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**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sat Sep 04 17:02:22 2010
**Subject:** Tony Blair on the American Ideal

Americans can be all that the rest of the world sometimes accuses them of: brash, loud, insular, obsessive and heavy-handed. But America is great for a reason. It is looked up to, despite all the criticism, for a reason. There is a nobility in the American character that has been developed over the centuries, derived in part, no doubt, from the frontier spirit, from the waves of migration that form the stock, from the circumstances of independence, from the Civil War, from a myriad of historical facts and coincidences. But it is there.

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Read more: http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2015409-3,00.html#ixzz0yb33lsro

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 18, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** H

One fact that people may not be aware of is that immediately following the election, newly elected Senators in IL, WV, CO and DE will serve during the lame duck session. In a worst case scenario, that could bring the Senate Dem total down to 55, which will impact our strategy on START and appropriations, at a minimum.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 8:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: From Harvey Weinstein

Very sweet email from Harvey. Let me know if you want the movies.

You were amazing yesterday. Will look for direction on details for the upcoming talks.

---

**From:** Office, HW <[redacted] B6
**To:** Marshall, Capricia P
**Sent:** Fri Aug 20 12:50:18 2010
**Subject:** From Harvey Weinstein

Dear Capricia,

As time moves on, I realize I haven't seen you and Mrs. Clinton (Hillary) in a long time, but I think of you both often. I don't know if movie producers are still worthy in your world, but next time you're in NYC I'd love to see you.

I have such fond memories of you guys watching SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE. I made another movie you might like about the ascendancy of King George after Edward abdicated, it's called KINGS SPEECH. The movie brings to light something that many people don't know, which is that King George was a stutterer and he hired an actor to try and help him overcome it. It's a fun movie that is much in the tradition of SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE, again I think you would both like it (and Hillary would approve because it's PG-13 with not too many swear words).

If you have any trips coming up I'd love to send it to you so you guys can watch and give me your opinion. I could also include a copy of THE TILLMAN STORY, that one is obviously not a happy film, but it's an incredibly important one.

PS

[redacted]

Your bad friend,

Harvey

PS – Please share this with Madame Secretary.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 7:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Gaza rocket fire draws Israeli air strikes

**From**: Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sat Sep 04 18:59:45 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Gaza rocket fire draws Israeli air strikes

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Israeli aircraft struck targets in the Hamas-ruled Gaza Strip after Palestinian militants fired a rocket from the territory into Israel, security officials and witnesses said. Early September 4, Gaza militants fired a rocket into southern Israel, causing no injuries, the Israeli military said. Hours later, witnesses and Hamas security officials said Israeli aircraft fired rockets at targets in Gaza, including smuggling tunnels along the border with Egypt. At least two people were wounded, medical workers said.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Lois Quam [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** H

Am in Washington Friday, Monday and Tuesday if you have a minute.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** are you still awake?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 11:51 AM
**To:** H

Thanks for making the START calls. Will follow-up as discussed.

On election news, Murkowski has come back a bit, but is still down a good 2K votes. Many rural precincts have yet to report, and there are some 7600 absentee ballots yet to be counted. Will likely take another week to come to closure.

**With 429 of 438 precincts reporting**

**Joe Miller (R) 45,909 51.09%**
**Lisa Murkowski (R) 43,949 48.91%**

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

I did.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Sep 05 08:15:59 2010
Subject: Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

Did you send this to Dan Schwerin?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Sep 04 17:18:32 2010
Subject: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

I just want to make sure you saw this. It is the end of a piece Tony Blair did for Time this week that is adapted from his book. It is very close to what you said on Friday. He also has a line at the beginning of the piece where he talks about loving "America's sense of aspiration." AM

---

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter < [redacted] > B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Sep 04 17:02:22 2010
Subject: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

Americans can be all that the rest of the world sometimes accuses them of: brash, loud, insular, obsessive and heavy-handed. But America is great for a reason. It is looked up to, despite all the criticism, for a reason. There is a nobility in the American character that has been developed over the centuries, derived in part, no doubt, from the frontier spirit, from the waves of migration that form the stock, from the circumstances of independence, from the Civil War, from a myriad of historical facts and coincidences. But it is there.

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interests of the nation as a whole. It is what makes the country determined to overcome its challenges. It is what makes its soldiers give their lives in sacrifice. It is what brings every variety of American, from the lowest to the highest, to their feet when "The Star-Spangled Banner" is played. Of course the ideal is not always met — that is obvious. But it is always striven for.

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<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2015409-3,00.html#ixzz0yb33lsro>

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 11:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you!

I can't believe that the conspiracy around me worked! I was so mindful of your murderous schedule today that it never even occurred to me that you would tack on yet one more thing.
Your showing up was a fabulous surprise, so emblematic of your generosity it so many ways and a wonderful reminder of the cause that you started me on and grew over these almost 20 years.
Many thanks.

Should you talk to the new Dutch FM in Lisbon, you might thank him for their work on 1325. They are helping other countries, including in Afghanistan and we hope that they will continue in the new govt.

Good travels and heartfelt thanks.
Melanne

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 10:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Not sure about SRAP. I'll forward it on. Hope the trip is going well.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; 'jake.sullivar[redacted]; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Nov 02 10:14:58 2010
Subject: Re: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

B6

That is a great piece---good work. I'm copying the traveling team. I assume S/RAP knows it already.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Nov 02 10:00:27 2010
Subject: Fw: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Nice piece on Cameron Munter.

Safe travels.

Jm

---

From: Schwartz, Larry
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Tue Nov 02 09:32:22 2010
Subject: FW: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Dear Boss,

Still working it down the last day.

We got the Amb some good photo ops in the flood zone...

Larry

"A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (cir. 25,000) (11/02)

"... It was the picture of a U.S. helicopter parked at a helipad in Sukkur. Many people clad in military uniforms were unloading the relief goods for flood-affected people in the Sindh province. A middle-aged American national, wearing a shirt and grey pants and carrying a 40-kg flour bag, immediately caught my attention. It took me hardly a few seconds to recognize him. He was no other than the new U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Cameron Munter. During my recent visit to the United States, I had the chance to meet him at the residence of our Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Hussain Haqqani. In a lighter vein, he (Ambassador Munter) asked me and other Pakistani journalists, present on the occasion, that 'please don't pester me during my stay in Pakistan because I am very scared of the Pakistani media even now in my own country.' These words garnered a resounding laughter from all of us. It was my first meeting with Ambassador Munter. Now he is in Pakistan where the U.S. Ambassador is always more busy even than the host country's president. Within a week after his arrival in Pakistan, the U.S. Ambassador reached Sukkur along with relief goods for the flood-affected people who are still languishing in makeshift tents. To the much astonishment of common Pakistanis, he, along with other ordinary officials, started unloading the relief goods with his own hands, and all major newspapers of the country gave front-page coverage to this picture. This photo conveyed two messages to us: first, the great nations also have great traditions, and second, relatively small nations, like us, possess low status because our leaders are totally devoid of such humbleness. The U.S. ambassadors virtually enjoy the viceregal status in third world countries, but despite enjoying such kingly powers they adopt very humble attitude towards other people. They treat even the attendants, drivers, and other employees in their personal staff as human beings. And whenever some natural disaster visits the populations of the host countries, the U.S. ambassadors in those states rush to help the devastated people. Ambassador Cameron Munter could also have behaved like our rulers and distribute relief goods among affected people while himself dressed in precious costumes... Even if his attitude was part of the U.S. propaganda, why our rulers cannot display such ostentations for the welfare of their subjects? The second message this picture conveyed is that we Pakistanis lack humbleness. For our politicians, the ordinary people are nothing more than votes who catapult them into the corridors of power. On the other hand, after winning the elections, American politicians live among their people. They travel side by side with the common man in public transport and shake hands with them in ordinary restaurants. This picture says that until Prime Minister Gilani picks up a flour bag on his shoulders and carries it to a common Pakistani, he cannot change the destiny of this nation."

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 9:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

I hope you have a chance to read what I sent yesterday [redacted] B5
[redacted]
[redacted] And great pic in the Times today!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Sep 05 08:15:59 2010
Subject: Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

Did you send this to Dan Schwerin?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Sep 04 17:18:32 2010
Subject: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

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---

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]> B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Sep 04 17:02:22 2010
Subject: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

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<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2015409-3,00.html#ixzz0yb33lsro>

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 2:06 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** night note on FTAs

Madam Secretary,

I received the copy of the draft night note on the Colombia and Panama FTAs that you reviewed, but I did not see any notes/guidance on it. Would you like to [redacted] B5

Thanks,
Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted](cell) B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 9:00 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

I will now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Sep 05 08:15:59 2010
Subject: Re: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

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To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
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To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Sep 04 17:02:22 2010
Subject: Tony Blair on the American Ideal

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<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2015409-3,00.html#ixzz0yb33lsro>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 2:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: good news and next steps

See b/l traffic

---

**From:** Ann O'Leary [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Nov 18 02:14:39 2010
**Subject:** Re: good news and next steps

Hi Cheryl -

I think we are in good shape right now so I won't bug you. We'll know more by Friday - when we learn whether Reid files the cloture on Goodwin this week or whether he is waiting to file it until after Thanksgiving.

I'll keep you posted.

Thanks so much for all or your support!!

xxoo.

On Wed, Nov 17, 2010 at 1:46 PM, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:
Great news

My work cell is [redacted]

I will try you tonite

---

**From:** Ann O'Leary [redacted]
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Nov 17 14:28:38 2010
**Subject:** good news and next steps

Hi Cheryl -

Goodwin is in DC and met with Reid's staff. It looks like he is really going to go ahead and file cloture!! See also the article from the BLT today.

Goodwin also met with Feinstein, which was a difficult meeting. If you have time, I'd like to confidentially discuss with you. I can set my alarm to get up and talk to you at 6 or 6:30 a.m. in the morning your time if that is the best time to reach you. Are you still at [redacted]

Thanks!

xxoo,

Ann

The BLT: The Blog of the Legal Times

# November 17, 2010

http://legaltimes.typepad.com/blt/2010/11/democrats-plan-votes-on-controversial-nominees-senator-says.html

## Democrats Plan Votes on Controversial Nominees, Senator Says

President Barack Obama's nominees for the federal judiciary have stalled for months in part because of heated disagreement over a handful of nominees. Now, Senate Democrats are looking at forcing votes on four of them.

Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.) said today that Democrats could move soon to end debate on the nominees. He said that Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) was lining up support this morning for what's known as a cloture petition — the necessary paperwork before holding a vote to end debate.

"He's lining up the signatures," Whitehouse said after a meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Such a petition requires 16 signatures.

Whitehouse is a vocal supporter of one of the nominees who have drawn fire: John McConnell Jr., a Motley Rice partner who's been nominated for federal district court in Rhode Island. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is opposing McConnell's nomination, citing his work as a plaintiffs' lawyer on lead paint litigation and other cases.

The other three nominees whom Reid is trying to force votes on, Whitehouse said, are Goodwin Liu for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit, Edward Chen for the Northern District of California and Louis Butler for the Western District of Wisconsin. Republicans have targeted all three because of what they call the nominees' extreme views, while the nominees' home-state senators and other supporters argue they're being treated unfairly.

A fifth nominee whom Republicans oppose, Judge Robert Chatigny for the 2nd Circuit, is pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. A committee vote is planned for Thursday.

Though senators have many other priorities during their "lame duck" session, Whitehouse said he thinks there is time to consider the stalled nominees. Otherwise, he said, "there'd be no point getting the signatures" for the cloture petition.

Senate rules require 60 votes to end debate on a nominee or a bill, unless senators agree to waive a vote entirely. Democrats control 59 Senate seats until January.

On Monday, conservatives sent a letter to Reid asking him not to force votes on any nominees between the midterm elections and the start of the next Congress. "Any 'lame-duck' confirmations would be a gross abuse of Congressional authority in a last gasp attempt to perpetuate an agenda that the American people have already rejected," the letter says.

Posted by David Ingram on November 17, 2010 at 01:10 PM in Other Courts, Politics and Government | Permalink | Comments (0) | TrackBack (0)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 11:16 AM
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S; Otero, Maria
**Subject:** rave reviews

Melanne and Maria,
I just talked to Tara Sonenshine who was with you at the global women's conference organized last week by Laurie Fulton in Copenhagen – she said that you were both absolutely fabulous and were the stars of the meeting. I cannot imagine being better represented.
Best,
AM

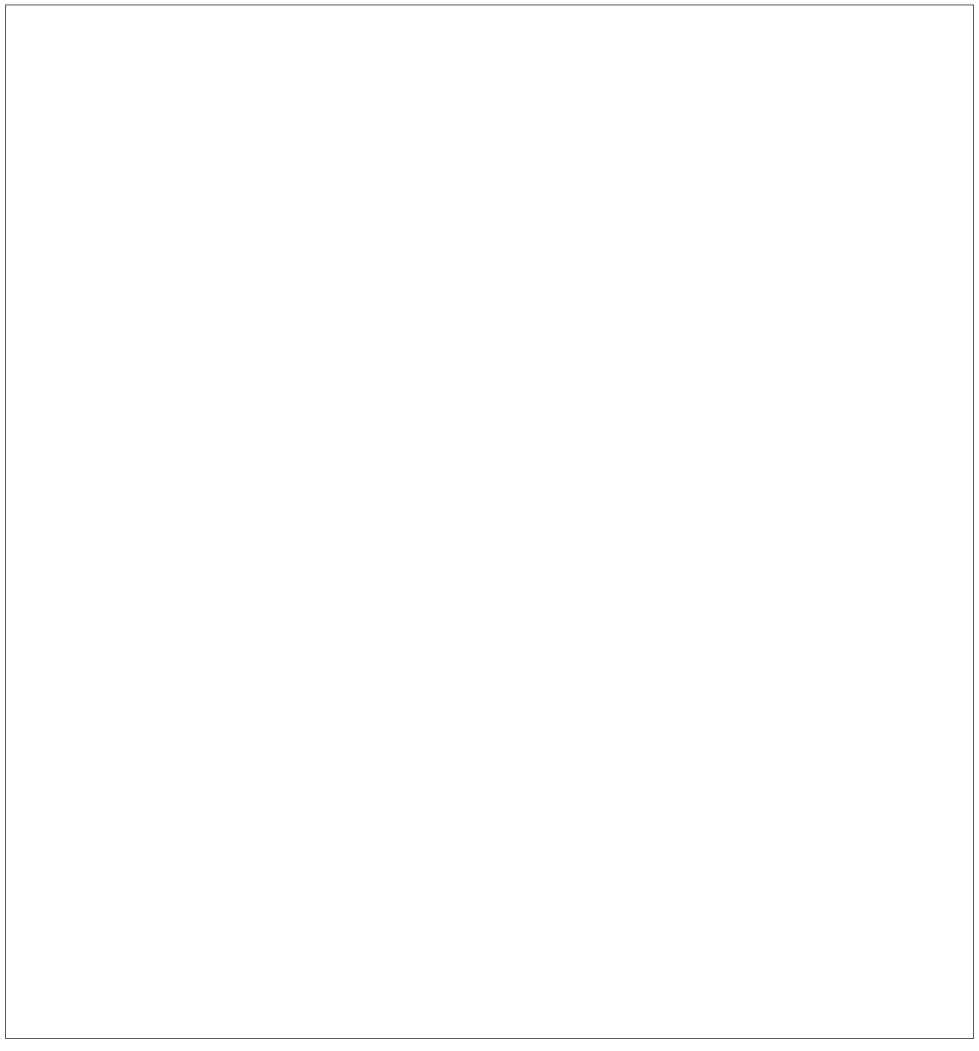
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART
B5

DRAFT 22 lm ams

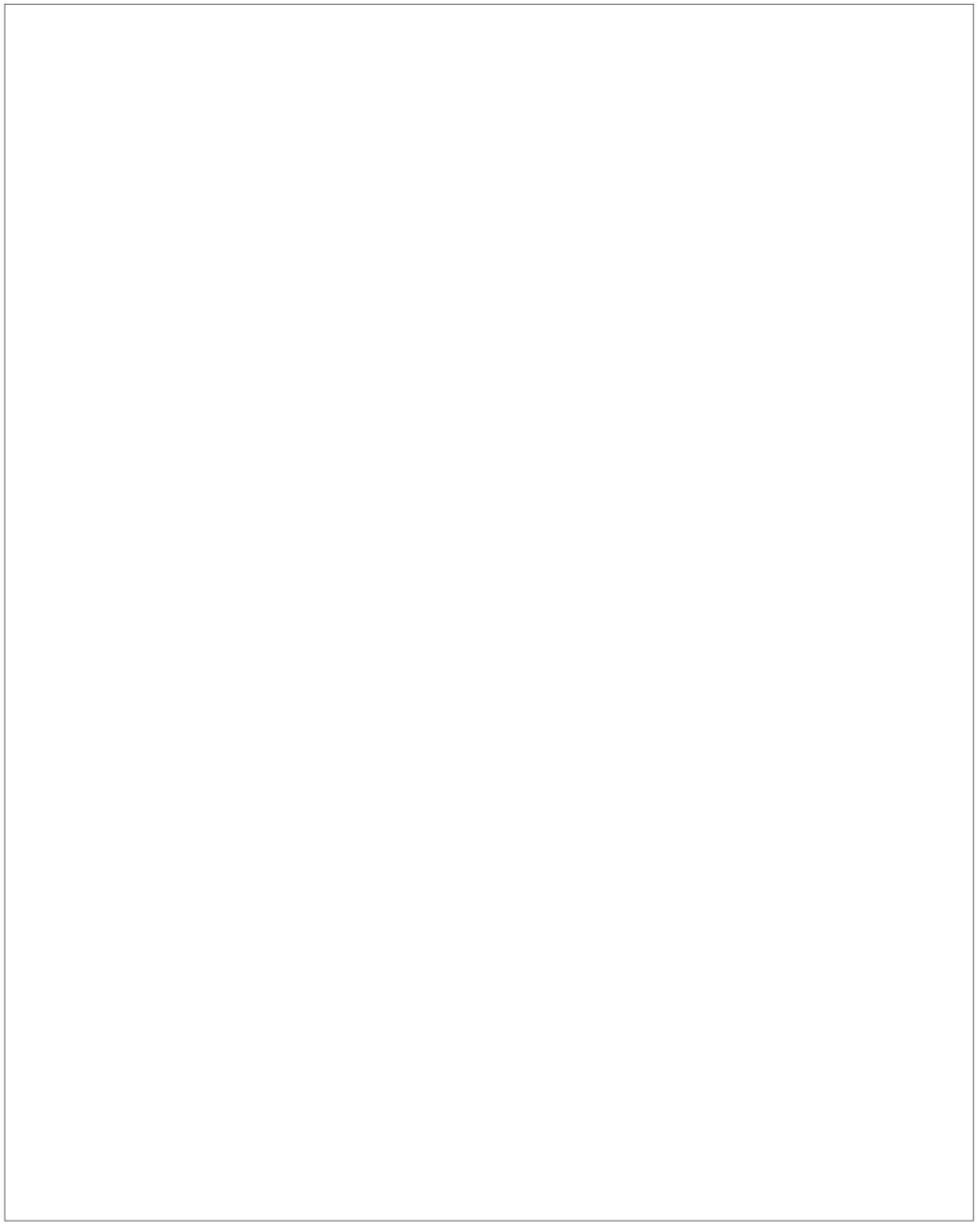
**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**

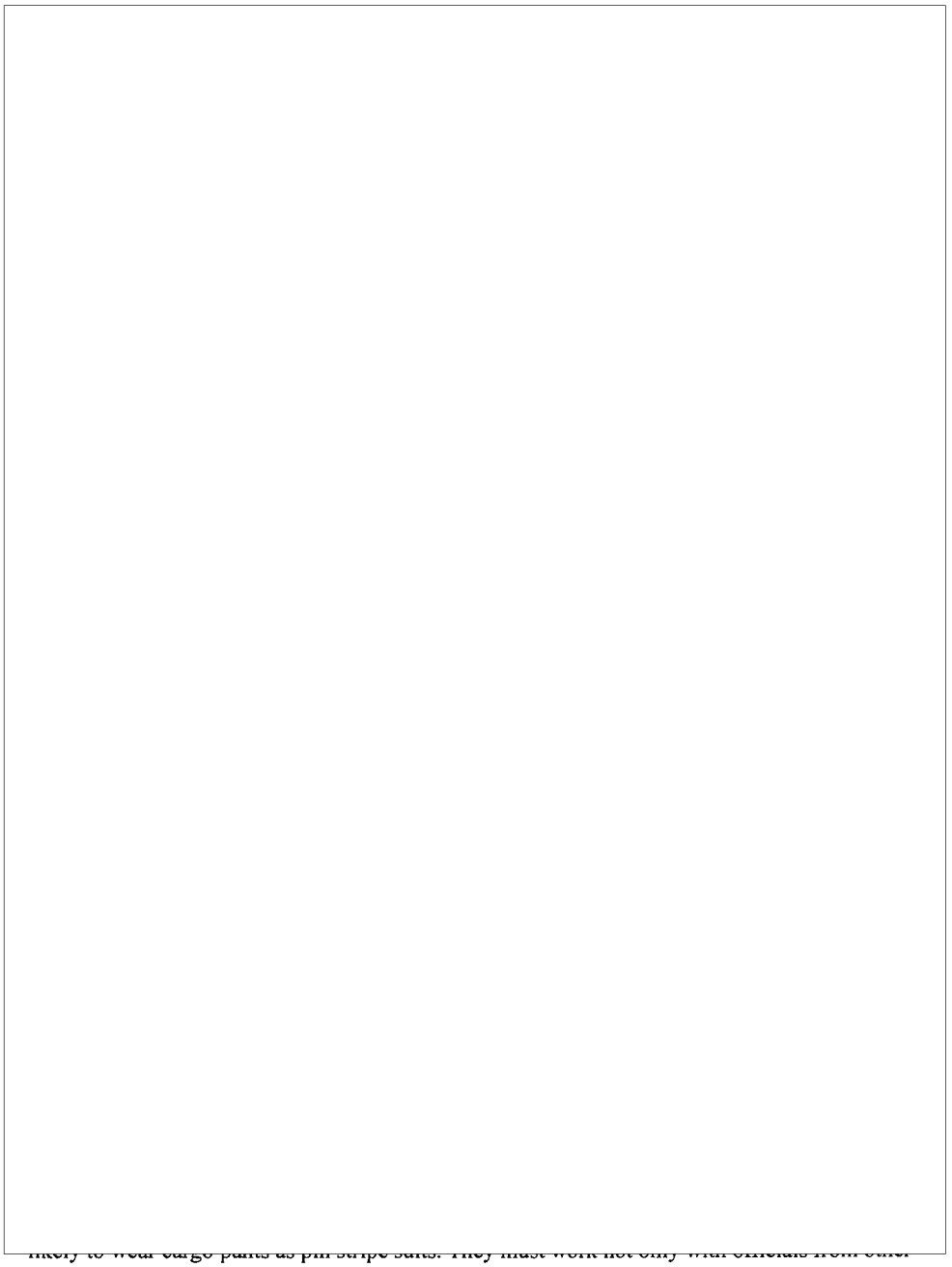


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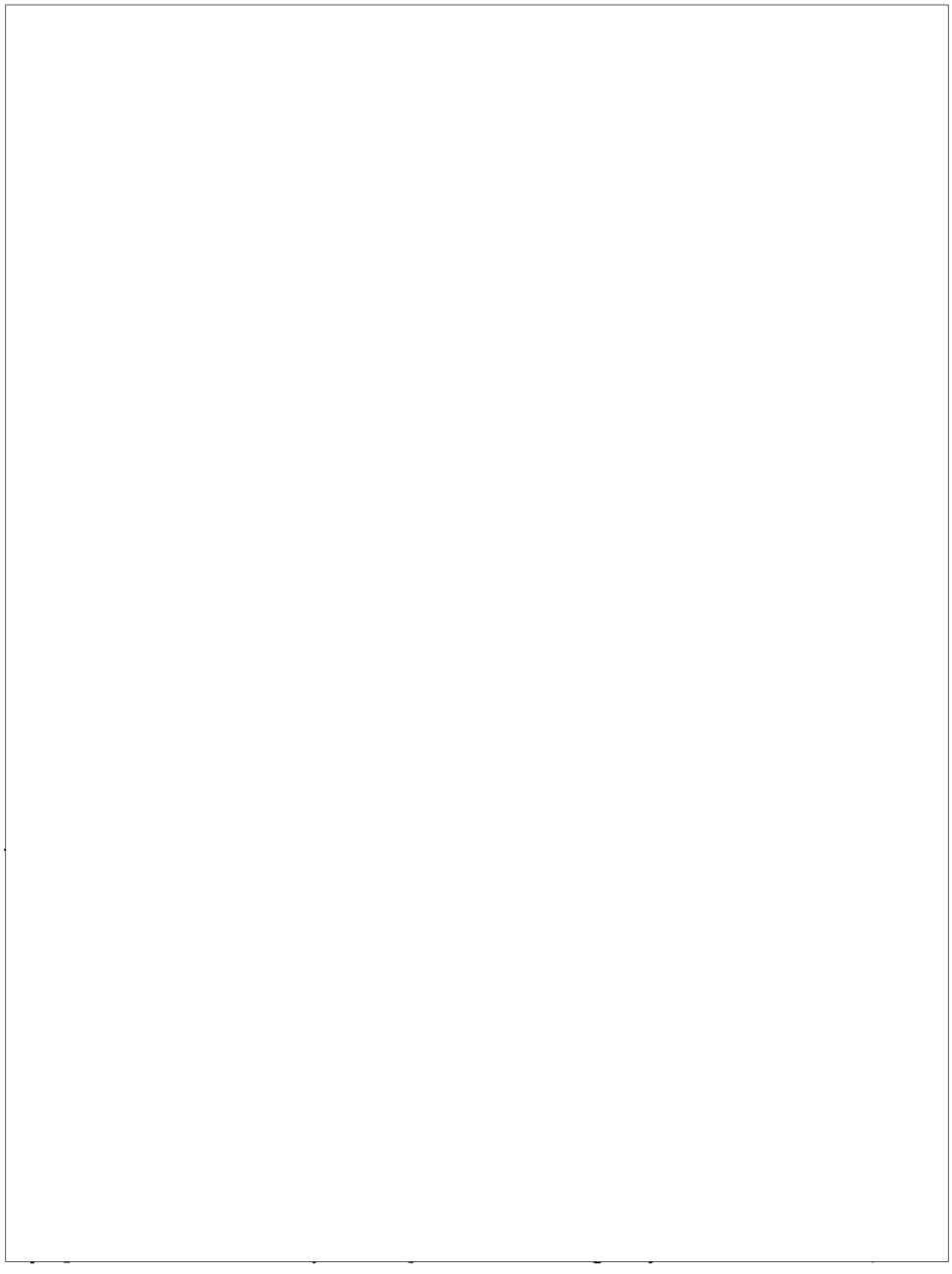
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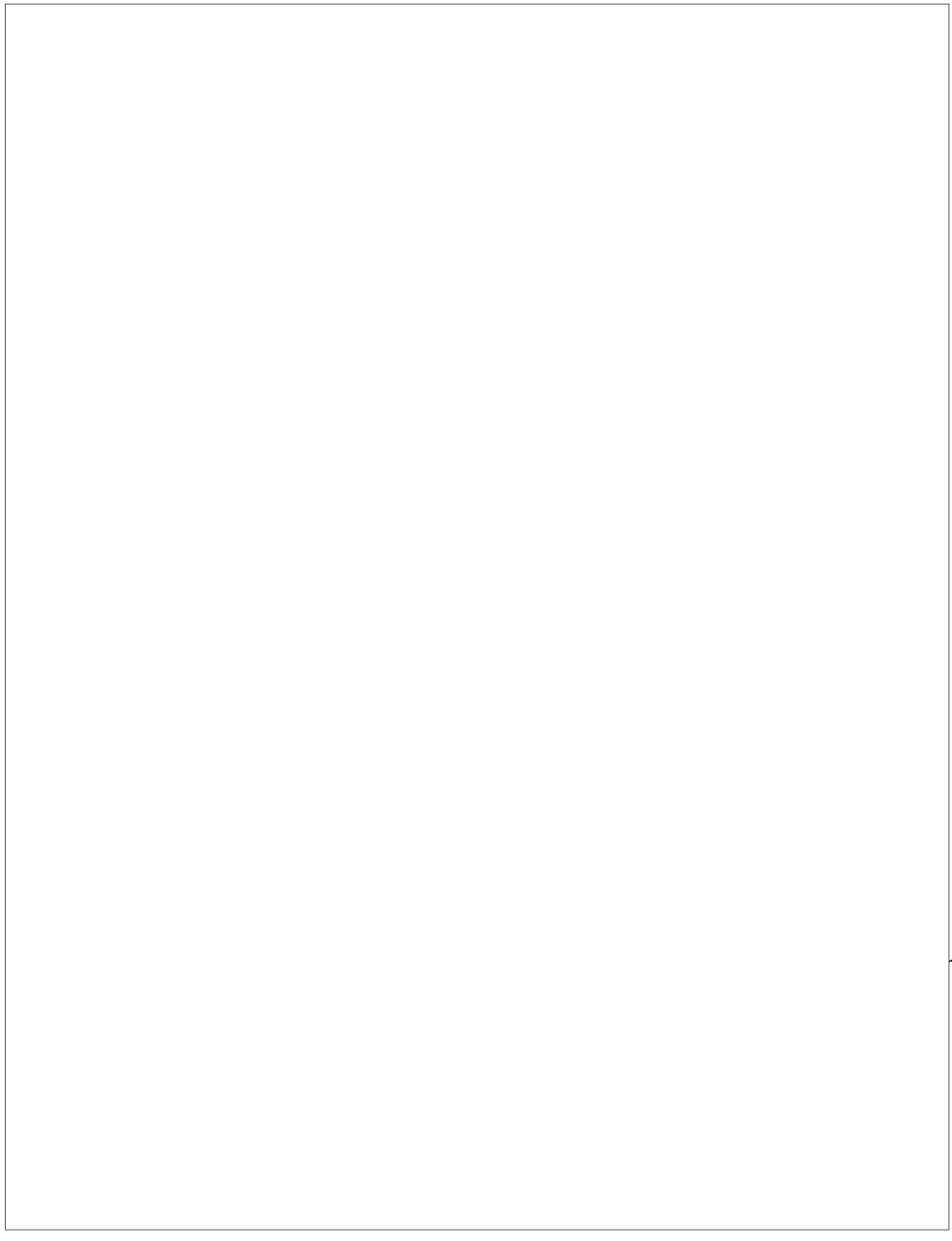


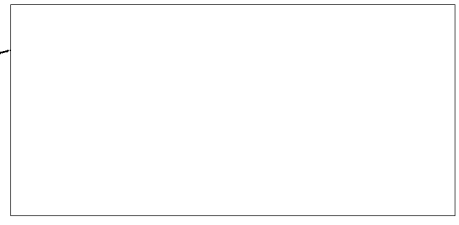
likely to wear cargo pants as pin stripe suits. They must work not only with officials from other

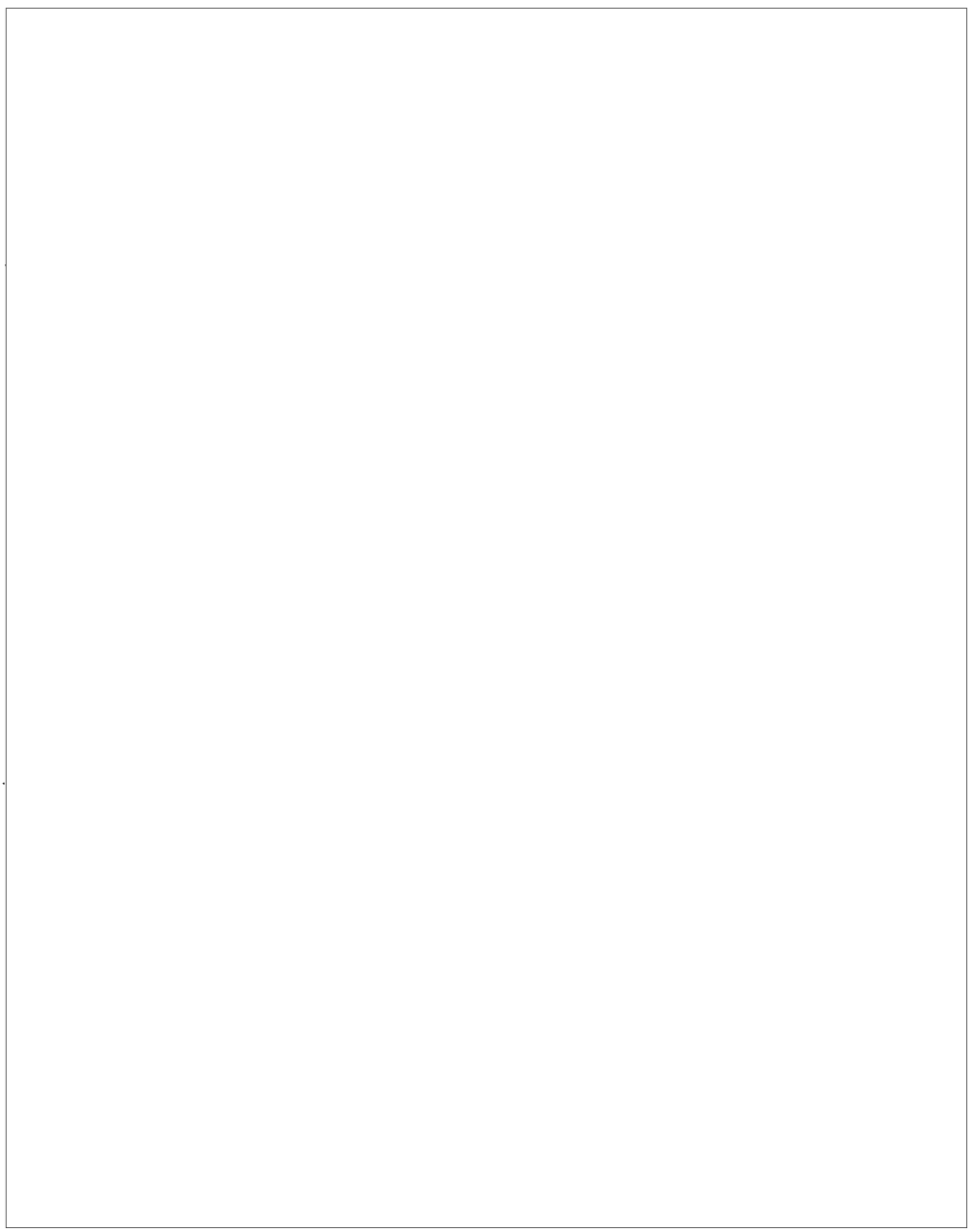


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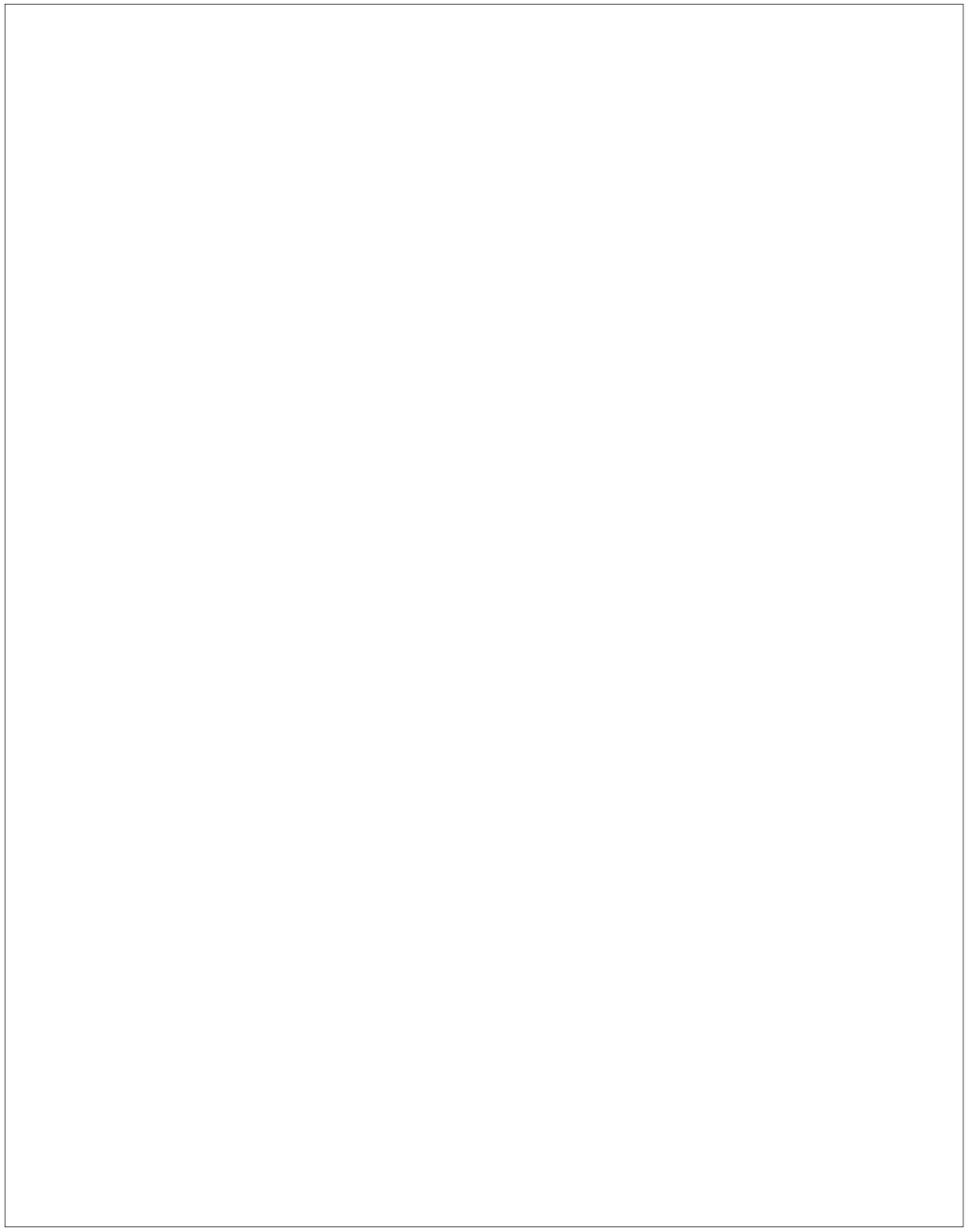
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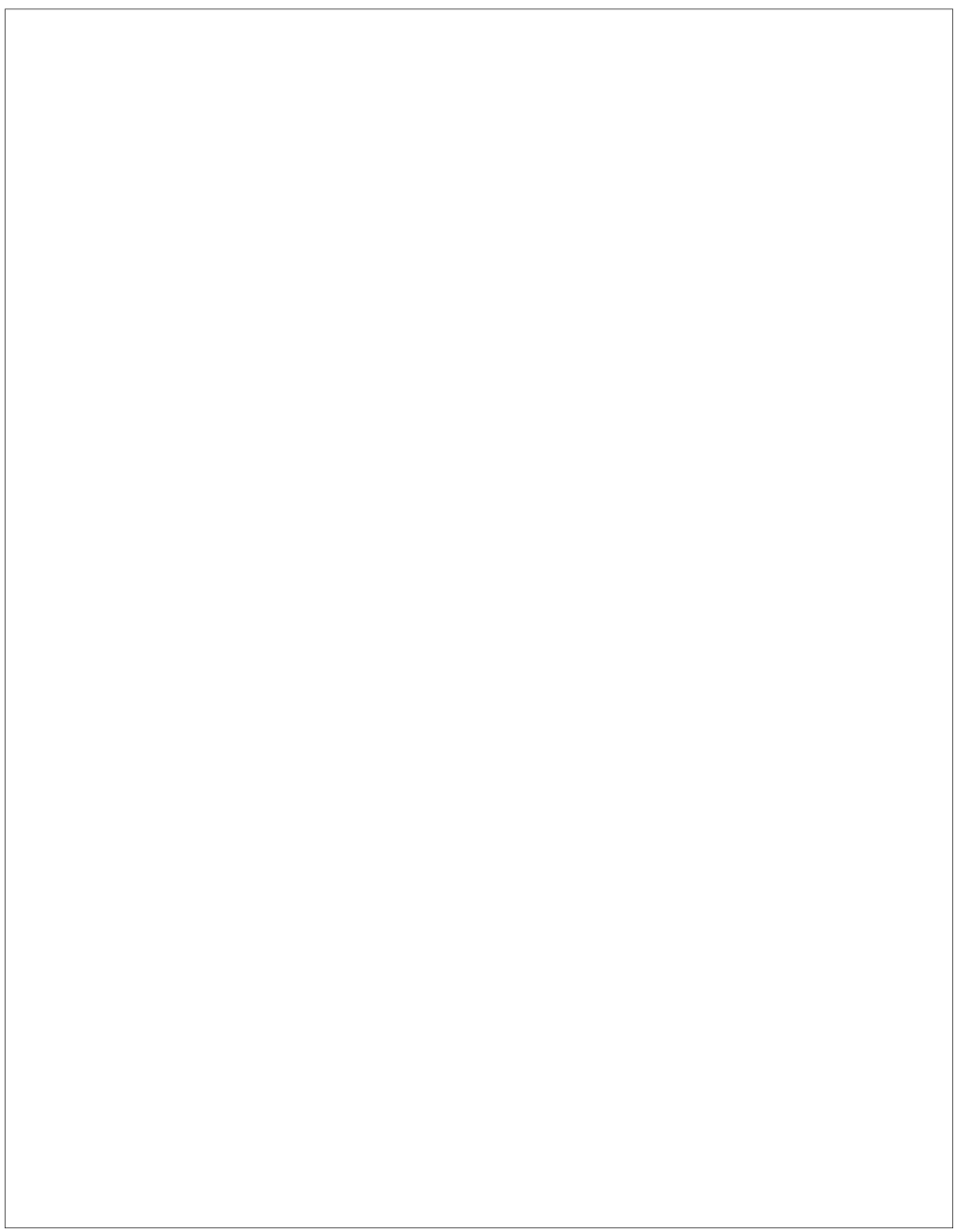


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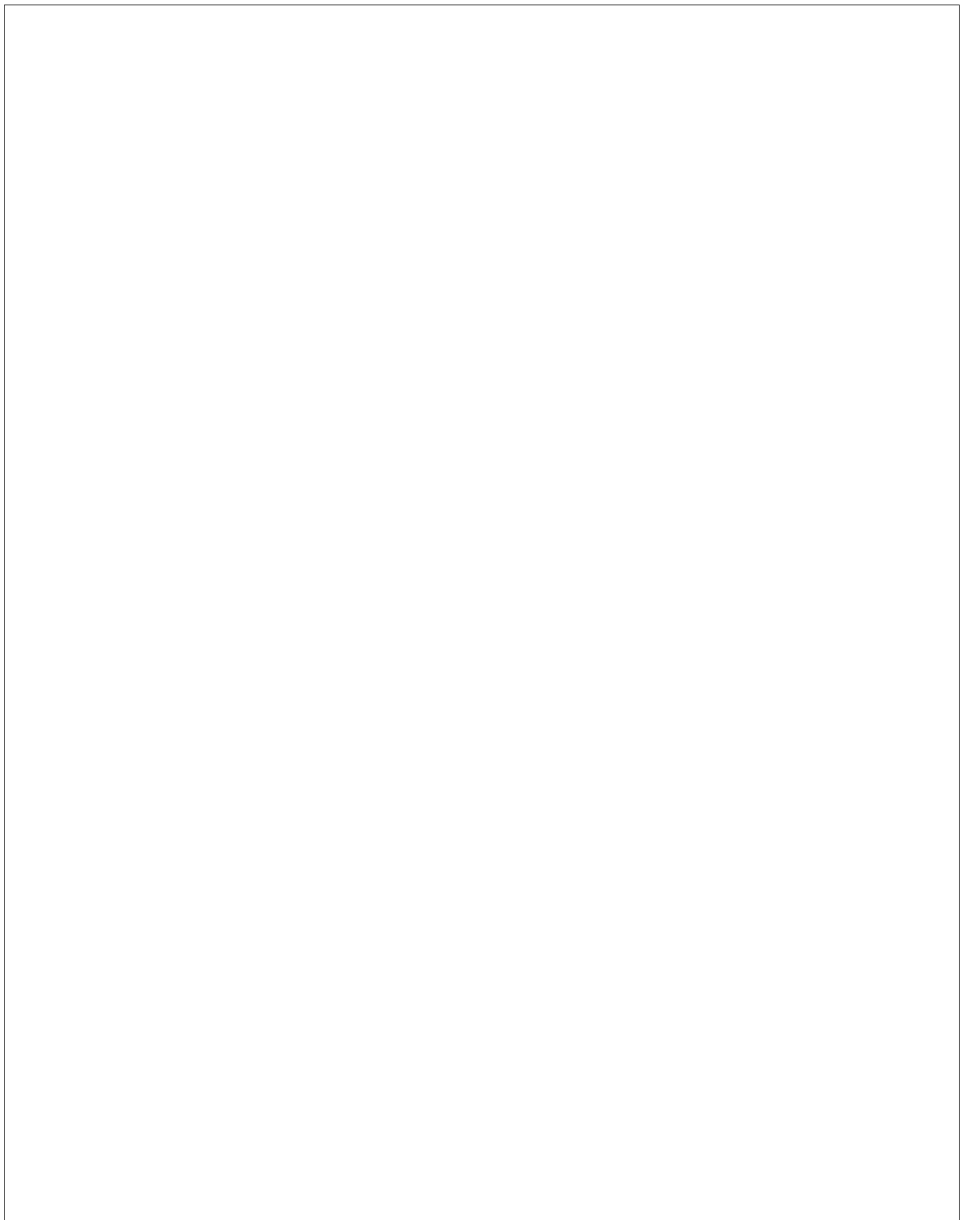


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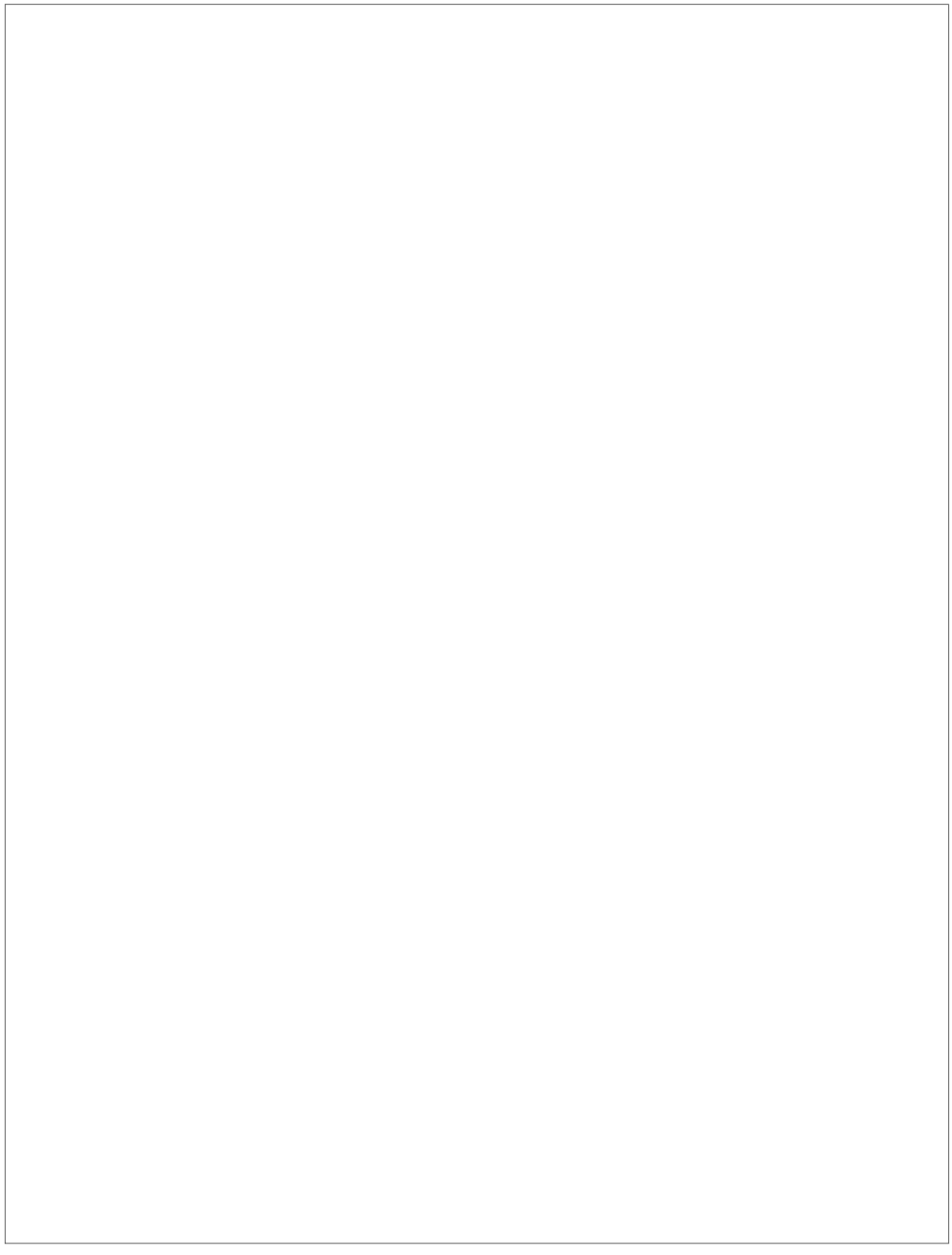
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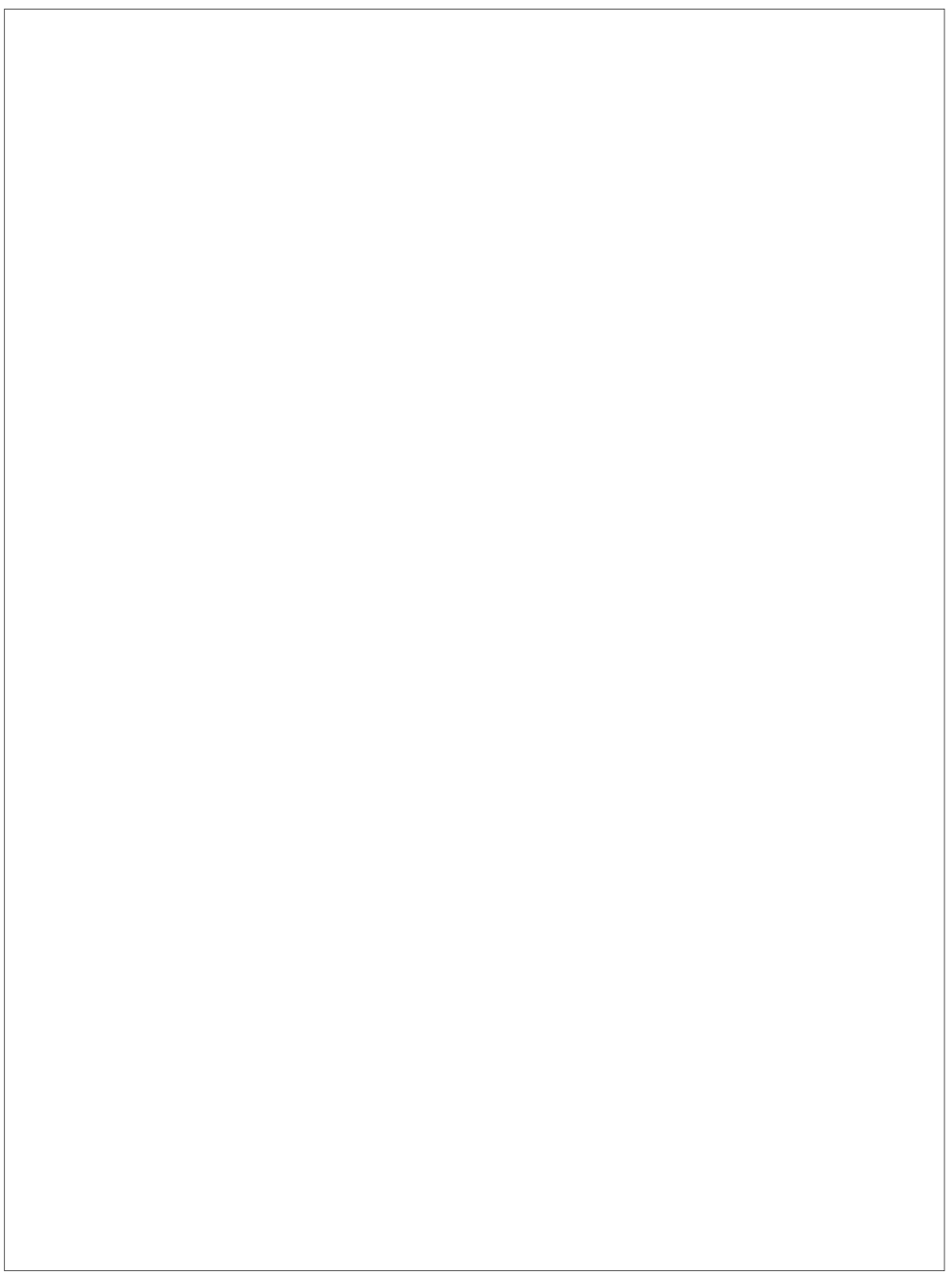
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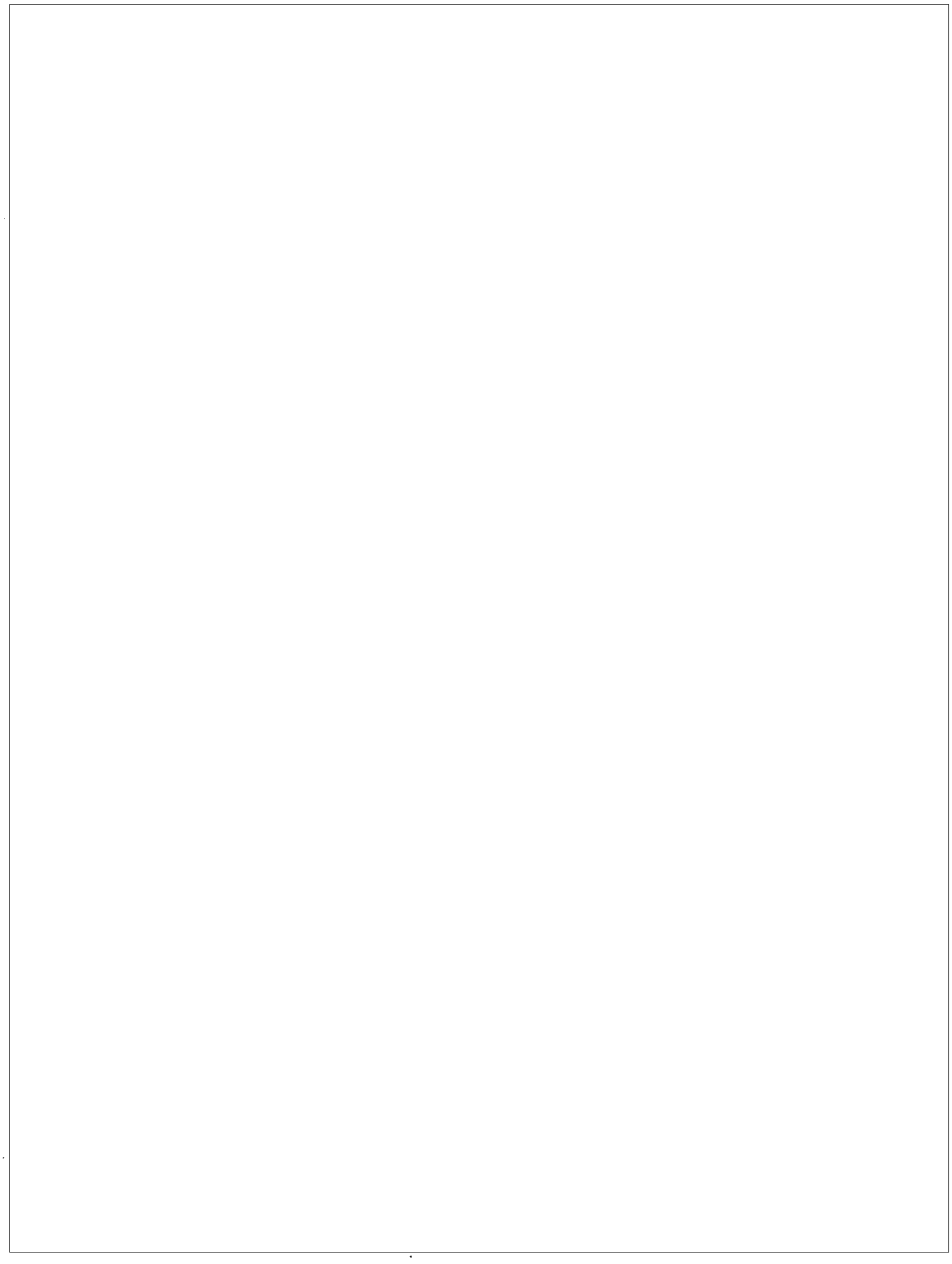
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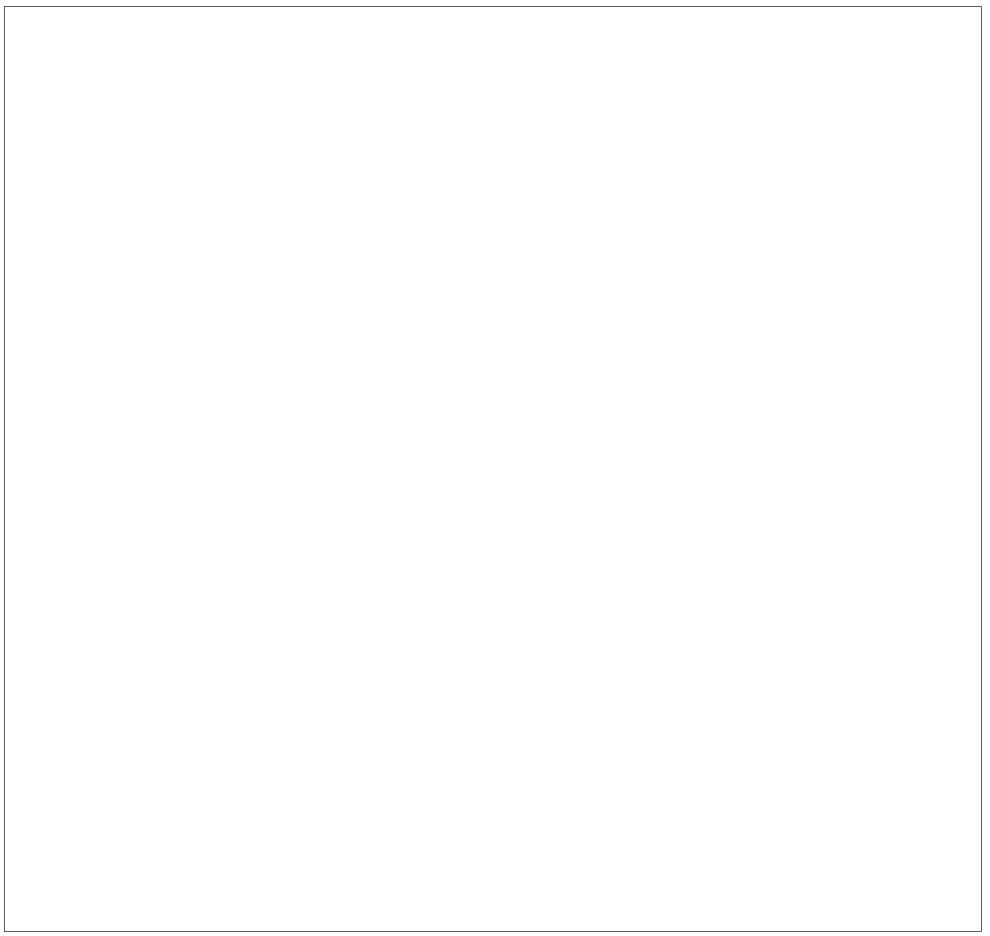


B5



B5





B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 9:33 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Kurt

Spoke to Kurt. He said he couldn't get any joy on sending a positive signal on an Indonesia trip. Sounds like it well may not happen at all.

So he said we have no give in this call; just an ask. But we urges that it be made.

Unsatisfying I know, but there we are...

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Jack

Was confirmed by voice vote this evening. Landrieu relented.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 4:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Addressed the RD matter

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Final foreign affairs article w/ their proposed cuts and our proposed responses
**Attachments:** FA Article Final w FA cuts.docx; FA Article Final w FA cuts.docx

Attached is the final version that we sent in with all their proposed edits and our responses marked in track changes and explained in comments. I have also included 2 additional small edits that I think will help immunize us from complaints by the human rights/democracy crowd. If you can let me know by early tomorrow whether you approve or what you want to change I can them make the necessary changes on the document they sent back to us and send it in my the deadline late tomorrow. Jim Hoge likes the piece and told me that he took a personal hand in the editing. AM

---

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Sep 05 09:27:18 2010
**Subject:**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 12:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: New Version

I am currently out of the office. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Joanne Laszczych (LaszczychJ@state.gov) at 202-647-5548.

Thank you

cdm

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lois Quam
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 11:56 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** millscd@state.gov; WoodardEW@state.gov
**Subject:** Re:

Terrific, see you then. Enjoy Portugal.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lois Quam
Cc: 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Nov 18 10:43:57 2010
Subject: Re:

I'm in Portugal on Friday but back on Monday so can see you then. I'm copying Cheryl and my scheduler so we can set a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lois Quam
To: H
Sent: Wed Nov 17 21:45:08 2010
Subject:

Am in Washington Friday, Monday and Tuesday if you have a minute.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 12:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) India parliament lower house passes nuclear bill

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Wed Aug 25 11:51:16 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) India parliament lower house passes nuclear bill

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - India's lower house of parliament on August 25 approved of a landmark bill to open up the country's $150 billion nuclear power market, after the government agreed to tougher provisions that an industry group said would hamper the sector's growth. The bill is needed for the entry of firms such as U.S.-based General Electric and Westinghouse Electric, a subsidiary of Japan's Toshiba Corp, who are reluctant to step in without clarity on accident compensation.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Senate just voted to confirm

My dear Jack

I don't think I knew what bittersweet felt like until I saw this email.

I am happy for you and for what your leadership will offer the President and the country. We are blessed for that and for you.

B6

Enjoy your new adventure but know your home is always here for you when you need a place of retreat.

XO
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 18 20:27:53 2010
Subject: Senate just voted to confirm

After a cloture petition was prepared there was a negotiation and Landrieu released her hold. Voice vote in the end. More words of thanks and farewell to follow, but wanted to share the news.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 4:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Two letters on behalf of Mack McLarty

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 4:29 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: Two letters on behalf of Mack McLarty

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Cc: H
Sent: Mon Oct 11 21:50:44 2010
Subject: FW: Two letters on behalf of Mack McLarty

For HRC – [redacted] B6

From: Anna King [mailto [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 11, 2010 1:59 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Two letters on behalf of Mack McLarty

Ms. Mills,

Please find attached two letters from Mr. McLarty – one is for you and one is for the Secretary. Would you be so kind as to pass along the Secretary's letter?

Take care,

Anna

Anna King | McLarty Associates | 900 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, DC 20006 | Direct: [redacted] B6
[redacted] Main: 202 419-1420 | Fax: [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 18, 2010 10:44 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CDM
**Subject:** Re: Fw: Personal - a personal favor

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted]

---

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Date:** Sat, 18 Sep 2010 06:45:45 -0400
**To:** H<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** preines [redacted] Cheryl Mills< [redacted] B5 B6
**Subject:** Re: Fw: Personal - a personal favor

i would advise [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

cdm

On Fri, Sep 17, 2010 at 10:53 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Pls advise. [redacted] Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Sep 17 21:26:58 2010
Subject: Personal - a personal favor

My dear friend Hillary:

I hate to email you too much ☹ and to ask you for any favors. I feel as if I am taking advantage of a great privilege that you allow me to send you a personal email every so often. But this is a favor that I fully understand for 100 reasons might not be appropriate or comfortable for you to say yes to.

The American Lawyer is doing a Cover Story (ugh!) about my new law firm, ☹Lanny J. Davis &

Associates◆ ◆ about my finally hanging up my own shingle after all these years and at a ripe young age, with a 12 year-old and a 5 year-old to pay college tuition for to I can◆t even state the age I will be in writing when I write my last tuition check.

I am quite concerned ◆even though the reporter for the American Lawyer, David Levine, seems to be a nice young man (which makes me even more concerned ◆ sometimes the nicest ones can burn you the worst. ◆(You, of all people, should know!)

I have given David Levine, the American Lawyer reporter, a list of friends, business, personal, and political, to call. ◆I fully anticipate there will be personal and professional mean-spirited shots at me in the story ◆ that is inevitable ◆ especially from those attorneys who still don◆t accept that what I do is unusual as well as the hateful rightwing (and perhaps even more from the left, who don◆t like my ◆Purple Nation◆ approach and my effort to help make bad countries better!!!).

To try to balance the cheap shots, I have asked a variety of people from Ds and Rs and in between to talk to the reporter about me. ◆Ted Olsen did and said great things. So did Mike McCurry and Karl Rove (!!!). ◆Even President Clinton and President Bush, I am told, may weigh in with nice written statements about their old friend from Yale days. ◆And believe it or not, even Senator McCain called the reporter personally on his cell phone to tell him how much he appreciated my bipartisan ◆Purple Nation◆ approach to politics (inspired, of course, by my friend the great former Junior Senator from New York, Hillary Clinton, whom my friend Lindsey Graham once told me was the nicest and most effective person in the U.S. Senate!).

My message that I hope gets reflected in the article is that I and my law firm offer unique multi-disciplinary capabilities in law, media and politics: ◆first, ◆traditional legal advice and litigation, which allows me to get all the facts, good and bad, under the crucial protection of attorney-client privilege; media experience, understanding that reporters need facts and you have to fight to get them to focus on facts, not innuendo, win the trust, so that they will give the person for whom I am advocating a break and actually try to be fair and accurate; and finally, politics and legislative strategies, which often helps clients solve litigation solutions where the courts are not working. ◆You can see where the shots may come from ◆ lawyers who feel threatened by my unusual multi-disciplinary approach; public relations firms, who don◆t thinks lawyers should talk to the media; and lobbyists, who think they should be left alone and not be bothered about being careful with the facts when approaching an elected official.

So my question to you, good friend Hillary, is:

Would you be willing to talk personally to the reporter? ◆I assume the answer will no ◆ since I can see that that might be inappropriate. ◆And if that is your answer, I completely understand.

So my second question is, if the first one is no: ◆Would you be willing to have Philippe or Cheryl issue a statement to the reporter, David Levine, on your behalf about your opinion of my professional skills and/or our friendship over the years?

Please please please ◆ note there are ◆three pleases◆: ◆Do not be bashful or concerned about saying no to my request. ◆As you can see, I have a number of people who have talked to the reporter or, in the case of President Clinton and President Bush, who may be giving written statements.

I wasn◆t even going to ask you for that reason since I didn◆t want you to feel badly if you have to say no. ◆But then again. The honest to goodness truth is, : ◆Aside from Carolyn, my four children, and my immediate family, I consider you to be the best friend and the best person I have met in my long life. ◆You know that from the dedication and appreciation of you I have always felt and expressed to you over four decades. ◆ So that is why your comments would mean a lot to me, even if just a written statement.

BUT: ◆one more please (#4) ◆ if it feels inappropriate to you as Secretary of State or for any other reason to be in a quote about me on a personal or professional level, I fully understand.

Thanks for just considering this, my good friend Hillary. ◆If the answer is yes, just tell me know by return email (or have someone call my assistant, Maddie Melendez, [redacted] B6
who the reporter should contact at your office, ◆and when. ◆Unfortunately the deadline is within the next two weeks.

Best and warmest regards,

Lanny

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 12:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) Iranian woman to be hanged Wednesday -rights group

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 02, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iranian woman to be hanged Wednesday -rights group

BERLIN (Reuters) - An Iranian woman whose sentence of execution by stoning for adultery provoked a worldwide outcry will instead be hanged for murder on November 3, a human rights group said.

"The authorities in Tehran have given the go-ahead to Tabriz prison for the execution of Iran stoning case Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani," the International Committee against Stoning, a German-based campaign group, said on its website.

"It has been reported that she is to be executed this Wednesday, 3 November."

Officials in Iran were not available to confirm or deny the report.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 18, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) American Sarah Shourd begins trip back to U.S.

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Iran; NEWS-CA; SES-O_SWO; PA FO Group
**Sent:** Sat Sep 18 12:45:59 2010
**Subject:** (AP) American Sarah Shourd begins trip back to U.S.

MUSCAT (AP) - An American woman released from Iran after more than 13 months in custody began her journey back to the United States after asking her supporters to "extend your prayers" to her fiancé and another American man who remain in Tehran accused of spying. In a brief statement, Sarah Shourd thanked Oman for mediating the $500,000 bail that led to her freedom earlier this week. But she made no mention of her ordeal inside Tehran's notorious Evin Prison or any health problems- which her mother has said include a breast lump and precancerous cervical cells. "Please, please extend your prayers" to the other two Americans still held- her fiancé Shane Bauer and their friend Josh Fattal- she said at Oman's international airport before boarding an Oman Air flight on the first leg of her trip home accompanied by her mother Nora and an uncle. She was next scheduled to appear at a news conference in New York on September 19 timed to coincide with the arrival of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to attend the UN General Assembly. Shourd, 32, appeared in good spirits and less gaunt than when she stepped off a private Omani jet after her release from Iran. She thanked Omani officials for playing an intermediary role between Iran and the United States for her release. "I'll always associate your country with the first breath of my freedom, the sweet smell of sandalwood and a chance to stand by the ocean listening to the waves," she said, wearing long-sleeve black T-shirt covered by a white top and white sneakers.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:16 PM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: FA article

I am pretty flexible on time of call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Aug 25 13:44:12 2010
Subject: FA article

Thx for the good additions and clarifications and I'd like to do a conf call whenever convenient. Can you give me time(s) so I can plan?

Also, I think the beginning from last night (draft 20)reads better than the one in the last version (draft 22). Are there specific points or phrases or sequencing from 22 that you believe should be added to 20?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 4:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo election day 110210.docx

**CONFIDENTIAL**

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Post mid-terms strategy

What I hear from Republican sources and elsewhere and what it means for Republican strategy:

1. Rove is telling his donors that the ticket in 2012 is Romney/Barbour. Haley Barbour is Rove's ally. Together they constitute the heart of the GOP establishment. In a potential Republican administration Barbour would be a new kind of Cheney, but more politically skillful.
2. Rove is at war with Palin. He has told his donors she must be stopped. Palin is well aware. The Politico story filled with anonymous quotes about a murky establishment vs. Palin is about the Death Star of Rove/Barbour. Ironies: Rove doubled down on a base strategy for Bush, galvanizing the right wing, now spun out of his control to Palin. The GOP used the far right and Palin in the mid-terms and now have to kill them in presidential nomination politics. Attacking Palin only builds her stature with the right. She plays instinctively to the base, but can she play a long game against the big boys determined to destroy her?
3. Palin has already aligned Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh on her side. Fox News is being split. Murdoch gave his big donation to the Republican Governors Association, headed by Barbour.
4. Malcolm Hoenlein has been raising money hand over fist for the Republicans through Eric Cantor, now his vehicle. The donors are many of the same US donors to Bibi and Likud. Implications obvious.
5. The House Republicans have already planned to primary all Senate Republican moderates in the next cycle. Olympia Snowe is a particular target.
6. In the Senate, Jim DeMint continues to be a Fifth Column of the right, allied to the House Republicans, against remaining Senate GOP moderates. He will be reinforced after this election with Rand Paul, et al. Paul, of course, hates Mitch McConnell, and vice versa.
7. McConnell's statement the day before the mid-terms that the goal of the GOP is to make Obama a one term president is, in fact, their agenda. Everything in the House and Senate will be bent to that end.
8. Can the House Republicans and Senate Republicans restrain themselves in their own interest and McConnell's stated aim? Boehner is despised by the younger, more conservative members of the House Republican Conference. They are repelled by his personal behavior. He is louche, alcoholic, lazy, and without any commitment to any principle. Boehner has already tried to buy the members with campaign contributions and committee assignments, which he has already promised to potentially difficult members. His hold is insecure. He is not Gingrich, the natural leader of a "revolution," riding the crest into power. He is careworn and threadbare, banal and hollow, holding nobody's enduring loyalty. Boehner is beholden and somewhat scared of his base. He twitches when they make gestures that might undermine his position. His impulse is to hand out money. His aim is to recreate DeLay, Inc, with Jerry Lewis, who will be the new chairman of Appropriations. But Boehner is neither feared nor loved. He's a would-be DeLay without the whip. He's the one at the end of the lash. Which means he will be under great pressure and find it hard to sustain a moderate, reasonable strategy of

restraint. McConnell is relatively in the same position in the Senate. On the other hand, the Congressional Republicans are vulnerable to a strategy that takes advantage of their internal divisions. Policies/tactics should be calculated to locate GOP fissures, find political space by widening schisms, and ultimately break them apart. This is, emphatically, not a strategy of bipartisanship as Obama has pursued it so far. It is a different and more informed approach.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:27 PM
**To:** H

For donilon, he can do from 9:45-12 on fri. What time do u want to do?
Also, they did phone and ringer test and it worked fine. But can only go secure thru ops 647 1512. With red switch, it was dropping a few times.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 18, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Noor and ramsey

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Scobey, Margaret
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 3:02 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Shampaine, Nicole D; Jacobs, Janice L; Kennedy, Patrick F; Jacobs, Susan S; Tueller, Matthew H
Subject: RE: Noor and ramsey

We've been in touch with Ambassador Susan Jacobs--she is on the road now, but I understand that she did speak with Mr. Bower earlier today. We are keeping her posted on all of these developments.

Someone is apparently providing the Bower family with misinformed "readouts" of both the Secretary's meeting with President Mubarak last week and Senator Kerry's phone call with President Mubarak yesterday (Friday)--and these "readouts" do not/not conform with what we understand actually took place. We do not know the source of this misinformation. When our officers have tried to explain the state of play, the family cite other unspecified sources telling them that the boys will be released.

I intend to see Mr. Bower when he is here either tomorrow or Monday and hope to get us back onto the same page.
Margaret

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 9:24 PM
To: Scobey, Margaret; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Shampaine, Nicole D; Jacobs, Janice L; Kennedy, Patrick F
Subject: RE: Noor and ramsey

We need our ambassador for children to reach out to him and share that guidance b/c S is getting pulled into this instead of it remaining at the level of folks with operational knowledge.

Janice - who is our new children's ambassador - I would welcome them coordinating with Margaret and then also reaching out to Howard Dean, John Kerry and other political figures who are calling S about this matter.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Scobey, Margaret
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 1:36 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Shampaine, Nicole D; Jacobs, Janice L
Subject: RE: Noor and ramsey

There is no/no indication that the GOE intends to intervene in the judicial process which has yet to fully hear Mr. Bower's legal challenge to his wife's Egyptian custody order. As I read the read-out of Sen Kerry call to President Mubarak (forwarded in separate email), Mubarak said he could not intervene in the judicial process.

The next hearing is set for October. [redacted] B6

A meeting on Sept 20th has been set for Mr. Bowers, the Egyptian "Good Intentions Committee" which is an extra-judicial group of officials who try to facilitate resolution of custody cases involving foreign parents (but the committee has no authority to order the children's return to Mr. Bowers), and the ex-wife, and possibly the children.

We have been urging the GOE to assure that the boys are available to see their father on the 20th. We do not expect that the boys will be released to him and do not understand how the family came to believe this.

Margaret

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 8:09 PM
To: Scobey, Margaret; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Shampaine, Nicole D; Jacobs, Janice L
Subject: Re: Noor and ramsey

Are they being released to him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Scobey, Margaret
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Shampaine, Nicole D
Sent: Sat Sep 18 12:57:48 2010
Subject: RE: Noor and ramsey

We understand that Mr. Bower still plans to travel for meeting on the 20th with Egyptian officials and ex-wife and possibly see his sons--that's what we are pressing for.

-----Original Message-----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 1:59 PM
To: Scobey, Margaret
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Shampaine, Nicole D
Subject: Fw: Noor and ramsey

Margaret: greetings. Any developments on this case? Thanks, Jeff Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Fri Sep 17 23:47:28 2010
Subject: RE: Noor and ramsey

PERFECT

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 10:51 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Re: Noor and ramsey

This is the custody case Dean emailed you about and John Kerry called me to discuss. I personally gave a letter to Mubarak and asked that the children be returned to their father in the US, or, at the least, be given court ordered visits. I don't know what, if anything, then happened.

I'm copying Jeff Feltman on this and asking him to have someone follow up w Dean and Kerry and to let us both know what's happening.

Thx, Jeff and let me know if there is anything more I need to do. HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Sep 17 21:24:47 2010
Subject: FW: Noor and ramsey

Howard Dean sent email at the bottom

Any background on this?

----- Original Message -----

From: Toiv, Nora F

To: Jacobs, Janice L; Bernier-Toth, Michelle

Cc: Mills, Cheryl D

Sent: Fri Sep 17 17:04:17 2010

Subject: FW: Noor and ramsey

Janice and Michelle-

Please see below. Can we have an update on the Egypt situation? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: deanhowardb[redacted] B6

Sent: Friday, September 17, 2010 3:41 PM

To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl mills

Subject: Noor and ramsey

Apparently Secretary Clinton got Mubarak's agreement to release the boys. The father is headed to Cairo on Monday to pick them up at the embassy. Staff at the embassy and at the State Dept is now saying that this is only a visitation. As you can imagine the family is really upset and the supporters are livid. They are expecting that Colin will be headed back to the states with the boys Tuesday. The press wants to know what is going on. Any advice here, because I have no idea what is going on? Many thanks to you and esp to Hillary for getting us this far. Howard

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: FA article

Now is good. -- really any time other than 4:30-5:15 will work. AM

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:17 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: FA article

Me too but want to set time.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 14:15:39 2010
Subject: Re: FA article

I am pretty flexible on time of call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Aug 25 13:44:12 2010
Subject: FA article

Thx for the good additions and clarifications and I'd like to do a conf call whenever convenient. Can you give me time(s) so I can plan?

Also, I think the beginning from last night (draft 20)reads better than the one in the last version (draft 22). Are there specific points or phrases or sequencing from 22 that you believe should be added to 20?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:57 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: FA article

With regard to the two tops, I agree that Lissa's original top was more elegant, but Jim thought, and Jake and I agreed, that the piece is not as compelling as it could be if we could be clearer about what you actually see coming down the road that informs your focus on modernizing diplomacy (e.g., you see the proliferation of foundations, corporations, ngos in the world as an opportunity, particularly given that we have more problems to deal with with the same bandwidth, so you want to start training people now to do public private partnerships; or you see public opinion as steadily increasing in importance, so we have to be doing public engagement in a big way). I tried to do that quickly in the following graph, but w/o being able to draw all the connections.

B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 1:44 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FA article

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**CONFIDENTIAL**

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Post mid-terms strategy

What I hear from Republican sources and elsewhere and what it means for Republican strategy:

1. Rove is telling his donors that the ticket in 2012 is Romney/Barbour. Haley Barbour is Rove's ally. Together they constitute the heart of the GOP establishment. In a potential Republican administration Barbour would be a new kind of Cheney, but more politically skillful.
2. Rove is at war with Palin. He has told his donors she must be stopped. Palin is well aware. The Politico story filled with anonymous quotes about a murky establishment vs. Palin is about the Death Star of Rove/Barbour. Ironies: Rove doubled down on a base strategy for Bush, galvanizing the right wing, now spun out of his control to Palin. The GOP used the far right and Palin in the mid-terms and now have to kill them in presidential nomination politics. Attacking Palin only builds her stature with the right. She plays instinctively to the base, but can she play a long game against the big boys determined to destroy her?
3. Palin has already aligned Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh on her side. Fox News is being split. Murdoch gave his big donation to the Republican Governors Association, headed by Barbour.
4. Malcolm Hoenlein has been raising money hand over fist for the Republicans through Eric Cantor, now his vehicle. The donors are many of the same US donors to Bibi and Likud. Implications obvious.
5. The House Republicans have already planned to primary all Senate Republican moderates in the next cycle. Olympia Snowe is a particular target.
6. In the Senate, Jim DeMint continues to be a Fifth Column of the right, allied to the House Republicans, against remaining Senate GOP moderates. He will be reinforced after this election with Rand Paul, et al. Paul, of course, hates Mitch McConnell, and vice versa.
7. McConnell's statement the day before the mid-terms that the goal of the GOP is to make Obama a one term president is, in fact, their agenda. Everything in the House and Senate will be bent to that end.

8. Can the House Republicans and Senate Republicans restrain themselves in their own interest and McConnell's stated aim? Boehner is despised by the younger, more conservative members of the House Republican Conference. They are repelled by his personal behavior. [redacted] B6 His aim is to recreate DeLay, Inc, with Jerry Lewis, who will be the new chairman of Appropriations. But Boehner is neither feared nor loved. He's a would-be DeLay without the whip. He's the one at the end of the lash. Which means he will be under great pressure and find it hard to sustain a moderate, reasonable strategy of restraint. McConnell is relatively in the same position in the Senate. On the other hand, the Congressional Republicans are vulnerable to a strategy that takes advantage of their internal divisions. Policies/tactics should be calculated to locate GOP fissures, find political space by widening schisms, and ultimately break them apart. This is, emphatically, not a strategy of bipartisanship as Obama has pursued it so far. It is a different and more informed approach.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 3:02 PM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: FA article

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Aug 25 14:55:24 2010
Subject: Re: FA article

I'll call into ops at 3 and ask them to get you on. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 14:53:27 2010
Subject: RE: FA article

Now is good. -- really any time other than 4:30-5:15 will work. AM

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 2:17 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: FA article

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----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Aug 25 14:15:39 2010
Subject: Re: FA article

I am pretty flexible on time of call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa

Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Aug 25 13:44:12 2010
Subject: FA article

Thx for the good additions and clarifications and I'd like to do a conf call whenever convenient. Can you give me time(s) so I can plan?

Also, I think the beginning from last night (draft 20)reads better than the one in the last version (draft 22). Are there specific points or phrases or sequencing from 22 that you believe should be added to 20?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 11:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Week ahead

Thank you, Surpriser!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Nov 18 20:59:40 2010
Subject: Re: Week ahead

Loved surprising you last night! I'm not going to Russia after all but will probably go in the Spring and can do announcement then if it can hold. Maybe I could go in April at same time as your conference. Will you pls give Eric the dates?

And I agreed to go to Lithuania--pls give Eric the dates for that conf too. All the best--The Surpriser!

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Nov 14 17:42:12 2010
Subject: Week ahead

I'm off to Seattle for a conf on development and women at Microsoft and mtgs with Gates, etc.
I wanted to tell you that for your trip to Russia, we have an announcement for you to Gov of St Petersburg who is the highest ranking female official in the Russian govt. When I saw her some months ago, she went on at length about her respect for you and her meeting with you when you were Senator (she also met you at the Rejkavik VV conf in '98) We are going to hold a US-Russia women leaders Summit in St P in april. It is in response to what I heard over and over during my trip earlier this year that there is a strong desire (and need) to engage with US. Women and the women's issues have been mostly off the agenda since the days we made it such a priority in the 90's and there is considerable recidivism. She should be happy about the proposed summit.

Secondly, when you meet with the Lithuanian FM this week, he will invite you to the community of Democ ministerial (end for Lith presidency) and as part of it a women and democ. Conf that will mark 10 years since the last one that was held in the continuum you started. There are so many different needs today.

Have a good trip.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 18, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Asia

En route back from India and China. It was good I went to Chennai where I had a full schedule including meeting with another self-help group like SEWA (500 poor women showed up) It took me back to our trips. Also met with the local elected village council -- remarkable group of empowered women. I took both experiences to our strategic dialogue meeting in Delhi where we made excellent progress. We also met with the "cookstove" officials to give them heads up about your initiative (told Roemer too). SEWA will be on stage with you at CGI!
Other good meetings with SEWA on markets, Afghanistan, and solar lanterns. Vital Voices conf was a huge succss. I couldn't stay for much but your video was well received, Hormats was terrific (he's becoming a rock star with women!) And F Secretary Rao did a nice job.

Our China experience provided a lot of insights and we will do a short strategy paper for you. We moved the women's leadership forum forward. Suifficeth to say, there are so many opportunities that I believe we should be taking advantage of, (which we are not doing) including in the economics track. The women there are growing in power and influence. More later.

I'll see you for the NY marathon!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 7:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Southeast Asia from the Corner of 18th and K - Nov 2, 2010 - Paradigm Shift

Forward deployed diplomacy taking root in commentary from Hawaii speech. We will use it more in next statements. Kurt

---

**From:** Ernie Bower [redacted] B6
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 17:36:30 2010
**Subject:** Southeast Asia from the Corner of 18th and K - Nov 2, 2010 - Paradigm Shift

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## Paradigm Shift: Forward-Deployed American Engagement in Asia

### by Ernie Bower

Experts identify trends by defining inflection points at which dynamics change and a new paradigm takes hold. As U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton embarks on her sixth trip to Asia and President Barack Obama prepares for his second visit to the region, the outlines of a U.S. strategy for Asia are being revealed. A new chapter is being written and it could be entitled "Forward-Deployed Diplomacy."

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## The Week That Was

- Tsunami death toll reaches 408
- 17th ASEAN Summit
- President Obama's visit to Indonesia confirmed

Read more...

## Looking Ahead

- U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton's Asian tour on October 27–November 9
- President Barack Obama's Asian tour on November 4–15, 2010
- G-20 Summit on November 11–12 in Seoul, Republic of Korea

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# Paradigm Shift: Forward-Deployed American Engagement in Asia

**by Ernie Bower**

***Ernest Z. Bower is the senior adviser and director of the Southeast Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.***

Experts identify trends by defining inflection points at which dynamics change and a new paradigm takes hold. As U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton embarks on her sixth trip to Asia and President Barack Obama prepares for his second visit to the region, the outlines of a U.S. strategy for Asia are being revealed. A new chapter is being written and it could be entitled "Forward-Deployed Diplomacy."

Looking back, the point of departure for the new dynamic was Secretary Clinton's strong intervention, backed by a consensus of concerned partners, at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in Hanoi in late July.

It was Clinton's determination to speak directly and clearly on the South China Sea issue at the ARF that defined a real and renewed American commitment not only to be substantively involved in the creation of new trade and security architecture in the Asia Pacific, but to be present consistently whenever and wherever discussions of issues of interest to the United States and the Asia Pacific take place. At the same venue, China punctuated its remarkable two-decade charm offensive toward Southeast Asia by misjudging how it is perceived by its neighbors and overreacting to a unified expression of will to work multilaterally, advised by international law, to resolve disputes in the region. China's unmasking tapped into atavistic anxieties about how it might pursue its core interests among the ASEAN countries at the same time that Japan and Korea were getting in touch with those very same concerns over China's response to the Senkaku and Diaoyu Islands and handling North Korea after the sinking of the Cheonan.

Clinton's words were instructive. They were not words that could be uttered by a principal who was not willing to back them up. The Obama administration had decided to embark on a forward-deployed diplomatic push toward Asia.

Trips by the secretaries of state and defense and by President Obama can be understood in this context. Secretary Clinton and Secretary Robert Gates have visited Asia regularly and with purpose. Key criteria supporting the United States' decision to join the East Asia Summit (EAS) and advising Secretary Gates' enthusiastic response to Vietnam's invitation to join the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus included three important points:

1. Recognition that ASEAN would be the core of these new structures;
2. Understanding that structures would be ineffective unless ASEAN is strengthened; and,
3. Commitment to substantively deepen and strengthen ties with ASEAN and its key members.

Between them, Secretary Clinton and President Obama will visit 4 of the 10 ASEAN countries on their trips over the next two weeks. Secretary Clinton's trip includes seven countries in Asia, one of the most extensive visits of any American secretary of state. She has visited Vietnam not only to accept the invitation for the United States to join the EAS, but also to hold another meeting of the Lower Mekong Initiative, a smart partnership with four mainland Southeast Asia countries—Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam—focused on sustainable development, environmental issues, energy, and climate change. The Vietnam visit further cemented strengthening U.S.–Vietnam bilateral ties, marking American commitment to find alignment with one of ASEAN's most enthusiastic members.

Secretary Clinton will also visit Guam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Australia. In each venue, as explored below in the Southeast Asia from the Corner of 18th & K country reports, Clinton is making notable progress in advancing U.S. ties with important partners in the Asia Pacific.

For his part, President Obama has accepted responsibility for strengthening the two vitally important relationships with India and Indonesia, respectively the second- and fourth-largest countries in the world and the second- and third-largest democracies. The India relationship is solid and getting stronger. The

Indonesia relationship is one that the Obama administration wants to transform along the lines the Bush administration achieved with India. President Obama will launch the Comprehensive Partnership with his counterpart, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and the pair will then travel to Korea for the G-20 Summit and to Japan for the APEC Leaders' Summit.

This year is ending well for the United States in Asia, but there are two questions Asian leaders will have for Secretary Clinton and President Obama: (1) is the U.S. economy on a steady path to recovery; and (2) can the United States resume a leadership position on trade?

The acid test for sustained U.S. engagement in Asia is a healthy and growing American economy and passing the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement (KORUS). Asia knows that if President Obama is willing—after the U.S. midterm elections today—to spend real political capital on KORUS, then the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) becomes a real and meaningful negotiation. If not, the U.S. strategy for engaging Asia with ASEAN as a fulcrum will be incomplete and unconvincing.

July was an inflection point for a new paradigm of enhanced U.S. commitment and engagement in Asia. If the administration is able to sustain and advance economic recovery and move on trade, it is likely that Hillary Clinton's legacy as secretary of state will be as the forward-deployed diplomat who recovered Asia for the United States at the outset of the twenty-first century.

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## The Week That Was

**PREPARATION FOR SUMMITRY**

Southeast Asia, along with partners throughout the Asia-Pacific region, spent the week preparing for and beginning an intense set of leaders' summits, including the 17th ASEAN Leaders Summit and the 5th East Asia Summit (both in Hanoi, Vietnam), the G-20 Leaders' Summit (in Seoul, Korea), and the APEC Leaders' Summit (in Yokohama, Japan).

**NATURAL DISASTERS**

**Southeast Asia is among the world areas most vulnerable to natural disasters.** Over the last several weeks, that fact has been tragically underlined, pointing to the need for regional governments and militaries to improve coordination on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief efforts. The events are a tragic but timely motivation for developing new security architecture—a challenge that the region's leaders focused on in Hanoi at the newly expanded East Asia Summit.

**Tsunami death toll reaches 408.** A 7.7-magnitude earthquake off the coast of West Sumatra triggered tsunami waves up to 26 feet high that crashed through the Mentawai Islands on October 25, 2010. The waves flattened villages and destroyed 25,000 homes. Some 13,000 people have been displaced and are living in camps. Another 300 are missing, and rescuers expect most to have perished. Due to the poor infrastructure of the islands, relief efforts have focused on using helicopters and warships to deliver food, supplies, and medical equipment to inaccessible areas. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono cut short his time at the ASEAN and East Asia Summits in Hanoi to visit the disaster-struck area. He told survivors that the government's assistance was unyielding. Critics have blamed a dysfunctional German-made tsunami early warning system that was set up after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. Secretary Clinton has expressed her condolences for the loss of life and destruction in the islands and has noted that Americans are proactively providing humanitarian assistance and disaster relief with other partners in the region. Meanwhile, Java's Mount Merapi, one of Indonesia's most active volcanoes, erupted hot ash and debris, killing 34 people and displacing 50,000 people.

**Cyclone Giri displaces thousands in Burma**. Cyclone Giri hit Burma's western Rakhine state last week, destroying the major town of Kayaukpyu. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), at least 90 have been killed, 70,000 displaced, and 175,000 others impacted. With wind speeds up to 155 miles per hour, the storm was more powerful than Cyclone Nargis, which claimed around 140,000 lives in 2008. Aid groups, such Myanmar Red Cross and the Social Welfare Ministry, have set up temporary camps to shelter more than 5,000 people.

**Flooding in Southeast Asia.** As the monsoon season envelopes Southeast Asia, several countries have been ravaged by flooding and landslides. Thailand continues to suffer one of the worst floods in the nation's history, with94 people dead and 13,000 displaced. Authorities estimate 4.2 million people, mostly in the central and eastern areas, were affected by the flooding as their homes, farmland, and livestock were submerged. Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva promised that the flooding will not be allowed to reach Bangkok proper due to the city's importance as the nation's economic center. Heavy rains and flooding in central Vietnam's Nghe An, Ha Tinh, and Quang Binh provinces have left at least 66 dead and 17,000 households submerged in water.

CSIS Southeast Asia encourages our readers to support the recovery efforts by contributing using the following links to key relief agencies.

Donations can be sent to the Indonesian Red Cross (Palang Merah Indonesia) (www.pmi.or.id) and Indonesian Relief-USA (www.indonesiarelief-usa.org)

**ASEAN**

**7th ASEAN-China Business and Investment Summit.** China hosted the seventh China-ASEAN business and investment summit on October 19, 2010 in Nanning, capital city of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China. A top Chinese political adviser reaffirmed at the summit's opening ceremony that "no matter how strong and powerful China can be, the country's policy of mutual trust, equal treatment, good-neighborhood, mutually beneficial cooperation, and common development would remain unchanged in developing relations with ASEAN countries." The leaders agreed to create a business advisory committee of 33 Chinese and ASEAN companies in January 2011 to provide private-sector guidance for ways to effectively expand trade and investment. ASEAN-China two-way trade reached $ 211.3 billion from January to September 2010, up 44 percent year-on-year, as the China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) went into effect on January 1, 2010.

**17th ASEAN Summit.** ASEAN's leaders convened in Hanoi on October 28–30 for their 17th annual summit. They reviewed progress toward their collective goals for economic, political, and social integration defined in the ASEAN Charter (http://www.aseansec.org/21069.pdf). The leaders met amid growing confidence about regional recovery. The World Bank and IMF estimate the region's GDP will expand by 6.5 percent in 2010. The leaders also recognized the need to accelerate integration efforts as their partners from around the Asia-Pacific region have come to a consensus that ASEAN will be the core of new regional architecture for trade and security.

**ASEAN currency coordination?** In the context of continued global concern about currency valuations, ASEAN leaders discussed options for greater coordination on currency policies to prevent the decline of exports. Recognizing their limited influence in thecurrency drama being played out by the world's largest economies, ASEAN Secretary General Dr. Surin Pitsuwan suggested that the bloc boost regional demand and reduce reliance on U.S. and European markets. Malaysian prime minister Najib also urged ASEAN not to be distracted by the currency tension but to focus on greater trade links in the region. Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines are pushing ASEAN to adopt a common foreign-exchange position ahead of the G-20 Summit in an effort to prevent competitive devaluations among members. Indonesia is a member of the G-20, and Vietnam will represent ASEAN at the G-20 Summit in its current role as Chair of ASEAN.

**ASEAN endorses connectivity plan.** ASEAN leaders agreed on a "connectivity master plan" outlining strategies to improve the region's connectivity in three major areas: physical connectivity (transport and infrastructure), institutional connectivity (trade and investment liberalization), and people-to-people connectivity (tourism and education). The plan seeks to bridge the economic diversity in the region and help ASEAN achieve its goals of an integrated community in 2015. The plan also supports connectivity with the

"Plus 3" partners in East Asia, China, Japan and South Korea. Those countries have provided financial support for several infrastructure projects in ASEAN counties.

**ASEAN ministers call for agreement on climate change**. On October 13, 2010, in Bandar Seri Begawan of Brunei the 12th Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on the Environment called for a legally binding agreement to restrict global temperature rise to less than two degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level, underlining the importance of reaching a climate change deal at the United Nations Conference on Climate Change (UNCCC) to be held in Cancun, Mexico, from November 29 to December 10. The Ministers urged developed countries to define "specific and binding targets" for cutting greenhouse gas emissions, and called on them to provide developing countries with "adequate, predictable, and sustainable" financial resources. Created under the ASEAN Charter, the ASEAN Climate Change Initiative (ACCI) serves as a regional platform to strengthen regional mitigation and adaptation efforts.

**Burma not on the agenda, but discussed.** Indonesia's foreign minister Marty Natalegawa announced that Burma's controversial election was "not officially scheduled" for the 17th ASEAN Summit. However, sources involved indicated that Burma and the elections were discussed in some detail during both the ministerial meeting and among the leaders. One outcome is that all resident ASEAN embassies in Burma will be invited to be "observers" for the election and will be allowed facilitated access to the election process "without restrictions." All ASEAN members indicated their interest in joining that effort. There were apparently indications that opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi could be released after the elections.

**ASEAN + 3 summit concludes.** ASEAN leaders met their dialogue partner counterparts from Japan, Republic of Korea, and China for the annual ASEAN + 3 Summit. At the meeting, Japanese prime minister Naoto Kan agreed to help to support the implementation of the newly adopted Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity. ASEAN and South Korean leaders also agreed to elevate their cooperation to a strategic partnership by endorsing a Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, which is available on http://asean2010.vn/asean_en/news/48/2DAA0A/Joint-Declaration-on-ASEAN-REPUBLIC-OF-KOREA-strategic-partnership-for-peace-and-prosperity. ASEAN and China reaffirmed their commitment to comprehensive cooperation toward balanced and sustained development by adopting a Joint Statement on Sustainable Development, available on http://asean2010.vn/asean_en/news/48/2DAA0E/ASEAN-China-Leaders-Joint-Statement-on-Sustainable-Development.

**China-Japan-ROK meeting in Hanoi**. Leaders of China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea (ROK) met on the sidelines of the 17th ASEAN summit held October 28–30 in Hanoi. At the meeting, they agreed that their trilateral cooperation will not only serve the interest of the three nations but also contribute to boosting regional cooperation, peace, and stability in East Asia. Chinese premier Wen Jiabao underlined, "The correction direction of the tripartite cooperation should be firmly kept from a strategic perspective." China also pushed for completion of joint study on a China-Japan-ROK free trade area.

**INDONESIA**

**President Obama's visit to Indonesia confirmed.** The U.S. president will revisit the city where he spent several years of his childhood during his 10-day Asia tour and will formally launch the U.S.-Indonesia comprehensive partnership, which includes major initiatives in maritime security, counterterrorism, higher education, and climate change cooperation. Indonesia, nearly twice the size of the next largest member, will chair ASEAN and the East Asia Summit next year. It is also the world's fourth-largest country, third-largest democracy, and home to the largest number of Muslims in the world, though it is not an Islamic country. Strengthening ties with Indonesia is very important to the United States as it seeks to strengthen links with ASEAN and enhance the capacity and integration efforts among ASEAN members so the 10-country group will be a solid foundation for new regional security and trade architecture in Asia. On November 10, 2010, President Obama will deliver a speech at the Istiqlal Mosque, addressing Indonesians in a speech being described as building on the ideas in his Cairo speech in June 2009, where he called for "a new beginning" between the United States and the Muslim world. The president is likely to link the success of Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims to sustainable economic models and democratic governance structures. More analysis on the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership can be found on the cogitAsia blog here: http://cogitasia.com/2010/09/30/the-u-s-indonesia-comprehensive-partnership-the-security-component/)

**Aceh terror suspect held in Malaysia**. Indonesian authorities have confirmed that Taufik Marzuki, currently in Malaysian detention, is the terror suspect involved in the Aceh ideological and military training camp that police raided earlier this year. As a member of the Islamist Kumpulan Mujahiddin, he is thought to be involved in the Aceh terrorist network and has been on the police's wanted list since March 2010. In another example of outstanding transnational cooperation on counterterrorism in ASEAN, Taufik fled to Malaysia after the police raid and was arrested on September 29, 2010, by Malaysian authorities coordinating with their Indonesian counterparts.

**Anti-government rallies in Jakarta.** Marking the first anniversary of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's second term, hundreds of protestors congregated outside the presidential palace, throwing stones and setting tires on fire, demanding that the president step down. The police resorted to firing tear gas and warning shots to disperse the crowd. Several smaller demonstrations occurred in other islands as well. The protestors indicated that they are dissatisfied with the president for not fulfilling his campaign promises concerning corruption, improvement of human rights, and economic recovery. More protests are planned in the near future.

**APEC**

**Secretary Clinton to miss 2010 APEC ministerial meeting**. Boasting an otherwise perfect attendance record on key Asian ministerial meetings, it appears the APEC ministerial meeting is one meeting too far for Secretary Clinton, who is covering seven countries on her current pan-Asian visit. She has asked Deputy Secretary of State Jim Steinberg to attend the 2010 APEC ministerial meeting on November 10 in Yokohama, Japan. President Obama will attend the 2010 APEC Leaders' Meeting on November 12–13 in Yokohama, but Clinton's absence does highlight the question of whether APEC will retain its prominence and relevance as other regional structures such as the East Asia Summit add the United States and Russia to their memberships.

**APEC business leaders recommend free trade.** The APEC Business Advisory Council, composed of representatives from business communities in each of APEC's 21 member economies, urged APEC leaders to speed up establishment of the free trade zone, known as Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) to materialize trade liberalization in the region. In its proposal submitted to Japan, chair of the 2010 APEC Summit, the council made a reference to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as a model and argued, "FTAAP is an inspirational but achievable vehicle for delivering free and open trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region." Recent research suggests that removing tariffs and implementing trade facilitation measures in an FTAAP would increase regional economic growth by 2.9 percent.

**BURMA/MYANMAR**

**International community responds to elections in Burma.** On October 27—less than two weeks before the national elections—Burmese foreign minister Nyan Win said that the military junta "will release Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK) maybe after the elections." However, no date was specified. U.S. State Department spokesman Philip Crowley accused the military regime of "craven manipulation" of the elections by offering to release ASSK only after voting. He demanded Burma free all political prisoners immediately and allow Suu Kyi to participate in the elections. United Nations secretary general Ban Ki-Moon also called on Burma's Southeast Asian neighbors to act more aggressively in urging Burma to provide political space and free elections or risk tarnishing their own democratic credentials. Philippines' president Benigno Simeon Aquino III cited the exclusion of ASSK as a sign that the elections lack credibility. Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam issued a joint statement calling for free and fair elections. Australian prime minister Julia Gillard added her voice to the discussion by stating her concern with Burma's human rights violations.

**Burmese General Than Shwe will not compete in the election.** According to a Southeast Asian diplomat, Burma's general Than Shwe will not be running in the national election on November 7, 2010. The diplomat spoke on condition of anonymity. While it is widely believed that Than Shwe's name will not appear on the ballot during the elections, it remains unclear what role he will play in the country's political future.

**THAILAND**

**Thai-Burma border closure during elections.** Tighter restrictions have been placed on the shared border after reports of people being detained for attempting to place explosives at the Rangoon International Airport and other public buildings in Rangoon, Mandalay, and the federal capital Naypyitaw. The suspects are believed to have connections to the armed anti-government movements: All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF) and Karen National Union (KNU), which are based near the border. Thai authorities say that the border will remain closed until November 14, 2010, one week after the elections in Burma.

**Bangkok to vote on Cambodian-Thai border.** Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva informed a group of Cambodian reporters in Bangkok that Thailand's National Assembly is set to deliberate on the minutes of a bilateral joint border committee (JBC) meeting between Thailand and Cambodia held on October 26, 2010. Negotiations of the JBC were suspended last year because the Thai parliament had not endorsed the agreed minutes. The documents stipulate joint demining and demarcation projects along the border near the Preah Vihear temple and redeployment of soldiers in the zone in order to diffuse border tensions. The parliament's approval will not only facilitate the JBC's future tasks but also expedite the resolution of long-standing disputes over the two countries' shared boundary. However, citing insufficient time, the parliamentary vote is reportedly suspended until next week.

**Ties with Cambodia strained over DSI report.** In mid-October, Thailand's Department of Special Investigation (DSI) disclosed a report claiming that militant "Red shirts" received special weapon training in Siem Reap, Cambodia. This bombshell accusation took place as relations between the two kingdoms were restored after their two premiers met in New York in September and in Brussels in October. Prime Minister Hun Sen of Cambodia rejected the allegation and argued, "Cambodia has [an] obligation to fight against terrorism and has no interest in interfering into the internal affairs of Thailand." Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva of Thailand, who was assured by the Cambodian leader's non-interference policy, warned the DSI to take 'extra caution' when making such a public statement.

**VIETNAM**

**U.S.-Vietnam ties strengthened.** During the 17th ASEAN Summit, U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton and Vietnamese foreign minister Pham Gia Khiem witnessed the signing of two cooperative agreements. The first is a contract for Vietnam Airlines to buy B787-9 aircraft from the U.S. Boeing Company; the second is a commitment between the Vietnam Ministry of Information and Communication and the U.S. Microsoft Corporation to improve Vietnam's information technology. Both countries also agreed to work on marine security and disaster relief. See Secretary Clinton's remarks with Foreign Minister Khiem here: http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/10/150189.htm.

**Japan and Vietnam cooperate on rare earth metals and nuclear power.** During the East Asia Summit in Hanoi, Japanese prime minister Naoto Kan and Vietnamese prime minister Nguyen Tan Dung agreed to cooperate in developing rare earth metals and building nuclear power. The two countries will conduct joint geological surveys of the rare earth minerals. Japan also agreed to build two of four nuclear power plants planned in Vietnam. These partnerships are seen as part of Vietnam's attempt to speed up resource development to meet the growing demand of its economy.

**U.N. secretary general visits Vietnam for the first time. United** Nations secretary general Ban Ki-moon made his first official visit to Vietnam on October 28–30, 2010. Ban met with President Nguyen Minh Triet and Communist Party general secretary Nong Duc Manh. He also attended the third ASEAN-U.N. Summit on October 29. During his meeting with President Triet, Ban congratulated Vietnam on its successes as ASEAN chair and its contributions to the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. President Triet took the occasion to propose that the UN provide information and financial assistance to help Vietnam cope with climate change.

**Should Vietnam continue its bauxite mining projects?** Explicitly as a result of the massive toxic mud spill in Hungary in early October, a group of Vietnamese statesmen petitioned the government to close bauxite mines in Vietnam's central highlands. The petition was signed by 15 senior officials, including former Vietnamese vice president Nguyen Thi Binh. Together they called on the government to close the current mines and cancel all future operations. However, their concerns were dismissed by the Vietnam National Coal and Mineral Group (Vinacomin), which claimed that, unlike Hungary, Vietnam has plans to

guarantee environmental safety. Also, if the projects are canceled, Vinacomin will suffer great losses because two-thirds of the investment has already been disbursed. Opposition to the mining deal sets a new benchmark in the role of nongovernment actors influencing decisionmaking in Vietnam. Among those opposing the deal is national hero and 97-year-old war veteran General Vo Nguyen Giap. He is joined by a wide coalition of Vietnamese citizens including bloggers and scientists. Some analysts believe that China's involvement in the deal—the deal involves the Aluminum Corporation of China (Chinalco)—is a contributing factor to the grassroots opposition.

**Vietnamese government evaluates the near collapse of state-owned Vinashin.** Vinashin, Vietnam's state-owned shipbuilding firm, was founded in 1996 and became one of the country's eight Economic Groups in 2006. It contributed more than $169.6 million to the government's budget by the end of 2009. However, in the last two years, the firm has incurred tremendous losses as a result of the global financial crisis. Instead of accurately reporting its deficit, Vinashin officials claimed to have earned $38.25 million in profit while actually losing $81.6 million. Because Vinashin is a state-owned company, the government plays a significant role in responding to this crisis. Vietnamese prime minister Nguyen Tan Dung attributed this situation to "managerial weakness, a lapse in responsibility, [and] deliberate violations and the falsification of financial reports...." Companies claimed that the government needs to increase controls on the way state-owned companies use their investment capital. The company's problems and its fate are an important harbinger of how the government will handle state-owned enterprises, address corruption, and manage the privatization process.

**CAMBODIA**

**United Nations chief visits Cambodia.** On his four-Asian-nation tour, UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon paid a three-day visit to Cambodia. In a meeting with the UN chief, Cambodian prime minister Hun Sen threatened to close down the local UN human rights office if General Secretary Ban does not replace the current UN human rights representative, Christophe Peschoux, who was accused of representing Cambodian opposition parties rather than working on human rights issues. On the Khmer Rouge tribunals, Hun Sen demanded that the UN-backed court must cease seeking new more indictments in order to maintain Cambodia's peace and stability. The premier asserted that additional prosecutions will "reopen old wounds and trigger another civil war" in his nation. Secretary Ban responded by defending the rights of the UN office head and underlining the importance of the court's independence. The UN chief also urged both Cambodia and Thailand to address their current border disputes through peaceful means.

**Clinton to visit Cambodia from October 30 to November 1.** U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton visited Cambodia, marking the third trip to Cambodia by top U.S. secretaries of state, namely Colin Powell in 2003 and Warren Christopher in 1996. Clinton's visit will coincide with the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cambodia. For more details on the trip: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/10/150193.htm.The two countries cohosted "Angkor Sentinel" military exercises, held in July 2010 in Cambodia and attended by 26 countries. In October 2010, hundreds of Cambodian and U.S. sailors conducted a joint maritime security and security training exercise in Cambodia known as "Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training Cambodia 2010." Clinton's trip is also seen as part of the U.S. effort to deepen its interests in Southeast Asia ahead of joining the East Asia Summit. During the visit, Secretary Clinton agreed to send U.S. experts to resume negotiations with Cambodia with a view to exploring ways to resolve the Cambodian debt issue. She also hinted, "The United States would be interested in seeing the money spent in Cambodia on improving education or environmental protection, instead of taking a direct payment."

**SOUTH CHINA SEA**

**ASEAN and China will meet to discuss South China Sea.** According to ASEAN secretary general Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, ASEAN and China will launch a working group meeting in December to prepare for a code of conduct to resolve the territorial disputes in the South China Sea. The meeting will be held in China. The ASEAN foreign ministers are keen to avert military conflict and strengthen confidence in the region. The code of conduct will implement the Declaration on Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, which was signed in 2002 by all ASEAN member states and China. ASEAN and China have been unable to agree on implementing modalities for the past eight years.

**Cambodia rejects internationalization of South China Sea.** Cambodian prime minister Hun Sen recently urged all claimants to the South China Sea to use existing mechanisms to resolve the dispute through consultations and to fully adhere to the Declaration on Conduct in the South China Sea agreed in 2002. His statement is seen as action taken in response to a request from China. Cambodia, which itself is not a claimant, also urged some countries not to pressure China. In the 2002 declaration, ASEAN and China agreed to create a peaceful, friendly, and harmonious environment in the South China Sea with a view to promoting peace, stability, economic growth, and prosperity in the region. ASEAN and China differ on whether to resolve disputes multilaterally (the ASEAN view) or bilaterally (China's preference).

**China expands naval fleet.** Amid disputes with ASEAN members over the South China Sea, with Japan over the East China Sea (Senkaku and Diaoyu Islands), and with Korea related to North Korea's sinking of the Cheonan, China is expanding its fleet of naval surveillance ships. China launched a new high-speed inspection ship, and 36 more are expected to be added. The latest ship—China Marine Surveillance 75—would patrol the South China Sea. Beijing dismissed criticism suggesting the additional ships might be perceived as aggressive and explained that the ships will be used solely to protect its maritime rights.

**MALAYSIA**

**Secretary Clinton to visit Kuala Lumpur.** Secretary Clinton will be arriving in Malaysia on November 1. This is the first official visit to Malaysia by a U.S. secretary of state in 15 years. The three-day official visit to Malaysia, the longest leg of Clinton's Asia trip, is a reflection of the strengthening of ties between Malaysia and the United States. Secretary Clinton was scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Najib, but he came down with chicken pox on the last day of the ASEAN Summit and related summits in Hanoi, Vietnam. Clinton will meet with Malaysia's foreign minister, Datuk Seri Anifah Aman. A noteworthy feature of the visit will be the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Malaysian Government and the United States on Science and Technology Cooperation During a briefing in Washington D.C., Assistant Secretary of State Kurt Campbell said, "Few countries have come as far, in terms of our bilateral relationship, as the one between the United States and Malaysia." Malaysia's efforts to strengthen ties are resulting in a warm embrace from Washington, D.C. The Clinton visit was in line with the commitment by U.S. president Barack Obama to elevate ties with Malaysia to a higher level during a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Najib at the Nuclear Nonproliferation Summit in April 2010. Since then, Malaysia has sent military doctors and specialists to Afghanistan, strengthened its nonproliferation regime through passing the Security Trade Act, joined the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade negotiations, and is working closely with the United States on transnational issues such as climate change and counterterrorism.

**By-elections in Sabah and Kelantan.** Malaysia's Election Commission (EC) has set November 4, 2010, for two important parliamentary by-elections in Batu Sapi in Sabah and Galas in Kelantan. The elections are seen as an important referendum on Prime Minister Najib's leadership, specifically his reform efforts. Najib unveils Budget. Prime Minister Najib unveiled his 2011 budget on October 16, laying the roadmap for the country for the next few years. Among the highlights of the budget are plans to build another six highways and a 100-story tower, implementing a Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) transportation system in Kuala Lumpur, and Rural Basic Infrastructure (RBI) NKRA initiatives such as providing clean and treated water, electricity, and roads to improve the living standards of rural communities, especially those in Sabah and Sarawak. The Malaysian government also announced that it has achieved its budget target for the first time in three years and announced deficit reductions for 2011.

**Indian prime minister visits Malaysia.** As part of his "Look East" policy, Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh made a visit to Malaysia on October 26 on his way to the East Asia Summit in Hanoi. He met with Prime Minister Najib and discussed issues of economic integration and cooperation in the areas of infrastructure development, railways, knowledge industries, energy, defense, and greater people-to-people exchanges. The visit is expected to culminate in the signing of several pacts and the announcement of the conclusion of negotiations over an India-Malaysia Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) that is expected to conclude early next year.

**Malaysia urged to be firm in corruption fight.** While Malaysia remained in the same spot as last year's on Transparency International's (TI) yearly corruption scale at 56th position, its corruption score dropped from 4.5 to 4.4. TI's corruption scale ranges from zero (perceived to be highly corrupt) to 10 (thought to have little corruption). Malaysia's 2010 target was to reach a score of 4.9. Although Prime Minister Najib has pledged to tackle corruption and introduced a series of reform measures, IT urged Malaysia to be firmer

in fighting corruption. Paul Low, president of TI Malaysia, stated that for Malaysia to achieve its national target of high-income and developed nation status by 2020, it needs to maintain and enhance its commitment to fight corruption. Endemic corruption has hampered Malaysia's efforts to attracted much-needed foreign investment and has posed significant challenges for the country's overall economic development.

**PHILIPPINES**

**Philippines in top 10 for gender equality.** The World Economic Forum ranked the Philippines 9th among nearly 200 countries in gender equality in its 2010 Global Gender Gap Report, the highest ranking in Asia. the Philippines also ranked first on education and health in Asia, 13th on economic participation, and 17th on political empowerment. The report comes amid the debate over the passage of the Reproductive Health Bill, which has been staunchly opposed by the Catholic Church. The report quantifies equality in the areas of politics, education, employment, and health. The high ranking illustrates the improved status of Filipino women in society. Though discrimination still exists, more women than men are now enrolled in college, hold CEO positions at the top corporations, and practice previously male-dominated positions like law, medicine, and engineering in the Philippines.

**Philippines to deepen cooperation with Vietnam.** President Aquino will sign four landmark memorandums of agreement (MOAs) with Vietnam when he visits the country for the East Asia Summit. Aquino's visit is by invitation of Vietnamese president Nguyen Min Triet and is his first visit to an ASEAN country after his inauguration. The MOAs will focus on academic cooperation, defense cooperation, oil spill preparedness and response, and search and rescue at sea.

**"PH" and "PHL" instead of "RP."** The Department of Foreign Affairs has adopted "PH" and "PHL," which are the initials designated by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), as the acronyms for the nation. The older "RP" is the acronym for Republic of the Philippines and has caused confusion with other countries. It is unclear if the names of treaties and government bodies using the initials "RP" would have to be renamed, such as the RP-U.S. Visiting Forces Agreement.

**NEW ZEALAND**

**Pacific Partners: Washington Seminar.** The CSIS study Pacific Partners: The Future of U.S.-New Zealand Relations is well under way. On Wednesday October 27, 2010, a U.S.-New Zealand expert seminar discussed and debated the first draft of the study. Nearly 30 experts offered their wisdom and expertise by giving commentary and feedback. The next review will be held in Wellington, New Zealand, on November 22, and the study will be finalized in January and published at the U.S.-New Zealand Partnership Forum in Christchurch in February 2011. It will lay out a series of research-backed recommendations for taking the United States and New Zealand to the next level. Prime Minister John Key and Foreign Minister Murray McCully will receive Secretary Clinton on Thursday November 4, 2010, in Wellington for her three-day visit and will sign the Wellington Declaration. U.S. assistant secretary of state Kurt Campbell stated that the declaration will underline the United States' desire to enhance U.S.-New Zealand cooperation on issues ranging from nuclear nonproliferation and climate change to stability in the Pacific Islands.

**John Key attends the East Asia Summit.** New Zealand's prime minister, John Key, has said the Burmese election was a step in the right direction, but not enough to satisfy New Zealand. Prime Minister Key said he would raise the issue with UN secretary general Ban Ki-Moon, who will be at the summit. For New Zealand's bid for a seat on the UN Security Council in 2015, Secretary Ban will also be invited to the Pacific Islands Forum to be held in Auckland next year. If he accepts, he will be the first UN secretary general to attend.

**Trade deficit expands.** Although New Zealand's exports increased recently, its strong domestic demand and currency caused import growth to rise faster. Increased purchases of cars and machinery contributed to the widening of this gap. The expansion of New Zealand's exports by 0.3 percent, or $2.3 billion, was the first time in four months and was concentrated in milk powder, butter, and cheese. Imports have increased by 3.6 percent, or $2.77 billion, and are led by purchases of vehicles, machinery, and equipment.

**AUSTRALIA**

**Prime Minister Julia Gillard on the move.** Prime Minister Gillard was in Hanoi this weekend for the Fourth East Asia Summit. Gillard indicated that in addition to the various security, political, and economic topics that will be discussed, she would take a strong position regarding upholding basic human rights in Burma. Following her trip, Prime Minister Gillard visited Indonesia and Malaysia and discussed human trafficking and asylum seekers. She will also have the opportunity to ask Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono for clemency for convicted Australian drug trafficker Schapelle Corby.

**AUSMIN November 8, 2010.** U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton and U.S. secretary of defense Robert Gates will participate in the 14th Australia-U.S. Ministerial (AUSMIN) on November 8, 2010. The AUSMIN is taking place after being postponed when Secretary of State Clinton needed to turn around en route to Australia due to the earthquake in Haiti in January 2010. Australia's foreign minister Kevin Rudd and defense minister Stephen Smith will host the consultations at Government House in Melbourne. This will be Secretary Clinton's first visit to Australia. AUSMIN is the premier forum for strengthening Australia-U.S. cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and globally on foreign policy, defense, and strategic matters.

**Afghan troops train with Special Forces.** Six Afghan troops were flown to Australia to train alongside Australia's elite Special Forces. Air Chief Marshal Houston defends the decision but neither confirms nor denies reports the men are linked to Afghan warlord Matiullah Khan, who protects U.S. and Australian convoys in the Uruzagan province. This training program is seen as a calculated risk and a tactical decision that will be beneficial to security in the long run. Some critics say that the government needs to reveal the security process these men underwent before entering the country.

**SINGAPORE**

**Indonesian haze plagues Singapore and neighbors.** Illegal forest-clearing fires on Indonesia's Sumatra Island are sending haze across the Malacca Strait to neighboring Malaysia and Singapore, causing the worst air pollution since 2006. Singapore received a Pollution Standards Index reading of 72/100, considered to be in the moderate range. Singapore's Environment and Water Resources minister Yaacob Ibrahim noted that ASEAN environment ministers may need to conduct another meeting to discuss measures to combat the haze generated by uncontrolled forest fires on Sumatra. Environment ministers from ASEAN states had met in Brunei on October 13 to discuss national, subregional, and regional activities dealing with land and forest fires. Ibrahim noted that Singapore was disappointed at the recent turn of events and that Indonesia has been reminded several times to take more substantive action when tackling the issue of transboundary pollution.

**Deputy prime minister steps down after 17 years.** After leading a 24,000-strong home team for 17 years, Wong Kan Seng, Singapore's deputy prime minister for home affairs, announced October 27 that he would step down from his post. The Home Affairs Ministry oversees such departments and divisions as the Police Force, the Civil Defense Force, the Prison Service, the Internal Security Department, and the Immigration and Checkpoints Authority. Law minister K. Shanmugam, who was the second home affairs minister, took over from Mr. Wong on November 1, 2010.

**LAOS**

**Laos and Thailand border demarcation.** Following a three-year suspension, bilateral negotiations on border demarcation between Laos and Thailand are set to resume in January 2011. Laotian foreign minister Thounloun Sisoulit underlined the need for fully demarcated borders, creating a legacy for future generations and avoiding mistrust between the neighbors. Ninety-three percent of Cambodian-Laos borders have been officially demarcated.

**Laos needs $15 billion to finance its development projects**. In a recent meeting with its donor countries, Laos presented its national development plan to be implemented from 2011 to 2015. The five-year development strategy costs about $15 billion. The proposed sources of funding are as follows: 26 percent from foreign assistance, about 60 percent from foreign direct investment, 10 percent from domestic credit, and 10 percent from the national government. Donor countries agreed on October 21 to support the

development compact, seeking $3.9 billion from external aid. The donors' main interests in Laos are promotion of equitable future growth and transparency in government's revenues.

**Laos learns socialist modernization from China.** The Communist parties of China and Laos cohosted the inaugural "socialist modernization" seminar titled "Major Theory and Practice in the Socialist Modernization Drive." China Communist Party member Liu Yunshan underlined the need to "strike a balance among reform, development, and stability, and create a favorable condition for the socialist modernization drive. China will continue to uphold the great banner of socialist development with Chinese characteristics, emancipate the mind, keep pace with the times, promote sound and fast social and economic development, and open up a new prospect in the socialist construction cause."

**BRUNEI DARUSSALAM**

**Japan offers flood assistance for Brunei**. Japan's ambassador to Brunei, Norike Hirose, suggested that Japan could potentially partner with Brunei to help develop infrastructure and to enforce effective methods for flood prevention. Ambassador Hirose noted that Japan had already developed the infrastructure necessary to deal with severe flooding, and that the Bruneian government could consider engaging the Japanese government on that level. Japan has developed an advanced rapid-response system and provisions for the control of extreme flooding.

**China's Huawei to build broadband network in Brunei.** Huawei, a Chinese telecommunications network solutions provider, announced it had been selected as the exclusive provider for the Brunei Next Generation Broadband Network (BNBN) project of Telekom Brunei Berhad. The project is the largest investment of its kind ever made by Telekom Brunei Berhad. BNBN will oversee the development of four major areas in Brunei.

**MEKONG RIVER**

**MRC recommends postponing dam construction.** According to a report commissioned by the Mekong River Commission (MRC), no dam should be built on the main stream of the lower Mekong River for the next decade. The report comes weeks after Laos formally notified its neighbors that it wants to build a major dam at Xayaboury near the border with Thailand. Weighing the potential risks and economic benefits, the MRC recommended deferring dam construction for the next 10 years. It cited the catastrophic consequences for fish stocks that could be caused by the mainstream dams.

**Lower Mekong Initiative addresses climate change effects.** On October 30, Secretary Clinton hosted a meeting with her counterparts from Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam to discuss plans for the Lower Mekong Initiative. They first addressed the potential impact of building dams on the Lower Mekong, then discussed ways to adapt to the effects of a changing climate and agreed to explore sustainable operating structures for the region.

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## Looking Ahead

**U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton's Asian tour on October 27–November 9.** Secretary Clinton visits Vietnam, China, Cambodia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Australia. The trip is characterized as "cool-headed, constructive diplomacy" with China and efforts to boost American ties with Pacific neighbors. The secretary's first trip as secretary of state was to the ASEAN region. She visited Indonesia and paid a courtesy call on ASEAN secretary general Dr. Surin Pitsuwan at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta.

**President Barack Obama's Asian tour on November 4–15, 2010.** President Obama will make a state visit to India (November 5–9), formally launch the new Comprehensive Partnership with Indonesia

(November 9–10), participate in the G-20 Leaders' Summit in the Republic of Korea (November 11–12), and attend the APEC Leader's Summit in Japan (November 13–14).

**25th Australia-United States Ministerial Consultations (2010 AUSMIN) November 8.** The AUSMIN is the principal bilateral forum between Australia and the United States to discuss and share perspectives and approaches on major global and regional political issues and to deepen bilateral security and defense cooperation. Annually held in an alternate fashion, this forum is headed by both nations' defense and foreign ministers. This year, both Secretary Clinton and Secretary Gates will be in Melbourne. Their visit will also mark the 25th anniversary of the AUSMIN talks, launched in 1985, and 70 years of diplomatic relations between Australia and the United States.

**G-20 Summit on November 11–12 in Seoul, Republic of Korea.** The summit will discuss a broad range of issues including global economic recovery and measures to prevent "competitive devaluations" among its members amid foreign-exchange tension.

**18th APEC Leaders' Summit on November 13–14 in Yokohama, Japan.** President Barack Obama will attend this economic conference whose major focus will be achieving the "Bogor Goals," which called for industrialized member economies and developing members to achieve free and open trade by 2010 and 2020 respectively.

**United Nations Climate Change Conference (UNCCC)** in Cancun, Mexico, November 29–December 10, 2010.

**Hu Jintao visit to Washington, Q1 2011.** The United States and China have begun preparation for an official visit to the United States by President Hu Jintao in the first quarter of 2011. The visit could help ease regional tensions in Asia over perceived U.S.-Sino competition in a number of areas ranging from currency valuation to security-related issues in Southeast and Northeast Asia.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 3:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Gaza militants fire heavy rocket into Israel

**From:** Larkins, Neal B
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Fri Nov 19 03:21:34 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Gaza militants fire heavy rocket into Israel

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel's military says Gaza militants have fired a military-grade rocket into Israel, causing light damage and no injuries. Militants from inside Gaza regularly fire small rockets they manufacture themselves and only rarely use military-grade projectiles such as the relatively powerful Grad launched early on November 19. None of the armed groups in Hamas-ruled Gaza immediately claimed responsibility for the attack. An Israeli airstrike this week killed two senior members of one such group, the Army of Islam. Another faction released a video in Hebrew threatening retaliation for their deaths.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** getting recognition for procurement reform

**Given your recognition of the importance of procurement reform, I thought you might like to see that USAID is getting credit for making changes already. This is both the right thing to do and getting good press where it counts. AM**

[redacted]

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

What if we told you a little-known bureaucratic process called "Implementation and Procurement Reform," IPR for short, was one of the biggest victories for poor people in years? It means more aid can go directly through a country's own systems, making them stronger. It also means that more aid will be administered by local organizations who know best what their own communities need.

Through IPR, USAID is putting President Obama's recent global development policy into action. The agency has set clear targets to increase use of local country systems and organizations, which means that US assistance will help citizens and their governments build their own capacity, instead of setting up a parallel system as they've done in recent years. They've set clear and ambitious targets for themselves that are laser-focused on results, and dedicated to fighting global poverty not just in the short term, but for good.

*Photo: Local organizations distribute assistance after performing a needs assessment in Bihar, India.*

*Ian Bray / OXFAM GB*

This reform will likely be criticized by some who think that putting more money in the hands of local actors will expose USAID's programs to more risk. But this is precisely the point; only by supporting local change agents—both inside and outside developing country governments—can we actually strengthen the hands of people in poor countries who are working to change their own societies for the better. That means managing risk wisely, rather than trying to avoid it altogether. And in our field research, 36 of the 39 activists we interviewed said they want USAID to support their governments directly, because it would make it easier for them to hold their governments accountable and prevent corruption.

What does all this mean? It means better aid, aid that strengthens the capacity of reformers in poor countries. And for the millions of people across the world who have been demanding these reforms, USAID has shown it is actively listening.

Sincerely,

The Aid Effectiveness Team

p.s. If you want to hear more directly from USAID on this important policy change, RSVP today to aideffectiveness@savechildren.org to attend "Country Ownership: Risks & Results" this Thursday, October 14th at 2pm, room 2255 of the Rayburn House Office Building.

**Forward email**

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 6:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Embassy Kinshasa reports no AmCits on plane (SBU)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Wed Aug 25 17:03:30 2010
**Subject:** Embassy Kinshasa reports no AmCits on plane (SBU)

(SBU) Further to the 1038 EDT alert, Post reports based on the available list of passengers there were no confirmed Americans on the plane.

**Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), D(L), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Monterrey Consulate

---

**From:** Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mull, Stephen D
**Cc:** Feeley, John D (Mexico City); Restrepo Dan [redacted] B6
Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Wed Aug 25 21:39:14 2010
**Subject:** Monterrey Consulate

Please pass to the Secretary

Madame Secretary,

I wanted to follow-up with you on my earlier note about the security situation in Monterrey. We have been working very closely with Pat Kennedy to assess all of our options. Pat has shown tremendous flexibility and has provided excellent counsel.

As we looked further into the Aug 20 shooting incident at the American School, it became clear that there many competing versions about the causes behind the incident. We decided that it is best to leave this matter to local law enforcement officials and to concentrate our review on whether it is possible to provide adequate security for the children of U.S. personnel in Monterrey.

Our discussions with police and other security officials made clear that local police and private patrols do not have the capacity to deter gangs and cartels from areas around the schools attended by the children of U.S. personnel. Local authorities, we found, are not able to respond in a predictable and effective manner to calls for assistance. Given the increasing level of violence that is occurring all over Monterrey, including near where our children go to school, we determined that the only immediate, practical, and reliable way to reduce the security risks for all children is to relocate them to the United States.

We are working with Pat Kennedy on the appropriate mechanism to formalize these arrangements. I have also advised Secretary Espinosa and Nuevo Leon Governor Medina that we are moving in this direction. In parallel with this, I recommitted to our Mexican counterparts that we will continue to do everything possible to support their efforts to improve the security environment in Monterrey and other parts of the country.

Thank you for your support on this matter.

Carlos Pascual

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

B6

Exits show 50 plus loss in house and 7-8 senate

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** "'sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tue, Nov 2, 2010 23:39:46 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

Thx, as always, for your insights. I'm on a plane on the way to Papua New Guinea for the next 6 hours so pls email me results as you get them. Needless to say, I'm so distressed over all of this. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Tue Nov 02 16:55:51 2010
Subject: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Post mid-terms strategy

What I hear from Republican sources and elsewhere and what it means for Republican strategy:

1. Rove is telling his donors that the ticket in 2012 is Romney/Barbour. Haley Barbour is Rove's ally. Together they constitute the heart of the GOP establishment. In a potential Republican

administration Barbour would be a new kind of Cheney, but more politically skillful.
2. Rove is at war with Palin. He has told his donors she must be stopped. Palin is well aware. The Politico story filled with anonymous quotes about a murky establishment vs. Palin is about the Death Star of Rove/Barbour. Ironies: Rove doubled down on a base strategy for Bush, galvanizing the right wing, now spun out of his control to Palin. The GOP used the far right and Palin in the mid-terms and now have to kill them in presidential nomination politics. Attacking Palin only builds her stature with the right. She plays instinctively to the base, but can she play a long game against the big boys determined to destroy her?
3. Palin has already aligned Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh on her side. Fox News is being split. Murdoch gave his big donation to the Republican Governors Association, headed by Barbour.
4. Malcolm Hoenlein has been raising money hand over fist for the Republicans through Eric Cantor, now his vehicle. The donors are many of the same US donors to Bibi and Likud. Implications obvious.
5. The House Republicans have already planned to primary all Senate Republican moderates in the next cycle. Olympia Snowe is a particular target.
6. In the Senate, Jim DeMint continues to be a Fifth Column of the right, allied to the House Republicans, against remaining Senate GOP moderates. He will be reinforced after this election with Rand Paul, et al. Paul, of course, hates Mitch McConnell, and vice versa.
7. McConnell's statement the day before the mid-terms that the goal of the GOP is to make Obama a one term president is, in fact, their agenda. Everything in the House and Senate will be bent to that end.
8. Can the House Republicans and Senate Republicans restrain themselves in their own interest and McConnell's stated aim? Boehner is despised by the younger, more conservative members of the House Republican Conference. They are repelled by his personal behavior. He is louche, alcoholic, lazy, and without any commitment to any principle. Boehner has already tried to buy the members with campaign contributions and committee assignments, which he has already promised to potentially difficult members. His hold is insecure. He is not Gingrich, the natural leader of a "revolution," riding the crest into power. He is careworn and threadbare, banal and hollow, holding nobody's enduring loyalty. Boehner is beholden and somewhat scared of his base. He twitches when they make gestures that might undermine his position. His impulse is to hand out money. His aim is to recreate DeLay, Inc, with Jerry Lewis, who will be the new chairman of Appropriations. But Boehner is neither feared nor loved. He's a would-be DeLay without the whip. He's the one at the end of the lash. Which means he will be under great pressure and find it hard to sustain a moderate, reasonable strategy of restraint. McConnell is relatively in the same position in the Senate. On the other hand, the Congressional Republicans are vulnerable to a strategy that takes advantage of their internal divisions. Policies/tactics should be calculated to locate GOP fissures, find political space by widening schisms, and ultimately break them apart. This is, emphatically, not a strategy of bipartisanship as Obama has pursued it so far. It is a different and more informed approach.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

B6

Manchen wins. Lincoln lost

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** "'sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tue, Nov 2, 2010 23:39:46 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

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To: H
Sent: Tue Nov 02 16:55:51 2010
Subject: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

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For: Hillary
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 11:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** the latest on the ARC project

This was on the Friends of the ARC blog. Brzezinski is pushing this idea hard as well. I will have more of an update on what is going on re a Palestine Pledge Fund and the ARC later this week. AM

# Bernard Avishai urges the Obama Administration to support the Arc on talkingpointsmemo.com

Friday, October 8, 2010 at 8:27PM

Yesterday Bernard Avishai, adjunct professor at Hebrew University, author of *The Hebrew Republic*, and a former editor of the Harvard Business Review, argued in Taking Points Memo:

*"If President Obama is looking for a way to excite us with an American vision for a Palestinian state--one that can be started on even before core issues are (entirely) resolved, and which implies what is plausible about peaceful integration with Israel and Jordan--he could do worse than publicly get behind the RAND Corporation's ARC project."*

Avishai acknowledges that the Arc leaves some contentious issues unresolved. "But," he challenges his readers, "I defy you to watch this short video and think about the state the same way again."

We offer the same challenge to you. Watch the video, and see if it changes the way you think about the possibility for a viable two-state solution. If it does, join FOTA, follow us on Facebook, spread the word to friends, and help the video go viral!

Admin | Post a Comment | Share Article

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reminder 8:30 middle east call on CISCO phone

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 5:59 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 9:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

B6

We should talk about bloomberg when you are back

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** "'sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tue, Nov 2, 2010 23:39:46 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

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To: H
Sent: Tue Nov 02 16:55:51 2010
Subject: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 8:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Pakistani officials: US missiles kill 4 in vehicle

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Nov 19 08:24:14 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Pakistani officials: US missiles kill 4 in vehicle

MIR ALI (AP) – Pakistani intelligence officials say suspected U.S. missiles have killed four alleged militants as they were driving in a vehicle near the Afghan border. The officials said unmanned drones fired two missiles November 19 on a vehicle near Marsi Khel village in North Waziristan. The officials spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to release the information. The strike is the ninth attack this month by unmanned drones in Pakistan's lawless border region, which is dominated by Taliban and al-Qaida-linked fighters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iran denies report of seven US troops detained--TV

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; PA FO Group; NEWS-CA; NEWS-PM
**Cc:** SES-O
**Sent:** Sun Sep 19 08:26:54 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iran denies report of seven US troops detained--TV

[Note: The Operations Center has confirmed with NMCC that the original story is false.]

TEHRAN (Reuters) – Iran denied that border guards had detained seven U.S. troops, calling the report "unfounded", the state-run English language Press TV said. The country's Arabic language television al-Alam also quoted Iran's Revolutionary Guards, in charge of Iran's border security, as denying that any such incident had happened in the southeastern province of Sistan-Baluchestan, as earlier reported by a semi-official news agency.

Original Story: (Reuters) Iran detains seven U.S. troops--Fars news agency

TEHRAN (Reuters) – Iranian border guards detained seven U.S. troops as they tried to illegally enter the Islamic state, the semi-official Fars news agency reported, without giving a source. "Recently seven American troops were detained by Iranian guards in a southeastern province of the country ... Two Iranians accompanying the troops were also arrested," said Fars.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 8:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel Says No Building Freeze In Jerusalem

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Nov 19 08:23:41 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Israel Says No Building Freeze In Jerusalem

JERUSALEM (AP) – Israel insisted November 18 it would keep building homes in disputed east Jerusalem, threatening to hold up a U.S.-proposed settlement construction moratorium designed to renew deadlocked Mideast peacemaking.

The contours of the moratorium deal, as presented by Israeli officials after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu returned from the U.S. last week, had appeared to be clearly agreed upon.

Washington, they said, had agreed to exclude the eastern sector of the holy city from the 90-day moratorium and there would be no further demands for construction curbs in the West Bank when the latest moratorium expired.

On November 18, however, a day after Netanyahu said a deal was imminent, the U.S. still had not sent a promised letter detailing the understandings on the proposed moratorium.

In Washington, a senior Obama administration official said the U.S. and Israel were still "haggling" over details of the written assurances. The official said most of the unresolved issues were relatively routine but added that it was unlikely that the letter would be finished Thursday.

The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak publicly about the matter, said it was not clear when the letter might be completed.

In a speech November 18, Netanyahu suggested agreement was neither imminent nor inevitable.

He said he has been holding intensive contacts with the Obama administration since his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton a week ago.

"The objective is to formulate understandings through which we can promote the political process while maintaining the vital interests of the state of Israel, primarily security," Netanyahu told students at the Technion, a technology school. "If I accept such an offer from the U.S. government I will bring it before the Cabinet and I have no doubt that my fellow ministers will accept it."

Earlier November 18, Netanyahu spokesman Mark Regev said any future moratorium would not apply to Jerusalem, whose eastern sector was annexed by Israel in 1967 in a move not recognized by the international community.

He noted that an earlier settlement slowdown, whose expiration in September led to the current impasse in peace efforts, did not include Jerusalem.

"Israel makes a clear distinction between the West Bank and Jerusalem," Regev said. "Jerusalem is our capital and will remain as such. The previous moratorium did not apply to Jerusalem ... If there is a future moratorium, it will similarly

not apply to Jerusalem."

Palestinians want construction to halt in both areas, which they claim for their future state along with the Hamas-ruled Gaza Strip. They have not said whether the partial freeze being brokered by the U.S. will be enough to draw them back to the negotiating table.

The negotiations broke down in late September - just three weeks after they began at the White House - following the expiry of a 10-month moratorium on new West Bank construction.

The U.S. hopes a renewed moratorium would allow Israel and the Palestinians to make significant progress toward working out a deal on their future borders. With borders determined, Israel could resume building on any territories it would expect to keep under a final peace deal.

To entice the Israelis to sign on to the deal, the U.S. has proposed a package of incentives including a gift of 20 next-generation stealth fighter planes and U.S. pledges to veto anti-Israel resolutions at the United Nations, Israeli officials have said.

But Netanyahu has been having trouble winning support from the plan even from his coalition allies. The ultra-Orthodox Shas Party, which can make or break the deal, says it will let it go through only if Israel receives written assurances from the U.S. that the building restrictions exclude Jerusalem.

In a sign of the backroom dealings in Israel around the deal, an official close to Shas said the party had received assurances that if it abstains in the vote, Defense Minister Ehud Barak would authorize the construction of hundreds of apartments in the West Bank immediately after the moratorium expires.

Some of the construction would take place in specifically ultra-Orthodox communities and other projects would be built in a settlement just outside Jerusalem, giving Shas something to take back to constituents who might otherwise oppose another moratorium.

The official spoke on condition of anonymity because the deal has not been officially announced. The Defense Ministry did not reply to a request for comment.

Shas is critical to any moratorium deal because the inner Cabinet that will vote on it is almost evenly split, and Shas holds the two swing votes.

The party's spiritual leader, a 90-year-old rabbi known for his harsh comments about Arabs, will make the final determination on how to vote.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 3:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Serbian leader to visit mass grave of 200 Croats

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 11:40:13 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Serbian leader to visit mass grave of 200 Croats

ZAGREB (AP) - Serbia's president will lay wreaths at the mass grave of Croats slain by Serbs during the 1991 war, becoming the first Serbian leader to pay his respects to the victims of a massacre that remains a potent symbol of wartime brutality.

Boris Tadic and his Croatian counterpart, Ivo Josipovic, on November 4 will also honor 18 Serbs killed by Croats in a nearby village.

The visit to Ovcara, a pig farm near the eastern city of Vukovar where more than 200 Croat prisoners of war and civilians were executed, is a "profoundly symbolic act," said Josko Paro, Josipovic's foreign policy adviser.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Top Hamas official arrested in Egypt

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Sep 19 07:55:51 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Top Hamas official arrested in Egypt

GAZA CITY (AP) – Relatives of a top Hamas security official in the Gaza Strip say he was arrested at Cairo airport while returning from a pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. Egyptian officials confirmed a member of Hamas' military wing had been arrested before the weekend at Cairo's airport because his name was on a wanted list for using falsified travel documents. Mohammed Dababish is a top official in Hamas' internal security unit, which oversees intelligence matters in Gaza. Hamas officials declined comment.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 5:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: message from Vjosa

I thought you'd like to see Vjosa's reaction tp your visit to Kosovo.

---

**From:** vjosa dobruna [redacted] B6
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent:** Wed Oct 13 17:11:26 2010
**Subject:** Re: message from Vjosa

Dear Melanne,

Thank you; We, group of women leaders met with Secretary Clinton. It was a short meeting, introduction and photo opportunity. But, I hope the event send a message to our government that women should be supported. I also think that the Embassy will consider more vision of women of Kosova.
Secretary Clinton was just remarkable. Her message for our, also Belgrade leadership was clear and strait forward; dialogue, dialogue, dialogue as two independent states!
The admiration expressed by the population in the streets as motorcade was passing, meeting with PM and acting President, open meeting with students and media was impressive. She is really inspiration for all.
Maybe was not a right time, but I only wish she has pressed the PM on corruption practices.
Thank you once again for facilitating this meeting.

Best regards,

Vjosa

---

**From:** "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**To:** vjosadobruna [redacted]
**Sent:** Sat, October 9, 2010 6:38:34 PM
**Subject:** Re: message from Vjosa

She is eager to see you. The embassy told me that they talked to you and you're able to see her.

---

**From:** vjosa dobruna [redacted]
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent:** Sat Oct 09 12:51:03 2010
**Subject:** Re: message from Vjosa

Thanks for replying to the message.
My phone number is [redacted]

Today someone called me from the US Embassy to invite me to meet Secretary on Wednesday.
It is going to be a close 15 min meeting with several women leaders.
Thank you .

Vjosa

[redacted] B6

**Sent:** Fri, October 8, 2010 3:26:51 PM
**Subject:** RE: message from Vjosa

Vjosa, do you have a phone number? We're hoping that the Secretary will get to see you.

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

---

**From:** vjosa dobruna [mailto:[redacted]]
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Subject:** message from Vjosa

Dear Melanne,

Hope this message finds you well.
I am trying to follow your work and every time I run into information that involves you as a speaker or presenter, I know that strong advocacy for the benefit of women is coming for the future.

I am starting a foundation, with a objective to advocate policies on health, environment and human rights. Women in the region have serious obstacles to access health care and services, and are suffering from a luck of information. Many preventable diseases are taking its toll because of the lack of information and facilities, especially regarding breast cancer and cervical cancer. Also, laws on health care do not require for preventive services such as mammography, pap smear and other preventive services. I am planning to work on different level, not excluding other target groups but starting with women.
Today, media have announce the visit of Secretary Hillary Clinton in the region, including Kosovo. Is there any chance to meet with her during short visit in Prishtina? I know she is coming to assist the dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade, but she would be even more helpful if she meets me and other women.
New early elections are coming in few months and she would bust our confidence and would support better participation of women and better election result.
I am afraid that our government officials are going to meet alone and/or be very selective who can meet her because is going to have impact on the election.
I am not with any political party but would be wonderful and extremely helpful for the support

of woman's agenda
Is any chance that you will be coming with Secretary Clinton?

Best regards,
Vjosa

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

I think we've lost our availability for today but ill double check. If she is free, ill have ops connect her over. If not, she is avail btw 6-8 am tmw am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

No problem! I'm on it

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:19:02 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Sorry--I'm just seeing this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 10:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) NATO to turn Afghan security control over by 2014

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Nov 19 09:59:02 2010
**Subject**: (AP) NATO to turn Afghan security control over by 2014

LISBON (AP) - NATO will start drawing down its troops in Afghanistan next July and its combat role in the war-torn nation will end by 2014 or earlier so security can be turned over to the Afghans, a top alliance official said November 19. "We think that goal is realistic, and we have made plans to achieve it, but of course if circumstances agree, it could be sooner, absolutely," said Mark Sedwill, NATO's top civilian representative in Afghanistan. Sedwill said the troop withdrawal starting next year will be "shallow" and eventually accelerate but did not elaborate. NATO spokesman James Appathurai also said the alliance's 28 leaders, including President Barack Obama, were set to approve the withdrawal plan. He said NATO is "quite confident of the end of 2014 timeline for handing responsibility to Afghan security forces" as requested by Afghan President Hamid Karzai. Appathurai and Sedwill did not say how many NATO troops would stay in Afghanistan after 2014 serving as military advisers and trainers.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 1:28 PM
**Subject:** Max from Amsterdam on rise of far right in Europe

http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/11/the-return-of-ghosts-debating-the-rise-of-geert-wilders-and-the-far-right/

# The Return of Ghosts: Debating the rise of Geert Wilders and the far-right at the Nexus Symposium

*On 11.18.10, By Max*

The Nexus Institute's Return of Ghosts conference was inspired by the rise of far-right politician Geert Wilders in the Netherlands

I spent last week in Amsterdam, where I participated in the "Return of Ghosts" symposium of the Nexus Institute, a discussion/debate about the resurgence of neo-fascism in Europe and anti-democratic trends in the West. Besides providing a forum for debating European politics, the symposium was the occasion for the first public appearance in Europe by Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa since he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature last month. The arrival of Vargas Llosa, one of the world's foremost intellectuals, resulted in an overflow crowd filled with members of the Dutch media, the country's political class, and the royal family.

Even with Vargas Llosa in the spotlight, the participants' attention was focused on Geert Wilders, the leader of the far-right Dutch People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, which is now the third leading party in the Netherlands. With his gathering influence, Wilders has essentially placed the Dutch coalition government in a stranglehold; the government meets with him every Wednesday to gauge his opinions and ask for his instructions. While Wilders dictates at will to the government, he remains independent of it, comfortably avoiding the consequences of policies he has helped to shape. It is the perfect position for a politician whose agenda is comprised exclusively of xenophobic populism, and typical strategy of the far-right in countries across the continent.

Wilders' base lies in the mostly Catholic south, where ironically few people have ever encountered a Muslim. He has also generated support in the city of Groeningen, once a citadel of the communists. Seeking to expand his base, Wilders promised to hire scores of "animal cops" to investigate and prosecute the abuse of animals, a clever wedge strategy in the only country I know of that has a party dedicated exclusively to animal rights. Of course, Wilders could care less about our furry friends. His stated goal is to end immigration not just to Holland but to all of Europe; ban the Quran (free speech is only for the "Judeo-Christian" community), and severely limit the rights of Muslim citizens of Europe by, for instance, instituting what he called a "head rag tax" on Muslim women. Wilders' international allies include the goosestepping neo-Nazis of the English Defense League, the far-right pogromist Pam Geller, the Belgian neo-fascist party Vlaams Belang, and a substantial portion of the US neocon elite. Over the course of just a few years, he has become perhaps the most influential Islamophobe in the world.

But does this make Wilders a fascist? Rob Riemen, the director of the Nexus Institute, thinks so. Riemen has just published a book entitled "De Eeuwige Terugkeer Van Het Fascisme," or "The Eternal Return of Fascism" (I eagerly await its English translation), dedicated to highlighting the danger of Wilders' eerily familiar brand of right-wing populism. In the book, Riemen urges readers to compare Wilders' politics to the early incarnations of European fascism, not to the genocidal terminal stage fascism of late World War II. He calls the parallels between Wilders and the early fascists "one-and-one." In an economic and civilizational crisis like the kind the Netherlands is facing, Riemen warns that reactionary figures like Wilders can easily seize power while centrist elements stand by politely and passively, refusing to call a spade a spade. Where Wilders' ascendancy will lead is unknown, but if he is not stopped in his tracks, Riemen is certain the

story will not end well. In the week after its publication, Riemen's book flew off the shelves, selling 5000 copies while generating heated reactions from across the spectrum of debate.

Riemen told me that despite the public enthusiasm for his book, his characterization of Wilders has been attacked as "un-Dutch." In Dutch culture, as in so many others, open confrontation is avoided at all cost. Political disagreement is welcomed only if it is expressed in a collegial manner, as though nothing more than reputations were at stake. So the Dutch cultural elite generally goes along to get along. The resistance Riemen has met since he called Wilders out seemed to have alarmed and frustrated him. Why was it so difficult for liberal elements in the Netherlands to recognize the clear resonances of fascism in Wilders' political style? he wondered. And why did they seem more concerned with regulating the terms of debate than with forming a united front against the far-right? Once the symposium opened and I was able to see the Dutch elite in action, I began to understand Riemen's indignation.

The symposium began with a speech by Vargas Llosa, a complex personality who has allied himself with center-right parties in Spain and elsewhere but whose politics remain fundamentally rooted in cultural liberalism. Vargas Llosa's differences with leaders of the left, which he used to belong to, exploded over the issue of free trade. He is an ardent neo-liberal and reviles Latin populists like Hugo Chavez and Ollanta Humala who advocate protectionism and industrial nationalization.

Vargas Llosa decorated his speech with literary metaphors and natural imagery to describe the challenges of democracy, particularly in Europe. But the body of the address was devoted to the supposed threat Islamic extremism posed to Western civilization. Vargas Llosa singled out suicide bombing as the most dangerous phenomenon, pointing to the Madrid and London bombings by al-Qaida inspired operatives, while curiously not mentioning suicide attacks by secular groups like the Tamil Tigers and the Kurdish PKK, or the nationalistic suicide terror by Palestinian militants (Vargas Llosa declared in his speech that "Israel deserves to be treated like any other nation," and has been harshly critical of the state in the past).

During the first panel, which I participated in, Fania Oz-Salzberger, an Israeli professor of history and the daughter of famed author Amos Oz, boasted to crowd of Israel's "vibrant democracy." She was enthusiastically seconded by Mitchell Cohen, a former editor of Dissent who has devoted considerable energy to assailing anti-Zionist Jews, writing that "the dominant species of anti-Semitism encourages anti-Zionism." I found it odd that neither expressed any concern over the almost endless stream of anti-democratic laws passing through the Knesset, or by the general authoritarian, anti-liberal trend in Israeli society. Oz-Salzberger went on to announce to a smattering of applause that "Geert Wilders and politicians like him are not welcomed by Israelis."

Yet Wilders is one of Israel's most frequent guests, having visited the country over 40 times in 20 years. In fact, he claims that his views on Islam and Arabs were forged while living on an Israeli moshav. "Nowhere did I have the special feeling of solidarity that I get when I land at Ben Gurion airport," he once said. Wilders reportedly receives heavy support from Dutch financial backers of Israel, and has met with a range of Israeli officials. His closest allies lie within the extremist settler movement, prompting him to call for the forced transfer of Palestinians to Jordan. Members of the liberal Zionist intelligensia like Oz-Salzberger may not not want Wilders around, but who in Israel is listening to them? Israel's mainstream leadership echoes Wilders' crudest talking points on a regular basis, while the Zionist left clings to a dwindling handful of Knesset seats and watches passively — even resentfully — as a rag-tag band of leftist radicals fights for equality for all. Consider a recent statement by former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, who is seen as a centrist within the Israeli political spectrum: "The origin of terrorism is within Islam," Olmert declared this month.

The pro-Israel position of the new breed of European far-rightists has to be recognized as much more than a convenient political tactic. Of course, saying you "stand with Israel," as Wilders so often does, is an easy way to insulate yourself from charges of anti-Semitism. But the extreme right is also attracted to Israel because the country represents its highest ideals. While some critics see Israel as a racist apartheid state, people like Wilders see Israel as a racist apartheid state — and they like it. They richly enjoy when Israel mows down Arab Muslims by the dozens and tells the world to go to hell; they admire Israel's settler culture; and most of all, they yearn to live in a land like Israel that privileges its ethnic majority above all others to the point that it systematically humiliates and dispossesses the swarthy racial outclass. The endgame of the far-right is to make Europe less tolerant and more Israeli.

After the Italian philosopher Paolo Flores D'Arcais proclaimed that Italy was no longer a democratic country, citing PM Silvio Berlusconi's control over 90 percent of the country's media, the government's deep seated corruption and the Prime Minister's repeated attempts to impose onerous restrictions on journalistic freedom, Riemen asked me if the United States was a democracy given the the rapidly rising influence of corporations over the media and elections. After two panelists had described Israel as a vibrant democracy while another labeled Italy a non-democratic quasi-dictatorship, I decided that our definition of democracy was subjective at best. So I sidestepped the question and outlined a few of the greatest blows to American democracy, from the elimination of the Fairness Doctrine to the Telecommunications Deregulation Act to the Citizens United SCOTUS decision. Later in the evening, D'Arcais would remark to me with amazement that he never knew American media was ever regulated in the first place.

During the 20 minutes or so when students of Tilburg University were able to question the panel, one student asked whether suicide terror was a uniquely Islamic phenomenon, apparently referring to Vargas Llosa's address. I responded that it of course was not, citing the example of secular groups like the Tamil Tigers which brought the tactic into practice the second suicide. I recommended the audience review the research of Robert Pape, the University of Chicago political scientist who demonstrated a clear connection between the American and Israeli occupation of Middle Eastern countries and the motivations of suicide bombers. Oz-Salzberger jumped in, proclaiming that occupation has little or nothing to do

with the motives of suicide bombers. She did not marshal any evidence to support her point, possibly because our time was so limited. It would have been hard to do so, however, without supporting the fundamental argument of Wilders about Islam's inherent violence — or the even sillier theory by the Israeli filmmaker/professional hasbarist Pierre Rehov that suicide bombers are motivated by sexual repression.

Next, the Dutch panel took the stage. The main attraction was Frits Bolkstein, the longtime leader of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy who employed Wilders as his parliamentary aide, providing him a stepping stone to his political career. He was a silver haired curmudgeon from aristocratic stock who reminded me instantly of the "paleocon" characters I've met while covering white nationalist conventions like American Renaissance.

"Everything went wrong when the government became impressed in the 90's with the idea of the 'good stranger,'" Bolkstein declared. "If the previous governments had tightened their immigration laws, there would not have been a Mr. Wilders."

The only member of the panel to mount a significant challenge to Bolkstein was the Tilburg University professor Paul Frissen, who argued that the rule of law and basic standards of democracy protects "the right to be fundamentalist." The other panelists either gave Bolkstein's xenophobia a pass or attempted to surpass his resentment of Muslims. After Bolkstein lightly criticized Wilders' call for banning the Quran, remarking that "what he says about Islam is nonsense" because it contradicts the freedom of religion, AB Klink, a former Dutch senator and ex-Minister of Health, chimed in."It's not nonsense because Islam is so different in its cultural values than ours," Klink claimed.

Then, when Bolkstein called for shutting down Islamic schools, Frissen reminded him that state-supported Christian schools in the Dutch Bible belt teach theocratic concepts as well. Meindert Fennema, the political biographer of Wilders, entered the debate to demand that *all* religious schools be closed. "I'm against all forms of religious teaching!" he proudly exclaimed, sending gales of applause through the audience. "How can you call yourself a liberal?" Frissen asked with a tone of exasperation. Fennema ignored him.

During question time, a young freelance writer from India named Natasha Ginwala asked Bolkstein to answer for the "ghost of neo-colonialism," which "the African people never voted for." She mentioned the exploitative deals forced on developing countries by transnational oil companies, possibly alluding to Bolkstein's role as a manager at Royal Dutch Shell in authoritarian countries like El Salvador, Indonesia, and Honduras during the 1970's (I'm sure nothing unseemly happened during Bolstein's tenure in these places). Bolkstein's responded bluntly, "If these countries try to be self-sufficient it just doesn't work!"

After the symposium, I talked to Ginwala and a group of her friends, who were mostly immigrant students. They were appalled by the ignorance of the Dutch panelists. "None of them knew the first thing about Islam," an Arab student remarked. "They couldn't even pretend to understand what Muslims actually believe." Ginwala added, "How can Bolkstein tell me my country can't be self-sufficient? I come from India. It's one of the most diversified economies on the planet."

I was not in Amsterdam long enough to do any formal reporting. However, I did notice that all of the immigrants I spoke to were closely and nervously following the rise of the right. At the airport, while waiting to board my flight, I talked to a 20-something security guard named Muhammad who seemed almost as bored as I was. Muhammad had spent his whole life in Amsterdam, but his parents were from Cairo, Egypt. He told me he wanted to take his girlfriend on a trip to New York City and Miami someday. When I brought up the topic of Wilders, he scoffed at his perception of Muslims. "Most of us aren't even religious," Muhammad said. "When I hear him talking about Muslims wanting to take over, I just laugh. I'm like, is this guy serious?"

But he did not underestimate Wilders' appeal. "Everything he does and everything he says, it seems like it's carefully planned. He obviously knows what he's doing. And they let him get away with it," Muhammad remarked. "Look, I'm just a citizen, I'm nobody, but if I say something about Christians or Jews that the government doesn't like, I'll be punished. But when Wilders, who is a public official, says all the things he says about Muslims, nothing happens to him. Instead, more and more people are voting for him."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) France says Iranian woman will not be hanged November 3

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 07:58:35 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) France says Iranian woman will not be hanged November 3

PARIS (Reuters) - An Iranian woman accused of adultery will not be executed November 3, France's foreign minister said, citing a telephone conversation with his Iranian counterpart. "Manouchehr Mottaki assured me that Iranian legal authorities had not yet reached a verdict in the affair relating to (Ashtiani) and that the information regarding her alleged execution did not correspond to reality," Bernard Kouchner said in a statement.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

Ms,
Mashabane is no longer available this morning, but can do anytime btw 6-8 am tomorrow morning. Let me know if you'd like us to lock in a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:33 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

Yes, will work on setting that up and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ok--can we try for 8 tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:30:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

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To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

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----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

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From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010

Subject: Mashabane call update

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###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 10:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** are you up

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** We just heard karzai is not coming to ny.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Gordon, Philip H <GordonPH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 3:35 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** 2012 NATO summit in US

Just got word POTUS has agreed to host NATO summit in US in spring 2012. Alliance expected to agree and announce this in Lisbon.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:52 AM
**To:** H

You want me to come to chappaqua to help u leave today? Or meet u in nyc?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 10:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 11/3 0845 Meeting Readout

---

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 03, 2010 9:54 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Moy, Kin W; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** 11/3 0845 Meeting Readout

**Elections**

With some 20 seats still undecided, Republicans have already picked up 61 seats in House; Democrats likely to keep 51-53 seats in Senate. Spratt and Skelton losses are among more significant; H will prepare an analysis of election's impact on our oversight committees. Murkowski appears to be headed for historic write-in win; her support of Law of Sea and likely sympathy for New START will be good for us. Reid will likely return to Washington energized by win to pursue consequential lame duck session. Manchin and Kirk will take up their seats in the Senate this month; Rich suggests S calls to each to help lock in support for New START.

**Other Congressional Issues**

Tom Nides' prep going well, and he'll see SFRC members and Sem Gilibrand this week. Rich expects committee will vote him out during lame duck; still unclear if we'll get floor vote. An inter-agency team will brief the Hill this week on the President's Asia trip. Kerry will leave for the Middle East, including Syria, on Sunday.

**Guantanamo Closure**

DOJ is considering Harold's latest paper on the way forward.

**Iran**

Kouchner announced after conversation with Iranian FM Mottaki that adultery convict Ashtiani will not be imminently executed, as earlier reported. Jundullah designation being announced this morning.

**India**

Roemer and Blake making good progress on nuclear liability issue, but we are not yet ready to raise public expectations.

**Iraq**

Press reports about Inspector General's report on mil-civ transition mistakenly suggest that State had been unaware of associated challenges.

**Middle East**

**Saeb Erekat here today, and will be delivering public remarks. He'll meet George Mitchell tomorrow.**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** She's still our Park Ridge Girl!!

# Marking a landmark moment for all

**Daily Herald Editorial Board**

Published: 8/26/2010 12:05 AM

Today marks a watershed moment in our nation's history.

Know what it is? Any plans to celebrate the occasion? Ninety years ago this day, the United States secretary of state signed into law the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution giving women the right to vote.

That significant moment in history securing that basic civil right for one of the two genders in existence came after a more than 70-year struggle that saw pioneering "radical" women jailed and physically abused as they fought for justice.

Ninety years ago today. Not all that long ago, really. We still have women among us who lived during a time when this basic but powerful activity was prohibited. Denied to their mothers and grandmothers, older sisters and aunts.

Illinois played a pivotal role in the struggle, and Illinois and suburban women continue to mark our history, politics and policy. And they should continue to by exercising their right, speaking out and working to change policies that affect us all.

Illinois did not allow women to vote in presidential and local elections until 1913 and, according to votingwomen.org, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were the first three states to ratify the 19th Amendment on June 10, 1919.

From the start, Illinois and its suburbs have been home to pioneering women. Libertyville's Clara Colby is listed as the first woman to vote, having cast a ballot for a new town hall while, papers at the time reported, her husband stayed home to "scrub clothes in the laundry."

There is Jane Addams, the Cedarville, Ill., native social worker and suffragist who founded Chicago's Hull House and was one of the first women to win a Nobel Peace Prize.

And Illinois has elected 14 female members of Congress. The first was Chicago Republican Winnifred S. Huck, only the third woman elected to Congress, just two years after the 19th Amendment ratification. Huck was the first wife and mother elected to Congress. Republican Ruth Hanna McCormick worked as a Springfield lobbyist who helped pass the law allowing Illinois women to vote in some elections in 1913 before she moved on to Congress. Democrat Emily Taft Douglas, an early leader of the League of Women Voters and an internationalist who was the wife of former U.S. Sen.

Paul Douglas and a cousin to President William H. Taft, beat isolationist Republican Stephen Day in 1945, according to the Women in Congress website.

In more recent times, Rockford Republican Lynn Martin moved from Congress to Labor Secretary and Chicago Democrat Carol Moseley Braun became the first black woman in the U.S. Senate. Now, of course, we also have Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who hails from Park Ridge. In the suburban trenches all along the way, women have been leading and agitating for change. Former Democratic state Rep. Eugenia Chapman of Arlington Heights is credited with helping start community colleges in Illinois. Republican Giddy Dyer of Hinsdale joined her in supporting the Equal Rights Amendment and also passed DuPage County's first clean air ordinance. Chapman worked with Republican Virginia B. Macdonald of Arlington Heights to establish a women's center at Harper College. And on it goes.

Nice, you say, but big deal? Indeed, they were a big deal and, indeed, women shaping our lives still are a big deal. Men, can you imagine your life without women? Women, can you imagine your life without other women? American women have come a long way in 90 years and society is the better for it. Women vote in greater numbers than men and have for years, nationally and in Illinois. They very well can and should vote, write laws, lead and play even more influential roles in what the next 90 years, and beyond, may bring us all.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 8:28 PM
**To:** H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Senate just voted to confirm

After a cloture petition was prepared there was a negotiation and Landrieu released her hold. Voice vote in the end. More words of thanks and farewell to follow, but wanted to share the news.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Financial Times Editorial on Food Security

See highlighted area of editorial

---

**From:** Huang, Cindy Y
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 5:21 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Subject:** Fw: Financial Times Editorial on Food Security

So exciting that S was singled out for praise! Thanks to Caitlin who did the background heavy lifting on this (related to the earlier piece on Haiti and food security)!

---

**From**: Clark, Jeanne L
**To**: Huang, Cindy Y; Nagy, Eleanor
**Sent**: Wed Oct 13 23:34:49 2010
**Subject**: FW: Financial Times Editorial on Food Security

I wanted to make sure you both saw this Financial Times editorial. This is the most resounding endorsement of Feed the Future I've seen in a major paper.

Regards,

Jeanne

# Food security

Published: October 13 2010 22:22 | Last updated: October 13 2010 22:22

The spectre of a global food crisis has reared its head again. Soaring corn prices, which on Monday recorded their biggest one-day rise since 1973, have triggered fears of a return to the turmoil of 2007-2008. Far-reaching measures are needed to prevent a recurrence.

Rising prices over the last decade are in part the result of burgeoning demand from emerging markets such as China and India. The emergence of commodities as a distinct asset class has also put upward pressure on prices. Commodity index-fund investment has soared over the last decade. Non-food commodities, in particular metals, have been equally affected. Copper and tin prices hit record highs last week.

Shocks on the supply side, in particular adverse weather events, have also contributed. Droughts in eastern Europe and heavy rains in North America this summer sent grain and oilseed prices soaring.

In the long run the market is likely to respond to higher prices by boosting production. Increases in productivity and innovations such as genetically modified crops will help supply to catch up with demand, bringing food prices down to

more affordable levels.

But governments need to do a better job of managing shocks when they occur – and in doing so must not suppress the price mechanism. Actions taken to alleviate shortages have often undermined production when it is most needed. Export bans, such as that introduced by Russia in August, discourage productive investment by denying producers the windfall of selling to international markets. Direct food aid does the same by undercutting farmers in developing countries.

A mechanism is needed to keep markets open during volatile periods, however politically difficult this is. Rich countries should also continue to replace food aid with development assistance that boosts agricultural productivity. Initiatives such as Hillary Clinton's Feed the Future programme, which aims to give small-scale farmers access to new technologies, are much needed.

Poor countries are not without remedy. Larger food reserves will help to relieve shortages. Investing in irrigation and other measures to improve land quality will accelerate productivity growth. Rich countries should help to finance such investments.

We are beginning to realise that the era of food surpluses has come to an end. How policymakers respond will determine whether the turbulence of recent months becomes a regular occurrence.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:33:17 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes, will work on setting that up and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ok--can we try for 8 tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:30:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ms,
Mashabane is no longer available this morning, but can do anytime btw 6-8 am tomorrow morning. Let me know if you'd like us to lock in a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

B6

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 8:29 PM
**To:** Lew, Jacob J; H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Senate just voted to confirm

CONGRATS!!!!!!

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 18 20:27:53 2010
Subject: Senate just voted to confirm

After a cloture petition was prepared there was a negotiation and Landrieu released her hold. Voice vote in the end. More words of thanks and farewell to follow, but wanted to share the news.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 8:45 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Jack lew was just confirmed!!

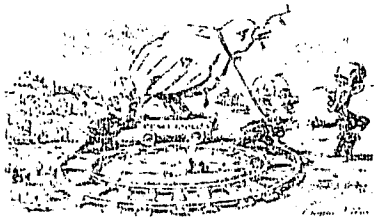
RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** In case you missed, and see last graph. Sid

H: In case you missed this, by the FT international affairs editor, esp the last graph. Sid

# Financial Times FT.com

A poisoned process holds little hope
By David Gardner
Published: August 25 2010 22:46 | Last updated: August 25 2010 22:46



As the caravans of Middle East peace negotiators rumble into Washington next week for the umpteenth time, the pervasive cynicism and sense of deja vu all over again is overwhelming – and with good reason.

The Middle East peace process long ago turned into a tortured charade of pure process while events on the ground – in particular the relentless and strategic Israeli colonisation of occupied Palestinian land – pull in the opposite direction to peace. "We have all been colluding in a gigantic confidence trick," is how one Arab minister puts it, "and here we go again."

While many factors had combined to hand veto powers to rejectionists on both sides, the heart of the question remains the continuing Israeli occupation. It is essential to remember that the biggest single increase of Jewish settlers on Arab land – a 50 per cent rise – took place in 1992-96 under the governments of peace-makers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres at the high-water mark of the Oslo peace accords. Many Israelis will point to the perfidy of the late Yassir Arafat, who wanted to talk peace but keep the option of armed resistance dangerously in play. But what killed Oslo was the occupation. The second intifada that erupted a decade ago was essentially the Oslo war.

A decade on, the Israeli settlement enterprise has turned the occupied West Bank into a discontiguous scattering of cantons, walled in by a security barrier built on yet more annexed Arab land and criss-crossed by segregated Israeli roads linking the settlements. Last month, B'Tselem, the Israeli human rights group, published a study showing Israel has now taken 42 per cent of the West Bank, with 300,000 settlers there and another 200,000 in East Jerusalem. The siege of Gaza has turned that sliver of land into a vast, open-air prison.

The main feature of the present situation is the disconnect between the high politics of the utterly discredited peace process and these – in Israeli parlance – "facts on the ground".

At last month's White House summit, where Barack Obama and Benjamin Netanyahu massaged their long estrangement into a political armistice, the US president praised the Israeli prime minister as a leader "willing to take risks for peace". But there is no evidence for this whatsoever. True, in June last year, in response to Mr Obama's Cairo speech denying any legitimacy to Israel's settlements, Mr Netanyahu forced himself to utter the words "Palestinian state" – but he surrounded them with barbed-wire caveats that voided them of meaning.

Indeed, the words all sides use – peace, resolution, security, and so on – may be the same; but what each side means by them is different.

The mainstream Palestinian leaders, President Mahmoud Abbas and Salam Fayyad, the prime minister, and the Quartet made up of the US, the European Union, the UN and Russia, talk of a negotiated resolution. This means two states living in peace and security, and a Palestinian homeland on the 22 per cent of Mandate Palestine taken by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. East Jerusalem would serve as the capital of the West Bank and Gaza, with marginal land swaps to preserve some Israeli settlements near Jerusalem. But what does Mr Netanyahu mean?

He has been most clear on what he does not mean. For a start, he has set his face against any concessions on Jerusalem. He wants to keep most settlements except for the far-flung "ideological" ones and the 100-plus "outposts" established as pawns to be traded once the chess game began. His idea of a demilitarised Palestinian state is more like a sort of supra-municipal administration than a self-determined, independent government.

Will he surprise us, on the hackneyed Nixon and China principle that holds it is politicians of the right who most easily close difficult deals? There is little to suggest that.

The thinking of Mr Netanyahu, son of a celebrated promoter of Greater Israel, has always been profoundly irredentist. While his nationalist Likud faces the constraints of being in coalition with an assortment of ultra-rightist and ultra-orthodox parties as well as Labour, that was plainly his choice; the centrist Kadima party was (and remains) an alternative. To be fair, Israel's electoral system – with a low threshold for entry into the Knesset that makes multi-party coalitions inevitable – means lobbies such as the settlers can take the national interest hostage. But Mr Netanyahu magnifies this by his choice of partners and by diligently firing up the ultra-hawks in the pro-Israel lobby in the US.

As risks he has taken for peace, Exhibit A is the much-hyped moratorium on settlement-building, which expires next month and has, in any case, been speciously interpreted. While the bulldozers to build settlements have been idling, moreover, the bulldozers demolishing Palestinian homes have been roaring: the rate of demolition in and around Jerusalem has doubled this year, while the army has just razed the village of al-Farisiye in the Jordan Valley, in line with Mr Netanyahu's strategically obsolete obsession with keeping the valley as Israel's eastern border.

As diplomacy struggles to keep alive the viability of a two-state solution, three rival systems of control have crystallised in the occupied territories that would make up a future Palestinian homeland: the settlements; the crimped Palestinian Authority of Mr Abbas and Mr Fayyad; and then Hamas, which Israel and its Arab and western allies have tried and failed to marginalise. Time is short for a negotiated outcome; it may even have run out.

The outlines of a deal are clear, in the (Bill) Clinton parameters of 2000 and Arab Peace Initiative of 2002, endorsed by 22 Arab and 57 Muslim countries (as well as Hamas, as part of the 2007 Mecca accord). There has to be an end to the occupation, and the US and Quartet cannot just allude to this; they must demand it.

*The writer is international affairs editor*

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Senate just voted to confirm

Thanks so much -- for your leadership and friendship and for the opportunity to be part of this great team. [redacted] B6
[redacted] All best.

Jack

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 18 20:48:20 2010
Subject: Re: Senate just voted to confirm

Congratulations and good luck--[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]! All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Nov 18 20:27:53 2010
Subject: Senate just voted to confirm

After a cloture petition was prepared there was a negotiation and Landrieu released her hold. Voice vote in the end. More words of thanks and farewell to follow, but wanted to share the news.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 9:05 PM
**To:** H; 'woodardew@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: for Hillary

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Cc: H
Sent: Thu Nov 18 21:03:28 2010
Subject: Fw: for Hillary

Let's discuss for schedule.

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Nov 13 21:59:08 2010
Subject: Re: for Hillary

It's a very New York crowd and very Diane style event (i.e. unconventional) Last year, it was held in one of the big delegates' lounges at the UN and she redid all the chairs, etc in her patterns. The awards are all serious and DVF is the moderator. Each awardee receives 50K for her ongoing work. The event bears no resemblance to a typical foreign policy event, but if you were in NY, you could arrive for the awards and leave. I have no doubt you would be very warmly embraced and DVF and Barry are so fond of you. I would only do it if could be easily done.

In a message dated 11/13/2010 8:51:10 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, HDR22@clintonemail.com writes:

> Do you think I should do this?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: pverveer [redacted] B6
> To: H
> Sent: Fri Nov 12 11:32:48 2010
> Subject: Fwd: for Hillary
>
> from your friend, DVF
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: DVF <dvf [redacted] B6
> To: pverveer [redacted] B6
> Sent: Fri, Nov 12, 2010 1:29 am
> Subject: for Hillary

Dearest Madame Secretary,

I am in Abu Dhabi, watching you on television with Prime Minister Natanyaou. You are looking so well ! You are more and more impressive...I am so proud of you !

We are planning our Women of the World Conference again for next March. On Saturday night, March 12th, I will be having the 2nd DVF Award at a dinner at the UN. 2 of the recipients will be women from Vital Voices, one will be voted by people on line and the fourth one is the special one give to formidable example of courage and leadership. Last year it was given to Ingrid Betancourt by Meryll Streep.

More than anything, I would love if you would be willing to accept that award. YOU are such an example of strength. leadership and spirit to all of us women.

Am I dreaming or would you be willing to accept it ?

Lots of love

Diane von Furstenberg
DVF Studio L.P.
440 West 14th Street
New York, NY 10014
Tel: 212-741-6607

---

01:29:41 Fri 12 Nov 2010 Diane von Furstenberg L.P.

---

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:50 AM
**To:** H; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call update

Ill let lauren handle
Ops can schedule menendez to lock in

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Aug 26 09:49:01 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Also, I'd like to set up calls w Martin Indyk and Rob Wexler for this morning if possible.

Am I set to talk w Menendez at noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:33:17 2010
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Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
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Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>

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From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
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B6

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----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The beat goes on.....

With 97 percent of the precincts counted, Quinn and Bill Brady were separated by three-tenths of a percentage point — roughly 11,100 votes out of 3.57 million cast.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 9:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Lew confirmed as budget director

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Thu Nov 18 20:51:56 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Lew confirmed as budget director

WASHINGTON (AP) - The Senate confirmed Jacob Lew as director of the Office of Management and Budget after a Louisiana senator lifted a hold on his nomination. Democratic Sen. Mary Landrieu had held up Lew's confirmation to protest the administration's six-month moratorium on deepwater oil and gas drilling in the Gulf. She said that "notable progress has been made" in her talks with the Interior Department and noted some permits have been issued in recent weeks. The nomination was confirmed by voice vote.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: In case you missed, and see last graph. Sid

Maybe. And, of course, worth the effort. Without an effort, the two state solution is dead; if failed, on the other hand, also dead. Another idea, don't know if it can be made to work: How to introduce Israel entering the NPT and ending its nuclear ambiguity, which is its state policy, but which itself is the model for Iran now. Can this issue be used profitably in negotiations, a wild card, as it were? Can options be developed on whether it can, how it might work, potential effect on peace process? Israel's nuclear ambiguity policy is certainly a big issue coming given Iran. See below from Haaretz today:

- Home
- Print Edition
- News

- Published 00:56 26.08.10
- Latest update 00:56 26.08.10

# Interview / Why Israel should end its policy of nuclear ambiguity

## An interview with Avner Cohen, expert on nonproliferation issues and author of the forthcoming book "The Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb."

By Natasha Mozgovaya Tags: Israel news

Avner Cohen is a senior fellow of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. He is the author of "Israel and the Bomb" and the forthcoming "The Worst-Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb."

**Avner Cohen, you claim that the time has come for Israel to abandon its policy of nuclear ambiguity. Why now, and why would that be good for Israel?**

"Nuclear ambiguity is a cornerstone of Israeli strategic thinking. It was born many years ago, and sealed as part of a comprehensive deal with the United States in 1969. It was appropriate at the time, but today, in my opinion, it is not just anachronistic, but foolish and anti-democratic. Even in realpolitik terms, it is an 'own goal' for Israel. In my view, it undermines genuine Israeli interests, including the need to gain recognition and legitimacy and to be counted among the responsible states in this strategic field."

**Are you sure the pressure on Israel is so severe? If Israel is criticized over its nuclear program, it's usually marginal. The brunt of the criticism is over its treatment of the Palestinians.**

"Israel received tacit consent for its nuclear program from the Western world because it appeared to be a small, just state surrounded by enemies, and the memory of the Holocaust was still fresh. Israel's image was different then.

"In the long term, the more Israel appears to reject peace and to be the one that opposes a two-state solution, the more it will be perceived as a regional bully that possesses nuclear weapons. So the world will be a lot less forgiving on the nuclear issue. The situation of ambiguity, in which you don't have real legitimacy, is not a good place to be."

**The United States has called on Israel to join the nonproliferation treaty, but during Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Washington, U.S. President Barack Obama said he recognizes the special nature of the threats Israel faces, and these threats warrant special security measures.**

"The Americans want to appear just and fair because the issue is seen in Israel as completely sacred. They want to look as though they respect that. This agreement [with the U.S.] has been passed along from president to president, but I don't believe this issue is as sacred to Americans as it is to Israelis."

**Do you give credence to the slippery slope theory, under which abandoning ambiguity would lead to demands that Israel disarm?**

"Those are cliches used by the defense establishment. Nobody demands that Israel make such an announcement without first doing the preparatory work among its allies and the Arab states. This great fear of a slippery slope is ridiculous. Israel has its own interests; nobody can coerce it to do things."

**What about the claim that ambiguity is what keeps the Arab states from feeling a need to launch an arms race against Israel?**

"I don't dismiss that claim out of hand, and if, after study and thought, this fear turns out to be warranted, I would be prepared to wait. But in some ways, ambiguity is insulting to the Arabs. The claim you mention treats Arabs as though they were children: If they are told that Israel doesn't admit to it, that frees them of the need to deal with the reality. I believe the Arab countries don't want to play a game of make-believe, but rather want to discuss the topic directly and realistically."

**You say, basically, that Iran is imitating Israel's nuclear behavior. That comparison would certainly rankle Israel supporters.**

"But the way Iran has advanced toward nuclear capability is not via announcements and tests, but rather by rumors. It can even remain within the bounds of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. If that rankles anybody, let it rankle.

"If Iran is not attacked, it will want to achieve a status of ambiguity; I see this as nearly certain. The international community thus has another reason not to accept the idea of ambiguity as legitimate. The norm that a state with a nuclear weapon must say so clearly is part of the nonproliferation regime. The longer Iran continues down this path, the less patience the world will have for Israel."

**How do you envision the scenario of 'coming out of the nuclear closet?'**

"Censorship plays a very central role in the enforcement of nuclear ambiguity. So long as there is a [military] censor, it is very hard to alter ambiguity. If censorship didn't exist, Israeli newspapers would be able to write about the subject more openly.

"Another issue is the need for a law that addresses the nuclear topic. There is a Shin Bet [security service] law, but there is no law for the Mossad and no law for the Israel Atomic Energy Commission. This is a very problematic situation.

"On the international level, it's a sensitive subject that demands preparatory work. Ultimately, I see a political statement by Israel's government in which the prime minister would find the right way to put this subject on the table. He would talk about the historical background and the responsible way Israel has dealt with this topic. With a few rare exceptions, these weapons have no military use; Israel views them as a means of deterrence. I don't think Israel would need to go into detail regarding how many [bombs] it has or exactly what it has.

"Israel has a right to the bomb no less than New Delhi, or even the United States. Ambiguity creates a sense that we are sinners, as though we had done something so terrible that we can't tell the awful truth - and I don't think it is so awful. This is a country that the world has viewed as a nuclear state for a long time, and the time has come for it to say something positive on this huge, complicated and awe-inspiring topic...

"All these states are ultimately committed under the treaty they signed to achieve a world without nuclear weapons. Whether that will happen in our lifetimes I can't say."

**You say ambiguity undermines Israeli democracy and prevents debate on matters of life and death, such as the question of whose finger will be on the button. Do you think the Israeli public is ready for such a discussion?**

"There has been very little creative thinking in this area, and ambiguity is one of the stifling factors that have produced an unacceptable, closed culture incapable of creative thinking. Ambiguity's power derives from the fact that Israeli society accepts it, and it seems to the public that any attempt to deviate from it would cause serious damage to Israeli security.

"Ambiguity has created a public incapable of dealing with the topic, one that is afraid of it and prefers the issue to be handled by 'trustworthy hands' so that it does not have to take responsibility itself.

Ambiguity has created an ignorant, craven public which, in a certain sense, has betrayed its civic, democratic duties on this subject."

**What's it like researching a topic nobody discusses?**

"When I started studying this subject 25 years ago, I had the feeling I was entering a palace where nothing could be touched. It took me years to find the right way to handle the topic responsibly - from a researcher's perspective, not from the standpoint of someone who is directly involved in the matter.

Today I think it is possible to initiate a meaningful dialogue about concrete, real issues."


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This story is by:

- Natasha Mozgovaya

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu, Aug 26, 2010 9:45 am
Subject: Re: In case you missed, and see last graph.

Well, this may be a case of no good options, but I still believe it is better to

be caught trying. Stay tuned...

----- Original Message -----

From: [redacted]

To: H

Sent: Thu Aug 26 09:04:36 2010

Subject: In case you missed, and see last graph. Sid

H: In case you missed this, by the FT international affairs editor, esp the last

graph. Sid

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771423 Date: 08/31/2015

Financial Times FT.com <http://FT.com/>

# A poisoned process holds little hope

By David Gardner

Published: August 25 2010 22:46 | Last updated: August 25 2010 22:46

As the caravans of Middle East peace negotiators rumble into Washington next week for the umpteenth time, the pervasive cynicism and sense of deja vu all over again is overwhelming - and with good reason.

The Middle East peace process long ago turned into a tortured charade of pure process while events on the ground - in particular the relentless and strategic Israeli colonisation of occupied Palestinian land - pull in the opposite direction to peace. "We have all been colluding in a gigantic confidence trick," is how one Arab minister puts it, "and here we go again."

While many factors had combined to hand veto powers to rejectionists on both sides, the heart of the question remains the continuing Israeli occupation. It is essential to remember that the biggest single increase of Jewish settlers on Arab land - a 50 per cent rise - took place in 1992-96 under the governments of peace-makers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres at the high-water mark of the Oslo peace accords. Many Israelis will point to the perfidy of the late Yassir Arafat, who wanted to talk peace but keep the option of armed resistance

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At last month's White House summit, where Barack Obama and Benjamin Netanyahu massaged their long estrangement into a political armistice, the US president praised the Israeli prime minister as a leader "willing to take risks for peace".

But there is no evidence for this whatsoever. True, in June last year, in response to Mr Obama's Cairo speech denying any legitimacy to Israel's settlements, Mr Netanyahu forced himself to utter the words "Palestinian state" - but he surrounded them with barbed-wire caveats that voided them of meaning.

Indeed, the words all sides use - peace, resolution, security, and so on - may

be the same; but what each side means by them is different.

The mainstream Palestinian leaders, President Mahmoud Abbas and Salam Fayyad, the prime minister, and the Quartet made up of the US, the European Union, the UN and Russia, talk of a negotiated resolution. This means two states living in peace and security, and a Palestinian homeland on the 22 per cent of Mandate Palestine taken by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. East Jerusalem would serve as the capital of the West Bank and Gaza, with marginal land swaps to preserve some Israeli settlements near Jerusalem. But what does Mr Netanyahu mean?

He has been most clear on what he does not mean. For a start, he has set his face against any concessions on Jerusalem. He wants to keep most settlements except for the far-flung "ideological" ones and the 100-plus "outposts" established as pawns to be traded once the chess game began. His idea of a demilitarised Palestinian state is more like a sort of supra-municipal administration than a self-determined, independent government.

Will he surprise us, on the hackneyed Nixon and China principle that holds it is politicians of the right who most easily close difficult deals? There is little to suggest that.

The thinking of Mr Netanyahu, son of a celebrated promoter of Greater Israel, has always been profoundly irredentist. While his nationalist Likud faces the constraints of being in coalition with an assortment of ultra-rightist and

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771423 Date: 08/31/2015

ultra-orthodox parties as well as Labour, that was plainly his choice; the centrist Kadima party was (and remains) an alternative. To be fair, Israel's electoral system - with a low threshold for entry into the Knesset that makes multi-party coalitions inevitable - means lobbies such as the settlers can take the national interest hostage. But Mr Netanyahu magnifies this by his choice of partners and by diligently firing up the ultra-hawks in the pro-Israel lobby in the US.

As risks he has taken for peace, Exhibit A is the much-hyped moratorium on settlement-building, which expires next month and has, in any case, been speciously interpreted. While the bulldozers to build settlements have been idling, moreover, the bulldozers demolishing Palestinian homes have been roaring: the rate of demolition in and around Jerusalem has doubled this year, while the army has just razed the village of al-Farisiye in the Jordan Valley, in line with Mr Netanyahu's strategically obsolete obsession with keeping the valley as Israel's eastern border.

As diplomacy struggles to keep alive the viability of a two-state solution, three rival systems of control have crystallised in the occupied territories that would make up a future Palestinian homeland: the settlements; the crimped Palestinian Authority of Mr Abbas and Mr Fayyad; and then Hamas, which Israel and its Arab and western allies have tried and failed to marginalise. Time is short for a negotiated outcome; it may even have run out.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771423 Date: 08/31/2015

The outlines of a deal are clear, in the (Bill) Clinton parameters of 2000 and Arab Peace Initiative of 2002, endorsed by 22 Arab and 57 Muslim countries (as well as Hamas, as part of the 2007 Mecca accord). There has to be an end to the occupation, and the US and Quartet cannot just allude to this; they must demand it.

The writer is international affairs editor

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** FW: Jake and Huma on Time's 40 under 40

-----Original Message-----
From: Caitlin Klevorick [mailto[redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, October 14, 2010 7:35 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Jake and Huma on Time's 40 under 40

http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2023831_2023829_2025209,00.html

http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2023831_2023829_2025219,00.html

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 1:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Hariri court president appeals for acceptance

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 13:18:01 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Hariri court president appeals for acceptance

LEIDSCHENDAM (AP) - The president of a UN-backed tribunal set up to prosecute the assassins of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri made an impassioned plea for Lebanese to give the court a chance to show it can dispense impartial justice. Italian Judge Antonio Cassese also told Lebanese journalists visiting the Special Tribunal for Lebanon he hopes prosecutors will issue an indictment by December in the 2005 truck bombing that killed Hariri and 22 others on Beirut's Mediterranean waterfront.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:03 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

Ok will work on those and get back to you asap

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:49 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Also, I'd like to set up calls w Martin Indyk and Rob Wexler for this morning if possible.

Am I set to talk w Menendez at noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:33:17 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes, will work on setting that up and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ok--can we try for 8 tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>

Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:30:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ms,
Mashabane is no longer available this morning, but can do anytime btw 6-8 am tomorrow morning. Let me know if you'd like us to lock in a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 1:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 11/3 0845 Meeting Readout

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Moy, Kin W; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 09:53:56 2010
**Subject:** 11/3 0845 Meeting Readout

**Elections**

With some 20 seats still undecided, Republicans have already picked up 61 seats in House; Democrats likely to keep 51-53 seats in Senate. Spratt and Skelton losses are among more significant; H will prepare an analysis of election's impact on our oversight committees. Murkowski appears to be headed for historic write-in win; her support of Law of Sea and likely sympathy for New START will be good for us. Reid will likely return to Washington energized by win to pursue consequential lame duck session. Manchin and Kirk will take up their seats in the Senate this month; Rich suggests S calls to each to help lock in support for New START.

**Other Congressional Issues**

Tom Nides' prep going well, and he'll see SFRC members and Sem Gilibrand this week. Rich expects committee will vote him out during lame duck; still unclear if we'll get floor vote. An inter-agency team will brief the Hill this week on the President's Asia trip. Kerry will leave for the Middle East, including Syria, on Sunday.

**Guantanamo Closure**

DOJ is considering Harold's latest paper on the way forward.

**Iran**

Kouchner announced after conversation with Iranian FM Mottaki that adultery convict Ashtiani will not be imminently executed, as earlier reported. Jundullah designation being announced this morning.

**India**

Roemer and Blake making good progress on nuclear liability issue, but we are not yet ready to raise public expectations.

**Iraq**

Press reports about Inspector General's report on mil-civ transition mistakenly suggest that State had been unaware of associated challenges.

**Middle East**

Saeb Erekat here today, and will be delivering public remarks. He'll meet George Mitchell tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: In Kosovo, crazy for the Clintons

---

**From:** williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 13, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** Toiv, Nora F; Mills, Cheryl D; MMoore [redacted]
**Subject:** Re: In Kosovo, crazy for the Clintons

"Boutique Hillary" -- this could be hillary's future. m

-----Original Message-----
From: Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Minyon Moore < [redacted] >; williamsbarrett [redacted]
Sent: Wed, Oct 13, 2010 4:01 pm
Subject: In Kosovo, crazy for the Clintons

The Washington Post

# In Kosovo, crazy for the Clintons

By Mary Beth Sheridan
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, October 13, 2010; 9:41 AM

PRISTINA, KOSOVO- This poor, tiny corner of Europe turned into the Land of Clinton on Wednesday, with thousands of Kosovo residents turning out to greet Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and pay homage to her husband. Former president Bill Clinton is revered here for his role in ending the Yugoslav "ethnic cleansing" campaign of the late 1990s.

Arriving in Pristina, Clinton's motorcade slowed to a halt on the central Bill Clinton Boulevard, and she hopped out of her car to personally inspect an 11-foot gold statue of the former president. She waved and smiled as a crowd brandished American flags, applauded and chanted "Hill-a-REE!! Hill-a-REE!"

Above the little plaza, an image of Clinton grinned from a giant billboard. Hillary Clinton's face beamed from another billboard nearby, bearing the word "Welcome."

After posing for photos with the Bill Clinton statue, the secretary of state ducked into the Hillary boutique next door. As she emerged, a local reporter approached. "Do you like it?" the reporter asked, gesturing to the statue. "Your husband."

"Yes! And look, a store with my name," said the secretary of state, holding a shopping bag inscribed "Boutique Hillary."

Asked what she thought of Kosovo, Hillary Clinton replied, "I'm so glad to be back after 10 years. It's wonderful."

The chief U.S. diplomat was concluding a three-day Balkan tour that also took her to Bosnia and Serbia.

During her husband's administration, NATO bombed Yugoslavia to force it to end an "ethnic cleansing" campaign in Kosovo, a breakaway province largely populated by ethnic Albanians.

Kosovo declared independence in 2008.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F
**Subject:** RE: are you up

Calling now

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 2010 2:12 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Toiv, Nora F
Subject: Re: are you up

I just landed in New Zealand and am trying to call you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Nov 03 10:37:30 2010
Subject: are you up

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

Fyi

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 10/13/2035

**From:** Morningstar, Richard L
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Blake, Robert O
**Sent:** Thu Oct 14 11:51:03 2010
**Subject:** FW:

Jake- Attached is an e-mail to Holbrooke on TAPI. S is interested in the project and may want to see this. I will also forward a similar e-mail to Gen. Petraeus...Dick

**From:** Morningstar, Richard L
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 11:48 AM
**To:** 'holbrooker@state.gov'
**Cc:** Stein, Daniel D; Goodman, Mary Beth
**Subject:** FW:

Dear Richard:

B1
1.4(D)

In the past two months, the TAPI project has been resuscitated, largely due to Turkmen President Berdimukhamedov's personal outreach to his counterparts in Kabul, Islamabad and New Delhi. A "Heads of Agreement" for the project was recently signed, and there is a possibility that the heads of state of the four participant countries will meet in Ashgabat in December to give further political impetus to the project. As a result, the Asian Development Bank has now reengaged on the project, and has just agreed to fund technical assistance to the Afghan Ministry of Mines to assist in negotiations with the other TAPI partners.

I have met twice with Turkmen President Berdimukhamedov since August, and TAPI is at the top of his agenda.

We all recognize the significant hurdles that TAPI faces, both from a security and commercial standpoint, but we believe we should do what we can to encourage forward movement on the project.

I have also made General Petraeus aware of the above.

We'll let you know how this develops, and in the meantime, would be grateful for any thoughts or advice you might have on the project.

With best regards,
Dick

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 12:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: WashPost Heads up

Just as I put those guys back on the front foot - this came in.

Look forward to discussing.

---

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Burns, William J
**Sent:** Fri Nov 19 12:19:19 2010
**Subject:** FW: WashPost Heads up

Jake, Bill Burns and I got an advance copy of Dan Kurtzer's op-ed piece for Sunday's Washington Post. (I assure you that we have not been in touch with Dan on this, should someone wonder.) I am forwarding it to you in the same spirit in which Dan forwarded it to us -- the need to avoid surprises. As S will have taped her talk shows on Saturday, the questioners won't be asking things from this.

B5

*Jeffrey Feltman*
*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs*
*Department of State*
202-647-7209

---

It was only a little over a year and a half ago that the Obama administration demanded a freeze on Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, including even the "natural growth" of existing settlements. At the time, the administration called settlement activity "illegitimate" and appeared ready to go to the mat with Israel to show just how strongly the United States believed that settlements impede peace.

But now, the administration says it is prepared to pay off Israel to freeze only some of its settlement activity, and only temporarily. For the first time in memory, the United States is poised to reward Israel for its bad behavior.

Here's the offer that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton is reported to have put on the table recently: The United States will provide a package of advanced weaponry and military assistance to Israel totaling several billion dollars, all in return for an Israeli commitment to freeze settlement construction for just three months, excluding construction in Jerusalem. During this period, the United States hopes Israel and the Palestinian Authority will negotiate an agreement on the final borders of a future Palestinian state. The Israeli cabinet is weighing the offer, having demanded a letter from Washington confirming the terms.

This is a very bad idea. And while Washington will almost certainly come to regret bribing Israel, Israel may regret receiving such a bribe even more.

Previously, U.S. opposition to settlements resulted in penalties, not rewards, for continued construction. Washington deducted from its loan guarantees to Israel an amount equivalent, dollar for dollar, to the money that Israel spent in the occupied territories. While it's true that the United States has turned a blind eye to indirect U.S. subsidies for Israeli activities in the territories - such as tax deductions for American organizations that fund settlements - the deal now being offered to Israel is of a totally different magnitude. If it goes forward, it will be the first direct benefit that the United States has provided Israel for settlement activities that we have opposed for more than 40 years.

It is not clear that Washington has thought through the implications. Will the United States similarly reward Palestinians for stopping their own bad behavior? Will Washington pay them to, say, halt the incitement against Israel and Jews in their public media and some educational materials - something that shouldn't have been going on in the first place? Will the rewards for Israel be automatically renewable? Meaning, if Israel is willing to continue the settlement freeze after three months, will another set of rewards be the price for that? And what about enforcement? Will the United States demand its money back if it learns about construction during the freeze, even if that construction was not authorized by the Israeli government?
The list of problems is so long that it would not be surprising if the administration were already experiencing buyer's remorse.

But the arrangement has an even more serious long-term implication, one that should worry Israel profoundly. If it goes through, this deal will shake the foundation of the U.S.-Israeli strategic partnership. Since the early 1980s, the two countries have cooperated closely on assessing Israeli security, and Washington has promised to ensure Israel's "qualitative military edge" over any combination of potential Arab adversaries.

This commitment has been insulated from the vicissitudes of politics and diplomacy. Whatever the state of U.S.-Israeli relations or the peace process, America's commitment to Israel's security has been manifest. Not so, if this deal materializes. By subjecting Israel's defense needs to the political demands of an American administration, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has done something quite dangerous for Israel - he has made those needs contingent, negotiable, optional. Israel's security requirements are now merely a bargaining chip with which to negotiate what Jerusalem will or will not do to advance the peace process.

Today, the United States has "purchased" a short-term settlements freeze; what will be for sale tomorrow? Conversely, how seriously should our defense planners and congressional budget watchers take Israel's arguments about its security needs when it is prepared to market different elements of its policy for another squadron of advanced aircraft? Does anyone really believe that there is a substantive connection between a three-month settlement freeze and Israel's professed need for more airplanes?

These short-sighted tactics will lead both the United States and Israel into a long-term bind. Washington will be left fending off a landslide of demands from others who hope to be rewarded for their bad behavior, to be paid for stopping what they should never have been doing. Israel, meanwhile, will be left struggling to explain how precious its settlements really are if a payoff - albeit a high one - is enough to see them frozen. And both countries will need a new rationale for the exceedingly high price of what Israel calls its security requirements, but which will now look more like poker chips used to secure American aid.

This bargaining exercise has been unseemly all along; if it proceeds, both sides will probably regret it. But the deal has not yet been sealed. And it is not too late to start over.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:23 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

Martin Indyk is free for the next 40 minutes. I can connect him to your blackberry whenever you're ready. I'm still working on Menendez and Wexler.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:49 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Also, I'd like to set up calls w Martin Indyk and Rob Wexler for this morning if possible.

Am I set to talk w Menendez at noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:33:17 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes, will work on setting that up and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ok--can we try for 8 tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H

Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:30:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ms,
Mashabane is no longer available this morning, but can do anytime btw 6-8 am tomorrow morning. Let me know if you'd like us to lock in a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

B6

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 3:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Ireland's four-year plan to be published November 23

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Sat Nov 20 02:39:43 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Ireland's four-year plan to be published November 23

DUBLIN (Reuters) – Ireland's four-year plan to reduce its deficit will be published on November 23, ahead of any international financial aid package, the Irish Times reported, citing unnamed senior Irish officials. "The cabinet will meet November 21 to sign off on the 160-page document which charts how the state will reduce its outgoings," the Irish Times said, adding the publication date had been brought forward so it could be identified as a government-originated plan rather than one driven by Europe or the IMF. The Irish Times said a separate plan for restructuring the banking sector was also expected to be finalized November 20-21.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 3:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Ashton

FYI - you probably know this, but...

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns, William J
To: Gordon, Philip H
Cc: Wells, Alice G; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Nov 19 18:16:19 2010
Subject: RE: Ashton

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Cooper called also with same message.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Friday, November 19, 2010 1:49 PM
To: Burns, William J
Cc: Wells, Alice G; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Ashton

We will see her again at us-eu summit tomorrow if anything you want to convey. (We'll also see davut tomorrow).

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/19/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 5:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Secstate with Spanish FoMin

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Nov 20 05:03:27 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Secstate with Spanish FoMin

Jake,
Fyi for the spanish

---

**From:** Genton, Thomas R
**To:** Stroh, Mark E; Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul; Lussenhop, Matthew R; Ensor, David B
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Ortiz, Katherine I; Dressel, Abigail L.; Mattern, Daniel S; Martin, Elizabeth K; Pease, Leah M; McKay, Maria E; Feldmann, David S
**Sent:** Sat Nov 20 05:01:09 2010
**Subject:** Re: Secstate with Spanish FoMin

Mark,
You've probably heard that a bomb went off thisd morning in Laghman province, Aghanistan. The Governor of the province is in Madrid at the end of a one-week visit to Poland, Germany, and Spain.

His message has been of support for ISAF and international development, which is helping Afghanistan defeat the enemy, confront radical terrorists, and rebuild.

The Governor is considering release of a a statement from Madrid to news outlets this afternoon. We have offered assistance in reaching media. Will keep you posted.

Please share this info, as appropriate, with those who should know in the Dept.

FOR KABUL:
While it appears that Insurgents hoped to capitalize on the NATO summit to send a message, and likely chose Laghman because of it has been relatively peaceful and secure, this incident underscores the Governor's talking points that, while Laghman has been peaceful and made great progress on all fronts in the past 9 years, Afghanstan still needs security and development assistance to defeat the terrorists, who only bring destruction, fear, and oppression.

Tom Genton,
PAO Madrid

-Tom

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**To:** Genton, Thomas R; Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Ortiz, Katherine I; Dressel, Abigail L.
**Sent:** Fri Nov 19 14:33:42 2010
**Subject:** Re: Secstate with Spanish FoMin

Absolutely tom.
Thanks for doing all the long-distance legwork for us today and yesterday!

Regards,
Mark

---

**From**: Genton, Thomas R
**To**: Stroh, Mark E; Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul
**Cc**: Sanchez, Mauricio X; Ortiz, Katherine I; Dressel, Abigail L.
**Sent**: Fri Nov 19 14:30:34 2010
**Subject**: Secstate with Spanish FoMin

Mark,
I agree. All the key Spanish MFA and GOS officials are on the ground in Lisbon, so go ahead and handle it. Just keep us in the loop on what comes out of it.
-_Tom

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 8:29 PM
**To:** Genton, Thomas R; Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Tom,
We have confirmed a 10.30 bilat with the spanish. At this point it might be easier for us to handle the bilat arrangements here on the ground but feel free to check in with us and we'll tell you what we know!

Thanks for your assistance and best regards,
Mark

---

**From**: Genton, Thomas R
**To**: Stroh, Mark E; Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul
**Cc**: Sanchez, Mauricio X; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent**: Fri Nov 19 14:24:56 2010
**Subject**: RE: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Mark,
After several unsuccessful attempts to reach contacts at MFA or Moncloa (Spanish Presidency), at 8:15 pm today I reached the Moncloa Director of International Communication, Juan Cierco, on the ground in Lisbon, who indicated to me that he had just received official word from you (albeit through a third party) that a 15-min Clinton-Trinidad meeting had been confirmed for 10:30 am Saturday morning, and that the Secretary had agreed to a photo spray (no remarks or Q&A).

True or False?

--Tom

---

Thomas R. Genton
Counselor for Public Affairs, U.S. Embassy Madrid, Spain
Calle de Serrano, 7S 28006 Madrid, Spain
Tel: [34] 91-587-2523 Cell: Fax: 91-576-8464
E-mail: gentontr@state.gov Web: http://madrid.usembassy.gov

B6

*This e-mail is UNCLASSIFIED in accordance with E.O. 12958*

---

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q; Wohlers, Paul
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

They are SERIOUSLY jumping the gun!
We have not/NOT confirmed.

---

**From:** Galvin, Jeffrey E
**To:** Stroh, Mark E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent:** Fri Nov 19 08:14:51 2010
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Mark/Andrew-

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs just sent out a press advisory pegging the bilat at 10:30 Saturday, pending confirmation. I will send you a scan. Are they jumping the gun or is this on?

-Jeff

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**To:** Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent:** Thu Nov 18 17:02:17 2010
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Ok. Who is mauricio and how do I reach him? Is he here in lisbon?

---

**From:** Galvin, Jeffrey E
**To:** Stroh, Mark E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent:** Thu Nov 18 10:49:22 2010
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Thanks Mark- Mauricio will help make the link up on our side. I hope it is a successful summit. -Jeff

---

**From:** Stroh, Mark E
**To:** Galvin, Jeffrey E; Johnson, Andrew C; Harrison, Paul Q

**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent:** Thu Nov 18 15:38:21 2010
**Subject:** Re: Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Jeff,
Thanks. First a point of clarification - we are reaching out to the spanish team here for a bilat but no meeting is confirmed. We are checking their availability here. That is all.

That said, its highly likely it will happen, so please feel free to have the spanish reach out to me here on the ground. If its via email please also cc paul harrison from usnato and andrew johnson, s staff. We are happy to discuss ground rules and such with the spanish team at their convenience.

My local cell here in portugal is [redacted] B6

Regards,
Mark

---

**From:** Galvin, Jeffrey E
**To:** Stroh, Mark E
**Cc:** Sanchez, Mauricio X; Genton, Thomas R; Ortiz, Katherine I
**Sent:** Thu Nov 18 08:55:31 2010
**Subject:** Urgent - Contact for Press Lead, S Bilat with Spain FonMin

Mark –

S has apparently scheduled a bilat with the Spanish Foreign Minister on the margins of the Lisbon summits. The MFA press staff wants to coordinate with you on press availability and ground rules. If you agree, I would like to put you directly in contact with them to work out the details. If you prefer, we can operate as a filter for you, but with the event on top of us direct contact is probably going to work better.

Yours, Jeff

Jeffrey Galvin
Information Officer
Public Affairs Section
US Embassy Madrid
+34-91-587-2510
+[redacted](direct)
E-mail: galvinje@state.gov
[redacted]

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** McKnight, Alexandra K
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** Galvin, Jeffrey E; Quick, Delia D; Feldmann, David S; Boland, Matthew H
**Cc:** Ortiz, Katherine I; Genton, Thomas R; Sanchez, Mauricio X
**Subject:** RE: Contact for Press Lead, S trip to NATO Summit

Mark Stroh is the S Advance who's on the ground; I'd reach out to him in Lisbon. He's in constant coordination with Huma, Jake and Phillipe.

Best,
Alex

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Galvin, Jeffrey E
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** McKnight, Alexandra K; Quick, Delia D; Feldmann, David S
**Cc:** Ortiz, Katherine I; Genton, Thomas R; Sanchez, Mauricio X
**Subject:** Contact for Press Lead, S trip to NATO Summit

S is having a one-on-one with Spanish Foreign Minister Trinidad Jimenez at the NATO Summit. We just got a call from the MFA here asking what the press rules for the meeting are. I would like to contact the advance lead and see how they want to proceed. Who should I reach out to?

Jeffrey Galvin
Information Officer
Public Affairs Section
US Embassy Madrid
+34-91-587-2510
+[redacted](direct)
E-mail: galvinje@state.gov
[redacted]

B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 7:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Bin Laden: Relief body needed for Muslim countries

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Fri Oct 01 06:37:03 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Bin Laden: Relief body needed for Muslim countries

CAIRO (AP) - Al-Qaida has released a new audio tape of Osama bin Laden in which the leader of the terror network calls for the creation of a relief body to aid Muslims harmed in natural disasters and wars. In a copy of the message, bin Laden also criticizes governments in Muslim countries for spending more money on armies than on their citizens. The bin Laden tape comes after similar messages from al-Qaida figures that accused the Pakistani government of failing to provide for its people after massive floods in the country killed hundreds and left some 8 million people homeless. The authenticity of the tape could not be immediately verified.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Gonzalez, Juan S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J
**Subject:** From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador

Madame Secretary: After a tense day in which President Correa was slightly injured at noon by rioting and striking police, and later was barred from leaving the hospital by the same, the army finally rescued him at 9pm last night. Some military units, including the Navy unit in Guayaquil appeared to support the police. The police also occupied the national congress. As the rescue took place, the head of the Ecuadoran Joints Chiefs of Staff issued a statement supporting the president, and noting that the armed forces respect the rule of law "in which the President [Rafael Correa] is the maximum authority of the three branches." Things are now calm.

Reaction in the hemisphere was one of deep concern. The OAS adopted a resolution; South American presidents at the call of UNASUR travelled to Buenos Aires and are likely to go on to Quito to support Correa. Several, including Garcia and Santos, called Correa. Zapatero also spoke with him. Moratinos tried to reach you at around 6pm last evening to convey that news, I took the call.

As you know, we issued a statement of support for Correa. I also gave an interview to CNN in Spanish, which was re-played frequently. I strongly recommend that you call Correa today to reiterate U.S. support for his government and to wish him well.

He will appreciate it but, more broadly, it sends a signal that the United States supports the constitutional order and rejects any attempt to undermine it. Chavez in Buenos Aires predictably declared that we were behind the unrest. We have prepared a call sheet for you.

Regards,

Arturo

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) NATO: Three civilians killed by coalition forces

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Nov 20 10:12:45 2010
**Subject:** (AP) NATO: Three civilians killed by coalition forces

KABUL (AP) - NATO said coalition forces accidentally killed three Afghan civilians and wounded four others in Kunar province in eastern Afghanistan. NATO said in a statement issued the incident occurred after coalition troops came under fire near the village of Tantil in Pech district. When coalition forces returned fire, three or four rounds landed short of the target area, near a village, killing and wounding the civilians November 19. NATO spokesman U.S. Army Col. Rafael Torres said the coalition does everything within its power to prevent civilian casualties in the course of operations, but in this case it failed. The coalition expressed condolences to the families.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** update

they update as of 840 pm is that the ball is in their court as they weigh the deal with shas and our concerns. dan will talk to molho and/or dermer very late tonight our time/first thing sunday there. i'll send you an update early in the morning.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 20, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: update

another wrinkle -- uzi arad gave an interview saying we have now given them written assurances, possibly laying the groundwork for a vote tomorrow BEFORE we have worked through the remaining issues. they may have decided to just go for it. dan will follow up.

On Sat, Nov 20, 2010 at 8:41 PM, Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> wrote:
they update as of 840 pm is that the ball is in their court as they weigh the deal with shas and our concerns. dan will talk to molho and/or dermer very late tonight our time/first thing sunday there. i'll send you an update early in the morning.

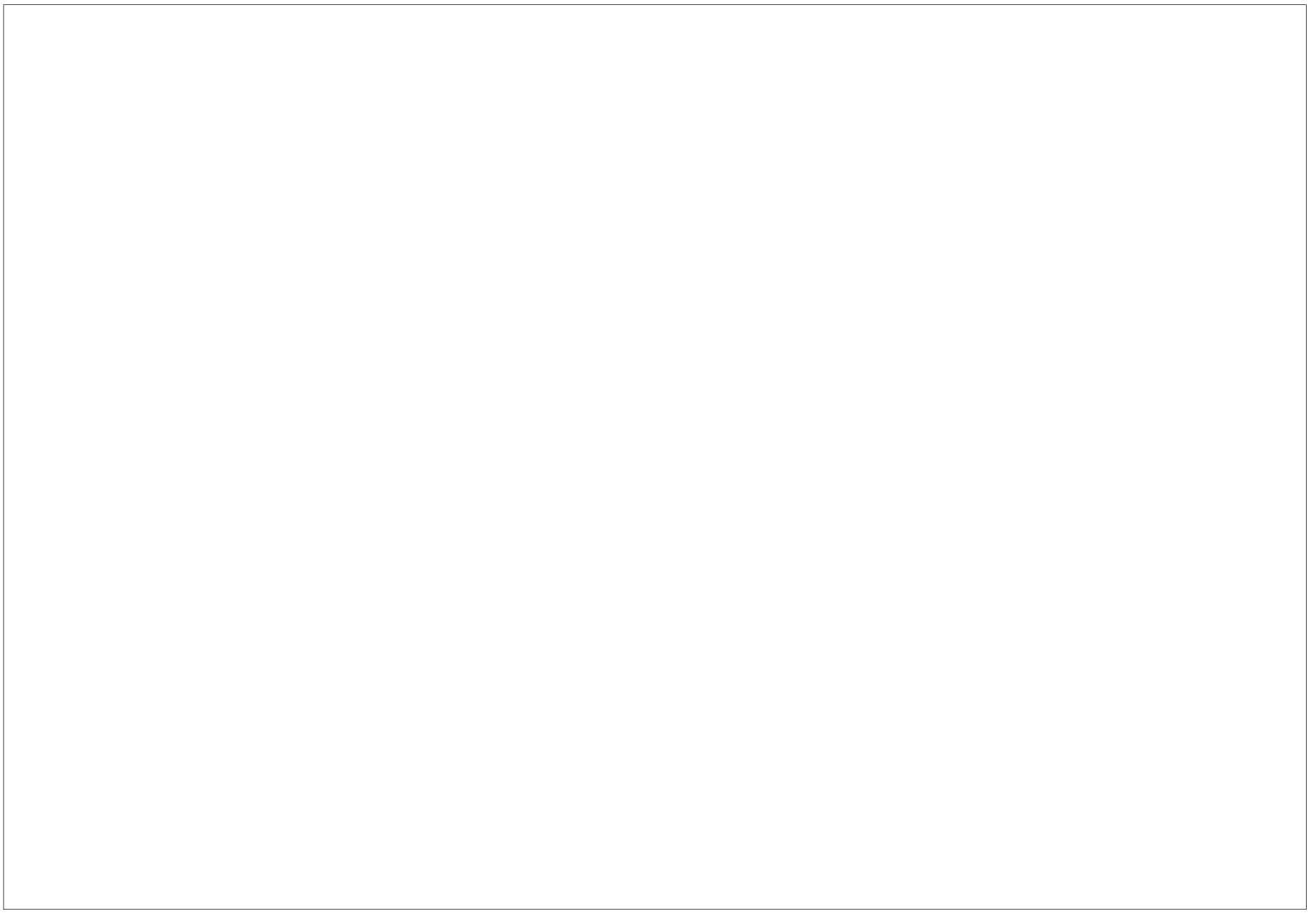
RELEASE IN PART
B5

August 30, 2010

B5

LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON



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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 6:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Aged Saudi ruler to fly to the United States over blood clot

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-CA; SCPR-Leadership-DL; DS Command Center
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sun Nov 21 01:33:03 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Aged Saudi ruler to fly to the United States over blood clot

RIYADH (AP) - A senior Saudi official says the kingdom's aged ruler will fly to the United States for "medical tests." The official says King Abdullah will leave the kingdom on November 22, three days after he was admitted to the hospital suffering from back pain due to a blood clot. The 86-year-old Crown Prince Sultan, who himself spent over a year in the U.S. and Morocco for medical treatment and recuperation, will arrive at Riyadh on November 21 to oversee the kingdom, the official said. The official spoke late November 20 on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the press. The palace said November 19 that King Abdullah was hospitalized after a blood clot had created pressure on the nerves surrounding a ruptured disc.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 6:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (AP) Aged Saudi ruler to fly to the United States over blood clot

Jeff mentioned we are helping expedite visas for delegation.

---

**From**: Abedin, Huma
**To**: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent**: Sun Nov 21 06:58:46 2010
**Subject**: Fw: (AP) Aged Saudi ruler to fly to the United States over blood clot

---

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-CA; SCPR-Leadership-DL; DS Command Center
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sun Nov 21 01:33:03 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Aged Saudi ruler to fly to the United States over blood clot

RIYADH (AP) - A senior Saudi official says the kingdom's aged ruler will fly to the United States for "medical tests." The official says King Abdullah will leave the kingdom on November 22, three days after he was admitted to the hospital suffering from back pain due to a blood clot. The 86-year-old Crown Prince Sultan, who himself spent over a year in the U.S. and Morocco for medical treatment and recuperation, will arrive at Riyadh on November 21 to oversee the kingdom, the official said. The official spoke late November 20 on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the press. The palace said November 19 that King Abdullah was hospitalized after a blood clot had created pressure on the nerves surrounding a ruptured disc.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Nov 21 12:03:58 2010
**Subject:** (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

(Jerusalem Post) Prime Minister Netanyahu met with Likud MKs and deputy ministers to discuss the U.S. proposal for a 90-day construction freeze, November 21. In the meeting, Netanyahu told the Likud officials: "I have a responsibility that includes making the best decision for the state of Israel and its national interests, foremost, its security." He continued, "We still haven't received the written agreement from the Americans on the basic understandings." The prime minister assured those attending the meeting, "If we receive a written agreement, I will bring it to the cabinet and I am sure that the ministers will approve it because it is what's best for the state of Israel." He added, "If we don't receive such a document, I won't bring the issue [of a freeze] to the cabinet."

Earlier in the day thousands of settlers protested outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem against the potential freeze. National Infrastructures Minister Uzi Landau, an opponent of an additional freeze, addressed the demonstrators. Dozens of youngsters also blocked the entrance to Jerusalem. Police dispersed the protesters and arrested two people. Over the weekend, Kadima MK Avi Dichter told *The Jerusalem Post*, "The total freeze for 10 months was a serious mistake," said Dichter. "It was clear that it would come to an end, and that in those 10 months nothing dramatic could happen between Israel and the Palestinians – leaving us in the same situation as at the beginning."

"Netanyahu made a second mistake when he didn't agree to the American request to extend a two-month freeze immediately on September 26, and insist that it was the last freeze. If he had, we'd be one week away from the end, rather than in our current state," he said. Dichter said the "main problem is that the topic of the freeze has become the central topic of discussion, rather than talks between us and the Palestinians.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Kurzer Washington Post "Outlook" article
**Attachments:** 2010.11.21.With settlement deal, U.S. will be rewarding Israel's bad behavior.Washington Post.doc

You almost certainly have seen this, but just in case. AM

---

**From:** Daniel C. Kurtzer <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Daniel Kurtzer <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sat Nov 20 21:24:29 2010
**Subject:** Washington Post "Outlook" article

The attached article will appear in the November 21 edition of the *Washington Post* in the "Outlook" section. As usual, I would value your comments. And, as usual, please accept my apologies if you receive more than one copy of this. All the best. Dan Kurtzer

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
*Daniel C. Kurtzer*
*S. Daniel Abraham Chair in*
*Middle East Policy Studies*
*Woodrow Wilson School of*
*Public and International Affairs*
*123a Bendheim Hall*
*Princeton University*
*Princeton, N.J. 08544*

*Office: +1 (609) 258-9859*
*Cell:* [redacted]
*Fax: +1 (609) 258-2601*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 10:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Mexican lake victim Hartley possibly mistaken for drug runner

**From**: Abdalla, Alyce N
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-CA; NEWS-WHA; NEWS-H
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Thu Oct 14 17:25:48 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Mexican lake victim Hartley possibly mistaken for drug runner

MEXICO CITY (AP) - The American tourist who reportedly was shot and killed by Mexican pirates on a border lake may have been a victim of mistaken identity, a U.S. consulate official said October 14. "I think what you had is two innocent American tourists who mistakenly stumbled into a bad area and were pursued and the shooting occurred," said Brian Quigley, spokesman for the U.S. consulate in Matamoros, across the Rio Grande from Brownsville, Texas. Quigley was responding to a report by Stratfor, an Austin, Texas-based public policy research group that analyzes the Mexican drug war. The report suggested David and Tiffany Hartley might have been mistaken for drug runners and attacked.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

He is getting on a short flight this morning, and can do anytime between 1:30-5:30 PM this afternoon. Let me know if you'd like me to set a time.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:28 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

I can't do now--need another time.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Aug 26 10:22:52 2010
Subject: RE: Mashabane call update

Martin Indyk is free for the next 40 minutes. I can connect him to your blackberry whenever you're ready. I'm still working on Menendez and Wexler.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:49 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Also, I'd like to set up calls w Martin Indyk and Rob Wexler for this morning if possible.

Am I set to talk w Menendez at noon?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C

To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:33:17 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes, will work on setting that up and let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:31:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ok--can we try for 8 tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:30:56 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Ms,
Mashabane is no longer available this morning, but can do anytime btw 6-8 am tomorrow morning. Let me know if you'd like us to lock in a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:17:25 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Can we still do it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty[redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Aug 26 07:51:45 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Re-sending with a cc to my personal acct just to be sure I didn't miss an email. In the mean time, I'm working to determine if there are any other windows of availability

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Aug 26 05:59:20 2010
Subject: Mashabane call update

Mashabane has offered a call time of 8:00 this morning. If that is amenable to you, I can set it up.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

He prefers 2:00 PM. I have locked it in and will connect to you at that time.
Will report back to you soon on the other two.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mallto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:32 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes--btw1:30and 2:30 works for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 10:31:11 2010
Subject: RE: Mashabane call update

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From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Aug 26 10:22:52 2010
Subject: RE: Mashabane call update

Martin Indyk is free for the next 40 minutes. I can connect him to your blackberry whenever you're ready. I'm still working on Menendez and Wexler.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 9:49 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C

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Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

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Am I set to talk w Menendez at noon?

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Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

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From: Jiloty, Lauren C
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From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H; laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 14, 2010 10:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

What should I tell him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Declan Kelly <[redacted]> B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; **Abedin**, Huma
Sent: Thu Oct 14 17:42:04 2010
Subject:

Shaun Woodward just called to say that he had received a communication through Sidney that the Secretary wants him to come to the conference next week. Before I put that in motion, given the reaction it will get from Owen Paterson and the folks in Northern Ireland I wanted to ask you to check whether or not it's accurate. Let me know as soon as you can please. Thanks

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 11:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

Robert Wexler can do 1:30 PM ET. (He is currently on the west coast).
Good for you? Then Indyk at 2PM.
Still no word back from Menendez, but we are still trying.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:32 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Yes--btw1:30and 2:30 works for me.

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To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: Mashabane call update

Confirmed for 8am tomorrow morning

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RELEASE IN PART
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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 1:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Mashabane call update

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 1:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls Reminder: Wexler and Indyk

Coming up in 10 minutes:
Wexler at 1:30 PM
Indyk at 2:00 PM
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 11:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi, to discuss when you come up for air... Sid

http://www.newsweek.com/2010/04/15/europe-s-new-politics-of-fear.print.html

# Europe's New Politics of Fear

by Denis MacShaneApril 16, 2010

There is a new divide in Europe. Not an iron curtain, but an iron intolerance as politicians revert to blaming minorities for their nations' woes. In Western Europe it is Muslims. In Eastern Europe they are Jews, Roma, and gays. In the Netherlands, Geert Wilders surged to an election victory in March on the back of anti-Muslim, anti-Quran populism. In Hungary the Fidesz Party won big in recent elections with attacks on "Jewish capital...which wants to devour the entire world." To the right of Fidesz is the openly anti-Jewish Jobbik Party, which won just two seats fewer than the Socialists. Its leaders want to wear the neo-Nazi uniform of the pre-1939 Hungarian Guard when they take their seats in Budapest's Parliament.

Contemporary political scientists do not like to highlight anti-Semitism. They prefer the term "radical populism," but to anyone with half a sense of European history, the parallels with an older, Jew-baiting politics can no longer be dismissed. Economic dislocation and a rapid loss of confidence in traditional politics gave rise to ultranationalist movements in the first half of the last century. Now a global recession and the hunt for someone to blame as jobs and incomes disappear is producing the same toxic politics.

The Fidesz leader, Viktor Orban, was a youthful evangelist for liberalized open markets after 1990. Now he strikes a much more nationalist tone. His Socialist opponents had to accept an austerity IMF package. Unlike Greece—which is being helped, so far, by its euro-zone partners—Hungary was alone as boom-time euro loans to buy houses and cars had to be paid back in an ever-devaluing forint. Blaming the Socialist government, globalization, and international capital was easy. But Fidesz went further. In a bid for votes on the far right, a Fidesz parliamentarian, Oszkar Molnar, says it's time to give "primacy to Hungarian interests over those of global capital, Jewish capital."

Like Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in France, Jobbik has the support of about 15 percent of Hungarian voters. The Czech right-wing ODS Party has had to dismiss its leader, former premier Mirek Topolánek, after he attacked the Jewish origins of the current Czech prime minister and castigated the gay transport minister. In a new book, *The Populist Radical Right in Poland,* the Oxford-educated Warsaw political professor Rafal Pankowski writes: "Antisemitism is crucial to the Polish populist right. The number of Jews in Poland today is minimal, but the anti-Jewish prejudice serves as a code for a general hostility to diversity and to Polish [liberal] democracy." For the time being, criticism of nationalist politics is suspended as Poles mourn President Lech Kaczynski and other national leaders killed in the air-crash tragedy this month. But the record of his party activists—including Michal Kaminski, Poland's best-known M.E.P. and leader of a small right-wing group in the Strasbourg Parliament—is disturbing. An admirer of the late Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, Kaminski uses ugly language about gays, and says he will apologize for the killing of Jews on Polish soil in World War II when "Jews apologize for killing Poles."

Mainstream political parties have sought to play down the rise of minority bashing. But Fidesz is affiliated with the center-right European People's Party, which groups Angela Merkel's ruling Christian Democratic Union Party in Germany, Nicolas Sarkozy's Union for a Popular Movement government in France, and ruling conservative parties in Sweden, Italy, and Belgium. When Austrian rightist Jörg Haider entered a coalition in Austria a decade ago, the European Union held Vienna in a political quarantine until Haider was removed. But Fidesz has a massive majority built on attacking "Jewish capital" in language even Haider didn't dare utter.

So radical populism—anti-Muslim in Western Europe, anti-Jewish in Eastern Europe, and anti-foreigner and anti-immigrant rhetoric everywhere—is no longer fringe politics. In Britain's general election, all the main parties are seeking to appease anti-foreigner feeling with language on immigrants that they would not tolerate if applied to British citizens living and working abroad. Comparisons with prewar Europe should not be overdrawn. Fascism is dead and not coming back. But a new politics of intolerance is afoot in Europe, and no one knows how to deal with it.

http://www.newsweek.com/2010/09/05/how-marine-le-pen-is-changing-french-politics.print.html

# What a Tea Party Looks Like in Europe

## Marine Le Pen is moving her father's rabble-rousing, far-right party away from the fringe, and redefining French politics in the process.

by Tracy McNicoll and Christopher DickeySeptember 05, 2010

Samuel Bollendorff / The New York Times-Redux

Marine Le Pen is the heir apparent to the leadership of the National Front, the right-wing party her father Jean-Marie (left) leads today

Jean-Marie Le Pen, the 82-year-old firebrand of France's far right—the man who for decades has played on the inchoate fears, xenophobia, knee-jerk racism, and ill-disguised anti-Semitism of many of his supporters—had just finished speaking to the faithful on a farm not far from the English Channel. As members of the youth wing of his National Front party feasted on barbecue and apple pie, they were thrilled to see the grand old man hold forth, still the "provocateur" taunting the establishment, the "toreador" who hides the sword in his cape and lets the press run at him like a bull. Even these youngsters knew, however, that Jean-Marie's time in the ring is nearing an end. The old man himself made it clear he's determined to step down. All eyes this day were on his daughter Marine. "She has the will, the courage, the temperament necessary, and the competence," Le Pen told reporters at the farmhouse. "It seems to me indisputable that she is our camp's best candidate for 2012."

Tall, blonde, plain-spoken, and thick-skinned, Le Pen's youngest child, at 42, is the heir apparent to his party. She's expected to win the contest for its leadership in January, and she's a passionate advocate of its core message: strong French nationalism, relentless Euro-skepticism, and a lot of hard-nosed talk about fighting crime and immigration. She's a fresh face, a new look, and, with rising poll numbers placing her third in a crowded field of possible 2012 candidates, a new threat in French politics. In the eyes of many, she's more effective—and thus more dangerous—than her father.

It's a measure of the Le Pens' enhanced power that they've managed to push President Nicolas Sarkozy to the right and cast their own party as mainstream. Over the summer, Sarkozy essentially gave up his flirtation with the left, which began after his election in 2007. He had cherry-picked popular Socialists for his centrist government, dividing their party. But in elections this past March, Sarkozy's UMP party managed to keep control of only one out of 22 regional governments. So he decided to swing back to the right by playing on fears about public safety and immigration. He proposed taking citizenship away from some criminals of immigrant background and launched a campaign against Roma (or "Gypsies"), booting hundreds out of the country. While the measures proved popular in opinion polls, Sarkozy, ironically, did not. His abysmal approval ratings remain in the low 30s.

The younger Le Pen takes great pleasure in watching Sarkozy squirm. "I think I get on [his] nerves quite a bit," she says. "My profile is much more complicated for him to deal with than that of my father." The old man could be painted as a creature of the past, a purveyor of old prejudices with a "sulfurous" reputation, says Marine. Today, however, the Front wants to bill itself as "neither left nor right." If that means losing some fringe elements (many of whom support Marine's rival, Bruno Gollnisch), well, *"tant pis,"* she says.

Other right-wing movements in Europe are also pushing into the political mainstream. The government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in Italy has long relied on its alliance with two groups that used to be considered extreme—one of them the former Fascist Party under Gianfranco Fini, the other the secessionist Northern League of Umberto Bossi. A falling-out between Berlusconi and Fini has left Bossi as the current kingmaker in Italian politics. In the Netherlands, the militantly Islamophobic Geert Wilders won enough seats in the last elections to become a pivotal figure in the drawn-out process of trying to build a new coalition government.

Yet these movements often differ in significant ways from the right wing that's made in the U.S.A. Put aside the usual caricature of "people in pointy hoods and the Ku Klux Klan," Marine Le Pen says, and she still believes "the American right is much more to the right than the National Front." She might agree with those who want to manage American frontiers more effectively and prevent massive illegal immigration, but she's also a big believer in the state's ability and obligation to help its people. "We feel the state should have the means to intervene," she says. "We are very attached to public services *à la française* as a way to limit the inequalities among regions and among the French," including "access for all to the same level of health care."

Le Pen grew up in a household that was all politics all the time, with her father the object of sometimes violent attacks by competing factions on the right, as well as by the left. When Marine was just 8, someone set off a 20-kilo bomb in the family's Paris apartment building. Miraculously, no one was killed or seriously injured, but the front of the building was brought down. The crime has never been solved. "The worst part wasn't just the attack, it was that not a single politician sent a word of condolence," she says. "It was difficult, but it builds character, it hardens you."

That's a real asset in political life anywhere. If Sarkozy finds himself facing off against Marine Le Pen in the presidential race a year and a half from now, he may find himself wishing her old man had stayed around a little longer.
*With Barbie Nadeau in Rome*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 5:36 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW:

FYI

The Christian Science Monitor - CSMonitor.com

# War on terror: Obama softened the language, but hardened Muslim hearts

The Obama administration's shift in counterterrorism language sought to bridge the divide with the Muslim world and soften Americans' fear of Islam. But the new rhetoric hasn't matched policy, and the unintended costs at home and abroad have been high.

By Stuart Gottlieb
posted October 14, 2010 at 9:58 am EDT
New Haven, Conn. —
One of the most defining aspects of the Obama administration's counterterrorism strategy has been its effort to change America's rhetorical approach to the threat of terrorism, particularly Islamic terrorism. "The language we use matters," President Obama told the Arabic satellite television station Al Arabiya in an interview during his first week in office. Scrubbed were George W. Bush-era terms like "war on terrorism," "radical Islam," and "jihadist."The White House's 2010 National Security Strategy formally replaced the term "Islamic terrorism" with "violent extremism."
The purpose of the shift in semantics was two-fold.

First, it aimed to repackage the fight against terrorism as a specific fight against Al Qaeda, not against Islamic extremism, which Mr. Obama believes contributed to a post-9/11 perception that America was "at war with Islam." Indeed, the new rhetoric has gone hand in hand with Obama's outreach to the Muslim world to build "a new partnership based on mutual respect and mutual interest."
Second, it was part of a broader effort to soften Americans' fear of Islamic terrorism, which Obama officials believe plays directly into the hands of extremists.

## Language change ineffective

Now it is fair to ask whether Obama's use of language regarding terrorism has proven effective. Startling new polls suggest it hasn't. The first, by the Brookings Institution in Washington, shows that between May 2009 and May 2010 the number of Middle Eastern Arabs expressing optimism in Obama's approach toward their region dropped from 51 percent to just 16 percent, with those describing themselves as "discouraged" by the Obama presidency rising from 15 percent to 63 percent.
The second, by the Pew Research Center, shows that in August 2010 fewer Americans held a favorable view of Islam (30 percent) than five years earlier during the Bush administration (41 percent), with more Americans (35 percent) saying Islam encourages violence more than other religions (in 2002, it was 25 percent).

These starkly negative trend lines suggest the limited utility of language in fighting terrorism. Yes, terrorism is a propaganda-fueled activity – an ongoing battle to win hearts and minds and attract new recruits to fight for the cause. And of course the language used in combating terrorism is vital – the counterproductive "smoke 'em out" rhetoric of the Bush administration is a case in point.
But if rhetoric does not match policy, or appears to discount or play down threats, the credibility – and thus effectiveness – of the overall counterterrorism strategy may be undermined. It appears the Obama administration has dug itself into just such a hole.

## Rhetoric doesn't match policy

When looking beyond the nuanced language and appealing promises, what Muslims around the world see is an administration that has ramped up the war in Afghanistan; is killing scores of Muslim civilians with drone strikes; continues to hold more than 1,000 Muslim detainees in Guantánamo, Bagram, and other prisons; and maintains seemingly unconditional support of Israel.
This is not to critique these policies, but to point out that they do not match the raised expectations of the Muslim world and have only muddled Obama's oft-stated goal of turning Muslims toward America and away from extremist movements.

## The price of downplaying the threat

A large price is also being paid domestically for disconnected rhetoric. Despite maintaining nearly all of Bush's hard-line tactics – the USA Patriot Act, warrantless surveillance, indefinite detentions – the White House has consistently played down the threat, even in the face of a clear uptick in terrorism activity.

For example, following the failed 2009 Christmas Day airline bombing, Obama described the suspect as an "isolated extremist," despite his ties to Al Qaeda. And the administration's initial response to the failed May 2010 Times Square bombing by an American Muslim trained in Pakistan was to call it a "one-off" event. Attorney General Eric Holder stated in congressional testimony that he believed these and other recent Islamic terror plots were unconnected, and unrelated to radical Islam.

There is little doubt that the administration's unwillingness to speak candidly about Islamic terrorism has taken a toll on the public's trust. A Gallup poll released last month shows Americans favoring Republicans over Democrats on the issue of terrorism 55 percent to 31 percent – up from 49 percent to 42 percent last fall.

## Time to reverse the trend

Obama entered office promising to fight a smarter and more effective war on terrorism, and in many ways he has. His instincts to maintain aggressive tactics while toning down inflammatory rhetoric were sound. Yet his administration seems to have overlearned a key lesson of the Bush years – that overstating the threat of terrorism has costs attached. So, too, does rhetoric that understates the threat, especially when detached from policy.

It is not too late to reverse this troubling trend. The White House can begin by focusing less on overly reassuring rhetoric – which has not paid dividends at home or abroad – and more on a candid accounting of the threats faced and the policies employed to confront them.

*Stuart Gottlieb, a former foreign-policy adviser and speechwriter in the US Senate (1999-2003), is now director of policy studies at the Jackson Insti tute for Global Affairs at Yale. He's the editor of "Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Con flic ting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts, and Re sponses." The original version of this piece appeared in the online edition of The National Interest.*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Menendez Call Windows today

Menendez's staff has finally gotten back to us. They cay he can do a call between 5:00 – 5:30 PM today or after 7:00 PM today.

Lauren

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 2:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Tony Blair requests to speak with you

MS:
Blair is available tmw (Friday, 8/27) between 11AM and 12 Noon, or Saturday morning.

Lauren

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 2:42 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Comprehensive Calls update

MS – I've heard back from Armitage and Wexler offices. Here are all of your pending calls in one e-mail:

-Tony Blair: asking to speak with you btw 11AM-12 Noon tomorrow (Friday), or sometime Saturday morning.

- Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage: Available at 3:15 PM today or 12 noon tomorrow (Friday).

- Menenedez: Available between 5-5:30 PM today, or after 7:00 PM today.

- Robert Wexler: Available anytime after 4:30 PM today, or anytime tomorrow.

Just let me know if you would like for me to lock anything in.

###

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771514 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

The Washington Post

# With settlement deal, U.S. will be rewarding Israel's bad behavior

By Daniel Kurtzer
Sunday, November 21, 2010;

It was only a little over a year and a half ago that the Obama administration demanded a freeze on Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, including even the "natural growth" of existing settlements. At the time, the administration called settlement activity "illegitimate" and appeared ready to go to the mat with Israel to show just how strongly the United States believed that settlements impede peace.

But now, the administration says it is prepared to pay off Israel to freeze only some of its settlement activity, and only temporarily. For the first time in memory, the United States is poised to reward Israel for its bad behavior.

Here's the offer that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton is reported to have put on the table recently: The United States will provide a package of advanced weaponry and military assistance to Israel totaling several billion dollars, all in return for an Israeli commitment to freeze settlement construction for just three months, excluding construction in Jerusalem. During this period, the United States hopes Israel and the Palestinian Authority will negotiate an agreement on the final borders of a future Palestinian state. The Israeli cabinet is weighing the offer, having demanded a letter from Washington confirming the terms.

This is a very bad idea. And while Washington will almost certainly come to regret bribing Israel, Israel may regret receiving such a bribe even more.

Previously, U.S. opposition to settlements resulted in penalties, not rewards, for continued construction. Washington deducted from its loan guarantees to Israel an amount equivalent, dollar for dollar, to the money that Israel spent in the occupied territories. While it's true that the United States has turned a blind eye to indirect U.S. subsidies for Israeli activities in the territories - such as tax deductions for American organizations that fund settlements - the deal now being offered to Israel is of a totally different magnitude. If it goes forward, it will be the first direct benefit that the United States has provided Israel for settlement activities that we have opposed for more than 40 years.

It is not clear that Washington has thought through the implications. Will the United States similarly reward Palestinians for stopping their own bad behavior? Will Washington pay them to, say, halt the incitement against Israel and Jews in their public media and some educational materials - something that shouldn't have been going on in the first place?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771514 Date: 08/31/2015

Will the rewards for Israel be automatically renewable? Meaning, if Israel is willing to continue the settlement freeze after three months, will another set of rewards be the price for that?

And what about enforcement? Will the United States demand its money back if it learns about construction during the freeze, even if that construction was not authorized by the Israeli government?

The list of problems is so long that it would not be surprising if the administration were already experiencing buyer's remorse. But the arrangement has an even more serious long-term implication, one that should worry Israel profoundly.

If it goes through, this deal will shake the foundation of the U.S.-Israeli strategic partnership. Since the early 1980s, the two countries have cooperated closely on assessing Israeli security, and Washington has promised to ensure Israel's "qualitative military edge" over any combination of potential Arab adversaries.

This commitment has been insulated from the vicissitudes of politics and diplomacy. Whatever the state of U.S.-Israeli relations or the peace process, America's commitment to Israel's security has been manifest. Not so, if this deal materializes. By subjecting Israel's defense needs to the political demands of an American administration, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has done something quite dangerous for Israel - he has made those needs contingent, negotiable, optional. Israel's security requirements are now merely a bargaining chip with which to negotiate what Jerusalem will or will not do to advance the peace process.

Today, the United States has "purchased" a short-term settlements freeze; what will be for sale tomorrow? For that matter, how seriously should our defense planners and congressional budget watchers take Israel's arguments about its security needs when it is prepared to market different elements of its policy for another squadron of advanced aircraft? Does anyone really believe that there is a substantive connection between a three-month settlement freeze and Israel's professed need for more airplanes?

These short-sighted tactics will lead both the United States and Israel into a long-term bind. Washington will be left fending off a landslide of demands from others who hope to be rewarded for their bad behavior, to be paid for stopping what they should never have been doing. Israel, meanwhile, will be left struggling to explain how precious its settlements really are if a payoff - albeit a high one - is enough to see them frozen.

And both countries will need a new rationale for the exceedingly steep price of what Israel calls its security requirements, but which will now look more like poker chips used to secure American aid.

This bargaining exercise has been unseemly all along. If it proceeds, both sides will probably regret it. But the deal has not yet been sealed. And it is not too late to start over.

*Daniel Kurtzer, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt, teaches Middle East politics at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 8:12 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/15/10 Friday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am **YITZHAK MOLCHO PRE-BRIEF***
11:00 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:00 am **MEETING w/ISRAELI CHIEF NEGOTIATOR YITZHAK MOLCHO**
11:45 am Secretary's Outer Office

12:00 pm **CALL w/FRENCH PRESIDENT NICOLAS SARKOZY**
12:15 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:30 pm Secretary's Office

1:55 pm (t) **DEPART** State Department
En route Andrews Air Force Base

2:20 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base (AAB)

2:30 pm (t) **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base via Mil Air Tail#60500
En route San Francisco, California

5:00 pm (t) **ARRIVE** San Francisco International Airport (SFO)

5:10 pm (t) **DEPART** San Francisco International Airport
En route San Francisco Marriott

5:40 pm (t) **ARRIVE** San Francisco Marriott

6:30 pm **OPTIONAL: DROP BY COMMONWEALTH CLUB MEET AND GREET**
7:00 pm Salon 14, San Francisco Marriott

7:00 pm **COMMONWEALTH CLUB FORUM**
8:00 pm Ballroom, San Francisco Marriott

8:00 pm **DEPART** San Francisco Marriott
En route Private Residence

9:15 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 2:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

Fyi - Prince is working with Dermer to get a common line.

Meanwhile, I just watched my first ever women's field hockey game - Maryland beat UNC to win the national championship.

---

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Nov 21 12:03:58 2010
**Subject:** (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

(Jerusalem Post) Prime Minister Netanyahu met with Likud MKs and deputy ministers to discuss the U.S. proposal for a 90-day construction freeze, November 21. In the meeting, Netanyahu told the Likud officials: "I have a responsibility that includes making the best decision for the state of Israel and its national interests, foremost, its security." He continued, "We still haven't received the written agreement from the Americans on the basic understandings." The prime minister assured those attending the meeting, "If we receive a written agreement, I will bring it to the cabinet and I am sure that the ministers will approve it because it is what's best for the state of Israel." He added, "If we don't receive such a document, I won't bring the issue [of a freeze] to the cabinet."

Earlier in the day thousands of settlers protested outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem against the potential freeze. National Infrastructures Minister Uzi Landau, an opponent of an additional freeze, addressed the demonstrators. Dozens of youngsters also blocked the entrance to Jerusalem. Police dispersed the protesters and arrested two people. Over the weekend, Kadima MK Avi Dichter told *The Jerusalem Post*, "The total freeze for 10 months was a serious mistake," said Dichter. "It was clear that it would come to an end, and that in those 10 months nothing dramatic could happen between Israel and the Palestinians – leaving us in the same situation as at the beginning."

"Netanyahu made a second mistake when he didn't agree to the American request to extend a two-month freeze immediately on September 26, and insist that it was the last freeze. If he had, we'd be one week away from the end, rather than in our current state," he said. Dichter said the "main problem is that the topic of the freeze has become the central topic of discussion, rather than talks between us and the Palestinians.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 21, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Iran sets February trial date for three Americans

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Iran; NEWS-CA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Nov 21 14:41:30 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Iran sets February trial date for three Americans

TEHRAN (AP) - Iran set a February 6 trial date for three Americans arrested more than a year ago along the Iraqi border and charged with spying, their lawyer said. The trial was to have started on Nov. 6, but authorities said they delayed it because one of the Americans, who was freed on bail, had not been summoned to return to the country to appear in court. Their lawyer said he received an official notification of the new trial date November 21. Iran warned that it will seize the $500,000 bail posted by released hiker Sarah Shourd if she does not return for trial. Shourd has not disclosed any plans to return to Iran. She said in an interview published Oct. 31 in The New York Times that the three stepped off an unmarked dirt road and inadvertently crossed from Iraq only because a border guard of unknown nationality gestured for them to approach.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 9:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, October 15, 2010 9:22 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw:

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 15 05:35:42 2010
Subject: FW:

FYI

The Christian Science Monitor - CSMonitor.com

War on terror: Obama softened the language, but hardened Muslim hearts

The Obama administration's shift in counterterrorism language sought to bridge the divide with the Muslim world and soften Americans' fear of Islam. But the new rhetoric hasn't matched policy, and the unintended costs at home and abroad have been high.

By Stuart Gottlieb <http://www.csmonitor.com/layout/set/print/About/Contact-Us-Feedback>
posted October 14, 2010 at 9:58 am EDT

New Haven, Conn. —

One of the most defining aspects of the Obama administration's counterterrorism strategy has been its effort to change America's rhetorical approach to the threat of terrorism <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2009/0129/obama-redefines-war-on-terror> , particularly Islamic terrorism. "The language we use matters," President Obama told the Arabic satellite television station Al Arabiya in an interview during his first week in office. Scrubbed were George W. Bush-era terms like "war on terrorism," "radical Islam," and "jihadist." <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0901/p03s03-uspo.html> The White House's 2010 National Security Strategy formally replaced the term "Islamic terrorism" with "violent extremism."

The purpose of the shift in semantics was two-fold.

First, it aimed to repackage the fight against terrorism as a specific fight against Al Qaeda, not against Islamic extremism, which Mr. Obama believes contributed to a post-9/11 perception that America was "at war with Islam." Indeed, the new rhetoric <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2009/0604/in-france-obama-erases-the-us-vs-them-rhetoric> has gone hand in hand with Obama's outreach to the Muslim world <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2009/0605/p06s01-wome.html> to build "a new partnership based on mutual respect and mutual interest."

Second, it was part of a broader effort to soften Americans' fear of Islamic terrorism, which Obama officials believe plays directly into the hands of extremists.

Language change ineffective

Now it is fair to ask whether Obama's use of language regarding terrorism has proven effective. Startling new polls suggest it hasn't. The first, by the Brookings Institution in Washington, shows that between May 2009 and May 2010 the number of Middle Eastern Arabs expressing optimism in Obama's approach toward their region dropped <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/0806/Obama-s-popularity-may-be-down-in-US-but-he-s-even-less-popular-among-Arabs> from 51 percent to just 16 percent, with those describing themselves as "discouraged" by the Obama presidency rising from 15 percent to 63 percent.

The second, by the Pew Research Center, shows that in August 2010 fewer Americans held a favorable view of Islam (30 percent) than five years earlier during the Bush administration (41 percent), with more Americans (35 percent) saying Islam encourages violence more than other religions (in 2002, it was 25 percent).

These starkly negative trend lines suggest the limited utility of language in fighting terrorism. Yes, terrorism is a propaganda-fueled activity – an ongoing battle to win hearts and minds <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2009/0603/p06s16-wome.html> and attract new recruits to fight for the cause. And of course the language used in combating terrorism <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Foreign-Policy/2008/0801/p02s01-usfp.html> is vital – the counterproductive "smoke 'em out" rhetoric of the Bush administration <http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/0919/p12s2-woeu.html> is a case in point.

But if rhetoric does not match policy, or appears to discount or play down threats, the credibility – and thus effectiveness – of the overall counterterrorism strategy may be undermined. It appears the Obama administration has dug itself into just such a hole.

Rhetoric doesn't match policy

When looking beyond the nuanced language and appealing promises, what Muslims around the world see is an administration that has ramped up the war in Afghanistan <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2010/0609/Obama-wants-more-money-for-Afghanistan-war.-Will-Congress-grant-it> ; is killing scores of Muslim civilians with drone strikes <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/terrorism-security/2010/0915/US-drone-attacks-bombard-Haqqani-network-in-Pakistan> ; continues to hold more than 1,000 Muslim detainees in Guantánamo <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Topics/Guantanamo> , Bagram, and other prisons; and maintains seemingly unconditional support of Israel.

This is not to critique these policies, but to point out that they do not match the raised expectations of the Muslim world and have only muddled Obama's oft-stated goal of turning Muslims toward America and away from extremist movements.

The price of downplaying the threat

A large price is also being paid domestically for disconnected rhetoric. Despite maintaining nearly all of Bush's hard-line tactics – the USA Patriot Act <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2010/0301/Obama-signs-Patriot-Act-extension-without-reforms> , warrantless surveillance, indefinite detentions – the White House has consistently played down the threat, even in the face of a clear uptick in terrorism activity.

For example, following the failed 2009 Christmas Day airline bombing <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2010/0102/Calling-it-war-Obama-pegs-Christmas-Day-attack-to-Al-Qaeda> , Obama described the suspect as an "isolated extremist," despite his ties to Al Qaeda. And the administration's initial response to the failed May 2010 Times Square bombing <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2010/0509/Times-Square-bombing-Sign-of-desperation-from-Pakistan-Taliban> by an American Muslim trained in Pakistan was to call it a "one-off" event. Attorney General Eric Holder stated <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2010/0203/Holder-letter-why-we-read-Christmas-Day-bomber-his-rights> in congressional testimony that he believed these and other recent Islamic terror plots were unconnected, and unrelated to radical Islam.

There is little doubt that the administration's unwillingness to speak candidly about Islamic terrorism has taken a toll on the public's trust. A Gallup poll released last month shows Americans favoring Republicans over Democrats on the issue of terrorism 55 percent to 31 percent – up from 49 percent to 42 percent last fall.

Time to reverse the trend

Obama entered office promising to fight a smarter and more effective war on terrorism, and in many ways he has. His instincts to maintain aggressive tactics while toning down inflammatory rhetoric <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0517/p09s01-cojh.html> were sound. Yet his administration seems to have overlearned a key lesson of the Bush years – that overstating the threat of terrorism <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0418/p04s01-woeu.html> has costs attached. So, too, does rhetoric that understates the threat, especially when detached from policy.

It is not too late to reverse this troubling trend. The White House can begin by focusing less on overly reassuring rhetoric – which has not paid dividends at home or abroad – and more on a candid accounting of the threats faced <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0905/p14s02-bogn.html> and the policies employed to confront them.

Stuart Gottlieb, a former foreign-policy adviser and speechwriter in the US Senate (1999-2003), is now director of policy studies at the Jackson Insti tute for Global Affairs at Yale. He's the editor of "Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Con flic ting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts, and Re sponses." The original version of this piece appeared in the online edition of The National Interest.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** H; valenzuelaaa@state.gov; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador

yes will do

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: valenzuelaaa@state.gov
> CC: Laurenjiloty[redacted] B6
> Date: Fri, 1 Oct 2010 08:09:48 -0400
> Subject: Re: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador
>
> I will call--I'm copying Lauren to work to set up call.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
> To: H
> Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S <GonzalezJS@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
> Sent: Fri Oct 01 07:33:50 2010
> Subject: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador
>
> Madame Secretary: After a tense day in which President Correa was slightly injured at noon by rioting and striking police, and later was barred from leaving the hospital by the same, the army finally rescued him at 9pm last night. Some military units, including the Navy unit in Guayaquil appeared to support the police. The police also occupied the national congress. As the rescue took place, the head of the Ecuadoran Joints Chiefs of Staff issued a statement supporting the president, and noting that the armed forces respect the rule of law "in which the President [Rafael Correa] is the maximum authority of the three branches." Things are now calm.
>
> Reaction in the hemisphere was one of deep concern. The OAS adopted a resolution; South American presidents at the call of UNASUR travelled to Buenos Aires and are likely to go on to Quito to support Correa. Several, including Garcia and Santos, called Correa. Zapatero also spoke with him. Moratinos tried to reach you at around 6pm last evening to convey that news, I took the call.
>
> As you know, we issued a statement of support for Correa. I also gave an interview to CNN in Spanish, which was re-played frequently. I strongly recommend that you call Correa today to reiterate U.S. support for his government and to wish him well.
>
> He will appreciate it but, more broadly, it sends a signal that the United States supports the constitutional order and rejects any attempt to undermine it. Chavez in Buenos Aires predictably declared that we were behind the unrest. We have prepared a call sheet for you.
>
> Regards,
>
> Arturo
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** h: fyi, state of play/poll now. Sid

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**November 22, 2010 - American Voters Could Deny Obama Reelection, Quinnipiac University National Poll Finds; President Tied With Romney, Huckabee But Leads Palin**

Word format

President Barack Obama does not deserve a second term, American voters say 49 - 43 percent, and he is in a statistical dead heat with possible Republican challengers Mitt Romney and Mike Huckabee, according to a Quinnipiac University poll released today. President Obama leads Sarah Palin 48 - 40 percent.

Romney, Huckabee, Palin and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich are bunched together when Republican voters are asked who they prefer for the GOP's 2012 presidential nomination, the independent Quinnipiac (KWIN-uh-pe-ack) University survey finds.

Democratic voters say 64 - 27 percent they do not want anyone to challenge President Obama for their party's nomination in 2012.

"The Democratic base remains squarely behind President Barack Obama when it comes to his re-election, but his weakness among independent voters at this point makes his 2012 election prospects uncertain," said Peter A. Brown, assistant director of the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute.

"The demographic splits in the electorate when voters are asked whether the president deserves a second term is a roadmap for his re-election strategists on how they need to focus their appeal. Only 39 percent of men, 34 percent of whites, 35 percent of political independents and 38 percent of those over age 35 think he deserves four more years in the Oval Office."

In trial heats for 2012, former Massachusetts Gov. Romney receives 45 percent to 44 percent for Obama, while the president gets 46 percent to 44 percent for Mr. Huckabee. Matched against Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels, a virtual unknown to most voters, the president leads 45 - 36 percent.

"At this point, former Alaska Gov. Palin runs the worst against President Obama. Daniels is essentially a generic Republican because of his anonymity to most voters. Obama only gets 45 percent against him while he gets 48 percent against Ms. Palin," said Brown. "She is very unpopular among independents and although she recently said she thought she could defeat Obama, the data does not now necessarily support that assertion."

"Unlike Daniels, who is a political unknown to most Americans, virtually all voters have formed an opinion about Palin and that opinion is not encouraging for her candidacy."

Ms. Palin is viewed the most negatively by the American people of the possible Republican candidates in 2012. She is viewed unfavorable by 51 percent of voters and favorably by 36 percent. Among independents, the key swing voting bloc, she has a negative 54 - 33 percent favorability rating.

Huckabee gets a 41 - 25 percent favorability rating and Romney gets a 38 - 26 percent score. Former U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich gets a negative 30 - 43 percent score.

Obama gets a 48 - 48 percent split overall, with a negative 43 - 52 percent among independent voters.

In a mythical Republican primary Ms. Palin gets 19 percent, including 25 percent of GOP women, followed by Romney with 18 percent, Huckabee at 17 percent, Gingrich at 15 percent, Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty at 6 percent and Daniels, Mississippi Gov. Haley Barbour and Sen. John Thune of South Dakota at 2 percent each.

"The best thing Obama has going for him when it comes to his re-election may be that at this point the Republicans don't have a candidate who is both nationally well-known and well- liked by a majority of voters," said Brown.

From November 8 - 15, Quinnipiac University surveyed 2,424 registered voters nationwide, live by telephone, with a margin of error of +/- 2 percentage points.

The Quinnipiac University Poll, directed by Douglas Schwartz, Ph.D., conducts public opinion surveys in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Florida, Ohio and the nation as a public service and for research. For more data or RSS feed- http://www.quinnipiac.edu/polling.xml, call (203) 582-5201 begin_of_the_skype_highlighting (203) 582-5201 end_of_the_skype_highlighting, or follow us on Twitter.

1. (Republicans and Republican Leaners) It is a long way off but I would like to ask you some questions about the 2012 Presidential election. If the 2012 Republican primary for President were being held today, and the candidates were: Sarah Palin, Mike Huckabee, Newt Gingrich, Mitt Romney, Mitch Daniels, Tim Pawlenty, Haley Barbour, and John Thune for whom would you vote?

REPUBLICANS.....

WHITE.....

| | Tot | Men | Wom | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Palin | 19% | 14% | 25% | 22% | 10% | 20% | 16% | 20% |
| Huckabee | 17 | 17 | 18 | 17 | 18 | 26 | 22 | 13 |
| Gingrich | 15 | 18 | 11 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 16 |
| Romney | 18 | 20 | 15 | 14 | 26 | 13 | 14 | 22 |
| Daniels | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Pawlenty | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| Barbour | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Thune | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DK/NA | 17 | 15 | 19 | 19 | 13 | 14 | 20 | 14 |

2. (Democrats and Democrat Leaners) It is a long way off but I would like to ask you some questions about the 2012 Presidential election. Would you like to see a candidate other than Barack Obama run for the Democratic nomination for President in 2012 or not?

| | DEMOCRATS..... | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | NoColl | Coll |
| Tot | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | Degree | Degree |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 27% | 30% | 25% | 32% | 13% | 32% | 16% |
| No | 64 | 62 | 65 | 59 | 83 | 58 | 76 |
| DK/NA | 9 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 10 | 9 |

3. Turning to the November 2012 general election for President, if the 2012 election for President were being held today, and the candidates were, Barack Obama the Democrat and Sarah Palin the Republican for whom would you vote?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obama | 48% | 6% | 89% | 44% | 44% | 52% | 41% | 91% | 60% |
| Palin | 40 | 85 | 6 | 37 | 44 | 36 | 47 | 1 | 31 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 4 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 2 | - |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 3 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| DK/NA | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Obama | 62% | 44% | 45% | 54% | 48% | 44% | 86% | 63% | 17% |
| Palin | 30 | 43 | 42 | 35 | 42 | 46 | 9 | 22 | 72 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| DK/NA | 2 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Obama | 46% | 56% | 23% | 31% | 39% |
| Palin | 42 | 33 | 67 | 58 | 48 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| DK/NA | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

4. If the 2012 election for President were being held today, and the candidates were, Barack Obama the Democrat and Mitt Romney the Republican for whom would you vote?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obama | 44% | 3% | 86% | 35% | 40% | 48% | 37% | 87% | 60% |
| Romney | 45 | 91 | 8 | 46 | 51 | 39 | 53 | 3 | 32 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| DK/NA | 7 | 3 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Obama | 59% | 40% | 41% | 50% | 44% | 38% | 81% | 56% | 15% |
| Romney | 34 | 48 | 48 | 37 | 49 | 54 | 11 | 32 | 75 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| DK/NA | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 5 |

| | WHITE..... | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Obama | 42% | 51% | 19% | 26% | 34% |
| Romney | 46 | 42 | 69 | 64 | 53 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| DK/NA | 8 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 9 |

5. If the 2012 election for President were being held today, and the candidates were, Barack Obama the Democrat and Mike Huckabee the Republican for whom would you vote?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obama | 46% | 4% | 85% | 40% | 42% | 49% | 38% | 90% | 64% |
| Huckabee | 44 | 88 | 9 | 47 | 49 | 40 | 52 | 5 | 26 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | - | 1 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 2 | 1 | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| DK/NA | 6 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 7 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Obama | 60% | 41% | 43% | 51% | 44% | 42% | 84% | 59% | 16% |
| Huckabee | 34 | 48 | 46 | 38 | 48 | 52 | 10 | 29 | 76 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 2 |
| DK/NA | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 5 |

| | | WHITE..... | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Obama | 43% | 52% | 21% | 27% | 36% |
| Huckabee | 46 | 40 | 72 | 66 | 52 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| DK/NA | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 |

6. If the 2012 election for President were being held today, and the candidates were, Barack Obama the Democrat and Mitch Daniels the Republican for whom would you vote?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obama | 45% | 6% | 85% | 37% | 42% | 49% | 38% | 84% | 66% |
| Daniels | 36 | 78 | 5 | 34 | 39 | 32 | 42 | 3 | 22 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| DK/NA | 14 | 12 | 8 | 21 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 10 | 9 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Obama | 58% | 42% | 42% | 51% | 44% | 41% | 83% | 60% | 15% |
| Daniels | 30 | 37 | 38 | 30 | 40 | 43 | 8 | 20 | 65 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| DK/NA | 10 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 15 | 15 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Obama | 43% | 51% | 23% | 28% | 37% |
| Daniels | 37 | 32 | 56 | 52 | 42 |
| SMONE ELSE(VOL) | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| WLDN'T VOTE(VOL) | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| DK/NA | 15 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 16 |

7. Is your opinion of - Barack Obama favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 48% | 6% | 86% | 43% | 44% | 51% | 40% | 91% | 66% |
| Unfavorable | 48 | 91 | 12 | 52 | 53 | 44 | 56 | 9 | 31 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | - | 3 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | - | - |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Favorable | 61% | 45% | 42% | 55% | 47% | 41% | 83% | 62% | 17% |
| Unfavorable | 35 | 51 | 54 | 42 | 49 | 56 | 14 | 32 | 81 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Favorable | 45% | 53% | 23% | 28% | 39% |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unfavorable | 50 | 43 | 75 | 68 | 58 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

TREND: Is your opinion of - Barack Obama favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | | | | | | FAVORABLE..... | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | High | Low |
| | Nov 18 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Mar 25 2010 | Nov 19 2009 | Nov 12 2008 | Feb 21 2007 |
| Favorable | 48 | 47 | 49 | 47 | 50 | 67 | 44 |
| Unfavorable | 48 | 45 | 45 | 47 | 38 | 19 | 14 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 11 | 40 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 |

8. Is your opinion of - Sarah Palin favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about her?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 36% | 74% | 8% | 33% | 40% | 32% | 41% | 8% | 31% |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unfavorable | 51 | 17 | 78 | 54 | 49 | 53 | 47 | 74 | 56 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 10 | 7 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 16 | 12 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | - |

TREND: Is your opinion of - Sarah Palin favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough about her?

| | Nov 18 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Mar 24 2010 | Sep 18 2008 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 36 | 31 | 35 | 33 | 37 |
| Unfavorable | 51 | 50 | 49 | 51 | 30 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 10 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 31 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

9. Is your opinion of - Mike Huckabee favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 41% | 69% | 15% | 45% | 47% | 35% | 46% | 17% | 28% |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 7 | 42 | 21 | 27 | 23 | 23 | 30 | 36 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 33 | 23 | 41 | 33 | 26 | 40 | 30 | 52 | 35 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REFUSED | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

TREND: Is your opinion of Mike Huckabee favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Nov 18 2010 | Oct 31 2007 |
|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 41 | 15 |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 13 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 33 | 70 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 |

10. Is your opinion of - Mitt Romney favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 38% | 64% | 16% | 43% | 44% | 32% | 43% | 14% | 34% |
| Unfavorable | 26 | 9 | 44 | 22 | 27 | 25 | 25 | 34 | 29 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 35 | 26 | 40 | 33 | 27 | 41 | 31 | 51 | 37 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

TREND: Is your opinion of Mitt Romney favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Nov 18 2010 | Mar 25 2010 | Nov 12 2008 | Oct 31 2007 | Aug 15 2007 | Jun 13 2007 | May 3 2007 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 38 | 28 | 34 | 28 | 20 | 18 | 17 |
| Unfavorable | 26 | 25 | 20 | 25 | 22 | 20 | 16 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 35 | 45 | 43 | 45 | 55 | 60 | 65 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

11. Is your opinion of - Newt Gingrich favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 30% | 60% | 9% | 26% | 36% | 25% | 34% | 6% | 24% |
| Unfavorable | 43 | 18 | 62 | 45 | 44 | 43 | 43 | 53 | 34 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 25 | 20 | 28 | 26 | 19 | 30 | 21 | 39 | 40 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

TREND: Is your opinion of Newt Gingrich favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Nov 18 2010 | Feb 21 2007 |
|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 30 | 22 |
| Unfavorable | 43 | 47 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 25 | 30 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 |

12. Is your opinion of - Tim Pawlenty favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 13% | 25% | 4% | 14% | 18% | 9% | 14% | 4% | 11% |
| Unfavorable | 10 | 3 | 18 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 16 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 76 | 72 | 77 | 76 | 70 | 81 | 76 | 82 | 72 |
| REFUSED | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |

13. Is your opinion of - John Thune favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 7% | 12% | 2% | 8% | 10% | 5% | 7% | 3% | 12% |
| Unfavorable | 5 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 9 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 87 | 85 | 89 | 88 | 85 | 90 | 88 | 88 | 79 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

14. Is your opinion of - Mitch Daniels favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 10% | 18% | 5% | 10% | 12% | 8% | 11% | 5% | 7% |
| Unfavorable | 8 | 2 | 14 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 21 | 9 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 81 | 79 | 81 | 83 | 78 | 83 | 82 | 73 | 83 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

15. Is your opinion of - Haley Barbour favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 12% | 22% | 4% | 13% | 16% | 9% | 13% | 5% | 19% |
| Unfavorable | 12 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 19 | 13 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 75 | 73 | 76 | 74 | 69 | 81 | 75 | 75 | 67 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - |

20. Looking ahead to the 2012 election for President, do you feel that Barack Obama deserves to be reelected, or do you feel that he does not deserve to be reelected?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deserves reelection | 43% | 4% | 81% | 35% | 39% | 46% | 34% | 86% | 65% |
| Does not | 49 | 92 | 13 | 51 | 53 | 45 | 57 | 4 | 29 |
| DK/NA | 9 | 4 | 6 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 5 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deserves reelection | 58% | 38% | 38% | 49% | 40% | 37% | 76% | 54% | 14% |
| Does not | 34 | 53 | 54 | 42 | 51 | 56 | 15 | 34 | 80 |
| DK/NA | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 5 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Deserves reelection | 41% | 47% | 19% | 23% | 32% |
| Does not | 51 | 44 | 75 | 69 | 60 |
| DK/NA | 9 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

TREND: Looking ahead to the 2012 election for President, do you feel that Barack Obama deserves to be reelected, or do you feel that he does not deserve to be reelected?

| | Nov 18 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Mar 25 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes/deserves | 43 | 40 | 40 |
| No/does not | 49 | 48 | 48 |
| DK/NA | 9 | 12 | 11 |

31. Is your opinion of the Republican Party favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about it?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 40% | 85% | 9% | 33% | 42% | 37% | 46% | 5% | 29% |
| Unfavorable | 45 | 8 | 75 | 48 | 45 | 45 | 40 | 73 | 57 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 13 | 5 | 14 | 15 | 10 | 15 | 11 | 20 | 13 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Favorable | 29% | 45% | 41% | 33% | 45% | 49% | 10% | 30% | 64% |
| Unfavorable | 55 | 42 | 42 | 45 | 49 | 45 | 79 | 53 | 21 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 15 | 10 | 13 | 19 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 14 | 12 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

| | WHITE..... | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Favorable | 40% | 39% | 60% | 57% | 50% |
| Unfavorable | 41 | 55 | 28 | 31 | 35 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 16 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

TREND: Is your opinion of the Republican Party favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough about it? (*Low also 25% Jul 2009)

| | | | | | | FAVORABLE.... | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | High | Low |
| | Nov 18 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Apr 21 2010 | Mar 24 2010 | Nov 18 2010 | Oct 8 2009* |
| Favorable | 40 | 35 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 40 | 25 |
| Unfavorable | 45 | 43 | 42 | 47 | 42 | 45 | 53 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 13 | 19 | 21 | 15 | 21 | 13 | 18 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |

32. Is your opinion of the Democratic Party favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about it?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 38% | 5% | 76% | 28% | 31% | 44% | 33% | 69% | 52% |
| Unfavorable | 50 | 86 | 14 | 56 | 59 | 41 | 55 | 20 | 39 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 10 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 8 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Favorable | 48% | 35% | 35% | 43% | 41% | 30% | 71% | 48% | 13% |
| Unfavorable | 40 | 53 | 53 | 41 | 52 | 64 | 21 | 37 | 76 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 10 | 9 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 10 |
| REFUSED | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 37% | 41% | 20% | 25% | 31% |
| Unfavorable | 49 | 53 | 69 | 65 | 54 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 12 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 13 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

TREND: Is your opinion of the Democratic Party favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough about it?

| | | | | | | FAVORABLE..... | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | High | Low |
| | Nov 18 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Apr 21 2010 | Mar 24 2010 | Nov 12 2008 | Mar 24 2010 |
| Favorable | 38 | 34 | 34 | 32 | 33 | 55 | 33 |
| Unfavorable | 50 | 47 | 49 | 52 | 48 | 35 | 48 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 10 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 6 | 17 |
| REFUSED | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 |

33. Is your opinion of the the Tea Party Movement favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about it?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 34% | 65% | 7% | 35% | 41% | 28% | 39% | 10% | 24% |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unfavorable | 38 | 11 | 63 | 37 | 38 | 38 | 35 | 57 | 45 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 26 | 22 | 28 | 26 | 20 | 32 | 25 | 32 | 30 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

TREND: Is your opinion of the Tea Party movement favorable, unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about it?

| | Nov 17 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Apr 21 2010 | Mar 24 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Favorable | 34 | 30 | 33 | 32 | 28 |
| Unfavorable | 38 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 23 |
| Hvn't hrd enough | 26 | 37 | 35 | 34 | 49 |
| REFUSED | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

38. Do you consider yourself part of the Tea party movement or not?

| | Tot | Rep | Dem | Ind | Men | Wom | Wht | Blk | His |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 13% | 25% | 2% | 14% | 14% | 11% | 14% | 2% | 12% |
| No | 83 | 71 | 94 | 84 | 82 | 84 | 82 | 93 | 87 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DK/NA | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

| | AGE IN YRS..... | | | INCOME..... | | | POL PHIL..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18-34 | 35-54 | 55+ | <50 | 50-100 | >100K | Lib | Mod | Con |
| Yes | 8% | 15% | 14% | 13% | 12% | 13% | 2% | 4% | 26% |
| No | 88 | 83 | 81 | 82 | 86 | 85 | 95 | 91 | 71 |
| DK/NA | 4 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 |

| | | | WHITE..... | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NoColl Degree | Coll Degree | BrnAgn Evngl | Prot | Cath |
| Yes | 14% | 11% | 23% | 17% | 15% |
| No | 81 | 88 | 71 | 78 | 81 |
| DK/NA | 5 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 |

TREND: Do you consider yourself part of the Tea Party movement or not?

| Nov 18 2010 | Sep 09 2010 | Jul 21 2010 | Apr 21 2010 | Mar 24 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 13 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 13 |
| No | 83 | 80 | 81 | 79 | 80 |
| DK/NA | 4 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 6 |

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Laurenjiloty
**Subject:** Re: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador

Thanks so much for doing this. I will follow up w a call to FM Patiño who I now understand was also injured after I spoke to him yesterday.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: 'Laurenjiloty B6
Sent: Fri Oct 01 08:09:48 2010
Subject: Re: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador

I will call--I'm copying Lauren to work to set up call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S <GonzalezJS@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 01 07:33:50 2010
Subject: From Arturo - Correa Rescued in Ecuador

Madame Secretary: After a tense day in which President Correa was slightly injured at noon by rioting and striking police, and later was barred from leaving the hospital by the same, the army finally rescued him at 9pm last night. Some military units, including the Navy unit in Guayaquil appeared to support the police. The police also occupied the national congress. As the rescue took place, the head of the Ecuadoran Joints Chiefs of Staff issued a statement supporting the president, and noting that the armed forces respect the rule of law "in which the President [Rafael Correa] is the maximum authority of the three branches." Things are now calm.

Reaction in the hemisphere was one of deep concern. The OAS adopted a resolution; South American presidents at the call of UNASUR travelled to Buenos Aires and are likely to go on to Quito to support Correa. Several, including Garcia and Santos, called Correa. Zapatero also spoke with him. Moratinos tried to reach you at around 6pm last evening to convey that news, I took the call.

As you know, we issued a statement of support for Correa. I also gave an interview to CNN in Spanish, which was re-played frequently. I strongly recommend that you call Correa today to reiterate U.S. support for his government and to wish him well.

He will appreciate it but, more broadly, it sends a signal that the United States supports the constitutional order and rejects any attempt to undermine it. Chavez in Buenos Aires predictably declared that we were behind the unrest. We have prepared a call sheet for you.

Regards,

Arturo

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 3:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Documents

Some more classified papers coming to house at 6pm:

- one re karzai

- Update about an AmCit in Somalia

- David Hale readout of a meeting

- Barak/Abbas on Sunday

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 4:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Deep dives

Here's the list of deep dives we were thinking of doing in the next few months:

Sept: **Indonesia** (pre-Comprehensive Ptshp Dialogue), **Russia** (pre-NRC)
October: **India** (pre-POTUS trip), **Balkans** (pre-your potential trip to the Balkans)
November: **Central Asia** (pre-your trip)

And then other deep dives for the future (or whenever it might be timely):

Iran (pre-P5+1?)
Egypt
Turkey/Cyprus
Mexico
Brazil

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 11:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) - Iraq's Shi'ite-led alliance chose Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki

---

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Fri Oct 01 11:11:20 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) - Iraq's Shi'ite-led alliance chose Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraq's Shi'ite-led alliance chose Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki as its candidate to head the next government, a step towards ending a political impasse that left Iraq without a new government since a March election.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lois Quam
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 4:45 PM
**To:** H

B6

Great to talk with you today and will follow up right after Labor Day.

Yours, Lois

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update: (Reuters) LONDON: US GEN PETRAEUS SAYS ISAF FACILITATED PASSAGE OF SENIOR TALIBAN COMMANDER TO KABUL FOR TALKS

---

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS
**Sent**: Fri Oct 15 07:42:13 2010
**Subject**: Update: (Reuters) LONDON: US GEN PETRAEUS SAYS ISAF FACILITATED PASSAGE OF SENIOR TALIBAN COMMANDER TO KABUL FOR TALKS

LONDON (Reuters) – U.S. General David Petraeus, the commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, said NATO-led forces had facilitated the passage of a senior Taliban commander to Kabul to hold talks with the Afghan government. Speaking to an audience in London, Petraeus said the move was part of U.S. and NATO support for Afghan President Hamid Karzai's reconciliation discussions with the Taliban. "In certain respect we do facilitate that, given that, needless to say it would not be the easiest of tasks for a senior Taliban commander to enter Afghanistan and make his way to Kabul if ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) were not....aware of it and therefore allows it to take place," he said. "That's about as far as I can go on that at this point."

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS
**Subject:** (Reuters) LONDON: US GEN PETRAEUS SAYS ISAF FACILITATED PASSAGE OF SENIOR TALIBAN COMMANDER TO KABUL FOR TALKS

(Headline only.)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 5:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 8/26 Pakistan Flood Relief donations report

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: 8/26 Pakistan Flood Relief donations report

Given there hasn't been been a lot of coverage--this seems decent...

---

**From:** Millette, James L
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Davisson, Brandon; Anderson, Roger W; Bordley, Donna; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Shah, Khushali P; Thessin, James H
**Sent:** Thu Aug 26 16:14:58 2010
**Subject:** 8/26 Pakistan Flood Relief donations report

Pat, through 8/25 for the Pakistan Flood Relief:

1. Have received $30,590 in pledge funds from texting all at $10 each so 3,059 pledges
2. Have received $178,922 in credit card donations from 2,050 donors
3. Have received $ 6,105 in ACH donations from 85 donors
4. Have received $19,565 in mailed in checks from 119 donors

So in total we have received $235,182 in pledges and donations from 5,313 donors

On average this is about $44 per donation/pledge. If you excluded the ten dollar pledges/donations the average donation was $163 dollars.

Jim Millette
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Global Financial Services
US Department of State
(843) 308-5578
Millettejl@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines >
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 6:41 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** CEA
**Subject:** Economist

The Economist has invited you to submit an 800 word piece for their 2011 outlook issue. You'd be the only USG official, and would be featured with David Cameron and other heads of state. We all agree we should definitely do. It's a bit of a short fuse, so if you agree Josh Daniel would work on boiling down your CFR speech.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 4:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: QDDR Marks Bold Step Forward in Strengthening America's Civilian Power

---

**From:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 2:33 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: QDDR Marks Bold Step Forward in Strengthening America's Civilian Power

---

**From:** John K. Glenn [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 2:25 PM
**To:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** QDDR Marks Bold Step Forward in Strengthening America's Civilian Power

Dear Cheryl,

This morning we released a statement on the QDDR preview draft, and I thought you would be interested in it.

Please feel free to drop me a note if you have any questions.

John K. Glenn
Policy Director

---

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**
November 22, 2010

**MEDIA CONTACT**
Richard Parker
Tel: (202) 730-4163
E-mail: rparker@usglc.org

## USGLC Looks Forward to Working with the 112th Congress to Protect National Security

**Washington, DC—** The U.S. Global Leadership Coalition today released the following statement from Executive Director Liz Schrayer on the preview of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review:

"As part of the USGLC's Impact '08 initiative, a bipartisan working group of foreign policy experts called on the next administration to conduct a Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. We believed such a review was a vital step in modernizing our civilian-led tools of global engagement, and we congratulate Secretary Clinton and Administrator Shah for tackling this monumental and necessary task.

"The preview of the QDDR released last week represents a bold step towards implementing a smart power foreign policy by elevating our civilian power and ensuring effective, results-driven programs. While we have not seen the full report and expect varying views on some of the recommendations, the initial outline includes several significant highlights that are essential for America to meet today's global challenges: Increasing the resources and human capacity for State and

USAID; reinstituting budget and planning authority for USAID; and putting in place monitoring and evaluation efforts with clear metrics and a guarantee of program transparency.

"Today's global threats require the use of a wide range of tools, and the QDDR can help ensure our international affairs programs continue to make a critical impact in advancing our national security and economic intersts."

The U.S. Global Leadership Coalition (www.usglc.org) is a broad-based influential network of 400 businesses and NGOs; national security and foreign policy experts; and business, faith-based, academic and community leaders in all 50 states who support a smart power approach of elevating diplomacy and development alongside defense in order to build a better, safer world.

###

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B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 7:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Economist

I imagine early next week

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Economist
Sent: Oct 1, 2010 7:19 PM

Agreed. When can I see a draft?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines[redacted]>
To: H
Cc: CEA <AdlerCE@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 01 18:40:39 2010
Subject: Economist

The Economist has invited you to submit an 800 word piece for their 2011 outlook issue. You'd be the only USG official, and would be featured with David Cameron and other heads of state. We all agree we should definitely do. It's a bit of a short fuse, so if you agree Josh Daniel would work on boiling down your CFR speech.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Meeting with NK team

Fyi - cryptic to me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Campbell, Kurt M
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Nov 22 21:31:07 2010
Subject: Meeting with NK team

Jake -- please encourage the Secretary to keep her cards close [redacted] B5
[redacted] Kurt

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 11:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Anwar Ibrahim

Also fyi. Not sure what to make of Kim's inquiry.

---

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B
**Sent:** Mon Nov 22 21:27:40 2010
**Subject:** Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Very interesting. First I've heard.

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Steinberg, James B
**Sent:** Mon Nov 22 20:04:27 2010
**Subject:** FW: Anwar Ibrahim

FYI from BBC reporter.

---

**From:** Kim Ghattas [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Monday, November 22, 2010 8:02 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Anwar Ibrahim

Hearing from some sources that Anwar Ibrahim has linked to AQ financiers. Apparently the Saudis are onto this and showed the US a dossier about this. Do you know anything about it? Is this the real reason why her meeting with him was cancelled?

Kim Ghattas
BBC Washington
State department correspondent

www.twitter.com/bbckimghattas

Direct line - BBC Bureau
Direct line - State dpt bureau

BBC news
Suite 800, 2000 M Street NW,
Washington DC 20036, USA

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B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 3:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: USGLC QDDR Statement

**From:** Liz Schrayer <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Mon Nov 22 21:21:10 2010
**Subject:** USGLC QDDR Statement

U.S. GLOBAL LEADERSHIP COALITION

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**
November 22, 2010

**MEDIA CONTACT**
Richard Parker
Tel: (202) 730-4163
E-mail: rparker@usglc.org

## QDDR Marks Bold Step Forward in Strengthening America's Civilian Power

**Washington, DC**— The U.S. Global Leadership Coalition today released the following statement from Executive Director Liz Schrayer on the preview of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review:

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"The preview of the QDDR released last week represents a bold step towards implementing a smart power foreign policy by elevating our civilian power and ensuring effective, results-driven programs. While we have not seen the full report and expect varying views on some of the recommendations, the initial outline includes several significant highlights that are essential for America to meet today's global challenges: Increasing the resources and human capacity for State and USAID; reinstituting budget and planning authority for USAID; and putting in place monitoring and evaluation efforts with clear metrics and a guarantee of program transparency.

"Today's global threats require the use of a wide range of tools, and the QDDR can help ensure our international affairs programs continue to make a critical impact in advancing our national security and economic intersts."

The U.S. Global Leadership Coalition (www.usglc.org) is a broad-based influential network of 400 businesses and NGOs; national security and foreign policy experts; and business, faith-based, academic and community leaders in all 50 states who support a smart power approach of elevating diplomacy and development alongside defense in order to build a better, safer world.

###

**Liz Schrayer** | President
202-689-8900 |

B6

**Schrayer & Associates, Inc.**
1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
www.schrayer.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Officials think bin Laden involved in Europe plot

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCT; NEWS-EUR
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Fri Oct 01 19:27:11 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Officials think bin Laden involved in Europe plot

WASHINGTON (AP) – Osama bin Laden emerged October 1 as possibly a key figure in the European terror plot, and officials said he may be flexing his muscles in a move to show a besieged al-Qaida remains strong and able to launch major attacks on western targets. U.S. counterterrorism officials said they believe that senior al-Qaida leaders, including bin Laden, were involved in the plan to strike several European cities in a coordinated assault. If bin Laden had a direct hand in the planning, it would be the most active role he has played in a terror plot since the 9/11 attacks, according to U.S. officials and analysts.

Counterterrorism officials said that they are now working under the assumption that bin Laden played a role in the plotting, but they would not detail what indications they've seen that led them in that direction.

Still, some also believe that bin Laden's orders may have been delivered by one of his top commanders, since the al-Qaida leader is known to avoid close contact with anyone except his closet confidants.

While bin Laden's name is still a powerful reminder of the World Trade Center's twin towers and the Pentagon engulfed in flames, U.S. officials have for months asserted both in private and in hearings on Capitol Hill that his core al-Qaida group is weakened, struggling to raise money and attract recruits.

"Clearly there is a great deal of pressure on al-Qaida to do something to show that it is still alive and kicking," said Richard Barrett, the head of a U.N. group that monitors the threat posed by al-Qaida and the Taliban. "They need to show they're strong, they're a force multiplier, that they've still got some beef, that they've got operators abroad, that they can do things."

Barrett said al-Qaida's Pakistan-based network has not launched a successful attack since the London subway bombing in 2005. "In order to attract the younger new recruits, I think they have to do a bit better than that," he said.

The multi-pronged scope of the emerging terror plan _ which aimed to launch coordinated shooting rampages or attacks in Britain, France and Germany _ is an al-Qaida hallmark.

U.S. officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence matters, declined to reveal what evidence they have that bin Laden took a more prominent role in this plan. And one U.S. intelligence official cautioned that the details of how the plan was directed or coordinated by the group's core leaders is not yet clear.

The involvement of bin Laden and his devoted leaders, believed to be in hiding in Pakistan, underscores continuing U.S. concerns about that country's role as a safe haven for al-Qaida and other Islamic extremists.

And it reflects al-Qaida's persistent effort _ through video and online messages _ to inspire its followers to wage attacks against the West. The threat to Europe was highlighted when bin Laden issued a call to arms in March 2008 after a Danish newspaper printed controversial cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad.

He warned Europeans in an audio message that there would be a "severe" reaction to come.

Rep. Pete Hoekstra, R-Mich., the senior Republican on the House Intelligence Committee, said that bin Laden may simply be trying to re-exert himself. And his role in the European plot could suggest a lack of confidence by al-Qaida central in the ability of other affiliated groups in Yemen or Africa to carry out a successful attack on their own, Hoekstra said.

Over the past year, several terror attacks in the U.S. have either failed or been foiled, including the botched attempts to bring down a Detroit-bound airliner on Christmas Day and to set off a bomb in New York's Time Square.

"They've let other people take the lead on attacking the West," said Hoekstra, adding that bin Laden may now be

thinking, "these guys can't do it, we've got to become more involved again."

Bin Laden's presumed role in the European plot was first reported by NPR.

One senior U.S. official, meanwhile, discounted any involvement in the Europe terror plot by al-Qaida's North African affiliate. While al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb is dangerous in its region and may want to export its terror operations to Europe, there are no indications that it is able to do that at this time, said the official.

A Pakistani intelligence official said Thursday that eight Germans and two British brothers are at the heart of the European terror plot, which is still in its early stages. One of the Britons was killed in a recent CIA missile strike, he said.

Pakistan, Britain and Germany are tracking the suspects and intercepting their phone calls, the official told The Associated Press on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to release the information to the media.

U.S. officials have pressed Pakistan to increase its efforts to root out the militants hiding in the mountainous border region.

The U.S. has dramatically stepped up its missile attacks in North Waziristan, and is believed to have launched at least 21 this month. The covert campaign is largely carried out by CIA drones and has led to the deaths of a number of top militant leaders.

Pakistan has complained vocally about the program but is believed to provide intelligence assistance for at least some of the strikes.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 6:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reminder on wexler/menendez

Wexler coming up at 630 pm, menendez at 7pm. Ops will connect them to you.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Syrian leader: Mideast talks only to help Obama

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**From**: Abdalla, Alyce N
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sat Oct 02 09:46:41 2010
**Subject**: Syrian leader: Mideast talks only to help Obama

TEHRAN (AP) - Syrian President Bashar Assad offered dim hopes Saturday for any success in Middle East peace talks, saying the White House is only using its mediation between Israelis and Palestinians to score political points in the United States. The comments by Assad during a one-day visit to Tehran followed talks with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Both leaders pledged to support "resistance" in the region, an apparent reference to Palestinian militants and others opposing Israel.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: PLO: Israel must halt settlements for talks to resume

**From**: Abdalla, Alyce N
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc**: SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sat Oct 02 09:50:57 2010
**Subject**: PLO: Israel must halt settlements for talks to resume

RAMALLAH (Reuters) - Israel must halt settlement building on occupied land if peace talks are to resume, a senior Palestine Liberation Official said after a meeting of the body's executive committee. "The leadership confirms that the resumption of talks requires tangible steps, the first of them a freeze on settlements," Yasser Abed Rabbo said after a meeting in Ramallah. "The Palestinian leadership holds Israel responsible for obstructing the negotiations," he added, reading a statement issued after the meeting.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 6:24 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Hill calls on settlement moratorium

The team believes that some high level strategic targeted Hill calls are needed to explain our position on the settlement moratorium extension. The thought was:

S calls to Kerry, Berman, Lowey, Feinstein;
Mitchell calls to Levin, Lugar, Leahy.

We would get points to you tomorrow, for calls over the weekend if possible, or Monday.

Does this work?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jim steinberg

He's headed to cisco phone
They will connect u at 1:45

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 2:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Draft E=dept notice for Kris B

Any issues b/f I pull the trigger?

---

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 14:28:15 2010
**Subject:** Draft E=dept notice for Krls B

Any edits? Objections? Kris cleared.....

The Secretary Announces the Special Representative for Global Partnerships (S/GPI)

The Secretary announced Kris Balderston as the Special Representative for Global Partnerships. The Office of the Special Representative is located in the Harry S. Truman Building, room 6817. The Special Representative and his office (S/GPI) will continue to engage the private sector and civil society in partnerships to forward the priorities of the Secretary by coordinating global partnerships across the interagency, developing new tools for partnerships, and advancing the Department's engagement with the private sector. The Special Representative's office can be reached at 202-647-2200.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 1:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) U.S. officials: The United States is considering an alert to Americans in Europe to stay away from public places

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**From**: Abdalla, Alyce N
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-SCT; PA FO Group; SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc**: SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sat Oct 02 13:22:49 2010
**Subject**: (AP) U.S. officials: The United States is considering an alert to Americans in Europe to stay away from public places

Headline only.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 1:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (NYT) Palestinians Say Talks With Israel Should Be Suspended

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; SES-O_Shift-II
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sat Oct 02 13:25:39 2010
**Subject:** (NYT) Palestinians Say Talks With Israel Should Be Suspended

October 2, 2010

# Palestinians Say Talks With Israel Should Be Suspended

By ETHAN BRONNER

New York Times

RAMALLAH, West Bank — The Palestinian leadership said Saturday that four-week-old direct talks with Israel should be suspended as long as Jewish settlement housing was being built in the West Bank. It called on the international community to pressure Israel to stop the construction.

A statement issued after a meeting of about 35 Palestinian leaders — the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the central committee of the main Fatah movement and a handful of others — held at the compound of the Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas, said that Israel was responsible for the deadlock.

"The leadership confirms that the resumption of talks requires tangible steps, the first of them a freeze on settlements," Yasser Abed Rabbo, a senior P.L.O. official said after the three-hour meeting. "The Palestinian leadership holds Israel responsible for obstructing the negotiations."

The Obama administration envoy to the region, George J. Mitchell, met repeatedly in recent days with Mr. Abbas and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel in hopes of keeping the new talks alive. But he left on Friday, having made no progress.

Mr. Mitchell remains in the region, talking with Arab leaders before an Arab League meeting planned for next Friday in Libya, where the issue of direct talks with Israel will be debated and where, Mr. Abbas has said, a final decision on the future of the talks will be made.

Barring a last-minute deal, the talks seemed to be in deep trouble.

Mr. Abbas was due to see King Hussein of Jordan on Sunday and then Hosni Mubarak, the president of Egypt, as efforts continue to find a solution.

Israel halted most settlement construction for 10 months last November, saying it viewed the politically difficult step as a gesture to lure the Palestinians into direct peace talks. Mr. Abbas consented to the talks nine months later but threatened to abandon them if the freeze was lifted.

Mr. Netanyahu argues that the future of the settlements should be part of a mix of issues to be discussed in the coming year of talks, not a precondition for talks. The Palestinians say the Israelis agreed to end settlement expansion in a 2003 road map for peace and have failed to live up to that commitment. They add that settlements violate international law and are eating up the land on which they plan to build their state.

Mr. Netanyahu told his close aides on Friday that he would not freeze settlements further but would limit the building, according to an official briefed on that meeting.

"Everyone knows that restrained and moderate building in Judea and Samaria in the coming year will not affect the peace map at all," he said, according to the official, using the biblical term for the West Bank. "Therefore the international community must call on the Palestinians to stay in the peace talks. It is in the interest of the Palestinians, just as it is in ours."

Since Mr. Abed Rabbo on Saturday also asked for assistance from the international community, it now appears that both sides, instead of talking to each other, have returned to making their cases to the world, hoping other governments will intercede on their behalf.

The Obama administration has offered Israel security guarantees and military hardware in exchange for a one-time 60-day extension of the building freeze. But so far Mr. Netanyahu has turned that down, saying that sticking to his word on a one-time freeze was more important than the elements of the American offer.

The Palestinians say they, too, have concerns about credibility if they return to talks while settlement building resumes.

Nabil Abu Rudeineh, a close aide to Mr. Abbas, said Saturday that Mr. Abbas had staked his credibility on ending negotiations if settlements began again. Asked how to assess the diplomacy of recent days, Mr. Abu Rudeineh said, "So far efforts have reached a dead end."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 7:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 8/26 Meeting Readout

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Aug 26 17:55:37 2010
**Subject:** 8/26 Meeting Readout

Pat chaired today's meeting with the regional bureaus – here are highlights:

E Russians still backtracking on poultry agreement; will recommend S re-engagement with Lavrov. Rich Verma predicted spillover on New START prospects.

NEA Yemen publicly reacted harshly to WP story on prospective use of drones against al-Qaeda operatives. Good Iraq DC (reported separately on high side) – Jeff Feltman will meet with VP Thursday.

EAP Japanese parliamentarian Ozawa making bid for DPJ leadership; [redacted] Jim S/Kurt at offsite with Cui Tankai. B5

S/GC SSCI minority staff is visiting European capitals and warning against accepting Gitmo detainees.

SCA Indian lower house of parliament passed bad nuke liability legislation; goes to upper house Monday. Indigenous producers leading the protest against it; Bob Blake recommends leaving it that way publicly to avoid nationalist backlash.

WHA Moving to adult dependents only at Mexican border posts/Monterrey because of violence.

IO Ban ki-Moon will formally welcome NATO logistical support in Pakistani flood relief.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 7:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Can someone print out this poll from Brookings on Arab public opinion for you? Sid

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2010/08_arab_opinion_poll_telhami/08_arab_opinion_poll_telhami.pdf

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 1:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jim will call at 2. He's running late.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 2:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pls email back if you receive.

Have it now. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Steinberg, James B
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]> B6
Sent: Sat Oct 02 14:31:38 2010
Subject: Pls email back if you receive.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Samuel Berger
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Can we schedule call over the weekend?

I am around Fri-Sun. Leave on Monday.

Best numbers: w)202-637-5698

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 10:21 AM
To: Samuel Berger
Subject: Can we schedule call over the weekend?

Just let me know what times work for you, and I will call you. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 3:16 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** SteinbergJB@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Pls email back if you receive.

Received. Just out of a SVTC on the Europe issue.

On Sat, Oct 2, 2010 at 2:31 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 6:24 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

We can follow up on both.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Thu Aug 26 20:14:27 2010
Subject: Schedule

Rich Armitage called me about speaking to the Turkish Council and, if I do, the FM Dav will come. I can't remember what we decided about this but he sounded like he hadn't gotten a response yet.
What does EUR and others think?

He also went to Af w Sandy Berger and I invited them to come see about their trip. I'd like to schedule after Labor Day.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Blair

Matthew doyle gave heads up that blair wants to talk about meeting with you separately before the sept 1 dinner.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Reminder on mashabane

Coming up at 800am. Ops will connect it to you.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 9:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Inside W.H., calls for shake-up

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 16:32:33 2010
**Subject:** Inside W.H., calls for shake-up

POLITICO

## Inside W.H., calls for shake-up

By: Glenn Thrush
November 3, 2010 10:30 AM EDT

Some of the calls for a White House shake-up are now coming from inside the building.

Frustrated current and former West Wing staffers, speaking on condition of anonymity, told POLITICO they hoped Tuesday night's humbling losses would persuade President Barack Obama to pursue a much more sweeping fix than just the "natural" post-election churn of personnel his administration has insisted will take place.

Many of those changes are already being seriously considered, among them: replacing Political Director Patrick Gaspard with a former top aide to Rahm Emanuel; replacing deputy chief of staff Jim Messina, who is expected to move to Obama's 2012 campaign, with Legislative Affairs Director Phil Schiliro; and possibly giving White House energy czar Carol Browner expanded policy responsibilities.

But if Obama's critics are focusing on his agenda and messaging, many on his team are urging him to address what they see as a major organizational flaw: an amorphous, ill-defined chain of command in the West Wing that concentrates too much power in too few hands, hampering efficiency, accountability and communication.

"If there's still only five, 10 people making decisions, then we haven't learned our lesson from Tuesday," said one aide, who believes the problem starts with Obama's insistence on giving his senior advisers, Valerie Jarrett and David Axelrod, broadly sketched responsibilities.

But the issue isn't confined to the upper levels. Several Obama insiders pointed to a surplus of West Wingers who spin out ideas by the bushel — and a shortage of seasoned middle managers to execute and sell them.

"They've been here for two years; they need a more grown-up system," one former administration official said. "They've gone too horizontal."

Key Obama aides — including interim chief of staff Pete Rouse, who has been tasked with creating a new organizational plan, and press secretary Robert Gibbs, who is seeking to carve out a role beyond briefing reporters — have reportedly made that point directly to the president.

But it's not clear whether Obama, who ordered Rouse to conduct an institutional review of the West Wing, is ready to scrap a loose, comfortable system that allowed him to respond quickly to multiple crises for a more conventional executive organization.

No one expects Obama to immediately heed calls to conduct a major housecleaning — or inject fresh blood into the West Wing by bringing in outsiders or even a Republican or two, as former Sen. Tom Daschle, an Obama ally, has counseled.

White House officials maintain they will make gradual changes — and hope that the arrival of Obama's organization-building 2008 campaign manager, David Plouffe, sometime in early 2011 will provide the West Wing with more focus.

But Ken Duberstein, former chief of staff to President Ronald Reagan, said the White House needs to move much more quickly. "There's a window of six to nine months where serious governing can take place before people start looking at the [2012] primaries," he said.

Mike McCurry, President Bill Clinton's former press secretary, said Tuesday's results will usher in changes to Obama's day-to-day operations, whether he likes them or not.

"President Clinton had to submit to a lot more discipline and structure in his daily schedule," said McCurry, who was an aide to then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher during the Democrats' devastating two-house loss in the 1994 midterms.

We had "little calendars that had color codes on how [Clinton] was spending his time. ... Enjoying the solitude of the office is probably over [for Obama]," he added.

Obama has had weeks to brace for the worst, unlike Clinton, who was blindsided by the '94 results. But some of Obama's allies fear he will take Tuesday's results too much in stride. That perception was fueled by Axelrod, who told a gathering of Democrats earlier this week that he didn't interpret Tuesday's expected debacle as a rejection of the president.

"I'm not sure [Obama] gets it yet," said one person close to the president.

But Rouse apparently does. In recent weeks, he has solicited advice and detailed memos from key administration players and allies outside the White House, especially former White House Communications Director Anita Dunn.

The results, gleaned from insiders, are a range of plans to restructure Obama's policy, political, legislative affairs and communications operations.

No final decisions have been made. But Rouse — a quiet, meticulous organizer who inherited a chaotic system designed on the fly by Emanuel after Emanuel left the White House to run for mayor of Chicago — is determined to clarify lines of authority and wants

to assign more specific job descriptions to senior staff.

There are no plans to embark on a wholesale purge: The structural changes, if Obama signs off on them, are intended to dovetail with the anticipated departure of some personnel and reshuffling of a relatively small cast of Obama insiders.

"It's a combination of two things: natural attrition and changes that want to be made," another aide said. But "some people have done all they can here."

And many of the biggest West Wing moves were preloaded before Nov. 2, in part to avoid the appearance of a mass exodus — including the departures of Emanuel, Office of Management and Budget Chief Peter Orszag (himself a critic of the White House management structure), Council of Economic Advisers Chairwoman Christina Romer and National Economic Council Chairman Larry Summers.

Among the first post-election moves, according to people familiar with the planning, will be to move Gaspard, who has fallen out of favor, to another administration job or a position outside the White House.

The top candidate to replace him is said to be veteran House Democratic staffer Sean Sweeney, who served as Emanuel's chief of staff.

Messina, an Obama favorite who is said to be headed to Chicago next year with Axelrod to work on Obama's reelection effort, is likely to be replaced by Schiliro, though Schiliro won't inherit Messina's wide-ranging political portfolio.

The legislative affairs office — a pre-midterm powerhouse that pushed through the stimulus, regulatory reform and health care bills — will most likely be downsized to reflect Obama's curtailed agenda on the Hill.

But Schiliro, a former aide to Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), will pick up a crucial new assignment: In conjunction with White House counsel Bob Bauer, he's expected to defend Obama against an anticipated wave of GOP hearings and investigations spearheaded by the feared new chairman of the House Oversight Committee, California Rep. Darrell Issa.

Less clear is what Rouse and Obama have in store for the policy team — a group that becomes much more important now that any meaningful legislative action is shut down by House Republicans and a shrunken Senate majority.

In a flashback to the Clinton years, the administration will now be forced to rely on creative rule writing and new regulatory strategies to counter Republican obstruction on the Hill.

Several people familiar with the situation said that Browner, one of the few Clinton administration veterans to earn the president's trust — is being considered for a newly envisioned policy job.

Browner, known for her aggressive rule making when she was Environmental Protection Agency administrator, would supplant deputy chief of staff Mona Sutphen, who is expected to leave the administration sometime in 2011.

Melody Barnes, director of Obama's Domestic Policy Council, is also expected to take on

a greater role.

In the meantime, Rouse has quietly sought to change the culture inside the West Wing by enfranchising a wider circle of advisers than did Emanuel, who was prone to making spur-of-the-moment decisions consulting only a handful of trusted aides.

The changes are small but significant. Emanuel made many of his decisions at his signature 7:30 a.m. meeting in the chief of staff's office — and often used a larger 8:30 a.m. sit-down simply to issue marching orders.

Rouse, by contrast, seems to put more weight on the later meeting because it gives more junior staff an opportunity to take part in decision making, insiders say.

*Amie Parnes and Abby Phillip contributed to this report.*

IRIDES WEB HOSTING

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 7:49 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Update on mashabane

**Importance:** High

Ms- mashabane just cancelled the 8am call this morning. We're waiting for them to call back and propose a new time.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

## Q. Why did the Department of State issue a Travel Alert for Europe?

B5

[redacted]

Drafted: CA/OCS/ACS – Michelle Bernier-Toth 7-9019

Cleared:
CA/OCS:JPettit
EUR:
S/CT:
PA:
CA/P:
H:
M:

Drafted: CA/P: Rebecca Dodds, 7-0257, 9/30/2010

Cleared: CA/OCS/ACS:

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Final for cabinet call

Here is what we propose you use to present in the cabinet call tonight:

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 3, 2010 9:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FM Kevin Rudd and Sec State Clinton/invitation to Rudd to speak at Oxy.

Fyi

---

**From:** Derek Shearer [redacted] B6
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Nov 03 16:16:08 2010
**Subject:** FM Kevin Rudd and Sec State Clinton/invitation to Rudd to speak at Oxy.

Lauren/Cheryl,
And--Please let Hillary know that I have invited Australian Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd to speak at Occidental in the coming year--on China or whatever topic he pleases. His chief of staff Philip Green has responded with some interest, and the Australian CG in LA is very excited to make it happen. Consulate here has invited me to speak at conference in January in LA on the US and Australia in Asia, and I have accepted (a good topic too if embassy Canberra wanted to invite me down as PD speaker). It would be helpful, if Hillary can work it in to her informal time with Rudd to mention me and Oxy in a favorable way and encourage him to accept the invitation to speak on our campus. I'd certainly appreciate it.
Thanks as ever,
Derek
I just saw the news reports on the program that Hillary will be doing with young Australians in Melbourne o Sunday. Looks great. And perhaps she will get to meet my friend Glyn Davis, head of University of Melbourne on margins of event.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 8:33 AM
**To:** H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

Tomorrow will give you a cleaner version, but you could get the current draft this morning if today is better for you work-wise.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Aug 27 08:23:33 2010
Subject: Foreign Affairs

Will I receive draft today or tomorrow? I'm trying to plan my work time so would appreciate knowing. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

Lissa is out for most of day. There is a complete draft w/ the changes u asked for that Jake has. Lissa will write through this draft for a good line edit tonight, so it will be smoother tmw. Just let us know what u wd prefer. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Aug 27 08:23:33 2010
Subject: Foreign Affairs

Will I receive draft today or tomorrow? I'm trying to plan my work time so would appreciate knowing. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 9:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

Sigh - will send you traffic that lead to this response

---

**From:** Howard Dean [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 9:49 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

This is not good news, but it is very helpful. Understandably there is an enormous amount of emotion around this. My view, which may not be heeded by the family and their supporters, is that a little patience would be helpful here to see what might happen back channel. Again, I really appreciate the time you are putting into this. In the big picture this is small potatoes, but of course to the family, it is everything. Howard

On Sun, Sep 19, 2010 at 9:29 AM, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

Howard:

Thanks for this – I spent yesterday having folks in the region, our ambassador in Egypt, and our folks in Consular affairs at main state review and consult with each other. There appears to be misinformation circulating. While the GOE is sympathetic to all parties, the GOE has not indicated any willingness to interfere in the proceedings of the Egyptian courts that currently are considering Mr. Bower's challenge to the Egyptian custody decree. Including with regard to any of the matters flagged below.

We do not know when that judicial process will be completed, although the next hearing is scheduled for October. The Embassy is currently trying to ensure that Mr. Bower, who is en route to Egypt now, will be able to see his sons as called for in a current Egyptian court order.

I appreciate your sharing this for context – it is helpful.

Best.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: deanhowardb [redacted] B6
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 5:01 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl mills
Subject: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

Hi Cheryl,

I thought you would be interested in this information which comes from a US Govt source outside the State Dept. Don't know if the Secretary was aware of the back channel discussions at the time she raised the case. Mubarak apparently feels no one has responded to his wish list which may have something to do with turning over the kids into a visitation

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----

From: "Greenwood, Scotty" [redacted]

Date: Sat, 18 Sep 2010 13:58:12

To: <deanhowardb [redacted] B6

Subject: Follow up for cheryl mills

Gov -

If you feel comfortable - there is one more piece of info we believe cheryl mills needs to have - and that is - the fact that mubarek is trying to do some horse trading regarding the return of the bower boys. Mubarek wants - health care in usa for himself, some chit w clintons in future, consideration on human rights bill, and consideration for his successor. I am not saying that USG has to give in on these. But I am saying that USG has to be aware that mubarek wants to solve our issue - but wants his requests to at least be acknowledged.

Might you pass to cheryl? She is our only directly line to hrc at moment. We have made the bureaucrats aware - but its not making it up the food chain

Maryscott Greenwood

[redacted]



B6

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 10:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Netanyahu points

Netanyahu call points

B5

Background

Quote from a readout of Netanyahu's meeting with senior advisers on Friday:

"Everyone knows that restrained and moderate construction in Judea and Samaria in the next year will no even affect the peace process. Therefore the international community needs to call on the Palestinians to continue engaging in peace talks. It is in the interest of the Palestinians just as it is in ours"... "We did it [the moratorium] in order to give the opportunity to enter direct negotiations without preconditions. Now I expect that the Palestinians show their flexibility and continue with peace talks."..."Unfortunately, as opposed to us, the Palestinians are just hardening their stance."

Quote from Yasser Abed Rabbo that Bibi may raise:
"The leadership confirms that the resumption of talks requires tangible steps, the first of them a freeze on settlements. The Palestinian leadership holds Israel responsible for obstructing the negotiations."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

I gave AMS a revised draft yesterday morning and I just got it back with her retooled diplomatic section. She has asked for some more fact-checking to be done today. Hopefully she didn't re-write too much. I will know more when I work on it more closely this afternoon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Aug 27 09:50:43 2010
Subject: Re: Foreign Affairs

I'd like to get it tomorrow as complete as possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Aug 27 09:45:34 2010
Subject: Re: Foreign Affairs

Lissa is out for most of day. There is a complete draft w/ the changes u asked for that Jake has. Lissa will write through this draft for a good line edit tonight, so it will be smoother tmw. Just let us know what u wd prefer. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Aug 27 08:23:33 2010
Subject: Foreign Affairs

Will I receive draft today or tomorrow? I'm trying to plan my work time so would appreciate knowing. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 10:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

Per my prior email – read traffic down

---

**From:** Scobey, Margaret
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 8:08 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Jacobs, Susan S; Jacobs, Janice L; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Powers, Roberto; Tueller, Matthew H
**Subject:** RE: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

I would say that: There appears to be misinformation circulating. While sympathetic to all parties, the GOE has not indicated any willingness to interfere in the proceedings of the Egyptian courts that currently are considering Mr. Bower's challenge to the Egyptian custody decree. We do not know when that judicial process will be completed, although the next hearing is scheduled for October. The Embassy is currently trying to assure that Mr. Bower, who is en route to Egypt now, will be able to see his sons as called for in a current Egyptian court order.

ms

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 12:59 PM
**To:** Scobey, Margaret; Jacobs, Susan S; Jacobs, Janice L; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Subject:** Re: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

Thanks - I want to send something back in response - can you advise what points are appropriate to make and that are consistent w/ what has been said publicly to them?

---

**From**: Scobey, Margaret
**To**: Jacobs, Susan S; Mills, Cheryl D; Jacobs, Janice L; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Sent**: Sun Sep 19 01:06:09 2010
**Subject**: RE: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

I checked again with Kerry's staff. . .this did not come from them and does not reflect the gist of the Senator's conversation with Mubarak. I will certainly try to pin down the source of such assertions when I see Mr. Bower. It is

B5

---

**From:** Jacobs, Susan S
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 3:25 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Jacobs, Janice L; Scobey, Margaret; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Subject:** Re: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

That is what Bower told me and indicated that Mubarak had mentioned those conditions to Sen. Kerry. Bower also said he has a back channel to M's chief of staff who reportedly said the same thing. Could well be someone making mischief.

---

This email was sent from a wireless Blackberry device.

This e-mail is unclassified based on the definitions provided in E.O. 12958

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D
**To**: Jacobs, Janice L; Jacobs, Susan S; Scobey, Margaret; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Sat Sep 18 19:09:12 2010
**Subject**: FW: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

?

Is this true?

What would be the source for such information and such suggestions?

See also my concern again seeking to make this S/cdm issue as opposed to an operational issue for our protocols and processes in department.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: deanhowardb@ B6
Sent: Saturday, September 18, 2010 5:01 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl mills
Subject: Urgent. Fw: Follow up for cheryl mills. Fyi

Hi Cheryl,
I thought you would be interested in this information which comes from a US Govt source outside the State Dept. Don't know if the Secretary was aware of the back channel discussions at the time she raised the case. Mubarak apparently feels no one has responded to his wish list which may have something to do with turning over the kids into a visitation
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Greenwood, Scotty" B6
Date: Sat, 18 Sep 2010 13:58:12
To: <deanhowardb >
Subject: Follow up for cheryl mills

Gov -

If you feel comfortable - there is one more piece of info we believe cheryl mills needs to have - and that is - the fact that mubarek is trying to do some horse trading regarding the return of the bower boys. Mubarek wants - health care in usa for himself, some chit w clintons in future, consideration on human rights bill, and consideration for his successor. I am not saying that USG has to give in on these. But I am saying that USG has to be aware that mubarek wants to solve our issue - but wants his requests to at least be acknowledged.

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B6

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Peace talks come and go, but a settlement grows

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sun Oct 03 00:16:50 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Peace talks come and go, but a settlement grows

REVAVA (AP) - The American president was pushing hard for a Mideast peace agreement when six Jewish families arrived on this West Bank hilltop early one morning with cribs, refrigerators, Israeli flags and flatbed trucks carrying mobile homes.

White House condemnation came quickly: "Settlements are an obstacle to peace and their continuation does not contribute to the development of a peace process which we have all been working toward."

It was April 16, 1991.

Since then peace talks have started, stopped, restarted, and now it's President Barack Obama's turn to feel frustrated. Last week Israel ended its temporary settlement freeze, Palestinians threatened to quit the talks Obama has brokered, and settlers were celebrating in Revava, where those first trailers have been replaced by red-roofed suburban homes and six families have become 250.

The story is the same across the West Bank, where settlements have evolved from tenuous Jewish footholds into a massive presence across the hilly country which Israel captured in the 1967 war and which Palestinians want for their own state.

They have grown steadily through years of international condemnation, diplomacy, periods of violence and negotiations. They have often expanded as a direct protest against negotiations and the possibility that an Israeli government might uproot them.

In 1991, when the first Bush administration was coaxing Israelis and Palestinians to the negotiating table, 90,300 Israelis lived in settlements across the West Bank. Today there are 300,000, and their population is growing by 5 percent a year, more than 2 1/2 times the growth rate inside Israel.

The settlements themselves, ranging from small cities to isolated enclaves, take up just one percent of the area of the West Bank, according to government maps analyzed by Israeli human rights campaigners. But their impact is much greater than that number would suggest; the settlements and their access roads form a web of Israeli control that Palestinians say rules out any chance of viable statehood.

Nowhere is the expansion, and its interplay with the politics of peacemaking, more apparent than at Revava.

When those first families arrived on this rocky hill next to the Palestinian village of Kifl Hares, President George H. W. Bush's secretary of state, James Baker, was en route to Israel on a round of shuttle diplomacy.

One settler leader, Daniella Weiss, told The Associated Press at the time that they had "hurried the decision" on Revava to undermine Baker's plans.

Government permits had been issued and the land, settlers said, had been quietly purchased from local Palestinians.

The Israeli government was led, as it is now, by the Likud Party, historically a champion of West Bank settlement, claiming the territory as part of the biblical Land of Israel promised by God and as indispensable to Israel's security.

Some ministers in the government of then-prime minister Yitzhak Shamir reacted sourly to Revava's establishment; the government was trying to mollify the U.S. and appear receptive to peace while simultaneously settling Jews in the West Bank according to its own master plan. But the balancing act was becoming increasingly precarious.

Israeli doves were furious about Revava. Lawmaker Yossi Sarid likened it to "planting a bomb aboard (Baker's) plane in order to blow up his mission."

The settlers were young couples raised in observant Jewish homes. Gideon and Miri Goldis arrived with boxes of

possessions and three children under age 3. Nineteen years later, the family lives in a neat stucco home and have nine children.

"I had the good fortune to come to a rocky, empty hilltop and start a Zionist settlement enterprise that my grandfather could only dream of. Suddenly there was another ZIP code in the post office and another place on the map," Gideon Goldis said last week.

"I don't know what Baker wanted, or what Obama wants now, or any other leader - these are secondary," he said. "What comes first is my people, their birthright and their security."

Since the Goldises arrived, six Israeli prime ministers have held peace talks with the Palestinians. Some have officially restricted settlement construction. Through all of this, Revava has kept growing.

Settlements sometimes went up with the intention of forestalling concessions and in response to international pressure, said Israeli writer Gershom Gorenberg, who has documented the history of the settlement movement.

"The red-tiled houses on the hilltops remain as monuments to the fallen peace initiatives of the past," he said in an interview.

Unlike the Likud leaders of two decades ago, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu says he accepts Palestinian statehood in at least part of the West Bank. But the Palestinian leadership sees settlement construction as the true litmus test of Israeli intentions, and insists the freeze must be maintained.

The settlers see themselves as the aggrieved party, at odds with the Palestinians, the White House, and often their own government. At Revava's celebrations last week, a sign with Obama's picture referenced the controversy over the planned Islamic center near Ground Zero in Manhattan, saying: "If Islam can build anywhere, why can't I?"

Gideon Goldis' father, Avraham, was a metallurgical engineer in Philadelphia before he immigrated to Israel. In 2000 he followed his son to Revava.

Beyond ideology, he said, he found a close-knit community 10 minutes' drive from central Israel. A house in Revava costs about $270,000, he said, a fraction of the price in Israel's center.

"The Americans said, 'you're torpedoing our efforts,'" said Goldis, 73. "We say, 'we're coming to live in Israel, why can't we live wherever we want?'"

Two decades after Baker's trip, with a new push under way for a peace agreement that would require Israel to cede most or all of the West Bank, is Goldis concerned about Revava's future?

"I'm not worried at all," he said.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Eric john

Info on eric john that u asked for:

[redacted] B6

Ops is in contact with Eric, and has passed to him a message that the Secretary has been informed and would be available to speak with him at an appropriate moment.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Eric john

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Aug 27 10:24:00 2010
Subject: Eric john

Info on eric john that u asked for:

Ops is in contact with Eric, and has passed to him a message that the Secretary has been informed and would be available to speak with him at an appropriate moment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 8:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Pakistan to reopen Afghan route once security improves

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Pakistan
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sun Oct 03 05:21:25 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Pakistan to reopen Afghan route once security improves

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Pakistan will only re-open a supply route for coalition troops in Afghanistan once public anger over NATO incursions eases and security improves, the foreign ministry spokesman said October 3.

Militants threatened more attacks on tankers carrying fuel to Afghanistan through routes in Pakistan to avenge the incursions.

"Unless the reaction cools down and we make sure that the supply line is secured, we cannot reopen it," Foreign Ministry spokesman Abdul Basit told Reuters.

Angered by repeated incursions by NATO helicopters over the past week, Pakistan blocked a supply route for NATO troops in Afghanistan after one such strike killed three Pakistani soldiers on September 30 in the northwestern Kurram region.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 11:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** clarification

I did not mean to make it seem as if Lissa is holding this up in any way – she and I have tag teamed pretty much around the clock all week and she has been making time amid an enormous array of important family obligations that she had set up on the assumption that she would have handed off to Josh Daniel by now. As you know, she is indispensable. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 1:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Richard wants to talk to you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Psychology and Middle East Peace
**Attachments:** Diamond on Psychology and Peace Talks.doc; Diamond on Psychology and Peace Talks.doc

I have not been able to get a psychology dinner set up, but I have found the article that you read on the difference an apology can make in the Middle East (coming in next email) and commissioned a useful paper from Louise Diamond, an expert on psychology and negotiations who has done a lot of work between the Israels and the Palestinians herself (attached). It's about 5 pages; I really think it is worth a read. Finally, on changing the frame to look forward, I strongly recommend that you spend 8 minutes to look at a video produced by a Rand study called The Arc, which proposes a high-speed road/rail project connecting the key cities in the West Bank and Gaza. It is a powerful, powerful vision of what could be, one that will play right into Bibi's emphasis on economic growth. For my money, it would be worth a private 8 minutes screening. I will send the link in the next email.
AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 11:21 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** If bilateral talks fail, a regional approach

For your Sunday reading, a summary of an interesting proposal by former Jordanian foreign minister Marwan Muasher.

"Palestinian-Israeli Direct Talks: The Case for a Regional Approach"By Marwan Muasher (Carnegie Endowment Bulletin, August 2010)

Marwan Muasher – former Jordanian foreign minister, ambassador, and deputy prime minister – advocates a regional settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, capitalizing on the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative. His approach depends first on securing end-game "deposits" from all parties: The parties would offer hypothetical commitments that they might not be willing to give at the onset, but that can be "deposited" with the U.S. and committed to only if the other side is willing to do the same. Saudi Arabia's deposit, for instance, would outline and agree to a package that included details about Jerusalem. The Saudi package would also promise to secure Arab and Muslim backing for the painful compromises the Palestinians would need to accept.

Muasher advocates a similar approach to the Syrian track—asking Syria to deposit end-game commitments in return for full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. In their deposits, the Saudis and the Syrians must clearly commit to address the inclusion of Hamas and Hezbollah in any regional agreement. The Arab states would not only have to end all logistical, financial, and military support for these two groups, but they would have to assume responsibility for delivering these two actors, helping to transform them into political players. Israel's deposit would spell out its commitment to a solution based on 1967 borders and a return of the Golan.

According to Muasher, these deposits would make it much easier for President Abbas to engage in talks aimed at ending the conflict. After he has been given Arab cover, Abbas could provide his own end-game deposits. According to Muasher, absent these commitments from the Arab states, the Palestinian positions will remain maximalist. Once the U.S. has deposits from all sides that make for a reasonable, comprehensive package, it should put this package on the table in cooperation with the Quartet. Once the comprehensive package is presented, the U.S. can focus on confidence-building measures to move all sides toward the end game.

AM

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 11:50 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Pledge for Palestine
**Attachments:** Pledge for Palestine Final.docx; Pledge for Palestine Final.docx

I'm sending 2 emails today b/c I didn't send one yesterday. :-)

Attached is a one-pager fleshing out how we could launch a Pledge for Palestine based on the Warren Buffett model. If we were to do this, we could start with [redacted], which includes, in addition to [redacted] B5
[redacted] One way to go would be to ask everyone to make conditional commitments contingent on raising a big enough sum to give the fund real impact. We also have great contacts with a group of young Arab business leaders -- I spoke to them last year and cd quickly reach out to their chair.

We are getting details from Rand about the full cost of The ARC project.

AM

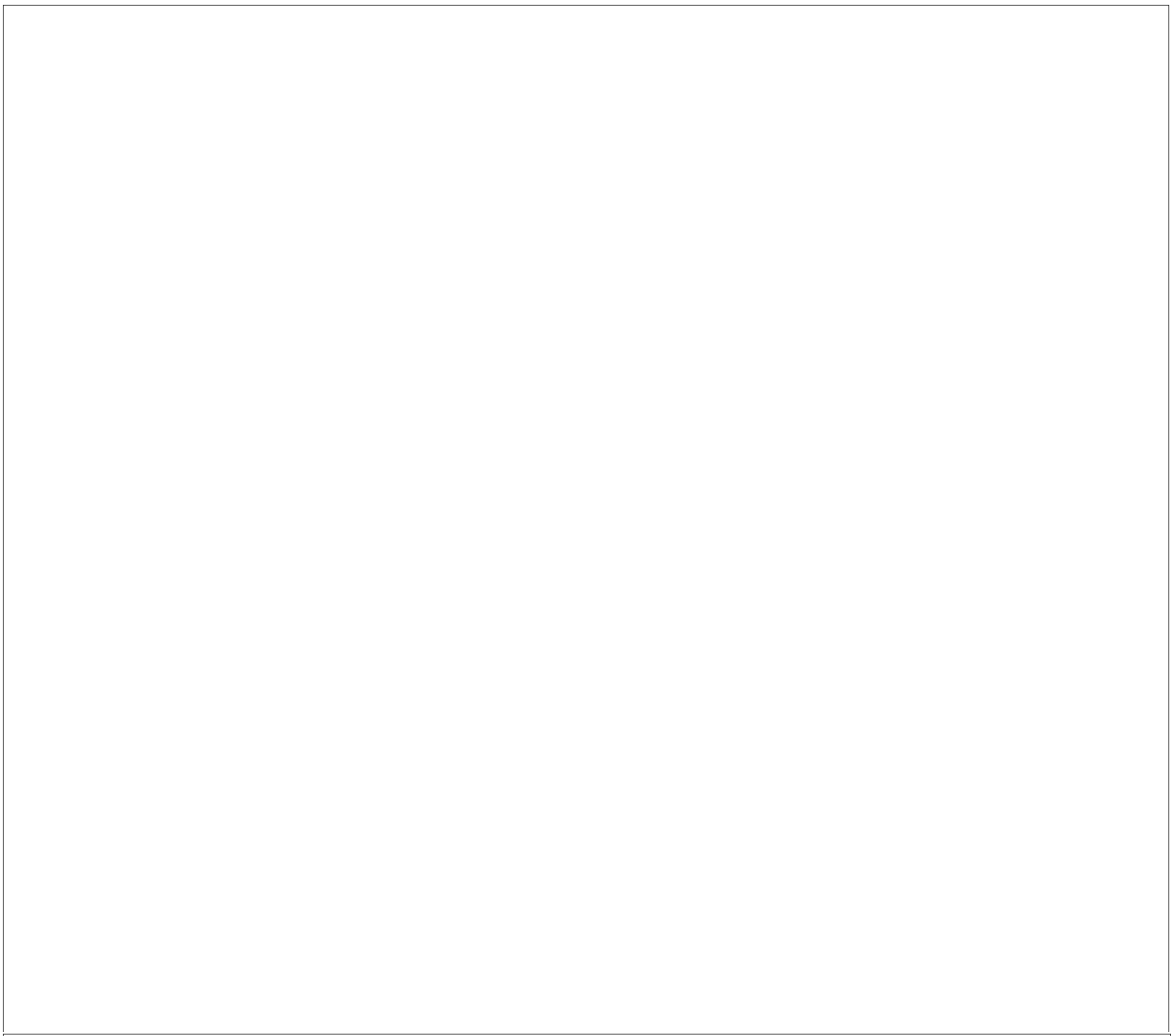
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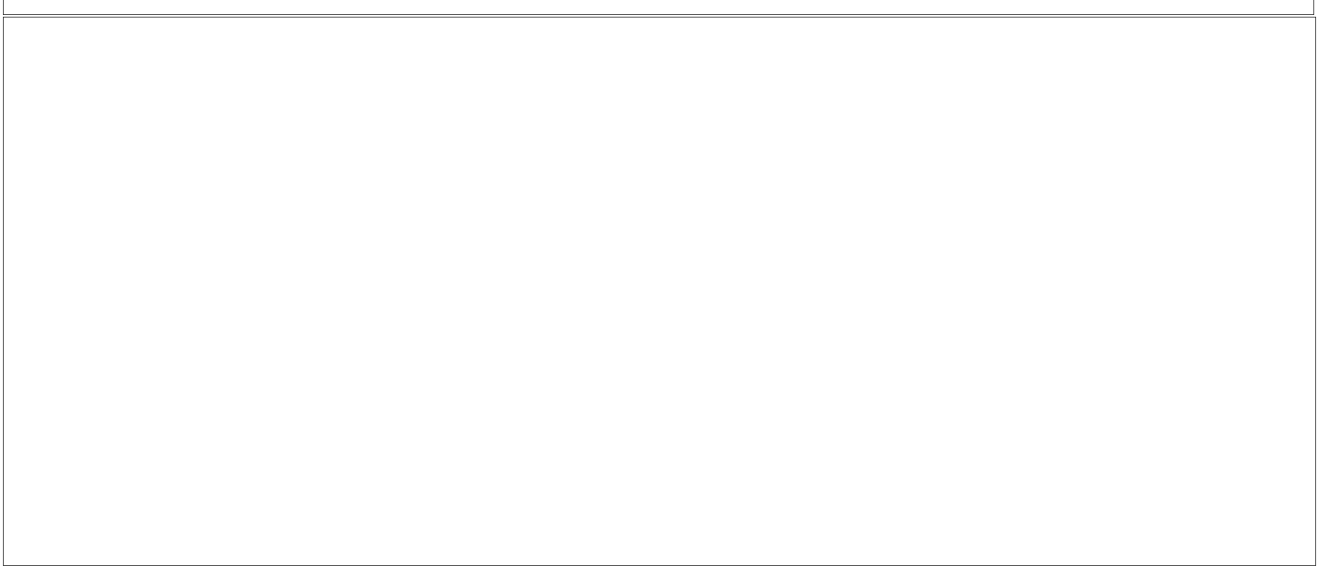
**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]>
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Oct 03 11:37:55 2010
**Subject:** Pledge for Palestine

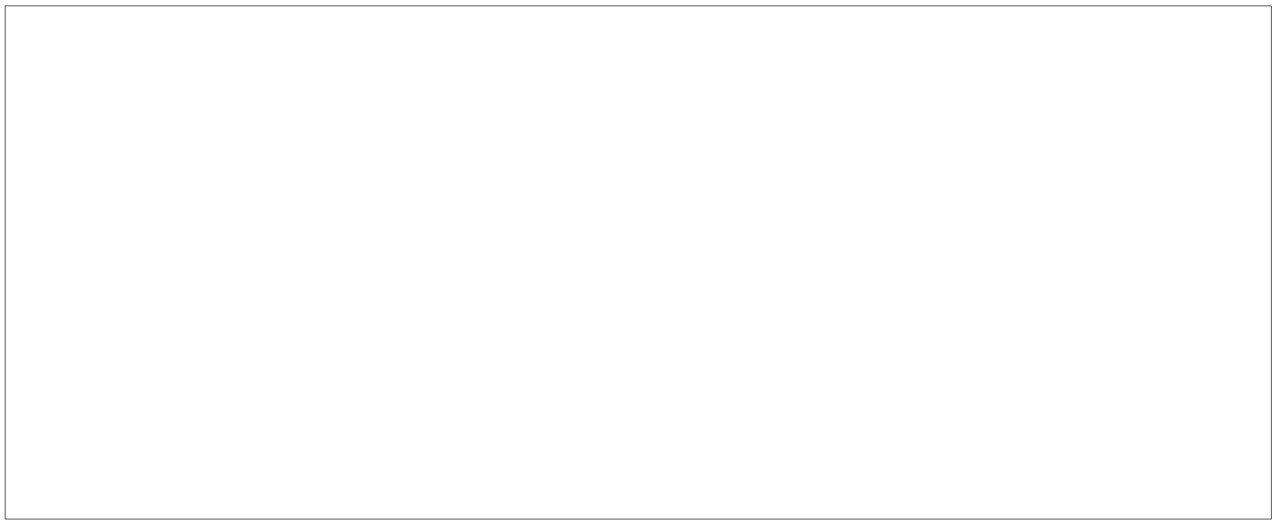
RELEASE IN PART
B5

# "Pledge for Palestine": A New Fund for Palestinian Prosperity and Justice

B5







B5

RELEASE IN FULL

# More on Patterns in Intractable Conflicts

By Louise Diamond, Ph.D.

In deep-rooted, intractable conflicts, the parties often develop unconscious patterns of behavior that impede the peace process.

We know that all behavior is purposeful. We also know that human beings are not necessarily rational actors; they do not always act in their own best interest. Sometimes the unconscious purpose of these patterns, therefore, is counter-intuitive: to maintain the status quo, even if it is painful, because we're scared of the unknown, or of giving up something we think we now have. Or the purpose might be to make things worse for the other side, even if it hurts us more; or to seek our own gain, even when we can see that by doing so we actually hurt ourselves further. We can identify the purpose or goals behind these patterns by seeing their results.

Because they are unconscious, and deeply entrenched over time, the patterns are especially hard to change. They are also mutual – that is, there is some collusion or mutuality between the parties that keeps the pattern going (again, unconsciously). There will be resistance to changing the behavior; the patterns have developed because the parties somehow believed they served their interests.

The mediators can help change the patterns in five general ways, all intended as non-confrontational and non-judgmental, and as ways to invite awareness and to present a possible pathway to different behavior:

1. **Educate the parties** briefly about the pattern – describe how it works. "What's happening now is a repetitive pattern; this is how it works.... Do you recognize this?"
2. **Name the pattern** when you see it happening. "Oh, this is the X pattern again. Does it feel familiar? How can we do something different?"
3. **Acknowledge the universality** of the pattern. "This is not unique to you; it is common in most conflicts. Even in most families!"
4. **Interrupt the behavior** – turn to something else (general rule of thumb: shift between content, process, and psychology when any one piece is not going well). "We seem to be stuck in the X pattern again. Let's move on to Y and see if we can get some fresh thinking."
5. **Enlarge the frame**; re-focus attention on the main priority: a successful peace process. "This is that X pattern again, and it's not useful in moving the process forward."

Specific suggestions will also be given for each pattern.

**The Blame Game.** This pattern can be tricky. There's a difference between stating a fact and playing the Blame Game. The PLO really did launch terrorist attacks

against Israel. Israel really does take Palestinian land for settlements. To state the facts is not to play the Blame Game. It becomes a game when it has other motives:

- To avoid taking responsibility for one's own contribution to the conflict;
- To avoid responsibility for finding a solution because one prefers the status quo;
- To look good in the eyes of the third party or international community, while making the other side look bad; to identify the other side as the primary roadblock to progress.

Some behaviors that characterize this game:

- One party sets impossible conditions or ultimatums that they know won't be accepted by the other side, and then blames the other side for not being a true partner for peace, or not being sincere about wanting a solution. *('Aha! See, we told you it was their fault!')*
- One party excuses its bad behavior by saying, essentially, 'if the other side hadn't done that, we wouldn't have had to do what we did.' (*'They made us do it!'*)
- The parties trade blame, like children. *('It' your fault! No, it's your fault;' 'You started it! Did not! Did so!')*

What might the mediators say?

- When the parties get into blaming ("See, they did x,y, and z...!"), say, "No one action stands by itself; we're always reacting to each other. So what did your side do that might have contributed to this?"
- Or, "Yes, that really happened. Now we're looking at what we can do differently, or how we can make some agreements so that that doesn't happen again."

**The Drama Triangle**. This pattern is very familiar to us because it is central to much of our literature and drama (especially melodrama). There are three archetypal roles – victim, persecutor, and rescuer (the Villain, who seeks to harm the Innocent, and the Hero, who tries to save the day). In deep-rooted conflicts, what often happens is that the parties in conflict plus the third party will shift who's playing what role at any one time.

The goal of the pattern:

- To avoid making progress toward peace.
- To stay in familiar territory and not have to take risks with new behavior.

Some behaviors that characterize the game:

- One party will play the role of victim, another of persecutor, and the other (often the third party) of rescuer, there to help 'fix' or solve the situation.
- Then, something will happen and the roles will change. The one who was the victim will become the persecutor (or rescuer); the previous persecutor will

now be the rescuer (or victim); and the previous rescuer will become the new victim (persecutor).

- The parties will cycle through these different roles at different times, never really making any progress.
- Examples: When Israel announced new settlement development during Vice President Biden's visit, the rescuer (the U.S.) became the victim, and the victim (Israel) became the persecutor. When Israel boarded the Rachel Corrie headed for Gaza, they were seeing themselves as victims and the blockade breakers as the persecutors, but when several of the ship's people were killed, the Israeli's were seen as the persecutors. The Palestinians see the Israelis as persecutors in the settlement issue, while they are the victims, but when the US spoke strongly for a settlement freeze, it became the persecutor and Israel became the victim.
- It is common for the parties to unconsciously collude so that the third party, the rescuer, gets blamed for lack of progress or even for making things worse, thus joining together as persecutors against a new victim.

What can the mediators do?

- Notice when you're playing an unhealthy 'rescuer' role: for instance, when you feel compelled to find the fix to a tough issue rather than helping the parties to do it, or when you want the solution more than the parties do. Choose to put the responsibility back on the parties.
- When noticing the cycle in action, say, for instance, 'Oh, we seem to be caught in that drama triangle again. There are no villains, victims, or rescuers here – we've all contributed to the problems in different ways and we're all working toward the same goal, a successful peace process.'

**The Demonization and De-humanization of 'the Other.'** In this pattern one side portrays the other side as less than human; as barbarians, uncultured, not intelligent, etc; not like 'us;' incapable of feeling, thinking, or acting as 'we' do (i.e., as 'normal' human beings). The other side is demonized, seen as the embodiment of all evil and at fault for the conflict. 'We' are the all good and 'they' are the all bad.

This pattern may not appear so obviously in the peace talks, as the negotiators are probably individuals who have had more extensive experience with their counterparts than most average citizens. However, this pattern is more likely than others to be consciously manipulated by political leaders, to be firmly ensconced in the educational system, and to be a staple of the media.

The purpose of this pattern.

- It shields the parties from hearing each other's legitimate needs and interests, and especially their pain. If 'they' are not as fully human as 'we' are, then what 'they' want doesn't count, or what 'they' feel can be dismissed

as inconsequential. If we don't have to acknowledge 'their' pain, we don't have to feel responsible for it, feel empathy for them, or do anything about it.
- It allows each side to justify its own violent acts against the other. If 'they' don't value life like 'we' do, then 'they' don't mind as much when we take their life.
- It socializes society into sustaining the story of 'us' against 'them' and the enemy image.

What the mediators can do.
- Be alert for it – it can be very subtle.
- Call it whenever you see it, as you would a racial slur. "That's a demeaning of a whole people." "We're here to acknowledge our common humanity and shared hopes for a better future." "We all have the same capacity for... intelligence, pain, caring about our families (whenever it happens to be).
- Provide opportunities for re-humanizing through personal contact (eating, seating, free time, sub-group dialogue opportunities).

**The Suffering Yardstick.** This is the most difficult pattern to interrupt, because the parties tend to be very attached to their suffering. It has become, over time, a major part of their identity. The trick is to acknowledge the suffering, but disallow the measuring of one party's suffering over the other. All human beings suffer in the face of violence, displacement, humiliation, etc. Each human being's suffering is awful to them.

In the Israeli-Palestinian situation this is huge. The Holocaust is seen, and in many ways legitimately so, as of a much greater magnitude and significance than the Nakba. Yet the historical and daily suffering of the Palestinians must be acknowledged as legitimate and important too. The trauma on both sides is a major element that undermines the possibility of a negotiated settlement of concrete issues. These are not rational actors seeking a rational solution – they are deeply wounded parties living in collective pain that they blame on each other.

Behaviors that characterize the pattern.
- One side argues that their suffering is bigger, stronger, and more worthy of sympathy than that of the other side. (In this case, usually Israel)
- One side gets angry that the suffering of the other should be compared to theirs, seen as equal or parallel. (In this case, usually Israel)
- One side diminishes or demeans or disallows the expression of suffering by the other.

What can the mediators say?
- "Everyone is suffering, and has been for a long time in this situation. This is our opportunity to put a stop to it, and, when we're ready, to start the healing process."

- "It may seem like the pain is disproportionate in numbers, but let's remember that for each person who's lost a family member or a home or a hope, the pain is the same."
- "It is true that there are unrightable wrongs on both sides here. It's important to acknowledge that and grieve. We cannot go back and re-write history, but we can feel each other's pain in the present, and create a different future for our children." Or '..... feel each other's pain in the present, and decide together to break the cycle here and now."

In sum, there are potent psycho/social/political patterns at play in the unconscious dynamics of intractable conflicts, which can present major roadblocks to a successful peace negotiation. Awareness is the first step to change. The more the mediators are aware of these patterns, and can help the parties notice them as well, the better equipped everyone is, together, to break out of well-traveled ruts and discover new possibilities.

*Louise Diamond, Ph.D., is the president of Global Systems Initiatives in Washington DC, which exists to foster systems thinking on complex global issues within the policy community. She is also president emeritus of The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, where she was an international peacebuilder for many years. diamond@globalsystemsinitiatives.net; www.globalsystemsinitiatives.net.*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 12:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** At work - can talk secure

I'll be here at the office for awhile -- happy to talk secure at any time. Just let me know what works for you.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 1:06 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: If bilateral talks fail, a regional approach

Thanks AMS [redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sunday, October 03, 2010 11:21 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: If bilateral talks fail, a regional approach

For your Sunday reading, a summary of an interesting proposal by former Jordanian foreign minister Marwan Muasher.

"Palestinian-Israeli Direct Talks: The Case for a Regional Approach"By Marwan Muasher (Carnegie Endowment Bulletin, August 2010)

Marwan Muasher – former Jordanian foreign minister, ambassador, and deputy prime minister – advocates a regional settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, capitalizing on the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative. His approach depends first on securing end-game "deposits" from all parties: The parties would offer hypothetical commitments that they might not be willing to give at the onset, but that can be "deposited" with the U.S. and committed to only if the other side is willing to do the same. Saudi Arabia's deposit, for instance, would outline and agree to a package that included details about Jerusalem. The Saudi package would also promise to secure Arab and Muslim backing for the painful compromises the Palestinians would need to accept.

Muasher advocates a similar approach to the Syrian track—asking Syria to deposit end-game commitments in return for full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. In their deposits, the Saudis and the Syrians must clearly commit to address the inclusion of Hamas and Hezbollah in any regional agreement. The Arab states would not only have to end all logistical, financial, and military support for these two groups, but they would have to assume responsibility for delivering these two actors, helping to transform them into political players. Israel's deposit would spell out its commitment to a solution based on 1967 borders and a return of the Golan.

According to Muasher, these deposits would make it much easier for President Abbas to engage in talks aimed at ending the conflict. After he has been given Arab cover, Abbas could provide his own end-game deposits. According to Muasher, absent these commitments from the Arab states, the Palestinian positions will remain maximalist. Once the U.S. has deposits from all sides that make for a reasonable, comprehensive package, it should put this package on the table in cooperation with the Quartet. Once the comprehensive package is presented, the U.S. can focus on confidence-building measures to move all sides toward the end game.

AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Impact of an Apology re Middle East peace proposals
**Attachments:** How_Words_Could_End_A_War.pdf; How_Words_Could_End_A_War.pdf

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: At work - can talk secure

yes. i will be on a call at 130. can i call you at 230?

On Sun, Oct 3, 2010 at 1:05 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
I can do after 2--does that work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Oct 03 12:55:16 2010
Subject: At work - can talk secure

I'll be here at the office for awhile -- happy to talk secure at any time. Just let me know what works for you.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 2:26 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Two more ideas on Pause for Peace; More Freeze for More Security
**Attachments:** Pause for Peace.docx; Pause for Peace.docx

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Sep 19 14:15:02 2010
**Subject:** Two more ideas on Pause for Peace; More Freeze for More Security

[redacted] B5

We're all lawyers and understand the limits of verbal formulations by themselves; [redacted]

1) *Pause for Peoce; A Region at Peace*

[redacted]

2) *More Freeze for More Security.*

[redacted] B5

B5

*Possible Game-Changers*

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771650 Date: 08/31/2015



The New York Times

RELEASE IN FULL

PRINTER-FRIENDLY FORMAT SPONSORED BY

CYRUS NOW PLAYING

As diplomats stitch together a cease-fire between Hamas and Israel, the most depressing feature of the conflict is the sense that future fighting is inevitable. Rational calculation suggests that neither side can win these wars. The thousands of lives and billions of dollars sacrificed in fighting demonstrate the advantages of peace and coexistence, yet still both sides opt to fight.

This small territory is the world's great symbolic knot. "Palestine is the mother of all problems" is a common refrain among people we have interviewed across the Muslim world: from Middle Eastern leaders to fighters in the remote island jungles of Indonesia; from Islamist senators in Pakistan to volunteers for martyrdom on the move from Morocco to Iraq.

Some analysts see this as a testament to the essentially religious nature of the conflict. But research we recently undertook suggests a way to go beyond that. For there is a moral logic to seemingly intractable religious and cultural disputes. These conflicts cannot be reduced to secular calculations of interest but must be dealt with on their own terms, a logic very different from the marketplace or realpolitik.

Across the world, people believe that devotion to sacred or core values that incorporate moral beliefs - like the welfare of family and country, or commitment to religion and honor - are, or ought to be, absolute and inviolable. Our studies, carried out with the support of the National Science Foundation and the Defense Department, suggest that people will reject material compensation for dropping their commitment to sacred values and will defend those values regardless of the costs.

In our research, we surveyed nearly 4,000 Palestinians and Israelis from 2004 to 2008, questioning citizens across the political spectrum including refugees, supporters of Hamas and Israeli settlers in the West Bank. We asked them to react to hypothetical but realistic compromises in which their side would be required to give away something it valued in return for a lasting peace.

All those surveyed responded to the same set of deals. First they would be given a straight-up offer in which each side would make difficult concessions in exchange for peace, next they were given a scenario in which their side was granted an additional material incentive, and last came a proposal in which the other side agreed to a symbolic sacrifice of one of its sacred values.

For example, a typical set of trade-offs offered to a Palestinian might begin with this premise: Suppose the UN organized a peace treaty between Israel and the Palestinians under which

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771650 Date: 08/31/2015

Palestinians would be required to give up their right to return to their homes in Israel and there would be two states, a Jewish state of Israel and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Second, we would sweeten the pot: In return, Western nations would give the Palestinian state $10 billion a year for 100 years. Then the symbolic concession: For its part, Israel would officially apologize for the displacement of civilians in the 1948 war.

Almost everyone we surveyed rejected the initial solutions we offered - ideas that are accepted as common sense among most Westerners, like simply trading land for peace or accepting shared sovereignty over Jerusalem. Why the opposition?

Many of the respondents insisted that the values involved were sacred to them. For example, nearly half the Israeli settlers we surveyed said they would not consider trading any land in the West Bank - territory they believe was granted them by God - in exchange for peace. More than half the Palestinians considered full sovereignty over Jerusalem in the same light, and more than four-fifths felt that the "right of return" was a sacred value, too.

In general the greater the monetary incentive involved in the deal, the greater the disgust from respondents. This strongly implies that using the standard approaches of "businesslike negotiations" favored by Western diplomats will only backfire.

Many Westerners seem to ignore these clearly expressed "irrational" preferences, because in a sensible world they ought not to exist. Diplomats hope that peace and progress on material and quality-of-life matters will eventually make people forget the more heartfelt issues. But this is only a recipe for another Hundred Years' War - progress on everyday material matters will simply heighten attention on value-laden issues of "who we are and want to be."

Fortunately, our work also offers hints of another, more optimistic course.

Absolutists who violently rejected offers of money or peace for sacred land were considerably more inclined to accept deals that involved their enemies making symbolic but difficult gestures. For example, Palestinian hard-liners were more willing to consider recognizing the right of Israel to exist if the Israelis simply offered an official apology for Palestinian suffering in the 1948 war.

Similarly, Israeli respondents said they could live with a partition of Jerusalem and borders very close to those that existed before the 1967 war if Hamas and the other major Palestinian groups explicitly recognized Israel's right to exist.

Remarkably, our survey results were mirrored by our discussions with political leaders from both sides. For example, Mousa Abu Marzook (the deputy chairman of Hamas) said no when we proposed a trade-off for peace without granting a right of return. He became angry when we added in the idea of substantial American aid for rebuilding: "No, we do not sell ourselves for any amount."

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771650 Date: 08/31/2015



But when we mentioned a potential Israeli apology for 1948, he brightened: "Yes, an apology is important, as a beginning. It's not enough, because our houses and land were taken away from us, and something has to be done about that." This suggested that progress on values might open the way for negotiations on material issues.

We got a similar reaction from Benjamin Netanyahu, the hard-line former Israeli prime minister. We asked him whether he would seriously consider accepting a two-state solution following the 1967 borders if all major Palestinian factions, including Hamas, were to recognize the right of the Jewish people to an independent state. He answered, "O.K., but the Palestinians would have to show that they sincerely mean it, change their textbooks and anti-Semitic characterizations."

Making these sorts of wholly intangible "symbolic" concessions, like an apology or recognition of a right to exist, simply doesn't compute on any utilitarian calculus. And yet the science says they may be the best way to start cutting the knot.

*Scott Atran, an anthropologist at the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris, John Jay College and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, is the author of the forthcoming "Talking to the Enemy." Jeremy Ginges is a professor of psychology at the New School for Social Research.*

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771650 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: At work - can talk secure

trying to reach your yellow phone now

On Sun, Oct 3, 2010 at 1:09 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Yes.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Oct 03 13:08:51 2010
Subject: Re: At work - can talk secure

yes. i will be on a call at 130. can i call you at 230?

On Sun, Oct 3, 2010 at 1:05 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

I can do after 2--does that work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Sun Oct 03 12:55:16 2010
Subject: At work - can talk secure

I'll be here at the office for awhile -- happy to talk secure at any time. Just let me know what works for you.

**RELEASE IN PART**
**B5**

*Pause for Peace; A Region at Peace*

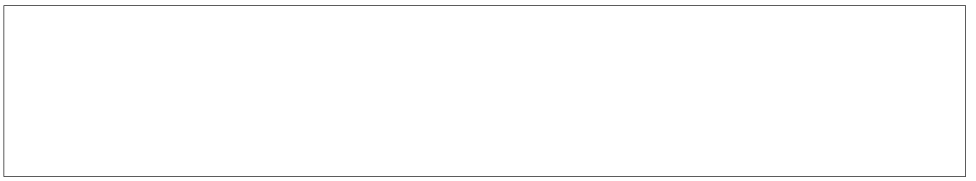
B5

*More Freeze for More Security.*

B5

*Possible Game-Changers*

B5



B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** The Arc

Here is the link to the video of The Arc. http://friendsofthearc.org/, a national infrastructure trunkline for a future Palestinian State developed by the RAND Corporation. It is only 8 minutes long, but a great overview of the Arc vision and its potential for enabling peace in the region. I promise you it is worth it. It has tested very well with both Palestinians, Israelis and American Jews and Palestinians. It is a genuinely a transformational idea that did not originate from American politicians or diplomats, but rather from innovative American minds in collaboration with stakeholders from all walks of life in Palestine, Israel, the US, Europe, and the Muslim world. And it could be largely financed with private finance.
AM

-----Original Message-----
From: McAuliffe, Marisa S
Sent: Friday, August 27, 2010 11:42 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: FW: CNAS: The Arc

-----Original Message-----
From: McAuliffe, Marisa S On Behalf Of Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:05 AM
To: 'Anne-Marie Slaughter'
Subject: FW: CNAS: The Arc

-----Original Message-----
From: Christopher Tucker [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, June 11, 2010 12:34 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: CNAS: The Arc

Ms. Slaughter,

Again, great talk today at the CNAS annual event. Thanks for your time.

As you will remember, I raised the point that we seem not to be engaging regimes or populations regarding affirmative visions of what their societies
could achieve in (say) a decade, if only we invested in a certain development strategy.

Clearly, you had once heard about the RAND Corporation's Arc Concept (perhaps from Steve Simon?), for a national infrastructure trunkline for

a
future Palestinian State. To regain familiarity, please watch the 8 minute
video on the home page of www.friendsofthearc.org which provides a great overview of the Arc vision, and its potential for enabling peace in the region. This is an affirmative vision that sells very well to both Palestinians, Israelis and American Jews and Palestinians. I would be happy
to prove this. Just imagine if the US came out in support of this vision.

If President Obama simply said something like "The Arc is a great example of
a transformational idea which did not originate from American politicians or
diplomats, but rather from innovative American minds in collaboration with
stakeholders from all walks of life in Palestine, Israel, the US, Europe,
and the Muslim world. It's the kind of initiative that I am happy to endorse, and I look forward to better understanding how, through the Arc,
America can make a positive contributions to peace, prosperity and security
in the region." - some very interesting things would happen. For example,
the PIF and other forms of private finance might just finance the whole thing...not requiring any (or at least much) US $.

You don't know me from Adam, but lets just say that I can say with confidence that PM Fayyad backs the Arc as a key part of his two year plan
for statehood, and that Abu Mazen's economic advisor (Dr. Mohammad Mustafa -
CEO of the PIF) does also. And, that President Peres has been a long time
supporter (I have the letter on my computer). I happen to know that Zbigniew Brzezinski will soon be taking a package to NSA Jones on the topic.
Zbig is a huge fan, as are many others from the establishment. If we met
for 15 minutes, I could explain the nature of the collective action problem
that has prevented many Arc fans from speaking up, and I could explain how I
am fixing this problem.

This is a concrete engagement strategy that would not cost the President political capital, but would actually manufacture political capital.

If you are willing to talk for 15-20 minutes, I would be happy to run up to
Foggy Bottom to brief you up on the Arc, and where I plan to take it

over
the next 2 quarters.

Thanks in advance for your interest, and I look forward to getting together.

Chris

[redacted] B6

BTW, this is the wikipedia approximation of me:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher_K._Tucker.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 3:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake wants to talk to u.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 1:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Jake wants to talk.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 5:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Interview: Ahmadinejad says future is Iran's

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Cc:** NEWS-Iran; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Sun Sep 19 17:21:03 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Interview: Ahmadinejad says future is Iran's

NEW YORK (AP) - Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad says "the future belongs to Iran," and challenged the United States to accept that his country has a major role in the world. The comment came in an hour-long interview with The Associated Press on the first day of his visit to the United States to attend the annual General Assembly at the United Nations. He restated that his government does not want an atomic bomb and is only seeking peace and a nuclear-free world. He gave no indication when Iran would resume talks on its nuclear program and said any anti-nuclear sanctions against his government would have no effect on his government's policies. Appearing calm and self-assured, he said he was pleased by the release of American hiker Sarah Shourd.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 2:42 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Kurt campbell wants to talk to u.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 8:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Thanks Madame Secretary --

Kagan also had an unusually supportive piece on Friday that prominently mentioned your role on Asia. B5

He built Singapore from nothing and his book is pretty damn inspirational on that front.

I leave for Asia early Monday and will check in from the road. Thanks and best Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Campbell, Kurt M
Sent: Fri Oct 01 20:12:18 2010
Subject: Re: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Nice validation of our efforts.

----- Original Message -----
From: Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 30 19:33:00 2010
Subject: Fw: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Madame Secretary -- a very sophisticated and supportive voice from Singapore. Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: Heng Chee CHAN < B6
To: Campbell, Kurt M
Sent: Thu Sep 30 19:04:40 2010
Subject: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Message Classification: Unclassified

Kurt,

Minister Mentor spoke in a Singapore-russia dialogue held in Singapore. I think Secretary Clinton would like his comments.

Heng Chee

Headline: The way to solve border disputes: MM
Byline: JEREMY AU YONG
Publication: ST^ST
Date: Wednesday, 29 September 2010
Page: A4
(C) Singapore Press Holdings Limited

It's fair for smaller countries to turn to international conventions

MINISTER Mentor Lee Kuan Yew supports the use of international conventions to solve border disputes, especially when the countries involved are not of equal standing.

By way of illustration, he said it was "fair" for smaller countries like Vietnam to resolve disputes with China using conventions like Unclos – the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

He made the point at a dialogue of the Russia-Singapore Business Forum yesterday, when he was asked by former Japanese senator Kotaro Tamura to comment on the ongoing China-Japan dispute.

Mr Tamura, in his question, made his feelings clear, describing China as a "teenager" in its handling of the situation.

Adding that China was also pushing around other countries like those in South-east Asia, he asked if it was a good idea for countries with potential border problems to team up and take China into a multilateral negotiation.

Mr Lee, in his response, noted that multiparty negotiations had been proposed by United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in a visit to Vietnam this July.

But Mrs Clinton's statement had upset China, he added.

Mr Lee said: "It was a really quiet statement but I think it also drew a line, a red line which will not make the Chinese very happy.

"As you can see its foreign minister says it's none of America's business, it is a bilateral matter with the Philippines, with Brunei, with Vietnam."

The three South-east Asian countries, China and some others have all laid claim – either in whole or in part – to the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

But any bilateral negotiation with China is unlikely to be a fair fight, he said.

"So if you deal with China, and Vietnam with 100 million (people) and they've got 1,300 million, where is your punching power?" he asked.

He cited a 2008 dispute over a deal Vietnam made with US oil giant ExxonMobil to do oil exploration in contested waters.

"The Chinese told ExxonMobil: 'Move on or you'll get no business from China.' So ExxonMobil moved on," he said. That is why, he said, a multilateral, Unclos- based solution was just.

He stressed that negotiations needed to be based on internationally accepted rules.

Mrs Clinton, he said, probably did not act independently when making the statement in Hanoi and would have consulted her country's national security lobby and even the President.

He said the US policy made it clear that territorial claims were more complex than producing a map with dotted lines and saying: "All this is mine".

"I mean who produces this map? What is the authenticity of this map? Who kept it? And even if you can prove its antiquity, what does it show?

"It shows that at that time these countries were not independent and (were) under French, American or British or other rule and so they could not object.

"But now they're independent and they're entitled to protest. It's within their EEZ (exclusive economic zone); it's within their territorial waters,"
he said.

Mr Lee said the points made by the US in Hanoi draw an "important line against bilateral dealings which are unequal".

He also spoke on Japan's current spat with China, the worst between the two countries in years, which was sparked earlier this month when Japan detained a Chinese ship captain following a sea collision near the disputed Senkaku islands.

Japan, however, released the captain on Saturday.

Mr Lee felt that moving to settle the dispute was probably the right thing to do.

He said: "Supposing he (Japanese PM Naoto Kan) decided to do otherwise, then what? Then the Senkaku islands will become a dispute. Then they will send their navy there. Then you will send your navy there.

"And normally (you) have better ships than they have. But they will build an aircraft carrier. So in 10 years they have a bigger fleet than you have, so you have to factor that into your calculation.

"These are the realities of power."

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 10:04 AM
**To:** H

Ops alert re flotilla:

Mariam Gaza flotilla update #2 for 8/21: No departure on August 21 or 22

No Activity in Tripoli Port

(SBU) On Saturday, August 21, at 1620 hours Embassy investigators reported that both the

Mariam (formerly the Jounieh Star) and the Julia (aka the Naji al-Ali) remain in their same positions in the Lebanese port of Tripoli without any signs of activity. The investigators added that there was no elevated security presence at the port and no press was present. The team will return to Tripoli on Sunday, August 22, and we will provide further reports, as appropriate.

GOL Says Ship Will Not Sail Before Monday

(SBU) [redacted] assured the RSO that the Mariam will not depart on either August 21 or 22, although [redacted] declined to provide additional information. B6

Flotilla Organizer Claims Ship Will Not Sail Directly to Gaza

(U) Coordinator of the Mariam's efforts, Samar al-Hajj, told the LBC television channel on Saturday that contacts are ongoing with countries near Gaza in order to acquire permission for the ship to dock at one of their ports. She complained, "It seems as if there is universal war against us....We will not allow anyone to cancel the ship's trip." She added that the ship will not head to Gaza directly from Tripoli, stressing, "The ship cannot be the reason for the start of a war."

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** wburns B6
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H; H2; BurnsWJ@state.gov
**Subject:** Flotilla

Enjoy the beach, and all best.

Bill.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/21/2020**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Interview: Ahmadinejad says future is Iran's- added quotes

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; NEWS-Iran
**Sent:** Sun Sep 19 18:17:35 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Interview: Ahmadinejad says future is Iran's- added quotes

NEW YORK (AP) - Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said "the future belongs to Iran," and challenged the United States to accept that his country has a major role in the world. The comments came in an hour-long interview with The Associated Press on the first day of his visit to the United States to attend the annual general assembly of the United Nations this week. He insisted that his government does not want an atomic bomb- something he has said in the past- and that Iran is only seeking peace and a nuclear-free world. He gave no indication of when Iran would resume talks on its nuclear program and said any anti-nuclear sanctions against his government would have no effect on his government's policies. Appearing calm and self-assured, the Iranian president said he was pleased about the release of American hiker Sarah Shourd from a prison in Tehran, but said her two companions still in prison would have to prove their innocence on charges that they illegally crossed into the country. "The United States' administrations... must recognize that Iran is a big power," he said. "Having said that, we consider ourselves to be a human force and a cultural power and hence a friend of other nations. We have never sought to dominate others or to violate the rights of any other country. "Those who insist on having hostilities with us, kill and destroy the option of friendship of us in the future, which is unfortunate because it is clear the future belongs to Iran and that enmities will be fruitless- and hence sanctions, too, will be ineffective." He added: "If they were to be effective, I should not be sitting here right now." Ahmadinejad asserted that international nuclear regulators had never found proof that Iran is pursuing an atomic bomb. "We are not afraid of nuclear weapons. The point is that if we had in fact wanted to build a nuclear bomb, we are brave enough to say that we want it. But we never do that. We are saying that the arsenal of nuclear bombs (worldwide) have to be destroyed as well," he said. The U.S. accuses Iran of hiding plans to build a nuclear bomb; Iran denies that and says it's working only toward building nuclear power plants. On the case of the American hikers, Ahmadinejad said, "We're very glad that that lady was released. (Due) to the humanitarian perspective of the Islamic Republic chose to adopt on the subject, she was released on bail. And we hope that the other two will soon be able to prove and provide evidence to the court that they had no ill intention in crossing the border, so that their release can also be secured." Tying the case to Iran's assertion that some of its citizens are being held unjustly in the United States, he said, "It certainly does not give us joy when we see people in prison, wherever in the world that may be, and even when we think of prisoners here." His answers were translated from Farsi by an Iranian translator, but Ahmadinejad appeared to be following the questions in English and occasionally corrected his interpreter. Asked about retired FBI employee Robert Levinson, who disappeared during a trip to Iran in 2007, Ahmadinejad appeared to suggest that he may have been Iran for suspicious reasons. "The U.S. government had informed us of this situation and we announced that we are unaware of it. We agreed to establish a joint information committee to trace... his whereabouts. "Of course if it becomes clear what his goal was, or if he was indeed on a mission, then perhaps specific assistance can be given," the Iranian said. "For example, if he had plans to visit with a group or an individual or go to another country, he would be easier to trace in that instance." Levinson was last seen on Iran's Kish island in March 2007 where he had gone to seek information on cigarette smuggling for a client of his security firm. He had been an FBI agent in New York and Florida before retiring in 1998. He has not been seen since. Iran says it has no information on him.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, October 15, 2010 4:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: NI conference, Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni shaun 101510.docx; hrc memo ni shaun 101510.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

October 15, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI conference

Shaun has been excluded from the NI conference in its entirety. I've included the exchange of emails below. Exactly how Shaun has been shut out remains unclear.

Sid - my email exchange with Declan. Seems like Labour is firmly to be excluded!

On 15/10/10 18:22, "Declan Kelly" wrote:

> Shaun,
>
> Ran the traps on this. I'm told Sidney asked S if it would be ok for you to attend and she said she had no problem with it if there were no issues associated with same, but if there are then it can't happen.
>
> Unfortunately there are a number of protocol issues. Owen Paterson and Peter Power (michael cannot come now) are only attending the first remarks by the Secretary and not participating in the conference. Owen is not attending the dinner because he has to go back for the Cabinet mtg next day, so having his Opposition counterpart there would obviously cause protocol issues as you can appreciate. It also would raise questions in the Irish government as to why the opposition representative from their side wasn't invited either. Finally, there just isn't enough time to rewind the tape on all of this with just one working day left between now and the event.
>
> As you know, it's nothing personal but that appears to be the situation. I hope you understand and if you want to chat further give me a call.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Belgium: 10 detained in 3-nation anti-terror sweep

**From:** Larkins, Neal B
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Tue Nov 23 07:11:27 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Belgium: 10 detained in 3-nation anti-terror sweep

BRUSSELS (AP) - Federal prosecutors in Belgium say 10 suspects have been detained after an anti-terror sweep in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. The prosecutors say in a statement those targeted in the sweeps were suspected of planning a possible attack in Belgium. Others were suspected recruiters for an alleged Chechen terror organization. Ten homes were searched in the three nations, and 10 suspects of Belgian, Dutch, Moroccan or Russian nationality were detained. The statement said that investigation had previously already led to arrests in Spain, Morocco and Saudi Arabia.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 12:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Most importantly....

I had a good discussion with Jake and AMS last night and we all agree that the most recent draft helped us crystallize what the main point actually is (and isn't). So I am re-working the intro to focus more directly on the intersection of diplomacy and development as the basis for the QDDR. I think it's working well. AMS is emphatic about re- doing the diplomacy section along these lines, so I hope to get her stuff this afternoon (I will probably need to polish it up). And I am re-tooling the other buckets to fit into this better and tighter frame. Jake suggests we get it to you tomorrow if that's okay. And thanks for the good wishes to Max!

On Aug 21, 2010, at 11:32 AM, H wrote:

> Whenever you think it's ready, send it to Huma for printing for me.
> Thx so much and good luck to Max!
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine <
> To: H
> Sent: Fri Aug 20 16:07:04 2010
> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>
> We are working to incorporate some of the missing links but I haven't
> gotten any comments from anyone. I am hoping Jake is reading it this
> afternoon and AMS says she will have comments by this evening. We can
> get another draft to you tomorrow if that would be best and save you
> some time. But do let me know if there is anything major that you
> think is off, or should be excised or any other red flags. I won't be
> able to work on it until later tonight (am driving Max to PA for a
> soccer tournament but can work on it when I get there).
>
>
> On Aug 20, 2010, at 3:16 PM, H wrote:
>
>> I think the article is headed in the right direction but I agree w
>> you that the points you mention should be referenced. Are you getting
>> comments from others? Should I wait for the next draft to comment?
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine
>> To: H
>> Sent: Fri Aug 20 11:08:35 2010
>> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>>
>> Thanks for your nice words. They mean a lot. I will always, always
>> play for your team, officially or not!
>>
>> Many more thoughts on sports diplomacy that I'm excited about. And

>> yes, once a jock, now an aging jock!
>>
>> On QDDR article, you'll see that a lot is missing (most notably a
>> section on the Middle East, as well as China, Western Hemisphere (we
>> should probably mention ECPA), a good energy example per David
>> Goldwyn, et. al). it may also be too Pakistan heavy, though it is a
>> great example of everything we are trying to do. My main goal was to
>> try to ground the many elements at play in a more coherent narrative
>> with a theme and thread that carried through. Didn't have enough time
>> on the bottom third. Hopefully this version gives us something to
>> work with, though.
>>
>> And I really hope you get some semblance of time off this week. If
>> only the world would, for once, cooperate.
>>
>>
>>
>> On Aug 19, 2010, at 3:51 PM, H wrote:
>>
>>> It has, as always, been a joy to have you on the team. We've worked
>>> together for so long, that I always feel better when I know you're
>>> there--putting words in my mouth and watching my back.
>>>
>>> I enjoyed our talk and was delighted to hear about all you're
>>> planning to do--especially on the sports front. Just goes to show,
>>> once a jock always a jock!
>>>
>>> Thx too for the rescue effort you're doing on the QDDR article.
>>>
>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted] B6
>>> To: H
>>> Sent: Tue Aug 17 23:43:47 2010
>>> Subject: Most importantly....
>>>
>>> I enjoyed our talk too, but forgot to mention the most important
>>> thing of all -- how much I appreciate your bringing me to State and
>>> giving me this opportunity. I have learned so much, meant so many
>>> smart and capable people, and hope I have contributed in some small
>>> way to what you are working so hard to accomplish.
>>>
>>> I'll write a formal letter for "the file" when I leave conveying all
>>> of these thoughts,, but I wanted to say something in person too.
>>> Unfortunately, I got carried away on sports diplomacy and everything
>>> else and . . . .another senior moment!
>>>
>>> I'll let you know when I have had a chance to talk to Judith and Ann
>>> about the ideas I'm putting together on sports. I do think there is
>>> potential to do much more than is being done now -- and more
>>> creatively.
>>>
>>>
>>

>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: American Bridge debuts. Sid

November 23, 2010

# Effort for Liberal Balance to G.O.P. Groups Begins

By MICHAEL LUO

In what may prove a significant development for the 2012 elections, David Brock, a prominent Democratic political operative, says he has amassed $4 million in pledges over the last few weeks and is moving quickly to hire a staff to set up what he hopes will become a permanent liberal counterweight over the airwaves to the Republican-leaning outside groups that spent so heavily on this year's midterm elections.

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, a former Maryland lieutenant governor and the eldest of Robert F. Kennedy's 11 children, has agreed to serve as the chairwoman of the group, which will be called American Bridge, lending to the still extremely nascent undertaking the weight of what remains one of the most significant families in Democratic politics.

Leading Democratic donors who have already pledged money to the group include Rob McKay, heir to the Taco Bell fortune and chairman of the Democracy Alliance, a partnership of wealthy liberal donors; Robert Dyson, who heads Dyson-Kissner-Moran, a takeover and acquisitions firm in New York City; and Marcia L. Carsey, a television producer who gave $1 million to Democratic outside groups in 2004.

Mr. Brock said in an interview that he planned to formally file papers with the Federal Election Commission on Tuesday to set up American Bridge as what is known as an independent-expenditure-only political action committee, meaning it will be able to take in contributions of unlimited size from individuals and corporations but must regularly disclose its donors.

Certain to set off debate, however, is that Mr. Brock appears to be positioning his new organization so that fund-raising consultants can raise money for Democratic-oriented media efforts not just through American Bridge but also via one of the nonprofit organizations Mr. Brock currently runs, Media Matters Action Network, which does not disclose its donors.

The action network, which tracks conservative politicians and advocacy organizations, is organized as a 501(c)(4) nonprofit group and is set to take on an expanded role in the 2012 elections, including potentially running television ads, according to an internal draft concept paper about American Bridge's and Media Matter Action Network's plans obtained by The New York Times.

Mr. Brock said that "money is money," and that he would actively solicit donors for both entities and, in the end, the media spending would be apportioned accordingly.

The moves by Mr. Brock in recent weeks make his the most concrete effort so far on the part of Democratic activists to establish some kind of centralized structure that they hope will become the left's answer in 2012 to such groups on the right as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Crossroads and others, which significantly outspent Democratic-leaning outside groups this year. It is too early to say whether Mr. Brock's group will emerge as the go-to vehicle for giant contributions on the left.

Mr. Brock led a much-heralded independent group in the 2008 presidential election that failed to gain much traction after the Obama campaign indicated that it preferred that donors not give to such groups.

But Mr. Brock, a former conservative journalist who publicly disavowed the right in the late 1990s, is a respected political player, who has drawn plaudits from liberal donors for his running of the array of groups under the Media Matters umbrella.

Mr. Brock pointed out that the various groups associated with Media Matters had raised a combined $23 million this year. Its backers include major Democratic donors like George Soros, the billionaire who recently announced he had given $1

million to the group; Peter B. Lewis, the billionaire chairman of Progressive Insurance, who, like Mr. Soros, gave more than $20 million to Democratic-oriented groups in 2004; and the Hollywood producer Steve Bing.

"My donor base already constitutes the major individual players who have historically given hundreds of millions of dollars to these types of efforts," Mr. Brock said. "They just need to be asked, and I have no doubt they will step up at this critical time."

There also seems to be widespread agreement among Democratic activists and donors on the need for such groups to be more heavily involved in the 2012 elections.

White House officials have signaled in recent weeks that the Obama administration would not object to Democratic-leaning outside groups getting involved in the 2012 elections, a change from the Obama campaign's attitude toward such groups in 2008. But they have also indicated that they would prefer that the names of donors be disclosed.

The lack of disclosure among Republican-leaning outside groups became a central Democratic talking point this year as spending by outside groups on the right exploded before the midterm elections.

But the overriding desire on the part of liberal donors and activists to hold on to the White House and to win back some of what was lost in the House and Senate may trump those principles. Most political operatives agree that it is easier to raise money if the option of offering anonymity is available.

"It would be sort of a funny principle to stand on, to essentially tie one hand behind your back," Mr. McKay said.

Besides Mr. Brock, numerous Democratic activists have been in discussions about setting up similar independent efforts. On Monday, for instance, Steve Rosenthal, who was the chief executive of America Coming Together, a Democratic fund-raising vehicle that focused on voter mobilization in the 2004 election, convened a group of political operatives, many of whom were active in that election, at a Washington restaurant to discuss what might be done for 2012.

No one, however, has apparently gone as far as Mr. Brock in terms of raising money and formally setting up an organization.

Mr. Brock said the $4 million in pledges the group has collected so far should be deposited in its bank account by the end of the first quarter of 2011.

By way of comparison, America's Families First Action Fund, one of the major Democratic independent efforts in House races this year, raised just over $4 million for the entire cycle up until mid-October.

The internal concept paper for American Bridge lays out a series of priorities for the next year, including initially focusing on attacking vulnerable Republicans in the Senate and the House, as a prelude to major spending in 2012.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Samuel Berger <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 9:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Can you talk?

yes

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 23, 2010 2:18 AM
To: Samuel Berger; 'shb55[redacted]
Subject: Can you talk?

Sandy--I'd like to call you Tuesday if you're around. Does that work for you? All best, H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 12:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update: Hostages Freed at Intercontinental Hotel in Rio De Janeiro, One Fatality

---

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** S; D(S); D(L); P; M_All Front Office; CA-OCS; CA-Staffers Mailbox; DS Command Center; R_Special Assistants; PA FO Group; SCT_FrontOffice; SES; Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; WHAOpsAlerts; McNamara, John T
**Cc:** SES-O
**Sent:** Sat Aug 21 12:12:11 2010
**Subject:** Update: Hostages Freed at Intercontinental Hotel in Rio De Janeiro, One Fatality

(SBU) Further to the 1120 EDT alert, the RSO at ConGen Rio de Janeiro said the hostage situation developed when gunmen fled a police operation in a nearby slum area and entered the Intercontinental Hotel at 0930 Rio de Janeiro/0830 EDT. Two people were shot, one killed. A group of Delta employees were in the hotel at the time of attack, but there are no reports of any American Citizen injuries. All hostages were released and suspects have been arrested. The ACS Chief is at the hotel to check on the status of all AmCits.

---

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 11:28 AM
**To:** S; D(S); D(L); P; M_All Front Office; CA-OCS; CA-Staffers Mailbox; DS Command Center; R_Special Assistants; PA FO Group; SCT_FrontOffice; Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; WHAOpsAlerts; McNamara, John T
**Cc:** SES-O
**Subject:** Hostages Freed at Intercontinental Hotel in Rio De Janeiro, One Fatality

(SBU) Police said about ten heavily armed gunmen invaded the Intercontinental Hotel in Rio de Janeiro's upscale neighborhood of Sao Conrado, according to press. One bystander has been reported killed, the hostages were freed after three hours, and the suspects have been arrested. ConGen Rio de Janeiro notes there are no reports of American Citizens involved in the incident.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 3:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FYI on Rendell

Eric DID regret the invite mentioned on your call grid yesterday (11/22). I will update your grid to reflect that.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Returned calls

Jack Rosen and Gov. John Lynch called back. I'll update the grid to reflect that.

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 6:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pls tell Joe I left the book w Chris in the sit room.

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Tue Nov 23 18:35:35 2010
Subject: Pls tell Joe I left the book w Chris in the sit room.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 9:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: American Bridge debuts. Sid

Also Politico, WSJ, Wash Post, NPR, and Hardball, more to come

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** "'sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wed, Nov 24, 2010 01:03:53 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: American Bridge debuts. Sid

That's a good launch story! Congrats to all.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Tue Nov 23 08:54:49 2010
Subject: H: American Bridge debuts. Sid

The New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/>

---

November 23, 2010

Effort for Liberal Balance to G.O.P. Groups Begins

By MICHAEL LUO
<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/l/michael_luo/index.html?inline=nyt-per>

In what may prove a significant development for the 2012 elections, David Brock <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/b/david_brock/index.html?inline=nyt-per> , a prominent Democratic political operative, says he has amassed $4 million in pledges over the last few weeks and is moving quickly to hire a staff to set up what he hopes will become a permanent liberal counterweight over the airwaves to the Republican-leaning outside groups that spent so heavily on this year's midterm elections.
Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/kathleen_kennedy_townsend/index.html?inline=nyt-per> , a former Maryland lieutenant governor and the eldest of Robert F. Kennedy

<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/k/robert_francis_kennedy/index.html?inline=nyt-per> 's 11 children, has agreed to serve as the chairwoman of the group, which will be called American Bridge, lending to the still extremely nascent undertaking the weight of what remains one of the most significant families in Democratic politics.

Leading Democratic donors who have already pledged money to the group include Rob McKay, heir to the Taco Bell fortune and chairman of the Democracy Alliance, a partnership of wealthy liberal donors; Robert Dyson, who heads Dyson-Kissner-Moran, a takeover and acquisitions firm in New York City; and Marcia L. Carsey, a television producer who gave $1 million to Democratic outside groups in 2004.

Mr. Brock said in an interview that he planned to formally file papers with the Federal Election Commission <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/organizations/f/federal_election_commission/index.html?inline=nyt-org> on Tuesday to set up American Bridge as what is known as an independent-expenditure-only political action committee, meaning it will be able to take in contributions of unlimited size from individuals and corporations but must regularly disclose its donors.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 9:03 PM
**To:** H; jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Not yet - EAP inquiring.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Tue Nov 23 20:48:13 2010
Subject: Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Did you hear anything more about this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Nov 22 23:17:12 2010
Subject: Fw: Anwar Ibrahim

Also fyi. Not sure what to make of Kim's inquiry.

---

From: Campbell, Kurt M
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B
Sent: Mon Nov 22 21:27:40 2010
Subject: Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Very interesting. First I've heard.

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Steinberg, James B
Sent: Mon Nov 22 20:04:27 2010
Subject: FW: Anwar Ibrahim

FYI from BBC reporter.

From: Kim Ghattas [mailto: [redacted]

Sent: Monday, November 22, 2010 8:02 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Anwar Ibrahim

Hearing from some sources that Anwar Ibrahim has linked to AQ financiers. Apparently the Saudis are onto this and showed the US a dossier about this. Do you know anything about it? Is this the real reason why her meeting with him was cancelled?

Kim Ghattas
BBC Washington
State department correspondent

www.twitter.com/bbckimghattas <file:///\\www.twitter.com\bbckimghattas>

Mobile+ [redacted] B6
Direct line - BBC Bureau [redacted] Direct line - State dpt bureau [redacted]

BBC news
Suite 800, 2000 M Street NW,
Washington DC 20036, USA

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Further communication will signify your consent to this.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 9:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: "No go" on Burma travel

Fyi

---

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Nov 23 20:26:18 2010
**Subject:** Fw: "No go" on Burma travel

Please brief S accordingly Jake. Best Kurt

---

**From:** Loi, James L
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M
**Cc:** Patel, Nirav S
**Sent:** Tue Nov 23 19:28:13 2010
**Subject:** FW: "No go" on Burma travel

Kurt,
Didn't get a chance to pass this to you. No go on visas for Burma.
J

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/22/2025

---

**From:** Murphy, W Patrick
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 2:01 PM
**To:** Yun, Joseph Y
**Cc:** Miller, Gina L; Hodges, Carolyn C; Shields, Daniel L; Nanavatty, Katharine Bernsohn; Hegendorfer, Daryl R; Loi, James L; Patel, Nirav S
**Subject:** "No go" on Burma travel

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Joe:

I just spoke with [redacted] which he said came today from his Ministry, [redacted]

I asked if, hypothetically, [redacted]

(Jim/Daryl: Could you please take note of this development in light of EU Robert Cooper's proposed call to Kurt [redacted]

Regards, Patrick

W. Patrick Murphy
*Deputy Director, Mainland Southeast Asia*
*EAP/MLS*
*U.S. Department of State*
*(202)647-3065*

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 12:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Most importantly....

Great. Thanks. Will give you a heads up when am sending to Huma.

On Aug 21, 2010, at 12:17 PM, H wrote:

> That's ok.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine <
> To: H
> Sent: Sat Aug 21 12:02:26 2010
> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>
> I had a good discussion with Jake and AMS last night and we all agree
> that the most recent draft helped us crystallize what the main point
> actually is (and isn't). So I am re-working the intro to focus more
> directly on the intersection of diplomacy and development as the basis
> for the QDDR. I think it's working well. AMS is emphatic about re-
> doing the diplomacy section along these lines, so I hope to get her
> stuff this afternoon (I will probably need to polish it up). And I am
> re-tooling the other buckets to fit into this better and tighter
> frame. Jake suggests we get it to you tomorrow if that's okay. And
> thanks for the good wishes to Max!
>
> On Aug 21, 2010, at 11:32 AM, H wrote:
>
>> Whenever you think it's ready, send it to Huma for printing for me.
>> Thx so much and good luck to Max!
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: Lissa Muscatine
>> To: H
>> Sent: Fri Aug 20 16:07:04 2010
>> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>>
>> We are working to incorporate some of the missing links but I
>> haven't gotten any comments from anyone. I am hoping Jake is reading
>> it this afternoon and AMS says she will have comments by this
>> evening. We can get another draft to you tomorrow if that would be
>> best and save you some time. But do let me know if there is anything
>> major that you think is off, or should be excised or any other red
>> flags. I won't be able to work on it until later tonight (am driving
>> Max to PA for a soccer tournament but can work on it when I get
>> there).
>>

>>
>> On Aug 20, 2010, at 3:16 PM, H wrote:
>>
>>> I think the article is headed in the right direction but I agree w
>>> you that the points you mention should be referenced. Are you
>>> getting comments from others? Should I wait for the next draft to
>>> comment?
>>>
>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>> From: Lissa Muscatine <l [redacted] B6
>>> To: H
>>> Sent: Fri Aug 20 11:08:35 2010
>>> Subject: Re: Most importantly....
>>>
>>> Thanks for your nice words. They mean a lot. I will always, always
>>> play for your team, officially or not!
>>>
>>> Many more thoughts on sports diplomacy that I'm excited about. And
>>> yes, once a jock, now an aging jock!
>>>
>>> On QDDR article, you'll see that a lot is missing (most notably a
>>> section on the Middle East, as well as China, Western Hemisphere (we
>>> should probably mention ECPA), a good energy example per David
>>> Goldwyn, et. al). it may also be too Pakistan heavy, though it is a
>>> great example of everything we are trying to do. My main goal was to
>>> try to ground the many elements at play in a more coherent narrative
>>> with a theme and thread that carried through. Didn't have enough
>>> time on the bottom third. Hopefully this version gives us something
>>> to work with, though.
>>>
>>> And I really hope you get some semblance of time off this week. If
>>> only the world would, for once, cooperate.
>>>
>>>
>>>
>>> On Aug 19, 2010, at 3:51 PM, H wrote:
>>>
>>>> It has, as always, been a joy to have you on the team. We've worked
>>>> together for so long, that I always feel better when I know you're
>>>> there--putting words in my mouth and watching my back.
>>>>
>>>> I enjoyed our talk and was delighted to hear about all you're
>>>> planning to do--especially on the sports front. Just goes to show,
>>>> once a jock always a jock!
>>>>
>>>> Thx too for the rescue effort you're doing on the QDDR article.
>>>>
>>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>>> From: Lissa Muscatine < [redacted]
>>>> To: H
>>>> Sent: Tue Aug 17 23:43:47 2010
>>>> Subject: Most importantly....
>>>>

>>>> I enjoyed our talk too, but forgot to mention the most important
>>>> thing of all -- how much I appreciate your bringing me to State and
>>>> giving me this opportunity. I have learned so much, meant so many
>>>> smart and capable people, and hope I have contributed in some small
>>>> way to what you are working so hard to accomplish.
>>>>
>>>> I'll write a formal letter for "the file" when I leave conveying
>>>> all of these thoughts,, but I wanted to say something in person
>>>> too.
>>>> Unfortunately, I got carried away on sports diplomacy and
>>>> everything else and . . . .another senior moment!
>>>>
>>>> I'll let you know when I have had a chance to talk to Judith and
>>>> Ann about the ideas I'm putting together on sports. I do think
>>>> there is potential to do much more than is being done now -- and
>>>> more creatively.
>>>>
>>>>
>>>
>>
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 10:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** an SP memo on possible legal and nonlegal strategies re wikileaks
**Attachments:** SP WikiLeaks doc final11.23.10.docx

Following this morning's meetings I activated my four legal eagles on the SP staff – Peter Harrell, Jen Harris, Bill Burke White, and Catherine Powell (that includes two law profs and two Yale law grads who certainly could be law profs). They in turn reached out to people at the Berkmann Center at Harvard and other experts, working together with Alec Ross. Alec has been particularly useful in terms not only of his knowledge but also his sensitivity to how anything we might try to do could impact our own internet freedom agenda. The result is the attached memo, which has one interesting legal approach and I think some very good suggestions about how to handle our public diplomacy. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 3:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israel says Iranian reactor use "totally unacceptable"

---

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Iran; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Aug 21 14:55:51 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israel says Iranian reactor use "totally unacceptable"

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Israel said on August 21 the fueling up of Iran's first nuclear power plant was "totally unacceptable" and urged more world pressure to force Tehran to cease any uranium enrichment. Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Yossi Levy said in a statement: "It is totally unacceptable that a country that so blatantly violates (international treaties) should enjoy the fruits of using nuclear energy."

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Flotilla

**From:** Burns, William J
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Aug 21 19:16:14 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Flotilla

Fyi

**From:** wburns [redacted] B6
**To:** hdr22@clintonemail.com <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; hr15@att.blackberry.net <hr15@att.blackberry.net>; Burns, William J
**Sent:** Sat Aug 21 10:14:35 2010
**Subject:** Flotilla

Enjoy the beach, and all best.

Bill.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/21/2020

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 19, 2010 11:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Richard Medley has sent this around in his private newsletter. Sid

# US Election And The Fed
# Welcome To The New (Old) World

September 19, 2010

One of the main debates inside senior Fed offices is how much they may have to balance a much more conservative fiscal policy if the Republicans take over. This is the most important question facing officials on both sides of the fence (far more than squiggles and whirls of monthly numbers).

But it's not just spending and taxes, important as they are, it's also implementation of Reg Reform and Health Care Reform. All of that is going to change after November. Here are the details.

Amid the snarkiness about how crazy the Tea Party candidates may be (and, as you know, we LOVE snarkiness) two things should not be lost:

1. The President has lost control of the spending and tax agenda
2. The President has lost control of implementing the Reg Reform and health care legislation Congress pushed through.

All polling from both parties and independent sources point strongly to the Republicans taking over the House. Although they are less likely to take over the Senate, they will be able to gain effective control of spending, taxes and large scale administrative reforms.

Let's start with spending:

The basic fact is that all spending has to be approved by Congress and it starts with the House. As we wrote nearly a week ago, House Republican Leader Boehner and his senior staff have made it clear to us that they would like to freeze spending at 2008 levels with an annual cost savings of $340 billion. This will be one of the top Republican priorities.

Freezing spending at 2008 levels will not happen. However, even in the unlikely event the Republicans do not take over the House the budget will -- at most -- be frozen at or near FY 2010 levels (i.e. the last time money was formally appropriated).

Since there have been no spending bills approved and the fiscal year starts in October, the Congress has to pass a "continuing resolution" that keeps the government running until specific appropriations are made (the 1995 government shutdown happened because there were no appropriations and no continuing resolution...the government literally runs out of spending authority).

Congress will pass a CR in the next few weeks and it will most likely run through the formation of the new Congress (say February or March) next year. They could only do it through the lame duck session, but that would be cutting it close and too cute.

Because the new Congress – even if the Republicans fail to take full control of the House – will be dominated by fiscal conservatives, Boehner's CR idea will have traction. The Senate will make it more moderate, but then it will be up to the President to veto it and thus shut down government or sign it and take the hit.

In turn that does two things: (1) it frees up money for the Bush tax rollovers and (2) it helps the plan to slow or freeze implementation of the reg reform and health care reform bills.

The first part is obvious. The second may be less so. People forget that implementation of these rules requires staff increases, staff reg writing, etc and that's money. By freezing spending at previous levels you freeze the ability to hire new staff and you seriously obstruct the new rule writing process.

Add to that Boehner's commitment to overturn the two major regulatory reforms and you've got a tidal wave of indecision and paralysis (Jesus, talk about mixed metaphors although it would be interesting to see one of those).

The hearings he will announce and simply the chilling effect of him threatening to overturn the laws will accomplish ninety-percent of what he wants to get done, and potentially give the courts time to strike down parts of the health care bill now under appeal.

THE SENATE

While everyone has written off Republican control of the Senate (we haven't), the attention should be on what the Senate will look like even if the consensus of 52-54 Democratic majority prevails.

The point is how the US Senate will function in January 2011 given its new membership. We got a glimpse of what this would look like when moderate Republican Scott Brown was elected and the health care public option was panned and Reg Reform was trimmed around the edges.

The incoming crop of members are much more ardent on government spending, the debt, taxes and regulatory oversight. They will make Boehner's job much easier

Take a quick look at the new members (and the several they will marry up with once they are sworn into office).

While some of these candidates are replacing Republican open seats, all of them are generally considered more conservative than their predecessors:

1. ck (CO) – likely winner
2. Toomey (PA) – likely winner
3. Rubio (FL) – likely winner
4. Ayotte (NH) – likely winner
5. Blunt (MO) – likely winner
6. Portman (OH) –likely winner
7. Coats (IN) – likely winner
8. Paul (KY) – likely winner
9. Miller (AK) – likely winner
10. Lee (UT) – likely winner
11. Boozman (AR) – likely winner
12. Hoeven (ND) – likely winner
13. Kirk (IL) – 50/50 (lean GOP)
14. Angle (NV) – 50/50 tossup

There are several other Democrat-controlled seats that remain in play (CA, WI, WA, and CT). These races continue to develop and we will report more as the picture on Election Day becomes clearer.
These likely new members will join the following traditional budget trouble-makers in the US Senate:

1. DeMint (SC)
2. Coburn (OK)
3. Inhofe (OK)
4. McConnell (KY)
5. Kyl (AZ)
6. McCain (AZ)
7. Thune (SD)

8. Crapo (ID)
9. Vitter (LA)
10. Burr (NC)

One aggressive Senator can slow the body to a snail's pace, and Republicans operated efficiently as a minority party with only 41 votes total. In January, there will be at least 22 new and existing serious road blocks now patrolling the Senate Floor. The Republican pick-ups will make getting to 60 votes for cloture impossible on spending bills.

Welcome to the new reality.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 7:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Saudis

This is the readout we got from Denise Moraga, who is traveling with Brennan:

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 11:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Chet Crocker, Scott Lasensky, and Sam Lewis OPED on MEP
**Attachments:** Crocker Lasensky Lewis OPED.doc

I'm abusing my privileges and sending you two emails in one evening, [redacted] it hasn't been published yet. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

November 2010

Declaring America's Stand on Middle East Peace

By Chester A. Crocker, Scott B. Lasensky and Samuel W. Lewis

Faltering Middle East peace talks need a jolt. Washington has a powerful option for moving the process forward: taking a firm stand on how to end the conflict.

An American declaration of principles—carefully crafted and properly marketed--could spark a debate and thereby change the political calculus for leaders. As a mediator and a world power, one of America's strongest assets is the ability to legitimize ideas and then rally others in support. A central role for the U.S. in this conflict must be to define the zone of negotiability.

This does not mean imposing peace. Rather, it would be a statement of the basic principles the U.S. believes can guide the parties toward a negotiated solution. America has long declared its support for "two states," but must now say more about what that means in practice.

Even if the current talks resume, without American ideas the parties are unlikely to agree on the broad trade-offs necessary to reach a peace deal. A quick deal on "borders and security," as many have proposed, is itself unlikely without Washington addressing the end-game. Otherwise, both sides would be too exposed on issues set for later discussion, like Jerusalem and refugees. Opinion polling has consistently showed that support for peace is strongest when all the core issues are addressed.

An American statement of principles would mobilize regional support. It would provide, for the first time, a public framework for engaging sponsors of the Arab Peace Initiative. It would also strengthen our ability to reassert the importance of a regional support structure for the bilateral negotiations, especially by reviving multilateral contacts and meetings involving Israelis and their neighbors from throughout the region. Moreover, greater regional engagement on the peace process can carry powerful benefits for regional challenges like the Iranian nuclear program.

A clearer U.S. declaration is also the surest way to protect prospects for a two-state solution from an unrelenting onslaught on the ground that pushes the parties away from a peace deal. An American set of ideas would anchor present-day demands on issues like Jerusalem, security and settlements in a clear vision of the future.

Perhaps most urgently, it would broaden the debate from the narrow confines of the settlements question.

At a minimum, the American declaration should be based on the 1967 lines, with agreed territorial swaps; support a compromise on Jerusalem that allows for two capitals for two states; include provisions about security limitations and

guarantees; reiterate America's support for an agreed solution to the refugee problem; and reaffirm our long-standing commitment to the State of Israel. But American principles should also include some caveat, given that our ultimate interest is in an agreed, viable solution—not in any particular formula.

What would it take for American ideas to succeed? Unlike some past efforts, Washington should not try to 'pre-cook' this declaration with one or more parties or to choreograph their reactions. In fact, the U.S. statement of principles would be explicitly described as what our own country believes in and can support; and by implication cannot support. Thus, the U.S. statement would not be designed to achieve immediate approval or adoption by the parties. Its purpose would be to clarify where America stands, how we define our interests and what we can work for. It would aim at influencing the climate of thinking in the region, sobering up those with illusions and encouraging those who need our support.

Timing and context are of course key considerations. Assuming the current gridlock in negotiations persists, some time must elapse until our election results have been digested, here and abroad, and before public attention can be redirected toward the foreboding and increasingly dangerous Arab-Israel stalemate.

A presidential speech will then be essential to dramatize the seriousness of our purpose and to lay out the principles. It should be immediately followed by a major, high level diplomatic effort to persuade key Middle East leaders and our Quartet and UN allies of our genuine desire to regionalize the peacemaking effort. To maximize support from key members of Congress, the speech should occur before Congress adjourns. No further consultation with the stalemated parties beyond the routine should precede the speech, and leaks of its contents must be kept to an absolute minimum if our purpose is not to be undermined.

The speech could usefully also remove some of the veil of silence that shrouds breakthroughs in past negotiations; for example, progress in the Annapolis process.

As for the substance, in its endorsement of a two-state solution and comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace, the Obama Administration has hinted that a Palestinian settlement should also accompany normalized relations between Israel and the Arab states, putting a broader framing around what has traditionally been defined as a conflict between Israel and its immediate neighbors. The normalization piece of the puzzle should be more fully articulated as part of a new strategy based on presenting American ideas to the parties. It is a way to entice skeptical Israelis, but it also leads back to a long overdue need for Washington to engage on the Arab Peace Initiative.

If the U.S. puts forward its own peace principles, American leadership can ensure that any diplomatic process is defined by as clear a picture as possible of what the parties can expect to gain through a negotiated settlement, and of what they will never gain without one.

Skeptics say it is too risky to present American ideas to the parties, that it would pull the rug out from under current leaders, exposing them to withering domestic criticism. Others argue that it will galvanize obstructionists, not those who support compromise, and could very well precipitate a crisis on the ground. Others simply worry about the cost to American prestige should any of the key players react negatively. But the risks are overstated, and a complete collapse of the process would be far more dangerous, particularly as the strategic environment shifts in favor of regional forces that seek to undermine, rather than promote peace.

America can and must do more than limit itself to managing a conflict that has all too often upended our shared interests in peace and stability.

END

Chester A. Crocker is Professor of Strategic Studies at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service; Scott Lasensky is Senior Research Associate at the U.S. Institute of Peace; Samuel W. Lewis is a retired diplomat and former U.S. Ambassador to Israel. These views are their own.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771702 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

*November 2010*

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771702 Date: 08/31/2015

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Skeptics say it is too risky to present American ideas to the parties, that it would

pull the rug out from under current leaders, exposing them to withering domestic criticism. Others argue that it will galvanize obstructionists, not those who support compromise, and could very well precipitate a crisis on the ground. Others simply worry about the cost to American prestige should any of the key players react negatively. But the risks are overstated, and a complete collapse of the process would be far more dangerous, particularly as the strategic environment shifts in favor of regional forces that seek to undermine, rather than promote peace.

America can and must do more than limit itself to managing a conflict that has all too often upended our shared interests in peace and stability.

END

*Chester A. Crocker is Professor of Strategic Studies at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service; Scott Lasensky is Senior Research Associate at the U.S. Institute of Peace; Samuel W. Lewis is a retired diplomat and former U.S. Ambassador to Israel. These views are their own.*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 4, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** letter

Latest draft of letter is on your chair.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 7:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Feltman's report

Miserable evening with the Arabs, with all of them reinforcing each other on moratorium walk-out. Euros just as bad. Fayyad was the only bright light.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 5:36 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: an SP memo on possible legal and nonlegal strategies re wikileaks

Thx

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Nov 23 22:29:09 2010
**Subject:** an SP memo on possible legal and nonlegal strategies re wikileaks

Following this morning's meetings I activated my four legal eagles on the SP staff – Peter Harrell, Jen Harris, Bill Burke White, and Catherine Powell (that includes two law profs and two Yale law grads who certainly could be law profs). They in turn reached out to people at the Berkmann Center at Harvard and other experts, working together with Alec Ross. Alec has been particularly useful in terms not only of his knowledge but also his sensitivity to how anything we might try to do could impact our own internet freedom agenda. The result is the attached memo, which has one interesting legal approach and I think some very good suggestions about how to handle our public diplomacy. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 7:57 AM
**To:** H

Apparently jeff said evening was horrible. Only AbZ and Kuwaiti showed up from GCC. All formal speeches, little ability for chit chat. No great mood overall.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 8:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iraq govt formation

Basic principles for NYT ed board:

US principles: gov't should reflect election results; gov't must have significant role for Iraqiyya (good for internal stability and regional integration); gov't formation should include a strong reform and power-sharing understanding; we want a gov't as committed to the long-term partnership with us as we are. These are principles backed by all Iraqi leaders, who need to make decisions now to break the deadlock.

We have no candidate for PM. We have encouraged Allawi's Iraqiyya and Maliki's State of Law to see if they can work together, because that reflects the votes and would give the new gov't a healthy majority. But who fills what position -- that's for the Iraqis to decide.

There may be other ways to have a gov't. But this should happen soon. Where we would have concerns: if the Sadrists end up with the power to veto gov't decisions or to topple the gov't.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Cables

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mull, Stephen D; Burns, William J; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Goldberg, Philip S; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Masonis, Melinda J; Harris, Jennifer D; Smith, Dana S
Sent: Wed Nov 24 09:58:01 2010
Subject: FW: Cables

Potentially great news.

PJ

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Shane, Scott [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, November 24, 2010 8:34 AM
To: Crowley, Philip J
Subject: Cables

In view of wires, etc, and not for attribution please, we don't think WL is going to dump 250k cables on the web anytime soon. We think they will for now follow guidance of other publications and the initial numbers will be small. But multiple people seem to have the whole collection, so who knows.

Scott Shane
New York Times
Washington bureau
202-862-0305
[redacted]
[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 9:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Island names

Senkaku is the Japanese name
Diayou is the Chinese name (the Diayoutai guesthouse is named after the islands) I've seen reference to both in articles. We say Senkaku.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 9:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Island names

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon Sep 20 09:14:48 2010
Subject: Island names

Senkaku is the Japanese name
Diayou is the Chinese name (the Diayoutai guesthouse is named after the islands) I've seen reference to both in articles.
We say Senkaku.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) US jury convicts 5 Somali men in Navy ship attack

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Wed Nov 24 13:41:30 2010
**Subject:** (AP) US jury convicts 5 Somali men in Navy ship attack

NORFOLK (AP) - A jury in Virginia has convicted five Somali men of piracy for their attack on a U.S. Navy ship off the coast of Africa.

Jurors returned the guilty verdict November 24 in Norfolk after deliberating 10 hours over two days. The verdict is the first piracy conviction in a U.S. courtroom in nearly 200 years.

The conviction carries a mandatory life term.

The defendants were charged with attacking the USS Nicholas on April 1 as it patrolled off the coast of Somalia.

The men claimed they were fishermen who were kidnapped, beaten and forced into piracy.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: NYT Pre-Brief

Assume jake and pir talked to u about

---

**From**: Crowley, Philip J
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Mon Sep 20 08:10:24 2010
**Subject**: NYT Pre-Brief

I do not anticipate surprises this morning. The biggies will be the focus – Iran (engagement, hikers, eight in custody), Afghanistan (elections, corruption, shift in approach to Karzai), MEPP (overcoming settlement moratorium), Iraq (government formation), China (broad relations, spat with Japan, currency), Russia (START) and North Korea. Beyond that, there is great sympathy within the editorial board regarding Haiti and a front page story today about the concerns of Haitians in camps who are frustrated with the pace of the recovery. This being New York, I can easily see the mosque coming up.

PJ

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 21, 2010 7:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Congrats Again

Will do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Sat Aug 21 18:40:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats Again

Pls add to dropby list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Aug 20 16:03:16 2010
Subject: FW: Congrats Again

From: kris.durmer
Sent: Friday, August 20, 2010 2:20 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Congrats Again

Good afternoon, Cheryl - - Again, my congratulations to my favorite Secretary of State for the re-launch of Israeli - Palestinian negotiations. Good stuff! Would love to swing by to say "hello" to you all if you ever have a moment. Let me know.

My best,

Kris

Kris E. Durmer
General Counsel
U.S. General Services Administration

1800 F Street NW, Suite 4140
Washington, DC 20405
Tel: 202-501-2200
Fax: 202-501-2509

B6

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 7:56 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Lunch w/ Buffetts

I am hoping you are talking about a Pledge for Palestine, but as I noted a while ago, I had also been thinking about how he and Gates could globalize their overall Pledge campaign in a way that could help change the attitude/culture of elites in countries like Pakistan toward greater social responsibility (starting with paying taxes). We haven't gotten that idea fleshed out yet, but it would be worth at least raising for later follow-up.

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** H; jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** RE: Anwar Ibrahim

According to our team, this is likely misinformation spread by political opponents of his.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 23, 2010 8:48 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Did you hear anything more about this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Nov 22 23:17:12 2010
Subject: Fw: Anwar Ibrahim

Also fyi. Not sure what to make of Kim's inquiry.

---

From: Campbell, Kurt M
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B
Sent: Mon Nov 22 21:27:40 2010
Subject: Re: Anwar Ibrahim

Very interesting. First I've heard.

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Steinberg, James B
Sent: Mon Nov 22 20:04:27 2010
Subject: FW: Anwar Ibrahim

FYI from BBC reporter.

From: Kim Ghattas [mailto: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 22, 2010 8:02 PM

To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Anwar Ibrahim

Hearing from some sources that Anwar Ibrahim has linked to AQ financiers. Apparently the Saudis are onto this and showed the US a dossier about this. Do you know anything about it? Is this the real reason why her meeting with him was cancelled?

Kim Ghattas
BBC Washington
State department correspondent

www.twitter.com/bbckimghattas <file:///\\www.twitter.com\bbckimghattas>

Mobile+ B6
Direct line - BBC Bureau Direct line - State dpt bureau

BBC news
Suite 800, 2000 M Street NW,
Washington DC 20036, USA

http://www.bbc.co.uk
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Please note that the BBC monitors e-mails sent or received.
Further communication will signify your consent to this.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Thanks-iand a question

I'll get you a list - but those were first year totals so by now it might have evened out.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Thanks-iand a question
Sent: Oct 5, 2010 7:55 AM

I actually read the Monitor piece and thought it was on balance quite good. So thanks for all your work to get it done. But, what I can't figure out is which countries Madeleine and Condi went to that I didn't? Will you pls enlighten me?

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 3:39 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Foreign Affairs Draft
**Attachments:** FA 18 ams.doc; FA 18 ams.doc

Here is the latest from Lissa, Jake, and me (I took over from Lissa this morning because her son is winning all his soccer matches somewhere in Pennsylvania). We still have a bunch of things to add (as you will see in yellow), but this is definitely ready for you to engage. I think it will make a real impact, and it fits Jim Hoge's desire not just to make this a report card on the QDDR but to advance some bigger animating ideas.

Some questions:

B5

I hope this is a read that improves your vacation mood rather than detracting from it!

AM

---

**From**: Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]> B6
**To**: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent**: Sun Aug 22 15:26:43 2010
**Subject**:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 6:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) ROK to hold emergency meet on economy after attack

---

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Korea; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Wed Nov 24 18:15:23 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) ROK to hold emergency meet on economy after attack

SEOUL (Reuters) – South Korean President Lee Myung-bak called an emergency meeting early November 25 to check on the economic impact from the worst North Korean attacks on civilians in the South since the 1950-53 Korean War. The presidential office said the meeting of senior security and economic officials was due to start at 0800 local (2300 GMT November 24) but did not provide more details. Local media reported the meeting was aimed at discussing ways to prevent tensions with North Korea from hurting the economy, which is becoming more reliant on domestic consumer spending for growth as exports are beginning to lose steam.

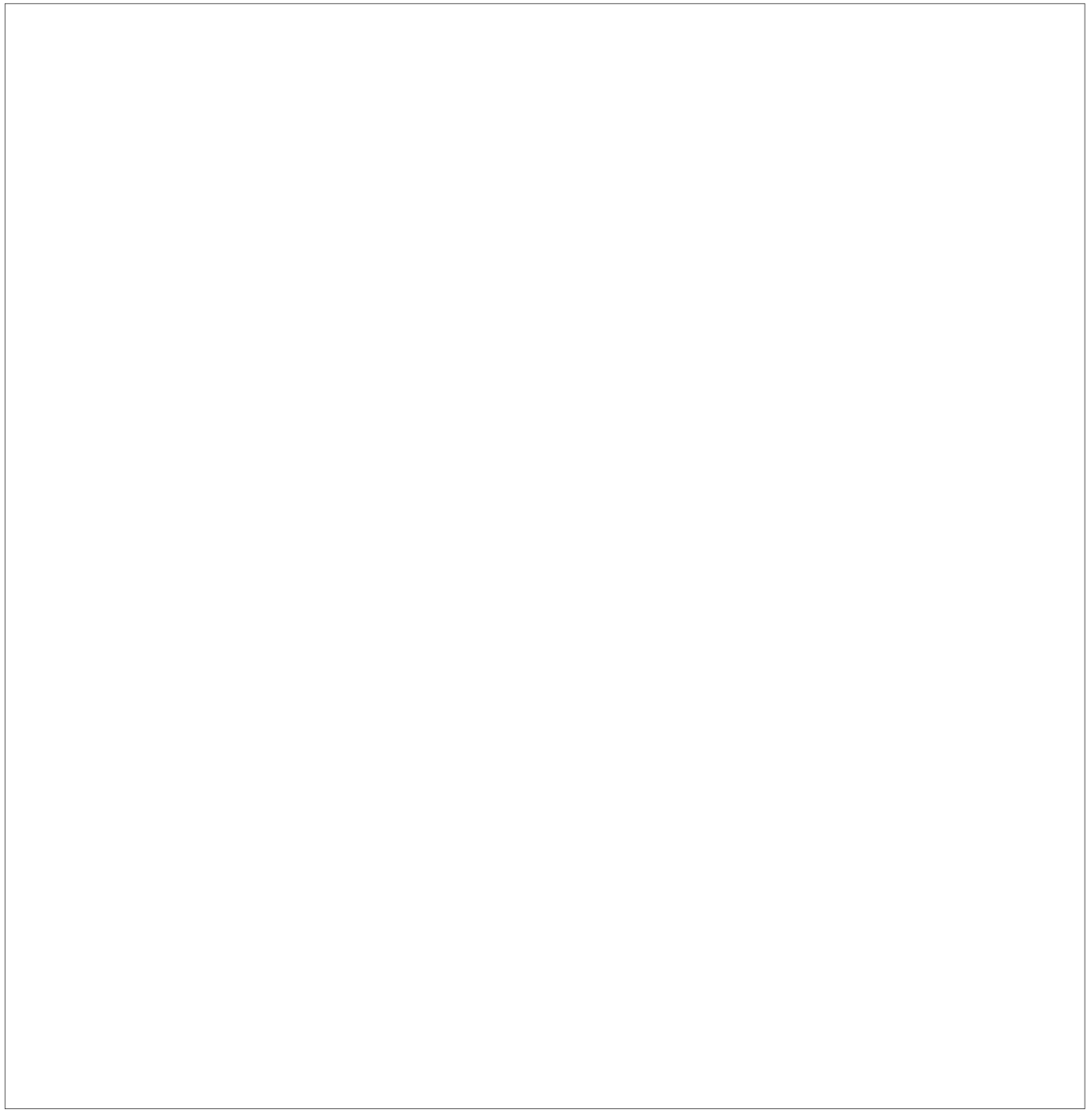
RELEASE IN PART B5

DRAFT 18

Lm/ams/js

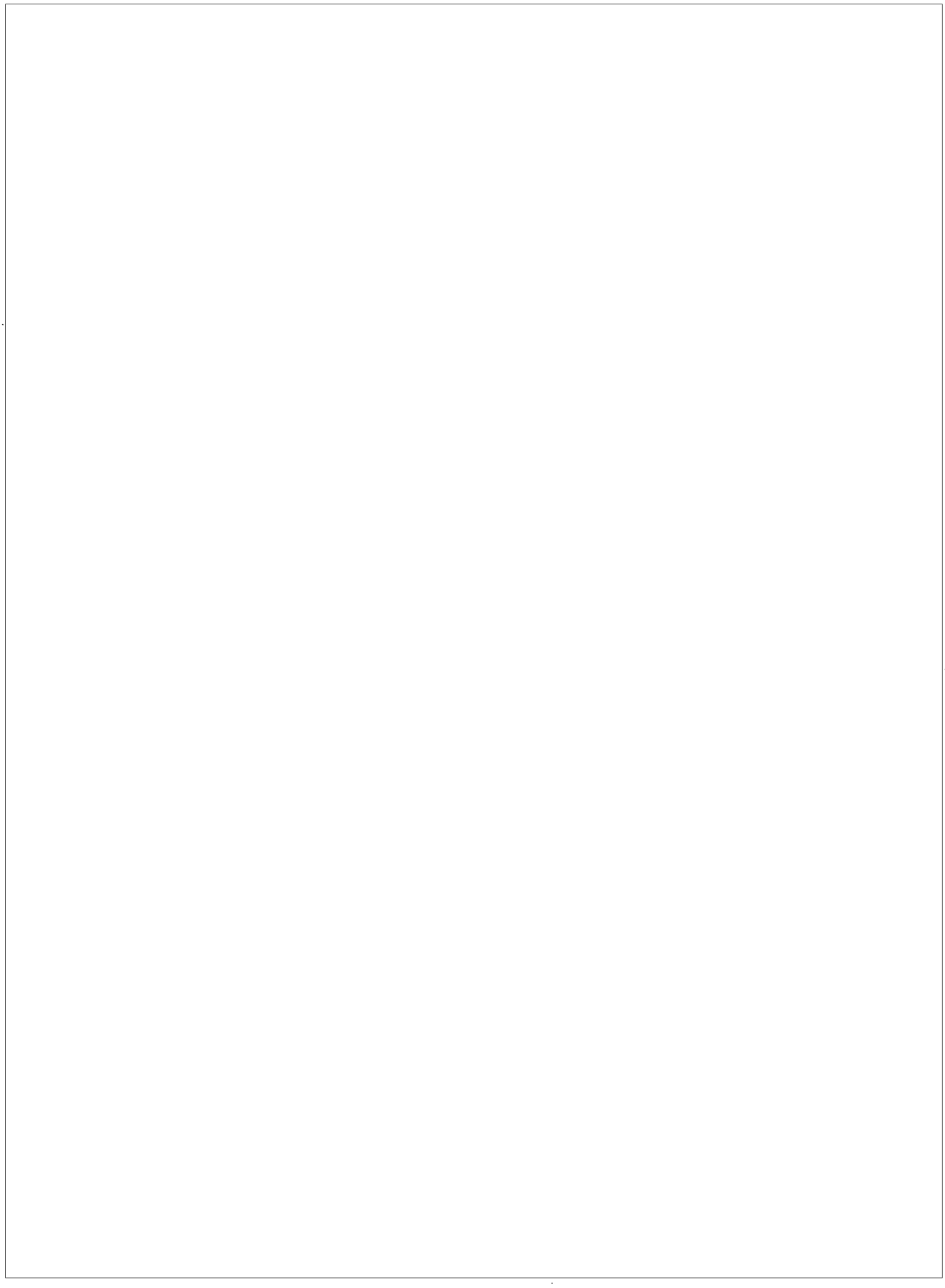
**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**



B5

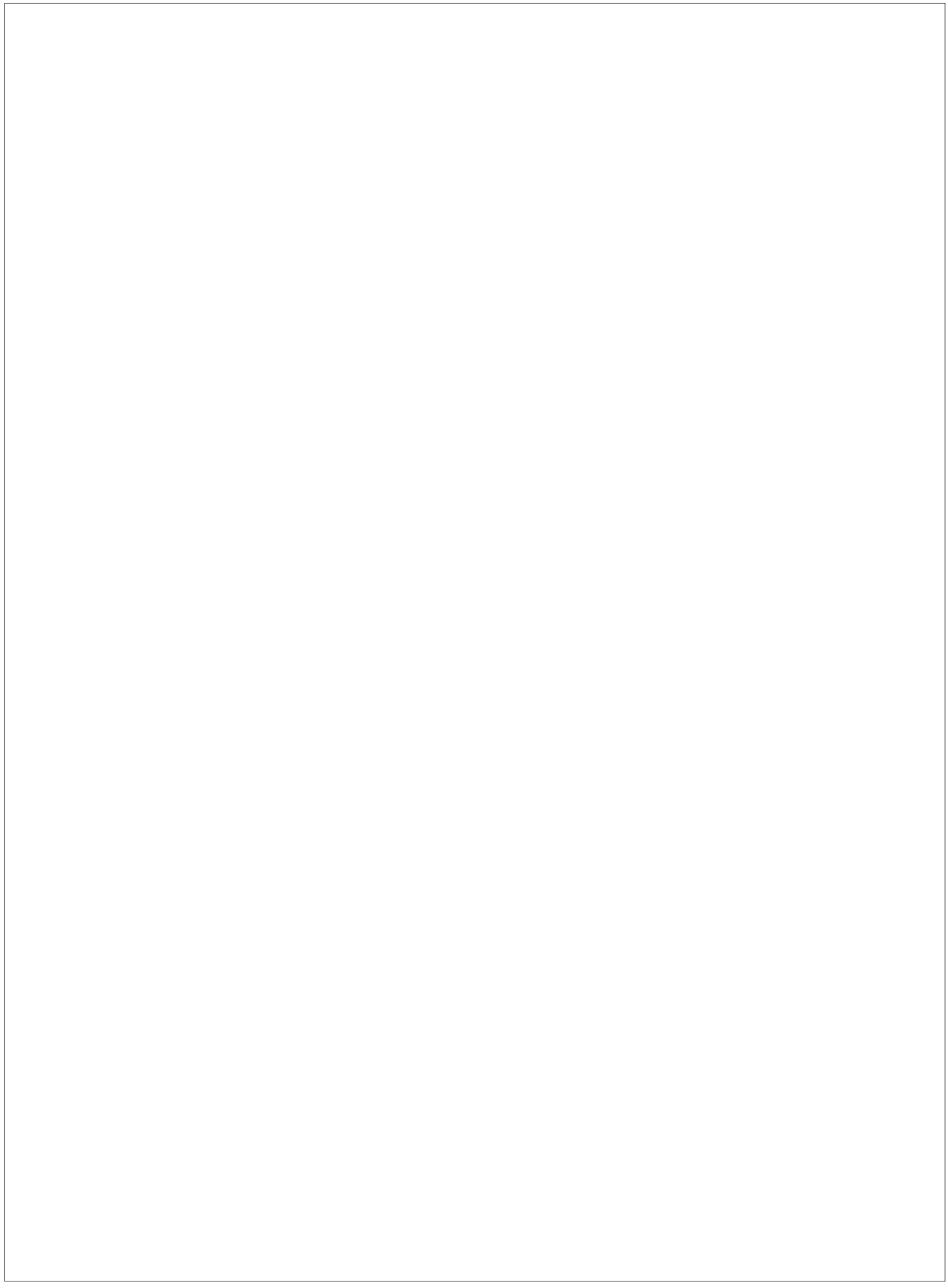
B5



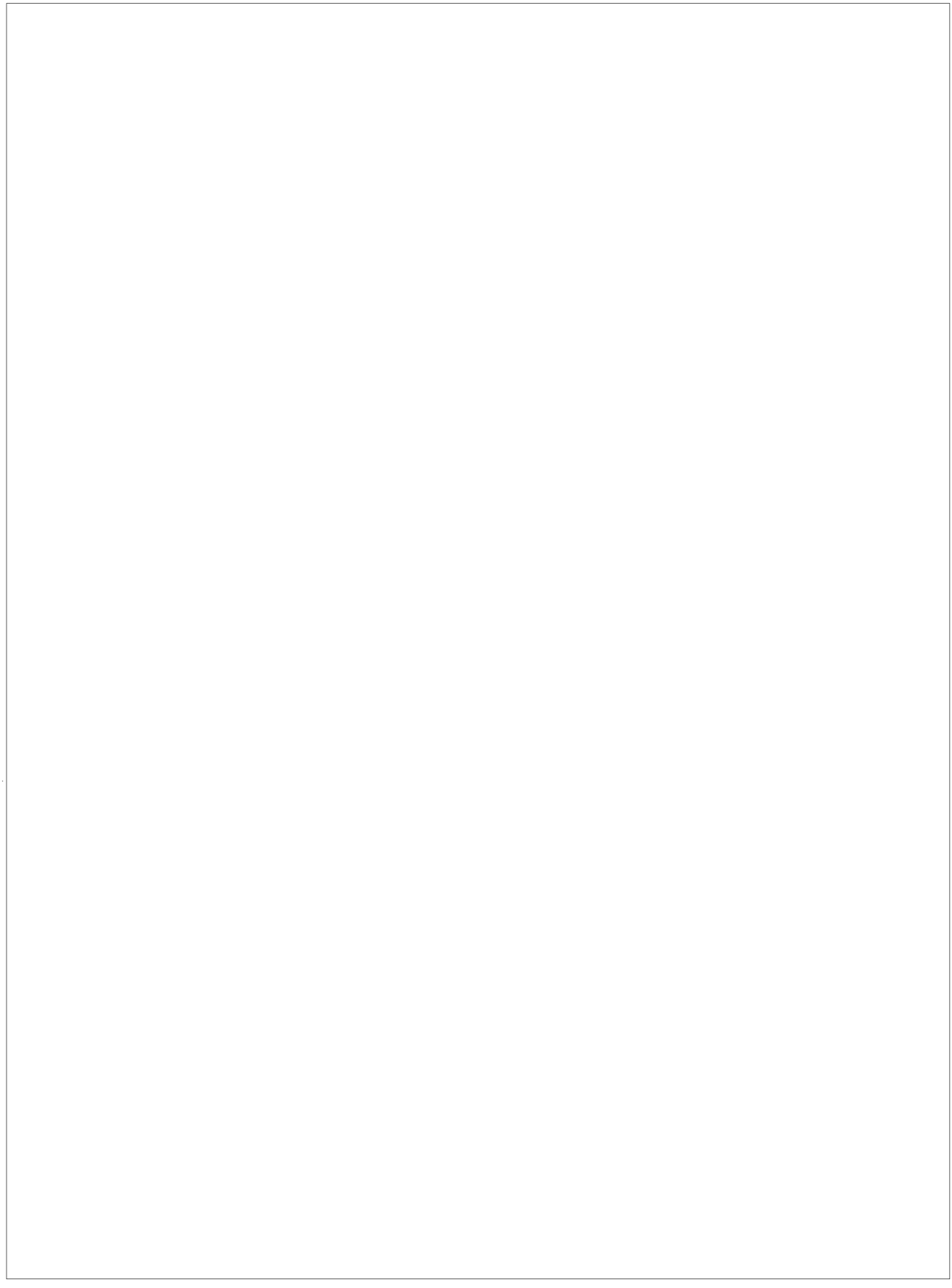
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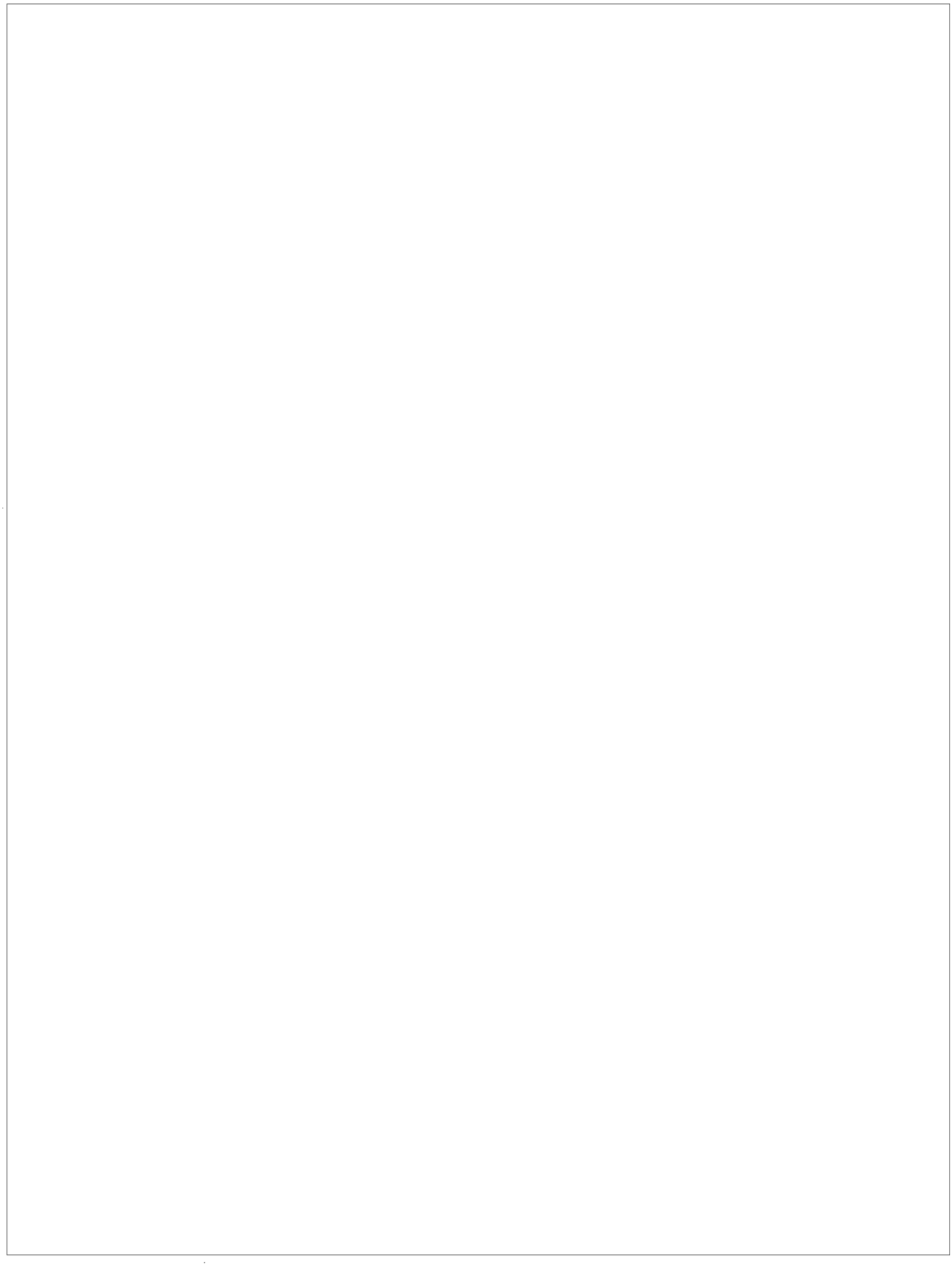
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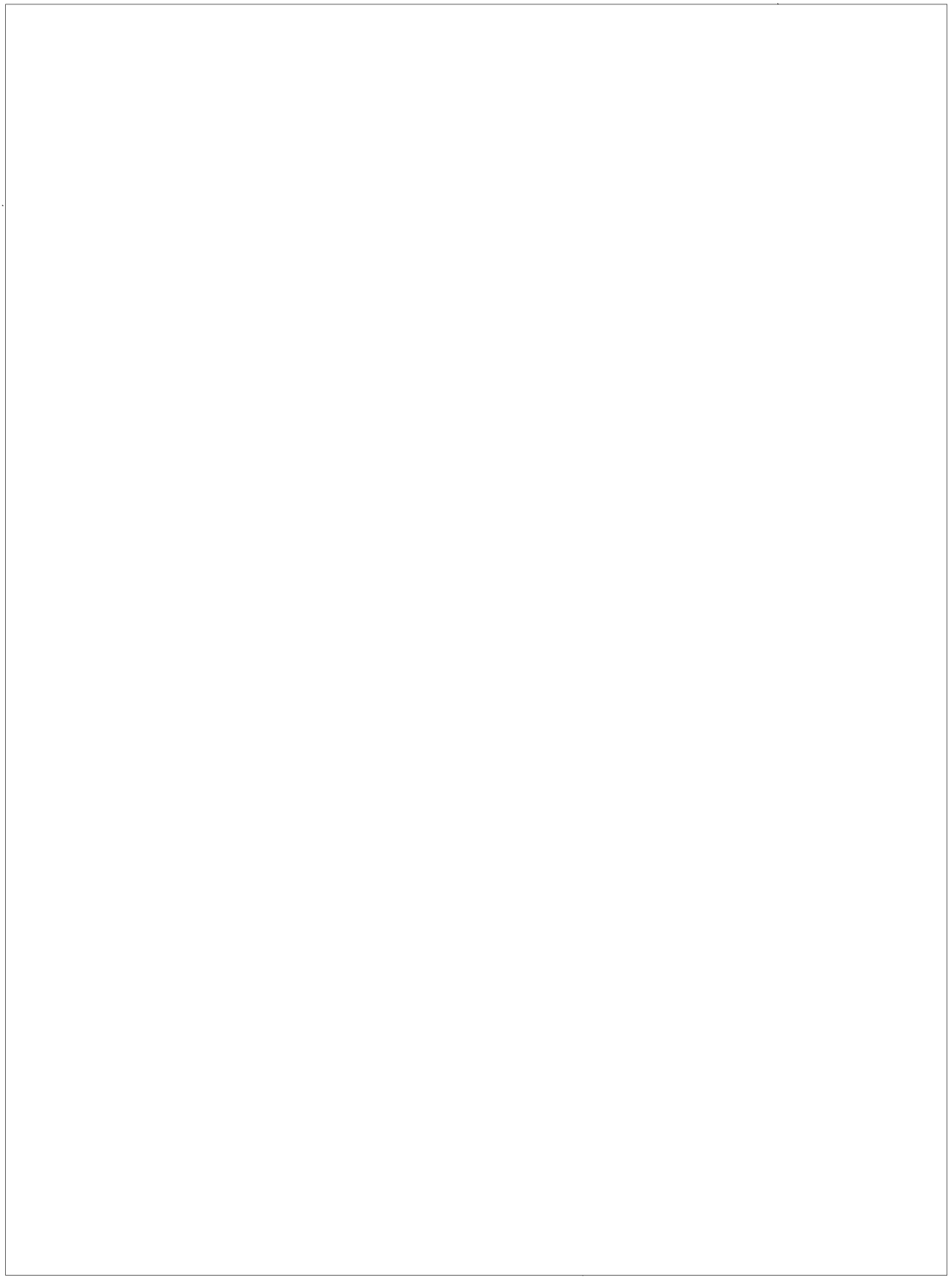
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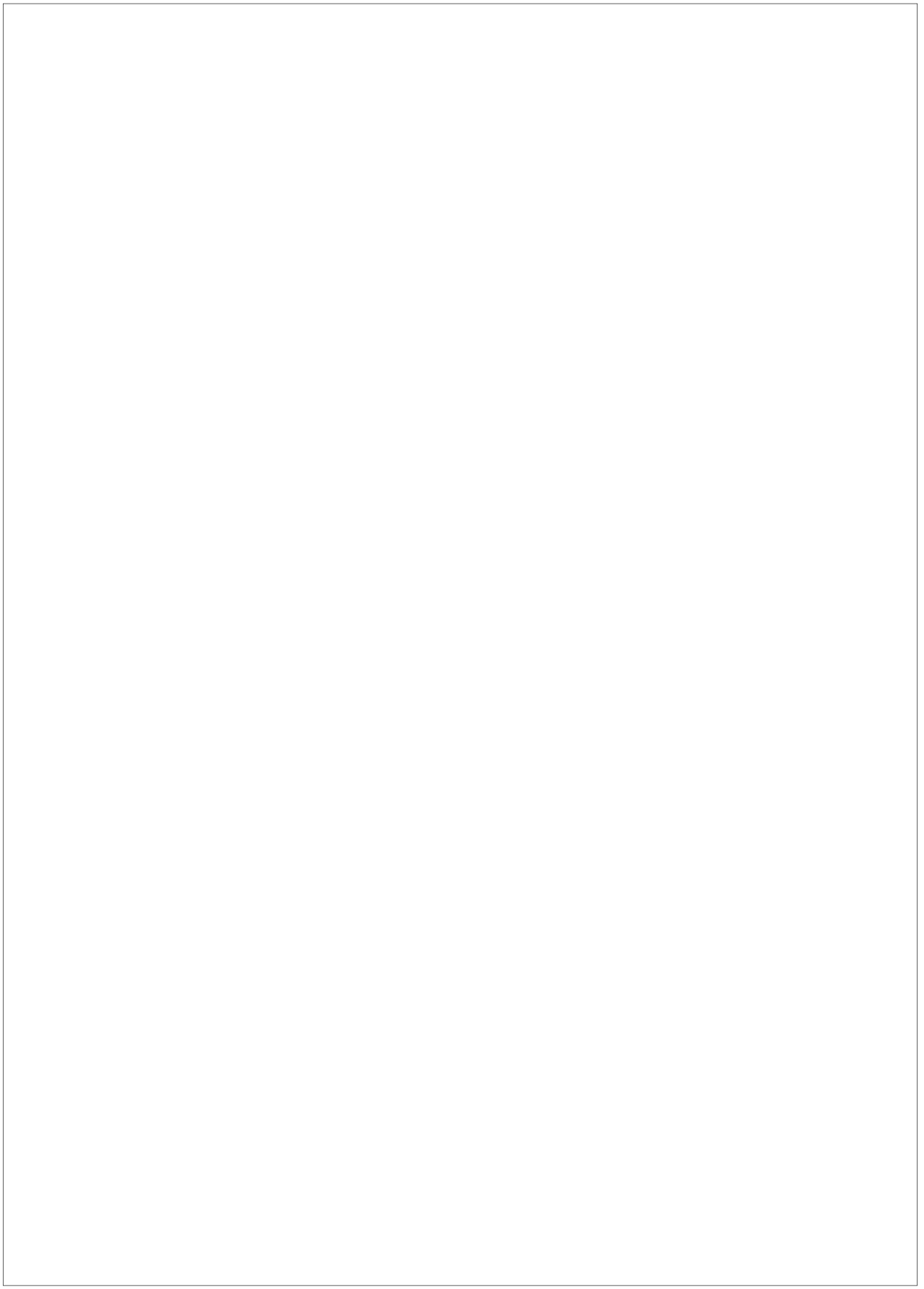
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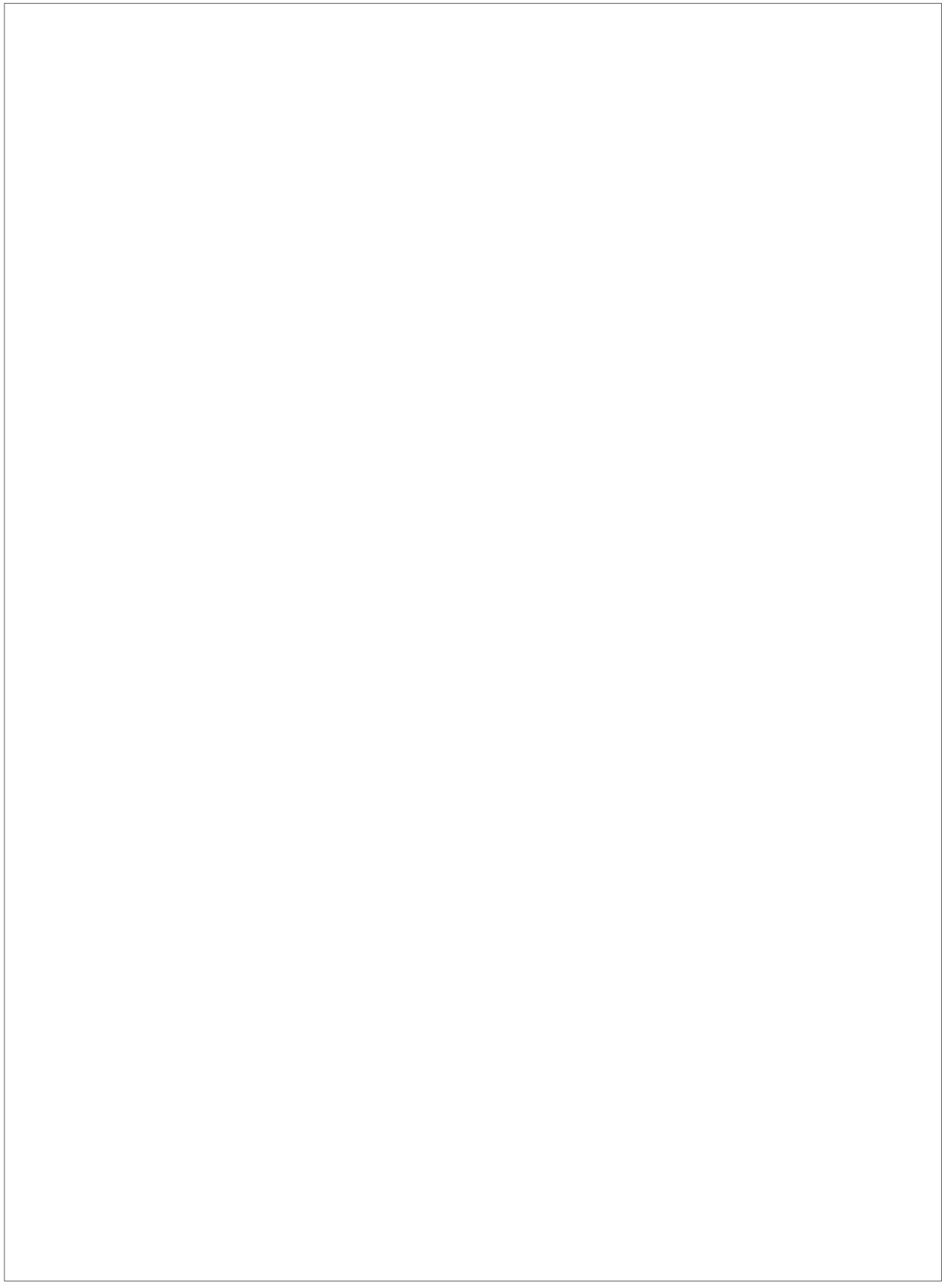
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B5



B5



B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Thanks-iand a question

The lash is why you beat them in miles!

Let me get you actual #s

But both Madeleine and especially Condi were on the road an awful lot

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Thanks-iand a question
Sent: Oct 5, 2010 8:03 AM

But even in the first year--I don't get it since under your lash we pushed so hard. Oh, well.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines[redacted]> B6
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Oct 05 07:57:59 2010
Subject: Re: Thanks-iand a question

I'll get you a list - but those were first year totals so by now it might have evened out.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Thanks-iand a question
Sent: Oct 5, 2010 7:55 AM

I actually read the Monitor piece and thought it was on balance quite good. So thanks for all your work to get it done. But, what I can't figure out is which countries Madeleine and Condi went to that I didn't? Will you pls enlighten me?

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs Draft

Thx printing now

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**To:** 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sun Aug 22 15:39:29 2010
**Subject:** Foreign Affairs Draft

Here is the latest from Lissa, Jake, and me (I took over from Lissa this morning because her son is winning all his soccer matches somewhere in Pennsylvania). We still have a bunch of things to add (as you will see in yellow), but this is definitely ready for you to engage. I think it will make a real impact, and it fits Jim Hoge's desire not just to make this a report card on the QDDR but to advance some bigger animating ideas.

Some questions:

B5

I hope this is a read that improves your vacation mood rather than detracting from it!

AM

---

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter <

B6

**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Aug 22 15:26:43 2010
**Subject:**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Chile rescuer says trapped miners all alive -TV

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-WHA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_SWO
**Sent:** Sun Aug 22 15:13:53 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Chile rescuer says trapped miners all alive -TV

SANTIAGO (Reuters) – Thirty-three miners trapped underground for more than two weeks after a cave-in have been located and tied a message to a drill saying they are all alive, a member of the rescue mission told state television. "There was a note that said there are 33 workers alive down here," said the rescue worker, who was not identified.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 5:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Wyclef Jean not Giving up Presidential Bid

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** Crosby, Colin T
**Sent:** Sun Aug 22 16:43:47 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Wyclef Jean not Giving up Presidential Bid

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AP) - Hip-hop singer Wyclef Jean said he is not abandoning his presidential bid just yet and will try to get the courts to overturn a decision disqualifying him from the race. His lawyers will file an appeal with the national electoral dispute office. Jean said he has a document "which shows everything is correct" and that he and his aides "feel that what is going on here has everything to do with Haitian politics." "They are trying to keep us out of the race," he said, referring to Haiti's political establishment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 10:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) DPRK leader and son visited artillery site--reports

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Wed Nov 24 21:37:12 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) DPRK leader and son visited artillery site--reports

SEOUL (Reuters) – North Korean leader Kim Jong-il and his son and successor Jong-un visited the artillery base from where shells were fired at a South Korean island just hours before the attack, South Korean media reported on November 25. North Korea's attack on Yeonpyeong Island that killed two South Korean marines and two civilians November 22 was probably ordered by Kim Jong-il himself, the Joongang Daily quoted a well-informed government source as saying. Seoul government officials contacted by Reuters could not comment on the reports. South Korean media reported the father and son had met General Kim Kyok-sik, the commander of the frontline fourth corps in charge of a Navy base in South Hwanghae province, just before the North shelled the island. JoongAng Daily quoted a source as saying that Kim visited the coastal artillery base in Gaemori from where the shells were fired with his son a day before the attack.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From carlos pascual

Please Pass to the Secretary

Madame Secretary,

A shoot out occurred on August 20 in front of the American School in Monterrey (AFSM), resulting in the death of two bodyguards. An investigation is continuing into the details, but our understanding at this point is that it was an attempted kidnapping targeting the relatives of a local business executive. While it does not appear that U.S. families were targeted, the sharp increase in kidnapping incidents in the Monterrey area, and this event in particular, present a very high risk to the families of U.S. citizens who might be become incidental victims.

U.S. security and law enforcement personnel have engaged local and federal security officials to seek their help on understanding the immediate risks and measures that can be taken. I have urged U.S. families at the Consulate in Monterrey not to send their children to school in the coming days while we review the events that took place on August 20. We also are advising U.S. citizens in the area that we have urged Consulate personnel not to send their children to school while we complete this security review.

I am sure that the warden notice will lead to a rash of press reports on U.S. concerns about security in Monterrey. More broadly, if the government cannot get the kidnappings in Monterrey under control, that may affect our ability to function in Monterrey. I have advised Secretary Espinosa of this, and have sought her help as well to address consulate security.

Consulate personnel are currently on "authorized departure" and have the option to send their families to a U.S. location. Pat Kennedy is in close touch on these matters.

Carlos Pascual

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 10:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Seoul says China foreign minister's visit delayed

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Wed Nov 24 22:22:37 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Seoul says China foreign minister's visit delayed

SEOUL (Reuters) – South Korea said November 25 a planned visit by Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi later this week has been put on hold due to his "schedule issues". The Foreign Ministry said in a statement both countries plan to set a new date for Yang's visit, but did not elaborate on the cause for delay.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 24, 2010 10:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) ROK to boost military power off west coast

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Wed Nov 24 21:36:55 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) ROK to boost military power off west coast

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korea plans to boost military capability off its west coast, including cancelling an earlier plan to cut down the number of marine troops stationed there, after this week's North Korean attacks, it said on November 25. A presidential office spokesman said the measures were part of the outcome from an emergency meeting presided over by President Lee Myung-bak early November 25.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 22, 2010 9:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Insecurity and Monterrey Consulate

See below.

No update yet - John is out and have not connected with Jack but will early am.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
Sent: Sunday, August 22, 2010 2:35 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Feeley, John D (Mexico City); [redacted] B6
Subject: Insecurity and Monterrey Consulate

Please Pass to the Secretary

Madame Secretary,

A shoot out occurred on August 20 in front of the American School in Monterrey (AFSM), resulting in the death of two bodyguards. An investigation is continuing into the details, but our understanding at this point is that it was an attempted kidnapping targeting the relatives of a local business executive. While it does not appear that U.S. families were targeted, the sharp increase in kidnapping incidents in the Monterrey area, and this event in particular, present a very high risk to the families of U.S. citizens who might be become incidental victims.

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Consulate personnel are currently on "authorized departure" and have the option to send their families to a U.S. location. Pat Kennedy is in close touch on these matters.

Carlos Pascual

---

This message has been sent via BlackBerry

---

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 7:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iraqi PM Maliki asked to form government

---

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Iraq
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Thu Nov 25 05:10:09 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iraqi PM Maliki asked to form government

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Iraq's president formally asked Prime Minister Maliki to form a new government, giving him 30 days to choose a cabinet from among Iraq's fractious Shiite, Kurdish and Sunni political factions. The request from President Talabani came two weeks after political leaders reached an agreement to divide up the top government jobs, a deal that put Maliki, a Shiite, on track for a second term as premier. The power-sharing pact, more than eight months after an inconclusive March 7 parliamentary election, offered some hope that Iraq could avoid a return to the sectarian warfare that killed tens of thousands of people at its peak in 2006-07. The deal gave Talabani, a Kurd, another term as president and installed Sunni lawmaker Osama al-Nujaifi as speaker of parliament. Among Maliki's biggest decisions are his choices to head the oil and finance ministries.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 8:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Thanksgiving

Not a day goes by that I am not thankful for the chance you've given to me to work on issues that mean so much to me. I am so proud to work for you.

But never was this more so than this week, when amid everything else, you stood up courageously for principle on 686. Our voice did not prevail, but it was heard, and everyone in my office who worked on this was so very proud that we have a great leader of conscience as our Secretary.

Happy Thanksgiving to your whole family.

With thanks and respect,
Harold
Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office
[redacted] mobile
202 647 7096 fax

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 11:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Iraqi PM seeks neighbors' support to stay in power

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Oct 16 11:51:43 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Iraqi PM seeks neighbors' support to stay in power

BAGHDAD (AP) – Iraq's Prime Minister will travel to Iran and Jordan to seek support for his bid to win a second term more than seven months after national elections. His adviser Ali al-Moussawi said the prime minister will assure the neighboring states that none of Iraq's major political constituencies will be excluded from a new government if they back his second term. Al-Maliki will meet Jordan's King Abdullah II on October 17. He will meet with Iran's President Ahmadinejad and the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei in Tehran on October 18. He will also visit Turkey and Egypt next week.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 12:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Today

Checked in with people and everyone seems to be doing their own thing, [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Parliamentary Election Update

FYI - see below.

---

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Nov 25 09:24:42 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Parliamentary Election Update

Pls forward to S. The situation is fraught, she should know. Happy Turkey Day. Hope you are with your family.

---

**From:** Rina Amiri < > B6
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard; Ruggiero, Frank J; Singh, Vikram J; Feldman, Daniel F; Bommer, Ashley F; DeHart, James P; Mata, Joseph P
**Sent:** Thu Nov 25 05:43:25 2010
**Subject:** Parliamentary Election Update

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/24/2025

On Wednesday, the IEC certifies the final results for 34 out of 35 constituencies in the Parliamentary Elections. The Chairperson of the IEC noted that while results for Ghazni elections were not included in the final results due to "technical issues," they would be announced in the upcoming three to five days. The UN and US embassy issued statements welcoming the results and commending the work of the IEC and ECC. While the Palace has not made any public comments, the Attorney General's office—which has served as the Government's mouthpiece to challenge the election institutions—continues to question the election outcome, criticizing the UN for endorsing the results and vowing that it will continue to investigate allegations of corruption and fraud in the IEC and ECC. In a last minute effort to influence the election announcement, the Attorney General had called for the suspension of the IEC and ECC spokesmen. The embassy has reported that the IEC and ECC have dismissed the Attorney General's comments as political posturing intended to influence the outcome in Ghazni.

Demonstrations have been taking place in various parts of the country are likely to grow, given the Attorney General's comments. The political leadership appears to be split along ethnic lines, with a number of prominent Hazara and Tajik leaders—including Amrullah Saleh and Abdullah Abdullah—insisting that the election results in all 34 provinces being upheld, while Pashtun leaders—including Ashraf Ghani—questioning the legitimacy of the election results in a number of provinces. The President has noted that he will confer with his two Vice Presidents and jihadi leaders before commenting on the results. Vice President Khalili has been the key Hazara leader working with the UN to broker a deal to resolve the Ghazni elections.

1.4(D)
B1

I will continue to update you with further developments.

Best,

Rina

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 6:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: From Harvey Weinstein

B6

Back in today to start working on the details for sept 1 - pls let me know of any specifics you want to make sure are executed.

Enjoy your rest.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Marshall, Capricia P
Sent: Sun Aug 22 11:22:06 2010
Subject: Re: From Harvey Weinstein

That is so sweet so pls let him know I not only want the movies, including The Tillman Story) but I've heard about some of his other projects from Jamie Patricof (Company Men, Blue Valentine) that also sound great. And pls wish him and Georgina every good wish w the new baby and that we all hope to see them soon.

And, how are you? We need to discuss the orchestration of Sept 1-2. Has anyone contacted you or Protocol yet? I hope this email finds you vacationing somewhere w your two guys--Love to all.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Aug 21 08:35:29 2010
Subject: Fw: From Harvey Weinstein

Very sweet email from Harvey. Let me know if you want the movies.

You were amazing yesterday. Will look for direction on details for the upcoming talks.

---

From: Office, HW <
To: Marshall, Capricia P
Sent: Fri Aug 20 12:50:18 2010
Subject: From Harvey Weinstein

Dear Capricia,

As time moves on, I realize I haven't seen you and Mrs. Clinton (Hillary) in a long time, but I think of you both often. I don't know if movie producers are still worthy in your world, but next time you're in NYC I'd love to see you.

I have such fond memories of you guys watching SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE. I made another movie you might like about the ascendancy of King George after Edward abdicated, it's called KINGS SPEECH. The movie brings to light something that many people don't know, which is that King George was a stutterer and he hired an actor to try and help him overcome it. It's a fun movie that is much in the tradition of SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE, again I think you would both like it (and Hillary would approve because it's PG-13 with not too many swear words).

If you have any trips coming up I'd love to send it to you so you guys can watch and give me your opinion. I could also include a copy of THE TILLMAN STORY, that one is obviously not a happy film, but it's an incredibly important one.

PS

| | |
|---|---|
| | B6 |

Your bad friend,

Harvey

PS – Please share this with Madame Secretary.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 11:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Thanksgiving!

Hope you are having a (relatively) quiet day with the family.

I'm taking a break from peeling potatoes to report the following:

I've circulated a call sheet for your conversation with Bibi to the group and asked them to look at it tomorrow morning (no need to make them do it today) so that we can have a consensus recommendation for how you should approach the call. The idea would be to send you the call sheet around noon tomorrow in time for an afternoon call, if you have the time.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 08/23 0845 Meeting Readout

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Mon Aug 23 09:14:35 2010
**Subject:** 08/23 0845 Meeting Readout

Here's a readout from this morning's small staff meeting:

Gaza Flotilla The *Maryam* remains docked in Lebanon with no immediate plans to leave.

India Nuke Liability Finance Minister Mikherjee has postponed his 0930 call with the Secretary this morning; Indian cabinet to make decisions on legislation by Wednesday.

Turkey MFA Political Director Siriologlu in DC today; will meet with Bill.

Iraq Two rocket attacks on Embassy Baghdad today resulted in minor injuries.

Mexico Violence continues, including kidnapping attempt near international school in Monterrey on Friday, but still does not seem directed at Americans. M has found way of extending evacuation benefits for those few family members still on authorized departure beyond the 180 day limit.

Congress Possible rollout of Cuba approach (assuming Treasury concerns are resolved) this week or next. Hopeful of S calls to four Senators on New START. DOJ owes comments this week on UK/Aus Defense Trade Treaties; hopeful for Senate to begin ratification in early September. Aponte recess appointment as Amb to El Salvador; no action on Yzaguirre.

Legal Unusual rape charges against Wikileaks head Asange that Swedish authorities issued then withdrew. Joan Donohgue seems set for ICJ election on Sep 8; proposing Dept reception on Sep 9 at which Harold would like S message to be read.

Press PJ on MSNBC Morning Joe this morning to answer questions on Iran, Pakistan aid, Mideast Peace, and Imam Rauf travel.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 12:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israel angered by Palestinian report on Western Wall

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Nov 25 12:02:30 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israel angered by Palestinian report on Western Wall

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called on the Palestinian leadership to renounce an official Palestinian report asserting the Western Wall, one of Judaism's holiest sites, is not Jewish. Al-Mutawakil Taha, deputy information minister in the Palestinian Authority, published a five-page study disputing Jews' reverence of the shrine as a retaining wall of the compound of Biblical Jewish Temples destroyed centuries ago. "Denial of the connection between the Jewish people and the Western Wall by the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Information is baseless and scandalous," Netanyahu said in a statement issued by the prime minister's office. "The Israeli government expects the leaders of the Palestinian Authority to renounce the document and condemn it, and to stop twisting historical facts," he said. In the report, Taha wrote the Western wall is a "Muslim wall and an integral part of al-Aqsa mosque and Haram al-Sharif," a position echoing past statements by the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Taha issued the document after Israel approved five-year renovation plan for the Western Wall area.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Foreign Affairs

We are expecting comments back from the larger group this afternoon and will begin to incorporate them this evening. The draft needs polishing, as you can see. Will you be sending your own comments or waiting for the next draft? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 2:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palestinians weighing alternatives to peace talks

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Oct 16 13:40:17 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Palestinians weighing alternatives to peace talks

RAMALLAH (AP) – Saturday's statements seemed intended mainly as a new warning that Washington's peace efforts are in trouble. The Palestinians sharply criticized Israel's plans to build 238 more homes in east Jerusalem. Palestinian President Abbas met with leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization and his Fatah movement at his headquarters in the West Bank. The Palestinians plan to study their options in coming days, said Yasser Abed Rabbo, the secretary general of the PLO. "These political options include going to the U.N. and to the Security Council," he said. Mohammed Ishtayeh, a senior Fatah official, said the Palestinians will have prepared options by the time they consult with the Arab League in three weeks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

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**From:** Lissa Muscatine < [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs

Any time between about 1 and 4 would be best if that works for you.
The draft as it stands now is a conglomeration of points from AMS, Jake, and me, but I wasn't able to write through the whole thing before you got it.

On Aug 23, 2010, at 9:22 AM, H wrote:

> I would like to call you later today. What times work for you after
> noon?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine < [redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:19:38 2010
> Subject: Foreign Affairs
>
> We are expecting comments back from the larger group this afternoon
> and will begin to incorporate them this evening. The draft needs
> polishing, as you can see. Will you be sending your own comments or
> waiting for the next draft? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Sam Arora

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:36:04 2010
Subject: Sam Arora

The WPost endorses him today. Pls add to call list.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Good morning,

1. Cheryl is trying to reach you to follow-up on your weekend conversation.
2. She's been w/o a computer all morning because hers malfunctioned and POEMS is still working to fix it.
3. President Carter called and spoke with Cheryl this am. He asks to speak with you directly about his trips. Home #: [redacted] B6

Joanne Laszczych
Assistant to Counselor and Chief of Staff, Cheryl Mills
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Phone: 202-647-5548
Fax: 202-736-4535

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sunday, August 22, 2010 9:13 PM
To: 'H'
Subject: FW: Insecurity and Monterrey Consulate

See below.

No update yet - John is out and have not connected with Jack but will early am.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
Sent: Sunday, August 22, 2010 2:35 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Feeley, John D (Mexico City); [redacted]
Subject: Insecurity and Monterrey Consulate

Please Pass to the Secretary

Madame Secretary,

A shoot out occurred on August 20 in front of the American School in Monterrey (AFSM), resulting in the death of two bodyguards. An investigation is continuing into the details, but our understanding at this point is that it was an attempted kidnapping targeting the relatives of a local business executive. While it does not appear that U.S. families were targeted, the sharp increase in kidnapping incidents in the Monterrey area, and this event in particular, present a very high risk to the families of U.S. citizens who might be become incidental victims.

U.S. security and law enforcement personnel have engaged local and federal security officials to seek their help on understanding the immediate risks and measures that can be taken. I have urged U.S. families at the Consulate in

Monterrey not to send their children to school in the coming days while we review the events that took place on August 20. We also are advising U.S. citizens in the area that we have urged Consulate personnel not to send their children to school while we complete this security review.

I am sure that the warden notice will lead to a rash of press reports on U.S. concerns about security in Monterrey. More broadly, if the government cannot get the kidnappings in Monterrey under control, that may affect our ability to function in Monterrey. I have advised Secretary Espinosa of this, and have sought her help as well to address consulate security.

Consulate personnel are currently on "authorized departure" and have the option to send their families to a U.S. location. Pat Kennedy is in close touch on these matters.

Carlos Pascual

---

This message has been sent via BlackBerry

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RELEASE IN PART B6

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**From:** Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Apologies - she is with Daniel Yohannes and asked to call you back in 10 minutes

Joanne

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 23, 2010 9:43 AM
To: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Re: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

I'm calling cheryl now thru ops.

----- Original Message -----
From: Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:41:58 2010
Subject: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Good morning,

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3. President Carter called and spoke with Cheryl this am. He asks to speak with you directly about his trips. Home #: [redacted] B6

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Department of State

2201 C Street, N.W.

Phone: 202-647-5548

Fax: 202-736-4535

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Carlos Pascual

---

This message has been sent via BlackBerry

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Cheryl says you can return the call. Not necessary to speak w/her beforehand

Joanne

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 23, 2010 9:48 AM
To: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Re: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Ok. Do I need to speak to her before calling Carter?

----- Original Message -----
From: Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:47:16 2010
Subject: RE: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

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Joanne

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Sent: Sunday, August 22, 2010 2:35 PM

To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Lew, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Kennedy, Patrick F

Cc: Feeley, John D (Mexico City); [redacted] B6

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Carlos Pascual

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Gave info to Ops and they are placing the calls

Joanne

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 23, 2010 9:54 AM
To: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Re: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Pls give Carter # to ops and ask them to call him and then connect to my bb.

----- Original Message -----
From: Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 23 09:51:56 2010
Subject: RE: On behalf of Cheryl Mills

Cheryl says you can return the call. Not necessary to speak w/her beforehand

Joanne

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Carlos Pascual

---

This message has been sent via BlackBerry

---

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 2:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

---

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Oct 16 14:03:08 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

(Headline only).

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, August 23, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Yes, there is a vast right wing conspiracy. Sid

A must read piece that looks at the Koch brothers' control and funding of the tea party and right wing.

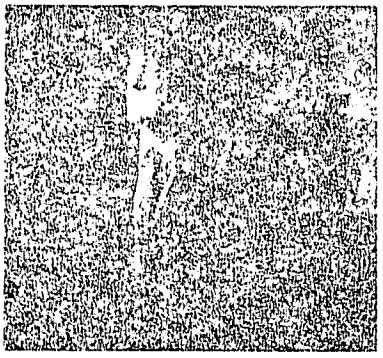
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer?printable=true#ixzz0xQuvTcbT

A REPORTER AT LARGE

# COVERT OPERATIONS

*The billionaire brothers who are waging a war against Obama.*

by Jane Mayer AUGUST 30, 2010



David H. Koch in 1996. He and his brother Charles are lifelong libertarians and have quietly given more than a hundred million dollars to right-wing causes.

On May 17th, a black-tie audience at the Metropolitan Opera House applauded as a tall, jovial-looking billionaire took the stage. It was the seventieth annual spring gala of American Ballet Theatre, and David H. Koch was being celebrated for his generosity as a member of the board of trustees; he had recently donated $2.5 million toward the company's upcoming season, and had given many millions before that. Koch received an award while flanked by two of the gala's co-chairs, Blaine Trump, in a peach-colored gown, and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, in emerald green. Kennedy's mother, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, had been a patron of the ballet and, coincidentally, the previous owner of a Fifth Avenue apartment that Koch had bought, in 1995, and then sold, eleven years later, for thirty-two million dollars, having found it too small.

The gala marked the social ascent of Koch, who, at the age of seventy, has become one of the city's most prominent philanthropists. In 2008, he donated a hundred million dollars to modernize Lincoln Center's New York State Theatre building, which now bears his name. He has given twenty million to the American Museum of Natural History, whose dinosaur wing is named for him. This spring, after noticing the decrepit state of the fountains outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Koch pledged at least ten million dollars for their renovation. He is a trustee of the museum, perhaps the most coveted social prize in

the city, and serves on the board of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, where, after he donated more than forty million dollars, an endowed chair and a research center were named for him.

One dignitary was conspicuously absent from the gala: the event's third honorary co-chair, Michelle Obama. Her office said that a scheduling conflict had prevented her from attending. Yet had the First Lady shared the stage with Koch it might have created an awkward tableau. In Washington, Koch is best known as part of a family that has repeatedly funded stealth attacks on the federal government, and on the Obama Administration in particular.

With his brother Charles, who is seventy-four, David Koch owns virtually all of Koch Industries, a conglomerate, headquartered in Wichita, Kansas, whose annual revenues are estimated to be a hundred billion dollars. The company has grown spectacularly since their father, Fred, died, in 1967, and the brothers took charge. The Kochs operate oil refineries in Alaska, Texas, and Minnesota, and control some four thousand miles of pipeline. Koch Industries owns Brawny paper towels, Dixie cups, Georgia-Pacific lumber, Stainmaster carpet, and Lycra, among other products. *Forbes* ranks it as the second-largest private company in the country, after Cargill, and its consistent profitability has made David and Charles Koch—who, years ago, bought out two other brothers—among the richest men in America. Their combined fortune of thirty-five billion dollars is exceeded only by those of Bill Gates and Warren Buffett.

The Kochs are longtime libertarians who believe in drastically lower personal and corporate taxes, minimal social services for the needy, and much less oversight of industry—especially environmental regulation. These views dovetail with the brothers' corporate interests. In a study released this spring, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst's Political Economy Research Institute named Koch Industries one of the top ten air polluters in the United States. And Greenpeace issued a report identifying the company as a "kingpin of climate science denial." The report showed that, from 2005 to 2008, the Kochs vastly outdid ExxonMobil in giving money to organizations fighting legislation related to climate change, underwriting a huge network of foundations, think tanks, and political front groups. Indeed, the brothers have funded opposition campaigns against so many Obama Administration policies—from health-care reform to the economic-stimulus program—that, in political circles, their ideological network is known as the Kochtopus.

In a statement, Koch Industries said that the Greenpeace report "distorts the environmental record of our companies." And David Koch, in a recent, admiring article about him in *New York*, protested that the "radical press" had turned his family into "whipping boys," and had exaggerated its influence on American politics. But Charles Lewis, the founder of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan watchdog group, said, "The Kochs are on a whole different level. There's no one else who has spent this much money. The sheer dimension of it is what sets them apart. They have a pattern of lawbreaking, political manipulation, and obfuscation. I've been in Washington since Watergate, and I've never seen anything like it. They are the Standard Oil of our times."

few weeks after the Lincoln Center gala, the advocacy wing of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation—an organization that David Koch started, in 2004—held a different kind of gathering. Over the July 4th weekend, a summit called Texas Defending the American Dream took place in a chilly hotel ballroom in Austin. Though Koch freely promotes his philanthropic ventures, he did not attend the summit, and his name was not in evidence. And on this occasion the audience was roused not by a dance performance but by a series of speakers denouncing President Barack Obama. Peggy Venable, the organizer of the summit, warned that Administration officials "have a socialist vision for this country."

Five hundred people attended the summit, which served, in part, as a training session for Tea Party activists in Texas. An advertisement cast the event as a populist uprising against vested corporate power. "Today, the voices of average Americans are being drowned out by lobbyists and special interests," it said. "But you can do something about it." The pitch made no mention of its corporate funders. The White House has expressed frustration that such sponsors have largely eluded public notice. David Axelrod, Obama's senior adviser, said, "What they don't say is that, in part, this is a grassroots citizens' movement brought to you by a bunch of oil billionaires."

In April, 2009, Melissa Cohlmia, a company spokesperson, denied that the Kochs had direct links to the Tea Party, saying that Americans for Prosperity is "an independent organization and Koch companies do not in any way direct their activities." Later, she issued a statement: "No funding has been provided by Koch companies, the Koch foundations, or Charles Koch or

David Koch specifically to support the tea parties." David Koch told *New York*, "I've never been to a tea-party event. No one representing the tea party has ever even approached me."

At the lectern in Austin, however, Venable—a longtime political operative who draws a salary from Americans for Prosperity, and who has worked for Koch-funded political groups since 1994—spoke less warily. "We love what the Tea Parties are doing, because that's how we're going to take back America!" she declared, as the crowd cheered. In a subsequent interview, she described herself as an early member of the movement, joking, "I was part of the Tea Party before it was cool!" She explained that the role of Americans for Prosperity was to help "educate" Tea Party activists on policy details, and to give them "next-step training" after their rallies, so that their political energy could be channelled "more effectively." And she noted that Americans for Prosperity had provided Tea Party activists with lists of elected officials to target. She said of the Kochs, "They're certainly our people. David's the chairman of our board. I've certainly met with them, and I'm very appreciative of what they do."

Venable honored several Tea Party "citizen leaders" at the summit. The Texas branch of Americans for Prosperity gave its Blogger of the Year Award to a young woman named Sibyl West. On June 14th, West, writing on her site, described Obama as the "cokehead in chief." In an online thread, West speculated that the President was exhibiting symptoms of "demonic possession (aka schizophrenia, etc.)." The summit featured several paid speakers, including Janine Turner, the actress best known for her role on the television series "Northern Exposure." She declared, "They don't want our children to know about their rights. They don't want our children to know about a God!"

During a catered lunch, Venable introduced Ted Cruz, a former solicitor general of Texas, who told the crowd that Obama was "the most radical President ever to occupy the Oval Office," and had hidden from voters a secret agenda—"the government taking over our economy and our lives." Countering Obama, Cruz proclaimed, was "the epic fight of our generation!" As the crowd rose to its feet and cheered, he quoted the defiant words of a Texan at the Alamo: "Victory, or death!"

Americans for Prosperity has worked closely with the Tea Party since the movement's inception. In the weeks before the first Tax Day protests, in April, 2009, Americans for Prosperity hosted a Web site offering supporters "Tea Party Talking Points." The Arizona branch urged people to send tea bags to Obama; the Missouri branch urged members to sign up for "Taxpayer Tea Party Registration" and provided directions to nine protests. The group continues to stoke the rebellion. The North Carolina branch recently launched a "Tea Party Finder" Web site, advertised as "a hub for all the Tea Parties in North Carolina."

The anti-government fervor infusing the 2010 elections represents a political triumph for the Kochs. By giving money to "educate," fund, and organize Tea Party protesters, they have helped turn their private agenda into a mass movement. Bruce Bartlett, a conservative economist and a historian, who once worked at the National Center for Policy Analysis, a Dallas-based think tank that the Kochs fund, said, "The problem with the whole libertarian movement is that it's been all chiefs and no indians. There haven't been any actual people, like voters, who give a crap about it. So the problem for the Kochs has been trying to create a movement." With the emergence of the Tea Party, he said, "everyone suddenly sees that for the first time there are Indians out there—people who can provide real ideological power." The Kochs, he said, are "trying to shape and control and channel the populist uprising into their own policies."

A Republican campaign consultant who has done research on behalf of Charles and David Koch said of the Tea Party, "The Koch brothers gave the money that founded it. It's like they put the seeds in the ground. Then the rainstorm comes, and the frogs come out of the mud—and they're our candidates!"

The Kochs and their political operatives declined requests for interviews. Instead, a prominent New York public-relations executive who is close with the Kochs put forward two friends: George Pataki, the former governor of New York, and Mortimer Zuckerman, the publisher and real-estate magnate. Pataki, a Republican who received campaign donations from David Koch, called him "a patriot who cares deeply about his country." Zuckerman praised David's "gentle decency" and the "range of his public interests."

The Republican campaign consultant said of the family's political activities, "To call them under the radar is an understatement. They are underground!" Another former Koch adviser said, "They're smart. This right-wing, redneck stuff works for them. They see this as a way to get things done without getting dirty themselves." Rob Stein, a Democratic political

strategist who has studied the conservative movement's finances, said that the Kochs are "at the epicenter of the anti-Obama movement. But it's not just about Obama. They would have done the same to Hillary Clinton. They did the same with Bill Clinton. They are out to destroy progressivism."

ddly enough, the fiercely capitalist Koch family owes part of its fortune to Joseph Stalin. Fred Koch was the son of a Dutch printer who settled in Texas and ran a weekly newspaper. Fred attended M.I.T., where he earned a degree in chemical engineering. In 1927, he invented a more efficient process for converting oil into gasoline, but, according to family lore, America's major oil companies regarded him as a threat and shut him out of the industry. Unable to succeed at home, Koch found work in the Soviet Union. In the nineteen-thirties, his company trained Bolshevik engineers and helped Stalin's regime set up fifteen modern oil refineries. Over time, however, Stalin brutally purged several of Koch's Soviet colleagues. Koch was deeply affected by the experience, and regretted his collaboration. He returned to the U.S. In the headquarters of his company, Rock Island Oil & Refining, in Wichita, he kept photographs aimed at proving that some of those Soviet refineries had been destroyed in the Second World War. Gus diZerega, a former friend of Charles Koch, recalled, "As the Soviets became a stronger military power, Fred felt a certain amount of guilt at having helped build them up. I think it bothered him a lot."

In 1958, Fred Koch became one of the original members of the John Birch Society, the arch-conservative group known, in part, for a highly skeptical view of governance and for spreading fears of a Communist takeover. Members considered President Dwight D. Eisenhower to be a Communist agent. In a self-published broadside, Koch claimed that "the Communists have infiltrated both the Democrat and Republican Parties." He wrote admiringly of Benito Mussolini's suppression of Communists in Italy, and disparagingly of the American civil-rights movement. "The colored man looms large in the Communist plan to take over America," he warned. Welfare was a secret plot to attract rural blacks to cities, where they would foment "a vicious race war." In a 1963 speech that prefigures the Tea Party's talk of a secret socialist plot, Koch predicted that Communists would "infiltrate the highest offices of government in the U.S. until the President is a Communist, unknown to the rest of us."

Koch married Mary Robinson, the daughter of a Missouri physician, and they had four sons: Freddie, Charles, and twins, David and William. John Damgard, the president of the Futures Industry Association, was David's schoolmate and friend. He recalled that Fred Koch was "a real John Wayne type." Koch emphasized rugged pursuits, taking his sons big-game hunting in Africa, and requiring them to do farm labor at the family ranch. The Kochs lived in a stone mansion on a large compound across from Wichita's country club; in the summer, the boys could hear their friends splashing in the pool, but they were not allowed to join them. "By instilling a work ethic in me at an early age, my father did me a big favor, although it didn't seem like a favor back then," Charles has written. "By the time I was eight, he made sure work occupied most of my spare time." David Koch recalled that his father also indoctrinated the boys politically. "He was constantly speaking to us children about what was wrong with government," he told Brian Doherty, an editor of the libertarian magazine *Reason*, and the author of "Radicals for Capitalism," a 2007 history of the libertarian movement. "It's something I grew up with—a fundamental point of view that big government was bad, and imposition of government controls on our lives and economic fortunes was not good."

David attended Deerfield Academy, in Massachusetts, and Charles was sent to military school. Charles, David, and William all earned engineering degrees at their father's alma mater, M.I.T., and later joined the family company. Charles eventually assumed control, with David as his deputy; William's career at the company was less successful. Freddie went to Harvard and studied playwriting at the Yale School of Drama. His father reportedly disapproved of him, and punished him financially. (Freddie, through a spokesperson, denied this.)

In 1967, after Fred Koch died, of a heart attack, Charles renamed the business Koch Industries, in honor of his father. Fred Koch's will made his sons extraordinarily wealthy. David Koch joked about his good fortune in a 2003 speech to alumni at Deerfield, where, after pledging twenty-five million dollars, he was made the school's sole "lifetime trustee." He said, "You might ask: How does David Koch happen to have the wealth to be so generous? Well, let me tell you a story. It all started when I was a little boy. One day, my father gave me an apple. I soon sold it for five dollars and bought two apples and sold them for ten. Then I bought four apples and sold them for twenty. Well, this went on day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, until my father died and left me three hundred million dollars!"

David and Charles had absorbed their father's conservative politics, but they did not share all his views, according to diZerega, who befriended Charles in the mid-sixties, after meeting him while browsing in a John Birch Society bookstore in

Wichita. Charles eventually invited him to the Kochs' mansion, to participate in an informal political-discussion group. "It was pretty clear that Charles thought some of the Birch Society was bullshit," diZerega recalled.

DiZerega, who has lost touch with Charles, eventually abandoned right-wing views, and became a political-science professor. He credits Charles with opening his mind to political philosophy, which set him on the path to academia; Charles is one of three people to whom he dedicated his first book. But diZerega believes that the Koch brothers have followed a wayward intellectual trajectory, transferring their father's paranoia about Soviet Communism to a distrust of the U.S. government, and seeing its expansion, beginning with the New Deal, as a tyrannical threat to freedom. In an essay, posted on Beliefnet, diZerega writes, "As state socialism failed . . . the target for many within these organizations shifted to any kind of regulation at all. 'Socialism' kept being defined downwards."

Members of the John Birch Society developed an interest in a school of Austrian economists who promoted free-market ideals. Charles and David Koch were particularly influenced by the work of Friedrich von Hayek, the author of "The Road to Serfdom" (1944), which argued that centralized government planning led, inexorably, to totalitarianism. Hayek's belief in unfettered capitalism has proved inspirational to many conservatives, and to anti-Soviet dissidents; lately, Tea Party supporters have championed his work. In June, the talk-radio host Glenn Beck, who has supported the Tea Party rebellion, promoted "The Road to Serfdom" on his show; the paperback soon became a No. 1 best-seller on Amazon. (Beck appears to be a fan of the Kochs; in the midst of a recent on-air parody of Al Gore, Beck said, without explanation, "I want to thank Charles Koch for this information." Beck declined to elaborate on the relationship.)

Charles and David also became devotees of a more radical thinker, Robert LeFevre, who favored the abolition of the state but didn't like the label "anarchist"; he called himself an "autarchist." LeFevre liked to say that "government is a disease masquerading as its own cure." In 1956, he opened an institution called the Freedom School, in Colorado Springs. Brian Doherty, of *Reason*, told me that "LeFevre was an anarchist figure who won Charles's heart," and that the school was "a tiny world of people who thought the New Deal was a horrible mistake." According to diZerega, Charles supported the school financially, and even gave him money to take classes there.

Throughout the seventies, Charles and David continued to build Koch Industries. In 1980, William, with assistance from Freddie, attempted to take over the company from Charles, who, they felt, had assumed autocratic control. In retaliation, the company's board, which answered to Charles, fired William. ("Charles runs it all with an iron hand," Bruce Bartlett, the economist, told me.) Lawsuits were filed, with William and Freddie on one side and Charles and David on the other. In 1983, Charles and David bought out their brothers' share in the company for nearly a billion dollars. But the antagonism remained, and litigation continued for seventeen more years, with the brothers hiring rival private investigators; in 1990, they walked past one another with stony expressions at their mother's funeral. Eventually, Freddie moved to Monaco, which has no income tax. He bought historic estates in France, Austria, and elsewhere, filling them with art, antiques, opera scores, and literary manuscripts. William founded his own energy company, Oxbow, and turned to yachting; he spent an estimated sixty-five million dollars to win the America's Cup, in 1992.

With Charles as the undisputed chairman and C.E.O., Koch Industries expanded rapidly. Roger Altman, who heads the investment-banking firm Evercore, told me that the company's performance has been "beyond phenomenal." Charles remained in Wichita, with his wife and two children, guarding his privacy while supporting community charities. David moved to New York City, where he is an executive vice-president of the company and the C.E.O. of its Chemical Technology Group. A financial expert who knows Koch Industries well told me, "Charles *is* the company. Charles runs it." David, described by associates as "affable" and "a bit of a lunk," enjoyed for years the life of a wealthy bachelor. He rented a yacht in the South of France and bought a waterfront home in Southampton, where he threw parties that the Web site New York Social Diary likened to an "East Coast version of Hugh Hefner's soirées." In 1996, he married Julia Flesher, a fashion assistant. They live in a nine-thousand-square-foot duplex at 740 Park Avenue, with their three children. Though David's manner is more cosmopolitan, and more genial, than that of Charles, Brian Doherty, who has interviewed both brothers, couldn't think of a single issue on which the brothers disagreed.

As their fortunes grew, Charles and David Koch became the primary underwriters of hard-line libertarian politics in America. Charles's goal, as Doherty described it, was to tear the government "out at the root." The brothers' first major public

step came in 1979, when Charles persuaded David, then thirty-nine, to run for public office. They had become supporters of the Libertarian Party, and were backing its Presidential candidate, Ed Clark, who was running against Ronald Reagan from the right. Frustrated by the legal limits on campaign donations, they contrived to place David on the ticket, in the Vice-Presidential slot; upon becoming a candidate, he could lavish as much of his personal fortune as he wished on the campaign. The ticket's slogan was "The Libertarian Party has only one source of funds: You." In fact, its primary source of funds was David Koch, who spent more than two million dollars on the effort.

Many of the ideas propounded in the 1980 campaign presaged the Tea Party movement. Ed Clark told *The Nation* that libertarians were getting ready to stage "a very big tea party," because people were "sick to death" of taxes. The Libertarian Party platform called for the abolition of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A., as well as of federal regulatory agencies, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Energy. The Party wanted to end Social Security, minimum-wage laws, gun control, and all personal and corporate income taxes; it proposed the legalization of prostitution, recreational drugs, and suicide. Government should be reduced to only one function: the protection of individual rights. William F. Buckley, Jr., a more traditional conservative, called the movement "Anarcho-Totalitarianism."

That November, the Libertarian ticket received only one per cent of the vote. The brothers realized that their brand of politics didn't sell at the ballot box. Charles Koch became openly scornful of conventional politics. "It tends to be a nasty, corrupting business," he told a reporter at the time. "I'm interested in advancing libertarian ideas." According to Doherty's book, the Kochs came to regard elected politicians as merely "actors playing out a script." A longtime confidant of the Kochs told Doherty that the brothers wanted to "supply the themes and words for the scripts." In order to alter the direction of America, they had to "influence the areas where policy ideas percolate from: academia and think tanks."

fter the 1980 election, Charles and David Koch receded from the public arena. But they poured more than a hundred million dollars into dozens of seemingly independent organizations. Tax records indicate that in 2008 the three main Koch family foundations gave money to thirty-four political and policy organizations, three of which they founded, and several of which they direct. The Kochs and their company have given additional millions to political campaigns, advocacy groups, and lobbyists. The family's subterranean financial role has fuelled suspicion on the left; Lee Fang, of the liberal blog ThinkProgress, has called the Kochs "the billionaires behind the hate."

Only the Kochs know precisely how much they have spent on politics. Public tax records show that between 1998 and 2008 the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation spent more than forty-eight million dollars. The Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation, which is controlled by Charles Koch and his wife, along with two company employees and an accountant, spent more than twenty-eight million. The David H. Koch Charitable Foundation spent more than a hundred and twenty million. Meanwhile, since 1998 Koch Industries has spent more than fifty million dollars on lobbying. Separately, the company's political-action committee, KochPAC, has donated some eight million dollars to political campaigns, more than eighty per cent of it to Republicans. So far in 2010, Koch Industries leads all other energy companies in political contributions, as it has since 2006. In addition, during the past dozen years the Kochs and other family members have personally spent more than two million dollars on political contributions. In the second quarter of 2010, David Koch was the biggest individual contributor to the Republican Governors Association, with a million-dollar donation. Other gifts by the Kochs may be untraceable; federal tax law permits anonymous personal donations to politically active nonprofit groups.

In recent decades, members of several industrial dynasties have spent parts of their fortunes on a conservative agenda. In the nineteen-eighties, the Olin family, which owns a chemicals-and-manufacturing conglomerate, became known for funding right-leaning thinking in academia, particularly in law schools. And during the nineties Richard Mellon Scaife, a descendant of Andrew Mellon, spent millions attempting to discredit President Bill Clinton. Ari Rabin-Havt, a vice-president at the Democratic-leaning Web site Media Matters, said that the Kochs' effort is unusual, in its marshalling of corporate and personal funds: "Their role, in terms of financial commitments, is staggering."

Of course, Democrats give money, too. Their most prominent donor, the financier George Soros, runs a foundation, the Open Society Institute, that has spent as much as a hundred million dollars a year in America. Soros has also made generous private contributions to various Democratic campaigns, including Obama's. But Michael Vachon, his spokesman, argued that

Soros's giving is transparent, and that "none of his contributions are in the service of his own economic interests." The Kochs have given millions of dollars to nonprofit groups that criticize environmental regulation and support lower taxes for industry. Gus diZerega, the former friend, suggested that the Kochs' youthful idealism about libertarianism had largely devolved into a rationale for corporate self-interest. He said of Charles, "Perhaps he has confused making money with freedom."

Some critics have suggested that the Kochs' approach has subverted the purpose of tax-exempt giving. By law, charitable foundations must conduct exclusively nonpartisan activities that promote the public welfare. A 2004 report by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, a watchdog group, described the Kochs' foundations as being self-serving, concluding, "These foundations give money to nonprofit organizations that do research and advocacy on issues that impact the profit margin of Koch Industries."

The Kochs have gone well beyond their immediate self-interest, however, funding organizations that aim to push the country in a libertarian direction. Among the institutions that they have subsidized are the Institute for Justice, which files lawsuits opposing state and federal regulations; the Institute for Humane Studies, which underwrites libertarian academics; and the Bill of Rights Institute, which promotes a conservative slant on the Constitution. Many of the organizations funded by the Kochs employ specialists who write position papers that are subsequently quoted by politicians and pundits. David Koch has acknowledged that the family exerts tight ideological control. "If we're going to give a lot of money, we'll make darn sure they spend it in a way that goes along with our intent," he told Doherty. "And if they make a wrong turn and start doing things we don't agree with, we withdraw funding."

he Kochs' subsidization of a pro-corporate movement fulfills, in many ways, the vision laid out in a secret 1971 memo that Lewis Powell, then a Virginia attorney, wrote two months before he was nominated to the Supreme Court. The antiwar movement had turned its anger on defense contractors, such as Dow Chemical, and Ralph Nader was leading a public-interest crusade against corporations. Powell, writing a report for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, urged American companies to fight back. The greatest threat to free enterprise, he warned, was not Communism or the New Left but, rather, "respectable elements of society"—intellectuals, journalists, and scientists. To defeat them, he wrote, business leaders needed to wage a long-term, unified campaign to change public opinion.

Charles Koch seems to have approached both business and politics with the deliberation of an engineer. "To bring about social change," he told Doherty, requires "a strategy" that is "vertically and horizontally integrated," spanning "from idea creation to policy development to education to grassroots organizations to lobbying to litigation to political action." The project, he admitted, was extremely ambitious. "We have a radical philosophy," he said.

In 1977, the Kochs provided the funds to launch the nation's first libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute. According to the Center for Public Integrity, between 1986 and 1993 the Koch family gave eleven million dollars to the institute. Today, Cato has more than a hundred full-time employees, and its experts and policy papers are widely quoted and respected by the mainstream media. It describes itself as nonpartisan, and its scholars have at times been critical of both parties. But it has consistently pushed for corporate tax cuts, reductions in social services, and laissez-faire environmental policies.

When President Obama, in a 2008 speech, described the science on global warming as "beyond dispute," the Cato Institute took out a full-page ad in the *Times* to contradict him. Cato's resident scholars have relentlessly criticized political attempts to stop global warming as expensive, ineffective, and unnecessary. Ed Crane, the Cato Institute's founder and president, told me that "global-warming theories give the government more control of the economy."

Cato scholars have been particularly energetic in promoting the Climategate scandal. Last year, private e-mails of climate scientists at the University of East Anglia, in England, were mysteriously leaked, and their exchanges appeared to suggest a willingness to falsify data in order to buttress the idea that global warming is real. In the two weeks after the e-mails went public, one Cato scholar gave more than twenty media interviews trumpeting the alleged scandal. But five independent inquiries have since exonerated the researchers, and nothing was found in their e-mails or data to discredit the scientific consensus on global warming.

Nevertheless, the controversy succeeded in spreading skepticism about climate change. Even though the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration recently issued a report concluding that the evidence for global warming is unequivocal, more Americans are convinced than at any time since 1997 that scientists have exaggerated the seriousness of global warming. The

Kochs promote this statistic on their company's Web site but do not mention the role that their funding has played in fostering such doubt.

In a 2002 memo, the Republican political consultant Frank Luntz wrote that so long as "voters believe there is no consensus about global warming within the scientific community" the status quo would prevail. The key for opponents of environmental reform, he said, was to question the science—a public-relations strategy that the tobacco industry used effectively for years to forestall regulation. The Kochs have funded many sources of environmental skepticism, such as the Heritage Foundation, which has argued that "scientific facts gathered in the past 10 years do not support the notion of catastrophic human-made warming." The brothers have given money to more obscure groups, too, such as the Independent Women's Forum, which opposes the presentation of global warming as a scientific fact in American public schools. Until 2008, the group was run by Nancy Pfotenhauer, a former lobbyist for Koch Industries. Mary Beth Jarvis, a vice-president of a Koch subsidiary, is on the group's board.

Naomi Oreskes, a professor of history and science studies at the University of California, San Diego, is the co-author of "Merchants of Doubt," a new book that chronicles various attempts by American industry to manipulate public opinion on science. She noted that the Kochs, as the heads of "a company with refineries and pipelines," have "a lot at stake." She added, "If the answer is to phase out fossil fuels, a different group of people are going to be making money, so we shouldn't be surprised that they're fighting tooth and nail."

David Koch told *New York* that he was unconvinced that global warming has been caused by human activity. Even if it has been, he said, the heating of the planet will be beneficial, resulting in longer growing seasons in the Northern Hemisphere. "The Earth will be able to support enormously more people because far greater land area will be available to produce food," he said. n the mid-eighties, the Kochs provided millions of dollars to George Mason University, in Arlington, Virginia, to set up another think tank. Now known as the Mercatus Center, it promotes itself as "the world's premier university source for market-oriented ideas—bridging the gap between academic ideas and real-world problems." Financial records show that the Koch family foundations have contributed more than thirty million dollars to George Mason, much of which has gone to the Mercatus Center, a nonprofit organization. "It's ground zero for deregulation policy in Washington," Rob Stein, the Democratic strategist, said. It is an unusual arrangement. "George Mason is a public university, and receives public funds," Stein noted. "Virginia is hosting an institution that the Kochs practically control."

The founder of the Mercatus Center is Richard Fink, formerly an economist. Fink heads Koch Industries' lobbying operation in Washington. In addition, he is the president of the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, the president of the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation, a director of the Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation, and a director and co-founder, with David Koch, of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation.

Fink, with his many titles, has become the central nervous system of the Kochtopus. He appears to have supplanted Ed Crane, the head of the Cato Institute, as the brothers' main political lieutenant. Though David remains on the board at Cato, Charles Koch has fallen out with Crane. Associates suggested to me that Crane had been insufficiently respectful of Charles's management philosophy, which he distilled into a book called "The Science of Success," and trademarked under the name Market-Based Management, or M.B.M. In the book, Charles recommends instilling a company's corporate culture with the competitiveness of the marketplace. Koch describes M.B.M. as a "holistic system" containing "five dimensions: vision, virtue and talents, knowledge processes, decision rights and incentives." A top Cato Institute official told me that Charles "thinks he's a genius. He's the emperor, and he's convinced he's wearing clothes." Fink, by contrast, has been far more embracing of Charles's ideas. (Fink, like the Kochs, declined to be interviewed.)

At a 1995 conference for philanthropists, Fink adopted the language of economics when speaking about the Mercatus Center's purpose. He said that grant-makers should use think tanks and political-action groups to convert intellectual raw materials into policy "products."

The *Wall Street Journal* has called the Mercatus Center "the most important think tank you've never heard of," and noted that fourteen of the twenty-three regulations that President George W. Bush placed on a "hit list" had been suggested first by Mercatus scholars. Fink told the paper that the Kochs have "other means of fighting [their] battles," and that the Mercatus Center does not actively promote the company's private interests. But Thomas McGarity, a law professor at the University of

Texas, who specializes in environmental issues, told me that "Koch has been constantly in trouble with the E.P.A., and Mercatus has constantly hammered on the agency." An environmental lawyer who has clashed with the Mercatus Center called it "a means of laundering economic aims." The lawyer explained the strategy: "You take corporate money and give it to a neutral-sounding think tank," which "hires people with pedigrees and academic degrees who put out credible-seeming studies. But they all coincide perfectly with the economic interests of their funders."

In 1997, for instance, the E.P.A. moved to reduce surface ozone, a form of pollution caused, in part, by emissions from oil refineries. Susan Dudley, an economist who became a top official at the Mercatus Center, criticized the proposed rule. The E.P.A., she argued, had not taken into account that smog-free skies would result in more cases of skin cancer. She projected that if pollution were controlled it would cause up to eleven thousand additional cases of skin cancer each year.

In 1999, the District of Columbia Circuit Court took up Dudley's smog argument. Evaluating the E.P.A. rule, the court found that the E.P.A. had "explicitly disregarded" the "possible health benefits of ozone." In another part of the opinion, the court ruled, 2-1, that the E.P.A. had overstepped its authority in calibrating standards for ozone emissions. As the Constitutional Accountability Center, a think tank, revealed, the judges in the majority had previously attended legal junkets, on a Montana ranch, that were arranged by the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment—a group funded by Koch family foundations. The judges have claimed that the ruling was unaffected by their attendance.

deas don't happen on their own," Matt Kibbe, the president of FreedomWorks, a Tea Party advocacy group, told me. "Throughout history, ideas need patrons." The Koch brothers, after helping to create Cato and Mercatus, concluded that think tanks alone were not enough to effect change. They needed a mechanism to deliver those ideas to the street, and to attract the public's support. In 1984, David Koch and Richard Fink created yet another organization, and Kibbe joined them. The group, Citizens for a Sound Economy, seemed like a grassroots movement, but according to the Center for Public Integrity it was sponsored principally by the Kochs, who provided $7.9 million between 1986 and 1993. Its mission, Kibbe said, "was to take these heavy ideas and translate them for mass America. . . . We read the same literature Obama did about nonviolent revolutions—Saul Alinsky, Gandhi, Martin Luther King. We studied the idea of the Boston Tea Party as an example of nonviolent social change. We learned we needed boots on the ground to sell ideas, not candidates." Within a few years, the group had mobilized fifty paid field workers, in twenty-six states, to rally voters behind the Kochs' agenda. David and Charles, according to one participant, were "very controlling, very top down. You can't build an organization with them. *They* run it."

Around this time, the brothers faced a political crisis. In 1989, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs investigated their business and released a scathing report accusing Koch Oil of "a widespread and sophisticated scheme to steal crude oil from Indians and others through fraudulent mismeasuring." The Kochs admitted that they had improperly taken thirty-one million dollars' worth of crude oil, but said that it had been accidental. Charles Koch told committee investigators that oil measurement is "a very uncertain art."

To defend its reputation, Koch Industries hired Robert Strauss, then a premier Washington lobbyist; the company soon opened an office in the city. A grand jury was convened to investigate the allegations, but it eventually disbanded, without issuing criminal charges. According to the Senate report, after the committee hearings Koch operatives delved into the personal lives of committee staffers, even questioning an ex-wife. Senate investigators were upset by the Kochs' tactics. Kenneth Ballen, the counsel to the Senate committee, said, "These people have amassed such unaccountable power!"

By 1993, when Bill Clinton became President, Citizens for a Sound Economy had become a prototype for the kind of corporate-backed opposition campaigns that have proliferated during the Obama era. The group waged a successful assault on Clinton's proposed B.T.U. tax on energy, for instance, running advertisements, staging media events, and targeting opponents. And it mobilized anti-tax rallies outside the Capitol—rallies that NPR described as "designed to strike fear into the hearts of wavering Democrats." Dan Glickman, a former Democratic congressman from Wichita, who supported the B.T.U. tax, recalled, "I'd been in Congress eighteen years. The Kochs actually engaged against me and funded my opponent. They used a lot of resources and effort—their employees, too." Glickman suffered a surprise defeat. "I can't prove it, but I think I was probably their victim," he said.

The Kochs continued to disperse their money, creating slippery organizations with generic-sounding names, and this made it difficult to ascertain the extent of their influence in Washington. In 1990, Citizens for a Sound Economy created a spinoff

group, Citizens for the Environment, which called acid rain and other environmental problems "myths." When the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* investigated the matter, it discovered that the spinoff group had "no citizen membership of its own."

In 1997, another Senate investigation began looking into what a minority report called "an audacious plan to pour millions of dollars in contributions into Republican campaigns nationwide without disclosing the amount or source," in order to evade campaign-finance laws. A shell corporation, Triad Management, had paid more than three million dollars for attack ads in twenty-six House races and three Senate races. More than half of the advertising money came from an obscure nonprofit group, the Economic Education Trust. The Senate committee's minority report suggested that "the trust was financed in whole or in part by Charles and David Koch of Wichita, Kansas." The brothers were suspected of having secretly paid for the attack ads, most of which aired in states where Koch Industries did business. In Kansas, where Triad Management was especially active, the funds may have played a decisive role in four of six federal races. The Kochs, when asked by reporters if they had given the money, refused to comment. In 1998, however, the *Wall Street Journal* confirmed that a consultant on the Kochs' payroll had been involved in the scheme. Charles Lewis, of the Center for Public Integrity, described the scandal as "historic. Triad was the first time a major corporation used a cutout"—a front operation—"in a threatening way. Koch Industries was the poster child of a company run amok."

uring the Clinton Administration, the energy industry faced increased scrutiny and regulation. In the mid-nineties, the Justice Department filed two lawsuits against Koch Industries, claiming that it was responsible for more than three hundred oil spills, which had released an estimated three million gallons of oil into lakes and rivers. The penalty was potentially as high as two hundred and fourteen million dollars. In a settlement, Koch Industries paid a record thirty-million-dollar civil fine, and agreed to spend five million dollars on environmental projects.

In 1999, a jury found Koch Industries guilty of negligence and malice in the deaths of two Texas teen-agers in an explosion that resulted from a leaky underground butane pipeline. (In 2001, the company paid an undisclosed settlement.) And in the final months of the Clinton Presidency the Justice Department levelled a ninety-seven-count indictment against the company, for covering up the discharge of ninety-one tons of benzene, a carcinogen, from its refinery in Corpus Christi, Texas. The company was liable for three hundred and fifty million dollars in fines, and four Koch employees faced up to thirty-five years in prison. The Koch Petroleum Group eventually pleaded guilty to one criminal charge of covering up environmental violations, including the falsification of documents, and paid a twenty-million-dollar fine. David Uhlmann, a career prosecutor who, at the time, headed the environmental-crimes section at the Justice Department, described the suit as "one of the most significant cases ever brought under the Clean Air Act." He added, "Environmental crimes are almost always motivated by economics and arrogance, and in the Koch case there was a healthy dose of both."

During the 2000 election campaign, Koch Industries spent some nine hundred thousand dollars to support the candidacies of George W. Bush and other Republicans. During the Bush years, Koch Industries and other fossil-fuel companies enjoyed remarkable prosperity. The 2005 energy bill, which Hillary Clinton dubbed the Dick Cheney Lobbyist Energy Bill, offered enormous subsidies and tax breaks for energy companies. The Kochs have cast themselves as deficit hawks, but, according to a study by Media Matters, their companies have benefitted from nearly a hundred million dollars in government contracts since 2000.

In 2004, Citizens for a Sound Economy was accused of illegitimately throwing its weight behind Bush's reëlection. The group's Oregon branch had attempted to get Ralph Nader on the Presidential ballot, in order to dilute Democratic support for John Kerry. Critics argued that it was illegal for a tax-exempt nonprofit organization to donate its services for partisan political purposes. (A complaint was filed with the Federal Election Commission; it was dismissed.)

That year, internal rivalries at Citizens for a Sound Economy caused the organization to split apart. David Koch and Fink started a new group, Americans for Prosperity, and they hired Tim Phillips to run it. Phillips was a political veteran who had worked with Ralph Reed, the evangelical leader and Republican activist, co-founding Century Strategies, a campaign-consulting company that became notorious for its ties to the disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Phillips's online biography describes him as an expert in "grasstops" and "grassroots" political organizing. The Kochs' choice of Phillips signalled an even greater toughness. The conservative operative Grover Norquist, who is known for praising "throat slitters" in politics, called Phillips "a grownup who can make things happen."

Last year, Phillips told the *Financial Times* that Americans for Prosperity had only eight thousand registered members. Currently, its Web site claims that the group has "1.2 million activists." Whatever its size, the Kochs' political involvement has been intense; a former employee of the Cato Institute told me that Americans for Prosperity "was micromanaged by the Kochs." And the brothers' investment may well have paid off: Americans for Prosperity, in concert with the family's other organizations, has been instrumental in disrupting the Obama Presidency.

In January, 2008, Charles Koch wrote in his company newsletter that America could be on the verge of "the greatest loss of liberty and prosperity since the 1930s." That October, Americans for Prosperity held a conference of conservative operatives at a Marriott hotel outside Washington. Erick Erickson, the editor-in-chief of the conservative blog RedState.com, took the lectern, thanked David Koch, and vowed to "unite and fight . . . the armies of the left!" Soon after Obama assumed office, Americans for Prosperity launched "Porkulus" rallies against Obama's stimulus-spending measures. Then the Mercatus Center released a report claiming that stimulus funds had been directed disproportionately toward Democratic districts; eventually, the author was forced to correct the report, but not before Rush Limbaugh, citing the paper, had labelled Obama's program "a slush fund," and Fox News and other conservative outlets had echoed the sentiment. (Phil Kerpen, the vice-president for policy at Americans for Prosperity, is a contributor to the Fox News Web site. Another officer at Americans for Prosperity, Walter Williams, often guest-hosts for Limbaugh.)

Americans for Prosperity also created an offshoot, Patients United Now, which organized what Phillips has estimated to be more than three hundred rallies against health-care reform. At one rally, an effigy of a Democratic congressman was hung; at another, protesters unfurled a banner depicting corpses from Dachau. The group also helped organize the "Kill the Bill" protests outside the Capitol, in March, where Democratic supporters of health-care reform alleged that they were spat on and cursed at. Phillips was a featured speaker.

Americans for Prosperity has held at least eighty events targeting cap-and-trade legislation, which is aimed at making industries pay for the air pollution that they create. Speakers for the group claimed, with exaggeration, that even back-yard barbecues and kitchen stoves would be taxed. The group was also involved in the attacks on Obama's "green jobs" czar, Van Jones, and waged a crusade against international climate talks. Casting his group as a champion of ordinary workers who would be hurt by environmentalists, Phillips went to Copenhagen last year and staged a protest outside the United Nations conference on climate change, declaring, "We're a grassroots organization. . . . I think it's unfortunate when wealthy children of wealthy families . . . want to send unemployment rates in the United States up to twenty per cent."

Grover Norquist, who holds a weekly meeting for conservative leaders in Washington, including representatives from Americans for Prosperity, told me that last summer's raucous rallies were pivotal in undermining Obama's agenda. The Republican leadership in Congress, he said, "couldn't have done it without August, when people went out on the streets. It discouraged deal-makers"—Republicans who might otherwise have worked constructively with Obama. Moreover, the appearance of growing public opposition to Obama affected corporate donors on K Street. "K Street is a three-billion-dollar weathervane," Norquist said. "When Obama was strong, the Chamber of Commerce said, 'We can work with the Obama Administration.' But that changed when thousands of people went into the street and 'terrorized' congressmen. August is what changed it. Now that Obama is weak, people are getting tough."

As the first anniversary of Obama's election approached, David Koch came to the Washington area to attend a triumphant Americans for Prosperity gathering. Obama's poll numbers were falling fast. Not a single Republican senator was working with the Administration on health care, or much else. Pundits were writing about Obama's political ineptitude, and Tea Party groups were accusing the President of initiating "a government takeover." In a speech, Koch said, "Days like today bring to reality the vision of our board of directors when we started this organization, five years ago." He went on, "We envisioned a mass movement, a state-based one, but national in scope, of hundreds of thousands of American citizens from all walks of life standing up and fighting for the economic freedoms that made our nation the most prosperous society in history. . . . Thankfully, the stirrings from California to Virginia, and from Texas to Michigan, show that more and more of our fellow-citizens are beginning to see the same truths as we do."

While Koch didn't explicitly embrace the Tea Party movement that day, more recently he has come close to doing so, praising it for demonstrating the "powerful visceral hostility in the body politic against the massive increase in government

power, the massive efforts to socialize this country." Charles Koch, in a newsletter sent to his seventy thousand employees, compared the Obama Administration to the regime of the Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez. The Kochs' sense of imperilment is somewhat puzzling. Income inequality in America is greater than it has been since the nineteen-twenties, and since the seventies the tax rates of the wealthiest have fallen more than those of the middle class. Yet the brothers' message has evidently resonated with voters: a recent poll found that fifty-five per cent of Americans agreed that Obama is a socialist.

Americans for Prosperity, meanwhile, has announced that it will spend an additional forty-five million dollars before the midterm elections, in November. Although the group is legally prohibited from directly endorsing candidates, it nonetheless plans to target some fifty House races and half a dozen Senate races, staging rallies, organizing door-to-door canvassing, and running ads aimed at "educating voters about where candidates stand."

Though the Kochs have slowed Obama's momentum, their larger political battle is far from won. Richard Fink, interviewed by FrumForum.com this spring, said, "If you look at where we've gone from the year 2000 to now, with the expansion of government spending and a debt burden that threatens to bankrupt the country, it doesn't look very good at all." He went on, "It looks like the infrastructure that was built and nurtured has not carried the day." He suggested that the Kochs needed "to get more into the practical, day-to-day issues of governing."

n 1991, David Koch was badly injured in a plane crash in Los Angeles. He was the sole passenger in first class to survive. As he was recovering, a routine physical exam led to the discovery of prostate cancer. Koch received treatment, settled down, started a family, and reconsidered his life. As he told *Portfolio*, "When you're the only one who survived in the front of the plane and everyone else died—yeah, you think, 'My God, the good Lord spared me for some greater purpose.' My joke is that I've been busy ever since, doing all the good work I can think of, so He can have confidence in me."

Koch began giving spectacularly large donations to the arts and sciences. And he became a patron of cancer research, focussing on prostate cancer. In addition to his gifts to Sloan-Kettering, he gave fifteen million dollars to New York-Presbyterian Hospital, a hundred and twenty-five million to M.I.T. for cancer research, twenty million to Johns Hopkins University, and twenty-five million to the M. D. Anderson Cancer Center, in Houston. In response to his generosity, Sloan-Kettering gave Koch its Excellence in Corporate Leadership Award. In 2004, President Bush named him to the National Cancer Advisory Board, which guides the National Cancer Institute.

Koch's corporate and political roles, however, may pose conflicts of interest. For example, at the same time that David Koch has been casting himself as a champion in the fight against cancer, Koch Industries has been lobbying to prevent the E.P.A. from classifying formaldehyde, which the company produces in great quantities, as a "known carcinogen" in humans.

Scientists have long known that formaldehyde causes cancer in rats, and several major scientific studies have concluded that formaldehyde causes cancer in human beings—including one published last year by the National Cancer Institute, on whose advisory board Koch sits. The study tracked twenty-five thousand patients for an average of forty years; subjects exposed to higher amounts of formaldehyde had significantly higher rates of leukemia. These results helped lead an expert panel within the National Institutes of Health to conclude that formaldehyde should be categorized as a known carcinogen, and be strictly controlled by the government. Corporations have resisted regulations on formaldehyde for decades, however, and Koch Industries has been a large funder of members of Congress who have stymied the E.P.A., requiring it to defer new regulations until more studies are completed.

Koch Industries became a major producer of the chemical in 2005, after it bought Georgia-Pacific, the paper and wood-products company, for twenty-one billion dollars. Georgia-Pacific manufactures formaldehyde in its chemical division, and uses it to produce various wood products, such as plywood and laminates. Its annual production capacity for formaldehyde is 2.2 billion pounds. Last December, Traylor Champion, Georgia-Pacific's vice-president of environmental affairs, sent a formal letter of protest to federal health authorities. He wrote that the company "strongly disagrees" with the N.I.H. panel's conclusion that formaldehyde should be treated as a known human carcinogen. David Koch did not recuse himself from the National Cancer Advisory Board, or divest himself of company stock, while his company was directly lobbying the government to keep formaldehyde on the market. (A board spokesperson said that the issue of formaldehyde had not come up.)

James Huff, an associate director at the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences, a division of the N.I.H., told me that it was "disgusting" for Koch to be serving on the National Cancer Advisory Board: "It's just not good for public health.

Vested interests should not be on the board." He went on, "Those boards are very important. They're very influential as to whether N.C.I. goes into formaldehyde or not. Billions of dollars are involved in formaldehyde."

Harold Varmus, the director of the National Cancer Institute, knows David Koch from Memorial Sloan-Kettering, which he used to run. He said that, at Sloan-Kettering, "a lot of people who gave to us had large business interests. The one thing we wouldn't tolerate in our board members is tobacco." When told of Koch Industries' stance on formaldehyde, Varmus said that he was "surprised."

he David H. Koch Hall of Human Origins, at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, is a multimedia exploration of the theory that mankind evolved in response to climate change. At the main entrance, viewers are confronted with a giant graph charting the Earth's temperature over the past ten million years, which notes that it is far cooler now than it was ten thousand years ago. Overhead, the text reads, "HUMANS EVOLVED IN RESPONSE TO A CHANGING WORLD." The message, as amplified by the exhibit's Web site, is that "key human adaptations evolved in response to environmental instability." Only at the end of the exhibit, under the headline "OUR SURVIVAL CHALLENGE," is it noted that levels of carbon dioxide are higher now than they have ever been, and that they are projected to increase dramatically in the next century. No cause is given for this development; no mention is made of any possible role played by fossil fuels. The exhibit makes it seem part of a natural continuum. The accompanying text says, "During the period in which humans evolved, Earth's temperature and the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere fluctuated together." An interactive game in the exhibit suggests that humans will continue to adapt to climate change in the future. People may build "underground cities," developing "short, compact bodies" or "curved spines," so that "moving around in tight spaces will be no problem."

Such ideas uncannily echo the Koch message. The company's January newsletter to employees, for instance, argues that "fluctuations in the earth's climate predate humanity," and concludes, "Since we can't control Mother Nature, let's figure out how to get along with her changes." Joseph Romm, a physicist who runs the Web site ClimateProgress.org, is infuriated by the Smithsonian's presentation. "The whole exhibit whitewashes the modern climate issue," he said. "I think the Kochs wanted to be seen as some sort of high-minded company, associated with the greatest natural-history and science museum in the country. But the truth is, the exhibit is underwritten by big-time polluters, who are underground funders of action to stop efforts to deal with this threat to humanity. I think the Smithsonian should have drawn the line."

Cristián Samper, the museum's director, said that the exhibit is not about climate change, and described Koch as "one of the best donors we've had, in my tenure here, because he's very interested in the content, but completely hands off." He noted, "I don't know all the details of his involvement in other issues."

The Kochs have long depended on the public's not knowing all the details about them. They have been content to operate what David Koch has called "the largest company that you've never heard of." But with the growing prominence of the Tea Party, and with increased awareness of the Kochs' ties to the movement, the brothers may find it harder to deflect scrutiny. Recently, President Obama took aim at the Kochs' political network. Speaking at a Democratic National Committee fund-raiser, in Austin, he warned supporters that the Supreme Court's recent ruling in the Citizens United case—which struck down laws prohibiting direct corporate spending on campaigns—had made it even easier for big companies to hide behind "groups with harmless-sounding names like Americans for Prosperity." Obama said, "They don't have to say who, exactly, Americans for Prosperity are. You don't know if it's a foreign-controlled corporation"—or even, he added, "a big oil company." ♦

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy Thanksgiving

Thank you and your wonderful family
Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office
[redacted] mobile
202 647 7096 fax

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Thu Nov 25 12:44:15 2010
Subject: Re: Happy Thanksgiving

And, I am grateful as well for the chance to work w you. My very best holiday wishes to you and your family.

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Nov 25 08:41:14 2010
Subject: Happy Thanksgiving

Not a day goes by that I am not thankful for the chance you've given to me to work on issues that mean so much to me. I am so proud to work for you.

But never was this more so than this week, when amid everything else, you stood up courageously for principle on 686. Our voice did not prevail, but it was heard, and everyone in my office who worked on this was so very proud that we have a great leader of conscience as our Secretary.

Happy Thanksgiving to your whole family.

With thanks and respect,
Harold
Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office
[redacted] mobile

202 647 7096 fax

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 12:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Happy Thanksgiving!

Anytime - I've got my phone with me.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 25 12:42:44 2010
Subject: Re: Happy Thanksgiving!

I am and hope the same for you. But, I'd like to talk w you if convenient in next two hours. When can I call you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Nov 25 11:15:25 2010
Subject: Happy Thanksgiving!

Hope you are having a (relatively) quiet day with the family.

I'm taking a break from peeling potatoes to report the following:

I've circulated a call sheet for your conversation with Bibi to the group and asked them to look at it tomorrow morning (no need to make them do it today) so that we can have a consensus recommendation for how you should approach the call. The idea would be to send you the call sheet around noon tomorrow in time for an afternoon call, if you have the time.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 9:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) U.S. briefs allies on new documents leak - WikiLeaks

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Nov 25 21:42:03 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) U.S. briefs allies on new documents leak - WikiLeaks

WASHINGTON (Reuters) – The United States has briefed its allies Britain, Australia, Canada, Denmark and Norway ahead of the expected new release of classified U.S. documents, WikiLeaks said November 25, citing local press reports. The whistle-blowing website said by Twitter that American diplomats briefed government officials in the five nations in advance of the release expected in the next few days.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 10:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Korea peninsula on brink of war due to drills-DPRK

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Thu Nov 25 22:07:00 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Korea peninsula on brink of war due to drills-DPRK

SEOUL (Reuters) - DPRK said November 26 the South and the United States were pushing the peninsula to "the brink of war" with their plan to conduct large-scale military drills, days after the rival Koreas exchanged artillery fire. "The situation on the Korean Peninsula is inching closer to the brink of war due to the reckless plan of those trigger-happy elements to stage again war exercises targeted against the (DPRK)," DPRK's official KCNA news agency said.

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Jeff's Wiki Leaks Calls to your folks>>>>

Am in office today.

Meetings at 8:30am, 9am, 9:30, 10am and then none b/w 11am - 2pm.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Mull, Stephen D
Sent: Friday, November 26, 2010 7:42 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: Blakeman, Chat (OIG); WikiLeaks WG; SES_4
Subject: FW: Jeff's Wiki Leaks Calls to your folks>>>>

Fyi, readout of Jeff Feltman's calls with GCC counterparts

-----Original Message-----
From: Sanderson, Janet A
Sent: Thursday, November 25, 2010 20:02 PM
To: Mull, Stephen D
Subject: Fw: Jeff's Wiki Leaks Calls to your folks>>>>

Update on calls. You have the UAE one. Janet

Janet A. Sanderson
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near East Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7166

----- Original Message -----
From: Sanderson, Janet A
To: Smith, James B; Ziadeh, Susan L; LeBaron, Joseph E; Schmierer, Richard J; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C
Sent: Thu Nov 25 14:14:13 2010
Subject: Jeff's Wiki Leaks Calls to your folks>>>>

He did Kuwait earlier today. ABZ is on a plane somewhere.
Cheers. (not.)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/25/2025

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

Janet A. Sanderson
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near East Affairs
Department of State
Tel: 202-647-7166

-----Original Message-----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Thursday, November 25, 2010 2:01 PM
To: Sanderson, Janet A; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Bondy, Steven C; Specht, Linda
Subject: Re: Saudi Arabia

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Sanderson, Janet A; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Bondy, Steven C; Specht, Linda
Sent: Thu Nov 25 11:38:56 2010
Subject: Qatar and Bahrain

Jeffrey Feltman

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: On passing note of thanks from Amb. Murphy in Berlin

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**From:** Lucas, Laura D
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent:** Fri Nov 26 18:55:26 2010
**Subject:** FW: On passing note of thanks from Amb. Murphy in Berlin

FYI on S call to FM Westerwelle this morning regarding Wikileaks:

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**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 6:52 PM
**To:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Subject:** Onpassing note of thanks from Amb. Murphy in Berlin

Colleagues:

Ambassador Murphy, Embassy Berlin, wanted me to convey to the Secretary his personal thanks and appreciation that she made today's call with FM Westerwelle, noting how tremendously helpful it was.

Best,

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Lebanese PM seeks support in Iran visit

---

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent**: Sat Nov 27 08:18:14 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Lebanese PM seeks support in Iran visit

TEHRAN (AP) - Lebanese Prime Minister Hariri expressed concerns for stability in the Middle East as he began a visit to Tehran November 27 to rally Iran's support for his efforts to keep Lebanon stable amid tensions over a UN probe into the assassination of his father, Rafik Hariri.

The visit follows President Ahmadinejad's October tour of Lebanon, during which the Iranian leader reinforced Tehran's ties to the Lebanese militant Hezbollah group, a longtime protege of the Shiite powerhouse.

The exuberant welcome the Shiite Hezbollah staged for Ahmadinejad in Lebanon threw Hariri's Western-backed factions in the government on the defensive.

After touchdown in Tehran, Hariri was greeted by Iran's Vice President Mohammad Reza Rahimi and reviewed an honor guard before heading in to meetings.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 8/27 Meeting Readout

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Fri Aug 27 14:39:49 2010
**Subject:** 8/27 Meeting Readout

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Here's a readout of this morning's 0845 meeting, which Jim Steinberg chaired:

China Offsite Jim's meetings with VFM Cui Tankai were good, heavily focused on prospective Hu and Gates visits (Cui will see Michele Flournoy today).

Gomes Scheduled arrival at 2:00 p.m. in Boston; Carter plans to proceed home to Atlanta after dropping him off.

Congress Rich reported on S calls to Menendez on Megrahi hearings; and four calls on New START ratification.

Pakistan Harold is working with NSC on strengthening Mullen's points for his trip to Pakistan next week.

Personnel

B6

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/27/2020

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 4:18 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Gonzalez, Juan S
**Subject:** From Arturo re Bolivia

Madame Secretary:

I'd like to update you on our efforts to engage with Bolivia.

B5

You engaged personally and through Maria Echaveste as we've tried to think and act creatively to extract positives from a difficult starting point. Echaveste visited Bolivia in June and September 2009, and I traveled there this June to underline our commitment to better relations; you met with FM Choquehuanca at the OAS GA in Lima later that month; and Labor Secretary Solis and Maria Otero traveled to President Morales' inauguration in January 2010.

**Best Regards,**

**Arturo**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iran foils hijack bid on Tehran-Damascus flight

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Nov 27 07:43:08 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iran foils hijack bid on Tehran-Damascus flight

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iranian security forces foiled a hijack attempt November 27, arresting a man who said he had planted a bomb on a flight from Tehran to Damascus, the semi-official Fars news agency reported. The suspect "was arrested by the security forces inside the plane", Fars said. There was no bomb, and the plane later landed safely in the Syrian capital, it said. The agency gave no further details and Iranian aviation authorities were not available to comment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, August 27, 2010 5:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Gurria

Our mission to the OECD wants to announce USG support for Angel Gurria's reappointment at OECD Secretary General. Bob and Froman both support. Most other countries have already said they support; there are no other candidates; and the OECD has never not given a SG a second term. Nobody in the USG has raised objections. Just wanted to flag for you in case you had concerns.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Wikipedia;trip

I have been monitoring the wikipedia situation and working with the R team to try and be as prepared as we can.

I am heading to Indonesia on Monday for the opening of the new American Center and then to Malaysia where, among other things, I plan to work with Paul Jones on the English language initiative.

I will be traveling all day Monday so unfortunately out of touch for about 18 hours. I will be in contact with my office as soon as I land and can always cut the trip short if necessary, although, under the circumstances I think it is important to keep to our schedules.

As we have discussed, one of the main drivers of our PD strategy is to ensure we have strong relations in all sectors to help us weather the invitable storms in our relationships and at this point it looks like we have a hurricane on the horizon.

Take care and look forward to seeing you when we both get back.

Jm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 12:40 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Jacob J Sullivan; Cheryl Mills; Anne Marie Slaughter
**Subject:** Foreign Affairs v25
**Attachments:** FA 25 lm untracked.doc; ATT00001.txt; FA 25 lm untracked.doc; ATT00001.txt

Here is the latest (as of Saturday at 12:30 am). This reflects the changes we discussed in our call on Wednesday, as well as feedback from assorted vetters. I've also trimmed and tweezed it down to about 6,100 words. We should probably attempt to trim some more if we can.
It's a very long piece. -- Lissa

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 2:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (NYT) Iraq's Premier Vows to Forge New Government

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Iraq
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Nov 27 14:15:38 2010
**Subject:** (NYT) Iraq's Premier Vows to Forge New Government

November 27, 2010
By JACK HEALY

BAGHDAD — Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, seeking to show that he is in control of a tenuous new ruling coalition, said Saturday that he would push ahead to form a new government with or without potential allies, and that there was no need for American troops to remain in Iraq past a December 2011 deadline for withdrawal.

In his first news conference since being formally nominated as prime minister two days ago, Mr. Maliki acknowledged the growing frustration of Iraqis, who have watched their leaders collect salaries of up to $11,000 a month and fly off to their second homes while in much of the country's electricity remains sporadic and violent attacks continue.

Mr. Maliki's remarks also reflected the splinters that remained inside Iraq's nascent partnership government, and the competing interests of political groups that have coalesced behind him.
There is no need for American troops to remain in Iraq beyond December 2011, Mr. Maliki said, apparently in a nod to the followers of the anti-American Shiite cleric Moktada al-Sadr, who have promised to fight any attempt to maintain an American military presence here.

The Sadrists have played a critical role in supporting Mr. Maliki for a second term after indecisive elections in March. Some American and Iraqi officials have argued that a residual force is necessary to continue training Iraqi soldiers and help maintain military equipment, but on Saturday, Mr. Maliki said the Iraqis could stand alone.

"I don't see a need for any other international forces to help Iraqis control the security situation," he said.

Iraqi officials announced Saturday that they had arrested 12 people who orchestrated a bloody siege against a Christian church here last month. They called the arrests evidence of improvements in the country's security forces.

Interior Ministry officials said the insurgents had ties to Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, and had also planned to also blow up the main gates of the International Zone, where the United States Embassy is located. Officials said they had seized 6 suicide belts, 10 improvised explosive devices and 5 tons of bomb-making material as a result of the arrests.

At his news conference, Mr. Maliki, a religious Shiite, said he wanted the new government to include his main rival, Ayad Allawi, whose Iraqiya coalition won the most support among Iraq's Sunni minority. But Mr. Maliki indicated he would move forward with or without Mr. Allawi, who has sharply criticized the power-sharing deal.

"If we reach the critical area and we have to announce the government, we will go on with who is beside us, who wants to be a partner," Mr. Maliki said.

Mr. Allawi, a secular Shiite and former Iraqi prime minister, has been offered a position leading a new strategic policy council, but has not said whether he will accept the job.

For Mr. Maliki, the clock is ticking. He now has four weeks to cobble together a government that satisfies most demands of the country's ethnic, religious and political factions.

He said he had sent letters asking the different coalitions for nominations for key government offices, and would announce his ministers by Dec. 10 or 15.

*Duraid Adnan and Zaid Thaker contributed reporting.*

RELEASE IN PART
B5

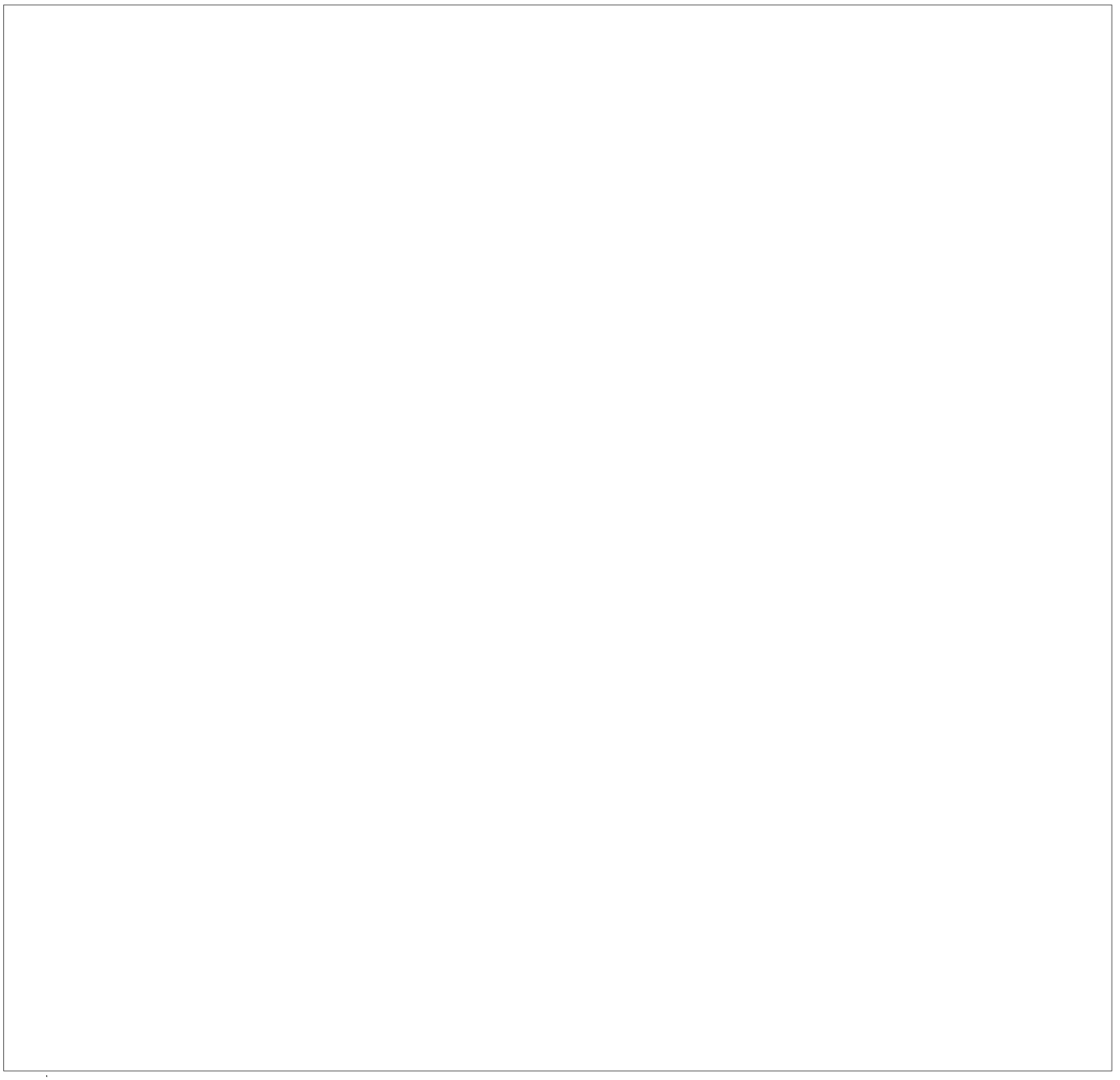
DRAFT 25 (untracked)

LM

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

## LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

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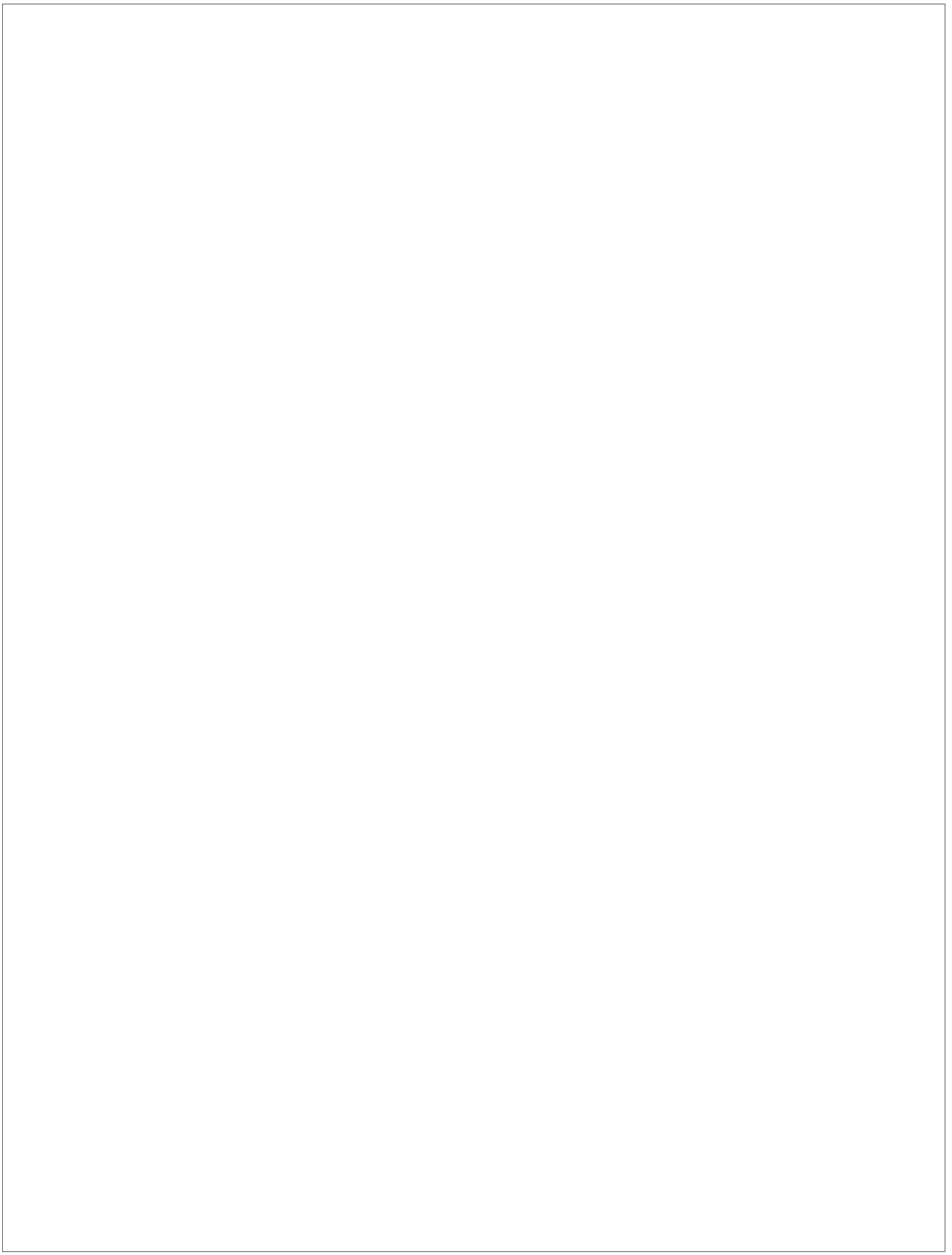
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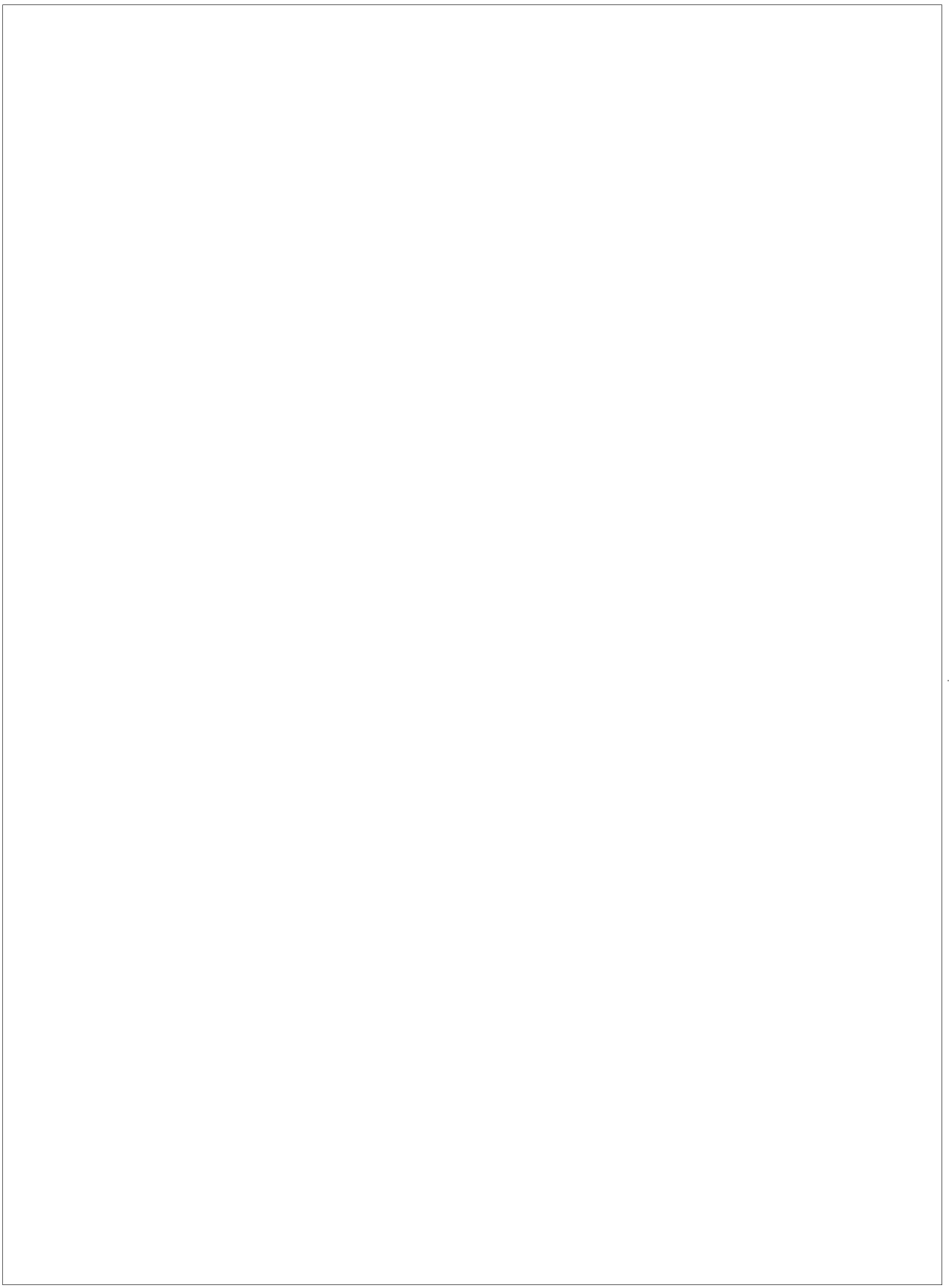
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RELEASE IN PART
B5

DRAFT 25 (untracked)

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**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**

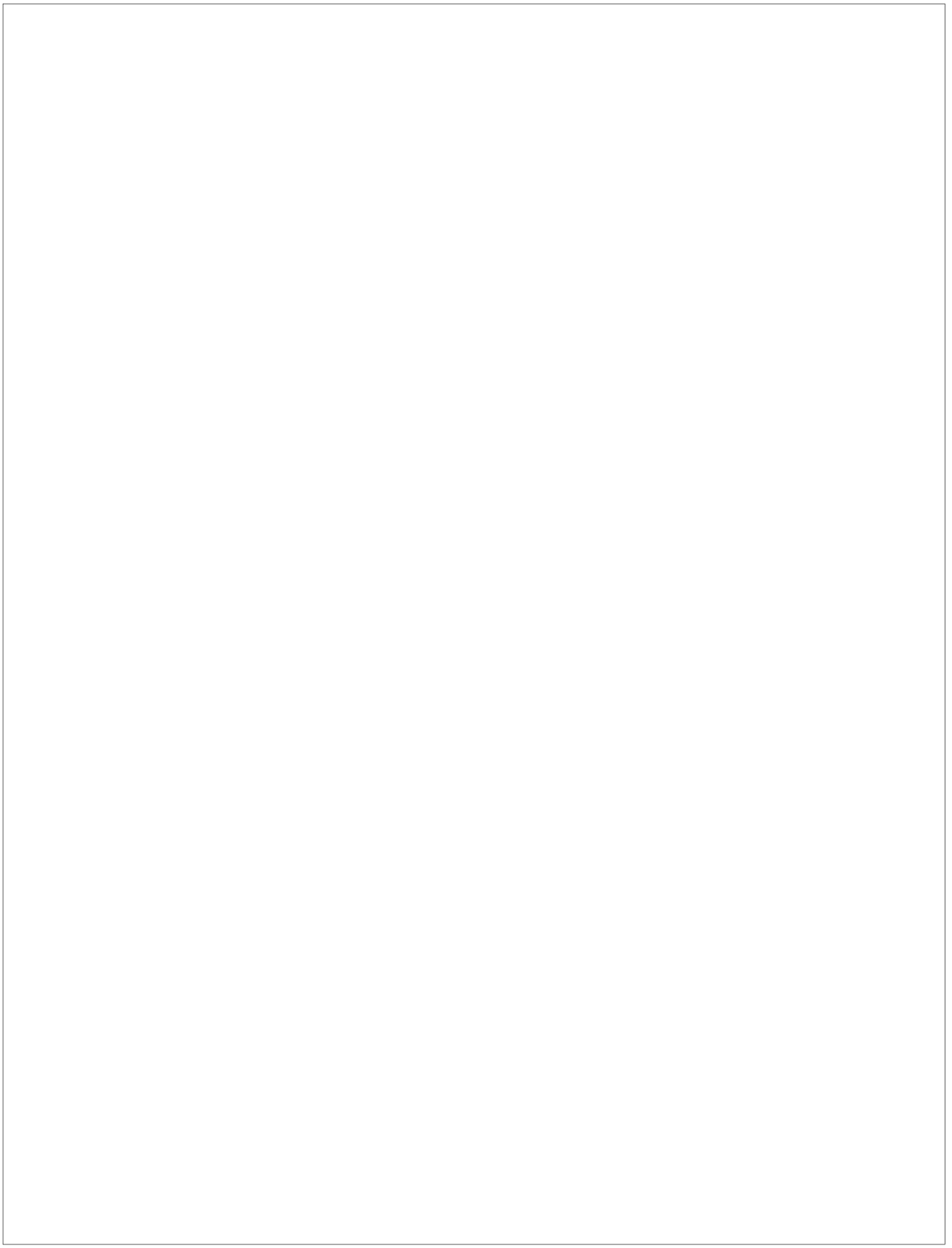
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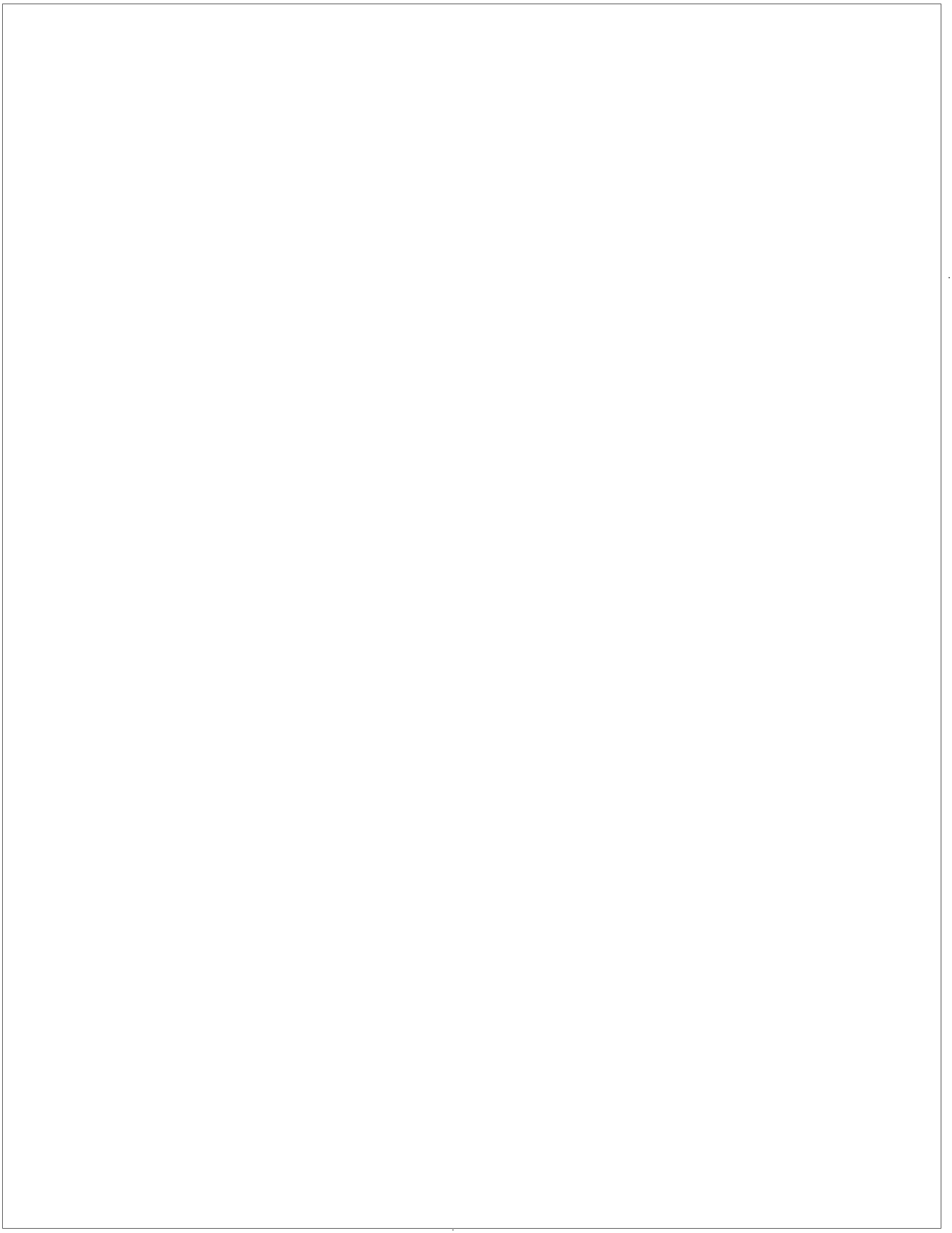
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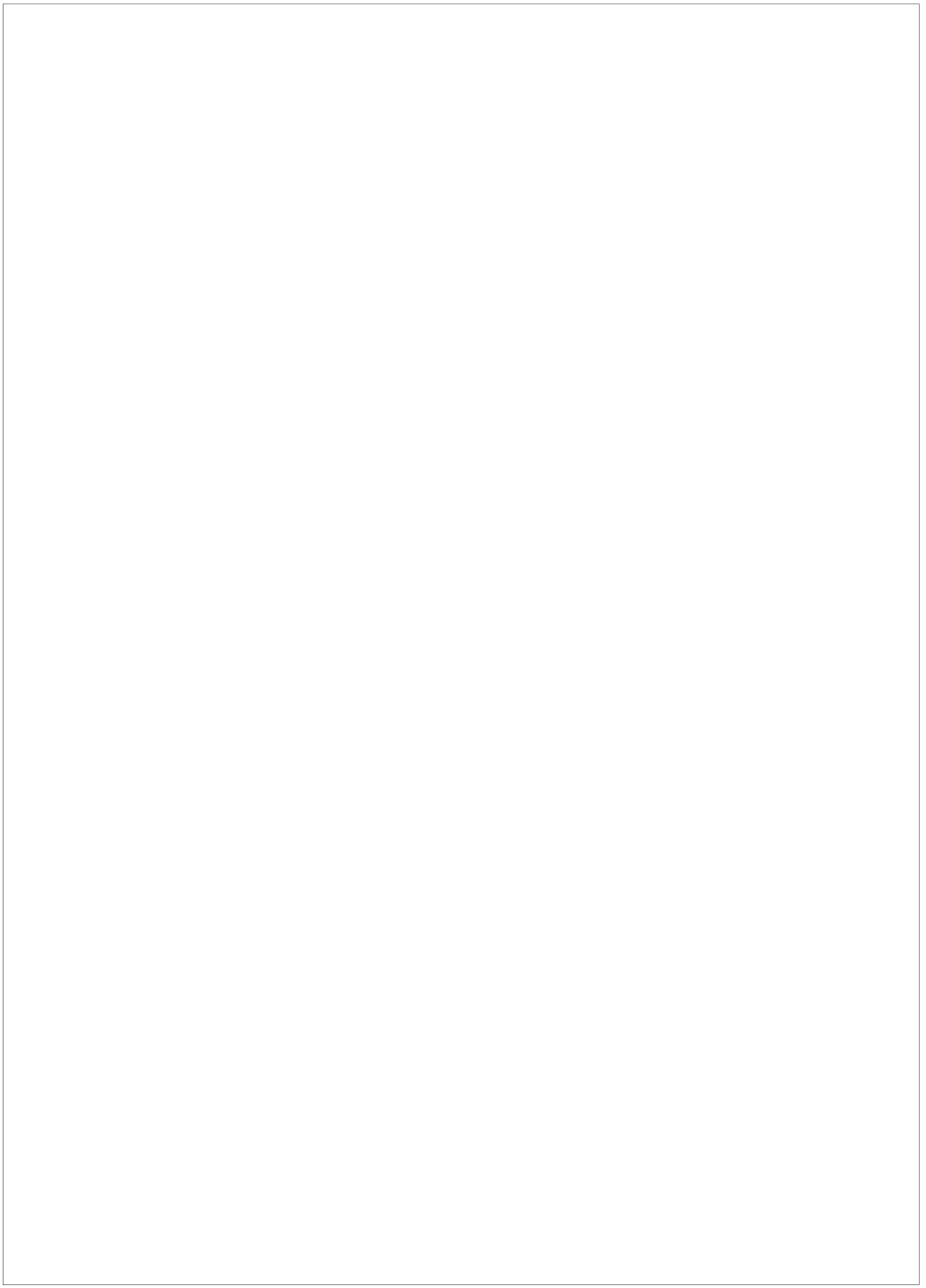
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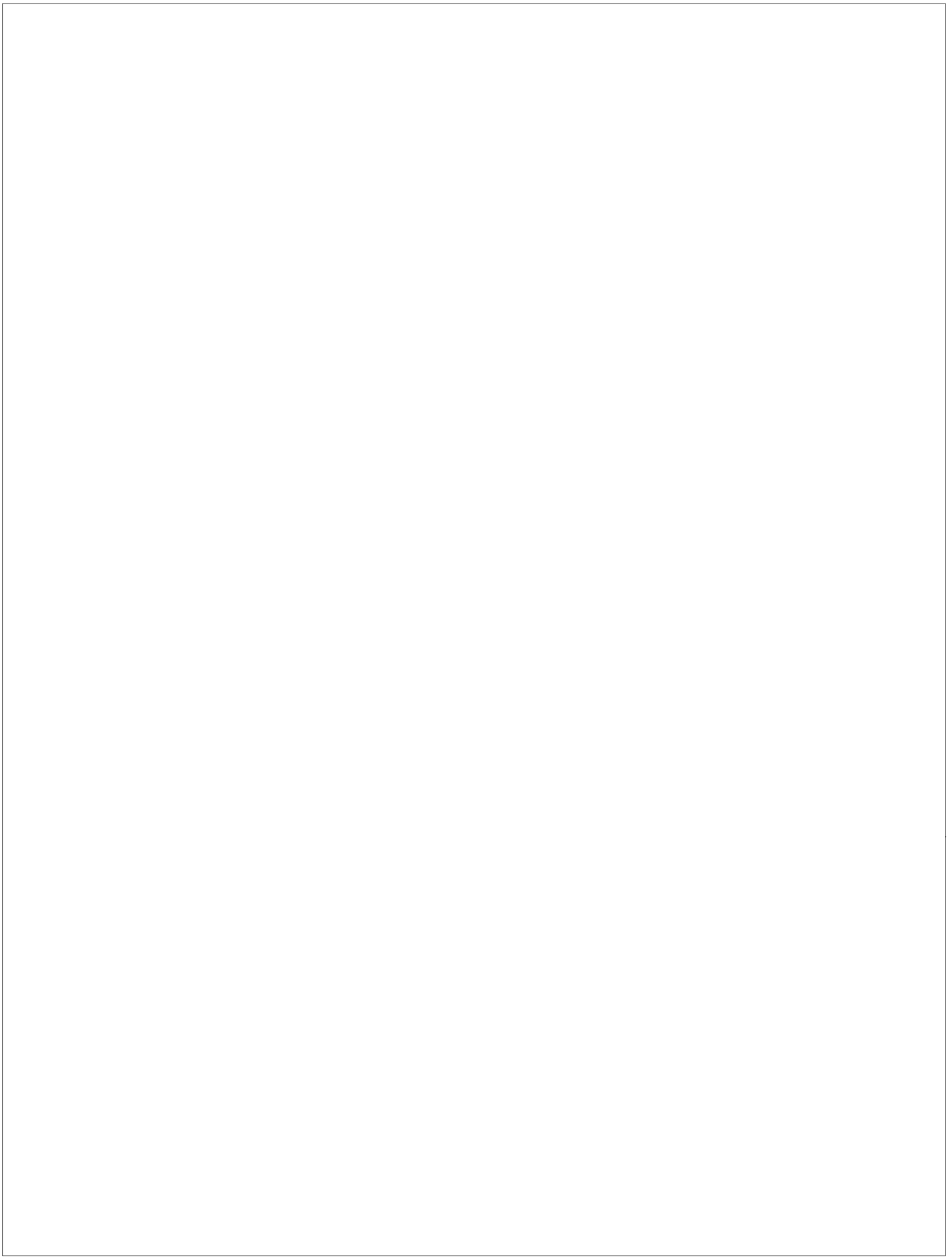


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RELEASE IN FULL

November 27, 2010

Via Electronic Mail
Ms. Jennifer Robinson
Attorney for Mr. Julian Assange
WikiLeaks
179 Great Portland Street
London WIW 5LS

Dear Ms. Robinson and Mr. Assange:

I am writing in response to your 26 November 2010 letter to U.S. Ambassador Louis B. Sussman regarding your intention to again publish on your WikiLeaks site reportedly up to 250,000 classified U.S. Government documents which are not authorized for release.

As you know, if the materials you intend to publish were provided by any government officials, or any intermediary without proper authorization, they were provided in violation of U.S. law and without regard for the grave consequences of this action. As long as WikiLeaks holds this material, the violation of the law is ongoing.

It is our understanding from conversations with representatives from *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *Der Speigel*, that WikiLeaks also has provided approximately 250,000 documents to them for publication, furthering the illegal dissemination of classified documents.

Publication of documents of this nature at a minimum would:

- Place at risk the lives of countless innocent individuals – from journalists to human rights activists and bloggers to soldiers to individuals providing information to further peace and security;

- Place at risk on-going military operations, including operations to stop terrorists, traffickers in human beings and illicit arms, violent criminal enterprises and other actors that threaten global security; and,

- Place at risk on-going cooperation between countries – partners, allies and common stakeholders – to confront common challenges from terrorism to pandemic diseases to nuclear proliferation that threaten global stability.

In your letter, you say you want – consistent with your goal of "maximum disclosure" – information regarding individuals who may be "at significant risk of harm" because of your actions.

Despite your stated desire to protect those lives, you have done the opposite and endangered the lives of countless individuals. You have undermined your stated objective by disseminating this material widely, without redaction and without regard to the security and sanctity of the lives

your actions endanger. We will not engage in a negotiation regarding the further release or dissemination of illegally obtained U.S. Government classified materials. If you are genuinely interested in seeking to stop the damage from your actions, you should: 1) ensure WikiLeaks ceases publishing any and all such materials; 2) ensure WikiLeaks returns any and all classified U.S. Government material in its possession; and 3) remove and destroy all records of this material from WikiLeaks' databases.

Sincerely,

Harold Hongju Koh
Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 9:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Foreign Affairs v25

That would be great. Fax is [redacted]. Thx.

Sent from my iPhone. Apologies for any typos.

On Aug 28, 2010, at 8:32 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Thx. I'll work on it and may I fax back to you my changes?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
> To: H
> Cc: Huma Abedin <abedinh@state.gov>; Jacob J Sullivan
> <sullivanjj@state.gov
> >; Cheryl Mills <MillsCD@state.gov>; Anne Marie Slaughter
> ><SlaughterA@state.gov
> >
> Sent: Sat Aug 28 00:39:57 2010
> Subject: Foreign Affairs v25
>
> Here is the latest (as of Saturday at 12:30 am). This reflects the
> changes we discussed in our call on Wednesday, as well as feedback
> from assorted vetters. I've also trimmed and tweezed it down to about
> 6,100 words. We should probably attempt to trim some more if we can.
> It's a very long piece. -- Lissa
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C; Valmoro, Lona J
**Subject:** Fw: N. Korea trip report
**Attachments:** Trip to N.Korea 0810.doc; Trip to N.Korea 0810.doc

Hrc, pls see note that jimmy carter sent to lauren re tues. Do you want us to have jeff bader join the meeting?

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
**Sent:** Fri Aug 27 20:49:11 2010
**Subject:** Fw: N. Korea trip report

Fyi B6

---

**From:** Jimmy [redacted]
**To:** 'White House' [redacted] Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Fri Aug 27 19:09:37 2010
**Subject:** N. Korea trip report

Jim: Here is a brief and non-substantive trip report. It will not be necessary for me to bother the president. I will be giving a personal account to Sec. Clinton Tuesday afternoon, and perhaps you could send someone over there from NSC. Thanks, Jimmy

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bahrain concept paper, this was also faxed

Will do! Thank you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Rooney, Megan
Cc: Huma Abedin < > B6
Sent: Sat Nov 27 17:23:03 2010
Subject: Re: Bahrain concept paper, this was also faxed

Megan--the concept paper looks strong and since it will have to go thru vetting from all directions, I'd like to get a draft midweek to review. Thx for all your good work.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Sat Nov 27 16:26:47 2010
Subject: Bahrain concept paper, this was also faxed

Megan is working on speech.

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Philippe Reines
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 5:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Thanksgiving

B6

Thank you!

Hope you are having a happy holiday despite the Wiki work

See you Monday

On 11/25/10 12:35 PM, "Evergreen" <Hdr22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Philippe--
>
> And expressing my thanks for all
> you've done for me and our efforts over the last year. Enjoy the
> day--H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Wikipedia;trip

Agree. I love the AFT/NEA idea. Have you raised it with them? If they are interested I'd love to explore a global partnership with them since there are a number of countries interested in expanding our programs and the exisiting structures --- peace corp, fulbright, etc just aren't organized to handle something like this.

See you when I get back.
Jm.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sat Nov 27 18:00:12 2010
Subject: Re: Wikipedia;trip

This is a rolling challenge that will, unfortunately, go on for weeks of disclosure and defense. So, our prep is crucial but we will have to adjust as it goes. I think your trip to Malaysia is crucial and their desire for English teachers could be filled thru a partnership w the retirees of the AFT and NEA. I'd like to develop that since both of them have $ to help pay for it. We should discuss when you have a chance to assess the situation. Travel safe.

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To: H
Sent: Sat Nov 27 14:34:39 2010
Subject: Wikipedia;trip

I have been monitoring the wikipedia situation and working with the R team to try and be as prepared as we can.

I am heading to Indonesia on Monday for the opening of the new American Center and then to Malaysia where, among other things, I plan to work with Paul Jones on the English language initiative.

I will be traveling all day Monday so unfortunately out of touch for about 18 hours. I will be in contact with my office as soon as I land and can always cut the trip short if necessary, although, under the circumstances I think it is important to keep to our schedules.

As we have discussed, one of the main drivers of our PD strategy is to ensure we have strong relations in all sectors to help us weather the invitable storms in our relationships and at this point it looks like we have a hurricane on the horizon.

Take care and look forward to seeing you when we both get back.

Jm

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771816 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Trip to North Korea, August 24-27, 2010

On July 21 I was informed that North Korea wanted me and my wife to come to Pyongyang and secure the release of Aijalon Gomes, who had been arrested in January for entering the country illegally. He had been tried and sentenced to eight years of hard labor and fined about US$700,000. Gomes was transferred to a hospital on July 4 and was being given intensive medical care. They made it clear that I was the only one whose request for Gomes's release would be honored, and stated that I would be meeting with Chairman Kim Jong Il and other leaders in hope of resurrecting the U.S.-DPRK agreements on denuclearization and peace that were the last official act of President Kim Il Sung when Rosalynn and I were invited there in June, 1994. Apparently, the N. Koreans attach extraordinary importance to the legacy of their "Great Leader and President for all time."

After reconfirming these proposals with the North Koreans, I notified the White House, but the requested mission was not approved until Mid-August, when we were informed by N. Korea that, because of the delays, Gomes would be transferred from the hospital back to prison. I was told that Kim Jong Il would no longer be available. At that time our trip was approved, with the understanding that I would be acting in a personal and unofficial status, not representing or sponsored by our government, with minimal publicity for the trip. I accepted all these restraints with pleasure. In the meantime, an assessment team was sent from the State Department to ascertain the medical condition of the prisoner and to seek his freedom. Although I did not receive any briefing on U.S. Korean policy, The Carter Center has monitored developments in the region as thoroughly as possible, and I was familiar with most issues.

B6

Rosalynn was unable to make the delayed trip, but I was accompanied by Dr. John Hardman, CEO of The Carter Center, my son Jeffrey, who has made a special study of Korean peninsula issues, my assistant Nancy Konigsmark, and John Moores, who provided the chartered plane that made the trip possible. On August 21, I notified Gomes's mother that we would be bringing her son home to Boston, and would call her from Anchorage, Alaska, to give her a more exact time for our arrival.

With intermediate stops in Alaska and Japan, we then flew directly to Pyongyang. On the way I prepared a hand-written note expressing regret that Mr. Gomes had violated the laws of N. Korea and requesting that he be pardoned for humanitarian reasons.

I was met by Vice Foreign Minister Kim Kye Kwan, who had participated in my previous negotiations with Kim Il Sung in 1994 and has been the chief negotiator for N. Korea in the 6-power talks. He understood that I had no official status and would never speak on behalf of the U.S. government. We then went to meet with Kim Yong Nam, who is President of the Supreme People's Assembly Presidium and titular head of state - whom I also knew from my earlier visit. He was clearly in charge. After receiving my written request for the pardon of Gomes, President Kim emphasized the seriousness of three recent American violations of N. Korean sovereignty (including two women journalists) and said it would be at least 24 hours before a final decision could be made. In the meantime, he wanted to explore with me the possibilities and procedures that might be followed to honor the final commitments of Kim Il Sung, the subsequent N. Korea-USA framework agreement adopted by the Clinton administration, and to implement fully the comprehensive agreements made in 6-power talks in September 2005. (He referred to the talks as "sentenced to death but not yet executed.")

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771816 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771816 Date: 08/31/2015

He and I then spent about four hours in discussion of the key issues, with him giving me a broad outline of N. Korean proposals on how the existing impasse might be resolved. He requested that I meet with Kim Kye Kwan the next morning to go into specifics.

After almost 20 hours of travel and the long discussions, we enjoyed some rest in the lovely guest house, and then continued the next morning our more detailed talks about denuclearization, U.N. sanctions, peace agreements, trade and commerce. After lunch I concluded my discussions, this time with Foreign Minister Pak Ui-chun, and was then permitted to visit Mr. Gomes. There followed an elaborate ceremony, involving top officials from the army, the National Defense Commission (chaired by Kim Jong Il), and the Justice Department. Gomes publicly confessed his crime and read a beautiful letter of apology to the people of North Korea and thanked them for his good treatment. After a brief consultation, the officials gave final approval to his pardon, but said he would have to stay in the hospital until the next morning, at which time he would be delivered to us for his journey home.

That night we attended a remarkable concert by the National Symphony Orchestra, which had played host to the New York Symphony Orchestra during its visit to Pyongyang in 2008. The orchestra leaders and all political officials emphasized the importance of a return visit by their National Symphony to the United States. This seems to be very important to them.

The next morning Dr. Hardman picked up Aijalon Gomes at the hospital and they met us at the airport for our flight home. At the time of our departure, a brief press statement was released from The Carter Center in Atlanta.

From Anchorage, I called Gomes's mother, Mrs. Jackie McCarthy, and she and Aijalon enjoyed a long conversation before we departed for Boston. We were met there by about twenty members of the Gomes family, and there was an emotional reunion. After a photograph of us all together, we returned home to Plains.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771816 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 10:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** My fax #

202 647 8947

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Wikipedia;trip

Perfect. See you next week.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sat Nov 27 18:13:08 2010
Subject: Re: Wikipedia;trip

I haven't raised yet because I hadn't talked w you, but we should discuss and then reach out to them.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Nov 27 18:06:46 2010
Subject: Re: Wikipedia;trip

Agree. I love the AFT/NEA idea. Have you raised it with them? If they are interested I'd love to explore a global partnership with them since there are a number of countries interested in expanding our programs and the exisiting structures --- peace corp, fulbright, etc just aren't organized to handle something like this.

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Jm.

Jm

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
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Take care and look forward to seeing you when we both get back.

Jm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 11:17 AM
**To:** H; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: MEPP prep materials

I think I can track down this binder today and get it to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Aug 28 11:15:23 2010
Subject: MEPP prep materials

Sandy Berger told me that he and Steve Hadley had USIP prepare several papers, including a matrix prepared by Scott Lacszinski(?) of everyone's position on every issue since Oslo. He thinks it would be helpful, and I agree. I'd like to see all papers. Can you be sure I get copies? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Woodard, Eric W <WoodardEW@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Will do! Thnx, E

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Woodard, Eric W
Cc: Huma Abedin < > B6
Sent: Sat Nov 27 18:06:07 2010
Subject: Schedule

Philip Bobbitt will be in DC and wanted to stop by. Pls contact him at:

B6

And see if he can come by for a short visit. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:36 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Kazakhstan

yep

On Sat, Nov 27, 2010 at 6:19 PM, Huma Abedin < > wrote: B6
ok we will follow up on this

---

From: H
Sent: Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:12 PM
To: Huma Abedin; 'jake.sullivan B6
Subject: Kazakhstan

Ben Cardin called to thank me for inviting him to go to OSCE but he can't because of session. He asked me to consider the following:

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 11:36 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Jon Davidson
**Subject:** Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Thx. Will be home in an hour and will check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Aug 28 10:47:02 2010
Subject: Faxing my changes to you both.

I hope you can read them. They should arrive shortly. If you have problems pls contact Jon Davidson, copied above.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** H; Feltman, Jeffrey D
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE: MEPP prep materials

We will fax a version of these to you shortly.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 11:15 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: MEPP prep materials

Sandy Berger told me that he and Steve Hadley had USIP prepare several papers, including a matrix prepared by Scott Lacszinski(?) of everyone's position on every issue since Oslo. He thinks it would be helpful, and I agree. I'd like to see all papers. Can you be sure I get copies? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 10:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) U.S. and ROK push ahead with war games

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Korea; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Nov 27 21:28:12 2010
**Subject:** (AP) U.S. and ROK push ahead with war games

YEONPYEONG ISLAND (AP) - The United States and the ROK are staging joint war games as planned. An official with the ROK's joint chiefs of staff says the drills kicked off when ships from both countries entered the exercise zone. A spokesman for the U.S. military in the ROK says U.S. ships are still steaming toward the area and the drills will not officially begin until later in the day.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: MEPP prep materials

Roger.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 12:18 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: MEPP prep materials

No need to fax--just be sure I have available on Monday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Aug 28 12:09:31 2010
Subject: RE: MEPP prep materials

We will fax a version of these to you shortly.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 11:15 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: MEPP prep materials

Sandy Berger told me that he and Steve Hadley had USIP prepare several papers, including a matrix prepared by Scott Lacszinski(?) of everyone's position on every issue since Oslo. He thinks it would be helpful, and I agree. I'd like to see all papers. Can you be sure I get copies? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:02 PM
**To:** H; Muscatine, Lissa
**Cc:** Jon Davidson
**Subject:** RE: Faxing my changes to you both.

Yep -- working through them now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:00 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Did you receive faxed changes?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Jon Davidson
Sent: Sat Aug 28 11:36:26 2010
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Thx. Will be home in an hour and will check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Aug 28 10:47:02 2010
Subject: Faxing my changes to you both.

I hope you can read them. They should arrive shortly. If you have problems pls contact Jon Davidson, copied above.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Faxing my changes to you both.

Very much so. I am also making a few changes as well, and there are a couple of places where I have questions on your edits. I'll have a new draft back to you in 2 hours.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Thx. You can email back new draft. Do they make sense to you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Jon Davidson
Sent: Sat Aug 28 13:01:32 2010
Subject: RE: Faxing my changes to you both.

Yep -- working through them now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:00 PM
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Did you receive faxed changes?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Jon Davidson
Sent: Sat Aug 28 11:36:26 2010
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Thx. Will be home in an hour and will check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson
Sent: Sat Aug 28 10:47:02 2010

B6

Subject: Faxing my changes to you both.

I hope you can read them. They should arrive shortly. If you have problems pls contact Jon Davidson, copied above.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 5+1

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns, William J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Sep 20 16:17:42 2010
Subject: 5+1

Pol Dirs mtg went ok today. Ad ref agreement on Ministerial statement for Wed (Einhorn will get you copy), and general consensus on workplan for preparing for eventual mtg with Iran. R's and C's relatively mellow. We'll see on Wed -- will get more detailed background and pts for HRC tomorrow.

5+1 mtgs have all the allure for me that Quartet mtgs had in an earlier incarnation ... right up there with colonoscopies.

Take care,

Bill

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Yes, got them. Jake wanted to put them in himself so he could make his own fixes at te same time. He will send us all a clean version.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson <[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sat Aug 28 13:00:04 2010
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Did you receive faxed changes?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Jon Davidson
Sent: Sat Aug 28 11:36:26 2010
Subject: Re: Faxing my changes to you both.

Thx. Will be home in an hour and will check.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jon Davidson [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Aug 28 10:47:02 2010
Subject: Faxing my changes to you both.

I hope you can read them. They should arrive shortly. If you have problems pls contact Jon Davidson, copied above.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Jimmy Carter

Fyi

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Gelber, Ethan M
**Sent:** Mon Sep 20 17:50:33 2010
**Subject:** Jimmy Carter

Just won't stop...

New York, NY -- September 20, 2010 – "NBC Nightly News" anchor and managing editor Brian Williams interviewed President Jimmy Carter to discuss the release of his new book "White House Diary." The interview airs tonight on "NBC Nightly News with Brian Williams."

BRIAN WILLIAMS: The last photo of you with your-- fellow former presidents, you were well off to the side on the right. And I thought to myself, well, there's-- there's a possible metaphor. (LAUGHTER) What is it-- about you, you think, the way you've-- decided to conduct your life and post-presidency? Do you feel listened to? Do you feel-- that you receive your due? Or do you feel, in fact, apart from the crowd?

JIMMY CARTER: No. I-- I feel that my role as a former president is probably superior to that of other presidents. Primarily because of the activism and the-- and the injection of working at the Carter Center and in international affairs, and to some degree, domestic affairs, on energy conservation, on-- on environment, and things of that kind. We're right in the midst of the-- of the constant daily debate.

And-- and-- and the Carter Center has decided, under my leadership, to fill vacuums in the world. When-- when the United States won't deal with troubled areas, we go there and we meet with leaders who can bring an end to a conflict, or an end to a human rights abuse, and so forth. So I-- I feel that have an advantage over many other former presidents in being involved in daily affairs that have shaped the policies of our nation and the world.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 2:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Can someone print out this poll from Brookings on Arab public opinion for you? Sid

good.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Aug 28, 2010 1:55 pm
Subject: Re: H: Can someone print out this poll from Brookings on Arab public opinion for you? Sid

This is very helpful--thx.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Thu Aug 26 19:14:53 2010

Subject: H: Can someone print out this poll from Brookings on Arab public

opinion for you? Sid

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2010/08_arab_opinion_poll_telhami/08_arab_opinion_poll_telhami.pdf

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 2:05 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: From Arturo re Bolivia

Happy to discuss. I am on leave in Florida--- returning to DC Wednesday the 1st around 2:30 pm-- could come in after 3:00. Am available any time Thursday afternoon [redacted] or Friday the 3rd. Best, Arturo B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Aug 28 13:24:44 2010
Subject: Re: From Arturo re Bolivia

Arturo--Will you be in next week? I'd like to discuss w you so I'm copying Lona who will begin looking for a time. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S <GonzalezJS@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Aug 27 16:18:18 2010
Subject: From Arturo re Bolivia

Madame Secretary:

I'd like to update you on our efforts to engage with Bolivia. [redacted] B5

You engaged personally and through Maria Echaveste as we've tried to think and act creatively to extract positives from a difficult starting point. Echaveste visited Bolivia in June and September 2009, and I traveled there this June to underline our commitment to better relations; you met with FM Choquehuanca at the OAS GA in Lima later that month; and Labor Secretary Solis and Maria Otero traveled to President Morales' inauguration in January 2010.

[redacted]

B5

Best Regards,

Arturo

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 2:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Aug 28 14:06:06 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls add: Jinnet Fowles

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: Cleanup

will all be gone tonight, we were waiting for meetings to finish.
can come around now

---

From: H
Sent: Monday, September 20, 2010 9:40 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Cleanup

Pls have room service come up and clear everything away tonight. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 10:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Senator: Arms treaty less urgent than other issues

**From**: Jackson, Christine P
**To**: NEWS-Russia; NEWS-VCI; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sun Nov 28 10:07:00 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Senator: Arms treaty less urgent than other issues

WASHINGTON (AP) - A leading Republican lawmaker is rejecting the Obama administration's assertion that ratification of a new arms control treaty with Russia is so pressing that it must be dealt with by the lame-duck Senate. Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona said Sunday that the Senate has much more urgent business to attend to in the weeks before it breaks for Christmas. He said the treaty, known as New START, is extremely complex and can wait until the Senate reconvenes with newly elected members in January. The Obama administration has said ratification is an urgent national security priority. Kyl said on NBC's "Meet the Press" that delaying a vote would reflect the reality of considering a major treaty in three weeks amid important domestic issues.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 2:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Menon call

Burns recommends that we hold you back for a call to Menon on Monday. That is the current plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The Arc

I'm so glad you took the time to see it. It's both practical/achievable and visionary. And I'm wondering if that stellar group of CEOs etc that Madeleine, Walter, and Muhtar have assembled cdnt spearhead a drive to make it a reality. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Aug 28 13:25:50 2010
Subject: Re: The Arc

That is a great practical idea. Thx for sending. I'd like to discuss next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Aug 27 11:47:10 2010
Subject: The Arc

Here is the link to the video of The Arc. http://friendsofthearc.org/, a national infrastructure trunkline for a future Palestinian State developed by the RAND Corporation. It is only 8 minutes long, but a great overview of the Arc vision and its potential for enabling peace in the region. I promise you it is worth it. It has tested very well with both Palestinians, Israelis and American Jews and Palestinians. It is a genuinely a transformational idea that did not originate from American politicians or diplomats, but rather from innovative American minds in collaboration with stakeholders from all walks of life in Palestine, Israel, the US, Europe, and the Muslim world. And it could be largely financed with private finance.
AM

-----Original Message-----
From: McAuliffe, Marisa S
Sent: Friday, August 27, 2010 11:42 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: FW: CNAS: The Arc

-----Original Message-----
From: McAuliffe, Marisa S On Behalf Of Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tuesday, August 24, 2010 10:05 AM
To: 'Anne-Marie Slaughter'
Subject: FW: CNAS: The Arc

-----Original Message-----

From: Christopher Tucker [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, June 11, 2010 12:34 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: CNAS: The Arc

Ms. Slaughter,

Again, great talk today at the CNAS annual event. Thanks for your time.

As you will remember, I raised the point that we seem not to be engaging regimes or populations regarding affirmative visions of what their societies could achieve in (say) a decade, if only we invested in a certain development strategy.

Clearly, you had once heard about the RAND Corporation's Arc Concept (perhaps from Steve Simon?), for a national infrastructure trunkline for a future Palestinian State. To regain familiarity, please watch the 8 minute video on the home page of www.friendsofthearc.org which provides a great overview of the Arc vision, and its potential for enabling peace in the region. This is an affirmative vision that sells very well to both Palestinians, Israelis and American Jews and Palestinians. I would be happy to prove this. Just imagine if the US came out in support of this vision.

If President Obama simply said something like "The Arc is a great example of a transformational idea which did not originate from American politicians or diplomats, but rather from innovative American minds in collaboration with stakeholders from all walks of life in Palestine, Israel, the US, Europe, and the Muslim world. It's the kind of initiative that I am happy to endorse, and I look forward to better understanding how, through the Arc, America can make a positive contributions to peace, prosperity and security in the region." - some very interesting things would happen. For example, the PIF and other forms of private finance might just finance the whole thing...not requiring any (or at least much) US $.

You don't know me from Adam, but lets just say that I can say with confidence that PM Fayyad backs the Arc as a key part of his two year plan for statehood, and that Abu Mazen's economic advisor (Dr. Mohammad Mustafa - CEO of the PIF) does also. And, that President Peres has been a long time

supporter (I have the letter on my computer). I happen to know that Zbigniew Brzezinski will soon be taking a package to NSA Jones on the topic.
Zbig is a huge fan, as are many others from the establishment. If we met
for 15 minutes, I could explain the nature of the collective action problem
that has prevented many Arc fans from speaking up, and I could explain how I
am fixing this problem.

This is a concrete engagement strategy that would not cost the President political capital, but would actually manufacture political capital.

If you are willing to talk for 15-20 minutes, I would be happy to run up to
Foggy Bottom to brief you up on the Arc, and where I plan to take it over
the next 2 quarters.

Thanks in advance for your interest, and I look forward to getting together.

Chris
[redacted] B6

BTW, this is the wikipedia approximation of me:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher_K._Tucker.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 11:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) McCain: Time to discuss `regime change' in DPRK

**From**: Jackson, Christine P
**To**: NEWS-Korea; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sun Nov 28 11:23:28 2010
**Subject**: (AP) McCain: Time to discuss `regime change' in DPRK

WASHINGTON (AP) - Sen. John McCain said it was time to discuss "regime change" in DPRK, but the former Navy combat pilot didn't say how he advocates changing the government in the repressive and secretive dictatorship. McCain said he was not suggesting military action against the North. He said the Chinese, the DPRK's closest ally, should rein in its neighbor, and he accused Beijing of failing to play a responsible role in either the Korean peninsula, where tensions are high because of a recent attack by the North, or the world stage. "The key to this, obviously, is China," McCain said on "State of the Union" on CNN. "And, unfortunately, China is not behaving as a responsible world power. It cannot be in China's long-term interest to see a renewed conflict on the Korean peninsula." The Arizona Republican added: "They could bring the North Korean economy to its knees if they wanted to. And I cannot believe that the Chinese should, in a mature fashion, not find it in their interest to restrain North Korea. So far, they are not." McCain said the Chinese government's call for emergency talks was a "fine first step," but he questioned whether DPRK would stop its long history of confrontation without significant penalties. "I think it's time we talked about regime change in North Korea, and I do not mean military action, but I do believe that this is a very unstable regime," McCain said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 12:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bibi

We are now tracking for Tues to roll out next steps, so I's wondering whether you can talk to Bibi tomorrow evening. Would mean doing it on the plane. But probably makes more sense. Thoughts?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 12:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) WikiLeaks to defy U.S. demands on leaked cables

**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks; NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Sun Nov 28 12:51:37 2010
**Subject:** (AP) WikiLeaks to defy U.S. demands on leaked cables

WASHINGTON (AP) - The online website WikiLeaks says it will go ahead with the release of hundreds of thousands of classified State Department documents in defiance of U.S. demands not to publish the files. The WikiLeaks website appeared to be inaccessible, and WikiLeaks said in its Twitter feed that it was experiencing a denial of service attack. Nevertheless, WikiLeaks said that publications in the U.S. and Europe would print the leaked diplomatic cables even if it could not. The group's founder, Julian Assange, also tells the U.S. ambassador to Britain that WikiLeaks won't bow to Washington's demands. The Obama administration has been bracing for the release for the past week. Top officials have notified allies that the contents of the diplomatic cables could prove embarrassing because they contain candid assessments of foreign leaders.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 3:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FA article

I've just sent Jon my updated version. I know you said you just want this to be done – and I don't blame you – but take a look at what I've done. I've flagged a few things I think should change. With one more pass by you, and a few more adjustments by us, I think this is good to go for Monday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 1:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Der Spiegel: A Superpower's View of the World

---

**From:** Blakeman, Chat - WWG01
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 1:15 PM
**To:** Mull, Stephen D; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Thessin, James H
**Subject:** FW: Der Spiegel: A Superpower's View of the World

So it begins...mostly on Germany

---

**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks
**Subject:** Der Spiegel: A Superpower's View of the World

[redacted]

## SPIEGEL ONLINE

**11/28/2010 07:00 PM**
**The US Diplomatic Leaks**

# A Superpower's View of the World

*By SPIEGEL Staff*

**251,000 State Department documents, many of them secret embassy reports from around the world, show how the US seeks to safeguard its influence around the world. It is nothing short of a political meltdown for US foreign policy.**

What does the United States really think of German Chancellor Angela Merkel? Is she a reliable ally? Did she really make an effort to patch up relations with Washington that had been so damaged by her predecessor? At most, it was a half-hearted one.

The tone of trans-Atlantic relations may have improved, former US Ambassador to Germany William Timken wrote in a cable to the State Department at the end of 2006, but the chancellor "has not taken bold steps yet to improve the substantive content of the relationship." That is not exactly high praise.

And the verdict on German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle? His thoughts "were short on substance," wrote the current US ambassador in Berlin, Philip Murphy, in a cable. The reason, Murphy suggested, was that "Westerwelle's command of complex foreign and security policy issues still requires deepening."

Such comments are hardly friendly. But in the eyes of the American diplomatic corps, every actor is quickly categorized as a friend or foe. King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia? A friend: Abdullah can't stand his neighbors in Iran and, expressing his disdain for the mullah regime, said, "there is no doubt something unstable about them." And his ally, Sheikh bin Zayed of Abu Dhabi? Also a friend. He believes "a near term conventional war with Iran is clearly preferable to the long term consequences of a nuclear armed Iran."

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's emissaries also learn of a special "Iran observer" in the Azerbaijan capital of Baku who reports on a dispute that played out during a meeting of Iran's Supreme National Security Council. An enraged Revolutionary Guard Chief of Staff Mohammed Ali Jafari allegedly got into a heated argument with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and slapped him in the face because the generally conservative president had, surprisingly, advocated freedom of the press.

**A Political Meltdown**

Such surprises from the annals of US diplomacy will dominate the headlines in the coming days when the *New York Times*, London's *Guardian*, Paris' *Le Monde*, Madrid's *El Pais* and SPIEGEL begin shedding light on the treasure trove of secret documents from the State Department. Included are 243,270 diplomatic cables filed by US embassies to the State Department and 8,017 directives that the State Department sent to its diplomatic outposts around the world. In the coming days, the participating media will show in a series of investigative stories how America seeks to steer the world. The development is no less than a political meltdown for American foreign policy.

Never before in history has a superpower lost control of such vast amounts of such sensitive information -- data that can help paint a picture of the foundation upon which US foreign policy is built. Never before has the trust America's partners have in the country been as badly shaken. Now, their own personal views and policy recommendations have been made public -- as have America's true views of them.

For example, one can learn that German Defense Minister Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, the Germany's most beloved politician according to public opinion polls, openly criticizes fellow cabinet member Guido Westerwelle in conversations with US diplomats, and even snitches on him. Or that Secretary of State Clinton wants her ambassadors in Moscow and Rome to inform her whether there is anything to the rumors that Italian President Silvio Berlusconi and Vladimir Putin have private business ties in addition to their close friendship -- whispers that both have vehemently denied.

America's ambassadors can be merciless in their assessments of the countries in which they are stationed. That's their job. Kenya? A swamp of flourishing corruption extending across the country. Fifteen high-ranking Kenyan officials are already banned from traveling to the United States, and almost every single sentence in the embassy reports speaks with disdain of the government of President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

**Weighing Public Interest against Confidentiality**

Turkey hardly comes away any less scathed in the cables. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the cables allege, governs with the help of a cabal of incompetent advisors. Ankara Embassy officials depict a country on a path to an Islamist future -- a future that likely won't include European Union membership.

As with the close to 92,000 documents on the war in Afghanistan at the end of July and the almost 400,000 documents on the Iraq war recently released, the State Department cables have also been leaked to the WikiLeaks

whistleblower platform -- and they presumably came from the same source. As before, WikiLeaks has provided the material to media partners to review and analyze them.

With a team of more than 50 reporters and researchers, SPIEGEL has viewed, analyzed and vetted the mass of documents. In most cases, the magazine has sought to protect the identities of the Americans' informants, unless the person who served as the informant was senior enough to be politically relevant. In some cases, the US government expressed security concerns and SPIEGEL accepted a number of such objections. In other cases, however, SPIEGEL felt the public interest in reporting the news was greater than the threat to security. Throughout our research, SPIEGEL reporters and editors weighed the public interest against the justified interest of countries in security and confidentiality.

It is now possible to view many political developments around the world through the lens of those who participated in those events. As such, our understanding of those events is deeply enriched. That alone is often enough to place transparency ahead of national regulations regarding confidentiality.

Following the leaks of military secrets from Afghanistan and Iraq, these leaks now put US diplomats on the hot seat. It is the third coup for WikiLeaks within six months, and it is one that is likely to leave Washington feeling more than a bit exposed. Around half of the cables that have been obtained aren't classified and slightly less, 40.5 percent, as classified as "confidential." Six percent of the reports, or 16,652 cables, are labelled as "secret;" and of those, 4,330 are so explosive that they are labelled "NOFORN," meaning access should not be made available to non-US nationals. Taken together, the cables provide enough raw text to fill 66 years worth of weekly SPIEGEL magazines.

**Gossip and the Unvarnished Truth**

Much in the material was noted and sent because those compiling the reports or their dialogue partners believed, with some certainty, that their transcripts would not be made public for the next 25 years. That may also explain why the ambassadors and emissaries from Washington were so willing to report gossip and hearsay back to State Department headquarters. One cable from the Moscow Embassy on Russian first lady Svetlana Medvedev, for example, states that she is "generating tensions between the camps and remains the subject of avid gossip." It then goes on to report that President Medvedev's wife had already drawn up a list of officials who should be made to "suffer" in their careers because they had been disloyal to Medvedev. Another reports that the wife of Azerbaijan leader Ilham Aliyev has had so much plastic surgery that it is possible to confuse her for one of her daughters from a distance, but that she can barely still move her face.

What makes the documents particularly appealing, though, is that many politicians speak the unvarnished truth, confident as they are that their musings will never be made public.

What, though, do the thousands of documents prove? Do they really show a US which has the world on a leash? Are Washington's embassies still self-contained power centers in their host countries?

In sum, probably not. In the major crisis regions, an image emerges of a superpower that can no longer truly be certain of its allies -- like in Pakistan, where the Americans are consumed by fear that the unstable nuclear power could become precisely the place where terrorists obtain dangerous nuclear material.

There are similar fears in Yemen, where the US, against its better judgement, allows itself to be instrumentalized by an unscrupulous leader. With American military aid that was intended for the fight against al-Qaida, Ali Abdullah Saleh is now able to wage his battle against enemy tribes in the northern part of the country.

**Insult to Injury**

Even after the fall of Saddam Hussein, it still remained a challenge for the victorious power to assert its will on Iraq. In Baghdad, which has seen a series of powerful US ambassadors -- men the international press often like to refer to as American viceroys -- it is now up to Vice President Joe Biden to make repeated visits to allied Iraqi politicians in an effort to get them to finally establish a respectable democracy. But the embassy cables make it very clear that Obama's deputy has made little headway.

Instead, the Americans are forced to endure the endless tirades of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarek, who claims to have always known that the Iraq war was the "biggest mistake ever committed" and who advised the Americans to "forget about democracy in Iraq." Once the US forces depart, Mubarak said, the best way to ensure a peaceful transition is for there to be a military coup. They are statements that add insult to injury.

On the whole, the cables from the Middle East expose the superpower's weaknesses. Washington has always viewed it as vital to its survival to secure its share of energy reserves, but the world power is often quickly reduced to becoming a plaything of diverse interests. And it is drawn into the animosities between Arabs and Israelis, Shiites and Sunnis, between Islamists and secularists, between despots and kings. Often enough, the lesson of the documents that have now been obtained, is that the Arab leaders use their friends in Washington to expand their own positions of power.

***Editor's note: DER SPIEGEL's full reporting on the WikiLeaks US diplomatic cables will be published first in the German-language edition of the magazine, which will be available on Monday to subscribers and at newsstands in Germany and Europe. SPIEGEL ONLINE International will publish extended excerpts of SPIEGEL's reporting in English in a series that will launch on Monday.***

## URL:

- http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,731580,00.html

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  http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 1:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Guardian

FYI

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 1:33 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Guardian

# US embassy cables leak sparks global diplomacy crisis

- More than 250,000 dispatches reveal US foreign strategies
- Diplomats ordered to spy on allies as well as enemies
- Hillary Clinton leads frantic 'damage limitation'

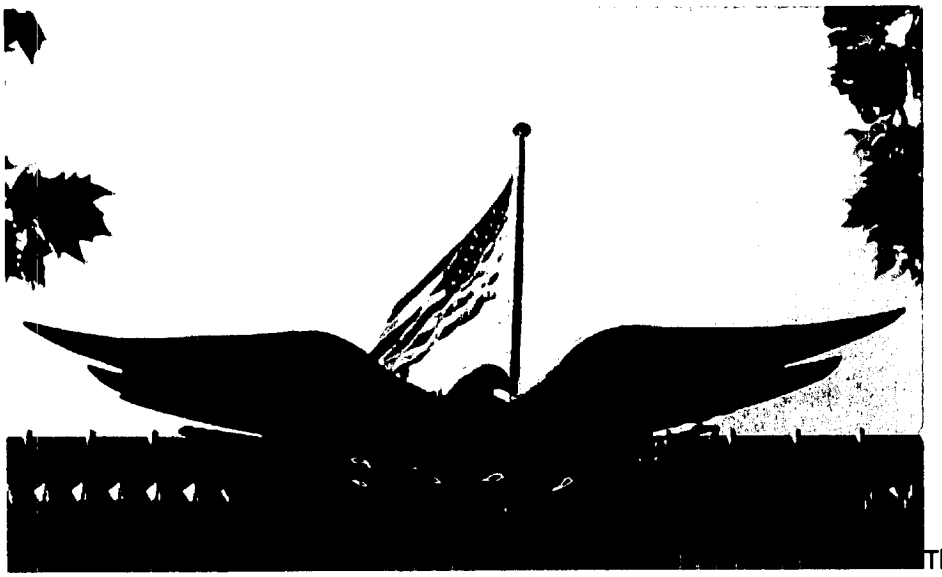
[redacted]

Comments (...)

**David Leigh**
guardian.co.uk, Sunday 28 November 2010 17.50 GMT

A larger | smaller

Article history



**The release of more than 250,000 US embassy cables reveals previously secret information on American intelligence gathering, and political and military strategy. Photograph: Rex Features**

The United States was catapulted into a worldwide diplomatic crisis today, with the leaking to the Guardian and other international media of more than 250,000 classified cables from its embassies, many sent as recently as February this year.

At the start of a series of daily extracts from the US embassy cables - many of which are designated "secret" – the Guardian can disclose that Arab leaders are privately urging an air strike on Iran and that US officials have been instructed to spy on the UN's leadership.

These two revelations alone would be likely to reverberate around the world. But the secret dispatches which were obtained by WikiLeaks, the whistlebowers' website, also reveal Washington's evaluation of many other highly sensitive international issues.

These include a major shift in relations between China and North Korea, Pakistan's growing instability and details of clandestine US efforts to combat al-Qaida in Yemen.

Among scores of other disclosures that are likely to cause uproar, the cables detail:

• Grave fears in Washington and London over the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme

• Alleged links between the Russian government and organised crime.

• Devastating criticism of the UK's military operations in Afghanistan.

• Claims of inappropriate behaviour by a member of the British royal family.

The US has particularly intimate dealings with Britain, and some of the dispatches from the London embassy in Grosvenor Square will make uncomfortable reading in Whitehall and Westminster. They range from serious political criticisms of David Cameron to requests for specific intelligence about individual MPs.

The cache of cables contains specific allegations of corruption and against foreign leaders, as well as harsh criticism by US embassy staff of their host governments, from tiny islands in the Caribbean to China and Russia.

The material includes a reference to Vladimir Putin as an "alpha-dog", Hamid Karzai as being "driven by paranoia" and Angela Merkel allegedly "avoids risk and is rarely creative". There is also a comparison between Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Adolf Hitler.

The cables name countries involved in financing terror groups, and describe a near "environmental disaster" last year over a rogue shipment of enriched uranium. They disclose technical details of secret US-Russian nuclear missile negotiations in Geneva, and include a profile of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, who they say is accompanied everywhere by a "voluptuous blonde" Ukrainian nurse.

The cables cover secretary of state Hillary Clinton's activities under the Obama administration, as well as thousands of files from the George Bush presidency. Clinton personally led frantic damage limitation this weekend as Washington prepared foreign governments for the revelations. She contacted leaders in Germany, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, France and Afghanistan.

US ambassadors in other capitals were instructed to brief their hosts in advance of the release of unflattering pen-portraits or nakedly frank accounts of transactions with the US which they had thought would be kept quiet. Washington now faces a difficult task in convincing contacts around the world that any future conversations will remain confidential.

"We are all bracing for what may be coming and condemn WikiLeaks for the release of classified material," state department spokesman PJ Crowley said. "It will place lives and interests at risk. It is irresponsible."

The state department's legal adviser has written to Wikileaks founder Julian Assange and his London lawyer, warning that the cables were obtained illegally and that publication would place at risk "the lives of countless innocent individuals ... ongoing military operations ... and cooperation between countries".

The electronic archive of embassy dispatches from around the world was allegedly downloaded by a US soldier earlier this year and passed to WikiLeaks. Assange made them available to the Guardian and four other newspapers: the New York Times, Der Spiegel in Germany, Le Monde in France and El País in Spain. All five plan to publish extracts from the most significant cables, but have decided neither to "dump" the entire dataset into the public domain, nor to publish names that would endanger innocent individuals. WikiLeaks says that, contrary to the state department's fears, it also initially intends to post only limited cable extracts, and to redact identities.

The cables published today reveal how the US uses its embassies as part of a global espionage network, with diplomats tasked to obtain not just information from the people they meet, but personal details, such as frequent flyer numbers, credit card details and even DNA material.

Classified "human intelligence directives" issued in the name of Hillary Clinton or her predecessor, Condoleeza Rice, instruct officials to gather information on military installations, weapons markings, vehicle details of political leaders as well as iris scans, fingerprints and DNA.

The most controversial target was the leadership of the United Nations. That directive requested the specification of telecoms and IT systems used by top UN officials and their staff and details of "private VIP networks used for official communication, to include upgrades, security measures, passwords, personal encryption keys".

When the Guardian put this allegation to Crowley, the state department spokesman said: "Let me assure you: our diplomats are just that, diplomats. They do not engage in intelligence activities. They represent our country around the world, maintain open and transparent contact with other governments as well as public and private figures, and report home. That's what diplomats have done for hundreds of years."

The dispatches also shed light on older diplomatic issues. One cable, for example, reveals, that Nelson Mandela was "furious" when a top adviser stopped him meeting Margaret Thatcher shortly after his release from prison to explain why the ANC objected to her policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime. "We understand Mandela was keen for a Thatcher meeting but that [appointments secretary Zwelakhe] Sisulu argued successfully against it," according to the cable. It continues: "Mandela has on several occasions expressed his eagerness for an early meeting with Thatcher to express the ANC's objections to her policy. We were consequently surprised when the meeting didn't materialise on his mid-April visit to London and suspected that ANC hardliners had nixed Mandela's plans."

The US embassy cables are marked "Sipdis" – secret internet protocol distribution. They were compiled as part of a programme under which selected dispatches, considered moderately secret but suitable for sharing with other agencies, would be automatically loaded on to secure embassy websites, and linked with the military's Siprnet internet system.

They are classified at various levels up to "SECRET NOFORN" [no foreigners]. More than 11,000 are marked secret, while around 9,000 of the cables are marked noforn. The embassies which sent most cables were Ankara, Baghdad, Amman, Kuwait and Tokyo.

More than 3 million US government personnel and soldiers, many extremely junior, are cleared to have potential access to this material, even though the cables contain the identities of foreign informants, often sensitive contacts in dictatorial regimes. Some are marked "protect" or "strictly protect".

Last spring, 22-year-old intelligence analyst Bradley Manning was charged with leaking many of these cables, along with a gun-camera video of an Apache helicopter crew mistakenly killing two Reuters news agency employees in Baghdad in 2007, which was subsequently posted by WikiLeaks. Manning is facing a court martial.

In July and October WikiLeaks also published thousands of leaked military reports from Afghanistan and Iraq. These were made available for analysis beforehand to the Guardian, along with Der Spiegel and the New York Times.

A former hacker, Adrian Lamo, who reported Manning to the US authorities, said the soldier had told him in chat messages that the cables revealed "how the first world exploits the third, in detail".

He also said, according to Lamo, that Clinton "and several thousand diplomats around the world are going to have a heart attack when they wake up one morning and find an entire repository of classified foreign policy is available in searchable format to the public ... everywhere there's a US post ... there's a diplomatic scandal that will be revealed".

Asked why such sensitive material was posted on a network accessible to thousands of government employees, the state department spokesman told the Guardian: "The 9/11 attacks and their aftermath revealed gaps in intra-governmental information sharing. Since the attacks of 9/11, the US government has taken significant steps to facilitate information sharing. These efforts were focused on giving diplomatic, military, law enforcement and intelligence specialists quicker and easier access to more data to more effectively do their jobs."

He added: "We have been taking aggressive action in recent weeks and months to enhance the security of our systems and to prevent the leak of information."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) GROUP OF 12 HAITIAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES DENOUNCE "FRAUD" IN CHAOTIC ELECTIONS, CALL FOR CANCELLATION

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**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sun Nov 28 14:07:02 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) GROUP OF 12 HAITIAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES DENOUNCE "FRAUD" IN CHAOTIC ELECTIONS, CALL FOR CANCELLATION

(Headline only)

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** NK

See below suggested holding press line - B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:55 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

Please print for HRC in color if possible.

---

**From:** Blakeman, Chat - WWG01
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** Mull, Stephen D; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Goldberg, Philip S; Crowley, Philip J; Thessin, James H
**Subject:** FW: (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

This map from El Pais begins to show the extent of the damage. Below are countries where there are 3,000 or more leaked cables..

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks
**Subject:** (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

http://www.elpais.com/graficos/internacional/intercambio/documentos/zonas/calientes/planeta/elpepuint/20101128elpepuint_2/Ges/

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king's health "very reassuring" - minister

---

**From**: Jackson, Christine P
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sun Nov 28 15:02:36 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Saudi king's health "very reassuring" - minister

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah, who is being treated in New York for a blood clot which complicated a slipped disc, has started rehabilitation and his health is "very reassuring", the kingdom's health minister said on November 28. The remarks by Abdullah al-Rabeeah to state television came after the king, who is around 86 or 87, underwent surgery on his back on November 24 which the royal court said was successful. Prince Nayef, Abdullah's half-brother and interior minister, said on Saturday the king had been walking after the operation. Pictures by state media before Abdullah's departure and upon his arrival in New York showed the king sitting in a wheelchair. Abdullah asked Crown Prince Sultan to run the country in his absence. Sultan, thought to be in his mid-eighties, has had unspecified health problems in the past two years. The Gulf Arab state controls more than a fifth of the world's crude reserves, is a vital U.S. ally, a major holder of dollar assets and home to the biggest Arab bourse.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Samuel Berger
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 5:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Samuel Berger
**Attachments:** Principles_Design_Working Draft.pdf; Principles_Design_Working Draft.pdf

HRC: I am attaching a matrix of prior language that has been used in connection with the major Israeli-Palestinian issues.

It was prepared in the context of language the US might use if it were to articulate principles, not principles to which the parties might agree, but it provides most of the language that has been used in the past, with citations.

The USIP Middle East group Steve and I chair decided that rather than issue a static report, we would prepare/commission a series of timely and specific papers that we would provide privately to the Administration. (I have sent some of those to your office). They include papers on security, Palestinian institution building, public attitudes in Israel and the territories, etc. B6

I will deliver a set of those papers to your office on Monday

If it would be useful, I would be happy to convene a small, private discussion with some of the sharpest people in the group, or give you some names.

A few observations following up our call this am.:

(1) This (a Framework Agreement) is very difficult but I don't think impossible. If Bibi can say he has secured unprecedented commitments on security and established the principle of a Jewish state, he could decide to play the historic leader. If he is uncompromising, he will have to deal with the consequences for US-Israeli relations. His opt out, of course, is to blame the Pals, but we will be "in the room".
(2) I think this should be a negotiation that goes from principle to paper rather than the other way around, i.e. not an early exchange of documents that dig each side into its positions. The two leaders need to feel each other out first at the level of first principles, to be distilled after a period by the U.S.
(3) Not sure we need to be in every meeting.. Ultimately, they need to establish some trust. But we (you or Mitchell) need to be present enough to make sure that there is no misunderstanding of what has been agreed, and to move things along. .
(4) On the critical issue of security, I don't think the Israelis any more trust NATO to stand firm. They will expect an IDF presence in the Jordan Valley for some time. Palestinians recognize that there will be a transitional phase. Question is how long.
(5) As you know, Abbas' position is crumbling. Based on my conversation with him when he was here recently, I think he is genuinely committed to an agreement. He hopes that, if this fails, Bibi will seem to be unreasonable. And in that event, I expect he will resign. His minimal requirement is the equivalent of 1967.

This is all tricky business, but I don't think we have a responsible choice not to make this effort. It is the highest form of statesmanship for you to try.

I am leaving on Monday for some foreign travel but can be reached through my office -- Laura Huber

Sandy

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: FA article

Roger. We'll make the changes, clean it up, and sent last round to you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Aug 28 17:12:05 2010
Subject: Re: FA article

I agree w your changes and suggestions:

B5

I think we're nearly done.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Aug 28 15:39:36 2010
Subject: FA article

I've just sent Jon my updated version. I know you said you just want this to be done – and I don't blame you – but take a look at what I've done. I've flagged a few things I think should change. With one more pass by you, and a few more adjustments by us, I think this is good to go for Monday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

Ok

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sun Nov 28 14:55:06 2010
**Subject:** FW: (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

Please print for HRC in color if possible.

---

**From:** Blakeman, Chat - WWG01
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:54 PM
**To:** Mull, Stephen D; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Goldberg, Philip S; Crowley, Philip J; Thessin, James H
**Subject:** FW: (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

This map from El Pais begins to show the extent of the damage. Below are countries where there are 3,000 or more leaked cables..

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks
**Subject:** (El Pais) Map reflecting zones affected by leak

http://www.elpais.com/graficos/internacional/intercambio/documentos/zonas/calientes/planeta/elpepuint/20101128elpepuint_2/Ges/

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 7:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Turkey-wiki

Below are proposed pts and background for handling the WL issue with Davut tomorrow. I'm sending to specials to print for you.

Points for FM Davutoglu on Wikileaks

. Spiegel Online previews the

Der Spiegel analysis (set for publication tomorrow) that "if one were to believe the gloomy reports from the embassy in Ankara, Turkey is on a slippery slope to volatile Islamism, spurred on by the narrow-minded government of Prime Minister Recept Tayyip Erdogan, who is portrayed as being reliant on a group of incompetent advisors." B5

Talking Points:

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 7:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Turkey-wiki

Yes - the scenesetter and the general cable on Turkey's foreign policy

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Nov 28 19:18:56 2010
Subject: Re: Turkey-wiki

Were any of the cables from Jeffries?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Nov 28 19:00:54 2010
Subject: Turkey-wiki

Below are proposed pts and background for handling the WL issue with Davut tomorrow. I'm sending to specials to print for you.

B5

Points for FM Davutoglu on Wikileaks

. Spiegel Online previews the

Der Spiegel analysis (set for publication tomorrow) that "if one were to believe the gloomy reports from the embassy in Ankara, Turkey is on a slippery slope to volatile Islamism, spurred on by the narrow-minded government of Prime Minister Recept Tayyip Erdogan, who is portrayed as being reliant on a group of incompetent advisors."

**Talking Points:**

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 11:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Richard asking to talk to you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 4:27 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jon Davidson; Huma Abedin; Jacob J Sullivan; Anne Marie Slaughter
**Subject:** Latest Draft of Foreign Affairs
**Attachments:** FA 29.doc; ATT00001.txt; FA 29.doc; ATT00001.txt

Here is the latest draft, which incorporates your changes and suggestions, and has been through each of us (me, Jake, and AMS) at least once. There may still be a few facts to be tweaked and we are looking for one more example from WHA for the Mexico paragraph. I will also re-read it carefully later tonight and tomorrow morning to catch any typos, weird grammar, or things that don't flow. I'm too close to it now and want to read it again when I'm fresh. But hopefully this is close to final.

Lissa

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 3:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: [redacted] passing

You may have gotten this sad news from Lauren or Tamera already, but if not, see the message below. [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** [redacted]
**Date:** September 5, 2010 1:59:06 PM EDT
**To:** "Jiloty, Lauren C" <JilotyLC@state.gov>, <lmuscatine[redacted]>, <luzzatto[redacted]>
**Subject:** [redacted] **passing**

Lauren, Lissa, and Tamera -- it is with great sadness I write to let you know of [redacted] passing. [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 4:41 PM
**To:** H; kdowd [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Laurenjiloty [redacted] Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Subject:** Re: Update on PSA

+ caitlin

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'kdowd [redacted]
Cc: 'Laurenjiloty [redacted]
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:40:27 2010
Subject: Re: Update on PSA

Thx for all the work on the PSA. Could I see it this week?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Sep 03 09:56:56 2010
Subject: FW: Update on PSA

FYI

---

From: Dowd, Katie W
To: McHale, Judith A; McCall, Dawn L
Cc: MacInnes, Duncan H; Bosshardt, Marcia P; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Kenna, Corley; Smith, Dana S; Hensman, Chris D
Sent: Fri Sep 03 09:29:05 2010
Subject: Update on PSA

Wanted to update you all on the PSA and where things stand. The Ad Council placed the PSA on Wednesday.

Overall, based on the MNR report, our estimated online audience for the PSA launch story was 5.4 million, including stories on Yahoo Finance, Forbes, and CNN. For just over 24 hours since the MNR distribution, this is fantastic pickup per the Ad Council.

The Ad Council will continue to push this out domestically and giving us updates on where it is. They are targeting large sporting events like U.S Open, etc. If you would like the full report with specific stories, I can send separately however because the file is so large I do not want to max out everyone's inboxes.

On the International side and specifically S interest in placing with Al Jazeera, the Ad Council did a slightly modified version of the 30 sec PSA, removing the texting information on the final screen and is overnighting the tape to the State Department today. Once we have that (timing for Tuesday), we will work with Dana and PA to have the PSA placed accordingly where makes sense.

Larry has already said that local stations in Pakistan liked the ad and were using it/reporting on it. As he is obviously very busy, hard to know more beyond this point. IIP has been great and the revised ad is going up on America.gov. Will work them to see what other embassy sites, etc we can promote this with.

We will continue to work to place the ad and will have donation reports on Tuesday that hopefully will reflect monetary upticks as well. Let me know if you have any questions. Best, Katie

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 10:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: can you send me ros-leithan's statement and any other members

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent**: Sun Nov 28 22:51:16 2010
**Subject**: RE: can you send me ros-leithan's statement and any other members

Below please find statements from Kerry, Ros-Lehtinen, Hoekstra, and King.

Haven't seen anything yet from Lugar or Berman.

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry:**

"The release of classified information under these circumstances is a reckless action which jeopardizes lives by exposing raw, contemporaneous intelligence. This is not an academic exercise about freedom of information and it is not akin to the release of the Pentagon Papers, which involved an analysis aimed at saving American lives and exposing government deception. Instead, these sensitive cables contain candid assessments and analysis of ongoing matters and they should remain confidential to protect the ability of the government to conduct lawful business with the private candor that's vital to effective diplomacy."

###

**Ros-Lehtinen Condemns Latest Wikileaks Release of Sensitive U.S. Documents**

(WASHINGTON) – U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, commented today on the release of scores of sensitive documents by the Wikileaks website. Statement by Ros-Lehtinen:

> "This latest release of classified and other sensitive U.S. documents by Wikileaks is extremely irresponsible. Those who leak and publish such information are doing great harm to our nation, and are potentially putting American lives in danger.
>
> "This newest batch of documents appears to contain troves of classified reports related to our nation's conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy, including reports of critical discussions with our allies. This is the everyday work-product of our officials all over the globe. This critical and highly sensitive information must be managed carefully.
>
> "It is deeply disturbing that a few individuals seem to have deemed themselves worthy of deciding that scores of classified and sensitive material should be paraded about for our enemies to review and use against us. These leaks come at the expense of U.S. security and, potentially, American lives."

###

**From Rep. Pete Hoekstra (R., Mich.) ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee:**

"Wikileaks clearly is determined to undermine U.S. national security and damage our foreign relations. The disclosure of thousands of potentially classified cables and other documents is an embarrassment to the Obama administration and represents a critical failure by the Pentagon and intelligence community to protect sensitive national security information.

"Once again our partners and allies are forced to question whether the United States can keep secrets, and our diplomats around the world have been forced to scramble to try and patch-up foreign relations strained by this illegal leak. ODNI's national counterintelligence executive must move quickly to assess the failures in this case and to establish security protocols, including robust audit capabilities for classified networks. Congress also should move quickly to hold hearings to ensure ODNI, the military and FBI have the necessary counterintelligence authorities to ensure a destructive leak of this nature cannot happen again.

"The disclosure of these documents by Wikileaks had nothing to do with transparency or whistleblowing, as the site would claim, and everything to do with undermining American foreign policy. As the world's number one target for spying by foreign adversaries and now clearly other hacks, the federal government must do a better job of strengthening America's computer and cybersecurity protocols. If we do not, we risk leaving exposed an Achilles heel that could cause irreparable damage to our global partnerships and international standing."

###

**U.S. Representative Peter T. King:**

"WikiLeaks presents a clear and present danger to the national security of the United States. I strongly urge you to work within the Administration to use every offensive capability of the U.S. government to prevent further damaging releases by WikiLeaks."

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 10:14 PM
**Cc:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Subject:** can you send me ros-leithan's statement and any other members

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 4:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Palau Agreement!

I can't even begin to tell you....

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:31:03 2010
Subject: Fw: Palau Agreement!

Fyi---thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jeffrey L Farrow <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Sep 04 07:55:08 2010
Subject: Palau Agreement!

Signed by Pres. Toribiong a couple of hours ago after three days of negotiations that I conducted for Palau and DAS Frankie Reed led for the US. These were the first real negotiations of the process -- a step (which Jake Sullivan helped get taken) that was as needed as the changes in the US proposal they produced. Thanks for all that you did. It obtained US objectives as well as resulted in substantially greater fairness for a former territory, now freely associated state. Jeff

On Jul 28, 2010, at 8:46 AM, H wrote:

> Thx for the good wishes [redacted]
>
> I hope the Palau Compact can be resolved soon because I doubt we will have the funds to do it next year w the budget and the potential setbacks in the mid-terms. Pls try to work w everyone to finalize.
>
> And, give my warmest "Hola" to my friends in PR.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Jeffrey L Farrow <[redacted]>
> To: H
> Sent: Sun Jul 25 20:49:54 2010
> Subject: Palau but NOT a request
>
> I think Jack thinks I've fanned flames in Palau but I've actually encouraged concessions they've made and have conveyed their complaints to him and others to make sure their views are understood. The remaining issues are small -- but significant to them. And the FSOs who've been negative since the Bush Admin. are not the best messengers. I've advised dialogue at a political level. But this is just FYI.
>

> Congratulations on Chelsea! Puerto Rico still loves her (and you would probably win even more than 2-1 now). Jeff Farrow

DRAFT 29

Sunday 4 pm

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

## LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

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DRAFT 29

Sunday 4 pm

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

## LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 4:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Palau Agreement!

I hear they have great diving...

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:45:57 2010
Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

Your medal ceremony is this Thursday....and it comes w a vacation in Palau.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:44:37 2010
Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:31:03 2010
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> Congratulations on Chelsea! Puerto Rico still loves her (and you would probably win even more than 2-1 now). Jeff Farrow

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 3:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I will be out of the office on official travel through Tuesday, November 9th. If you need immediate assistance, please call 202-647-9572.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 4:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Palau Agreement!

Touche

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:49:07 2010
Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

W Uighur instructors and you get to dodge small Chinese subs.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:47:01 2010
Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

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To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:45:57 2010
Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

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Subject: Re: Palau Agreement!

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To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:31:03 2010
Subject: Fw: Palau Agreement!

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To: H
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> Congratulations on Chelsea! Puerto Rico still loves her (and you would probably win even more than 2-1 now). Jeff Farrow

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Update on PSA

Yes - will call later tonite or am.

Had b/fast w/ Marty.

So will call re ME

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:45:14 2010
Subject: Re: Update on PSA

Ok--have them come by and show me the PSA next week.

Any other news to report?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; kdowd
Cc: Laurenjiloty >; Klevorick, Caitlin B <KlevorickCB@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:41:04 2010
Subject: Re: Update on PSA

B6

+ caitlin

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'kdowd
Cc: 'Laurenjiloty
Sent: Sun Sep 05 16:40:27 2010
Subject: Re: Update on PSA

Thx for all the work on the PSA. Could I see it this week?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Sep 03 09:56:56 2010
Subject: FW: Update on PSA

FYI

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 4:01 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I do. Its actually my folder of call sheets, (which I'm updating right now), but I can make one for you if you like! I'm working on them now anyway.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Nov 04 03:46:06 2010
Subject: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I thought I had put it into my purse but can't find it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 4:52 AM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C; H
**Subject:** RE: Do you have the yellow folder ?

lauren, why dont you bring down when you are done thanks

---

From: Jiloty, Lauren C [JilotyLC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, November 04, 2010 4:00 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I do. Its actually my folder of call sheets, (which I'm updating right now), but I can make one for you if you like! I'm working on them now anyway.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Nov 04 03:46:06 2010
Subject: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I thought I had put it into my purse but can't find it.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 10:54 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Wikileaks

Agree

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] <cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Nov 28 22:24:04 2010
Subject: Fw: Wikileaks

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark J. Penn [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Nov 28 22:12:09 2010
Subject: Wikileaks

The administration's response seems quite weak to me.

This is not like the Pentagon Papers or even the videos of the bombings, this is a wholesale capturing of the diplomatic material of the country. No State department can operate if it can't keep its own classified cables and internal orders confidential – I think this is unprecedented in history. And if this is wikileaks can get, what can the Chinese or other able to secure?

The issues surrounding the content are significant and could have legs.

But this security breach is not a targeted breach to make a whistle blower point, it is a wholesale leak that should be treated as putting lives in danger. For what it is worth, I think you need to order a full scale review and upgrading of the cyber security of the state department immediately. To offer a bounty for the capture of those responsible. And as I see you doing, take an aggressive position on Wikileaks. Just being seen as apologizing for the content is weak compared to reacting and acting to shore up the key principles behind security and aggressively dealing with the problem directly.

For what it's worth, that's my view.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 10:33 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Talks in Beijing

Tom and Larry doing fine in early meetings here in Beijing. Tom has highlighted critical role of S and ED. Larry somewhat discursive and academic on global economic issues. China intent on a good Hu summit in DC likely scheduled for January 2011. Dai agrees to meet with S in third city in Fall -- will work on details. More later Kurt

---

From: Dowd, Katie W
To: McHale, Judith A; McCall, Dawn L
Cc: MacInnes, Duncan H; Bosshardt, Marcia P; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Kenna, Corley; Smith, Dana S; Hensman, Chris D
Sent: Fri Sep 03 09:29:05 2010
Subject: Update on PSA

Wanted to update you all on the PSA and where things stand. The Ad Council placed the PSA on Wednesday.

Overall, based on the MNR report, our estimated online audience for the PSA launch story was 5.4 million, including stories on Yahoo Finance, Forbes, and CNN. For just over 24 hours since the MNR distribution, this is fantastic pickup per the Ad Council.

The Ad Council will continue to push this out domestically and giving us updates on where it is. They are targeting large sporting events like U.S Open, etc. If you would like the full report with specific stories, I can send separately however because the file is so large I do not want to max out everyone's inboxes.

On the International side and specifically S interest in placing with Al Jazeera, the Ad Council did a slightly modified version of the 30 sec PSA, removing the texting information on the final screen and is overnighting the tape to the State Department today. Once we have that (timing for Tuesday), we will work with Dana and PA to have the PSA placed accordingly where makes sense.

Larry has already said that local stations in Pakistan liked the ad and were using it/reporting on it. As he is obviously very busy, hard to know more beyond this point. IIP has been great and the revised ad is going up on America.gov. Will work them to see what other embassy sites, etc we can promote this with.

We will continue to work to place the ad and will have donation reports on Tuesday that hopefully will reflect monetary upticks as well. Let me know if you have any questions. Best, Katie

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 5:05 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Re: Do you have the yellow folder ?

Yep- ill have it in 5 mins for you. Almost done

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Nov 04 04:52:19 2010
Subject: RE: Do you have the yellow folder ?

lauren, why dont you bring down when you are done thanks

---

From: Jiloty, Lauren C [JilotyLC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, November 04, 2010 4:00 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I do. Its actually my folder of call sheets, (which I'm updating right now), but I can make one for you if you like! I'm working on them now anyway.

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To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Nov 04 03:46:06 2010
Subject: Do you have the yellow folder ?

I thought I had put it into my purse but can't find it.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 5, 2010 11:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update

Fyi

---

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sun Sep 05 19:57:44 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Update

Pls forward this to H. Very interesting take in situation. Thanks, RH

---

**From:** Rina Amiri <[redacted]> B6
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard
**Sent:** Sun Sep 05 19:28:25 2010
**Subject:** Update

-The damage to Kabul Bank's credibility appears to be irreparable. Thousands of people are lining up at Kabul Bank branches throughout the country to withdraw funds. While the situation is still orderly, there is mounting frustration--particularly in the provinces-- that the bank is unable to give people back their full deposits, forcing them to repeatedly return and stand in long lines to withdraw their money in increments. On Saturday close to 70 million dollars was withdrawn. Hajis (people who have provided funds to go to Haj) are also demanding their money bank. The overall sense is that it is a matter of days before the government will be forced to take over KB.

-There are also reports of security people employed at KB shaking people withdrawing money. The government has responded by replacing KB security with ANSF and NDS guards.

-On a positive note, the adverse situation in KB bank has not affected the other banks. The majority of people withdrawing funds from KB are opening new accounts in Afghan International Bank, Aziz Bank, among others. The heads of these banks have successfully projected corruption at KB as something that is associated with the leadership of KB rather than a more systematic problem affecting other banks. People are also turning to other banks because the security situation leaves them worried about keeping their savings at home.

-In the very short run, the government has come out ahead in this crisis. People are reassured that President Karzai has actively taken control of the situation and is showing leadership. But this is clearly the biggest crisis that President Karzai has faced in the last nine years. A number of the political elite are privately noting that the situation could escalate and people could turn against the government once they feel the effects of this crisis. Corruption, which President Karzai has cast a western concern, is now seen by Afghans as a fundamental problem within the government.

-While the majority of media outlets have been cautious to not criticize the Government, fearing that it could lead to further instability, this is expected to change in the coming days. Abdullah Abdullah has been one of the few voices that has come out and noted that the Government was an active agent in the KB scandal, pointing out in a press conference today that government cronyism was a big factor in this crisis and noting that no steps

have been taken to hold accountable those who illegally gambled with people's money. GIRoA is expected to come increasingly under such criticism as further evidence of government negligence and complicity becomes publicly known.

-Perhaps in an effort to deflect attention from this issue, the Government announced yesterday that the the High Peace Council will be established after Eid. Jihadi leaders such as Rabbani, Mujaddidi, Sayyaf are expected to feature prominently in the body. Women are expected to comprise 20% or 30% of the 50-60 council.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Muscatine Lissa
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 5:28 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Latest Draft of Foreign Affairs

I think it is a strong case and very clear now. I just want to read it again in the morning to make sure everything tracks and flows and double check a few facts. Also I realized this afternoon that we weren't overt about the QDDR being the first of many, but I think I took care of that in this draft. All in all, I feel good about it.

Sent from my iPhone. Apologies for any typos.

On Aug 29, 2010, at 4:47 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Thx for all you work on this. Do you fell ok about it now?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine
> To: H
> Cc: Jon Davidson; Huma Abedin <abedinh@state.gov>; Jacob J Sullivan
> <sullivanjj@state.gov
> >; Anne Marie Slaughter <SlaughterA@state.gov>
> Sent: Sun Aug 29 16:27:09 2010
> Subject: Latest Draft of Foreign Affairs
>
> Here is the latest draft, which incorporates your changes and
> suggestions, and has been through each of us (me, Jake, and AMS) at
> least once. There may still be a few facts to be tweaked and we are
> looking for one more example from WHA for the Mexico paragraph. I will
> also re-read it carefully later tonight and tomorrow morning to catch
> any typos, weird grammar, or things that don't flow. I'm too close to
> it now and want to read it again when I'm fresh. But hopefully this is
> close to final.
>
> Lissa
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 11:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: H: More, memo #3 on campaign, with new poll #s and inside info. Sid

ok

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty[redacted] B6
> Date: Mon, 6 Sep 2010 15:59:26 -0400
> Subject: Fw: H: More, memo #3 on campaign, with new poll #s and inside info. Sid
>
> Can you print the memo w/out any identifiers?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: sbwhoeop[redacted]<sbwhoeop[redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Sep 06 13:33:01 2010
> Subject: H: More, memo #3 on campaign, with new poll #s and inside info. Sid
>
>
>
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>
>
> CONFIDENTIAL
>
>
>
> September 6, 2010
>
>
>
> For: Hillary
> From: Sid
> Re: GOP unpopularity, Boehner unpopularity, stealth agenda for campaign and beyond
>
>
> 1. The Republican Party, despite everything, remains deeply unpopular. (See the second Ohio poll below.)
> 2. The Republicans have made the election a referendum on Obama and the Democrats, succeeding beyond their wildest dreams. (See the first poll below on Obama-Bush matchup and question 12 in second poll on Ohio voters' recall on who they voted for in 2008, giving McCain a three point margin.)
> 3. The Republicans have managed to hide their own negatives through the negative campaign against Obama.
> 4. The campaign is not being conducted as a contest. The Republicans have succeeded in making it only about approval of Obama.
> 5. The GOP is hiding John Boehner, who is unpopular in his home state of Ohio, where he's best known. To the extent he is known, he is disliked.
> 6. The Republicans are pretending they offer something new and not really the same old Republicans, to the extent they make any sort of offer.
> 7. The Tea Party is deliberately trying to hide its extremism behind a mask of novelty and now religious rhetoric. (The right wing strategy has been spelled out in detail to a friend of mine,[redacted]

> 8. So far, there is no Democratic campaign to focus on the Republicans and, therefore, no contest. Republicans are not

being exposed for their increasing dependence on extremists. They are not being pressed for their refusal to denounce extremism. Nor is the Tea Party being revealed as an extremist takeover movement. Nor is the Republicans' motive for smearing Obama being identified as a cynical strategy to put Boehner in power.
> 9. Whatever issue ginned up by Republicans—from illegal immigration to the "ground zero mosque"—is not about the issue itself. Everything, but everything, is about making John Boehner, that old scandal ridden hack Republican, the Speaker. No matter what the Republicans say, the ultimate issue is the Boehner power-grab.
> 10. The Republican Party is the same old party. It's unreformed. It hasn't learned anything. It can't control its extremists.
>
>
> http://publicpolicypolling.blogspot.com/2010/08/previewing-ohio.html
>
> Tuesday, August 31, 2010
>
>
> Previewing Ohio <http://publicpolicypolling.blogspot.com/2010/08/previewing-ohio.html>
>
> We'll start rolling out our Ohio poll results tomorrow but there's one finding on the poll that pretty much sums it up: by a 50-42 margin voters there say they'd rather have George W. Bush in the White House right now than Barack Obama.
>
> Independents hold that view by a 44-37 margin and there are more Democrats who would take Bush back (11%) than there are Republicans who think Obama's preferable (3%.)
>
> A couple months ago I thought the Pennsylvanias and Missouris and Ohios of the world were the biggest battlegrounds for 2010 but when you see numbers like this it makes you think it's probably actually the Californias and the Wisconsins and the Washingtons.
>
> There's not much doubt things are getting worse for Democrats...and they were already pretty bad. Somehow the party base needs to get reinvigorated over the next two months or there's going to be a very, very steep price to pay.
>
>
> http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/PPP_Release_OH_903.pdf
>
> Public Policy Polling
> 3020 Highwoods Blvd.
> Raleigh, NC 27604
> Phone: 888 621-6988
> Web: www.publicpolicypolling.com
> Email: information@publicpolicypolling.com
> FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 3, 2010
> INTERVIEWS: DEAN DEBNAM 888-621-6988 / 919-880-4888 (serious media
> inquiries only please, other questions can be directed to Tom Jensen)
> QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLL: TOM JENSEN 919-744-6312
> GOP Leads OH Generic Ballot, Boehner Not Popular
> Raleigh, N.C. – Despite expanding their lead to 47-41 over Democrats in the generic
> Congressional ballot, only 29% of likely Ohio voters approve of the direction of the
> Republican Party, with 55% disapproving, suggesting that their preference for the GOP is
> simply a vote for change, not a vote of affirmation or a mandate. Also supporting that
> notion: a 43% plurality finds the GOP to be too conservative, with only 29% seeing their
> views as "about right."
> And in bad news for Minority Leader John Boehner, only 28% of his home-state voters
> want him to become Speaker if Republicans take back the U.S. House, with 44%
> preferring "someone else." GOP voters do support Boehner for Speaker, but only by a
> 54-15 margin. Democrats, who would not vote for a Republican majority anyway,
> oppose him, 73-6, and independents, 41-22.
> In June, Republicans were favored for Congress only 44-43 among registered voters, but
> the six-point shift in the partisan makeup of the likely electorate corresponds almost
> exactly with the shift in the generic ballot. On top of that, Republicans are united around
> their party's candidates 94-1, versus Democrats at 89-6. Democrats have actually

> improved slightly among independents, though Republicans still lead 36-23. There is
> considerable room for Democratic House candidates to make up ground by appealing to
> the 41% of unaffiliateds who are undecided and by boosting turnout among their voters.
> While Republicans approve of the direction of their party, 59-20, independents
> disapprove, 61-13. 31% of Republicans and 20% of independents find the GOP too
> liberal, but 76% of Democrats and 43% of independents find it too conservative.
> There has been no change in the race for Attorney General. Mike DeWine leads
> Democrat Richard Cordray 44-40 after leading 44-41 in June.
> PPP surveyed 475 likely Ohio voters from August 27th to 29th. The margin of error for
> the survey is +/-4.5%. Other factors, such as refusal to be interviewed and weighting,
> may introduce additional error that is more difficult to quantify.
> If you would like an interview regarding this release, please contact Dean Debnam at
> (888) 621-6988 or 919-880-4888.
> June 26-27, 2010
> Survey of 482 Ohio voters
> 3020 Highwoods Blvd.
> Raleigh, NC 27604
> information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988
> Ohio Survey Results
> Q1 The candidates for Attorney General are
> Democrat Richard Cordray and Republican
> Mike DeWine. If the election was today, who
> would you vote for?
> Richard Cordray..... 40%
> Mike DeWine ..... 44%
> Undecided..... 16%
> Q2 Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion
> of Mike DeWine?
> Favorable..... .35%
> Unfavorable ..... .33%
> Not sure ..... .32%
> Q3 Will you vote Democratic or Republican for US
> House this fall?
> Democratic..... 41%
> Republican..... 47%
> Undecided..... 12%
> Q4 Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion
> of John Boehner?
> Favorable..... 27%
> Unfavorable ..... 31%
> Not sure ..... 42%
> Q5 If Republicans take control of Congress, would
> you like John Boehner to be Speaker of the
> House, or would you rather it was someone
> else?
> John Boehner..... 28%
> Someone else ..... 44%
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> Q6 Do you approve or disapprove of the direction
> of the Republican Party?
> Approve..... 29%
> Disapprove..... 55%
> Not sure ..... 17%
> Q7 Do you think the Republican Party is too liberal,
> too conservative, or about right?
> Too liberal ..... 21%
> Too conservative..... 43%
> About right ..... 29%
> Not sure ..... 7%

> Q8 Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion
> of LeBron James?
> Favorable..... 19%
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> Q10 Do you think John Boehner spends too much,
> not enough, or about the right amount of time
> working on his tan?
> Too much ..... 30%
> Not enough ..... 4%
> About the right amount of time..... 14%
> Not sure ..... 51%
> Q11 Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion
> of John Boehner's tan?
> Favorable..... 8%
> Unfavorable ..... 27%
> Not sure ..... 64%
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> John McCain..... 48%
> Barack Obama..... 45%
> Someone else/Don't remember ..... 7%
> June 26-27, 2010
> Survey of 482 Ohio voters
> 3020 Highwoods Blvd.
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> information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988
> Q13 Would you describe yourself as a liberal,
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> Liberal ..... 16%
> Moderate..... 44%
> Conservative..... 40%
> Q14 If you are a woman, press 1. If a man, press 2.
> Woman ..... 53%
> Man..... 47%
> Q15 If you are a Democrat, press 1. If a Republican,
> press 2. If you are an independent or identify
> with another party, press 3.
> Democrat ..... 40%
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> 2. If other, press 3.
> White ..... 87%
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> Other..... 3%
> Q17 If you are 18 to 29 years old, press 1. If 30 to
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> Raleigh, NC 27604
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>
> Email from [redacted] 9/6/10, on interview [redacted] B6
>
> Off the record: I had long conversation yesterday with [redacted] very scary. His prediction: "a wave of Biblical proportions" in November. the House is gone; he sees a new bloc of up to 10 true conservative senators, joining Coburn and DeMint, and creating a virtual third party in Senate holding balance of power. He says their polling suggests Tea Party candidates well ahead in Ky., Colo., senate races (NYT disputes that today) , and Nevada still a tossup..I went to the Glenn Back rally, and [redacted] largely agreed with my assessment that its purpose in part was to inoculate the movement against public concern over extremism and racism leading up to election. (Thus theme of Faith, Hope, Charity.) Americans for Prosperity (Koch group) made sure there were no signs, etc.
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>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) <SternTD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 28, 2010 11:11 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H
**Subject:** Re: Question

Hi. I'm very sorry, but I just saw this. Don't know how it escaped my attention. I will track it down tomorrow. I don't know off hand. Hope you had a good Thanksgiving. Jen and kids and I were in Chicago. See you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Wed Nov 24 12:27:56 2010
Subject: Question

Dear Todd--

A friend forwarded me the email reprinted below. Do you know what it refers to?
Obviously, I'm prepared to help. Just let me know. Thx and Happy Thanksgiving!

---

I just realized, it was Hillary who made the big adaptation promise at Copenhagen. We're trying to get Nelson to join Boxer in pushing Levin to include the adaptation authorization language (no cost) to the Def Auth. It would be a HUGE win for our community and also, it seems, for Hillary. Do you think that is something her crew might weigh in on? It's really a small ask and very easy lift...the problem is it just hasn't been a high priority. But we now have Boxer who says she'll champion if she can get an ally on Armed Services to approach Levin. So if Hillary's folks could engage Nelson (and/or Levin) to get them on board, that would be HUGE. I know there is a lot out there to her, but it seems like with this and ATT, what we're asking is very much in her interest and as much a gift as a request.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 7:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Netanyahu wants Israeli troops at Palestinian border

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 04:20:37 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Netanyahu wants Israeli troops at Palestinian border

JERUSALEM (AP) - Prime Minister Netanyahu says Israel wants to keep its troops on the eastern border of a future Palestinian state. Palestinians reject the idea and have proposed an international force along the West Bank's border with Jordan as part of a peace deal. Netanyahu told U.S. Jewish leaders in a conference call on September 20 that "the only force that can be relied on to defend the Jewish people is the Israeli Defense Force." Netanyahu says an international force can't ensure Israel's security. He fears Palestinian militants will attack Israel from within a Palestinian state if Israeli troops are withdrawn from the West Bank-Jordan border. Palestinian President Abbas maintains that an Israeli troop presence would infringe upon Palestinian sovereignty.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 11:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke asking to talk to you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 6:34 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule Monday 11/29/10

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Sent:** Sun Nov 28 19:04:14 2010
**Subject:** Mini Schedule Monday 11/29/10

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence

En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**

10:00 am HST 7516 (Principals Conference Room, 7th Floor)

10:05 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**

10:15 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:15 am **PRESS STATEMENT ON WIKILEAKS**

10:25 am Treaty Room

10:30 am **MEETING w/TURKISH FM AHMET DAVUTOGLU**

11:30 am Secretary's Conference Room *Photo spray at top in Treaty Room.

11:45 am **MEETING w/SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NORTH KOREA**

12:05 pm **POLICY AMBASSADOR STEPHEN BOSWORTH** Secretary's Office

12:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**

1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:25 pm **DEPART** State Department

En route Andrews Air Force Base

1:50 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base (AAB)

2:00 pm **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base

En route Shannon International Airport

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 1:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: More, memo #3 on campaign, with new poll #s and inside info. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo #3 midterm strategy 090610.docx; hrc memo #3 midterm strategy 090610.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: GOP unpopularity, Boehner unpopularity, stealth agenda for campaign and beyond

The Republican Party, despite everything, remains deeply unpopular. (See the second Ohio poll below.)
The Republicans have made the election a referendum on Obama and the Democrats, succeeding beyond their wildest dreams. (See the first poll below on Obama-Bush matchup and question 12 in second poll on Ohio voters' recall on who they voted for in 2008, giving McCain a three point margin.)
The Republicans have managed to hide their own negatives through the negative campaign against Obama.
The campaign is not being conducted as a contest. The Republicans have succeeded in making it only about approval of Obama.
The GOP is hiding John Boehner, who is unpopular in his home state of Ohio, where he's best known. To the extent he is known, he is disliked.
The Republicans are pretending they offer something new and not really the same old Republicans, to the extent they make any sort of offer.
The Tea Party is deliberately trying to hide its extremism behind a mask of novelty and now religious rhetoric. (The right wing strategy has been spelled out in detail to a friend of mine,
So far, there is no Democratic campaign to focus on the Republicans and, therefore, no contest. Republicans are not being exposed for their increasing dependence on extremists. They are not being pressed for their refusal to denounce extremism. Nor is the Tea Party being revealed as an extremist takeover movement. Nor is the Republicans' motive for smearing Obama being identified as a cynical strategy to put Boehner in power.
Whatever issue ginned up by Republicans—from illegal immigration to the "ground zero mosque"—is not about the issue itself. Everything, but everything, is about making John Boehner, that old scandal ridden

hack Republican, the Speaker. No matter what the Republicans say, the ultimate issue is the Boehner power-grab.

The Republican Party is the same old party. It's unreformed. It hasn't learned anything. It can't control its extremists.

http://publicpolicypolling.blogspot.com/2010/08/previewing-ohio.html

# Tuesday, August 31, 2010

## Previewing Ohio

We'll start rolling out our Ohio poll results tomorrow but there's one finding on the poll that pretty much sums it up: by a 50-42 margin voters there say they'd rather have George W. Bush in the White House right now than Barack Obama.

Independents hold that view by a 44-37 margin and there are more Democrats who would take Bush back (11%) than there are Republicans who think Obama's preferable (3%.)

A couple months ago I thought the Pennsylvanias and Missouris and Ohios of the world were the biggest battlegrounds for 2010 but when you see numbers like this it makes you think it's probably actually the Californias and the Wisconsins and the Washingtons.

There's not much doubt things are getting worse for Democrats...and they were already pretty bad. Somehow the party base needs to get reinvigorated over the next two months or there's going to be a very, very steep price to pay.

http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/PPP_Release_OH_903.pdf

Public Policy Polling
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
Phone: 888 621-6988
Web: www.publicpolicypolling.com
Email: information@publicpolicypolling.com

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 3, 2010**
**INTERVIEWS: DEAN DEBNAM 888-621-6988 / 919-880-4888 (serious media inquiries only please, other questions can be directed to Tom Jensen)**
**QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLL: TOM JENSEN 919-744-6312**

**GOP Leads OH Generic Ballot, Boehner Not Popular**

**Raleigh, N.C.** – Despite expanding their lead to 47-41 over Democrats in the generic Congressional ballot, only 29% of likely Ohio voters approve of the direction of the Republican Party, with 55% disapproving, suggesting that their preference for the GOP is simply a vote for change, not a vote of affirmation or a mandate. Also supporting that notion: a 43% plurality finds the GOP to be too conservative, with only 29% seeing their views as "about right."

And in bad news for Minority Leader John Boehner, only 28% of his home-state voters want him to become Speaker if Republicans take back the U.S. House, with 44% preferring "someone else." GOP voters do support Boehner for Speaker, but only by a 54-15 margin. Democrats, who would not vote for a Republican majority anyway,

oppose him, 73-6, and independents, 41-22.

In June, Republicans were favored for Congress only 44-43 among registered voters, but the six-point shift in the partisan makeup of the likely electorate corresponds almost exactly with the shift in the generic ballot. On top of that, Republicans are united around their party's candidates 94-1, versus Democrats at 89-6. Democrats have actually improved slightly among independents, though Republicans still lead 36-23. There is considerable room for Democratic House candidates to make up ground by appealing to the 41% of unaffiliateds who are undecided and by boosting turnout among their voters.

While Republicans approve of the direction of their party, 59-20, independents disapprove, 61-13. 31% of Republicans and 20% of independents find the GOP too liberal, but 76% of Democrats and 43% of independents find it too conservative.

There has been no change in the race for Attorney General. Mike DeWine leads Democrat Richard Cordray 44-40 after leading 44-41 in June.

PPP surveyed 475 likely Ohio voters from August 27th to 29th. The margin of error for the survey is +/-4.5%. Other factors, such as refusal to be interviewed and weighting, may introduce additional error that is more difficult to quantify.

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**June 26-27, 2010**

Survey of 482 Ohio voters

3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Ohio Survey Results**

**Q1** The candidates for Attorney General are Democrat Richard Cordray and Republican Mike DeWine. If the election was today, who would you vote for?

*Richard Cordray*..... 40%
*Mike DeWine* ..... 44%
*Undecided*..... 16%

**Q2** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Mike DeWine?

*Favorable*..... .35%
*Unfavorable* ..... .33%
*Not sure* ..... .32%

**Q3** Will you vote Democratic or Republican for US House this fall?

*Democratic*..... 41%
*Republican*..... 47%
*Undecided*..... 12%

**Q4** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner?

*Favorable*..... 27%
*Unfavorable* ..... 31%
*Not sure* ..... 42%

**Q5** If Republicans take control of Congress, would you like John Boehner to be Speaker of the House, or would you rather it was someone else?

*John Boehner*..... 28%
*Someone else* ..... 44%

*Not sure* ..... 28%

**Q6** Do you approve or disapprove of the direction of the Republican Party?

*Approve*..... 29%

*Disapprove*..... 55%

*Not sure* ..... 17%

**Q7** Do you think the Republican Party is too liberal, too conservative, or about right?

*Too liberal* ..... 21%

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**Q8** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of LeBron James?

*Favorable*..... 19%

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**Q9** Do you consider yourself to be a Cleveland Cavaliers fan?

*Yes*..... 37%

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**Q10** Do you think John Boehner spends too much, not enough, or about the right amount of time working on his tan?

*Too much* ..... 30%

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**Q11** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner's tan?

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**Q12** Who did you vote for President in 2008?

*John McCain*..... 48%

*Barack Obama*..... 45%

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3020 Highwoods Blvd.

Raleigh, NC 27604

information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Q13** Would you describe yourself as a liberal, moderate, or conservative?

*Liberal* ..... 16%

*Moderate*..... 44%

*Conservative*..... 40%

**Q14** If you are a woman, press 1. If a man, press 2.

*Woman* ..... 53%

*Man*..... 47%

**Q15** If you are a Democrat, press 1. If a Republican, press 2. If you are an independent or identify

with another party, press 3.
*Democrat* ..... 40%
*Republican*..... 40%
*Independent/Other*..... 20%
**Q16** If you are white, 1. If African-American, press 2. If other, press 3.
*White* ..... 87%
*African-American* ..... 10%
*Other*..... 3%
**Q17** If you are 18 to 29 years old, press 1. If 30 to 45, press 2. If 46 to 65, press 3. If older than 65, press 4.
*18 to 29*..... 8%
*30 to 45*..... 21%
*46 to 65*..... 44%
*Older than 65*..... 27%
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survey of 482 Ohio voters
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**Email from** [redacted] **9/6/10, on interview** [redacted] B6

Off the record: I had long conversation yesterday with [redacted] very scary. His prediction: "a wave of Biblical proportions" in November. the House is gone; he sees a new bloc of up to 10 true conservative senators, joining Coburn and DeMint, and creating a virtual third party in Senate holding balance of power. He says their polling suggests Tea Party candidates well ahead in Ky., Colo., senate races (NYT disputes that today) , and Nevada still a tossup..I went to the Glenn Back rally, and [redacted] largely agreed with my assessment that its purpose in part was to inoculate the movement against public concern over extremism and racism leading up to election. (Thus theme of Faith, Hope, Charity.) Americans for Prosperity (Koch group) made sure there were no signs, etc.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** follow-up

MS – I asked Huma about the Jackie Newmeyer/October 20th e-mail... she does not know what Jackie is referring to and also says that we have "cleared that day" for you.
Also, I passed forward to Huma and Eric that you would like to know details regarding the November 17 Women's Law Center honoring Melanne.
-Lauren

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 7:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Major Headline News 11-29

FYI

---

**From:** Barnes, Jennifer L [mailto:BarnesJL2@state.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 7:02 AM
**To:**
**Cc:** PA RRU
**Subject:** Major Headline News 11-29

# Major Headline News

**Wiki Leaks**

✓ "Open secrets"; "A superpower's view of the world"; "Leaks could deal a fatal blow to global trust"; "US red-faced as cablegate sparks global diplomatic crisis"; "Wiki Leaks placed a bomb under US-UN relations"; "Where smiles hide the truth, this will hurt"; "Disclosures of critical assessments of the main figures of the Islamic world by US, UK may cause a violent reaction from the followers of Islam"; "The real target is Obama"; "Leaders of UAE, Egypt and Jordan described Iran as evil, Karzai is power-mad, Putin is Alfa dog and Merkel is not creative": *International commentary worries over damage in international relations; individual markets review their own issues*

If you do not already subscribe to the Major Headlines News report, this product will be sent to you on a temporary basis for the duration of the WikiLeaks issue. If you would like to subscribe on a permanent basis, please contact me at Barnesjl2@state.gov for a direct subscription.

Jennifer Barnes
Deputy Director
Rapid Response Unit
PA/RRU
Room 2313
Main State
1-202-647-1278

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 3:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Syria rejects U.S. criticism over Lebanon

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Nov 04 11:14:20 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Syria rejects U.S. criticism over Lebanon

DAMASCUS (Reuters) – Syria rejected U.S. accusations that it was destabilizing Lebanon and said it did not need U.S. advice on how to deal with its smaller neighbor. President Bashar al-Assad Assad told al-Hayat newspaper in an interview published last week that the U.S. "created chaos in every place it entered." Two days later the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice accused Damascus of joining forces with Iran and the Lebanese Shi'ite movement Hezbollah to undermine Lebanon.

U.S. Undersecretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Jeffrey Feltman also told the Washington Post there would not be significant improvement in ties with Syria "as long as Syria's friends are undermining stability in Lebanon", a reference to Hezbollah.

An official Syrian statement published on Thursday said: "We do not need Feltman's advice because Syria is exercising its role through an independent decision to serve the interests of its people and the stability and security of the region."

CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASE IN PART
B6

September 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: GOP unpopularity, Boehner unpopularity, stealth agenda for campaign and beyond

1. The Republican Party, despite everything, remains deeply unpopular. (See the second Ohio poll below.)
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B6

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http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/PPP_Release_OH_903.pdf

Public Policy Polling
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Phone: 888 621-6988
Web: www.publicpolicypolling.com
Email: information@publicpolicypolling.com
**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 3, 2010**
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And in bad news for Minority Leader John Boehner, only 28% of his home-state voters

want him to become Speaker if Republicans take back the U.S. House, with 44% preferring "someone else." GOP voters do support Boehner for Speaker, but only by a 54-15 margin. Democrats, who would not vote for a Republican majority anyway, oppose him, 73-6, and independents, 41-22.

In June, Republicans were favored for Congress only 44-43 among registered voters, but the six-point shift in the partisan makeup of the likely electorate corresponds almost exactly with the shift in the generic ballot. On top of that, Republicans are united around their party's candidates 94-1, versus Democrats at 89-6. Democrats have actually improved slightly among independents, though Republicans still lead 36-23. There is considerable room for Democratic House candidates to make up ground by appealing to the 41% of unaffiliateds who are undecided and by boosting turnout among their voters.

While Republicans approve of the direction of their party, 59-20, independents disapprove, 61-13. 31% of Republicans and 20% of independents find the GOP too liberal, but 76% of Democrats and 43% of independents find it too conservative.

There has been no change in the race for Attorney General. Mike DeWine leads Democrat Richard Cordray 44-40 after leading 44-41 in June.

PPP surveyed 475 likely Ohio voters from August 27th to 29th. The margin of error for the survey is +/-4.5%. Other factors, such as refusal to be interviewed and weighting, may introduce additional error that is more difficult to quantify.

If you would like an interview regarding this release, please contact Dean Debnam at (888) 621-6988 or 919-880-4888.

**June 26-27, 2010**

Survey of 482 Ohio voters

3020 Highwoods Blvd.

Raleigh, NC 27604

information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Ohio Survey Results**

**Q1** The candidates for Attorney General are Democrat Richard Cordray and Republican Mike DeWine. If the election was today, who would you vote for?

*Richard Cordray*..... 40%
*Mike DeWine* ..... 44%
*Undecided*..... 16%

**Q2** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Mike DeWine?

*Favorable*..... .35%
*Unfavorable* ..... .33%
*Not sure* ..... .32%

**Q3** Will you vote Democratic or Republican for US House this fall?

*Democratic*..... 41%
*Republican*..... 47%
*Undecided*..... 12%

**Q4** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner?

*Favorable*..... 27%
*Unfavorable* ..... 31%
*Not sure* ..... 42%

**Q5** If Republicans take control of Congress, would you like John Boehner to be Speaker of the House, or would you rather it was someone else?
*John Boehner*..... 28%
*Someone else* ..... 44%
*Not sure* ..... 28%

**Q6** Do you approve or disapprove of the direction of the Republican Party?
*Approve*..... 29%
*Disapprove*..... 55%
*Not sure* ..... 17%

**Q7** Do you think the Republican Party is too liberal, too conservative, or about right?
*Too liberal* ..... 21%
*Too conservative*..... 43%
*About right* ..... 29%
*Not sure* ..... 7%

**Q8** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of LeBron James?
*Favorable*..... 19%
*Unfavorable* ..... 34%
*Not sure* ..... 47%

**Q9** Do you consider yourself to be a Cleveland Cavaliers fan?
*Yes*..... 37%
*No* ..... 63%

**Q10** Do you think John Boehner spends too much, not enough, or about the right amount of time working on his tan?
*Too much* ..... 30%
*Not enough* ..... 4%
*About the right amount of time*..... 14%
*Not sure* ..... 51%

**Q11** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner's tan?
*Favorable*..... 8%
*Unfavorable* ..... 27%
*Not sure* ..... 64%

**Q12** Who did you vote for President in 2008?
*John McCain*..... 48%
*Barack Obama*..... 45%
*Someone else/Don't remember* ..... 7%

**June 26-27, 2010**
Survey of 482 Ohio voters
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Q13** Would you describe yourself as a liberal, moderate, or conservative?
*Liberal* ..... 16%
*Moderate* ..... 44%
*Conservative* ..... 40%

**Q14** If you are a woman, press 1. If a man, press 2.
*Woman* ..... 53%
*Man* ..... 47%

**Q15** If you are a Democrat, press 1. If a Republican, press 2. If you are an independent or identify with another party, press 3.
*Democrat* ..... 40%
*Republican* ..... 40%
*Independent/Other* ..... 20%

**Q16** If you are white, 1. If African-American, press 2. If other, press 3.
*White* ..... 87%
*African-American* ..... 10%
*Other* ..... 3%

**Q17** If you are 18 to 29 years old, press 1. If 30 to 45, press 2. If 46 to 65, press 3. If older than 65, press 4.
*18 to 29* ..... 8%
*30 to 45* ..... 21%
*46 to 65* ..... 44%
*Older than 65* ..... 27%

**June 26-27, 2010**
survey of 482 Ohio voters
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Email from** [redacted] **9/6/10, on interview** [redacted] B6

Off the record: I had long conversation yesterday with [redacted] very scary. His prediction: "a wave of Biblical proportions" in November. the House is gone; he sees a new bloc of up to 10 true conservative senators, joining Coburn and DeMint, and creating a virtual third party in Senate holding balance of power. He says their polling suggests Tea Party candidates well ahead in Ky., Colo., senate races (NYT disputes that today) , and Nevada still a tossup..I went to the Glenn Back rally, and [redacted] largely agreed with my assessment that its purpose in part was to inoculate the movement against public concern over extremism and

racism leading up to election. (Thus theme of Faith, Hope, Charity.) Americans for Prosperity (Koch group) made sure there were no signs, etc.

No love lost for post-1996 Republican hacks, among whom he numbered Gingrich, DeLay, Hastert -- and Rove who is on the outs with his people.

Oversight committees will take lead in House after GOP victory, with a particular focus on Holder and Justice Dept. and KSM decision. Purpose will be to keep Democrats on defensive for whole 2 years leading up to 2012 election. (Obama, you recall, nixed investigations of Bush administration because he wanted to unite the country.) Would there be an investigation of Obama citizenship?? couldnt say b ecause he is now totally focused on the election, not what comes after.

[redacted] My take: Of course House will vote to repeal health care reform (despite no chance of senate passage) ; funding dozens of EPA initiatives in Appropriations Committee, and there will be stand-alone vote to block EPA from implementing carbon rules (even though EPA is only acting as a result of a Supreme Court decision); and budget legislation that adopts part of the Ryan plan (tho not privatization of SS.).. B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 7:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) ROK cancels new artillery drill on tense island

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**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Korea; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-1; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 07:05:38 2010
**Subject:** (AP) ROK cancels new artillery drill on tense island

SEOUL (AP) – The Republic of Korea's military canceled a live-fire artillery exercise planned for November 30 on the front-line island targeted last week by a deadly DPRK bombardment. The military did not give a reason for the cancellation.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 4:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Iran blocks former president's website

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Nov 04 16:36:28 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Iran blocks former president's website

TEHRAN (AP) - The website of former Iranian President Khatami announced authorities have blocked it without explanation.

A statement on Khatami.ir said a government committee had decided to filter the website, which on November 4 could only be reached from inside Iran through proxy servers.

While the site was not known to be controversial, Khatami, president from 1997 to 2005, supported opposition leader Mir Hossein Mousavi in 2009 presidential election that led to re-election of President Ahmadinejad.

Earlier this year authorities banned Khatami from traveling to Japan to attend a conference.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel says Arabs agree on Iran threat

---

**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 07:30:22 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israel says Arabs agree on Iran threat

TEL AVIV (AP) - Israel's prime minister says newly leaked U.S. diplomatic cables provide clear proof that the Arab world agrees with his country's assessment that Iran is the chief danger to the Middle East. Benjamin Netanyahu said on November 29 "that the greatest threat to peace in the region, if not in the world, has been revealed." According to the cables released November 28 by Wikileaks, various Arab countries including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, have used terms like "evil" and "existential threat" to describe Iran. Some urged U.S. airstrikes on Iranian nuclear facilities. Netanyahu said that if Arab leaders would say in public what they say privately "there might be a breakthrough."

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Turkish Media Reaction - Wikileaks, November 29, 2010

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**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Burns, William J
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 08:02:57 2010
**Subject:** FW: Turkish Media Reaction - Wikileaks, November 29, 2010

**Here is first cut from Turkish media.** [redacted] B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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**From:** Guido, Deborah L
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 05:35:04 2010
**Subject:** Turkish Media Reaction - Wikileaks, November 29, 2010

**Media Highlights: Revelations by WikiLeaks – Turkey is the Epicenter**

**US Embassy Ankara – *Turkey Media Reaction – November 29, 2010* as prepared by the *Public Affairs Information Office***

**How the US Is Playing/Related News**

**Ankara Is WikiLeaks Epicenter** (Hurriyet)
Turkish media is awash in Wikileaks revelations, with most focused on the 7,918 cables - the largest number for any one country - emanating from the US Embassy in Ankara. All news channels NTV and CNN Turk reported that PM Erdogan, as he departed for Libya on 11/29, told reporters "let the Wikileaks show what it has and, then, ...we can learn how serious or unserious these reports are because the credibility of Wikileaks is in question. So, currently we are waiting for them to print what they have. Then we can make an evaluation and necessary statement." Pro-government *Sabah* columnist Mehmet Barlas asks "Are Wikileaks Docs More Striking than Reality?" and opines "It's hard to understand why the State Department has panicked this much. After all, this information is gathered from the facts, media, and different sources. What could remain secret in an information age?" Asli Aydintasbas in *Milliyet*: Over the past year, the AK Party government had a volatile relationship with the Obama Administration. The documents show that Americans do not see the government in Ankara as a real ally, and that they have concerns. Unlike the style used in bilateral meetings, a much tougher language is used backstage. The fact that the Turkish foreign minister knows his interlocutors characterize him as 'dangerous' at a time he's in Washington will stiffen the distrustfulness between the two capitals." In "Ankara WikiLeaks Epicenter," mainstream *Hurriyet*'s front page headline report mirrors most Turkish media reports in saying that the documents show that the US Embassy in Ankara views Turkey "as a country with divisions in leadership" and that "Turkey cannot be trusted because it was not likely to join the EU and was heading to an Islamist future." *Hurriyet* spotlights reports that purportedly say Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan had "incompetent" advisors and was pursuing a secret, Islamist agenda and that describe him as "stubborn, workaholic and perfectionist," but "not a tyrant." *Hurriyet* concludes that reports indicated that that the US views Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu as an "exceptionally dangerous" figure and that "America had been alarmed by his aspirations to reassert the influence the Ottoman Empire used to exert on the region." In "9/11 of Diplomacy: WikiLeaks Releases 'Secret State Documents,'" Islamist-oriented *Zaman* reports that Ankara believes [the high number of cables from the US Embassy in Ankara] proves Turkey's importance and its diplomatic effectiveness." In "The WikiLeaks Bomb," pro-government, Islamist-oriented *Yeni Safak* reports the WikiLeaks releases contain "shocking details"

such as the chief of Mossad, Meir Dagan, telling an American official Islam was on the rise in Turkey, and "asking for how long the military, the defender of the secular identity, would remain silent." Other media cover the story as follows:

In its two-page spread, Zaman chronicles details of a FM Davutoglu –A/S Gordon meeting from November 12, 2009 in which the US side asks Turkey to take a tougher position against Iran if Tehran disregards international pressure, as well as a February 18, 2010 meeting between U/S of State William Burns and Turkish Foreign Ministry U/S Feridun Sinirlioglu on Iraq.

In "Hell Breaks Loose," mainstream *Vatan* focuses on the detailed US reports about Prime Minister Erdogan and AK Party. The paper notes on its centerfold piece that Ergenekon was closely watched by the US and that US officials were holding talks with Turkish generals. Both the Turkish government and the Turkish army were under close US surveillance, notes *Vatan*.

Pro-government *Sabah* in "Turkey Mark in WikiLeaks Documents," says the State Department has been waiting for the Wikileaks release with "curiosity and fear." Iran, Azerbaijan and the EU stand on the forefront in documents related to Turkey, says the paper.

Leftist *Taraf* in its front page banner headline, "They Monitored Even Erdogan's Son-in-Law," notes "in the documents, business connections of PM Erdogan's son-in-law were closely watched by the US. It's claimed that Erdogan rules Turkey with a group of incapable plotters."

Mainstream *Aksam* in "9/11 of Diplomacy," mentions American diplomats find Davutoglu very dangerous and add that "Turkey, with its axis shifting to East, is heading to an Islamist state."

Liberal *Radikal* and most media including the *CNN-Turk* headline "9/11 of Diplomacy." *Radikal* highlights "there was a struggle to prevent Wikileaks from releasing the secret documents but that "the documents that could put the relations with the US in trouble have been released anyway."

In "Hell Breaks Loose," mainstream *Vatan* focuses on the detailed US reports about Prime Minister Erdogan and AK Party. The paper notes on its centerfold piece that Ergenekon was closely watched by the US and that US officials were holding talks with Turkish generals. Both the Turkish government and the Turkish army were under close US surveillance, notes *Vatan*.

**Commentary In Full: "WikiLeaks Crypto will Cause Crisis in Washington" *(Milliyet)***
Asli Aydintasbas in *Milliyet*: "Three elements might cause damage between Ankara and Washington in the WikiLeaks revelations related to Turkey. First comes the claim that Turkey has helped al-Qaeda. A high level official believes this claim will not be convincing, because Ankara has proven itself in fighting against al-Qaeda. We recently see a flurry of news relating Turkey to al-Qaeda. All Turkish officials I have spoken with believe that such reports had been a campaign against Turkey which was launched right after the Mavi Marmara crisis. The second claim is the US is helping the PKK. If the WikiLeaks documents reveal a concrete tie between the US and the PKK, it will rock the two countries, further damaging the image of the US in Turkey. From time to time, the US has allowed Turkey to launch military operations into northern Iraq, but actually never really fought against the PKK. As a high level official put it, the US never supported the PKK but it also did not let the organization be destroyed, and kept it as an element of balance. The sources I have talked to said the leaks could contain information about the contacts of American officers or intelligence members with the PKK on security or other issues. Another possibility is contacts between Americans and the PKK's Iran wing, PJAK, but it's a remote possibility that this issue would be mentioned in diplomatic cables rather than intelligence reports. The third claim is the expressions used in the US State Department cables to define Turkish leaders. Over the past year, the AK Party government had a volatile relationship with the Obama Administration. The documents show that Americans do not see the government in Ankara as a real ally, and that they have concerns. Unlike the style used in bilateral meetings, a much tougher language is used backstage. The fact that the Turkish foreign minister knows his interlocutors characterize him as 'dangerous' at a time he's in Washington will stiffen the distrustfulness between the two capitals."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

Deborah L. Guido
Spokesperson

*U.S. Embassy Ankara*
*Office: 90-312-457-7312*
*Cell:* [redacted]
*Email: guidodl@state.gov*
*U.S. Embassy Web Page*
*Visit us on Facebook*

B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

[redacted] book project.doc
2010.08.10

DRAFT PROPOSAL

RELEASE IN PART
B6

MEMOIR OF [redacted]

Concept and rationale

B6

[redacted]

This original English-language "as told to" memoir will bring out her full story with a concreteness and vividness that will inform and move English-speaking readers. Her dramatic, engaging life story, told in her own voice, will reveal much that we never knew about China, its society, culture, politics, history, and the sufferings of its rural people, from the viewpoint of a distinctive, vivid individual. The book will show us Chinese society over a long span of time, and across a range of social classes and experiences. In this age of Chinese "soft power" when we are exposed to many images of a cosmopolitan China that is much like us, this book will allow Western readers to know a women whose personality and experiences are authentically Chinese, and to meet a hero who has a sharp tongue and is a real person. Above all, her life story brings to light the true situation of those with no voices, the rural people, the women and children, the sufferers.

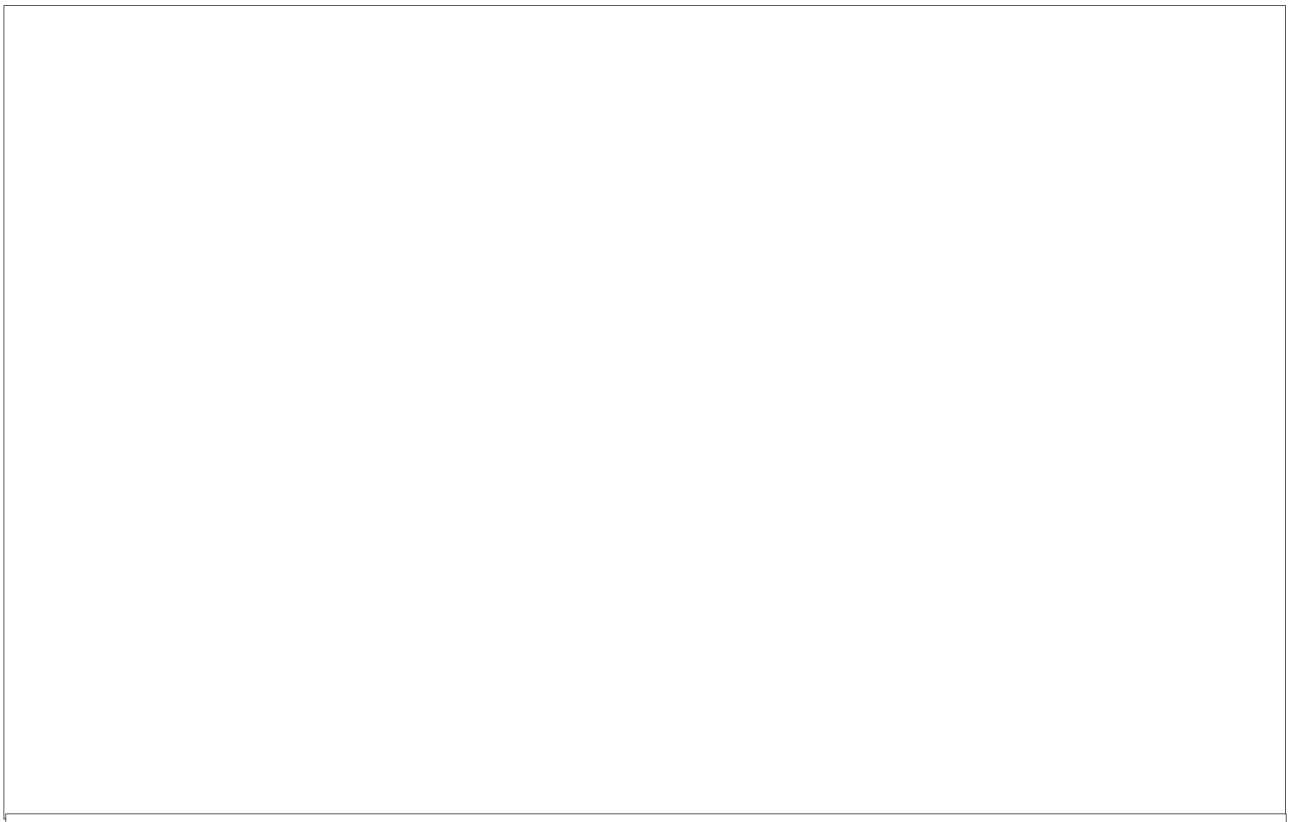
Summary

B6

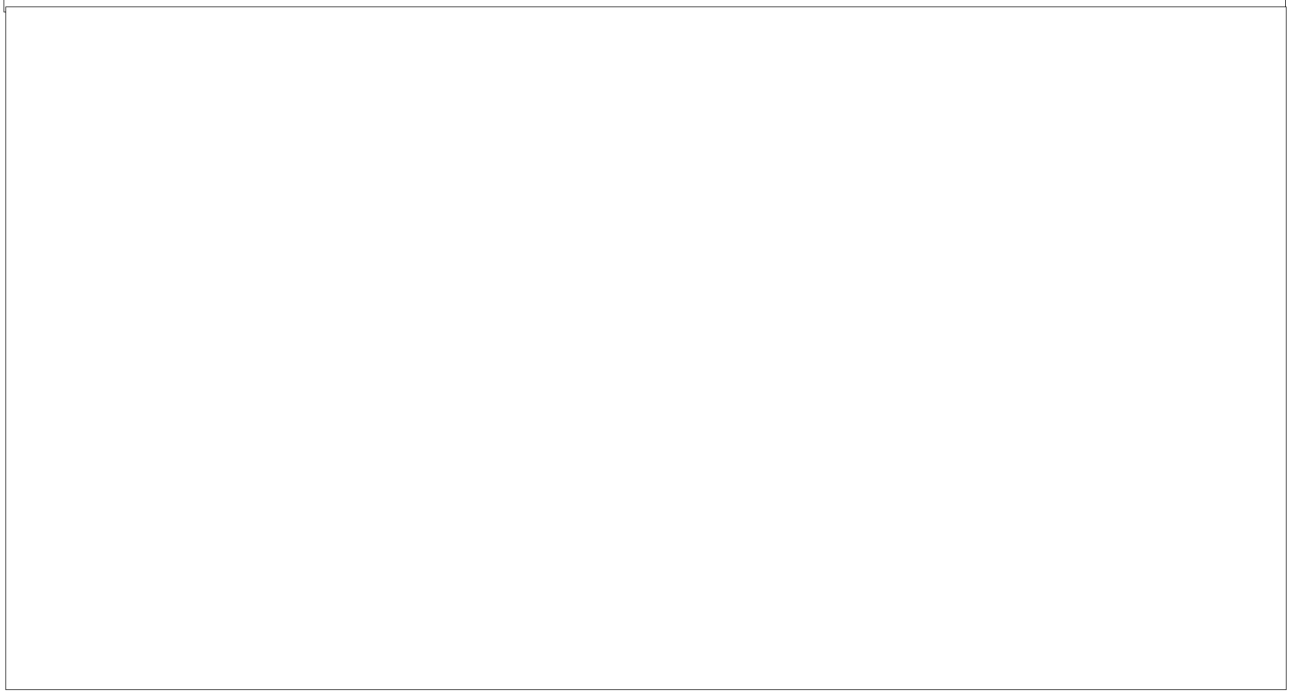
[redacted]

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B6



Personnel, timeline, and budget

[redacted] has agreed to sit for interviews and to be audio and video-recorded for possible deposit in an oral history collection. She is prepared to start as soon as support is acquired. The grant needs to cover her living expenses for about a year to participate in the project, which I estimate at [redacted] However, health insurance is also needed, and whether this can be covered by a grant of that size depends on how the grant is administered. For example, if

it comes through the Scholar Rescue Fund then health insurance would be included; but if not, it might be extra. An administering organization might also require overhead. [redacted] will also receive the major portion of the royalties of the book.

[redacted] will interview [redacted] and draft the manuscript. She is prepared to start as soon as the grant is obtained. Her job will take about a year and a half, covering both the interviewing and drafting the book. [redacted] They have a strong relationship of trust which will guarantee successful interviews. [redacted] spoken and written English are fluent. [redacted] living expenses are partly covered by [redacted] whom she is taking care of, but she will need some living expenses as well as a stipend for this job which will displace her academic work. The living stipend should be [redacted] and the stipend [redacted] per year. Over the course of a year and a half this would amount to [redacted] Again there may be overhead if the funds are granted through an institution that requires it. [redacted] will receive a share of the book's royalties to be negotiated with [redacted]

[redacted] will help shape the book to the market standards of English language readers, help polish the writing, and will serve as agent to place the book. She is a professional literary agent in New York who came originally from China. She will receive an agent's fee for the book. She should also receive an honorarium from the grant for her polishing work in the amount of [redacted]

B6

Andrew Nathan will participate throughout to help assure scholarly standards and make sure the book meets the needs of English language readers for context and explanation. [redacted] has asked him to review the manuscript to assure her of its appropriateness and fealty to her intentions. If desired by the publisher, Nathan will provide a foreword or a substantial introduction. Nathan will request an honorarium from the grant to symbolize his serious commitment to the project.

Attachments

Resumes of [redacted] Andrew J. Nathan

RELEASE IN PART
B6

| | |
|---|---|
| **From:** | Jake Sullivan [redacted] |
| **Sent:** | Monday, November 29, 2010 8:38 AM |
| **To:** | H |
| **Cc:** | sullivanjj@state.gov |
| **Subject:** | Re: Kissinger |

B6

I emailed Jeff yesterday and have not heard back. Will ping again this am.

On Mon, Nov 29, 2010 at 7:50 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Did you find out if he's going to China?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 10:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Netanyahu urges top ministers to extend settlement freeze

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; SES-O_Shift-I
**Cc**: NEWS-NEA; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Tue Oct 05 05:35:51 2010
**Subject**: (Haaretz) Netanyahu urges top ministers to extend settlement freeze

# (Haaretz) Netanyahu urges top ministers to extend settlement freeze

**PM to convene inner cabinet on Tuesday for vote on a 60-day moratorium in exchange for U.S. guarantees.**

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will convene his forum of top ministers on Tuesday afternoon to debate extending Israel's moratorium on construction in West Bank settlements for 60 days.

The concession would be made in exchange for a series of reported U.S. guarantees in Israel's direct peace negotiations with the Palestinians. Israel halted construction temporarily for 10 months, a freeze that ended on September 26.

The Palestinians have said they would not continue the recently renewed negotiations unless Israel agreed to halt construction again. The Obama administration has urged Israel to reconsider its refusal of that demand.

If Netanyahu succeeds in convincing the Forum of Seven to accept an extension of the construction freeze, he plans to bring the matter to the political-security cabinet for a vote later Tuesday.

Defense Minister Ehud Barak (Labor) and Intelligence and Atomic Energy Minister Dan Meridor (Likud) are expected to support Netanyahu's position, while Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman (Yisrael Beiteinu) is likely to present the greatest opposition.

Netanyahu is pinning his hopes now on Ministers Benny Begin (Likud), Moshe Ya'alon (Likud) and Eli Yishai (Shas). The prime minister has already met with Begin over the last few days in an attempt to convince him to change his previously expressed opposition to extending the freeze.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 5:12 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** To read on the trip
**Attachments:** Project Proposal 29Oct2010.doc

Robert Pape is a top strategic thinker from U of Chicago who is best known for his empirical work showing a strong correlation between suicide terrorism and occupation by foreign troops. In his new work he is proposing a grand strategy of off-shore/on-shore balancing, where we keep nimble deployable military forces over the horizon and use

---

**From:** rpape36 [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** [redacted]; Sokolsky, Richard D; McAuliffe, Marisa S
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 15:07:58 2010
**Subject:** Asking to Meet with You

Dear Anne-Marie,

As we discussed during your salon dinner with Steve Clemons at Nora's, I am developing a practical strategy of "off-shore/on-shore balancing" that would involve key USG agencies.

As the attached proposal explains, the new strategy is substantially different from previous historical constructs in the literature on American grand strategy and offers important advantages to improve our position in Afghanistan and other regions in the world in the coming years.

Going forward, I would like make sure I have State's views correct. If you and your staff could meet with me later next week, this would greatly help.

I look forward to further discussion.

Bob

--
Robert A. Pape
Professor, Political Science Department
Director, Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism
University of Chicago



B6

cpost.uchicago.edu

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 12:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Iraq government formation

For your situational awareness.

-----Original Message-----
From: Corbin, Michael H
Sent: Tuesday, October 05, 2010 12:37 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Iraq government formation

Depending of course on how the meeting goes today, we think it would be very good if the Secretary could attend the VP meeting tomorrow to make sure that the hard questions about where we are on Iraq government formation are addressed.

The Secretary uniquely brings the ability to express her instincts on where this process is going (or not going) and she brings the understanding of the whole region that we must take into account as we push for an Iraqi government. Her understanding of where we are on the Peace Process, our credibility with the full range of Arab leaders, and our relationship with Iran, are subjects she can put on the table and make sure are comprehensively considered before any decisions on a way forward are reached.

Michael

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

Michael Corbin
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
HST Room 6242
Tel.: (202) 647-0554
Email: CorbinMH@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Iran accepts date for talks with powers-Ahmadinejad

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**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 08:45:06 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Iran accepts date for talks with powers-Ahmadinejad

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iran has accepted a date for talks with major powers, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said. The six powers hope the talks -- for which a date of December 5 was previously mooted -- will focus on its disputed nuclear program, but Tehran has said its uranium enrichment activity will not be up for negotiation. "Two dates have been proposed, they accepted one of them and we do not have any problem with that," Ahmadinejad told a news conference, adding that the venue was still under discussion.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you!

MS --

B6

I hope the craziness of UNGA is going well -- thank you again!

All the best, Lona

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Kidnapped workers for Afghan female MP found dead

This is so discouraging.

---

**From:** Tom Malinowski [mailto:
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 5:44 PM
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Subject:** Kidnapped workers for Afghan female MP found dead

B6

Kidnapped workers for Afghan female MP found dead

Fauzia Galani is one of the few female candidates standing for election in September

The bodies of five people working for a female candidate in Afghanistan's parliamentary election have been found in western Herat province.

They were among a group of 10 people kidnapped by armed men on Wednesday. Five were later released, say reports.

The Taliban later said they carried out the abductions. No group has said it carried out the killings.

The staff were working for Fauzia Galani, who is seeking re-election to parliament in September's polls.

Police chief Nisar Ahmad Popal said the bodies had been found dumped on a mountainside in Adrskan district.

Reports say their hands had been bound and they had been shot in the head.

Taliban insurgents opposed to the elections in general - and female candidates in particular - have been blamed for the murder of a number of candidates.

On Saturday, candidate Haji Abdul Manan was shot and killed as he was leaving a mosque on the back of a motorcycle.

The Taliban have also been blamed for the kidnap of four women working at a drug treatment centre in northern Faryab province. Officials were reported to be negotiating to secure the women's release.

The US has sent an extra 30,000 troops to Afghanistan since December 2009 in an effort to defeat the Taliban.

But the BBC's Quentin Sommerville say that outside the city centres, the campaign of intimidation appears to be working, with many potential voters saying they are too afraid to go to the polls on 18 September.

More than 2,500 candidates are competing for 249 seats in the lower house.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771965 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**Project Proposal**

# USG Agency Roles in Off-Shore/On-Shore Balancing

This project will prepare by December 31, 2010, a proposal defining in practical terms the contributions of U.S. Government agencies to a security strategy of off-shore military and on-shore political-economic balancing.

**An Alternative Security Strategy.** Off-shore/on-shore balancing seeks to achieve America's core national security objectives through a combination of over-the-horizon ("off-shore") military power and in-region ("on-shore") economic and political power. Off-shore/on-shore balancing is an alternative to advancing U.S. security goals through the deployment of large ground forces overseas, already problematic and likely to become even more so as economic challenges continue and chronic resentment deepens. Off-shore/on-shore balancing relies on naval, air, and rapidly deployable ground forces in combination with on-site economic and political support for local partners to secure America's interests in combating terrorism and achieving other key national security goals, particularly in the Middle East and Asia.

**Afghanistan Case Study.** To explore the strategy in practice, the project will consider a three-year transition to off-shore/on-shore balancing in Afghanistan. In the first, USG agencies would empower Pashtun groups through political and economic programs to achieve greater autonomy and create local opposition to the Taliban. U.S. and NATO troops on the ground would provide security. In the second year, U.S. and NATO troops would continue to provide security for political and economic programs and deliver lethal effects against terrorist groups, but they would operate with from a shrinking footprint as they redeployed to less sensitive parts of the country. In the third year, U.S. and NATO would remove troops and rely on air, naval, and rapidly deployable ground forces to deliver over-the-horizon effects.

**Talking to the Practitioners.** The project aims to define the contributions from key agencies, starting with the State Department and then moving on to the intelligence community and the military services.

The project will solicit agencies' views on how current and future programs might contribute to the strategy, identify inter-agency processes that might facilitate the coordination of the strategy, and anticipate issues that would arise in a transition to the strategy.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771965 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) East Jerusalem housing gets preliminary OK

**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 08:49:52 2010
**Subject:** (AP) East Jerusalem housing gets preliminary OK

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel has given preliminary approval for 130 new apartments in disputed east Jerusalem. The November 29 decision by Jerusalem city authorities comes as peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians are at a standstill over building in the West Bank and east Jerusalem. City Hall spokesman Elie Isaacson says the new housing was approved for Gilo, a Jewish housing development in east Jerusalem. The project still needs final approval from Israel's Interior Ministry to go ahead.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 9:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Call: Westerwelle

MS,
Westerwelle has a call into you. He would like to discuss his recent trip to the Balkans. A call sheet is forthcoming – we are due to receive it mid-day today.

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Krishna call

The Indian foreign ministry has been pinging us to have a call between you and Krishna on the nuclear liability legislation. Bill believes you should call Krishna today – because he will be in receive mode – [redacted] B5 [redacted]. SCA is drafting that message with Bill's guidance. You could then call Menon tomorrow or Wednesday.

If you agree, we'll get the call sheet out to you soon.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Thank you!

I am currently out of the office [redacted] through mid-December. For specific scheduling issues, please contact Eric Woodard at WoodardEW@state.gov. For additional assistance, please reach out to our Special Assistants, Timmy Davis and Laura Lucas, at 202-647-9572. Thank you!

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** nothing to report

PJ now at 2:30pm on Thurs.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** To read on the trip back 2
**Attachments:** Project Proposal 29Oct2010.doc

Let me try this again.

Robert Pape is a top strategic thinker from U of Chicago who is best known for his empirical work showing a strong correlation between suicide terrorism and occupation by foreign troops. In his new work he is proposing a grand strategy of off-shore/on-shore balancing. Below is the elevator version, or at least an academic's version of the elevator version. What is interesting is how closely it tracks with our emphasis on civilian power and the need for a smaller military due to budget constraints. If you want more the attached one-page proposal outlines a 3-year series of steps to apply this proposal to Afghanistan.

"An Alternative Security Strategy. Off-shore/on-shore balancing seeks to achieve America's core national security objectives through a combination of over-the-horizon ("off-shore") military power and in-region ("on-shore") economic and political power. Off-shore/on-shore balancing is an alternative to advancing U.S. security goals through the deployment of large ground forces overseas, already problematic and likely to become even more so as economic challenges continue and chronic resentment deepens. Off-shore/on-shore balancing relies on naval, air, and rapidly deployable ground forces in combination with on-site economic and political support for local partners to secure America's interests in combating terrorism and achieving other key national security goals, particularly in the Middle East and Asia."

AM

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**From:** rpape36 [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** [redacted]; Sokolsky, Richard D; McAuliffe, Marisa S
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 15:07:58 2010
**Subject:** Asking to Meet with You

Dear Anne-Marie,

As we discussed during your salon dinner with Steve Clemons at Nora's, I am developing a practical strategy of "off-shore/on-shore balancing" that would involve key USG agencies.

As the attached proposal explains, the new strategy is substantially different from previous historical constructs in the literature on American grand strategy and offers important advantages to improve our position in Afghanistan and other regions in the world in the coming years.

Going forward, I would like make sure I have State's views correct. If you and your staff could meet with me later next week, this would greatly help.

I look forward to further discussion.

Bob

--
Robert A. Pape
Professor, Political Science Department
Director, Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism
University of Chicago
[redacted]
cpost.uchicago.edu

B6

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771993 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**Project Proposal**

# USG Agency Roles in Off-Shore/On-Shore Balancing

This project will prepare by December 31, 2010, a proposal defining in practical terms the contributions of U.S. Government agencies to a security strategy of off-shore military and on-shore political-economic balancing.

**An Alternative Security Strategy.** Off-shore/on-shore balancing seeks to achieve America's core national security objectives through a combination of over-the-horizon ("off-shore") military power and in-region ("on-shore") economic and political power. Off-shore/on-shore balancing is an alternative to advancing U.S. security goals through the deployment of large ground forces overseas, already problematic and likely to become even more so as economic challenges continue and chronic resentment deepens. Off-shore/on-shore balancing relies on naval, air, and rapidly deployable ground forces in combination with on-site economic and political support for local partners to secure America's interests in combating terrorism and achieving other key national security goals, particularly in the Middle East and Asia.

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**Talking to the Practitioners.** The project aims to define the contributions from key agencies, starting with the State Department and then moving on to the intelligence community and the military services.

The project will solicit agencies' views on how current and future programs might contribute to the strategy, identify inter-agency processes that might facilitate the coordination of the strategy, and anticipate issues that would arise in a transition to the strategy.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05771993 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 10:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Ahmadinejad says capitalism faces defeat

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 10:30:39 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Ahmadinejad says capitalism faces defeat

UNITED NATIONS (AP) - Iran's President Ahmadinejad said capitalism is facing defeat and called for an overhaul of the "undemocratic and unjust" global decision-making bodies. In a speech on the second day of a U.N. anti-poverty summit, the Iranian leader called on world leaders, thinkers and global reformers "to spare no effort" to make practical plans for a new world order. To spotlight this effort, Ahmadinejad proposed the United Nations name the current decade the Decade for Joint Global Governance.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Obama hopes START treaty will pass Congress soon

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**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Thursday, November 04, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Obama hopes START treaty will pass Congress soon

Obama hopes START treaty will pass Congress soon

(AFP) – 7 hours ago

WASHINGTON — US President Barack Obama Thursday said he hoped that a landmark nuclear weapons deal with Russia would win Congress approval before the end of this year.

The new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) was negotiated earlier this year to replace a similar treaty which expired at the end of December.

Obama appealed to Republicans to help approve the treaty when Congress returns on November 15, after the party put up stiff opposition to the new deal fearing it could hamper US missile defense plans.

"This is not a traditionally Democratic or Republican issue, but, rather, an issue of American national security," Obama said at a cabinet meeting, two days after Republicans posted strong gains in congressional elections.

"I'm hopeful that we can get that done... and send a strong signal to Russia that we're serious about reducing nuclear arsenals, but also send a signal to the world that we're serious about non-proliferation," Obama said.

The new Congress takes office in January, with Republicans set to take control of the House of Representatives and to add members to the Senate. So the next two months are known as a "lame duck" session, in which outgoing lawmakers often shy away from major legislation.

But START was facing trouble even in the current Congress. Under the US constitution, treaties need the approval of two-thirds of the Senate.

The START treaty -- signed by Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and Obama at an elaborate ceremony in Prague in April -- restricts each nation to a maximum of 1,550 deployed warheads, a cut of about 30 percent from a limit set in 2002.

US Defense Secretary Robert Gates echoed Obama's appeal, urging the Senate to ratify a treaty to ensure the resumption of inspections of Russia's arsenal.

His press secretary, Geoff Morrell, told reporters that Gates "and many other former defense secretaries and national security officials, from both parties, have frequently voiced their strong belief that this treaty is

absolutely critical to the effectiveness of our nuclear arsenal, our knowledge of Russian nuclear capabilities, and US national security overall."

In the Senate, the treaty enjoys the support of Richard Lugar, the top Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, along with several former Republican secretaries of state including Henry Kissinger.

But a growing number of Republicans have voiced opposition, saying it would impede the US ability to set up missile defenses against future potential threats such as Iran.

Former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, who is expected to seek the Republican nomination to run against Obama in 2012, has led the charge criticizing START.

CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASE IN PART
B6

September 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: GOP unpopularity, Boehner unpopularity, stealth agenda for campaign and beyond

1. The Republican Party, despite everything, remains deeply unpopular. (See the second Ohio poll below.)
2. The Republicans have made the election a referendum on Obama and the Democrats, succeeding beyond their wildest dreams. (See the first poll below on Obama-Bush matchup and question 12 in second poll on Ohio voters' recall on who they voted for in 2008, giving McCain a three point margin.)
3. The Republicans have managed to hide their own negatives through the negative campaign against Obama.
4. The campaign is not being conducted as a contest. The Republicans have succeeded in making it only about approval of Obama.
5. The GOP is hiding John Boehner, who is unpopular in his home state of Ohio, where he's best known. To the extent he is known, he is disliked.
6. The Republicans are pretending they offer something new and not really the same old Republicans, to the extent they make any sort of offer.
7. The Tea Party is deliberately trying to hide its extremism behind a mask of novelty and now religious rhetoric. (The right wing strategy has been spelled out in detail to a friend of mine,

B6

8. So far, there is no Democratic campaign to focus on the Republicans and, therefore, no contest. Republicans are not being exposed for their increasing dependence on extremists. They are not being pressed for their refusal to denounce extremism. Nor is the Tea Party being revealed as an extremist takeover movement. Nor is the Republicans' motive for smearing Obama being identified as a cynical strategy to put Boehner in power.
9. Whatever issue ginned up by Republicans—from illegal immigration to the "ground zero mosque"—is not about the issue itself. Everything, but everything, is about making John Boehner, that old scandal ridden hack Republican, the Speaker. No matter what the Republicans say, the ultimate issue is the Boehner power-grab.

10. The Republican Party is the same old party. It's unreformed. It hasn't learned anything. It can't control its extremists.

[illegible]

# Tuesday, August 31, 2010

[illegible]

We'll start rolling out our Ohio poll results tomorrow but there's one finding on the poll that pretty much sums it up: by a 50-42 margin voters there say they'd rather have George W. Bush in the White House right now than Barack Obama.

Independents hold that view by a 44-37 margin and there are more Democrats who would take Bush back (11%) than there are Republicans who think Obama's preferable (3%.)

A couple months ago I thought the Pennsylvanias and Missouris and Ohios of the world were the biggest battlegrounds for 2010 but when you see numbers like this it makes you think it's probably actually the Californias and the Wisconsins and the Washingtons.

There's not much doubt things are getting worse for Democrats...and they were already pretty bad. Somehow the party base needs to get reinvigorated over the next two months or there's going to be a very, very steep price to pay.

[illegible]

Public Policy Polling
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
Phone: 888 621-6988
Web: www.publicpolicypolling.com
Email: information@publicpolicypolling.com
**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 3, 2010**
**INTERVIEWS: DEAN DEBNAM 888-621-6988 / 919-880-4888 (serious media inquiries only please, other questions can be directed to Tom Jensen)**
**QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLL: TOM JENSEN 919-744-6312**
**GOP Leads OH Generic Ballot, Boehner Not Popular**
**Raleigh, N.C.** – Despite expanding their lead to 47-41 over Democrats in the generic Congressional ballot, only 29% of likely Ohio voters approve of the direction of the Republican Party, with 55% disapproving, suggesting that their preference for the GOP is simply a vote for change, not a vote of affirmation or a mandate. Also supporting that notion: a 43% plurality finds the GOP to be too conservative, with only 29% seeing their views as "about right."
And in bad news for Minority Leader John Boehner, only 28% of his home-state voters

want him to become Speaker if Republicans take back the U.S. House, with 44% preferring "someone else." GOP voters do support Boehner for Speaker, but only by a 54-15 margin. Democrats, who would not vote for a Republican majority anyway, oppose him, 73-6, and independents, 41-22.

In June, Republicans were favored for Congress only 44-43 among registered voters, but the six-point shift in the partisan makeup of the likely electorate corresponds almost exactly with the shift in the generic ballot. On top of that, Republicans are united around their party's candidates 94-1, versus Democrats at 89-6. Democrats have actually improved slightly among independents, though Republicans still lead 36-23. There is considerable room for Democratic House candidates to make up ground by appealing to the 41% of unaffiliateds who are undecided and by boosting turnout among their voters.

While Republicans approve of the direction of their party, 59-20, independents disapprove, 61-13. 31% of Republicans and 20% of independents find the GOP too liberal, but 76% of Democrats and 43% of independents find it too conservative.

There has been no change in the race for Attorney General. Mike DeWine leads Democrat Richard Cordray 44-40 after leading 44-41 in June.

PPP surveyed 475 likely Ohio voters from August 27th to 29th. The margin of error for the survey is +/-4.5%. Other factors, such as refusal to be interviewed and weighting, may introduce additional error that is more difficult to quantify.

If you would like an interview regarding this release, please contact Dean Debnam at (888) 621-6988 or 919-880-4888.

**June 26-27, 2010**

Survey of 482 Ohio voters

3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Ohio Survey Results**

**Q1** The candidates for Attorney General are Democrat Richard Cordray and Republican Mike DeWine. If the election was today, who would you vote for?

*Richard Cordray*..... 40%
*Mike DeWine* ..... 44%
*Undecided*..... 16%

**Q2** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Mike DeWine?

*Favorable*..... .35%
*Unfavorable* ..... .33%
*Not sure* ..... .32%

**Q3** Will you vote Democratic or Republican for US House this fall?

*Democratic*..... 41%
*Republican*..... 47%
*Undecided*..... 12%

**Q4** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner?

*Favorable*..... 27%
*Unfavorable* ..... 31%
*Not sure* ..... 42%

**Q5** If Republicans take control of Congress, would you like John Boehner to be Speaker of the House, or would you rather it was someone else?
*John Boehner*..... 28%
*Someone else* ..... 44%
*Not sure* ..... 28%

**Q6** Do you approve or disapprove of the direction of the Republican Party?
*Approve*..... 29%
*Disapprove*..... 55%
*Not sure* ..... 17%

**Q7** Do you think the Republican Party is too liberal, too conservative, or about right?
*Too liberal* ..... 21%
*Too conservative*..... 43%
*About right* ..... 29%
*Not sure* ..... 7%

**Q8** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of LeBron James?
*Favorable*..... 19%
*Unfavorable* ..... 34%
*Not sure* ..... 47%

**Q9** Do you consider yourself to be a Cleveland Cavaliers fan?
*Yes*..... 37%
*No* ..... 63%

**Q10** Do you think John Boehner spends too much, not enough, or about the right amount of time working on his tan?
*Too much* ..... 30%
*Not enough* ..... 4%
*About the right amount of time*..... 14%
*Not sure* ..... 51%

**Q11** Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of John Boehner's tan?
*Favorable*..... 8%
*Unfavorable* ..... 27%
*Not sure* ..... 64%

**Q12** Who did you vote for President in 2008?
*John McCain*..... 48%
*Barack Obama*..... 45%
*Someone else/Don't remember* ..... 7%

**June 26-27, 2010**
Survey of 482 Ohio voters
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988
**Q13** Would you describe yourself as a liberal, moderate, or conservative?
*Liberal* ..... 16%
*Moderate*..... 44%
*Conservative*..... 40%
**Q14** If you are a woman, press 1. If a man, press 2.
*Woman* ..... 53%
*Man*..... 47%
**Q15** If you are a Democrat, press 1. If a Republican, press 2. If you are an independent or identify with another party, press 3.
*Democrat* ..... 40%
*Republican*..... 40%
*Independent/Other*..... 20%
**Q16** If you are white, 1. If African-American, press 2. If other, press 3.
*White* ..... 87%
*African-American* ..... 10%
*Other*..... 3%
**Q17** If you are 18 to 29 years old, press 1. If 30 to 45, press 2. If 46 to 65, press 3. If older than 65, press 4.
*18 to 29*..... 8%
*30 to 45*..... 21%
*46 to 65*..... 44%
*Older than 65*..... 27%
**June 26-27, 2010**
survey of 482 Ohio voters
3020 Highwoods Blvd.
Raleigh, NC 27604
information@publicpolicypolling.com / 888 621-6988

**Email from** [redacted] **9/6/10, on interview** [redacted] B6

Off the record: I had long conversation yesterday with [redacted] very scary. His prediction: "a wave of Biblical proportions" in November. the House is gone; he sees a new bloc of up to 10 true conservative senators, joining Coburn and DeMint, and creating a virtual third party in Senate holding balance of power. He says their polling suggests Tea Party candidates well ahead in Ky., Colo., senate races (NYT disputes that today) , and Nevada still a tossup..I went to the Glenn Back rally, and [redacted] largely agreed with my assessment that its purpose in part was to inoculate the movement against public concern over extremism and

racism leading up to election. (Thus theme of Faith, Hope, Charity.) Americans for Prosperity (Koch group) made sure there were no signs, etc.

No love lost for post-1996 Republican hacks, among whom he numbered Gingrich, DeLay, Hastert -- and Rove who is on the outs with his people.

Oversight committees will take lead in House after GOP victory, with a particular focus on Holder and Justice Dept. and KSM decision. Purpose will be to keep Democrats on defensive for whole 2 years leading up to 2012 election. (Obama, you recall, nixed investigations of Bush administration because he wanted to unite the country.) Would there be an investigation of Obama citizenship?? couldnt say b ecause he is now totally focused on the election, not what comes after.

[redacted] My take: Of course House will vote to repeal health care reform (despite no chance of senate passage) ; funding dozens of EPA initiatives in Appropriations Committee, and there will be stand-alone vote to block EPA from implementing carbon rules (even though EPA is only acting as a result of a Supreme Court decision); and budget legislation that adopts part of the Ryan plan (tho not privatization of SS.)..

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: To read on the trip back 2

We miss you!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Thu Nov 04 18:20:42 2010
Subject: Re: To read on the trip back 2

Thanks--I look forward to reading it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Nov 04 18:10:19 2010
Subject: To read on the trip back 2

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Cc: [redacted] Sokolsky, Richard D; McAuliffe, Marisa S
Sent: Fri Oct 29 15:07:58 2010
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I look forward to further discussion.

Bob

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Robert A. Pape
Professor, Political Science Department
Director, Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism University of Chicago

[redacted] B6

cpost.uchicago.edu <http://cpost.uchicago.edu/>

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/16/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** New Development [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

I have alerted Moriarty and Blake.

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 B6
Sent: Friday, December 17, 2010 10:43 AM
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: New Development

Dear Melanne

[redacted] B1 1.4(D)

B1
1.4(D)

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The film - Richard Kaufman from Goodspot - who did last year's film - did it w/ guidance from Cindy and Caitlin: Katie did the logo and website

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 11:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** A Foreign Policy 100 top global thinkers plug for the QDDR

For a tiny bit of good news in such a bleak week, you and President Clinton came in at no. 13 in Foreign Policy's second annual list of top global thinkers, with special commendation to you for launching the QDDR (and for cookstoves and women's rights, as well as for your strong position on American leadership). Michele Flournoy and I also tied for no. 74 on the basis of our respective roles in the QDR and other reviews at DoD and the QDDR here at State. Here are the write ups

# 13. Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton

for proving that you don't need to be president to act presidential.

*FORMER PRESIDENT | NEW YORK*

*SECRETARY OF STATE | WASHINGTON*

Speaking to the Council on Foreign Relations in September, Hillary Rodham Clinton sounded a **confident note**: "After years of war and uncertainty, people are wondering what the future holds, at home and abroad. So let me say it clearly: The United States can, must, and will lead in this new century."

Ironically, two of the people most crucial to the new global century are the Clintons themselves: the ex-president and the ex-would-be-president, the power couple now defined by their position just outside the highest reaches of power. Except that, these days, both Clintons are more influential, and more beloved, than ever. Bill's Clinton Global Initiative is starting to feel like a sexier, more effective competitor not just to Davos but to the United Nations itself, bringing world leaders together to commit their resources to fighting poverty with market-based, technocratic solutions. As of this summer, his foundation had contributed $23 million and countless man-hours to the effort to rebuild Haiti. Polls have shown he's a better advocate for Democratic candidates than the actual president, and he spent most of the fall stumping for woebegone Dems from Orlando to Seattle.

Meanwhile, Hillary showed up in one recent poll as the most popular political figure in the United States, an accolade she has earned through a no-drama approach to an array of thankless tasks: brushing off Vladimir Putin's temper tantrum to reach agreement on nuclear disarmament and Iran sanctions, promoting women's rights over the objections of entrenched traditionalists, and launching an innovative effort to bring clean cookstoves to the world's

poorest. But what she has mainly stood for is American competence, with her Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review a major, if unglamorous step toward making U.S. statesmanship a more agile beast. If this is what Clinton nostalgia looks like, bring it on.

# 74. Michèle Flournoy and Anne-Marie Slaughter

for setting the tone of how the United States engages with the world.

*POLICY PLANNING CHIEFS, DEFENSE AND STATE DEPARTMENTS | WASHINGTON*

Barack Obama campaigned in 2008 on the promise of changing not just the style but the substance of how the United States deals with its allies and enemies abroad, and the job of figuring out how to enact the changes fell largely to two people in particular. At the State Department, Anne-Marie Slaughter, director of policy planning, is spearheading the department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. The review aims to rejuvenate marginalized civilian agencies such as the U.S. Agency for International Development, preparing for a world in which America's worst threats are not great-power rivals but the upheavals associated with failed and failing states.

Slaughter's Pentagon counterpart is Undersecretary for Policy Michèle Flournoy, co-founder of the Center for a New American Security think tank, who articulated a vision for a new Democratic realism in foreign policy that both candidates Hillary Clinton and Obama embraced in the 2008 election. In 2010 she oversaw the Pentagon's own quadrennial review, a blueprint that cuts back on big-ticket weapons systems and focuses instead on the immediate needs posed by today's asymmetrical conflicts. Flournoy has also been a vocal advocate for Obama's Afghanistan strategy, albeit a **pragmatic one**: "I don't want to suggest that achieving success will be simple or easy," she told the Senate in February. "We need to prepare for the possibility that things may get harder before they get better."

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 3:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: for HRC: 9th circuit case Davutoglu referred to in call

**From:** Macmanus, Joseph E
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Fri Dec 17 15:04:48 2010
**Subject:** for HRC: 9th circuit case Davutoglu referred to in call

## Appeals court reverses itself over Armenian suit

*By PAUL ELIAS*
The Associated Press
Friday, December 10, 2010; 6:12 PM

SAN FRANCISCO -- A federal appeals court on Friday reversed itself and now says the heirs of Armenians killed in the Turkish Ottoman Empire can seek payment from companies that sold their relatives life insurance.

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco said a California law labeling the killings as a "genocide" does not conflict with U.S. foreign policy, which the court said is unsettled on the issue.

The ruling was 2-1, the same vote the same judicial panel came to last year when it struck down the California law empowering the heirs to sue companies that sold life insurance policies to Armenians killed in Ottoman-era Turkey during World War I.

Last year, the same panel concluded that the U.S. government has sided with the Turkish government and formally taken the position against labeling the killings as a genocide. Therefore, that panel concluded, California's calling the event a genocide conflicted with U.S. foreign policy, making the state law invalid.

But in a rare and stunning move on Friday, Judge Dorothy Nelson changed her mind and sided with Judge Harry Pregerson, which turned his 2009 dissenting view into law.

"We conclude that there is no express federal policy forbidding states to use the term 'Armenian Genocide,'" Pregerson wrote.

The ruling revived a lawsuit filed by heirs against three German insurers, including Munich Re AG.

"This was totally unexpected," said attorney Brian Kabateck, who represents the Armenian heirs. "It's a great victory for the Armenia people."

Kabateck and other lawyers have filed similar lawsuits against New York Life Insurance Co. and French insurer AXA, which were settled in 2005 for a combined $37.5 million.

Turkey has long denied that the loss of 1.5 million Armenian lives between 1915 and 1919 constituted genocide and instead describes the deaths as resulting from civil unrest that accompanied the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Judge David Thompson, who wrote the now-overturned majority opinion last year, said in dissent that former presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush defeated congressional legislation that would have recognized an Armenian genocide. Thompson said those presidential efforts show the United States has a clear foreign policy against recognizing the deaths as a genocide.

The majority opinion Friday called those efforts "informal presidential communications" and not official policy. The court said the insurance companies can file a request for a rehearing. The companies could also ask the U.S. Supreme Court to consider the case.

Attorney Neil Michael Soltman, who represented the German insurance companies, said an appeal decision hasn't been made.

Soltman said he was surprised by the decision since no new facts or legal cases were presented to the appellate panel between its first decision in August 2009 and the court's about face Friday.

"It's very rare that a panel changes its mind," Soltman said. "Everything is exactly as it was in August 2009, and all of sudden there's a new opinion. It's hard to explain."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** outcome of the entrepreneurship summit

Here is a quite different picture of the Middle East – and an example of our leading in a different way. NB also the woman entrepreneur from Dubai. AM

---

**From:** Behrman, Greg M
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 10:02 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** FYI

AM, This appeared in Friday's Wash Post. This is the event I told you about. The organizers said it was "100% a child of the entrepreneurship summit" (they were both participants). A great example of USG leading, convening, profiling and catalyzing local leadership to take the baton and lead. gb

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/25/AR2010112502227.html?wpisrc=nl_opinions

# Dubai, a new locus of entrepreneurial energy

By Christopher M. Schroeder
Friday, November 26, 2010;

The sold-out gathering had the earmarks of a typical Silicon Valley event: more than 2,400 hungry entrepreneurs and investors, most young adults, tethered to their mobile devices - sharing, debating and connecting. There was the requisite hip music. Speakers who had "been there" were mixing with kids new to the game, dashing out ideas on white boards and rallying each other to new ventures.

That's where "typical" ended.

This month's Celebration of Entrepreneurship 2010 was hosted not in San Francisco or New York but in Dubai. The participants weren't familiar U.S. Internet names but a new generation of entrepreneurs representing every Islamic country in the Middle East. The visionaries behind the gathering weren't famous Western tech journalists or futurists but Pakistan-born Arif Naqvi, founder of the Middle East private equity firm Abraaj Capital, and Lebanese Jordanian entrepreneur Fadi Ghandour, who built the region's largest logistics and transportation services company. Absent were debates on politics, religion and historic obstacles. The only question on everyone's mind was "Why not us?"

Why not, indeed. As Vali Nasr wrote in "Forces of Fortune," his recent, must-read book on the economic rise of the Middle East: "The global Muslim population of a billion-plus is about the same size as both India and China's populations. In 2008 the GDP of the economies of five of the largest countries in and around the Middle East - Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, with a combined population of 420 million - was $3.3 trillion, the same size as that of India, which has three times the population." Is this troubled region ripe to unleash entrepreneurship and innovation of the sort that has driven growth and job creation around the world?

This nascent narrative about the Mideast has largely been missed by the West, and there are many tempting reasons to dismiss it. The gap between the mega-wealthy and desperate poor remains shocking; education and literacy remain profound challenges. Weighing heavily against the talent, transparency, speed and liquidity that have electrified entrepreneurship in the United States and elsewhere are corruption, high unemployment, heavy reliance on government largess, archaic and often indecipherable rules of law, and cultural resistance to investing beyond fixed assets. One need only spend a few days in Amman or Cairo, going through metal detectors in every restaurant, hotel and tourist destination, to feel the political realities.

But tell that to the young Kuwaiti who created mobile game apps for his own amusement . . . and found that more than 1 million people discovered and downloaded his products. Try to discourage the 19-year-old coffee entrepreneur in Yemen who insists that every aspect of his operations (including packaging, which is often outsourced to China) be done in his community.

The list goes on: Computer graphic animators in Damascus are doing things that could make 3-D look antiquated. An Egyptian entrepreneur has developed technology, using air, to blast less water through showers to dramatically reduce consumption in the arid region without sacrificing a quality bathing experience. Oasis500 is one of several tech incubators in Jordan that are planning to back hundreds of start-ups, from companies focusing on new technologies and forms of distribution to those simply "Arabizing" interactive and mobile services that have proved successful in English.

Perhaps my favorite entrepreneur was an 18-year-old woman, one of dozens of women covered from head to toe in the Dubai audience. She had designed a beautiful, even luxurious, battery-powered holder for mobile devices and other items such as note pads to ensure our devices are comfortable, charged and elegant. She has spoken with four manufacturers in China and is wrestling with whether to raise money to buy machinery to sell her first batch, pre-ordered, of a thousand units.

How many of us would have bet two decades ago that China, India and Brazil would be driving engines of global innovation, technology and growth? Would we have guessed that our technology businesses would be developing and outsourcing technologies from the Baltics to South America?

It is not easy in our political environment to seek traces of hope in this troubled region, nor to contemplate a different, albeit concurrent, narrative in complex countries that are rapidly coming to terms with their futures. But something is happening in the region, much like what happened in what was once called the developing world. It is worth watching and supporting. This shift has its own voice, attuned to cultural and religious values that we in the West may not fully understand. It embraces innovation, problem solving, job creation and prosperity - offering new generations a clear path to their future.

*Christopher M. Schroeder, a Washington-based Internet entrepreneur and angel investor, is chief executive of HealthCentral.com.*

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 1:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Governor Richardson plans to proceed

FYI

---

**From:** Kim, Sung Y
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; 'Bosworth, Stephen'; Bader, Jeffrey A.; 'Russel, Daniel R.'; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mace, Casey K
**Subject:** Governor Richardson plans to proceed

---

**From:** Hartley, Janis, GOV [mailto:[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 11:17 AM
**To:** Kim, Sung Y
**Subject:**

B6

Ambassador Kim – Governor Richardson wanted me to send you the following e-mail. My direct line is [redacted] if you need to contact me or the Governor. Thanks – Janis

Dear Ambassador Kim,

Since I haven't heard from you I assume my trip to North Korea is okay with you guys. My plan is to leave Monday, December 13th, stay for 2 days and return to the United States on the weekend.

The North Koreans have assured me that they will not exploit my visit and that they have some positive messages to convey. They know that I am not an envoy of the administration and that is fine with them.

My sense is that they will with draw the invitation if I postpone once again at your request.

Needless to say, the Obama administration wishes will be an important factor to me as I pursue this trip.

All the best – Bill Richardson

Janis L. Hartley
Office of Governor Bill Richardson
Deputy Chief of Staff - Scheduling, Logistics & Planning
State Capitol Building, Suite 400
505-476-2200

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PLEASE NOTE:
The Governor's schedule is subject to change.
Scheduling decisions are not made until 4 or 5 weeks before an event.
Do not use the Governor's name on invitations without permission.
Check with the Communications Office before issuing a Press Release.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 4:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** CFR

We're continuing to make small tweaks to the CFR speech. Wanted to see how you were feeling about it/whether you've had the chance to go through and edit.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Indonesia call

Thank you Madame Secretary. Best from Beijing. Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Sep 06 11:40:25 2010
Subject: Indonesia call

Pls review the memcon--a very slight opening because of their commitment to this. Also, said they'd be willing to do in early October.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 5:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

See b/l [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Nov 05 05:39:36 2010
Subject: FW:

Well deserved praise re: Miguel from Tom...

-----Original Message-----
From: Nides, Thomas [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 04, 2010 5:51 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject:

Just to let you know Miguel has been a total star. Everyone likes him and totally trust him. I feel terrible that he should be at home...

---

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Sen mitchell has asked to speak with you.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 2:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Arrest of CJ Murderer

From carlos

---

**From**: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Steinberg, James B; Cue, Lourdes C; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Sent**: Mon Nov 29 13:49:07 2010
**Subject**: Arrest of CJ Murderer

PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

As has been reported in the press, the Mexican Federal Police arrested Arturo Gallegos Castrellón (known as Benny), who (according to the Federal Police) confessed to ordering the killing of the three individuals associated with our consulate in Ciudad Juarez. We believe that "Benny" is the person who ordered these murders, as well as many of the other high-profile killings in Juarez over the past year.

The relationships among relevant criminal groups in Juarez is complicated: "Benny" headed a gang that took orders from an armed enforcement group called La Linea that works for the Juarez cartel. I mentioned in a note some weeks ago that the person who pulled the trigger is under a sealed indictment in the United States, and we cannot talk about this publicly.

Two key points:

B5

Again, thank you for all you have done personally to sustain the morale of our personnel in Ciudad Juarez.

Carlos Pascual

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Well done

See below – a completely unsolicited response to your statement today from Allison Stanger – she is the woman you met last year who wrote the book about contracting. Congrats to all who worked on it. AM

---

**From:** Stanger, Allison [mailto:[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** Well done

Madam Secretary's response to the Wikileaks attack was pitch perfect. Very impressive. I was so worried (unnecessarily, it turns out) about overreaction. A big thumbs up to all of you! A.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 7, 2010 8:09 AM
**To:** H

B6

Will see u at office.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Wikileaks. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo wikileaks 112910.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Wikileaks

The Wikileaks documents can be cast as reflecting a positive light on the U.S. government and diplomacy. Your statement about how the documents underscored the Iranian nuclear threat is headed in the right direction.

1. The Wikileaks disclosure is the opposite of the Pentagon Papers. The Pentagon Papers provided evidence from an internal study conducted by the Department of Defense that the U.S. administration was not telling the truth about the Vietnam War. On the contrary, the Wikileaks papers prove that the U.S. government today has been telling the truth about the threats we face in the world. Our government is telling the truth.
2. The Wikileaks papers prove that American diplomats are hard at work at the difficult, often frustrating job of protecting and advancing our interests in the world. These documents are testimony to the diligence, intelligence and clear mindedness of our diplomats. Our diplomats are doing their work on the frontlines of national security.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 7, 2010 2:49 PM
**To:** H

Mayor Daley just announce that he will not seek re-election. We're in shock.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772035 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Wikileaks

The Wikileaks documents can be cast as reflecting a positive light on the U.S. government and diplomacy. Your statement about how the documents underscored the Iranian nuclear threat is headed in the right direction.

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2. The Wikileaks papers prove that American diplomats are hard at work at the difficult, often frustrating job of protecting and advancing our interests in the world. These documents are testimony to the diligence, intelligence and clear mindedness of our diplomats. Our diplomats are doing their work on the frontlines of national security.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772035 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 6:05 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

# The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

## Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

Posted: 03 Nov 2010 11:31 AM PDT

Texas Congresswoman **Kay Granger** will seek the chairmanship of the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, according to her spokesman, ending rumors that she would forgo the post in favor of some other position.

Although no decisions have been made, until last night Granger was the ranking Republican on the panel and she is the clear frontrunner for the job. She would succeed current chairwoman **Nita Lowey** (D-NY), who has served as chairwoman since 2006.

"Congresswoman Granger is interested in continuing on as chair of the state and foreign operations appropriations subcommittee," **Matt Leffingwell**, her press secretary, told *The Cable* Wednesday.

When power switches in Congress, a complicated game of musical chairs begins as senior members jockey for committee and subcommittee chairs. Just being the highest-ranking minority member on a panel doesn't mean one automatically takes over the chairmanship.

But if Granger does succeed Lowey, she will play a large role in writing the bills that appropriate money for State Department operations, USAID, foreign operations, foreign assistance, humanitarian assistance, and many other things. Those accounts all face unprecedented pressure next year as the GOP led Congress will be looking for spending cuts that don't have strong domestic constituencies.

Last month, **we identified Granger** as one of 10 Republicans who stand to be influential in the next Congress if the GOP won control of the House. Since then, we've received several e-mails from sources who had heard that Granger would forgo the subcommittee chairmanship to pursue leadership of another panel.

We've heard that **Ander Crenshaw** (R-FL), the third-ranking Republican on the panel, was eyeing the chairmanship with the expectation that Granger would step aside.

(**Mark Kirk** (R-IL), the second-ranking Republican on the subcommittee, was elected Tuesday night to become the junior senator from Illinois, the seat once held by **Barack Obama**.)

So how would subcommittee chairwoman Granger handle the responsibility of writing the State and foreign ops appropriations bill? Here's what we reported in October:

> Although [Granger] supported the bill put forth this year by current chairwoman Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), **she criticized** the increases for the foreign-ops budget, saying, "We also face the continued concern in our own country about our economy and the devastating effects of skyrocketing deficits and debt." She's a strong supporter of **a balanced budget amendment**, which doesn't bode well for foreign-aid funding in this dismal fiscal environment.
>
> Granger also serves on the defense subcommittee, placing her at the intersection of the debate over how to balance the national security budget and shift resources from defense to diplomacy and development. Here she seems to favor the Pentagon, saying in June, "I want to be sure that we aren't increasing foreign aid at the expense of our troops." Her lack of support of international organizations was criticized by the group Citizens for Global Solutions, which gave her an "F" in its **2007 to 2009 rating**. Granger is also on board with efforts to eliminate aid to countries that are not performing on internal reform, as she explained **when expressing opposition** to funding of the Senegalese government through the State Department's Millennium Challenge Corporation. "We can't just give out money and say we will put up with whatever you are doing," she said.

The committee leadership assignments won't be doled out for at least two to three weeks, our Hill sources report. But if Granger's bid is successful, she'll be instantly influential. The fiscal 2011 State and Foreign Ops bill still has not been completed by Congress, despite that the fiscal year began Oct. 1.

The stop gap funding measure that has been funding these programs since then, known as a "continuing resolution," expires in December. The lame duck Democratic led Congress is unlikely to be able to pass full appropriations bills on its way out the door, so they will likely pass another short term continuing resolution. That would leave the final work on the actual bill to the incoming class led by the GOP next year.

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 2:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 9/21 Meetings

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 13:10:41 2010
**Subject:** 9/21 Meetings

0845 (Jim/Jack chaired)

Afghanistan Nine U.S. soldiers killed in helicopter crash in Zabul province in south. Taliban claimed responsibility; investigation is proceeding. On Louis Berger case, Jack insisted we make clear in press that we're not going to keep pouring money into any operations that are corrupt.

Iran Jim received rapturous ovation at AIPAC yesterday on Administration's Iran policy.

AIP Funding Jack and Pat commented on Secretary's concern that we ensure we maximize available reserves as FY'10 draws to a close, to help easy tough budget choices. Pat reports he's maximized commitments to operational funds to the maximum extent possible, and will continue to work this.

PA Funding Jim and Jack noted lagging Saudi response; Jack said he would work with Rich to find way around ESF cap to explore an additional $50-100M in next few weeks.

Congress DoJ throwing up last-minute objections to UK/Australia Defense Trade Treaties scheduled to be voted out of SFRC 2:30 p.m. Andrew Shapiro working to fix with DoJ; Jim is standing by to intervene if necessary. We have hearings scheduled for all but two nominees (Susan Johnson Cook for Religious Freedom and George Krol for Uzbekistan). House may decide to adjourn this week. Saudi arms sale briefings going well; AIPAC will likely not oppose if administration boosts funding for Joint Strike Fighter. Menendez still planning to hold hearing on Megrahi 9/28; Bill Burns now reviewing State decouments we can release. NDAA cloture vote in Senate today; seems unlikely to succeed because of continuing controversy on DADT. DeMint appears ready to lift hold on US accession to Child Support Treaty if we issue statement that we don't intend to support Declaration on Rights of Child.

0915 (Jim chaired)

USUN Jim was invited by UN to participate in Thursday's Ban ki-Moon meeting on Somalia aimed at boosting support for AMISOM; is considering whether to go.

NEA Barzani/Allawi meeting finally happened; Embassy Baghdad scrambling for readout. Ban ki-Moon on behalf of P5 may this Thursday call on Iraq to finish government formation efforts soonest.

IO IAEA meeting in Vienna proceeding; may vote on Israel nuclear capabilities resolution this Friday; our delegation is optimistic on outcome. Human Rights Commission is in session in Geneva; follow-on Goldstone

report issued with non-controversial recommendations. Will also take up extending Sudan rapporteur and Somalia.

SCA President will meet with Kyrgtz President Otunbayeva on Thursday in New York; Manas fuel likely on the agenda. US Embassy office in Osh opens today with three staffers from S/CRS. Otunbayeva has overcome previous opposition to UN involvement in accountability commission for ethnic cleansing. Karimov pushing for OSCE mission. Meanwhile, despite Rao's commitment to Bill Burns last week, Indian officials did not meet with US nuclear industry officials in Vienna to address concerns on liability legislation.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H

Republican challenger Bill Brady is expected to concede defeat to Democratic Gov. Pat Quinn this afternoon, sources said today.

Brady has been calling leading Illinois Republicans to inform them of his decision to end the race as he trails Quinn by more than 19,000 votes.

The candidate has scheduled a 1:30 p.m. news conference at a Bloomington hotel.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 10:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Personal Note

Nice

---

**From:** Hanrahan, Karen J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Dec 17 18:26:43 2010
**Subject:** Personal Note

Cheryl,

One sappy statement before I fly. Your involvement in the QDDR process has always been extremely helpful. Most of the best QDDR chairs meetings were those in which you participated, due in large part to the rigor and critical thought you brought to every issue. From the beginning of the process, your critical analysis and thoughtfulness in these meetings made all of us think more deeply. I have been grateful for that approach many times throughout the QDDR.

We've come a long way since that first meeting in which I described this as a "capabilities review" and organizational change exercise – all met with some frustration or blank stares. I think we've ended this phase on a great note. The amount of positive feedback we've received and the eagerness to start implementation are great signs heading into implementation.

You are clearly one of the hardest working people in this building and have done so much to define and implement the Secretary's vision on so many things. So thanks for everything you've done on the QDDR and for everything else you do.

As discussed today, I'm not far away if you need anything.
Karen

*Karen J. Hanrahan*
*QDDR Chief Operating Officer*
*Office of Deputy Secretary Jacob J. Lew*
*US Department of State*
*2201 C Street NW*
*Washington, DC 20520*
*HanrahanKJ@State.gov*
*Office (202) 647-9746*
*Cell* [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 3:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

yes. I will let you know.

From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
To: Laurenjiloty[redacted]
Date: Tue, 21 Sep 2010 06:49:13 -0400
Subject: Fw: Fwd:

Pls check on status of this issue. I had you print for me and then asked that someone follow up. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Brian Greenspun [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 09 03:00:17 2010
Subject: Fwd:

Hi Hillary,
Once again I am imposing on our friendship to get to you a matter that is important to [redacted] Bruce Ramer and, therefore , important to me. I am enclosing his note to me just so you can read how he really talks! I know his relationship with his friend [redacted] and can attest to the personal nature of his appeal. Thank you for whatever attention you give to this which, by my understanding, seems to be a simple matter of justice. Alas, nothing is simple. All the best, Brian

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Bruce M. Ramer" [redacted] B6
To: "Brian Greenspun"

Brian, I so appreciate your willingness to get my letter (attached, with attachments) into Hilary's hands.

This is purely an act of love for my friend [redacted] As I say in the letter to her, I am N OT acting as an attorney (or for any organization--see end of my letter), but only for a friend who is getting screwed (not the terminology of the letter).

You are more than welcome to read all of the enclosures. Naturally.
The attachments to this email should be: Ramer letter to Secretary Clinton, with an attachment of the letter from [redacted] tax lawyer (and three official attachments thereto--a letter from the IRS to the Argentine Embassy, a revenue ruling and a certification issued this year by the State Department.

My letter contains a brief summary of the situation and argument.

This is, as I said, very meaningful to me. Thank you for helping in an indispensible way.

Love to the Greenspun clan. Bruce

--Forwarded Message Attachment--

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Egyptians riot, burn cars, claiming vote fraud

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent:** Mon Nov 29 16:09:26 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Egyptians riot, burn cars, claiming vote fraud

ALEXANDRIA (AP) - Protesters set fire to cars, tires and two polling stations, clashing with police firing tear gas in riots that erupted around Egypt on November 29 over allegations the ruling party carried out widespread fraud to sweep parliamentary elections.

The country's most powerful opposition movement, the Islamic fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood, acknowledged that its lawmakers may be all but completely swept out of parliament by what it and other called rampant rigging.

That's a significant blow to the group, which held 88 seats, a fifth, of the outgoing parliament, and it is widely believed that it was the government goal to drive out its only real rival's lawmakers. The election showed the Brotherhood's limited options after repeated crackdowns in past years, including the arrest of some 1,400 of its activists in the weeks ahead of the vote.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 7, 2010 11:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

FYI

---

**From:** Gayle, Helene [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 07, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

Dear Ms. Mills:

CARE is pleased that the international community will come together at the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Summit from Sept. 20-22, 2010, in New York, to recommit to and accelerate progress toward the achievement of the MDGs by 2015. We also welcome the United States' Strategy for Meeting the Millennium Development Goals, "Celebrate, Innovate and Sustain: Toward 2015 and Beyond." While we have made progress on some goals, we still have much to do if we are going to meet these global commitments by 2015.

Attached or linked below are CARE's recommendations for meeting the Millennium Development Goals and for strengthening the US' MDG strategy. Our recommendations include approaches and strategies proven to deliver results specifically on MDGs 1, 3, 5 and 7. CARE's reflections on the MDGs are drawn from more than 60 years of experience working with the poorest communities in more than 70 countries around the world. Women are at the heart of CARE's efforts because experience shows that a woman's achievements yield dramatic benefits for her entire family and the larger community. Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment is central to poverty reduction and the achievement of all MDGs.

The MDG Summit provides a critical opportunity to take bold and decisive action. CARE believes that the following guiding principles must be reflected in the outcome of the MDG Summit, in the US' MDG strategy, as well as in the US' and the international community's implementation efforts:

- An emphasis on meeting the needs of people in extreme poverty and the most vulnerable populations;
- Promotion of gender equality, gender responsiveness, and the empowerment of women;
- Adherence to broad-based country ownership, including broad stakeholder engagement with local communities, women's groups, and other vulnerable populations, in a whole-of-society approach to development;
- Recognition of the linkages among the eight MDGs; and
- A commitment to transparency, mutual accountability, and mechanisms to track results.

Any recommitment to the MDGs must be coupled with commitments to mobilize the necessary resources that will reach the people who need them most. In the context of the US' development strategy, CARE also believes that USAID must be empowered as the premier US development agency to lead these efforts, and we call on the Administration and Congress to work together to reform and modernize US foreign assistance policies, efforts and strategies.

CARE urges bold efforts to recommit to the MDGs and ensure progress toward their achievement. The MDG Summit can be the turning point in collective efforts to achieve the MDGs by 2015. It is critical that the global community unite around a shared action-oriented strategy for meeting – and exceeding – these goals and begin to lay the groundwork for post-2015.

CARE stands ready to support your efforts and looks forward to continuing valuable collaboration with the US government and other leaders to tackle poverty worldwide. Please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Helene D. Gayle

Helene D. Gayle, MD, MPH
President & CEO, CARE USA

Email [redacted] B6
Phone: (404) 979-9100
Fax: (404) 589-2604

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 11:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Dream Act

Cloture vote failed. 55 to 41. On to don't ask don't tell.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine < > B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 7, 2010 11:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** suggested edit to CFR

**I have suggested to Dan the following edit to the grafs on page 2 (not sure why the fonts are showing up different here, but you'll get the idea....I can improve the language but wanted to give you a sense of what I think is still missing in his latest draft).**

B5

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 6:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) WikiLeaks: Israel's Netanyahu supports land swaps

---

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Tue Nov 30 05:01:17 2010
**Subject:** (AP) WikiLeaks: Israel's Netanyahu supports land swaps

JERUSALEM (AP) - A confidential diplomatic cable released by WikiLeaks shows Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu supporting the notion of land swaps with the Palestinians. The Feb. 26, 2009 cable, dated two weeks after Netanyahu was elected, is the first indication of the Israeli leader's position on that concept. The cable says, "Netanyahu expressed support for the concept of land swaps, and emphasized that he did not want to govern the West Bank and Gaza but rather to stop attacks from being launched from there."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** postmaster@state.gov
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 5:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Undeliverable: Speech
**Attachments:** details.txt; Speech (1.11 KB); details.txt; Speech (1.11 KB)

## Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

schwerind@state.gov
**The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.**

**Diagnostic information for administrators:**

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu

schwerind@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

```
Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.249]) by
 MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959);         Wed, 8
 Sep 2010 05:55:05 -0400
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
        by vance2.state.gov  with ESMTP id o889ZOQ1024421
        (version=TLSv1/SSLv3 cipher=AES128-SHA bits=128 verify=CAFAIL);
        Wed, 8 Sep 2010 05:35:25 -0400
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
 CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Wed, 8
 Sep 2010 05:55:05 -0400
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'schwerind@state.gov'" <schwerind@state.gov>, "'sullivanjj@state.gov'"
        <sullivanjj@state.gov>
CC: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>, "'muscatinel@state.gov'"
        <muscatinel@state.gov>
Date: Wed, 8 Sep 2010 05:55:03 -0400
Subject: Speech
Thread-Topic: Speech
Thread-Index: ActPO+jydLSP0wd0Ru6hwQ3yxGl+eQ==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B404488038F291B8D@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
```

Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 08 Sep 2010 09:55:05.0942 (UTC) FILETIME=[EA19DF60:01CB4F3B]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4160-6.500.1024-17612.006
X-TM-AS-Result: No-0.652200-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 12:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 11/5 0845 Meeting Readout

---

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**Sent:** Friday, November 05, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Moy, Kin W
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** 11/5 0845 Meeting Readout

Congress

Secretary's public comments in NZ and all Congressional calls have contributed to excellent momentum on New START that Rich will continue to promote.

India

Indians have expressed reluctance to announce C17 purchase; Roemer still working it. Menon said he's optimistic civ-nuke issues will be agreed tomorrow. Mixed press coverage of President's upcoming trip, including controversy over cost.

Haiti

Heavy rains hitting western region, but bulk of Hurricane Tomas appears to be just missing landfall. Humanitarian relief operations are primed and on standby.

Indonesia

Harshest eruption yet from Mt. Merapi killed 58. 80,000 now displaced.

Philippines

Police arrested suspected terrorists with 1200 lbs of ammonium nitrate, in midst of reports of an imminent terrorist attack.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 9:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

And in the midst of all this drama, I love that you invoke Diane. It brings a smile to my face and sweet thoughts to mind. WJC is in town today. I am going to go say hi.
Don't let the turkeys get you down. B

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, November 29, 2010 9:22 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re:

B6

And, despite the craziness of our wacky wiki (leaking)world--blessings to you (albeit belated) dear One (as Diane Blair used to say).

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Wed Nov 24 16:42:20 2010
Subject:

Happy turkey day, Dear, Dear Gert. Love you and your sweet clan, Nancy

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: 11/5 0845 Meeting Readout

---

**From:** Mull, Stephen D
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; Moy, Kin W
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Nov 05 09:58:13 2010
**Subject:** 11/5 0845 Meeting Readout

Congress

Secretary's public comments in NZ and all Congressional calls have contributed to excellent momentum on New START that Rich will continue to promote.

India

Indians have expressed reluctance to announce C17 purchase; Roemer still working it. Menon said he's optimistic civ-nuke issues will be agreed tomorrow. Mixed press coverage of President's upcoming trip, including controversy over cost.

Haiti

Heavy rains hitting western region, but bulk of Hurricane Tomas appears to be just missing landfall. Humanitarian relief operations are primed and on standby.

Indonesia

Harshest eruption yet from Mt. Merapi killed 58. 80,000 now displaced.

Philippines

Police arrested suspected terrorists with 1200 lbs of ammonium nitrate, in midst of reports of an imminent terrorist attack.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 6:20 AM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Did you call Bob Barnett?

Traded w/ him - will get this am

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] <cheryl.mills[redacted]
Sent: Tue Sep 07 21:11:26 2010
Subject: Did you call Bob Barnett?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 4:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Blair note

NOTE
12 September 2010

PLAN A: Renew moratorium + game-changer for Israel

[redacted] B5

PLAN B: Less than full renewal + major CBMs for Palestinians

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 11:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dream Act

They got cloture on DADT. 63 to 33.

At the close of the 30 hours (or when they yield back) we are back on START. We were able to convince Reid this morning not to file cloture on the treaty, which would have played in to Kyl's hands. So we are likely to have one full more day of debate and some votes on amendments, then file cloture setting up a cloture vote early next week. Mccain and Graham are still in a grumpy place - Graham is worse than McCain and we may have lost him. But McCain is still very much in the game.

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 18, 2010 11:41 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Dream Act

Do they have the votes for DADT?

And what's next for START?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 18 11:35:13 2010
Subject: Dream Act

Cloture vote failed. 55 to 41. On to don't ask don't tell.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 6:27 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** A

Without the benefit of seeing the clips yet, I think last night worked well. Pitch perfect, positive in that you wrapped yourself in the wonderful event.

I actually think there was more interest in whether the Imam was there - as evidence of how much voltage the Mosque issue still carries. Geoff Earle of the NY Post was there for that reason alone. It's early but my read of the NY Post seems that their cover is dedicated to KSM losing 40 lbs.

[redacted] B5

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
Subject: Q+A
Sent: Sep 8, 2010 6:00 AM

How do you think my remarks went last night? What's your suggestion for my response to any and all questions about all issues this am?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: The Right to Secrecy

FYI

---

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** The Right to Secrecy

**The New Yorker**

# INTERESTING TIMES

**Semi-regular thoughts on foreign affairs, politics, and books, from George Packer.**

November 29, 2010

## The Right to Secrecy

Posted by *George Packer*

What do we learn from the latest WikiLeaks dump, at least according to the *Times's* privileged and heavily edited account? That the Gulf Arabs are just as nervous about Iran's nuclear program as Israel is, and they want the U.S. to stop it. That Saudi King Abdullah doesn't think much of Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki. That Yemeni President Saleh is happy to claim American airstrikes against Al Qaeda targets as his country's own, and that he doesn't mind whiskey being smuggled into Yemen as long as it's the good stuff. That the Chinese government probably hacked into Google. That Qaddafi never goes anywhere without his Ukrainian "senior nurse."

On the whole, the trove makes American diplomacy look pretty good. Obama's Iran strategy of engagement-leading-to-isolation is shown to have succeeded. Bush—contrary to the impression left on every page of his new memoir—had enough self-awareness about the disaster in Iraq to put the brakes on military action against Iran. And American diplomats are capable of writing blunt, vivid, even amusing assessments of world leaders. Berlusconi is feckless, Sarkozy thin-skinned, Mugabe a megalomaniac: the accounts seem spot-on. The faceless corps of tight-lipped American embassy officials turn out to be an alert and discerning bunch.

Future diplomatic correspondence is going to be a lot more circumspect. The WikiLeaks dump contains (so far) a number of minor embarrassments, a few surprises, a lot of confirmations of what we already pretty much knew, and no scandals. It will make the work of American diplomacy harder for a long time to come. Classification abuse will increase—more cables will be labelled "Top Secret" that should have been labelled "Secret" or "Confidential." Exchanges between American officials and their foreign counterparts will grow less candid and more opaque. The same with cable traffic between U.S. embassies and Washington. There is an undeniable public interest in knowing, for example, that U.S. intelligence believes the Iranians are buying advanced missiles from North Korea, and that Gulf Arab rulers have been privately urging American military

action against Iran. The question is, does that interest outweigh the right of U.S. officials to carry out their work with a degree of confidentiality?

Yes—the right. Lawyers, judges, doctors, shrinks, accountants, investigators, and—not least—journalists could not do the most basic tasks without a veil of secrecy. Why shouldn't the same be true of those professionals who happen to be government officials? If WikiLeaks and its super-secretive, thin-skinned, megalomaniacal leader, Julian Assange (is he also accompanied everywhere by a Ukrainian senior nurse?), were uncovering crimes, or scandals, or systemic abuses, there would be no question about the overwhelming public interest in these latest revelations. But the WikiLeaks dump contains no My Lais, no black sites, no Abu Ghraibs. The documents simply show State Department officials going about their work over a period of several years. Will we get another update in six months? Will it be worth the damage? Should no government secret remain secret? Is diplomacy possible when official views have all the privacy of social networking? Assange's stated ambition is to embarrass the U.S. This means that his goals and those of most journalists are not the same. WikiLeaks doesn't trouble itself with these questions. The rest of us, journalists included, should.

Read more http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/georgepacker/2010/11/the-right-to-secrecy.html#ixzz16mSX2xpb

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 12:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Dream Act

Yes. Today if u can. And actually I just got a note from McCain's senior person asking you to call McCain now, as he as at risk of walking too. Will forward that email to you now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 18, 2010 12:01 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Dream Act

Should I call Graham this weekend?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 18 11:55:53 2010
Subject: Re: Dream Act

They got cloture on DADT. 63 to 33.

At the close of the 30 hours (or when they yield back) we are back on START. We were able to convince Reid this morning not to file cloture on the treaty, which would have played in to Kyl's hands. So we are likely to have one full more day of debate and some votes on amendments, then file cloture setting up a cloture vote early next week. Mccain and Graham are still in a grumpy place - Graham is worse than McCain and we may have lost him. But McCain is still very much in the game.

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, December 18, 2010 11:41 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Dream Act

Do they have the votes for DADT?

And what's next for START?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 18 11:35:13 2010
Subject: Dream Act

Cloture vote failed. 55 to 41. On to don't ask don't tell.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 10:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: HRC and WJC in FP

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'doug[redacted]' 'Justin Cooper' B6
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** HRC and WJC in FP

# The FP Top 100 Global Thinkers

**Foreign Policy** presents a unique portrait of 2010's global marketplace of ideas and the thinkers who make them.

DECEMBER 2010



## 13. Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton

for proving that you don't need to be president to act presidential.

*FORMER PRESIDENT | NEW YORK*

*SECRETARY OF STATE | WASHINGTON*

Speaking to the Council on Foreign Relations in September, Hillary Rodham Clinton sounded a **confident note**: "After years of war and uncertainty, people are wondering what the future holds, at home and abroad. So let me say it clearly: The United States can, must, and will lead in this new century."

Ironically, two of the people most crucial to the new global century are the Clintons themselves: the ex-president and the ex-would-be-president, the power couple now defined by their position just outside the highest reaches of power. Except that, these days, both Clintons are more influential, and more beloved, than ever. Bill's Clinton Global Initiative is starting to feel like a sexier, more effective competitor not just to Davos but to the United Nations itself, bringing world leaders together to commit their resources to fighting poverty with market-based, technocratic solutions. As of this summer, his foundation had contributed $23 million and countless man-hours to the effort to rebuild Haiti. Polls have shown he's a better advocate for Democratic candidates than the actual president, and he spent most of the fall stumping for woebegone Dems from Orlando to Seattle.

Meanwhile, Hillary showed up in one recent poll as the most popular political figure in the United States, an accolade she has earned through a no-drama approach to an array of thankless tasks: brushing off Vladimir Putin's temper tantrum to reach agreement on nuclear disarmament and Iran sanctions, promoting women's rights over the objections of entrenched traditionalists, and launching an innovative effort to bring clean cookstoves to the world's poorest. But what she has mainly stood for is American competence, with her Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review a major, if unglamorous step toward making U.S. statesmanship a more agile beast. If this is what Clinton nostalgia looks like, bring it on.

MARIO TAMA/Getty Images

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted] (blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

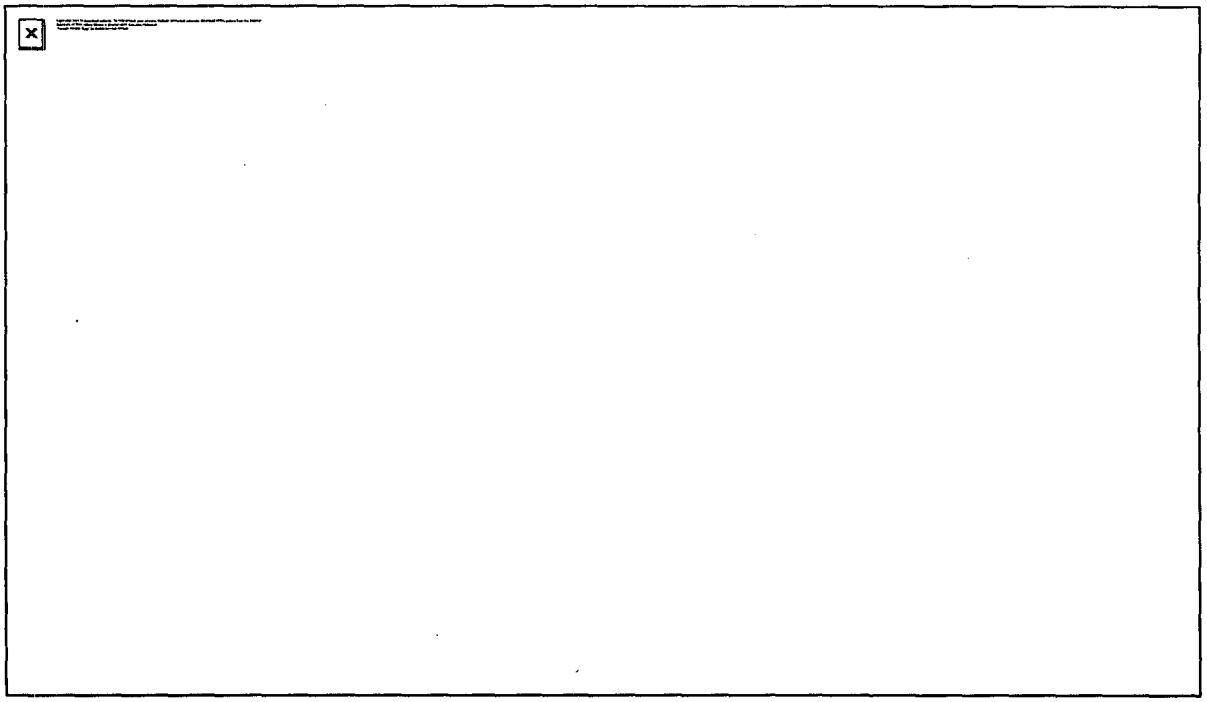
**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 3:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: CSIS Southeast Asia > Magic in Kuala Lumpur: Hillary Transforms a Relationship into a Partnership

**From:** Ernie Bower [redacted] B6
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M
**Sent:** Fri Nov 05 12:19:02 2010
**Subject:** CSIS Southeast Asia > Magic in Kuala Lumpur: Hillary Transforms a Relationship into a Partnership

To ensure receipt of our email, please add us to your address book.

## Magic in Kuala Lumpur: Hillary Transforms a Relationship into a Partnership

**CSIS Southeast Asia Program** | November 5, 2010 at 11:17 AM | Categories: Uncategorized | URL: http://wp.me/p10Q6P-cM



Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is greeted upon arrival by Malaysian Foreign Minister Dato' Sri Anifah bin Haji Ahmad. U.S. Government photo in the public domain.

***By Derek Pham**, Research Intern, CSIS Southeast Asia Program*

In 1998, President Bill Clinton declined to attend the APEC meeting hosted by Malaysia and had Vice President Al Gore take his place. It was hoped the meeting would provide a welcome opportunity for the administration to elevate ties with Malaysia, but the outcome resulted in embarrassment. Vice President Gore famously gutted the relationship in a dinner speech so awkward that he walked straight out of the room immediately after delivering it.

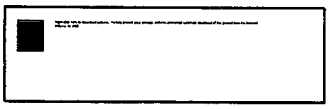
Twelve years later, America's leading diplomat returned to Malaysia determined to not make the same mistake. The sense of magic that accompanied Hillary Clinton's trip to Malaysia combined with Prime Minister Najib's national vision provided for ideal diplomatic synergy. This helped Clinton achieve a feat which had eluded her husband: transforming US Malaysia ties from a relationship to a partnership. Read more of this post

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*CSIS Southeast Asia is the developing premier high-level forum for US policy in Southeast Asia. Join the discussion by signing up with us at on our website, Facebook, Twitter, and our latest addition, cogitASIA, the quintessential Asia policy blog.*

---

To unsubscribe from all CSIS emails, please click here.





RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: State Debt Problems Mount

Fyi

---

**From**: Hormats, Robert D
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent**: Fri Nov 05 11:48:25 2010
**Subject**: State Debt Problems Mount

Hi Jake,
This does not have a direct foreign policy bearing, but I think S would be interested – because it is an enormous and growing problem. These stats come from a NYT Op-Ed piece:

- Over 20% of California's debt issuance during 2009 and over 30% of its debt issuance in 2010 to date has been subsidized by the federal government in a program known as Build America Bonds. Under the program, the U.S. Treasury covers 35% of the interest paid by the bonds. Arguably, without this program the interest cost of bonds for some states would have reached prohibitive levels.
- "California is not alone: Over 30% of Illinois's debt and over 40% of Nevada's debt issued since 2009 has also been subsidized with these bonds. These states might have already reached some type of tipping point had the federal program not been in place."
- "Today, more than 28% of state funding comes from federal government transfers, the highest contribution on record. These transfers have made states dependent on federal assistance. New York, for example, spent in excess of 250% of its tax receipts over the last decade. The largest 15 states by GDP spent on average over 220% of their tax receipts. Clearly, states have been spending at unsustainable levels without facing immediate consequences due to federal transfer payments and other temporary factors."

Bob

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Venezuelans reject Palmer

---

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Sat Dec 18 12:46:44 2010
**Subject:** Venezuelans reject Palmer

FYI.

---

**From:** DeLaurentis, Jeffrey A
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Rodriguez, Miguel E; Bulgrin, Julie K
**Cc:** Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Whitaker, Kevin M
**Sent:** Sat Dec 18 12:44:59 2010
**Subject:** Venezuelans reject Palmer --Fw: para su informacion comunicado emitido por caracas sobre nombramiento de palmer

Wanted to make sure you were aware that the VZ Foreign Ministry has issued communique today rejecting Larry Palmer (despite informal messages through intermediaries up until this week that they were considering otherwise) and PJ's comments on a decree law earlier this week. The communique below says that we will be informed officially soonest.

We are meeting with A/S Valenzuela in about 45 minutes at the Dept to discuss next steps.

Jeff DeLaurentis
WHA/DAS

**From:** Bernardo Alvarez [mailto: [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 09:45 AM
**To:** DeLaurentis, Jeffrey A
**Subject:** para su informacion comunicado emitido por caracas sobre nombramiento de palmer

## Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores
## Comunicado

El gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela rechaza las más recientes declaraciones de voceros del Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos sobre Venezuela, constatando que ratifican la línea histórica de intervencionismo y agresión contra el pueblo venezolano, sus instituciones y su democracia.

En coherencia con esta política de agresión, el gobierno venezolano ha tenido conocimiento de informaciones de prensa que refieren que el Senado

de los Estados Unidos se encuentra a un paso de confirmar la nominación de Larry Palmer como Embajador designado de ese país en Caracas, a pesar de que las inaceptables actuaciones de Palmer hayan provocado la revocatoria del beneplácito de estilo que el gobierno bolivariano le había otorgado de buena fe.

Es bien conocido cómo Palmer quebrantó las reglas básicas de respeto al país que lo iba a recibir, agrediendo groseramente a las instituciones fundamentales de la Venezuela bolivariana y haciéndose indigno de las funciones que se destinaba a desempeñar.

En repetidas oportunidades, el gobierno venezolano ha hecho del conocimiento del gobierno de los Estados Unidos que, ante la gravedad de las actuaciones de Palmer, nos encontramos en la imposibilidad de recibirlo en el territorio nacional. No obstante, esta decisión irrevocable será ratificada formalmente por la vía diplomática en el más breve lapso.

El gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela considera que la insistencia de las autoridades estadounidenses en impulsar el proceso de ratificación de Palmer como Embajador designado en Caracas, y su negativa a buscar una verdadera solución a este problema generado en Washington, constituyen una nueva provocación y una manifestación de la hipocresía de la élite que gobierna ese país, en particular en su relación con los pueblos latinoamericanos y caribeños.

**Caracas, 18 de diciembre de 2010**

**From:** "DeLaurentis, Jeffrey A" <DelaurentisJA@state.gov>
**To:** embajador@venezuela-us.org
**Cc:** arivero@ B6
**Sent:** Wed, December 15, 2010 5:05:36 PM
**Subject:** Statement

Link to Twitter: http://twitter.com/whaasstsecty

Link to
Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100001292641014#!/State.WesternHemisphereAffairs

TWITTER

As noted on my Facebook page today, we are pleased that the #SFRC reported out Larry Palmer as Ambassador to #Venezuela

FACEBOOK

We are pleased that Ambassador-designate to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela Larry Palmer's nomination was reported out favorably by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at its business committee meeting yesterday.

If confirmed, Amb. Palmer will dedicate himself to establishing strong and mutually respectful relations with Venezuela and advance our interests in a frank, constructive dialogue between sovereign nations. As the President recently said to the DipCorps, he is committed to "diplomacy — to building partnerships of mutual interest and mutual respect – (as a) fundamental cornerstone of our foreign policy."al interest and mutual respect —(as a) fundamental cornerstone of our foreign policy."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 5:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: G-20 Communiqué Preview for S

Fyi

**From:** Hormats, Robert D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Fri Nov 05 16:03:29 2010
**Subject:** G-20 Communiqué Preview for S

Jake –

Here is an update for the Secretary on the status of the non-finance components of the G-20 Seoul Summit declaration. Sherpa, Finance Deputy, and Working Group discussions are ongoing on the financial issues (and the text is very close hold) – so we don't have much on that. The following represents what is likely to be close to the final outcome on the other issues.

- **Fossil Fuel Subsidies**: The text will reaffirm the Pittsburgh Summit commitment to phase out over the medium term inefficient fossil fuel subsidies. It will also take up the issue of fuel price volatility; this portion will focus on improving the quality of fuel data (inventories, storage capacity, refining, etc.) and greater dialogue between fuel producers and consumers.

- **Climate Change**: The G-20 will rededicate their efforts to discuss climate change issues under the UNFCCC process with the aim of reaching a global and comprehensive framework post 2012. The text will also focus on the upcoming COP16 conference in Mexico.

- **Trade:** The G-20 will continue to collectively push for the conclusion of the Doha Round, calling for intensified engagement in 2011.

- **Development**: The Communiqué will contain a multi-year development action plan that focuses on nine pillars: infrastructure, human resource development, trade, private investment and job creation, food security, financial inclusion, fiscal integrity and domestic resource mobilization, and "growth with resilience."

- **Anti-Corruption:** The G-20 will endorse an Anti-Corruption Action Plan to spur action under the UN Convention Against Corruption; address transnational bribery; deny corrupt persons access to the global financial system; and further engage the private sector.

I will be happy to provide more details on any one of these items if the Secretary would like – and will report on the discussions and final outcome.

I am headed to China tomorrow to discuss several issues including rare earth metals, intellectual property protection, internet freedom and indigenous innovation. Then to the APEC foreign ministers meeting with Jim – followed by the G-20 Summit and the APEC Summit.

Regards,
Bob

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer@[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** child marriage defeat

The defeat of the Child Marriage bill, I fear, is a harbinger of what's to come. After passing the Senate unanimously, there was every expectation that it would fly through the House on suspension. How this too became an abortion issue is truly distressing. We have our work more than cut out for us.

On another note, I ran into Ray and Shaista the other night. They were recently in Pakistan and stayed with Zardari the whole time. It might make sense for someone to brief Ray. Zardari considers him his informal ambassador to the US.

## How Ileana Ros-Lehtinen killed the bill to prevent forced child marriages

Posted: 17 Dec 2010 03:08 PM PST

Incoming House Foreign Affairs chairwoman **Ileana Ros-Lehtinen** (R-FL) defeated a bill Thursday evening that would have committed the United States to combating forced child marriages abroad, by invoking concerns about the legislation's cost and that funds could be uses to finance abortions. The episode highlights the tough road that the Obama administration will face in advancing its women's rights and foreign aid agenda during the next Congressional session.

Non-governmental organizations, women's rights advocates, and lawmakers from both parties spent years developing and lobbying for the "International Protecting Girls by Preventing Child Marriage Act of 2010," which the House failed to pass in a vote Thursday. The bill failed even though 241 Congressmen voted for it and only 166 voted against, because House Speaker **Nancy Pelosi** (D-CA) brought it up under "suspension of the rules." This procedure has the advantage of not allowing any amendments or changes to the bill, but carries the disadvantage of requiring two-thirds of the votes for passage.

Even still, supporters in both parties fully expected the bill to garner the 290 votes needed -- right up until the bill failed. After all, it passed the Senate unanimously Dec. 1 with the co-sponsorship of several Republicans, including Appropriations Committee ranking Republican **Thad Cochran** (R-MS), Foreign Relations Committee member **Roger Wicker** (R-MS), and human rights advocate **Sam Brownback** (R-KS).

If passed, the bill would have authorized the president to provide assistance "to prevent the incidence of child marriage in developing countries through the promotion of educational, health, economic, social, and legal empowerment of girls and women." It would have also mandated that the administration develop a multi-year strategy on the issue and that the State Department include the incidence of forced child marriage during its annual evaluation of countries' human rights practices.

So what happened? Ros-Lehtinen first argued that the bill was simply unaffordable. In a Dec. 16 "[illegible]" [illegible], she objected to the cost of the bill, which would be $108 million over five years, and criticized it for not providing an accounting of how much the U.S. was already spending on this effort. The [illegible]

said the bill would authorize $108 million, but would only require $67 million in outlays from fiscal years 2011 to 2015.

Ros-Lehtinen introduced her own version of the bill, which she said would only cost $1 million. But in a fact sheet (PDF), organizations supporting the original legislation said that Ros-Lehtinen's bill removed the implementation procedures that gave the legislation teeth. "Without such activities, the bill becomes merely a strategy with no actual implementation. And without implementation of a strategy, the bill will have an extraordinarily limited impact," they wrote.

Regardless, the supporters still thought the bill would pass because House Republican leadership had not come out against it. But about one hour before the vote, every Republican House office received a message on the bill from GOP leadership, known as a Whip Alert, saying that leadership would vote "no" on the bill and encouraging all Republicans do the same. The last line on the alert particularly shocked the bill's supporters.

"There are also concerns that funding will be directed to NGOs that promote and perform abortion and efforts to combat child marriage could be usurped as a way to overturn pro-life laws," the alert read.

The bill doesn't contain any funding for abortion activities and federal funding for abortion activities is already prohibited by what's known as the "[illegible] Amendment," which has been boiler plate language in appropriations bills since 1973.

Invoking the abortion issue sent the bill's supporters reeling. They believed that it was little more than a stunt, considering that Republican pro-life senators had carefully reviewed the legislation and concluded it would not have an impact on the abortion issue.

Rep. **Stephen LaTourrette** (R-OH) [illegible] the Republican leadership for invoking the abortion issue to defeat the forced child marriage act in a floor speech Friday morning.

"Yesterday I was on the floor and I was a co-sponsor with [on] a piece of legislation with [Rep. **Betty McCollum** (D-MN)] that would have moved money, no new money, would have moved money so that societies that are coercing young girls into marriage... we could make sure that they stay in school so they're not forced into marriage at the age of 12 and 13," LaTourette said. "All of a sudden there was a fiscal argument. When that didn't work people had to add an abortion element to it. This is a partisan place. I'm a Republican. I'm glad we beat their butt in the election, but there comes a time when enough is enough."

But it was too late for LaTourette and other Republicans who had fought hard for the bill, including **Aaron Schock** (R-IL). The bill is even less likely to pass next year, when the GOP will control the House and Ros-Lehtinen will control the Foreign Affairs committee.

The main author of the bill was Senate Majority Whip **Dick Durbin** (D-IL), who was incensed when the bill failed in the House.

"The action on the House floor stopping the Child Marriage bill tonight will endanger the lives of millions of women and girls around the world," Durbin said in a Thursday statement. "These young girls, enslaved in marriage, will be

brutalized and many will die when their young bodies are torn apart while giving birth. Those who voted to continue this barbaric practice brought shame to Capitol Hill."

For the NGO and women's advocacy community, the implications of this defeat extend much further than just this bill. They also saw Republicans invoke the abortion issue when objecting to the International Violence Against Women Act and expect the new Congress to push for reinstatement of the "Mexico City Policy," which would prevent federal funding for any organizations that even discuss abortion.

"Any time a health bill that has to do with women and girls comes to the House floor, we're going to see a debate like the one we just saw," said one advocacy leader who supported the bill. "It's hard to imagine how any development bills are going to pass in this environment."

The protection of women and girls is a major focus of Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton**, who promised to elevate the issue Thursday when rolling out the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. She has said that forced child marriage is "a clear and unacceptable violation of human rights", and that "the Department of State categorically denounces all cases of child marriage as child abuse".

State's Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues **Melanne Verveer** has worked hard on the issue behind the scenes. But at the eleventh hour, when the going got tough, the bill's supporters said that the administration was nowhere to be found. In October, the White House decided to waive all penalties under the Child Soldiers Prevention Act, another Durbin led bill that the NGO community supports.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that 60 million girls in developing countries now between the ages of 20 and 24 were married before they reached 18. The Population Council, a group focused on reproductive and child health, estimates that the number will increase by 100 million over the next decade if current trends continue.

## Pakistan's military says it will not launch North Waziristan offensive -- envoy to follow

Posted: 17 Dec 2010 09:57 AM PST

One of the two biggest problems identified in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Strategy Review released Thursday (PM) is the Pakistani military's failure to crack down on some of the terrorist groups using Pakistan's tribal areas as a safe haven from which to launch attacks across the border into Afghanistan.

Pakistan has fought a major offensive, involving approximately 30,000 troops, against extremists in South Waziristan in October 2009, and its military has also undertaken efforts to stamp out militants in other border areas. However, the military has yet to launch offensive military operations in North Waziristan, where insurgent groups wreaking havoc in Afghanistan reside.

Pakistan's envoy in Washington, Ambassador **Husain Haqqani**, reacted to the report by saying that Pakistan will engage Islamist groups in North Waziristan, including the Haqqani network (no relation), but only when there is

sufficient support in all areas of Pakistan's government for the effort, and not until they are confident that the mission can be completed effectively.

"Pakistan has made it very clear that we are fighting terrorists because they are a threat to our own existence as a modern democratic nation. We will fight all groups in all parts of our country," Haqqani said in an exclusive interview with *The Cable*. "But we will follow timelines that suit our own capabilities and can lead to success."

Haqqani said that the Pakistani army, which has taken the fight to six out of the seven regions inside Pakistan in which domestic militant groups operate and suffered thousands of casualties in the process, is simply not in a position to expand its war on the extremists now.

"Right now, it's only a question of operational capability and readiness. Our armed forces have been engaged in dealing with flood relief work," he said. "We have to see what resources we will allocate in which part of the country, and those rather than any political factors are responsible for any waiting period."

He also noted that "there is a fragile consensus in Pakistan in favor of military action against regional elements," and that Pakistan's government has no choice but to make the decision to attack North Waziristan groups on a timeline that prioritized Pakistani considerations over American ones.

"Sometimes it's easy for our allies to tell us what to do and for us to tell our allies what to do. But everyone makes decisions based on their own perceptions and analysis of on ground realities," Haqqani said.

In several discussions with other Pakistani officials, an even more complicated picture of the Pakistani position on attacking groups in North Waziristan emerges. The Pakistanis largely believe that the U.S. government is being unrealistic in terms of the timelines it wants for cracking down on terrorist safe havens along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, which have existed for decades.

"There will always be a gap between our two countries because the Americans want things done quickly and done their way," another Pakistani government official said.

A third senior Pakistani official said that many Pakistanis feel that the Obama administration is placing too much of the blame on Pakistan for the lack of progress in the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan.

"The U.S. keeps telling Pakistan to do more, but Pakistan keeps telling the U.S. to do more on certain questions such as speeding up building up of Afghan army, establishing a real process toward reconciliation, and providing Pakistan the means for large scale operations," the official said.

The United States has provided Pakistan with several billions of dollars in military and economic aid to support its war against domestic insurgents. But many in the Pakistani government have criticized what they say characterize as the slow arrival of these funds, which they say are in any case too small to address Pakistan's severe problems.

"It's very simplistic to measure success in amount of assistance provided to Pakistan," one Pakistani official said.

In remarks delivered during the rollout of the strategy review Thursday, President Obama was diplomatic when discussing his administration's ongoing drive to push Pakistan to do more in North Waziristan.

"Increasingly, the Pakistani government recognizes that terrorist networks in its border regions are a threat to all our countries, especially Pakistan. We've welcomed major Pakistani offensives in the tribal regions. We will continue to help strengthen Pakistanis' capacity to root out terrorists," said Obama. "Nevertheless, progress has not come fast enough. So we will continue to insist to Pakistani leaders that terrorist safe havens within their borders must be dealt with."

Undersecretary of Defense for Policy **Michèle Flournoy** acknowledged in an interview the same day that there was more work to be done on the relationship before the Pakistanis were willing to fully support the U.S. and NATO-led mission in Afghanistan.

"Given the ups and downs of our historical relationship with Pakistan, they fear our abandonment," she said. "Their calculus is very much affected by the long-term commitment they feel from us and in working in a strategic partnership."

The White House recognizes that its efforts have fallen short so far. "The bottom line is that Pakistan is a country where we have little influence, little access and little credibility," one of Obama's aides told *The New York Times*.

The administration's official line, therefore, is to agree with the Pakistani government and express sensitivity to its claim that they simply can't expand their war against extremists at this time.

"We would like them to move tomorrow, we would like them to take out these people tomorrow," said the new U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan **Cameron Munter**. "But we understand they're telling us honestly about the capacity of their military, and when they are able, we are convinced they will move in."

But for many in Washington, the open-ended delay in Pakistan's promise to expand military operations into North Waziristan represents a strategic choice, and is not just a result of the military's operational limitations. But whatever Pakistan's reasons, the delay doesn't inspire confidence that the Obama administration can meet its timelines for making progress in Afghanistan.

"Pakistan, meanwhile, is hedging its bets, supporting proxy actors like the Quetta Shura Taliban and Haqqani Network that might counter Indian interests in Kabul after the United States and its allies eventually withdraw," says **Andrew Exum** of the Center for a New American Security. "The insurgent sanctuaries in Pakistan are one of the two Achilles heels in the NATO strategy."

## Congress to honor Holbrooke

Posted: 17 Dec 2010 04:42 AM PST

In a rare instance of bipartisanship, the House of Representatives moved to pass a resolution Friday honoring the life and work of the recently departed Ambassador **Richard Holbrooke**.

The resolution (H. Con. Res. 335) was sponsored by outgoing House Appropriations State and Foreign Ops Subcommittee chairwoman **Nita Lowey** (D-NY), and cosponsored by incoming House Foreign Affairs chairwoman

**Ileana Ros-Lehtinen** (R-FL), **Howard Berman** (D-CA), and **Mike Turner** (R-OH). The bill is "a concurrent resolution honoring the exceptional achievements of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and recognizing the significant contributions he has made to United States national security, humanitarian causes and peaceful resolutions of international conflict."

"The passing of Ambassador Holbrooke on Monday, December 13th, is a great loss for the American people," Lowey said in a statement. "One of our nation's most talented diplomats, Richard Holbrooke possessed a fierce determination and unsurpassed brilliance in advocating for American security, diplomatic, and development interests around the world - in Southeast Asia and post-Cold War Europe, at the United Nations, and most recently in Afghanistan and Pakistan. His exceptional accomplishments as a peace-maker, diplomat, writer, scholar, manager and mentor will define his legacy as one of the true great foreign policy giants of our time."

Ros-Lehtinen praised Holbrooke as "one of the most consequential world diplomats of the last half-century," and said that "his tireless work in pursuit of United States national interests and international peace have put us all in his debt."

After praising his career -- which included two stints as assistant secretary of state, peace negotiator in the Balkans, U.S. ambassador to the U.N., and service as U.S. special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan -- Ros-Lehtinen called for reform of the United Nations and protection of Israel within its bodies.

"In New York at the UN, [Holbrooke] did much of the heavy lifting on Congressionally-led efforts to rein in UN spending, to make more equitable the dues paid by the United States, and to improve the standing of Israel in that multinational body," she said. "Sadly, those concerns have returned with a renewed urgency -- with the need for fundamental reform of UN budget and the virulently anti-Israel UN Human Rights Council -- and the Congress can only hope to have such a tenacious, principled partner in the future."

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Inc. 20 West Kinzie, Chicago IL USA 60610

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Helpful Wikileaks Editorial

Helpful editorial in wp. We'll try and get pickup in international media.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: DiMartino, Kitty
To: 'preines <preines McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Tue Nov 30 19:39:34 2010
Subject: Helpful Wikileaks Editorial

Philippe,

B5

The right response to Wikileaks

Tuesday, November 30, 2010

MANY OF the State Department documents released so far by WikiLeaks are embarrassing to their authors or subjects, but otherwise harmless. Some might even be helpful: Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was among those fuming Monday at the news that most of the Arab states surrounding Iran might welcome a U.S. attack on his country. Still, there is little doubt that the release of the cables will damage the State Department and its diplomacy. Sensitive relations with countries such as Yemen, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia might be impaired; foreign leaders everywhere may consider carefully, at least for a while, before speaking frankly to U.S. diplomats.

Some in Washington are calling on the Obama administration to respond to the leak with drastic measures, such as a cyberattack on the WikiLeaks Internet site or the prosecution of its Australian-born leader, Julian Assange. That would be an overreaction. There is apparently no top-secret material in the WikiLeaks documents; the U.S. cyberwar capacity should not be deployed for less-than-critical interests. Mr. Assange's arrest and prosecution would turn a man now widely perceived as a self-promoting sex crimes suspect into an international martyr.

There is a much more immediate and sensible task for Congress and the administration - starting with the Defense Department. That is to thoroughly plumb how a 22-year-old Army private at a remote Iraqi base could have gotten access to 250,000 State Department cables, as well as tens of thousands more military reports from Iraq and Afghanistan, and how he could have downloaded them onto CDs without being detected. The chief suspect in the deliveries to WikiLeaks, Bradley Manning, was a disconsolate man who had been reprimanded for assaulting an officer and believed he might be discharged for his misconduct. Why was he allowed to retain access to classified information? How could he have stolen such a large amount of material without triggering any alarms?

The Pentagon announced several procedural changes on Sunday in reaction to Pfc. Manning's alleged actions, including the disabling of the capacity to copy classified material onto portable devices and limits on the transfer of material from

classified to unclassified computer systems. Still, these changes come too late - it's notable that at the State Department itself, the downloading Mr. Manning allegedly carried out would not have been possible. What's needed is a thorough review of why the Defense Department failed to adopt simple security procedures, how it managed Pfc. Manning, and whether the announced reforms are adequate.

Also needed is a broader government review of whether the distribution of classified information has gone too far. Of course there must not be firewalls that prevent senior intelligence analysts and their bosses from seeing and sharing sensitive information. That does not mean a troubled 22-year-old in Baghdad should have access to secret State Department cables from all over the world. Surely there is a way to create a system that can do the former while preventing the latter.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** PVerveer[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 1:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: child marriage defeat

I will do so. I just heard from Kristof. He said that sometimes Republican are just plain nuts. I have to really figure out a strategy on this, GHI, etc
Also, Kristof said he was so pleased to see your influence on these issues in the QDDR.

In a message dated 12/18/2010 1:24:49 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, HDR22@clintonemail.com writes:

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer[redacted]<PVerveer@[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 18 13:21:45 2010
Subject: child marriage defeat

The defeat of the Child Marriage bill, I fear, is a harbinger of what's to come. After passing the Senate unanimously, there was every expectation that it would fly through the House on suspension. How this too became an abortion issue is truly distressing. We have our work more than cut out for us.

On another note, I ran into Ray and Shaista the other night. They were recently in Pakistan and stayed with Zardari the whole time. It might make sense for someone to brief Ray. Zardari considers him his informal ambassador to the US.

How Ileana Ros-Lehtinen killed the bill to prevent forced child marriages
<http://feedproxy.google.com/~r/foreignpolicy/thecable/~3/gdXINP4NvP4/how_ileana_ros_lehtinen_killed_the_bill_to_prevent_forced_child_marriages?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email>

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Even still, supporters in both parties fully expected the bill to garner the 290 votes needed -- right up until the bill failed. After all, it passed the Senate unanimously Dec. 1 with the co-sponsorship of several Republicans, including Appropriations Committee ranking Republican Thad Cochran (R-MS), Foreign Relations Committee member Roger Wicker (R-MS), and human rights advocate Sam Brownback (R-KS).

If passed, the bill would have authorized the president to provide assistance "to prevent the incidence of child marriage in developing countries through the promotion of educational, health, economic, social, and legal empowerment of girls and women." It would have also mandated that the administration develop a multi-year strategy on the issue and that the State Department include the incidence of forced child marriage during its

annual evaluation of countries' human rights practices.

So what happened? Ros-Lehtinen first argued that the bill was simply unaffordable. In a Dec. 16 "Dear Colleague" letter <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/files/fp_uploaded_documents/101217_Ileana%20Dear%20Colleague.pdf> , she objected to the cost of the bill, which would be $108 million over five years, and criticized it for not providing an accounting of how much the U.S. was already spending on this effort. The actual CBO estimate (PDF) <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/files/fp_uploaded_documents/101217_CBO%20Estimate%20Child%20Marraige.PDF> said the bill would authorize $108 million, but would only require $67 million in outlays from fiscal years 2011 to 2015.

Ros-Lehtinen introduced her own version of the bill, which she said would only cost $1 million. But in a fact sheet (PDF <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/files/fp_uploaded_documents/101217_Concerns%20about%20the%20Rep.pdf> ), organizations supporting the original legislation said that Ros-Lehtinen's bill removed the implementation procedures that gave the legislation teeth. "Without such activities, the bill becomes merely a strategy with no actual implementation. And without implementation of a strategy, the bill will have an extraordinarily limited impact," they wrote.

Regardless, the supporters still thought the bill would pass because House Republican leadership had not come out against it. But about one hour before the vote, every Republican House office received a message on the bill from GOP leadership, known as a Whip Alert, saying that leadership would vote "no" on the bill and encouraging all Republicans do the same. The last line on the alert particularly shocked the bill's supporters.

"There are also concerns that funding will be directed to NGOs that promote and perform abortion and efforts to combat child marriage could be usurped as a way to overturn pro-life laws," the alert read.

The bill doesn't contain any funding for abortion activities and federal funding for abortion activities is already prohibited by what's known as the "Helms Amendment," <http://www.ipas.org/Publications/asset_upload_file418_4329.pdf> which has been boiler plate language in appropriations bills since 1973.

Invoking the abortion issue sent the bill's supporters reeling. They believed that it was little more than a stunt, considering that Republican pro-life senators had carefully reviewed the legislation and concluded it would not have an impact on the abortion issue.

Rep. Stephen LaTourrette (R-OH) called out <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/HouseSession3981> the Republican leadership for invoking the abortion issue to defeat the forced child marriage act in a floor speech Friday morning.

"Yesterday I was on the floor and I was a co-sponsor with [on] a piece of legislation with [Rep. Betty McCollum (D-MN)] that would have moved money, no new money, would have moved money so that societies that are coercing young girls into marriage... we could make sure that they stay in school so they're not forced into marriage at the age of 12 and 13," LaTourette said. "All of a sudden there was a fiscal argument. When that didn't work people had to add an abortion element to it. This is a partisan place. I'm a Republican. I'm glad we beat their butt in the election, but there comes a time when enough is enough."

But it was too late for LaTourette and other Republicans who had fought hard for the bill, including Aaron Schock (R-IL). The bill is even less likely to pass next year, when the GOP will control the House and Ros-Lehtinen will control the Foreign Affairs committee.

The main author of the bill was Senate Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL), who was incensed when the bill failed in the House.

"The action on the House floor stopping the Child Marriage bill tonight will endanger the lives of millions of women and girls around the world," Durbin said in a Thursday statement. "These young girls, enslaved in marriage, will be brutalized and many will die when their young bodies are torn apart while giving birth. Those who voted to continue this barbaric practice brought shame to Capitol Hill."

For the NGO and women's advocacy community, the implications of this defeat extend much further than just this bill. They also saw Republicans invoke the abortion issue when objecting to the International Violence Against Women Act and expect the new Congress to push for reinstatement of the "Mexico City Policy," which

would prevent federal funding for any organizations that even discuss abortion.

"Any time a health bill that has to do with women and girls comes to the House floor, we're going to see a debate like the one we just saw," said one advocacy leader who supported the bill. "It's hard to imagine how any development bills are going to pass in this environment."

The protection of women and girls is a major focus of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who promised to elevate the issue Thursday when rolling out the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. She has said that forced child marriage is "a clear and unacceptable violation of human rights", and that "the Department of State categorically denounces all cases of child marriage as child abuse".

State's Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues Melanne Verveer has worked hard on the issue behind the scenes. But at the eleventh hour, when the going got tough, the bill's supporters said that the administration was nowhere to be found. In October, the White House decided to waive all penalties under the Child Soldiers Prevention Act, another Durbin led bill that the NGO community supports.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that 60 million girls in developing countries now between the ages of 20 and 24 were married before they reached 18. The Population Council, a group focused on <http://www.popcouncil.org/> reproductive and child health, estimates that the number will increase by 100 million over the next decade if current trends continue.

<http://feeds.feedburner.com/~r/foreignpolicy/thecable/~4/gdXINP4NvP4?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email>

Pakistani ambassador: We'll attack North Waziristan when we are able -- and not before <http://feedproxy.google.com/~r/foreignpolicy/thecable/~3/nRXbbP6nXW8/pakistani_ambassador_we_ll_attack_north_waziristan_when_we_are_able_and_not_before?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email>

Posted: 17 Dec 2010 09:57 AM PST

One of the two biggest problems identified in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Strategy Review released Thursday (PDF <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/files/fp_uploaded_documents/101217_AfPak_overview.pdf> ) is the Pakistani military's failure to crack down on some of the terrorist groups using Pakistan's tribal areas as a safe haven from which to launch attacks across the border into Afghanistan.

Pakistan launched <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/17/AR2009101700673.html> a major offensive, involving approximately 30,000 troops, against extremists in South Waziristan in October 2009, and its military has also undertaken efforts to stamp out militants in other border areas. However, the military has yet to launch offensive military operations in North Waziristan, where insurgent groups wreaking havoc in Afghanistan reside.

Pakistan's envoy in Washington, Ambassador Husain Haqqani, reacted to the report by saying that Pakistan will engage Islamist groups in North Waziristan, including the Haqqani network (no relation), but only when there is sufficient support in all areas of Pakistan's government for the effort, and not until they are confident that the mission can be completed effectively.

"Pakistan has made it very clear that we are fighting terrorists because they are a threat to our own existence as a modern democratic nation. We will fight all groups in all parts of our country," Haqqani said in an exclusive interview with The Cable. "But we will follow timelines that suit our own capabilities and can lead to success."

Haqqani said that the Pakistani army, which has taken the fight to six out of the seven regions inside Pakistan in which domestic militant groups operate and suffered thousands of casualties in the process, is simply not in a position to expand its war on the extremists now.

"Right now, it's only a question of operational capability and readiness. Our armed forces have been engaged in dealing with flood relief work," he said. "We have to see what resources we will allocate in which part of the country, and those rather than any political factors are responsible for any waiting period."

He also noted that "there is a fragile consensus in Pakistan in favor of military action against regional elements," and that Pakistan's government has no choice but to make the decision to attack North Waziristan groups on a timeline that prioritized Pakistani considerations over American ones.

"Sometimes it's easy for our allies to tell us what to do and for us to tell our allies what to do. But everyone makes decisions based on their own perceptions and analysis of on ground realities," Haqqani said.

In several discussions with other Pakistani officials, an even more complicated picture of the Pakistani position on attacking groups in North Waziristan emerges. The Pakistanis largely believe that the U.S. government is being unrealistic in terms of the timelines it wants for cracking down on terrorist safe havens along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, which have existed for decades.

"There will always be a gap between our two countries because the Americans want things done quickly and done their way," another Pakistani government official said.

A third senior Pakistani official said that many Pakistanis feel that the Obama administration is placing too much of the blame on Pakistan for the lack of progress in the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan.

"The U.S. keeps telling Pakistan to do more, but Pakistan keeps telling the U.S. to do more on certain questions such as speeding up building up of Afghan army, establishing a real process toward reconciliation, and providing Pakistan the means for large scale operations," the official said.

The United States has provided Pakistan with several billions of dollars in military and economic aid to support its war against domestic insurgents. But many in the Pakistani government have criticized what they say characterize as the slow arrival of these funds, which they say are in any case too small to address Pakistan's severe problems.

"It's very simplistic to measure success in amount of assistance provided to Pakistan," one Pakistani official said.

In remarks delivered during the rollout of the strategy review Thursday, President Obama was diplomatic when discussing his administration's ongoing drive to push Pakistan to do more in North Waziristan.

"Increasingly, the Pakistani government recognizes that terrorist networks in its border regions are a threat to all our countries, especially Pakistan. We've welcomed major Pakistani offensives in the tribal regions. We will continue to help strengthen Pakistanis' capacity to root out terrorists," said Obama. "Nevertheless, progress has not come fast enough. So we will continue to insist to Pakistani leaders that terrorist safe havens within their borders must be dealt with."

Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Michèle Flournoy acknowledged in an interview <http://www.jcs.mil/newsarticle.aspx?id=479> the same day that there was more work to be done on the relationship before the Pakistanis were willing to fully support the U.S. and NATO-led mission in Afghanistan.

"Given the ups and downs of our historical relationship with Pakistan, they fear our abandonment," she said. "Their calculus is very much affected by the long-term commitment they feel from us and in working in a strategic partnership."

The White House recognizes that its efforts have fallen short so far. "The bottom line is that Pakistan is a country where we have little influence, little access and little credibility," one of Obama's aides told <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/17/world/asia/17sanger.html?scp=2&sq=pakistan&st=cse> The New York Times.

The administration's official line, therefore, is to agree with the Pakistani government and express sensitivity to its claim that they simply can't expand their war against extremists at this time.

"We would like them to move tomorrow, we would like them to take out these people tomorrow," said <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6BG1JN20101217> the new U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Cameron Munter. "But we understand they're telling us honestly about the capacity of their military, and when they are able, we are convinced they will move in."

But for many in Washington, the open-ended delay in Pakistan's promise to expand military operations into North Waziristan represents a strategic choice, and is not just a result of the military's operational limitations. But whatever Pakistan's reasons, the delay doesn't inspire confidence that the Obama administration can meet its timelines for making progress in Afghanistan.

"Pakistan, meanwhile, is hedging its bets, supporting proxy actors like the Quetta Shura Taliban and Haqqani Network that might counter Indian interests in Kabul after the United States and its allies eventually withdraw," wrote <http://www.cnas.org/node/5452> Andrew Exum of the Center for a New American Security. "The insurgent sanctuaries in Pakistan are one of the two Achilles heels in the NATO strategy."

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Congress to honor Holbrooke
<http://feedproxy.google.com/~r/foreignpolicy/thecable/~3/0P90sfZEoDY/congress_to_honor_holbrooke?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email>

Posted: 17 Dec 2010 04:42 AM PST

In a rare instance of bipartisanship, the House of Representatives moved to pass a resolution Friday honoring the life and work of the recently departed Ambassador Richard Holbrooke.

The resolution (H.Con.Res 335 <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c111:H.+Con.+Res.+335:> ) was sponsored by outgoing House Appropriations State and Foreign Ops Subcommittee chairwoman Nita Lowey (D-NY), and cosponsored by incoming House Foreign Affairs chairwoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Howard Berman (D-CA), and Mike Turner (R-OH). The bill is "a concurrent resolution honoring the exceptional achievements of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and recognizing the significant contributions he has made to United States national security, humanitarian causes and peaceful resolutions of international conflict."

"The passing of Ambassador Holbrooke on Monday, December 13th, is a great loss for the American people," Lowey said in a statement. "One of our nation's most talented diplomats, Richard Holbrooke possessed a fierce determination and unsurpassed brilliance in advocating for American security, diplomatic, and development interests around the world - in Southeast Asia and post-Cold War Europe, at the United Nations, and most recently in Afghanistan and Pakistan. His exceptional accomplishments as a peace-maker, diplomat, writer, scholar, manager and mentor will define his legacy as one of the true great foreign policy giants of our time."

Ros-Lehtinen praised Holbrooke as "one of the most consequential world diplomats of the last half-century," and said that "his tireless work in pursuit of United States national interests and international peace have put us all in his debt."

After praising his career -- which included two stints as assistant secretary of state, peace negotiator in the Balkans, U.S. ambassador to the U.N., and service as U.S. special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan -- Ros-Lehtinen called for reform of the United Nations and protection of Israel within its bodies.

"In New York at the UN, [Holbrooke] did much of the heavy lifting on Congressionally-led efforts to rein in UN spending, to make more equitable the dues paid by the United States, and to improve the standing of Israel in that multinational body," she said. "Sadly, those concerns have returned with a renewed urgency -- with the need for fundamental reform of UN budget and the virulently anti-Israel UN Human Rights Council -- and the Congress can only hope to have such a tenacious, principled partner in the future."

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Inc., 20 West Kinzie, Chicago IL USA 60610

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: good news - Russia 123

Fyi - small good news

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; Tauscher, Ellen O; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Nov 30 16:16:05 2010
**Subject:** FW: good news - Russia 123

Looks like we can get across the finish line next week.

---

**From:** Sixkiller, Mariah [mailto:Mariah.Sixkiller@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Adams, David S
**Subject:** good news

Speaker's office suggesting she will be here and able to gavel in on Monday, so that shld give you weekend days. Then we can probably do a few pro-forma days next week. So between that and whatever other time we spend on end-game legislation, I'm pretty sure you'll get your 8.

MS

*Mariah S. Sixkiller*
*Senior Policy Advisor*
*Office of the Majority Leader*
*U.S. House of Representatives*
*(202) 225-3130*
*majorityleader.gov*

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine < > B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 8:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: suggested edit to CFR

He had included a phrase or two as of a few hours ago, but maybe he has since added the whole riff.

B5

On Sep 8, 2010, at 7:47 AM, H wrote:

> I just got the final draft and it looks like your suggestions were
> included.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine < > B6
> To: H
> Sent: Tue Sep 07 23:43:23 2010
> Subject: suggested edit to CFR
>
>
> I have suggested to Dan the following edit to the grafs on page 2 (not
> sure why the fonts are showing up different here, but you'll get the
> idea....I can improve the language but wanted to give you a sense of
> what I think is still missing in his latest draft).
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B5

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B5

[redacted]

>
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[redacted]

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

I think calling now would be appropriate.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Fri Nov 05 18:05:48 2010
Subject: Re: The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

Should I call her? Or wait?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Nov 05 06:04:47 2010
Subject: FW: The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee

The Cable: Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee <http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/>
<http://fusion.google.com/add?source=atgs&feedurl=http://feeds.feedburner.com/foreignpolicy/thecable>

Link to The Cable <http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/>

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Granger seeking chairmanship of State and foreign ops subcommittee
<http://feedproxy.google.com/~r/foreignpolicy/thecable/~3/XTZuQVhq_K4/granger_seeking_chairmanship_of_state_and_foreign_ops_subcommittee?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email>

Posted: 03 Nov 2010 11:31 AM PDT

Texas Congresswoman Kay Granger will seek the chairmanship of the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, according to her spokesman, ending rumors that she would forgo the post in favor of some other position.

Although no decisions have been made, until last night Granger was the ranking Republican on the panel and she is the clear frontrunner for the job. She would succeed current chairwoman Nita Lowey (D-NY), who has served as chairwoman since 2006.

"Congresswoman Granger is interested in continuing on as chair of the state and foreign operations appropriations subcommittee," Matt Leffingwell, her press secretary, told The Cable Wednesday.

When power switches in Congress, a complicated game of musical chairs begins as senior members jockey for committee and subcommittee chairs. Just being the highest-ranking minority member on a panel doesn't mean one automatically takes over the chairmanship.

But if Granger does succeed Lowey, she will play a large role in writing the bills that appropriate money for State Department operations, USAID, foreign operations, foreign assistance, humanitarian assistance, and many other things. Those accounts all face unprecedented pressure next year as the GOP led Congress will be looking for spending cuts that don't have strong domestic constituencies.

Last month, we identified Granger <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/25/who_will_stand_between_obama_and_the_world?page=0,7> as one of 10 Republicans who stand to be influential in the next Congress if the GOP won control of the House. Since then, we've received several e-mails from sources who had heard that Granger would forgo the subcommittee chairmanship to pursue leadership of another panel.

We've heard that Ander Crenshaw (R-FL), the third-ranking Republican on the panel, was eyeing the chairmanship with the expectation that Granger would step aside.

(Mark Kirk (R-IL), the second-ranking Republican on the subcommittee, was elected Tuesday night to become the junior senator from Illinois, the seat once held by Barack Obama.)

So how would subcommittee chairwoman Granger handle the responsibility of writing the State and foreign ops appropriations bill? Here's what we reported in October:

Although [Granger] supported the bill put forth this year by current chairwoman Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), she criticized <http://kaygranger.house.gov/index.cfm?sectionid=12&itemid=915> the increases for the foreign-ops budget, saying, "We also face the continued concern in our own country about our economy and the devastating effects of skyrocketing deficits and debt." She's a strong supporter of a balanced budget amendment <http://kaygranger.house.gov/index.cfm?sectionid=57&sectiontree=5,57> , which doesn't bode well for foreign-aid funding in this dismal fiscal environment.

Granger also serves on the defense subcommittee, placing her at the intersection of the debate over how to balance the national security budget and shift resources from defense to diplomacy and development. Here she seems to favor the Pentagon, saying in June, "I want to be sure that we aren't increasing foreign aid at the expense of our troops." Her lack of support of international organizations was criticized by the group Citizens for Global Solutions, which gave her an "F" in its 2007 to 2009 rating <http://www.votesmart.org/issue_rating_detail.php?r_id=4851> . Granger is also on board with efforts to eliminate aid to countries that are not performing on internal reform, as she explained when expressing opposition <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/aug/22/countries-on-us-lists-for-corruption-aid/> to funding of the Senegalese government through the State Department's Millennium Challenge Corporation. "We can't just give out money and say we will put up with whatever you are doing," she said.

The committee leadership assignments won't be doled out for at least two to three weeks, our Hill sources report. But if Granger's bid is successful, she'll be instantly influential. The fiscal 2011 State and Foreign Ops bill still has not been completed by Congress, despite that the fiscal year began Oct. 1.

The stop gap funding measure that has been funding these programs since then, known as a "continuing resolution," expires in December. The lame duck Democratic led Congress is unlikely to be able to pass full appropriations bills on its way out the door, so they will likely pass another short term continuing resolution. That would leave the final work on the actual bill to the incoming class led by the GOP next year.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 8:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Dan Schwerin

I'm sorry I am just now seeing this because my [redacted] does not register on my blackberry. Only my State e-mail does. Dan is SchwerinDB@state.gov

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty[redacted]
> Date: Wed, 8 Sep 2010 05:56:34 -0400
> Subject: Dan Schwerin
>
> Do you have his email address?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 6:44 PM

http://blogs.abcnews.com/politicalpunch/2010/11/murdoch-mayor-bloomberg-called-president-obama-the-most-arrogant-man-he-ever-met.html

# Murdoch: Mayor Bloomberg Called President Obama the Most "Arrogant" Man He Ever Met

November 05, 2010 4:26 PM

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You may recall that during President Obama's vacation at Martha's Vineyard, on August 27 he took in a round of golf at the Vineyard Golf Club in Edgartown, playing golf with New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg; Democratic lawyer, business man and éminence grise Vernon Jordan; and White House trip director (and former golf pro) Marvin Nicholson.
The pool report at the time said that "We are told Bloomberg and Obama talked in the clubhouse for about 15 mins about the economy. They then went to the driving range."

Apparently – at least from a second-hand report – the Obama-Bloomberg convo could have gone better.

In an interview with The Australian Financial Review, conservative media magnate Rupert Murdoch says "Bloomberg said it was a pleasant day. In conversation he put a few ideas ... He said it was like verbal ping pong."
**Bloomberg, according to Murdoch, "came back and said 'I never met in my life such an arrogant man'."**

A spokesman for Bloomberg did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Murdoch – the Australian-born founder, chairman, and chief executive officer of News Corporation, which owns conservative media outlets ranging from Fox News Channel to the New York Post – is described by The Age as saying in the interview that President Obama "might make great speeches but doesn't get things done and doesn't listen to anybody."
Earlier this year, News Corporation gave $1 million to the Republican Governors Association as well as $1 million to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which largely worked to elect Republicans in the 2010 midterm elections.

The interview was first picked up in the U.S. by The Politico's Ben Smith.
--Jake Tapper

UPDATE: It's worth pointing out that Bloomberg and Murdoch have been friends and allies for years.

In an August 2001 story about Bloomberg's mayoral ambitions in the Melbourne Australia Herald Sun, New York Post columnist Steve Dunleavy says that Bloomberg is "probably better known in Bondi" -- a suburb of Sydney, Australia -- "than in Brooklyn" because Bloomberg News runs on Australian pay TV.

"He's probably right," Bloomberg said in the profile. "That's thanks to Rupert (Murdoch). He put it on Foxtel well before it took off in other parts of the world."

Bloomberg also chatted with his longtime friend before he made public his plans to change New York City's term-limits laws and run for a third term; he'd need the New York Post, which Murdoch owns, on board.

Joyce Purnick, author of "Mike Bloomberg: Money, Power, Politics," was given unprecedented access to the mayor, and describes Bloomberg in Sun Valley, Idaho, making plans with Murdoch, and the two dining at Primavera in Manhattan. Bloomberg was planning to announce his intention to seek a third term but had not made up his mind yet. Murdoch was clearly on board.

Writes Purnick:

"Murdoch, who considered the Democrats lining up to succeed the mayor 'too horrible, too dangerous' to contemplate, wanted to run an editorial in the Post immediately. Wait just a little while, Bloomberg advises. 'He said, "Don't come out for me yet, I don't want to leave you out on a limb,"' Murdoch recalled. The mayor had to take care of more business first...An obviously orchestrated rollout began on September 29...The next day, a Post editorial trumpeted RUN, MIKE, RUN...

In September of this year the two joined forces to testify in favor of immigration reform.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Updated response to Howard Dean

FYI – interesting.

Not sure if you have the background on this but happy to give.

cdm

---

**From:** deanhowardb[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 08, 2010 9:44 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Updated response to Howard Dean

Cheryl, many many thanks. We have high hopes now that you and the Secretary are directly involved. Warmly, Howard

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

---

**From:** "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Date:** Wed, 8 Sep 2010 09:41:08 -0400
**To:** <deanhowardb[redacted]>
**Cc:** Toiv, Nora F<ToivNF@state.gov>
**Subject:** FW: Updated response to Howard Dean

Howard-

Thank you again for your inquiry. Here is a background from our Consular Affairs Office on where this currently stands.

The Office of Children's Issues here at State began working with Mr. Bower in August 2009 when his sons were abducted by their mother to Egypt notwithstanding a court order from a family court in Massachusetts that had given the father sole custody of the children. Since then, as you know, Mr. Bower has not been able to see his children.

On August 31, 2010, Embassy Cairo conducted a welfare visit (the first) with the Bower boys at the Ministry of Justice. The Government of Egypt played a constructive role in arranging this consular visit. As you may know, Senator Kerry has been following this case closely and issued a statement after the visit:

> "I applaud the Egyptian government's facilitation of American consular access today in Cairo for Noor and Ramsey. I hope that this is a first step that can lead to a positive outcome. It is past time for the children to be returned to Massachusetts where they belong. The facts are clear: the two boys were taken illegally to Egypt by their mother more than a year ago in blatant contravention of a U.S. court ruling that granted their father, Colin Bower, sole custody. I have conveyed my concerns over this

matter to the State Department and hope that the involvement of the U.S. government will help bring this tragedy to its rightful conclusion by reunited these boys with their father."

The Department and US Embassy's Executive Office have raised this case with high level Egyptian officials many times.

They are actively pushing the Egyptian Government to help resolve this. Unfortunately, Egypt is not a member of the Hague Convention on abductions, so left behind parents must depend on the local courts to do the right thing. In 2000, Egypt has formed a "Good Intentions Subcommittee" to help mediate between parents. There have been some good results, although it all depends on the willingness of parents to work together. We also have an MOU with the Egyptian Government that allows for consular access. Embassy Cairo relied on the MOU when they approached the Egyptian Good Intentions Sub-Committee for help in scheduling a welfare visit with the Bower children. Without the intervention of that sub-committee, it's likely the Embassy would not have been able to conduct the August 31 welfare visit with the children.

Our folks will continue working closely with Mr. Bower, our Embassy in Cairo, and with the Government of Egypt to help find a solution that reunites Mr. Bower with his children.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:**
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 7:10 PM
**To:** H

I hope your travels are excellent. We expect Dayton to prevail in the recount. Looking forward to finalizing details and getting underway with you. Warm regards,

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 2:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: One more bit of evidence... Sid

More evidence on why focusing on Boehner is important:

NBC/*WSJ*:
Do you think if Republicans win control of Congress in November they will return to the economic policies of George W. Bush or do you think they will have different ideas for how to deal with the economy?

| | |
|---|---|
| Policies of George W. Bush | 35 |
| Different ideas | 58 |
| Not sure | 7 |

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: First review of your speech. Goad you used Acheson. Sid

Hillary's Homerun of a Speech
by Tunku Varadarajan
September 8, 2010 | 12:16pm

**Hillary Clinton speaks at the Council on Foreign Relations September 8, 2010 in Washington, DC. (Mark Wilson / Getty Images) The secretary of State delivered the best speech of the Obama administration this morning. Tunku Varadarajan on her "new American moment"—and why she's better than her boss.**

Behold the Hillary Doctrine. And heap abundant gratitude—and rose petals if you have them on hand—on the firm, unfussy, deeply reassuring woman who has just offered it up to the world.

In the 20 months since this administration began administering (a verb I use only in the loosest sense), the speech Wednesday morning by Hillary Clinton, delivered at the Council on Foreign Relations, was the first time we have been given an unreserved lift of the heart by any of its members. It was, by far, the best speech of this administration. Whereas her president has frequently wrung his elegant hands, doing the rounds of the world to reassure foreign leaders that America is a cuddly bunny at heart, the secretary of State declared Wednesday that we are all living "a new American moment—a moment when our global leadership is essential." There was no bowing from her to potentates in robes; there was, instead, a promise that "we will do everything we can to exercise the traditions of American leadership at home and abroad."

What is so piquant here is not the fact that Hillary understands that Obama is president. It is the growing sense that Hillary would have made a much, much better president than Obama.

Try this for size: "The United States can, must and will lead in the new century." In order to do that, Clinton promised "a new global architecture," "built to last and withstand stress." And in a muscular departure from the way in which this administration—for fear of seeming Bush-like—has been shrinking from the unembarrassed propagation of American values, she uttered these plainspoken, unadorned words: "Democracy needs defending."

Human rights, too, came in for a robust airing: China was scolded, and exhorted to follow "the rules of the road" in its aspiration to be a great power; as was Russia, for its invasion of Georgia. The message: We may live in a multipolar world, but we have higher standards by far than those who would style themselves as our equals.

Clinton used phrases like "American might," words that we are more accustomed to hearing from Republicans—words that we've come to believe that many Democrats can't bear to voice. How refreshing, therefore, that she should reach into a vocabulary of pride that most American citizens would applaud.

Hillary Clinton invoked the name of Dean Acheson in her reference to the need for "good, old-fashioned diplomacy," and there certainly was an air of the Achesonian, of the statesman, about her speech. Good, old-fashioned diplomacy, it should be noted, is in contrast to Obama's apparent preference for seeing America as a nation like any other, only a bit bigger, richer, and better-armed. Clinton's "old-fashioned" diplomacy is based, by contrast, on the unquestionable premise that America is the world's leader. Not primus inter pares; just primus.

In her speech, Clinton referred to the sources of "American might." The first, of course, is "economic power." But it is her hailing of the second—America's "moral authority"—that was so invigorating.

It was Acheson who said: "The most important aspect of the relationship between the president and the secretary of state is that they both understand who is president." What is so piquant here, in this administration, is not the fact, plain to behold, that Hillary understands that Obama is president. It is the growing sense that Hillary would have made a much, much better president than Obama.

*Tunku Varadarajan is a national affairs correspondent and writer at large for The Daily Beast. He is also the Virginia Hobbs Carpenter Fellow in Journalism at Stanford's Hoover Institution and a professor at NYU's Stern Business School. He is a former assistant managing editor at The Wall Street Journal. (Follow him on Twitter here.)*

Get a head start with the Morning Scoop email. It's your Cheat Sheet with must reads from across the Web. Get it.
For inquiries, please contact The Daily Beast at editorial@thedailybeast.com.

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-09-08/hillary-clinton-foreign-policy-speech-better-than-obama/p/



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bravo

You were great this morning, truly. And your instincts on the speech were just right. I was very proud to be in the front row. I am also enormously pleased that in the last 2 months we have gotten a major speech and a Foreign Affairs article done with a lot of people working very well as a team -- exactly as it ought to be. That is a tribute to top-level management and our ability to learn from experience and make improvements. It's a team I will be all the more sorry to leave. But now for the QDDR -- I'll be home for the rest of the week writing hard [redacted] We're going to get there -- cheryl taking hold has, as usual, been a huge help. B6

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Neera Tanden [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, November 5, 2010 11:03 PM
**To:** H

I don't know where he got that you would have pulled the plug on health care, but other parts...

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/05/AR2010110505214.html

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: fyi. Sid

Jim Mann, who wrote The Rise of the Vulcans, is writing a history of Democrats and foreign policy since Vietnam. He's also a China expert, having covered China for the LA Times. He's favorably disposed to you, a serious person and concerned about the policies. I know him well. I think you ought to consider talking to him on the record for his book. I've enclosed his bio from Johns Hopkins SAIS , where he's on the faculty, and his email.

James Mann, B.A.
**Foreign Policy Institute Author-in-Residence**
Expertise
Geographic Areas
East Asia | China | Taiwan
Issues
American foreign policy | diplomacy | domestic influences on foreign policy | human rights | media and foreign policy | strategic and security issues | U.S. Congress and foreign policy
Background and Education
Was senior writer-in-residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; served as staff writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, including positions as Beijing bureau chief, national security correspondent and foreign affairs columnist; was staff writer for the *New Haven Journal-Courier*, *The Washington Post, Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Baltimore Sun*; received the National Press Club Edwin M. Hood Award for diplomatic correspondence in 1993 and 1999, the Edward Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting in 1999, the New York Public Library Helen Bernstein Award for best book of the year by a journalist in 2000 and the Asia-Pacific Award for best book about Asia in 2000; was finalist for the Lionel Gelber Prize for books on international relations in 2000 and the Arthur Ross Book Prize in 2005; is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; formerly a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and fellow of the American Academy in Berlin; serves as guest commentator for television and radio networks; B.A., sociology, Harvard University
Publications
*The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War* (2009); *The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression* (2007); *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (2004); *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship With China, From Nixon to Clinton* (1999); *Beijing Jeep* (1989); "Congress and Taiwan" in *Making China Policy* (2001); numerous articles in T*he Atlantic Monthly, The New Republic* and *The Washington Post*

-----Original Message-----
From: Jim Mann
To: sbwhoeop
Sent: Wed, Sep 8, 2010 3:30 pm
Subject: (no subject)

Sid,

My requests for a book interview with the secretary

of state are still going nowhere. I have no idea whether the reason is sheer bureaucracy (lots of requests) or personal (someone didn't like something I wrote?). I would think that the subject matter -- foreign policy after the Vulcans -- is a natural one for her.

While it's not absolutely necessary, it would certainly add insight. I don't know if you can do anything to help, but if so, I'd certainly appreciate it.

Best,

Jim

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: on the matter we discussed

fyi

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 08, 2010 3:48 PM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; McHale, Judith A; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** on the matter we discussed

Done.

Blog post tonight to follow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 7:44 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke asking to talk.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** PIR <preines >
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 9:48 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: H: fyi. Sid

No real harm, other than taking up your time. But no real upside either. Over the last decade you've only spoken to one or two people on the record for books, but have regretted dozens, many from people close to you. It's just been easier saying no to all. Doesn't make it a wise policy, but it's been SOP.

If you'd like I can a) check in with the author, see if he has others of stature talking to him; and b) tend to Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Wed, 8 Sep 2010 21:31:01
To: 'preines <preines ; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'<sullivanjj@state.gov> B6
Subject: Fw: H: fyi. Sid

Pls review and advise me about this. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Wed Sep 08 15:47:38 2010
Subject: H: fyi. Sid

Jim Mann, who wrote The Rise of the Vulcans, is writing a history of Democrats and foreign policy since Vietnam. He's also a China expert, having covered China for the LA Times. He's favorably disposed to you, a serious person and concerned about the policies. I know him well. I think you ought to consider talking to him on the record for his book. I've enclosed his bio from Johns Hopkins SAIS , where he's on the faculty, and his email.

James Mann, B.A.photo, Mann <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/bin/d/w/mann.png>
Foreign Policy Institute Author-in-Residence Expertise Geographic Areas East Asia | China | Taiwan Issues American foreign policy | diplomacy | domestic influences on foreign policy | human rights | media and foreign policy | strategic and security issues | U.S. Congress and foreign policy Background and Education Was senior writer-in-residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; served as staff writer for the Los Angeles Times, including positions as Beijing bureau chief, national security correspondent and foreign affairs columnist; was staff writer for the New Haven Journal-Courier, The Washington Post, Philadelphia Inquirer and The Baltimore Sun; received the National Press Club Edwin M. Hood Award for diplomatic correspondence in 1993 and 1999, the Edward Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting in 1999, the New York Public Library Helen Bernstein Award for best book of the year by a journalist in 2000 and the Asia-Pacific Award for best book about Asia in 2000; was finalist for the Lionel Gelber Prize for books on international relations in 2000 and the Arthur Ross Book Prize in 2005; is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; formerly a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and fellow of the American Academy in Berlin; serves as guest commentator for television and radio networks; B.A., sociology, Harvard University Publications The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War (2009); The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression (2007); Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet (2004); About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship With China, From Nixon to Clinton (1999); Beijing Jeep (1989); "Congress and

Taiwan" in Making China Policy (2001); numerous articles in The Atlantic Monthly, The New Republic and The Washington Post

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From: Jim Mann
To: sbwhoeop
Sent: Wed, Sep 8, 2010 3:30 pm
Subject: (no subject)

B6

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or personal (someone didn't like something I wrote?).

I would think that the subject matter -- foreign policy

after the Vulcans -- is a natural one for her.

While it's not absolutely necessary,

it would certainly add insight. I don't know

if you can do anything to help, but if so,

I'd certainly appreciate it.

Best,

Jim

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 3:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Two items

1. Churkin called Susan back. [redacted]

2. Feltman just called. [redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

B5

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/17/2025

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 10:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Sep 08 21:46:43 2010
Subject: Fw: CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Sep 07 23:11:18 2010
Subject: FW: CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

FYI

From: Gayle, Helene [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Tuesday, September 07, 2010 3:04 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: CARE Policy Recommendations to Meet the MDGs

Dear Ms. Mills:

CARE is pleased that the international community will come together at the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Summit from Sept. 20-22, 2010, in New York, to recommit to and accelerate progress toward the achievement of the MDGs by 2015. We also welcome the United States' Strategy for Meeting the Millennium Development Goals, "Celebrate, Innovate and Sustain: Toward 2015 and Beyond." While we have made progress on some goals, we still have much to do if we are going to meet these global commitments by 2015.

Attached or linked below are CARE's recommendations for meeting the Millennium Development Goals and for strengthening the US' MDG strategy. Our recommendations include approaches and strategies proven to deliver results specifically on MDGs 1, 3, 5 and 7. CARE's reflections on the MDGs are drawn from more than 60 years of experience working with the poorest communities in more than 70 countries around the world. Women are at the heart of CARE's efforts because experience shows that a woman's achievements yield dramatic benefits for her entire family and the

larger community. Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment is central to poverty reduction and the achievement of all MDGs.

The MDG Summit provides a critical opportunity to take bold and decisive action. CARE believes that the following guiding principles must be reflected in the outcome of the MDG Summit, in the US' MDG strategy, as well as in the US' and the international community's implementation efforts:

* An emphasis on meeting the needs of people in extreme poverty and the most vulnerable populations;
* Promotion of gender equality, gender responsiveness, and the empowerment of women;
* Adherence to broad-based country ownership, including broad stakeholder engagement with local communities, women's groups, and other vulnerable populations, in a whole-of-society approach to development;
* Recognition of the linkages among the eight MDGs; and
* A commitment to transparency, mutual accountability, and mechanisms to track results.

Any recommitment to the MDGs must be coupled with commitments to mobilize the necessary resources that will reach the people who need them most. In the context of the US' development strategy, CARE also believes that USAID must be empowered as the premier US development agency to lead these efforts, and we call on the Administration and Congress to work together to reform and modernize US foreign assistance policies, efforts and strategies.

CARE urges bold efforts to recommit to the MDGs and ensure progress toward their achievement. The MDG Summit can be the turning point in collective efforts to achieve the MDGs by 2015. It is critical that the global community unite around a shared action-oriented strategy for meeting – and exceeding – these goals and begin to lay the groundwork for post-2015.

CARE stands ready to support your efforts and looks forward to continuing valuable collaboration with the US government and other leaders to tackle poverty worldwide. Please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Helene D. Gayle, MD, MPH

President & CEO, CARE USA

Email [redacted] B6

Phone: (404) 979-9100

Fax: (404) 589-2604

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 10:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: First review of your speech. Goad you used Acheson. Sid

Don't know the writer personally, but he is a regular columnist for The Daily Beast, a young Indian-American, who used to work for WSJ, a conservative in fact.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Wed, Sep 8, 2010 9:33 pm
Subject: Re: H: First review of your speech. Goad you used Acheson. Sid

Do you know who the writer is?

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop B6

To: H

Sent: Wed Sep 08 14:34:36 2010

Subject: H: First review of your speech. Goad you used Acheson. Sid

<http://www.tdbimg.com//image/print_blogs_header.gif?v=7.73.13>

Hillary's Homerun of a Speech

by Tunku Varadarajan

September 8, 2010 | 12:16pm

BS Top - Varadarajan Hillary Clinton <http://www.tdbimg.com/files/2010/09/08/img-bs-top---varadarajan-hillary-clinton_121414586291.jpg>

Hillary Clinton speaks at the Council on Foreign Relations September 8, 2010 in Washington, DC. (Mark Wilson / Getty Images) The secretary of State delivered the best speech of the Obama administration this morning. Tunku Varadarajan on her "new American moment"—and why she's better than her boss.

Behold the Hillary Doctrine. And heap abundant gratitude—and rose petals if you have them on hand—on the firm, unfussy, deeply reassuring woman who has just offered it up to the world.

In the 20 months since this administration began administering (a verb I use only in the loosest sense), the speech <http://www.cspan.org/Watch/Media/2010/09/08/HP/R/37857/Sec+Clinton+discusses+Advancing+American+Interests+on+a+Global+Scale.aspx> Wednesday morning by Hillary Clinton, delivered at the Council on Foreign Relations <http://www.cfr.org/> , was the first time we have been given an unreserved lift of the heart by any of its members. It was, by far, the best speech of this administration. Whereas her president has frequently wrung his elegant hands, doing the rounds of the world to reassure foreign leaders that America is a cuddly bunny at heart, the secretary of State declared Wednesday that we are all living "a new American moment—a moment when our global leadership is essential." There was no bowing from her to potentates in robes; there was, instead, a promise that "we will do everything we can to exercise the traditions of American leadership at home and abroad."

What is so piquant here is not the fact that Hillary understands that Obama is president. It is the growing sense that Hillary would have made a much, much better president than Obama.

Try this for size: "The United States can, must and will lead in the new century." In order to do that, Clinton promised "a new global architecture," "built to last and withstand stress." And in a muscular departure from the way in which this administration—for fear of seeming Bush-like—has been shrinking from the unembarrassed propagation of American values, she uttered these plainspoken, unadorned words: "Democracy needs defending."

Human rights, too, came in for a robust airing: China was scolded, and exhorted to follow "the rules of the road" in its aspiration to be a great power; as was Russia, for its invasion of Georgia. The message: We may live in a multipolar world, but we have higher standards by far than those who would style themselves as our equals.

Clinton used phrases like "American might," words that we are more accustomed to hearing from Republicans—words that we've come to believe that many Democrats can't bear to voice. How refreshing, therefore, that she should reach into a vocabulary of pride that most American citizens would applaud.

Hillary Clinton invoked the name of Dean Acheson <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dean_Acheson>

in her reference to the need for "good, old-fashioned diplomacy," and there

certainly was an air of the Achesonian, of the statesman, about her speech.

Good, old-fashioned diplomacy, it should be noted, is in contrast to Obama's apparent preference for seeing America as a nation like any other, only a bit bigger, richer, and better-armed. Clinton's "old-fashioned" diplomacy is based, by contrast, on the unquestionable premise that America is the world's leader. Not primus inter pares; just primus.

In her speech, Clinton referred to the sources of "American might." The first, of course, is "economic power." But it is her hailing of the second—America's "moral authority"—that was so invigorating.

It was Acheson who said: "The most important aspect of the relationship between the president and the secretary of state is that they both understand who is president." What is so piquant here, in this administration, is not the fact, plain to behold, that Hillary understands that Obama is president. It is the growing sense that Hillary would have made a much, much better president than Obama.

Tunku Varadarajan is a national affairs correspondent and writer at large for The Daily Beast. He is also the Virginia Hobbs Carpenter Fellow in Journalism at Stanford's Hoover Institution and a professor at NYU's Stern Business School. He is a former assistant managing editor at The Wall Street Journal. (Follow him on Twitter here <http://twitter.com/tunkuv> .)

Get a head start with the Morning Scoop email <http://www.thedailybeast.com/email-signup/>

. It's your Cheat Sheet with must reads from across the Web. Get it

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/email-signup/> .

For inquiries, please contact The Daily Beast at editorial@thedailybeast.com.

<http://www.tdbimg.com//image/print_footer.gif?v=7.73.13>

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-09-08/hillary-clinton-foreign-policy-speech-better-than-obama/p/

<http://b.scorecardresearch.com/b?c1=2&c2=6433482&c3=&c4=&c5=&c6=&c15=&cv=1.3&cj=1>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 10:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Isabelle confirmed for 730

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 10:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke called again.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 10:44 PM
**To:** preines H
**Subject:** Re: H: fyi. Sid

B6

I agree with Philippe that he should do some checking on this book, but I'm inclined to support you talking to him.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines>
Date: Thu, 9 Sep 2010 01:47:47
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Reply-To: preines
Cc: Jake Sullivan<>
Subject: Re: H: fyi. Sid

No real harm, other than taking up your time. But no real upside either. Over the last decade you've only spoken to one or two people on the record for books, but have regretted dozens, many from people close to you. It's just been easier saying no to all. Doesn't make it a wise policy, but it's been SOP.

If you'd like I can a) check in with the author, see if he has others of stature talking to him; and b) tend to Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Wed, 8 Sep 2010 21:31:01
To: 'preines>; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'<sullivanjj@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: H: fyi. Sid

Pls review and advise me about this. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Wed Sep 08 15:47:38 2010
Subject: H: fyi. Sid

B6

Jim Mann, who wrote The Rise of the Vulcans, is writing a history of Democrats and foreign policy since Vietnam. He's also a China expert, having covered China for the LA Times. He's favorably disposed to you, a serious person and concerned about the policies. I know him well. I think you ought to consider talking to him on the record for his book. I've enclosed his bio from Johns Hopkins SAIS , where he's on the faculty, and his email.

James Mann, B.A.photo, Mann <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/bin/d/w/mann.png>
Foreign Policy Institute Author-in-Residence Expertise Geographic Areas East Asia | China | Taiwan Issues American foreign policy | diplomacy | domestic influences on foreign policy | human rights | media and foreign policy | strategic and security issues | U.S. Congress and foreign policy Background and Education Was senior writer-in-residence at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; served as staff writer for the Los Angeles Times, including positions as

Beijing bureau chief, national security correspondent and foreign affairs columnist; was staff writer for the New Haven Journal-Courier, The Washington Post, Philadelphia Inquirer and The Baltimore Sun; received the National Press Club Edwin M. Hood Award for diplomatic correspondence in 1993 and 1999, the Edward Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting in 1999, the New York Public Library Helen Bernstein Award for best book of the year by a journalist in 2000 and the Asia-Pacific Award for best book about Asia in 2000; was finalist for the Lionel Gelber Prize for books on international relations in 2000 and the Arthur Ross Book Prize in 2005; is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; formerly a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and fellow of the American Academy in Berlin; serves as guest commentator for television and radio networks; B.A., sociology, Harvard University Publications The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War (2009); The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression (2007); Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet (2004); About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship With China, From Nixon to Clinton (1999); Beijing Jeep (1989); "Congress and Taiwan" in Making China Policy (2001); numerous articles in The Atlantic Monthly, The New Republic and The Washington Post

-----Original Message-----
From: Jim Mann <[redacted]>
To: sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Wed, Sep 8, 2010 3:30 pm
Subject: (no subject)

B6

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of state are still going nowhere. I have no idea whether

the reason is sheer bureaucracy (lots of requests)

or personal (someone didn't like something I wrote?).

I would think that the subject matter -- foreign policy

after the Vulcans -- is a natural one for her.

While it's not absolutely necessary,

it would certainly add insight. I don't know

if you can do anything to help, but if so,

I'd certainly appreciate it.

Best,

Jim

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 6, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Gender- Melanne's Comments on QDDR

HRC:

[Huma can you print for HRC]

Melanne is stepping through the QDDR and giving specific edits on each section to ensure the integration of gender.

In addition to that help, she shared her thoughts/concerns on the reorganization as it affects s/GWI. We already determined from your earlier feedback that S/GWI would maintain a direct report to S (I actually always thought that even with the reorganization of homes for many of the S offices, we still were maintaining a direct S/reporting so we are revisiting this issue writ-large for the next draft to you. For example, we now know statutorily that S/CT legislatively is a required S report).

That said, here is her narrative for your review for when we speak. I have embedded comments in caps in text after each graph where relevant.

---

TO: Anne-Marie Slaughter
FROM: Melanne Verveer
DATE: November 4, 2010
RE: Gender Integration in the QDDR

The Secretary has declared time and time again that the empowerment of women is "at the heart of the foreign policy of the United States." Our collective task is to realize this principle by integrating gender into the policies and programs of the State Department and USAID in an enduring way.

We are concerned that the current draft of the QDDR falls short of this call. In the existing draft, the Office of Global Women's Issues falls under a new Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights while retaining the Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues who reports directly to the Secretary. This new structure misses the simple but important reality that women are half of the world's population and that the major security, economic and social challenges of this century cannot be solved without them. These issues cut across the work of the department and touch virtually all regions, though we place special emphasis on regions in which women and girls are most vulnerable, such as in countries experiencing conflict and transition. Locating the office within one bureau makes it impossible for the Office to implement its very charge — to integrate gender effectively into the work of the entire State Department.

Therefore, gender must be integrated throughout all of the regional and functional bureaus rather than located within one bureau. Women should be integral to all of our diplomatic efforts—from traditional bilateral and multilateral relationships, strategic dialogues, and public diplomacy, to our relations with civil society, community leaders and other non-state actors. Women are also important to consider in all of our policy initiatives, including global health, food security, climate change, economic issues, human rights, and peace and security. We must institute rigorous institutional mechanisms to ensure that all bureaus, both regional and functional, consider gender in diplomacy and development.

In order to integrate gender effectively throughout the work of the Department, we recommend the following approach to planning, budgeting, structure and evaluation:

**Maintain visibility and focus on gender.** Retain the Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues who reports to the Secretary. This position embodies our commitment to and advocacy for gender equality as an essential part of diplomacy and development and signals our understanding that this is important to the national security of the United States. In addition, the office advances a coherent and coordinated strategy on gender throughout the State Department and USAID. [DONE]

**Ensure that gender is effectively addressed throughout all bureaus and missions.** We recommend the following structural changes at State. First, make the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (PDAS) in all regional and functional bureaus responsible and accountable for their bureaus' work on gender. The Office of Global Women's Issues would serve as a resource to the PDAS on these issues. Second, assign specialized gender liaisons to regional bureaus for purposes of integration, where needed. Third, include training and capacity development for employees on gender issues (in both Foreign and Civil Service as well as for political appointees). Fourth, evaluate the PDAS in each bureau on gender integration in policies and programs (including, for example, as a component in the Performance Evaluation System). Similarly, require each Chief of Mission to be responsible and accountable for the mission's work on gender, to assign personnel with expertise to manage the work on gender, to require personnel to receive training on gender issues, and to be evaluated on this work. A parallel structure should be put in place at USAID, and our diplomacy and development work on gender should be coordinated and complimentary.

[THIS IS RECOMMENDATION, WITH SOME VARIATION, MADE FOR MANY AREAS – PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, AND OTHERS – CHALLENGE WILL BE TO IDENTIFY HOW TO ADDRESS EFFECTIVELY AND CREAT A PDAS JOB THAT IS MEANINGFUL GIVEN THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES SOUGHT TO BE IMPOSED THROUGH THAT POSITION]

**Include gender in strategic planning and budget allocation.** We recommend continuing the requirement initiated last year that all bureaus include a plan for gender integration in their annual Strategic Plan and Budget proposal. Each bureau is required to describe how their policies and programs will improve gender equality and how that will strengthen their work more generally. They are also required, to the extent possible, to outline what portion of their policies and programs target or affect women and girls. [THIS ALREADY IS IN PLACE AND WOULD BE RETAINED]

**Measure Impact.** Develop indicators and long-term evaluation systems to measure the impact of programs on women and girls. There are efforts underway currently within F and at USAID to consider how to improve our measurement of impact on women and girls and to develop different and additional indicators where appropriate. [SAME AS IMMEDIATELY ABOVE – THIS IS ALREADY IN PROCESS]

---

Happy to discuss.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 5:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: News Ticker: (Reuters) Israeli air strike kills five Gaza militants

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Dec 18 17:09:02 2010
**Subject:** News Ticker: (Reuters) Israeli air strike kills five Gaza militants

GAZA (Reuters) - An Israeli air strike killed five Palestinian militants in the Gaza Strip December 18, Israeli and Palestinian officials said. The Israeli military said in a statement that its aircraft "targeted and identified hitting a squad of terror operatives who were preparing to launch rockets towards Israeli territory". Palestinian hospital officials said the five were militants. Militant groups identified the five dead as members of the Islamic Jihad and Popular Resistance Committees.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines >
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 8:33 AM
**To:** H; Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Correction

Yes, I'll go back and watch and listen and have fixed as necessary

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Correction
Sent: Sep 9, 2010 7:45 AM

Not that it matters, but several of the articles quote me as saying that the Koran burning is "distrustful". I'm not sure that's a word, and I thought I said "distressful". Can we fix?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 6:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: McCain's START amendment defeated 59-37 (U)

---

**From**: Davis, Timmy T
**To**: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent**: Sat Dec 18 18:22:26 2010
**Subject**: Fw: McCain's START amendment defeated 59-37 (U)

FYI

---

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: S_SpecialAssistants; SES_DutyDeputies; D(S)_Officers; D(L); P; EUR-Staff-Assistants-DL; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; H_SpecialAssistants; T_StaffAssistants; AVC-Staff-Assistants-DL; PA FO Group; R_Staff Assistants; USUN/W users-DL
**Cc**: SES-O
**Sent**: Sat Dec 18 18:16:21 2010
**Subject**: McCain's START amendment defeated 59-37 (U)

(U) Media report members of the Senate voted December 18 to defeat an amendment proposed by Senator McCain (R-AZ). The amendment called for language that recognizes a relationship between offensive and defensive weapons to be taken out of the START treaty's preamble. If passed, the amendment would have sent the treaty back to U.S. and Russian negotiators.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** and so it begins.....

# Post-Daley circus gets started early

## Easier to count those who aren't running than those who are

By Rick Pearson, Hal Dardick, Tribune reporters

11:17 PM CDT, September 8, 2010

The post-Daley era in Chicago politics began Wednesday with all of the promise of baseball's Opening Day — no winners, no losers and everyone proclaiming they have a shot at the crown.

With Mayor Richard Daley saying he would not endorse a successor for the Feb. 22 city election, various political factions engaged in private meetings and a flurry of phone calls aimed at separating the contenders from the pretenders.

"There will be a lot of candidates," Daley said after his first City Council meeting since announcing he would not seek a seventh term. "Look at the City Council. All 50 are candidates right now. They all want to be candidates for mayor and why not? This the best job in America, right here."

In the anteroom behind the City Council chambers, the scene was controlled chaos as more than a dozen aldermen — white, black and Latino — happily stepped out of the meeting to give interviews to anyone who wanted to listen about how they could be the city's next mayor.

But the prospective candidates — following the old political adage that it's "better to be looked over than overlooked" — weren't limited to City Hall.

In Washington, White House chief of staff Rahm Emanuel was touted by another Chicagoan, President Barack Obama's political guru David Axelrod, as having the skills and personality to be a big-city mayor.

Amid all the early jockeying, bluffing and bullying, veteran Ald. Richard Mell, 33rd, outlined the nuts and bolts reality of mounting a mayoral campaign with only weeks before the Nov. 22 deadline for submitting petitions.

"Someone's got to have some serious money. This isn't something you just decide," Mell said. "It takes a full-scale ward-by-ward operation to identify your votes and get them out to vote."

Mell also talked about the qualities to look for in a winning candidate — someone who will be a "unifier" and "can't be looked at as looking at one segment of the city."

Still, many politicians were beginning their assessment by gauging the mood of their political base.

"I don't know if it's as important that it's an African-American candidate as it is about a candidate that is going to be fair to the African-American community," said Ald. Walter Burnett, 27th, head of the council's black caucus, which met in private at the Hotel Allegro across from City Hall.

"For anyone to run for mayor of the city of Chicago there has to be a groundswell of people in the city to support them ... Everyone has an opportunity."

At City Hall, amid the swarm of politicians and reporters, U.S. Rep. Bobby Rush, a South Side Democrat, said it was "critical" to try to find an African-American contender who would work for the black community's interests. But the council's black caucus agreed only to try to come up with a list of topics, such as improving education, that prospective candidates should address.

Latino council members met for lunch and agreed to meet again within the next few weeks, giving potential candidates time to develop a presentation to make to them.

"If there's a Hispanic that runs, he or she will probably get the majority of the Hispanic vote," said Ald. Danny Solis, 25th.

"I think more than likely it probably, if you look at the numbers, it won't be a Hispanic in the runoff," Solis said. "But then I think we can play a very important role" in backing one of the remaining candidates.

But such sentiments didn't deter one of the city's most prominent Latino politicians from declaring that he plans to run. City Clerk Miguel del Valle told the Tribune he planned to make a formal announcement "down the road."

Mell and many others expect the field for the February city election will be too fragmented for any candidate to reach the winning margin of 50 percent plus one vote. If there is no outright winner, the top two vote-getters proceed to an April 5 runoff election.

One prominent Northwest Side committeeman, who asked not to be identified because of the early stage of the campaigns, said the measure of those candidates who are real and those who are seeking an ego boost can be measured in two numbers: 25,000 and $7 million.

Though 12,500 signatures are needed for the February primary, politicians routinely get double the number to ensure they make the ballot. As for $7 million, the committeeman said, about $4 million would be needed to ensure a first or second place finish on Feb. 22, followed by a campaign of about $3 million for the April runoff.

"I'm getting a lot of calls about having lunch," said the committeeman. "I've told them to call me back when they get the signatures and then we can talk about fundraising."

Ald. Patrick Levar, 45th, who is not running for mayor, said this power vacuum reminds him of when Mayor Harold Washington died and Eugene Sawyer was picked to replace him.

"There's a lot of people who are going to be jockeying for position, but I've learned over the years to sit and listen and see who can put the different coalitions together," said Levar, who is also the Northwest Side ward's Democratic committeeman. "Whoever can raise the amount of money and put the coalition together is the person who is going to win."

While many politicians were starting those discussions, some key Democratic committeemen said they hadn't heard from Emanuel, one of the most prominent potential candidates.

Emanuel, a former top political aide to Daley and Northwest Side congressman, has previously said he'd like to

be mayor but has avoided the spotlight since Daley's announcement.

Robert Gibbs, the White House press secretary, told reporters aboard Air Force One that he expected Emanuel to "take some time to think about what he wants to do with his future."

**But Axelrod, who previously served as Daley's political adviser, told ABC News that if Emanuel decided to leave the White House for a mayoral bid, "the president will support that decision."**

Saying mayors are "larger than life personalities," Axelrod said Emanuel "has that combination of skills and that personality and mindset to be a success if he chooses to go that route."

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 8:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Ninth Circuit Armenian Genocide case

**Importance:** High

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E
Cc: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Sat Dec 18 18:02:52 2010
Subject: FW: Ninth Circuit Armenian Genocide case

Jake, Joe:

Can you let S know about the attached? This will be coming to her in the form of an info memo, but since FM Davutoglu mentioned it in his call to her on Friday, we wanted to get this to her asap.

Thanks
Harold

B5

Page Denied

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 10:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** FW: (AFP) Pastor says may halt Koran burning if White House asks

As we just discussed, below is the quote I referred to from pastor in Florida. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Let me know if you need me to do anything else.

jm

---

**From:** Hensman, Chris D
**Sent:** Thursday, September 09, 2010 10:02 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** (AFP) Pastor says may halt Koran burning if White House asks

Pastor says may halt Koran burning if White House asks

(AFP) – 26 minutes ago

WASHINGTON — A Florida pastor at the center of a global storm over plans to burn hundreds of Korans said Thursday he would likely call off the event if asked to by the Obama administration.

Terry Jones, head of the Dove World Outreach Center, told USA Today he had not been contacted by the White House, Pentagon or State Department about Saturday's planned ceremony on the anniversary of the September 11 attacks.

If he were "that would cause us definitely to think it over. That's what we're doing now. I don't think a call from them is something we would ignore," Jones told the daily.

US President Barack Obama on Thursday warned the burning ceremony would be a "recruitment bonanza" for Al-Qaeda, which carried out the 2001 attacks on the United States in which almost 3,00 people died.

"You know, you could have serious violence in places like Pakistan or Afghanistan," Obama told ABC television in an interview.

"This could increase the recruitment of individuals who'd be willing to blow themselves up in American cities, or European cities," he said.

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has also condemned the plans as "disgraceful," while military leaders have warned it could endanger troops serving in Afghanistan and Pakistan, both Muslim countries.

The gun-toting pastor said the aim of Saturday's three-hour evening event in Gainesville, Florida, was to send a message to radical Islamists that "it is possibly time for us in a new way to actually stand up and confront terrorism."

But his tiny church of about 50 members has triggered fears that a violent wave of Islamic anger could ripple around the globe, similar to past controversies centered around Islam.

Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard, who sparked Muslim outrage in 2006 with a drawing of the Prophet Mohammed, told German media that satire like his was "provocation. Provocation should lead to reflection, to enlightenment, to knowledge. In this case, this is really not the case."

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**Chris Hensman**
**Special Assistant**
**Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**
**U.S. Department of State**
**2201 C St, NW Rm 5932**
W: 202.647.9130| M: [redacted] | ✉: hensmancd@state.gov B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 5:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) All 9 killed in Afghan crash are American-US official

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Tue Sep 21 17:09:20 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) All 9 killed in Afghan crash are American-US official

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - All nine of the NATO troops killed in a helicopter crash September 21 in southern Afghanistan were Americans, a U.S. defense official told Reuters. The NATO-led force had not previously disclosed the nationalities of the victims, but said there were no reports of enemy fire before the crash.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** FW: Original Story from USA TODAY

More, original story.

**From:** Hensman, Chris D
**Sent:** Thursday, September 09, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Original Story from USA TODAY

http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2010-09-08-quran-burning-florida_N.htm

# Obama weighs in as plan to burn Qurans sparks debate

Updated 2h 8m ago

By Larry Copeland and Rick Hampson, USA TODAY

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — The Constitution won't let you yell "fire" in a crowded theater if there isn't one. It won't let you utter "fighting words" with impunity. But scholars agree it will let a pistol-packing minister of a tiny fundamentalist church outrage countless Muslims by burning the Quran, a book he says he hasn't read.
Florida preacher Terry Jones prepared for a bonfire of the Qurans on Saturday — the ninth anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks— despite protests from the White House, the Vatican, the U.S. commander in Afghanistan, fellow Christian evangelicals and veterans' groups.

"As of right now," Jones said Wednesday, "we are not convinced that backing down is the right thing."

In an interview with USA TODAY he said he had not been contacted by the White House, State Department or Pentagon. If he were, he said, "that would cause us to definitely think it over. That's what we're doing now. I don't think a call from them is something we would ignore."

Jones' plans for "International Burn a Koran Day" at his Dove World Outreach Center provoked a warning this week from Gen. David Petraeus that U.S. troops in the field could be endangered.

President Obama became the latest to comment in an interview aired Thursday on ABC's Good Morning America. The president called the plan a "stunt" that could "greatly endanger our young men and women in uniform who are in Iraq, who are in Afghanistan."

"This is a recruitment bonanza for Al Qaeda," he added.

"We're concerned with troops and missionaries ourselves," Jones said. "Our question is when do we stop backing down. ... In certain areas of our country, we have lost our backbone. We have backed down too much."

Wayne Sapp, an associate pastor, said the church is "still in prayer over the whole thing" and could cancel. "God is leading us right up to the moment. It's no different than Abraham and his son. God didn't tell him, 'Go right up to the point where you might sacrifice him.' He wanted him to be fully committed. We're prepared to do what we're called to do."

The church's plan presents an excruciating dilemma for Americans, many of whom regard freedom of expression as a sort of secular religion. But a nation that allows the symbolic burning of its own flag cannot stop the burning of a book, says Stephen Gillers, a New York University law professor.

"From a legal point of view, Gen. Petraeus' prediction (of violence) is too ambiguous to support suppressing the conduct," he said. "Were the government to try to stop it, it would lose."

Still, he said, the facts of the case are troubling: "It's hard to find a direct analogy to this in U.S. constitutional history."

Although many Americans, including Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, expressed frustration that a small fringe group could command such attention, ignoring Jones was not an option.

Not after Petraeus warned that "images of the burning of a Quran would undoubtedly be used by extremists ... to inflame public opinion and incite violence." Not after the Vatican accused Jones of "an outrageous and grave gesture." Not after Mississippi Gov. Haley Barbour, chairman of the Republican Governors Association, said, "I don't think there's any excuse for it."

Alan Wolfe, director of Boston College's Center for Religion and American Public Life, said Washington shouldn't ignore Jones: "This requires public diplomacy by the administration to point out how repugnant this is to most Americans."

The inconvenient Constitution

The incident was a reminder of how inconvenient the Constitution can be.

"The First Amendment, as it's been interpreted, would probably not win if it were put up to a vote," said Gillers, whose media law class discussed the case. "It is very hard to explain to people why this sort of conduct should be permitted."

If Americans schooled in civics have trouble understanding, how much harder is it for people in Ramallah or Khartoum or Jakarta? Wolfe was sanguine: "Enough people in the Muslim world understand that this is a fringe group."

Scott Appleby, a Notre Dame religious historian, acknowledges puzzlement, in a nation where artists and performers routinely ridicule organized religion, over Islam's exquisite sensitivity to disrespect for Allah, his word or his prophet, Mohammed.

The incident recalls a controversy in 2005, when 12 editorial cartoons, most depicting the prophet, were published in a Danish newspaper. After they were reprinted in other countries, protests spread across the Muslim world. Some demonstrators were killed and several Danish embassies were set on fire or vandalized.

Appleby explained that while not all Christians read the Bible literally, virtually all Muslims believe every word in the Quran came directly from Allah, as revealed to Mohammed by the angel Gabriel.

Coming amid discord over an Islamic center and mosque proposed near the site of the 9/11 attacks in New York, the Quran controversy gives many Americans something to agree on — and rally against, Wolfe said. "Even conservative Christians who might not like Muslims understand the importance of freedom of speech and religion."

Appleby calls the controversy "a mirror" for Americans who "revere their Bible, even if they've never opened it." Followers of all religions, he said, "can see what another religion's sacred text means to them, because you know what yours means to you."

Some wonder whether Jones is motivated less by fundamentalism than opportunism. "For people like this, this is a gold mine," Wolfe said of the furor. "What an opportunity to rise up from obscurity!"

Sapp, the associate pastor, asked, "When have you seen a congregation of 40 to 50 people with something they're doing get worldwide attention like this?"

As Sapp spoke with a reporter outside the church, a man walked up and handed him $20 for Jones' effort. "I'm a Roman Catholic," Tommy Heenan said. "I don't know if I've ever seen a Roman Catholic cut anybody's head off, slice somebody's throat or abuse women. ... I don't know if Rev. Jones is correct, but we know where he stands."

Jones denied he was in it for profit or publicity: "I would not put my life on the line just for publicity. When we decided this, we had no idea this much attention, this much publicity would happen." As for profits, he said, "It's probably caused some members to leave."

Eddie Houk, who lives 300 yards from the church, said news coverage has created a monster. "If it wasn't for the media, it wouldn't go anywhere. Why would 40 to 50 people, if that, be able to make such a big impression on the whole wide world over one little thing?"

His frustration was shared by Clinton, who told the Council on Foreign Relations it was "regrettable that a pastor ... can make this outrageous and distrustful, disgraceful plan and get the world's attention. But that's the world we live in right now."

Jones, meanwhile, was besieged with calls from all quarters to cancel his protest.

Jones met with Imam Muhammad Musri, president of the Islamic Society of Central Florida, whom Jones called "very nice, very friendly, very respectful. In a lot of areas, not the religious area, we were in agreement on many subjects."

"We came to have a peaceful conversation with the pastor, to hear his grievance, to ask him to follow his own Scripture about his enemies," Musri told reporters. "His Scripture teaches him to love his enemies."

The office of evangelist Franklin Graham, who was traveling in Alaska, said he tried unsuccessfully to reach Jones by phone to ask him to cancel the burning. Graham, son of the Rev. Billy Graham, has said that although he loves Muslims, Islam is "evil" and cannot lead to salvation.

Joe Davis, spokesman for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a Gulf War veteran, called Jones selfish for exposing Americans overseas to danger: "If this guy really wants to make a statement, why doesn't he go to Afghanistan in the middle of a market square and then douse the Quran on fire? Then he would have a true vested interest in his actions."

Todd Bowers, a former Marine officer and now spokesman for Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America, said it's costly just to be accused of offending religious sensibilities in some Muslim nations. Bowers said his unit was in Afghanistan last year when the Taliban spread rumors that U.S. forces had desecrated a Quran and thrown a dead dog into a mosque, even though "no one was even patrolling in that village at that time."

The rumors sparked protests involving hundreds of demonstrators. Shots were fired, killing an Afghan police officer and a Marine, Bowers said. Afterward, "we would do patrols and realized no one was talking to us," he said. "It set us back months."

Jones' relatively few defenders included Chuck Morse, a Massachusetts-based conservative writer and talk-show host. He said opposition to the Quran burning showed how successful "Islamic fundamentalists have been ... in their international campaign of threats and terror. ... The world is now cowering in fear."

He said protesters who burned a Bible or a Quran in the West "need not worry that they will be beheaded. They know that American or Christian leaders would not sentence them to death, nor would Western leaders use the protest to incite violence in the populace at large. And this is the basic point of Pastor Jones' protest."

'It's just wrong'

The Dove World Outreach Center sits on 20 acres in a residential area 7 miles northwest of downtown Gainesville, a city of 125,000 that is home to the University of Florida.

Jones, who has been with the church since it was founded about 25 years ago, says he's received more than 100 death threats, some extremely graphic. He's started wearing a .40-caliber pistol strapped to his hip.

His second-floor office is sparsely decorated, with a painting of Presidents Washington, Lincoln and George W. Bush on one wall, and a poster for the Mel Gibson 1995 movie, Braveheart, on another. (Jones has a YouTube video series called The Braveheart Show.)

Scores of Qurans, some ordered by his supporters from Amazon and shipped directly to the church, were piled on a table in another room.

Outside, three signs on the road in front of Dove World read: "Islam ... is of the ... Devil."

Some neighbors are not happy with the church's plans for Saturday. "Totally immoral," said Shirley Turner, a retired teacher. "It's bigoted. It's just wrong to burn the holy book of any faith. ... They've had the devil sign up for over a year."

On Wednesday morning police went door-to-door with fliers to alert residents of a driver's license checkpoint to be set up at an intersection near the church. The flier warns: "In the event of a significant incident occurring in the area ... the sole entrance to your neighborhood will be shut down, and there will be no way in or out for an undetermined amount of time."

Shirley Turner said she had planned to leave for the day Saturday, but now will hunker down. "I'm not going to be scared into leaving my home. I hope he (Jones) gets a message from God that says, 'Don't do this!' "

**Chris Hensman**
**Special Assistant**
**Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**
**U.S. Department of State**
**2201 C St, NW Rm 5932**
W: 202.647.9130| M: [redacted] | ✉: hensmancd@state.gov B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 5:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Mideast peacemakers cancel conference amid rancor

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-IO
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_Shift-I; Bitter, Rena
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 16:40:42 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Mideast peacemakers cancel conference amid rancor

UNITED NATIONS (AP) - The Quartet of Mideast peacemakers shepherding newly started direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations abruptly canceled a planned a news conference at the United Nations, after failing to reach agreement on who would appear on behalf of the group.

Senior diplomats from the Quartet (United States, the European Union, the United Nations and Russia) met on the sidelines of the United Nations anti-poverty meeting to discuss a way forward in the negotiations, which have made little visible progress since they resumed earlier this month and are at risk of collapsing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 3:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

Reza teghavi
Businessman from Los angeles jailed in same prison as hikers since 2008. Was accused of giving money to anti govt group.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Oct 16 14:23:02 2010
Subject: Re: (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

Who is it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Oct 16 14:21:45 2010
Subject: Fw: (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

---

From: Vu, Anny T
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Cc: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Oct 16 14:03:08 2010
Subject: (AP) Family spokesman says American businessman jailed in Iran for two years has been released

(Headline only).

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** FW: Indian Home Minister Appeals to Media to Help Maintain Communal Harmony in View of U.S. Pastor Threatening to Burn Quran

FYI, as Bob reported this morning. Note last sentence about action by "US Authorities", [redacted]

[redacted] B5

**Press Information Bureau**
**Government of India**
**Ministry of Home Affairs**
09-September-2010 11:44 IST

**Home Minister Appeals to Media to Help Maintain Communal Harmony in View of U.S. Pastor Threatening to Burn Quran**

The Union Home Minister Shri P.Chidambaram has appealed to media to help maintain communal peace and harmony in the wake of reports of a pastor in the United States threatening to burn the holy Quran. In a statement issued here today, the Union Home Minister said that the act is calculated to increase strife between different religious groups. Following is the text of his statement :

"There are reports of a pastor in the United States threatening to burn the Quran on September 11, 2010.

The US authorities have strongly condemned the statement of the pastor. Religious leaders all over the world have also condemned his proposed action.

We condemn the action of the pastor. It is totally unbecoming of anyone who claims to be a man of religion. It is obviously calculated to increase bitterness and strife between different religious groups. No one who is interested in maintaining harmony and peace among different sections of the people can condone such action.

**We hope that the US authorities will take strong action to prevent such an outrage being committed. While we await the action of the US authorities, we would appeal to the media in India – both print and visual media – to refrain from telecasting visuals or publishing photographs of the deplorable act. We would also appeal to the media to exercise great restraint over the next couple of days and help in maintaining communal peace and harmony."**

*****

OK/KS

# India Condemns U.S. Pastor's Plan to Burn the Quran, Urges Media Restraint

*By Bibhudatta Pradhan - Sep 9, 2010*

India "condemns" a plan by a Florida pastor to burn copies of the Koran and the government hopes the U.S. will take strong action against him, Home Minister Palaniappan Chidambaram said in New Delhi.

Terry Jones, pastor of the Dove World Outreach Center in Gainesville has been criticized by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the Vatican for his plan to burn the Muslim holy book on Sept. 11. General David Petraeus, commander of international coalition forces in Afghanistan, said the act would endanger U.S. troops.

Chidambaram urged Indian newspapers not to publish photographs of what he said would be a "deplorable act" and asked television channels to refrain from broadcasting images. The media must show restraint over the "next couple of days and help in maintaining communal peace and harmony," the minister said, reading a government statement.

The proposed burning "is totally unbecoming of anyone who claims to be a man of religion," Chidambaram said. About 13 percent of India's 1.2 billion people are Muslim.

Facing mounting criticism around the world and at home, Jones said yesterday that supporters have sent him copies of the Koran to burn and he was not convinced "that backing down is the right thing to do," Associated Press reported.

To contact the reporter on this story: Bibhudatta Pradhan in New Delhi at bpradhan@bloomberg.net

**Chris Hensman**
**Special Assistant**
**Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)**
**U.S. Department of State**
**2201 C St, NW Rm 5932**
W: 202.647.9130| M: [redacted] ✉: hensmancd@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 10:55 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Correction

You're right, it was AP that got it wrong which is why you saw it repeated in several stories. Having it corrected.

Speaking of AP, today is [redacted]'s birthday, would be a nice touch to SIyDial him a birthday greeting. I'll give the # to Huma and Lauren (he's not coming on trip so you won't see him) B6

-----Original Message-----
From: "PIR" <preines [redacted]
Date: Thu, 9 Sep 2010 12:33:09
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Jake Sullivan< [redacted]
Reply-To: preines [redacted]
Subject: Re: Correction

Yes, I'll go back and watch and listen and have fixed as necessary

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Correction
Sent: Sep 9, 2010 7:45 AM

Not that it matters, but several of the articles quote me as saying that the Koran burning is "distrustful". I'm not sure that's a word, and I thought I said "distressful". Can we fix?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 6:25 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Personal Note

My best time is [redacted] so 6pm on; [redacted] at 8 so am free also from then on and can come over if you want to do in person B6

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Dec 18 11:42:42 2010
Subject: Re: Personal Note

And well-deserved! When can you talk tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 17 22:26:50 2010
Subject: Fw: Personal Note

Nice

---

From: Hanrahan, Karen J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 17 18:26:43 2010
Subject: Personal Note

Cheryl,

One sappy statement before I fly. Your involvement in the QDDR process has always been extremely helpful. Most of the best QDDR chairs meetings were those in which you participated, due in large part to the rigor and critical thought you brought to every issue. From the beginning of the process, your critical analysis and thoughtfulness in these meetings made all of us think more deeply. I have been grateful for that approach many times throughout the QDDR.

We've come a long way since that first meeting in which I described this as a "capabilities review" and organizational change exercise – all met with some frustration or blank stares. I think we've ended this phase on a great note. The

amount of positive feedback we've received and the eagerness to start implementation are great signs heading into implementation.

You are clearly one of the hardest working people in this building and have done so much to define and implement the Secretary's vision on so many things. So thanks for everything you've done on the QDDR and for everything else you do.

As discussed today, I'm not far away if you need anything.

Karen

Karen J. Hanrahan

QDDR Chief Operating Officer

Office of Deputy Secretary Jacob J. Lew

US Department of State

2201 C Street NW

Washington, DC 20520

HanrahanKJ@State.gov

Office (202) 647-9746

Cell [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Chris Smith/Washington Post

Hillary:
Per our conversation yesterday, please see Tim Wirth's response to Chris Smith's op-ed last Saturday in the WPost. Others from the Global Leaders Council on Reproductive Health chaired by Mary Robinson (I am an ex officio member)are also responding to the article.

Onward!
Maria

---

**From:** Elisa Travisono Lynch [redacted] B6
**To:** Otero, Maria
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 16:57:34 2010
**Subject:** Chris Smith/Washington Post

Maria: Per our discussion today, I sent the attached to the *Washington Post* on Monday. Now we just have to hope that they print it!

Good to see you and hope to see you again soon. T

In his Sunday op-ed, Chris Smith politicized the broadly-accepted Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Contrary to Smith's assertions, access to legal abortion will not be on the agenda of the MDG Summit this week in New York. The key UN document on this issue makes clear that nations have the right to set their own abortion laws. Instead, world leaders will focus on how to rid the world of extreme poverty and hunger and to make dramatic improvement to the health of women and children around the globe.

Ensuring access to health services, including modern family planning, can play a critically important role in saving the lives of women. In fact, it can reduce 40% of maternal deaths worldwide. More than two hundred million women in the developing world want access to family planning, but can't get it. This has a dramatic impact, increasing deaths during childbirth, leaving millions of newborns behind.

Listening to the voices of women in the developing world, not injecting American domestic politics into the MDG Summit, is the surest way to promote the goals on which we can all agree.

Timothy E. Wirth, Washington
The writer is president of the United Nations Foundation.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 8:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: News Ticker: (AP) Sacked Iran FM unaware he was to be fired

**From**: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sun Dec 19 05:03:34 2010
**Subject**: News Ticker: (AP) Sacked Iran FM unaware he was to be fired

TEHRAN (AP) - Iran's recently fired foreign minister told a local news agency that he had not been aware of plans to remove him from his post when he left on a mission to west Africa. Manouchehr Mottaki told Mehr news agency, in a report issued December 19, that he was "never informed" about the dismissal while on his trip. Mottaki called the dismissal during the mission "un-diplomatic and offensive."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Daily beast story on home run speech yesterday

Is one of the top five stories on Real Clear World, a site that collects most important things to read, under headline "Hillary on Top of U.S. Foreign Policy." And the full speech is also a link on Real Clear World.

I freely admit that I'm procrastinating from QDDR writing by surfing the web .... AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Invite for Kaia Lenhart GMMB

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Huang, Cindy Y
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Smith, Jeannemarie E; Haslach, Patricia M
Sent: Tue Sep 21 16:56:55 2010
Subject: FW: Invite for Kaia Lenhart GMMB

Okay, I promise not to send you all the comments on the event, but this one is particularly relevant -- S's commitment has the power to spark a movement (see below).

-----Original Message-----
From: Kaia Lenhart [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, September 21, 2010 4:50 PM
To: Huang, Cindy Y
Cc: Alyson McColl; Katrine Pritchard; DuBord, Damon A
Subject: RE: Invite for Kaia Lenhart GMMB

Cindy and Damon...Will write more later, though wanted to congratulate you both on a grand slam day today. Really impressive all-around...the video, the site, and most importantly, Secretary Clinton's remarks and commitment to nutrition. Just what the movement needs! Hooray...Kaia

Kaia Lenhart Senior Vice President

[redacted] B6

+gmmb cause the effect

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 2:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Those who have denounced

**Importance:** High

Madame Secretary, here is what we have found thus far in terms of Republican voices encouraging the pastor to reconsider.

PJ

Denounced the Koran Burning:

**Sen. McCain on Twitter:**
"Pastor Jones' threats to burn the Koran will put American service men/women in danger - for their sake please don't do it!"
(http://twitter.com/SenJohnMcCain)

**Sarah Palin on Twitter and Facebook:** "Koran Burning Is Insensitive, Unnecessary; Pastor Jones, Please Stand Down"
(http://twitter.com/SarahPalinUSA)
See Facebook statement: http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=427813493434

**Rep. Boehner on ABC News:** "just because you have a right to do something in America does not mean it is the right thing to do....We're a nation of religious freedom. We're also a nation of tolerance. And I think in the name of tolerance, people ought to really think about the kind of actions they're taking...I just think that it's not wise to do this in the face of what our country really represents," said Boehner.
http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-world/mccain-pleads-against-koran-burning-20100910-153g0.html

**Gov. Barbour via ABC News:** ""I do not think well of the idea of burning anybody's Koran, or Bible, Book of Mormon or anything else. ... I don't think there's any excuse for it,"
(http://blogs.abcnews.com/thenote/2010/09/gov-barbour-no-excuse-for-koran-burning-stirring-up-anti-muslim-sentiments-a-distraction-for-gop.html)

**Gov. Pawlenty via Minnesota Public Radio Report:** "Gov. Tim Pawlenty says he doesn't think burning the Quran is a good idea, but he's not specifically calling on a Florida pastor to cancel a planned weekend protest. The Republican governor, who is viewed as a likely presidential candidate in 2012, commented on the Quran controversy today at an airport news conference before leaving on an Asian trade mission. Pawlenty said that people have a legal right to burn books, but that doesn't mean it's wise. He stopped short of saying the burning shouldn't go forward."
(http://minnesota.publicradio.org/collections/special/columns/polinaut/archive/2010/09/pawlenty_says_q.shtml)

**Former Gov. Romney via Politico:** "Burning the Quran is wrong on every level," the former Massachusetts governor said in a statement to POLITICO. "It puts troops in danger and it violates a founding principle of our Republic."

(http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0910/Romney_against_Quran_burning.html)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Kerry

Looks like he will go to Juba and Khartoum next week.

I recommend that you call him so we can read it out.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Qatar

I am out of the office on travel from COB 9/9 until sometime on 9/17. Then I will be on travel again from 9/18 until sometime either 9/29 or 9/30. I will check messages on this system periodically.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 7:46 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Tomorrow am

The plan now is to do the reconciliation mtg at 1015 and then the EJK mtg at 11.

Are you okay doing the first and then having someone else stand in on the second? Problem is that Jim, Bill, and Jack are out tomorrow. So not clear who it would be - perhaps Rich?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 7:48 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** RE: [redacted] B6

did she show up?
she might have been late with her last client _____
From: H
Sent: Thursday, September 09, 2010 7:14 PM
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: [redacted]

She's not here yet. Can you pls check to see she's still coming. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 6, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) UN rejects south Sudan calls for peacekeepers

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Nov 06 19:12:26 2010
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) UN rejects south Sudan calls for peacekeepers

ADDIS ABABA (Reuters) – The United Nations rejected calls by south Sudan to send peacekeepers and set up a buffer zone along the country's tense north-south border ahead of a southern vote on independence next year. "There will not be UN peacekeepers on the buffer zone, it's unrealistic," Alain le Roy, UN Undersecretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, told journalists shortly after concluding a meeting with representatives from the African Union and several other countries in the Ethiopian capital. "The common borderline is too wide and (it) is not realistic to deploy troops," he added.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 10:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) BRICs to propose UN resolution favorable to Iran

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-WHA; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-China; NEWS-Russia; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-IO
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 22:14:05 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) BRICs to propose UN resolution favorable to Iran

NEW YORK (Reuters) - The BRIC nations want the United Nations to rebuke countries that resort to unilateral sanctions not approved by the U.N. Security Council, Brazilian Foreign Minister Amorim said September 21.

A resolution on that theme, if approved by the U.N. General Assembly, could contribute to erode the legitimacy of additional sanctions imposed by the United States and other Western powers against Iran's nuclear program.

Amorim said the BRIC group, which includes Brazil, Russia, India and China, discussed the proposed resolution during a meeting of foreign ministers on September 21 in New York.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 5:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Why Taghavi was released

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Dibble, Philo L
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Catalano, Elisa
Sent: Sat Oct 16 17:46:49 2010
Subject: Why Taghavi was released

I understand S is asking. We won't know for sure until he is out and [redacted] B6

[redacted]

This should remain non-public info, obviously.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 9:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Peres to Abbas: Netanyahu is a trustworthy partner

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu Sep 09 18:41:57 2010
**Subject:** (Haaretz) Peres to Abbas: Netanyahu is a trustworthy partner

**Palestinian president calls Israeli counterpart to offer Rosh Hashanah greetings; Peres urges Abbas not to abandon peace talks.**

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas called President Shimon Peres to offer greetings for the Jewish holiday of Rosh Hashanah. During the telephone conversation, Peres pleaded with Abbas to "trust [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu."

Against the backdrop of recently relaunched direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, Peres urged the Palestinian president "not to abandon the talks before peace is achieved. There is no one more suited than you to achieve peace for your people, and for the entire region."

Abbas and other senior Palestinian negotiators have threatened to quit the U.S.-backed negotiations if Israel should resume construction in West Bank settlements. Last November, Netanyahu declared a 10-month moratorium on construction in settlements, but the freeze is set to expire at the end of this month, and it is not yet clear whether it will be renewed.

"Even if things don't appear perfect," Peres told Abbas, "the path toward peace and an independent Palestinian state is certainly preferable to an ongoing conflict and bloodshed. Even if there will be crises and disagreements, and the road will seem imperfect, I'm sure that new and creative solutions can be achieved."

Abbas replied that "we're serious and our goal is to achieve a peace agreement as soon as possible." To this Peres responded saying "I'm sure Netanyahu is a trustworthy partner."

Earlier, Abbas spoke with Netanyahu by phone. The two leaders offered mutual greetings for the holidays, the Muslim Eid el Fitr and Jewish Rosh Hashanah.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 10:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ralph thomson

I solved the mystery on ralph thomson, the ceo of international business catalysts, who sent you letter and mentioned his export conference this fall. You met him at the business roundtable lunch lorraine hariton organized on july 16th for you and bob hormats. Ralph was invited because they include all past ACE winners on the invitation list (he won in 2007) and he runs a small/medium size business which is a group they target for these roundtables. Lorraines office is in touch with him on who would be appropriate to attend his conference.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 6:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) New date sought for Paris peace summit

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O
**Sent:** Sat Oct 16 18:13:18 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) New date sought for Paris peace summit

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - A planned Israeli-Palestinian summit due to be held in Paris by the end of the month has been rescheduled, the Israeli prime minister's office said on October 16, a sign of increased strain over stalled peace talks. French President Sarkozy invited Prime Minister Netanyahu, Palestinian President Abbas and Egyptian President Mubarak to meet before the end of October, although an exact date for the summit had not been set. "Following joint consultations it has been agreed to set a new date for the preparatory meeting," a statement from Netanyahu's office said, adding there was no chance of holding it on Oct 21, which was previously thought to be possible. "We are looking for a new date that works for everybody, although there is nothing firm scheduled yet," an Israeli government official told Reuters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 11:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) U.S. VP Biden visits Iraq as troops withdraw

---

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Iraq; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Mon Aug 30 11:04:13 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) U.S. VP Biden visits Iraq as troops withdraw

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - Vice President Biden arrived in Iraq on August 30 as U.S. troops prepared to end combat operations on August 31.

Biden was expected to hold talks with Iraqi leaders during a period of political deadlock, almost six months after an inconclusive election in March, over forming the country's next government.

His visit comes at a time when Iraq is on high alert for attacks by insurgents after a series of bombings that killed dozens of people and underscored the fragility of Iraq's recent security gains.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 11:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Egypt urges EU to bolster US-led Mideast peace bid

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Mon Aug 30 11:13:01 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Egypt urges EU to bolster US-led Mideast peace bid

PARIS (Reuters) - Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak urged Europe on August 30 to throw its weight behind U.S.-led efforts to secure a peace agreement between Palestinians and Israelis.

Mubarak discussed the matter with French President Nicolas Sarkozy before heading to Washington this week for the first direct negotiations in 20 months. "The American administration needs strong backing from the European Union for the peace process to continue," he said.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 16, 2010 7:57 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: Memo to HRC
**Attachments:** Memo to HRC.doc; ATT00001..txt; Memo to HRC.doc; ATT00001..txt

See below

----- Original Message -----
From: Martin Indyk [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Oct 16 18:21:38 2010
Subject: Memo to HRC

Dear Jake,

As you may know, before the Secretary left for her trip to Europe, she asked to see me and discussed a number of sensitive issues. She asked for some additional ideas which I have detailed in the attached memo. I'd be very grateful if you could give it to her.

Many thanks,

Martin.

RELEASE IN PART
B4,B3 INA,B6

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 22, 2009 7:09 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** cheryl.mills[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Subject:** Re: NYSE followup

Will do. Spoke to some of the participants and the NYSE folks and they were very happy about the meeting (they want to make it an annual event).

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Cc: 'cheryl.mills[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Tue Sep 22 06:58:14 2009
Subject: NYSE followup

Kris-- can you follow up on these issues and let me know so we can report back? Thx.

Steve Schwarzman at Blackstone wanted help on a visa for [redacted] and said Mickey Kantor was talking to Cheryl about it. What's status? B3 INA

David Cote of Honeywell wanted help w [redacted] He also complained about export control regs that interfere w sales. He said the State Dept is the holdup and gave example of nuts and bolts for an engine being labelled as "dual use and therefore couldn't be exported. Andrew may know about this. B4

RELEASE IN PART
B4, B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Krishna points - will print but so u have

Purpose of Call: B5

Points to Raise:

Background: The Indian government tabled the nuclear liability legislation August 25, after which it was amended, The bill, which has garnered front-page, daily news coverage, passed the upper house of parliament with broad support on August 30. B4 Ambassador Roemer and Under Secretary Burns discussed our concerns again with National Security Adviser Menon on August 27; we have requested that NSA Jones also call Menon. Embassy staff provided specific recommendations for fixing the legislation to Mukherjee's staff, Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of External Affairs on August 24.

RELEASE IN PART
B4, B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Krishna points - will print but so u have

Nope, we r waiting for them to confirm.
Jon is bringing printout

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Aug 30 12:37:10 2010
Subject: Re: Krishna points - will print but so u have

Is the call time set?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 30 12:08:14 2010
Subject: Krishna points - will print but so u have

Purpose of Call:

B5

Points to Raise:

B5

Background: The Indian government tabled the nuclear liability legislation August 25, after which it was amended,

The bill, which has garnered front-page, daily news coverage, passed the upper house of parliament with broad support on August 30.

B4

Ambassador Roemer and Under Secretary Burns discussed our concerns again with National Security Adviser Menon on August 27; we have requested that NSA Jones also call Menon. Embassy staff provided specific recommendations for fixing the legislation to Mukherjee's staff, Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of External Affairs on August 24.

RELEASE IN PART
B4, B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Krishna points - will print but so u have

He cannot do today
Maybe tomorrow morning

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Aug 30 12:37:10 2010
Subject: Re: Krishna points - will print but so u have

Is the call time set?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Aug 30 12:08:14 2010
Subject: Krishna points - will print but so u have

Purpose of Call:

B5

Points to Raise:

B5

Background: The Indian government tabled the nuclear liability legislation August 25, after which it was amended,

The bill, which has garnered front-page, daily news coverage, passed the upper house of parliament with broad support on August 30.

B4

Ambassador Roemer and Under Secretary Burns discussed our concerns again with National Security Adviser Menon on August 27; we have requested that NSA Jones also call Menon. Embassy staff provided specific recommendations for fixing the legislation to Mukherjee's staff, Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of External Affairs on August 24.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Another MEP idea

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FA Article

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** Muscatine, Lissa; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Tolv, Nora F
**Subject:** FA Article

I have not had occasion to read this draft, nor has Jake, but assuming if we have tweaks we can provide them and they will be accommodated, it should go.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Abbas Confirmed

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Hale, David M
To: 'george
Cc: Reed, Julia G; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Sullivan, Jacob J; 'Daniel_B._Shapiro
<Daniel_B._Shapiro
Sent: Wed Sep 22 08:24:30 2010
Subject: Abbas Confirmed

12:30 UN Plaza hotel, 35th floor.

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 3:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: From [redacted] B6

Fyi

---

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard; Patterson, Anne W; McHale, Judith A; Feldman, Daniel F; Nasr, S Vali R
**Cc:** Schwartz, Larry; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Mon Aug 30 14:39:51 2010
**Subject:** FW: From [redacted]

This is a pretty serious accusation. [redacted] B5

PJ

---

**From:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 2:34 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** From [redacted] B6

Dear Mr. Crowley,

I left you a message and look forward to talking, but here's the short version.

One of our Pakistani stringers, [redacted] has been the object of harrassment by the ISI, to the point where we have flown him out of the country for his own safety. Both [redacted] have heard from Pakistani contacts that the ISI was "looking for" [redacted] Both [redacted] wife and [redacted] a colleague in our Islamabad Bureau, have had calls from the ISI.

I understand that the State Department's influence with ISI is limited at best, but I wanted to get this situation on the department's radar, and urge you to take any steps you can think of to discourage this menacing treatment of an honorable and talented journalist, so that he can return to Pakistan and his work without fear.

Thanks.

Regards,

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 9:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Iran statement

P proposing you put out the below based on bombing in Iran today. Thoughts?

For Immediate Release September 22, 2010

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Explosion in Mahabad, Iran

I condemn the bombing targeting Iranians attending a parade in Mahabad today. The United States deplores this senseless loss of life and extends its sympathy to the families and loved ones of those injured and killed. We also call for the perpetrators of this horrific attack to be held accountable for their actions.

The United States condemns terrorism and all forms violence against innocent people, wherever it occurs, and stands with the victims of these appalling acts. This attack underscores the global community's need to work together to combat terrorist organizations that threaten the lives of innocent civilians all around the world.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

That was original plan but I changed it last night cause we have so much time to kill. And they were having access issues there. But we can try to change back.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin < >; Abedin, Huma B6
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Sep 22 09:59:07 2010
Subject: Schedule

Can we do So Af bilat at UN or US-UN so we don't have to run back and forth to the Waldorf?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772279 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE
IN FULL

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 16, 2010

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to express our support for ratification of the New START Treaty and full funding for the modernization of our nuclear weapons arsenal, as outlined by your updated report that was mandated by Section 1251 of the Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010.

We also ask that, in your future budget requests to Congress, you include the funding identified in that report on nuclear weapons modernization. Should you choose to limit non-defense discretionary spending in any future budget requests to Congress, funding for nuclear modernization in the National Nuclear Security Agency's proposed budgets should be considered defense spending, as it is critical to national security and, therefore, not subject to such limitations. Further, we ask that an updated 1251 report be submitted with your budget request to Congress each year.

We look forward to working with you on the ratification of the New START Treaty and modernization of the National Nuclear Security Agency's nuclear weapons facilities. This represents a long-term commitment by each of us, as modernization of our nuclear arsenal will require a sustained effort.

Sincerely,

Daniel Inouye
United States Senator

Thad Cochran
United States Senator

Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator

Lamar Alexander
United States Senator

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772279 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772283 Date: 08/31/2015

August 30, 2010

RELEASE IN FULL

# LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Today's world is a crucible of challenges testing American leadership. A glance at the headlines – and the trend lines – explains why.

In the 21 months since President Obama took office, we have seen the effects of the H1N1 health pandemic, an earthquake on a small Caribbean island, and floods in southern Punjab ripple across oceans and continents. And a financial crisis in Greece, a torpedoed ship in the Yellow Sea, and a spike in world food prices cause jitters on Wall Street and worries about our future well-being.

Global problems – from violent extremism to worldwide recession to climate change to poverty – demand collective solutions, even as power in the world becomes more diffuse. They require effective international cooperation, even as it becomes harder to achieve. And they call for American leadership, even as the world changes around us.

I began my tenure as Secretary of State by stressing the need to elevate diplomacy and development alongside defense – a "smart power" approach to solving global problems. To make that approach succeed, however, our civilian power must be strengthened and amplified. It must, as Defense Secretary Robert Gates has argued in these pages, be brought into better balance with our military power.

This effort is well underway. Congress already has appropriated funds for 1,108 new Foreign and Civil service officers to strengthen the State Department's capacity to pursue America's interests and advance our values. At USAID, we are doubling development officers, hiring 1,200 new foreign service officers with the specific skills and experience required for evolving development challenges, and making more effective use of the local hires at our overseas missions who have deep knowledge of their countries. We have begun rebuilding USAID into the world's premier development organization, one that seeds long-term growth, includes its own research arm, shapes policy and innovation, and uses metrics to ensure that our investments are cost-effective and sound.

But we need to do more. We need not only to rebuild – but also to rethink, reform, and recalibrate. During my years on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I saw how the Department of Defense used its Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) to align its resources, policies, and strategies for the present – and the future. No similar mechanism existed for modernizing the State Department or USAID. One of my first acts as Secretary of State was to



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appoint a new Deputy Secretary in charge of managing our systems and resources. And in July 2009, I launched the first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), a wholesale review of State and USAID to recommend how we can better equip, fund, and organize ourselves to meet our current diplomatic and development priorities and how we can begin building the people, structures, processes, and resources today to address the world's challenges in the years ahead.

The QDDR is not simply a review. It defines how to make diplomacy and development coordinated, complementary, and mutually reinforcing. It assesses what has worked in the past and what hasn't. And it forecasts future strategic choices and resource needs.

While the State Department and USAID have distinct roles and missions, we know that diplomacy and development often overlap – and must often work in tandem. Increasingly, global challenges call for a mix of both, requiring us to pursue a more holistic approach to civilian power.

Diplomatic objectives are often more effectively secured by development gains. The resumption of direct talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians over the summer was the handiwork of talented and persistent diplomats. But progress at the negotiating table is directly linked to progress building strong and stable institutions of a Palestinian state and providing Israel with needed security. And development objectives are often more effectively secured by diplomatic engagement. The impact of our Feed the Future program and Global Health Initiative will turn in part on the promotion of policy reforms in partner countries, and our Millennium Challenge Compacts are in part the product of sustained political engagement to create positive conditions for development. In many places, including Iraq and Afghanistan, the need for mutually reinforcing diplomatic and development strategies stems from the combined causes and effects of violent conflict, instability, and weak states.

The two "D"s in the QDDR reflect the world as we see it today – and as we envision it in the future. The review process relied on the wisdom and talent of exceptional people in both spheres – State and USAID – who worked tirelessly to produce a blueprint for reforms that will be implemented over the next four years but whose impact will stretch far beyond. This year's inaugural QDDR, to be repeated every four years, identifies new approaches and skill sets for diplomats and development experts, sets budget priorities, establishes planning procedures, revises promotion incentives, and reorganizes bureaucratic structures. It focuses on three main areas: modernizing and coordinating our diplomacy across U.S. government agencies; ensuring that our development work creates lasting and sustainable impact; and creating a stronger nexus of diplomacy and development – as well as better coordination with our defense partners – in conflict zones and fragile states.

## A GLOBAL CIVILIAN SERVICE

Diplomacy has long been the backbone of U.S. foreign policy. And it remains so today. The vast majority of my work at the State Department consists of deploying diplomats and engaging in diplomacy to address major global and regional challenges, from confronting Iran's nuclear

ambitions, to facilitating negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, to enhancing stability on the Korean Peninsula, to working with other governments to bring emergency relief to Haiti. And President Obama and I certainly relied on old-fashioned diplomatic elbow grease to hammer out a last-minute accord at the Copenhagen conference on climate change last December.

In annual strategic dialogues with a range of key partners – including Russia, India, China, South Africa, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Pakistan – we aim to move beyond the tyranny of the inbox to deepen and broaden our relationships and to establish a stronger foundation for addressing shared problems, advancing shared interests, and managing differences. We are investing in strengthening global structures like the G-20 and regional institutions from the Organization of American States to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. This is part of our commitment to building a new global architecture of cooperation that includes not only East and West, but also North and South.

While traditional diplomacy will always be critical to advancing our agenda, it is not enough. We have to expand our engagement to reach and influence wider and more diverse groups using new skills, strategies, and tools. To that end, we are broadening the way we conceive of diplomacy as well as the roles and responsibilities of its practitioners.

The original Foreign Service, as its name implies, consisted of people trained to manage our relations with foreign states, principally through consultations with their counterparts in government. This has been the main function of our Ambassadors and our embassies, as well as the staff at the State Department. But increasing global interconnectedness now necessitates reaching beyond government to citizens, and broadening our foreign policy portfolio to include issues once confined to the domestic sphere, such as economic and environmental regulation, drugs and disease, organized crime, and worldwide hunger. As those issues spill across borders, the domestic agencies addressing them must now do more of their work overseas – operating out of our embassies and consulates. A U.S. Ambassador in 2010 is thus responsible not only for managing civilians from State and USAID, but also for operating as CEO of a multi-agency. And he or she must also be adept at connecting with audiences outside of government, such as the business community and civil society.

Consider our embassy in Islamabad. The mission includes 800 staff members; about 450 are diplomats and civil servants from State and 100 are from USAID. A large portion of our work there consists of traditional diplomacy – foreign-service officers helping Americans traveling or doing business in the region, issuing visas, and engaging with their Pakistani civilian and military counterparts. But our Ambassador also leads civilians from 11 other federal agencies, including disaster relief and reconstruction experts helping to rebuild after last summer's historic floods; specialists in health, energy, communications, finance, agriculture, and justice; and military personnel working with the Pakistani military to bolster Pakistani capacities and partner in the fight against violent extremists.

Back in Washington, my responsibility as Secretary is to ensure that the Foreign and Civil Service personnel within the State Department and USAID are working together -- and with their colleagues across the federal government. Our strategic dialogue with Pakistan involves ten separate working groups and thus brings together cabinet secretaries and experts from a range of agencies in both governments. Our dialogue with India engaged 22 different agencies; and when

Secretary Geithner and I traveled to Beijing in May for the second round of the Strategic and Economic Dialogue, our delegation included civilians from over 30 agencies.

Our Foreign Service officers, Civil Service personnel, and local engaged staff at the State Department and USAID form the backbone of our global engagement. But we need the expertise and skill of all of our civilians across government to meet today's and tomorrow's challenges. By drawing on the pool of talent that already exists in our federal agencies and at overseas posts, we can build a global civilian service of the same caliber and flexibility as our military. From the State Department, USAID, and Millennium Challenge Corporation to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, the Departments of Justice, Treasury, and Agriculture, the Centers for Disease Control, the Peace Corps, and many others, we must reward teamwork, collaboration and inter-agency rotations. Developing the structures and habits of cooperation and collaboration will enable us to take full advantage of our civilian assets.

Engagement must go far beyond government-to-government interactions. In this information age, public opinion takes on added importance even in authoritarian states and as non-state actors are more able to influence current events. Today, a U.S. ambassador creates ties not only with the host nation's government, but also its people The QDDR endorses a new public diplomacy strategy that makes public engagement every diplomat's duty, through town halls and media interviews, organized outreach, events in provincial towns and smaller communities, student exchange programs, and virtual connections that bring together citizens and civic organizations. Indeed, in the 21st century, a diplomat is as likely to meet with a tribal elder in a rural village as a counterpart in a foreign ministry – as likely to wear cargo pants as pin stripe suits.

Public diplomacy must start at the top. In Indonesia and Turkey, I conducted bilateral meetings with government officials, but I also met with civil society leaders and appeared as a guest on popular television talk shows. I have held town halls with diverse groups of citizens on every continent I've visited. Public events like these are as much a part of my job as Secretary of State as my meetings in the Foreign Ministry because the durability of our partnerships will depend on the attitudes of the people as well as the policies of their governments.

In Washington, too, we are re-shaping the way we conceive of and conduct public diplomacy. We are shifting away from traditional platforms and building connections to foreign publics in regions once considered beyond our reach. It makes no sense to allocate our greatest resources to parts of the world where our ties are already strong and secure, and to minimize our efforts in places where engaging the public is critical to our success. This also forces us to streamline and modernize our public diplomacy efforts across the board. When the public diplomacy staff was decreased at our embassy in Berlin to make resources available for outreach in Central and Eastern Europe, the staff used the opportunity to develop a leaner, more agile, and more effective operation.

We can also leverage civilian power by connecting businesses, philanthropists and citizens' groups with partner governments to perform tasks that governments cannot. Technology in particular gives us new tools of engagement. One great success this year was a partnership forged almost overnight with U.S. and Haitian mobile phone companies, the Red Cross, social entrepreneurs, the Coast Guard and eventually the U.S. Marines. Together, we created a platform that directed text messages locating earthquake victims so workers could rescue them. We

launched a program called Text to Haiti that drew contributions from 31 million Americans who donated $10 each. At the State Department, we continue to develop new ways to use the world's 4.6 billion mobile phones to improve the lives of people living in remote and arduous circumstances.

Visits by American technology delegations have also produced promising avenues for innovative partnerships in fields from agriculture to health. One such visit to Russia, for example, helped pave the way for a public-private partnership called text4baby that will provide a mobile application for pregnant women and new mothers to get health tips through their cell phones and monitor their own pregnancies to determine when they should seek professional medical attention.

As we look down the road to the forces that will shape global politics, we see more acutely how the material conditions of people's lives can affect our national security objectives. While our USAID colleagues lead our development work overseas, State Department employees today from Ambassadors to civil service experts must be better versed, and more engaged, in development issues. For this reason, I called for a broad review of our aid programs in Afghanistan and Pakistan to ensure that they were aligned with our strategic objectives, and sent two of our most experienced ambassadors to serve as overall foreign assistance coordinators in Islamabad and Kabul.

This comprehensive approach is essential to our engagement in many regions. In Mexico, for example, we continue to support law enforcement efforts to arrest and prosecute members of drug cartels but have also begun the next phase of our Merida Initiative working with our Mexican partners – in government, business, and civil society – to strengthen justice systems and promote a "culture of legality" in communities. This includes supporting community watch initiatives, expanding educational opportunities for young people so they have alternatives to the drug trade, and strengthening citizen participation councils in every state in Mexico to ensure that they can safely engage in real dialogue to hold authorities accountable.

When the diverse elements of our civilian power work cohesively – as in many of our embassies around the world, and on our best days in Washington – we can see the potential impact of a global civilian service. There is no guarantee that this comprehensive approach will achieve every goal, especially in places where the challenges are as entrenched and complex as they are in places like Mexico and Yemen and Pakistan. But it is the best alternative we have, and one we must pursue.

## ACHIEVING HIGH IMPACT DEVELOPMENT

I am sometimes asked why development matters to our foreign policy and why we should spend money on people overseas when we have economic challenges at home. As counterintuitive as it may seem, the answer is that development, when done effectively, is one of the best tools we have to enhance our own stability and prosperity. It can help strengthen fragile or failing states; support the rise of capable partners who can help us solve regional and global problems; and

advance democracy and human rights. And it is a direct expression of our values and compassion as a people.

At the same time, we must acknowledge that, while the world's problems are vast, our resources are not. As stewards of American taxpayer dollars, we must be strategic in pursuing the most critical needs and making decisions based on hard evidence to ensure that our investments deliver results. And we must also stay focused on the long-term – not simply addressing the urgent needs of people today but building the foundation for a more prosperous future. With this in mind, the Presidential Policy Directive on Development issued by President Obama in September – the first by an American President -- emphasizes the importance of targeting countries with responsible governments and favorable conditions, and coordinating assistance with trade, finance, investment credits and other economic policies to help seed emerging markets and foster widespread and sustainable economic growth. Economic growth is the most lasting route out of poverty, and expanding and strengthening middle classes around the world will be key to creating the just and sustainable international order that lies at the heart of our National Security Strategy.

The QDDR embraces development as a process of assisted self-help in furtherance of American interests and values. A developing country must be in charge and set its own goals for meeting the needs of its people. Americans come to the table as partners, not patrons, lending our resources and expertise and, eventually, putting ourselves out of business when a host country is self-sustaining.

Today, we are putting that partnership model into practice in two signature initiatives the Obama Administration announced over the past year: the Global Health Initiative and Feed The Future, part of the Obama Administration's broader global food security initiative.

The Global Health Initiative recognizes that the landscape for health in many developing countries has improved over the years, due in part to President George W. Bush's Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), his malaria initiative, and the contributions of many other countries and organizations. But this more crowded landscape does not necessarily improve health outcomes efficiently or for the long-term.

Consider the life of a woman in a remote African village. Within walking distance is a clinic supported by PEPFAR, where she finds out that she has HIV and then receives antiretroviral drugs that keep her healthy. She can make a longer journey by bicycle or bus to another clinic offering prenatal care and immunizations. Sometimes health services come to her door, in the form of health volunteers bringing bed nets to protect her family from malaria. Yet if she has trouble giving birth, the nearest facility equipped to perform emergency surgery is hundreds of miles away. And while her home has been sprayed for mosquitoes, she has no access to clean water, so her children may escape malaria only to die from diarrheal disease.

The delivery of health services is marred by a lack of coordination among countries and organizations, including our own government. And when governments cannot afford or don't have the expertise to ensure that health care gets to local populations, donor countries and outside NGOs have stepped in. That is the right response to an emergency, but in too many places, it has become the *de facto* solution. As a result, the African woman's access to care is

piecemeal, and her future care is uncertain. She is vulnerable to the vicissitudes of funding cycles and development trends in places far from where she lives. The fundamental purpose of the Global Health Initiative is to address these problems by tying individual health programs -- PEPFAR, the President's Malaria Initiative, maternal and child health, family planning, neglected tropical diseases, and other critical health areas -- together in an integrated, coordinated, sustainable system of care, with the countries themselves in the lead.

Our Feed The Future initiative is based on the same principles. To give one example from a partner country, Bangladesh is developing its own food security investment plan based in part on consultations in a public forum with more than 500 representatives. The strategy has been reviewed for technical quality by independent experts and is being further refined by national leaders and technical experts. We are now developing our own U.S. government investment plan in support of Bangladesh's strategy, in full collaboration with other governments and international donors.

This is what partnership looks like in practice. Partner governments will almost certainly choose to do things differently than we might, or outline different priorities. Vetting and investing in the government's plan may take longer than delivering services ourselves. But the result promises a sustainable strategy that will continue even after our assistance has ended. This approach reflects the consensus of the international community on principles for effective foreign assistance. The QDDR embraces these principles and recommends a detailed set of mechanisms for implementing them in the field.

The QDDR also focuses on the diplomatic side of effective development policy, building much stronger and more systematic links between State and USAID both in Washington and in the field.

Diplomacy can support development policy in different ways. Our most important diplomatic effort with China in recent years -- the Strategic and Economic Dialogue – includes high-level discussions about development, and what it means to our countries' respective and collective efforts in Africa and elsewhere. Before the 2009 meeting of the G-8 in L'Acquila, Italy, high-level engagement with partner governments enabled us to secure a $20 billion international commitment to food security, building a coalition of countries willing to contribute. And at the 2009 Summit of the Americas, President Obama launched the Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas, bringing together all the democratically-elected governments of our hemisphere to work toward a shared goal of clean, renewable and inexpensive energy sources. As part of that effort, the United States and Brazil are helping seven energy-poor Central American and Caribbean countries develop their own biofuels. This promotes sustainable economic development and regional integration, and also helps reduce dependence on imported Venezuelan oil.

But diplomacy and development can only be mutually reinforcing if we also get our own house in order. The first step is to move beyond agency stove-piping and to use all the talent and expertise within the federal government. The Global Health Initiative, for example, is jointly led by the USAID Administrator, the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, and the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Their agencies, along with the Departments of Health and Human Services, the National Institutes of Health, and the Peace Corps, work together under the

overall guidance and direction of the Deputy Secretary of State. This unique leadership structure solidifies our commitment to coordination at every level, from the White House down.

The QDDR also reinforces and reflects specific internal reforms within USAID. Administrator Rajiv Shah has laid out an aggressive set of operational priorities called "USAID Forward" that are designed to make the Agency more effective, accountable and transparent. Guided by the QDDR and in coordination with the State Department, USAID Forward concentrates on procurement, people, and policy.

Procurement reform may sound like an arcane subject removed from the realities of helping people on the ground. Done poorly, procurement can become a bureaucratic burden. But it can also be an opportunity for progress when it's done well. Our goal is to build local capacities in the countries where we work by drawing on the talent and expertise of small businesses and NGOs. Senegal, for instance, has more than 1,400 health huts, where trained by USAID provide basic – and often lifesaving – treatments, lowering costs and moving us closer to the day when our aid will no longer be necessary.

To reform personnel, our goal is to attract and retain development professionals who represent the diversity of America and are skilled, energetic, and know how to solve problems. Administrator Shah and I have observed firsthand how our best USAID staff members work as development entrepreneurs—identifying opportunities and finding solutions that meet people's needs. To capitalize on this kind of talent, the QDDR is focusing on how to recruit and retain locally hired staff, the backbone of our USAID missions worldwide.

To reform policy, USAID has already created a new Bureau of Policy, Planning and Learning. Evidence-based development must be more than a notion—it must become our reality. We will measure our investments not by the number of programs run, but the number of children nourished or vaccinated, and the volume of people benefiting from clean water, electricity, teachers, medicine or jobs. We will also make sure our taxpayer dollars are well spent – by gathering baseline data, surveying development indicators *before* we launch projects, and then measuring those same indicators over the life of the project. Where our approaches are successful, we will replicate them and scale them up. Where they are not, we will admit it, learn from our failures, and come up with a better idea.

We will also rely on the innovations of science and technology to help us work better, cheaper, and faster in the pursuit of high impact development. Mobile phones have already transformed the lives of countless people in sub-Saharan Africa. Imagine what the world would look like if off-grid renewable energy provided illumination to billions of people now living in the dark, or if more kinds of drought-resistant seeds existed for farmers in the developing world. The QDDR endorses USAID's creation of the Development Innovation Ventures Fund where creative solutions will be funded, piloted and brought to scale.

In July, USAID brought together scientists and technology experts to develop "Grand Challenges for Development." These government-sponsored competitions will challenge scientists and engineers to develop game-changing solutions to specific development problems. Just recently, USAID funded the trial of a vaginal microbicide that reduces the transmission of HIV/AIDS by 30 percent, a major breakthrough in HIV transmission that will give women more control over their reproductive health. USAID and the Gates Foundation recently have joined forces to create

mobile banking in Haiti, building on effective programs in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. We are also inviting top scientists and entrepreneurs to help us find cost-effective, simple ways to provide clean water, vaccines, inexpensive but durable computers, micro-generators, medical kits, and applications for cell phones.

As we undertake these efforts, we will broaden our partnerships. Twenty years ago, the "development community" didn't exist far beyond the walls of USAID. Today, it includes corporate leaders, philanthropists, foundations and advocates, all of whom add new skills and perspectives. Equally important are the grassroots leaders in our communities: the religious groups, students, and other activists who lend their passion and energy to humanitarian efforts. These advocates and entrepreneurs are willing to challenge old orthodoxies and bring a new mindset to their work. We will partner with them to get results.

## BUILDING PEACE AND STRENGTHENING FRAGILE STATES

American civilians have long operated in conflict zones and fragile states. But today, our diplomats and development experts are being asked to undertake missions of a scale and scope never seen before. Our task in Iraq is to lead a broad U.S. peace-building mission. At the same time, we are responsible in Afghanistan for helping to reduce the strength of the insurgency, improve governance, and promote stability that will last after our troops return home. In Pakistan, we are assisting a government and society buffeted by the global economic recession, natural disasters, and regional instability, while supporting a counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency campaign. Today, twenty percent of our diplomatic corps is now stationed in these three countries -- where democracy is young, institutions are struggling to serve local populations, society is ethnically or religiously divided, and security is an ongoing challenge. Beyond those countries, we are working to stabilize fragile states from Somalia and Sudan to Haiti and Kyrgyzstan.

Given this unprecedented situation, we have to ask unprecedented questions: As we plan for the transition in Iraq, how will we protect our embassy in Baghdad or our consulate in Basra? How will we ensure the security of reconstruction experts who must work alongside Iraqi colleagues in villages and towns across the country? How will we generate the sustained manpower to fulfill our many ongoing and diverse commitments in Iraq?

In Iraq, we had 170,000 troops during the surge: Today our troops stand at 50,000 assigned to supporting Iraqi government forces. On the ground are about 1,600 civilians – diplomats, stabilization and reconstruction experts and development professionals in charge of helping Iraq transition to a stable and prosperous democracy. Similarly in Afghanistan, the American contribution to reconstruction and redevelopment is now led by about 1,100 diplomats and civilian experts who will remain there after our troops are gone. These numbers say something important about civilian power and leadership. Properly trained and equipped, civilians are force-multipliers. One effective diplomat or development expert can leverage as many as ten local partners, and we have learned that when local partners build their own capacities and networks, communities become stronger and more resilient.

Civilian leadership in addressing conflict and instability also depends on marshaling and leveraging the varied assets of our government as a whole. Under the leadership of strong Ambassadors and agency representatives, collaboration among American civilians from across the government has reached a new level in Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Haiti and elsewhere. We are pooling the expertise of civilians at State and USAID, as well as DoJ, Commerce, Treasury, DHS, HHS, CDC, and other agencies. The United States cannot succeed in these fragile states if these agencies aren't working together. That means organizing ourselves internally with a focus on integration, cohesion, and solving problems. For example, the creation of the office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan – with 16 agencies represented – was an innovation to overcome agency compartmentalization and to achieve a comprehensive strategy.

The QDDR also draws on the talents of the Civilian Response Corps, which has identified hundreds of civilian experts across the government who can be quickly deployed to conflict zones or fragile states. The Secretary sent the CRC's expeditionary conflict and security experts to Southern Sudan, deploying them quickly enough to support our Sudanese partners as they prepare for potential independence after decades of conflict.

The QDDR recommends building rapid response diplomatic teams and specially trained experts who can operate effectively over the longer term amidst conflict and instability. The State Department will focus on complex political crises, and USAID on disaster response, building on its abilities to get relief and recovery workers into the field within 24 hours after a disaster strikes. We will also create a joint operating framework and response plan that will allow State and USAID to work more effectively together and with other agencies.

Although Afghanistan and Iraq have occupied much of the world's attention for the past eight years, they are not the only places where diplomats and development experts are responsible for helping to shore up fragile and failing states, deal with the consequences of political, economic, and social instability, or join in common cause to prevent conflicts in the first place. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, the State Department and USAID have steadily taken on more missions in difficult and dangerous places, from Lebanon to Bosnia to East Timor.

In Sudan we are mounting a civilian surge around the southern capital of Juba to prepare for the January 2011 referendum that will determine whether South Sudan secedes from the North.

In Yemen, our embassy is working to address economic conditions and the ravages of poverty in a country that has recently faced a secessionist movement in the south, a rebellion in the north, and a persistent threat from al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula. Through the diplomatic Friends of Yemen and concentrated efforts to stabilize fragile local communities and create opportunities for economic growth, we are trying to help the Yemeni government provide better services for its citizens and to prevent conflict. The QDDR anticipates more situations requiring rapidly deployable civilian teams of diplomats, stabilization and reconstruction experts, and development professionals that can meet our needs in circumstances like Sudan or Yemen while also mounting larger efforts in other countries at the same time.

Training a new generation of diplomats, development professionals, and peace-building experts will help us strengthen weak, fragile or violent states and offer opportunities and hope to their citizens. Poverty and repression do not automatically engender terrorism but countries that are impoverished, corrupt, lawless or mired in a recurring cycle of conflict are more prone to

becoming havens for terrorists and other criminals. Al Qaeda first operated out of Sudan and bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania before migrating to Afghanistan, then a country notable for its poverty, high infant mortality and repressive Taliban government. It is no coincidence that al Qaeda is most active today in underdeveloped nations such as Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.

Beyond terrorism and violent extremism, the world already has witnessed too many tragic examples of what happens when good governance is absent. We have seen drug cartels exploit the absence of strong governing institutions and push countries on several continents to the brink of becoming narco-states. Elsewhere, countries rich in minerals and diamonds have become epicenters of violence – including gender-based sexual violence -- because the central government is unwilling or unable to combat corruption, regulate legitimate business, or invest natural resources wealth in the country's infrastructure and people. And too often, conflicts in fragile and weak states spill over borders, creating humanitarian crises and spawning grounds for terrorists and global criminal networks elsewhere.

On the positive side, however, we have also seen the effectiveness of civilian power working with our military to impede conflict and contribute to stability. In Liberia, as fighting between rebel groups and government forces under the leadership of Charles Taylor intensified and the humanitarian situation deteriorated, the United States undertook intense diplomatic efforts, including public calls for Taylor's resignation, as well as military deployments to the region to help shore up peacekeeping efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Taylor's resignation paved the way for a comprehensive peace agreement that led to the end of Liberia's conflict and set the stage for Liberia's stabilization and reconstruction efforts. Both the United Nations and the United States continue to partner with Liberia as it rebuilds social and economic infrastructure destroyed by years of conflict. Our future depends on the success of all these types of missions – from Iraq and Afghanistan to West Africa -- and our ability to mount more of them.

The American people must understand that spending taxpayer dollars on diplomacy and development is in their interests, especially when those investments support missions in conflict zones, fragile states, and states that can play a responsible role in their regions and in the world. And Congress, which has a long tradition of bipartisan support for traditional diplomacy and development, must appreciate the scale and scope of the reconstruction and stabilization missions that our civilians are being asked to undertake. Congress must provide the necessary funding now.

The House and Senate have appropriated hundreds of billions of dollars for the military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The diplomatic and development activities represent a fraction of that cost, yet the funding often gets bogged down in the old debates over foreign aid. We have to move beyond the past and treat diplomacy and development as national security priorities and smart investments in our future stability and security. We can succeed, but only with the necessary Congressional leadership and support.

Perhaps no one understands the urgency of this as much as Secretary Gates. As he said last August: "Congress is part of the problem. When I sent my budget to the Hill for roughly $550 billion, the Senate voted me $550 billion as the budget allocation. . . . . Hillary Clinton sent up a budget of about $50 billion, and they whacked four or five billion dollars out of it. So there has

to be a change in attitude in the recognition of the critical role that agencies like State and AID play . . . . for them to play the leading role that I think they need to play in most of these situations."

* * * * *

Our emphasis on civilian power is in keeping with America's history and traditions. The Marshall Plan was a civilian development initiative undertaken in partnership with European governments. President Kennedy founded the Peace Corps to show the world a different face of America decades before the term "soft power" was coined. American diplomats helped negotiate the reunification of Europe in 1991 without a shot fired. Meanwhile, American civilians have enjoyed the world's admiration because of their spirit of innovation, abundant goodwill, and the audacious belief that technological, social and political advances can and must be used to improve the lives of human beings around the world.

The men and women who volunteer for our armed forces exemplify this spirit. So do the growing number of civilians who find ways to engage in public service. With the right balance of civilian and military power, we can advance America's interests and values, lead and support other nations in solving global problems, and forge strong diplomatic and development partnerships with traditional allies and newly emerging powers. And we can rise to the challenges of the world in the 21st century and meet the tests of America's global leadership.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
**Subject:** MEPP Media

To follow up on a conversation Jake had with you about regional media at the end of this week's MEPP, we're recommending that at the end of Thursday or Friday morning before you leave DC that you do two TV interviews: one Israeli (likely Channel 2), and one with Al Jazeera. If you're open to it, we could try something creative and have both interview you at same time. They'll likely balk but worth a try just for the symbolism

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** PIR <preines
**Sent:** Monday, August 30, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: MEPP Media

They recommend

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: MEPP Media
Sent: Aug 30, 2010 5:38 PM

B6

Ok--worth trying. But check w Mitchell team first.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: H
Cc: Jake Sullivan Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
Sent: Mon Aug 30 17:36:52 2010
Subject: MEPP Media

To follow up on a conversation Jake had with you about regional media at the end of this week's MEPP, we're recommending that at the end of Thursday or Friday morning before you leave DC that you do two TV interviews: one Israeli (likely Channel 2), and one with Al Jazeera. If you're open to it, we could try something creative and have both interview you at same time. They'll likely balk but worth a try just for the symbolism

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 1:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Mitchell

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/22/2025**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 3:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli PM says negotiations on prisoner swap for captured Israeli soldier have resumed

**From**: Goldberg, Joshua W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O
**Sent**: Sun Oct 17 06:06:46 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Israeli PM says negotiations on prisoner swap for captured Israeli soldier have resumed

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel's prime minister confirmed negotiations with the Palestinians about a much-anticipated swap for a captured Israeli soldier resumed.
Benjamin Netanyahu said the German mediator brokering the release of Sgt. Gilad Schalit in exchange for hundreds of Palestinian prisoners returned to the region.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Shapiro, Andrew J <ShapiroA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 9:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: [redacted] B6

I will be out of the office until Friday September 3 with limited access to e-mail. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nadia Brown at 202-647-9022.

Andrew J. Shapiro
Assistant Secretary for Political-Military Affairs Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 3:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Ahmadinejad endorses new nuclear talks with West

**From:** Goldberg, Joshua W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O
**Sent:** Sun Oct 17 06:07:08 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Ahmadinejad endorses new nuclear talks with West

TEHRAN (AP) - The Iranian president said Tehran is ready to resume talks about its nuclear program with the international community. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's endorsement follows Iran's new push to get the talks started again. Ahmadinejad told a crowd of supporters the West made the first step. He gave no time frame for the talks. Ahmadinejad added, "They have come and say, 'We will negotiate.' We say, "All right, we will negotiate with you.'"

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 2:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 1000 days Press

fyi

---

**From:** Huang, Cindy Y
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 11:55 AM
**To:** SGHFSI; Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Jeannemarie E
**Subject:** Fw: 1000 days Press

1000 days made the Today Show! See below.

---

**From:** Coates, Lindsay <[redacted] B6
**To:** Huang, Cindy Y
**Cc:** Dowd, Katie W
**Sent:** Wed Sep 22 11:36:43 2010
**Subject:** FW: 1000 days Press

I assume you all are aware of these and others and this not even complete—have you all had any conversation with Cristen about posting any of this content?

Very impressive!

---

**From:** Gresham, Katie
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 10:17 AM
**To:** Delaney, Katherine; Coates, Lindsay
**Subject:** 1000 days Press

Here's few press/blog links I found about the 1000 days launch by searching 1000 days + Clinton on Google. Danielle also said there was a brief blurb about it on the Today Show. Some of these sites are cross posted elsewhere. Most just recap the event or pull some of the transcripts in.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/21/AR2010092102551.html (WasPo)
http://www.hunger-undernutrition.org/blog/2010/09/thousand-days-call-to-action.html (blog-all praise)
http://www.developmenthorizons.com/2010/05/first-1000-days-hilary-clinton-on.html (blog-some critique)
http://www.voanews.com/english/news/health/Hillary-Clinton-Ban-Ki-Moon-Promote-Fight-Against-Childhood-Malnutrition-103486019.html (VOA)
http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90777/90852/7147873.html (People Daily China)
http://www.channelnewsasia.com/stories/afp_world/view/1082654/1/.html (Channel News Asia)
http://www.kansascity.com/2010/09/21/2239788/clinton-unveils-malnutrition-pollution.html (AP article in Kansas City paper)
http://www.diabeteshealth.com/read/2010/09/21/6855/hillary-clinton-ban-ki-moon-launch-global-nutrition-initiatives/ (Save Press Release on Diabetes website)
http://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/reactions/oxfam-reaction-1000-days-improve-child-nutrition-mdg-summit (Oxfam)

http://topnews.co.uk/213447-clinton-hosts-event-and-urges-all-fight-child-malnutrition (Top news, UK)
http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2010/09/21/ap/national/main6887577.shtml (AP article on CBS news)
http://allafrica.com/stories/201009220001.html?page=3 (All Africa)
http://www.billclintonvideos.com/1000-days-change-a-life-change-a-future (event recap from Save on Bill Clinton's blog)
http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/care-hails-administrations-1000-day-hunger-plan-as-a-turning-point-103454369.html (CARE)
http://notes.bread.org/2010/05/the-first-1000-days-remember-this-please.html (Bread)
http://blogs.state.gov/index.php/site/entry/1000_days (DOS blog)
http://www.america.gov/st/develop-english/2010/September/20100914162252berehellek0.3766291.html (America.gov)
http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/sgspeeches/statments_full.asp?statID=946 (UN-Ban Ki-Moon's transcript)
http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/09/147512.htm (DOS-Clinton's transcript/video)
http://blog.usaid.gov/2010/09/1000-days-partnering-to-reduce-child-undernutrition/ (USAID blog)
http://www.wtop.com/?nid=104&sid=2058497 (AP article on wtop.com)
http://topics.npr.org/article/0gKHfFK3xeeKW (NPR linked to All Africa article)

I stopped trying to list them all (too many and mostly the same), but its been picked up in local papers throughout the country and some international papers in China, India, UK, Africa.

Lindsay, when will the recorded launch event be posted on the website? I believe it may already be on YouTube.

Best,

Katie

InterAction
A UNITED VOICE FOR GLOBAL CHANGE

**Katie Gresham** | Special Assistant to the President & CEO
InterAction | A United Voice for Global Change
1400 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 210 • Washington, DC 20036
Direct: [redacted] B6 • Main: 202-667-8227 • www.InterAction.org

Follow us on Facebook and Twitter!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 12:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** meant to tell you

I'm meeting with Judith on Monday before I leave (that's my last day/morning) to talk about sports diplomacy. Will keep you posted.

Lissa Muscatine
Senior Advisor and Director of Speechwriting
Department of State
(w) 202-647-9841
(bb) [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Bravo

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Fri Sep 10 12:22:18 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Susan Kennedy [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Sep 10 10:37:23 2010
Subject: Bravo

The way you are coming across couldn't be better.
Hillary Clinton sends strong message to world

SF Chronicle Editorial Friday, September 10, 2010

Hillary Clinton's blend of diligence, caution and toughness didn't always serve her well as a presidential candidate. But these attributes make her a powerful secretary of state, the unsung hero for a White House team trying to mend global fences without looking weak.

In a speech this week, Clinton laid down the law for an audience wondering where Obama is headed on foreign policy. Would she favor hand-holding with rivals such as China and Russia, a sign that Washington was ducking trouble in the name of consensus building?

Not at all, suggested Clinton in a lengthy speech to the Council of Foreign Relations. In her diplomatic travels, she found a hunger for U.S. leadership, and she wants everyone to know it. "The U.S. can, must and will lead in this century," she said. The "complexities of this world" mean there's an opening for "a new American moment, a moment when our global leadership is essential."

Her message of strength and obligation may make Obama truehearts swoon. Clinton's thoughts also come at the start of an election season when President Obama will be knocked for failures overseas along with the economy.

But it's also vintage Clinton. From her days on the Senate's Armed Services Committee, she was always a proponent of military muscle and a tough regard for American foes. She and Defense Secretary Robert Gates, another hawkish voice, are running the Obama foreign policy store.

Diplomatic speeches, even one as striking as Clinton's, are a dime a dozen. Clinton's challenge will be delivering on any of the disputes facing her. There's a long line: a truculent North Korea, new Mideast talks, a rising China, a defiant Iran, and a half dozen lesser conflicts ranging from African civil wars to drug gangs in Mexico.

There is newness and complication in her outlook, she indicated. Her job is essentially a permanent road trip, meaning success will hinge on "shoe-leather diplomacy," the steady attention that the wonky, workaholic Clinton believes is needed for any breakthrough. The Israeli-Palestinian talks, which begin again next week with her at the center, are a chance for her patience and force to pay off. On Iran, she believes that ever-tightening sanctions accepted by a larger group of nations will eventually pay off.

Her remarks come with other conditions. A soaring national debt and recession worries preoccupy the White House. The nation's global reach is bounded by financial limits. Her robust views about American might could easily fade next to more pressing domestic worries. Also, no matter how thoughtful or acute her remarks, there will always be detractors who think she's angling for the top job in the White House.

Clinton's doctrine adds urgency in settling affairs on a crowded world stage. Washington has a special duty to lead, a role that much of the world appreciates. It's time to accept that role, not shy away from it because of political risk or recent history.

--
Susan P Kennedy

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772309 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

August 31, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Some paragraphs on the Tea Party

First, of course your instinct is right to attempt to save the situation. I think, however, it is fraught. Being right easily might be worse than being wrong. (Doing absolutely nothing, meanwhile, would bear no cost, just to note the benefits of irresponsibility.) So, how any advice can be proposed without potential pitfalls is a mystery to me. It may be that Bill delivers the message in public, on the stump. This message, on extremism and the GOP, ought to be given soon, on Labor Day or immediately thereafter. Urgently, the momentum of the far right needs to be blunted; it must be redefined; the political discussion must be shaped and shifted; and the GOP must be put on the defensive and begin to pay the price.

I will send you another memo soon, with other messages, themes and strategies.

Here, for better or worse, is some language on extremism and the Republican Party:

The Republican Party today is a captive party. It is captive to the swamp fevers of the extreme right. It is captive to its out-of-power desperation for political power—willing to do and say anything to grab it—willing to use extremists to help climb back to power—willing to give the extremists power. No one is speaking up for responsible conservatism within the Republican Party. Who will play the role of William F. Buckley, Jr.? Or Richard Nixon? Or Ronald Reagan? Or Barry Goldwater? They all drew lines to separate the party from the extremists. Now who has the courage to condemn the outrageous bigotry and slander against the President? Have they at long last no sense of decency?

If the Republicans don't have the nerve to speak up for their own best heritage, then someone has to do it. The Republican Party is in a state of political disorder. Into the midst of its chaos a Trojan Horse has been thrust in the form of a self-proclaimed Tea Party as though the extremists behind it have something to do with the American Revolution and are not a stealth takeover operation of a confused political party funded by the same people who paid for the extremist movements against President Eisenhower and President Kennedy.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772309 Date: 08/31/2015

There is a straight line between extremists then and extremists now. One of those lines is a money line. Follow the money. Another continuity is the far right John Birch Society that is praised today by Glenn Beck. Listen closely. Yet another of those lines are the same accusations of disloyalty. Ike was a Communist. John F. Kennedy was a Communist. They said President Nixon was a tool of international Communism. And when the Cold War was ending they said Ronald Reagan was "a useful idiot of the Kremlin." Now they are saying that President Obama is a socialist and at the same time a fascist. They say he's a racist and a secret Muslim. They claim the President of the United States is not an American. It's so crazy it sounds like a science fiction novel, but we've heard it all before. The extremists have not changed. From Ike to JFK, from Nixon to Reagan, and now Obama, it's the same old horsestuff.

For anyone with common sense it might seem like one big joke, a big put-on, or maybe just a big con job. But it's dangerous. It's toxic. Why? In the name of the founding fathers, the Constitution and the flag, in the name of taking back our country and restoring it, they would transform our democracy into something we wouldn't recognize. The extremists of the far right want to replace the greatest experiment in constitutional democracy with their own far-out ideology—trashing everything from religious liberty to protections from a dog-eat-dog boom and bust economy. Public education, a safe environment, national highways, safe transportation, Social Security, Medicare, health care for all, even the Federal Reserve created to curb economic chaos—they want to get rid of all of it. If you think that if they had their way they wouldn't kick the country into an economic abyss, produce another Great Depression, then I've got a reality show in Alaska for you. And that's not all that's in their sweeping blueprint for power.

The Republican Party is being purged of moderates, responsible conservatives, anyone who has a thought they don't like. It's divide and conquer. Divide the Republican Party. Divide the nation. Region against region, South against North, West against East, rural America against cities, state governments against the federal government, religion against religion, and soon, before you know it, it won't look or feel like America. Out of loud declarations of love of country, they will break this country apart.

How far do the extremists want to go? The demonizing of enemies and even religions is a means to an end. That end is political power. Political power for themselves, for their political leaders—characters who are hardly outsiders but dusty denizens roaming the corridors of power for decades. They want political power—political power for favors, exemptions and loopholes for the Daddy Warbucks and Scrooge McDucks funding them. Political power for special interests. Political power against the national interest. Political power against the common good. Political power against the good society.

President Obama is their target because the people have put him in his office and he stands in the way of the extremists. They are against him precisely because he's making progress. And progress is not what they want. They want power for themselves. So they will say anything to tear down the President. But they are at war with more than President Obama. They are at war with President Andrew Jackson. That's how far back they want to go. They want to go back the 1830s. They want to go back to before the Civil War, "lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification," to quote Martin Luther King, Jr. in his famous "I have a dream" speech. They want to interpose their rule and their power above that of majority rule and

democratic government—and nullify the law of the land in the name of their strange doctrines. So when I say that this is dangerous and toxic, we've been there before. Fanatics have divided America in the past. We know, as another president said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

And when you see them demonizing the President, Ike, JFK, Obama, take your pick—when you see them accusing members of the Republican Party of treason—when you hear them compare the American experiment in democracy to Hitler's Nazi state or Stalin's Communist totalitarianism—when you hear them talk of "liberty" and they mean taking away Social Security from people who worked their whole lives to earn it—when you hear them talk of "freedom" when they want to bring back good old fashioned discrimination—when you hear them talk of "the Constitution" when they want to get rid of the letter and spirit of the government designed by the framers of the Constitution—when you hear them talk of "democracy" when they want to get rid of direct election of senators—when you hear them talk about "restoration" when they want to gut public education and Medicare and basic economic and environmental protections—trashing the work and progress of generations—then you know that behind the patriotic words lies a truly radical agenda.

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It was John F. Kennedy who said: "In the most critical periods of our nation's history, there have always been those fringes of our society who have sought to escape their own responsibility by finding a simple solution, an appealing slogan, or a convenient scapegoat. Financial crises could be explained by the presence of too many immigrants or too few greenbacks... So let us not heed these counsels of fear and suspicion... Let our patriotism be reflected in the creation of confidence rather than crusades of suspicion. Let us prove we think our country great by striving to make it greater."

Outspoken conservatives like William F. Buckley drew the line and stood up for principle against the extremists, calling them "idiotic" and "paranoid." Barry Goldwater, at the end of his life, said, "Do not associate my name with anything you do. You are extremists, and you've hurt the Republican Party much more than the Democrats have."

Then, this sort of thing, instilling a tone of confidence: Come together, right now...for a new era of progress...rebuilding America...the work of a new generation...building on the progress of generations...facing any challenge...resolving that we can and will overcome any obstacle...keeping the faith, not succumbing to temptations of fear and suspicion...not retreating but advancing...not dividing the American people for short-term politics but bringing the American people together for long-term progress...combining our will, our work, our intelligence, creativity, enterprise, and energy to make a new world of freedom for ourselves and our children...

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772310 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

August 31, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Some paragraphs on the Tea Party

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772310 Date: 08/31/2015

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 5:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) UAE gives Palestinian Authority $42 million

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Fri Sep 10 17:42:28 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) UAE gives Palestinian Authority $42 million

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The United Arab Emirates donated $42 million to the Palestinian Authority, boosting support for President Mahmoud Abbas' cash-strapped government as it embarks on direct peace talks with Israel, Arab officials said on September 10. An Arab source in Washington said the donation, which was confirmed by a Palestinian government spokesman, was made after repeated calls by senior U.S. officials for more Arab support to help build Palestinian government capacity. "It is a timely gesture of support both for the talks and the institution-building project of the PA, as well as a response to the public urging from President Obama and Secretary Clinton," the source said. Palestinian government spokesman Ghassan al-Khatib confirmed the UAE donation but declined to give further details.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 5:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Corker

Points for corker call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Sep 10 17:54:37 2010
Subject: Re: Corker

He allegedly has 2 remaining concerns:

1 - getting an updated 1251 report (10 year plan) (she can tell him we will do some kind of update...may just be a letter but we will agree to udpate);

2 - and he still has concerns about verification. For the last 30 days, we have tried to connect him with rose g and ted warner from DoD. Looks like that will finally happen next week. They can and will alleviate his concerns (we hope).

That's what I know. I am sure he will be pleased to hear that we had a constructive meeting with Senator Kyl and are moving to meet many of his funding concerns.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Fri Sep 10 17:49:43 2010
Subject: Corker

She will do tonite on her drive home tonite or tomorrow morning.
But she did ask if there were any specific points u wanted her to make to him? Or if you knew what he might be telling her? We are on 6pm shuttle

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** pverveer[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 11, 2010 5:05 AM
**To:** H

As you probably heard from Bill Burns there are elements in Ukraine who keep trying to revert to the bad old days. The SBU (who went after[redacted] have now gone after soros foundation there and there are new media freedom challenges. I hope you'll be able to meet with Yanukovych during UNGA because it's going to take steady engagement from keeping the worst backsliding from happening. I met w Ukr amb and Lou Debaca yesterday to establish ways we can work with them on trafficking. Some officials have reached out to us which is good. Others are going backwards so we want to keep the good progress they've made over the last few years going forward. The amb was grateful so we shall see.
I'm en route to India for the Vital Voices Asia summit and for a round of mtgs on the dialogue. Will see SEWA on cookstoves. Good luck on the Middle East.
By the way, it looks like Bacheiet will lead UNWomen. I hope that's the case. SG to announce his choice before UNGA. Will let you know as soon as we hear definitively.

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Saturday, September 11, 2010 2:11 PM
**To:** H

As you probably heard from Bill Burns there are elements in Ukraine who keep trying to revert to the bad old days. The SBU (who went after ) have now gone after soros foundation there and there are new media freedom challenges. I hope you'll be able to meet with Yanukovych during UNGA because it's going to take steady engagement from keeping the worst backsliding from happening. I met w Ukr amb and Lou Debaca yesterday to establish ways we can work with them on trafficking. Some officials have reached out to us which is good. Others are going backwards so we want to keep the good progress they've made over the last few years going forward. The amb was grateful so we shall see.
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Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 4:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Fwd: State Dept Pakistan Relief Fund

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Caitlin Klevorick
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Aug 30 14:05:39 2010
Subject: Fwd: State Dept Pakistan Relief Fund

CDM:
Thought S might be interested in this from the head of Coke in Pakistan who is also the Chairman of the American Business Forum.

B6

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Rizwan Khan
Date: Fri, Aug 27, 2010 at 10:51 PM
Subject: Re: State Dept Pakistan Relief Fund
To: cklevorick Afzaal Malik
Cc: Caitlin Klevorick <KlevorickCB@state.gov>

Caitlin

I must congratulate state department on setting up the fund for Pakistan. In my opinion this is a great initiative and will message to all American Business Forum members regarding the information on the fund.

Once again thank for all your support to Pakistan and look forward to working with you. Please do let me know if I or the Forum could be any help to you in Pakistan.

Best regards

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE
This message (including any attachments) contains information that may be confidential. Unless you are the intended recipient (or authorized to receive for the intended recipient), you may not read, print, retain, use, copy, distribute or disclose to anyone the message or any information contained in the message. If you have received the message in error, please advise the sender by reply e-mail, and destroy all copies of the original message (including any attachments).

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, September 11, 2010 2:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: On NYT website within last hour, in tomorrow's paper. Paid TV ads, please. Sid

September 11, 2010

# G.O.P. Leader Is Tightly Bound to Lobbyists

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — House Democrats were preparing late last year for the first floor vote on the financial regulatory overhaul when Representative John A. Boehner of Ohio and other Republican leaders summoned more than 100 industry lobbyists to Capitol Hill for a private strategy session.

The bill's passage in the House already seemed inevitable. But Mr. Boehner and his deputies told the Wall Street lobbyists and trade association leaders that by teaming up, they could still perhaps block its final passage or at least water it down.

"We need you to get out there and speak up against this," Mr. Boehner said that December afternoon, according to three people familiar with his remarks, while also warning against cutting side deals with Democrats.

That sort of alliance — they won a few skirmishes, though they lost the war on the regulatory bill — is business as usual for Mr. Boehner, the House minority leader and would-be speaker if Republicans win the House in November. He maintains especially tight ties with a circle of lobbyists and former aides representing some of the nation's biggest businesses, including Goldman Sachs, Google, Citigroup, R. J. Reynolds, MillerCoors and UPS.

They have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to his campaigns over the years, provided him rides on their corporate jets, socialized with him at luxury golf resorts and waterfront bashes and are now leading fund-raising efforts for his Boehner for Speaker campaign, which is soliciting checks of up to $37,800 each, the maximum allowed.

Some of the lobbyists readily acknowledge routinely seeking his office's help — calling the congressman and his aides as often as several times a week — to advance their agenda in Washington. And in many cases, Mr. Boehner has helped them out.

As Democrats increasingly try to cast the Ohio congressman as the face of the Republican Party — President Obama mentioned his name eight times in a speech last week — and as Mr. Boehner becomes more visible, his ties to lobbyists, cultivated since he arrived here in 1991, are coming under attack.

The woman he hopes to replace, Speaker Nancy Pelosi, derided him on Friday as having met "countless times with special-interest lobbyists in an effort to stop tough legislation" that would regulate corporations and protect consumers. And the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, through a spokeswoman, charged that he "epitomizes the smoked-filled, backroom, special-interest deal making that turns off voters about Washington."

Mr. Boehner, who declined to be interviewed for this article, and his lobbyist allies ridicule such criticism as politically motivated by desperate Democrats. His actions, they say, simply reflect the pro-business, antiregulatory philosophy that he has espoused for more than three decades, dating back to when Mr. Boehner, the son of a tavern owner, ran a small plastics company in Ohio. And fielding requests from lobbyists is nothing unusual, he says.

"I get lobbied every day by somebody," he said last month after a speech in Cleveland. "It could be by my wife. It could be the bellman. It goes on all day, everyday, everyplace."

Mr. Boehner — a 60-year-old, perpetually tanned, sharply tailored, chain-smoking golfer — is not as fiery as Newt Gingrich or as unrelenting an arm-twister as Tom DeLay, two of his Republican predecessors in top House posts. It is his reputation as a "Chamber of Commerce" Republican and his fund-raising skills — he has raised $36 million for Republican causes during this election cycle, more than almost anyone else in his party — that explain, in part, his rise.

If elected as his party's leader in the House, Mr. Boehner will certainly lean on his industry allies for help as he builds coalitions necessary to push legislation through Congress, his office acknowledges. His friends say there is nothing wrong with that.

"Does he have a lot of relationships in this city? Yes, absolutely," said Mark Isakowitz, a friend whose Republican firm represents more than three dozen financial, telecommunications, energy and consumer products companies as diverse as Coca-Cola and Zurich Financial Services. "But I think all the good lawmakers do."

Mr. Boehner won some of his first national headlines back in 1996 after he was caught handing out checks from tobacco lobbyists to fellow Republicans on the House floor. Then the fourth-ranking House Republican, Mr. Boehner said he had broken no rules and was simply assisting his lobbyist friends, who were contributing to other Republicans' campaigns.

His business-friendly reputation was enhanced through the weekly powwows he organized on Capitol Hill nicknamed the Thursday Group, a gathering of conservative leaders and business lobbyists whom he relied on to help push the party's legislative agenda. The Thursday gathering was disbanded after a Republican power struggle that cost him his leadership position.

But he continued to routinely meet with business leaders, particularly in his role as chairman of the Education and the Workforce Committee, and returned to power as House G.O.P. leader in 2006. Several of the onetime Thursday regulars, along with some newcomers, are among the close-knit group that routinely call on Mr. Boehner's office for client matters, write checks to his campaign and socialize with him.

That tight circle includes Mr. Isakowitz; Bruce Gates, a lobbyist for the cigarette maker Altria; Nicholas E. Calio, a Citigroup lobbyist; and two former aides, Marc Lampkin and Sam Geduldig, both now financial services lobbyists.

The tobacco industry is particularly well represented, with both Mr. Gates and John Fish, a lobbyist for R. J. Reynolds, maker of Camel cigarettes, in the group. People affiliated with those companies have contributed at least $340,000 to Mr. Boehner's political campaigns, with Mr. Gates being the top individual donor among the thousands during Mr. Boehner's political career, according to a tally by the Center for Public Integrity.

While many lawmakers in each party have networks of donors, lobbyists and former aides who now represent corporate interests, Mr. Boehner's ties seem especially deep. His clique even has a nickname on Capitol Hill, Boehner Land. The members of this inner circle said their association with Mr. Boehner translates into open access to him and his staff.

"He likes to bring similarly minded people together to try to advance legislation or oppose it," said Drew Maloney, a lobbyist at Ogilvy Government Relations. "That is how you get things done."

One lobbyist in the club — after lauding each staff member in Mr. Boehner's office that he routinely calls to ask for help — ticked off the list of recent issues for which he had won the lawmaker's backing: combating fee increases for the oil industry, fighting a proposed cap on debit card fees, protecting tax breaks for hedge fund executives and opposing a cap on greenhouse gas emissions.

Still, with Mr. Boehner and his party in the minority, they often lost the fights.

But despite the recent string of defeats on the House floor, Mr. Boehner has benefited from his alliance with lobbyists. From 2000 to 2007, Mr. Boehner flew at least 45 times, often with his wife, Debbie, on corporate jets provided by companies including R. J. Reynolds. (As required, Mr. Boehner reimbursed part of the costs.)

In addition, over the last decade, he has taken 41 other trips paid for by corporate sponsors or industry groups, often to popular golf spots. Those trips make him one of the top House beneficiaries of such travel, which has recently been curbed as a result of changes in ethics rules in Washington.

Mr. Boehner continues to travel to popular golf destinations on a corporate-subsidized tab, although now it is paid for through his political action committee, the Freedom Project. In the last 18 months, it has spent at least $67,000 at the Ritz Carlton Naples in Florida, at least $20,000 at the Robert Trent Jones Golf Club in Gainesville, Va., and at least $29,000 at the Muirfield Village Golf Club in Dublin, Ohio, federal records show, for fund-raising events.

In June, with the prospects for a Republican takeover of the House rising, Mr. Boehner moved to accelerate his fund-raising effort, starting what he called the Boehner for Speaker campaign. The idea was to use his high profile to draw large donations that would be mostly allocated to help elect other House Republicans.

He turned again to the same group of lobbyists, former aides and friends during a July meeting at the headquarters of the Republican National Committee.

"The wave is there, there is a rebellion in the country, and we have good candidates," Mr. Boehner told his supporters, one of the lobbyists present at the meeting recalled. "But I don't want to miss this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity because we have not raised enough money. They might be able to stop us with a wall of money."

Mr. Calio of Citigroup was among the first to write a large check. So far, a party spokesman said, the campaign has raised nearly $2 million. Mr. Boehner has helped raise millions more in the last six weeks for Republican House candidates across the country and the party, appearing at more than 40 fund-raisers.

The Boehner for Speaker campaign offers donors who give the maximum amount special perks, like "meetings with Leader Boehner and much much more."

But his lobbyist friends and former aides said these incentives did not mean too much, because they already had plenty of access to Mr. Boehner. They just now want to see him as the speaker of the House.

"He knows this is going to be a tough election," said Samuel J. Baptista, a friend, golf partner and lobbyist whose clients include Goldman Sachs and Discover Financial. "But people who underestimate him really do so at their own peril."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 3:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israeli air strike kills militant in Gaza Strip

**From:** Goldberg, Joshua W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O
**Sent:** Sun Oct 17 06:07:31 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israeli air strike kills militant in Gaza Strip

GAZA (Reuters) - An Israeli air strike killed a Palestinian militant in the northern Gaza Strip when he and others attempted to launch a rocket or mortar shell towards Israel, the Israeli army and Palestinian medics said. Palestinian medical officials at a Gaza hospital said the dead man had been identified as a member of the Islamic Jihad militant group. It was the first killing in an Israeli attack on militants in the Gaza Strip since September 27.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772340 Date: 08/31/2015

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

# Opinion Analysis

Office of Research

September 9, 2010

## Turkish Views of U.S. Improve in July

B5

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772340 Date: 08/31/2015

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RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 12:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Bout Extradition Update

FYI

**From:** Johnson, Clifton M
**To:** Koh, Harold Hongju
**Cc:** Harris, Robert K; Wilson, Kathleen A
**Sent:** Tue Aug 31 08:56:37 2010
**Subject:** Bout Extradition Update

SBU – close hold

Harold,

[redacted] B5

[redacted] Best, Cliff

PS – I'll be on TDY in China for 10 days with Peter G., starting tomorrow morning, working on concluding two updates to our aviation counterterrorism agreements.

Clifton M. Johnson
Assistant Legal Adviser
Law Enforcement and Intelligence

[redacted]
(202) 647-7324 (Office) B6
[redacted]
(202) 647-4802 (Fax)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (The Daily Mail) How Blair rescued Palestine deal worth $200m to his £2m-a-year paymasters

FYI

**From:** Sidereas, Evyenia M
**To:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Cc:** SES_DutyDeputies; SES-O_SWO
**Sent:** Sun Sep 12 03:46:23 2010
**Subject:** FW: (The Daily Mail) How Blair rescued Palestine deal worth $200m to his £2m-a-year paymasters

Colleagues,

FYI, in light of pending phone call with Blair later today.

Regards,
Evyenia

MailOnline

# Special investigation: How Blair rescued Palestine deal worth $200m to his £2m-a-year paymasters

By David Rose
Last updated at 12:42 AM on 12th September 2010

**Tony Blair mounted an intense political lobbying campaign to rescue a struggling mobile-phone business owned by a client of the bank that pays him a £2 million annual salary.**

The firm, Wataniya, had already built a brand-new network in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian West Bank. But it almost collapsed before launching its service, jeopardising a £450 million investment, because Israel's government was refusing to let it use the frequencies it needed to operate. Acting in his capacity as the international Middle East peace envoy, Mr Blair helped to save the company by spending months putting pressure on Israel's prime minister and his colleagues in a bid to change their minds.

An investigation by The Mail on Sunday has revealed:

- Mr Blair spoke of the need to get Wataniya up and running in order to boost the Palestinian economy. However JP Morgan, the American investment bank that employs him as a consultant, has a financial stake in Wataniya through Wataniya's owner, the Qatari firm Qtel, which is an important client of JP Morgan.

- Financial documents show that back in 2007, JP Morgan had been one of four 'mandated lead arrangers' of a $2 billion loan with which Qtel bought Wataniya from its original Kuwaiti owners. Last year, the bank joined a syndicate that lent Qtel a further $500 million, and became a 'lead arranger' for a Qtel bond issue which raised yet another $1.5 billion.

In these deals, JP Morgan would have been paid many millions of pounds in fees, and if the loans had gone bad, could have been exposed to substantial losses. 'Its original exposure was probably around $200 million,' one Wall Street expert said yesterday.

Last night a bank spokesman refused to comment, or to disclose any further details. He did not deny that Qtel was a significant JP Morgan client. A spokesman for Mr Blair said he had no knowledge of any connection between JP Morgan and Qtel.

Mr Blair's lobbying campaign also helped to enrich the family of the Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas – a central figure in the search for Middle East peace. A firm run by his son Tarek has secured a lucrative contract to provide advertising for Wataniya. Mr Blair's envoy role – for which, as he has often boasted, he is not paid a salary – has now been enhanced.

Earlier this month, Mr Abbas, Mr Blair and the most important man he lobbied, Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, sat down together in Washington with President Obama to begin new direct peace talks.

Last night Mr Blair faced calls to publish full details of the myriad business interests that have netted him a personal fortune estimated to be at least £15 million since he left office.

He is paid not only by JP Morgan but also by the insurance giant Zurich, and his own private consulting firm, Tony Blair Associates, counts among its clients the royal families of Abu Dhabi and Kuwait.

A frequent visitor to Libya, he has used his personal friendship with the dictator Colonel Gaddafi to explore business opportunities there on behalf of JP Morgan.

David Davis, the senior backbench Tory MP, said: 'There are now clear questions about how he has used his powers as a peace envoy and whether that has benefited his commercial sponsors.

'He must now put all his financial affairs into the public domain. Only then can we be sure he has behaved in an appropriate manner.'

Mr Blair was appointed an envoy on leaving Downing Street in June 2007. He represents the 'Quartet' – the United Nations, the US, the EU and Russia.
His special area of responsibility is the Palestinian economy.

With ten rooms permanently booked at Jerusalem's most expensive hotel, the American Colony, at an annual cost of £1.1 million, he spends a few days there each month.

As The Mail on Sunday reported last year, many Palestinian businessmen say his achievements have been limited. Projects he has loudly supported – such as an international business park near the holy city of Hebron – have come to nothing.

'But Wataniya is the great exception,' one leading West Bank entrepeneur said yesterday. 'Indeed, until he finally managed to sort it out at the end of last year, it was difficult to get him to engage with anything else.'

When Mr Blair arrived in the Middle East in 2007, there was only one mobile firm, Jawwal, operating in the Palestinian Occupied Territories, Gaza and the West Bank. But Wataniya had already purchased licences for £313 million from Mr Abbas's Palestinian Authority to provide a competing service.

In July 2008, Mr Blair brokered what Wataniya thought was a cast-iron deal with Israel to make the frequencies it needed available. In order to provide a modern 3G service to include mobile internet, Wataniya had been seeking a bandwidth of 4.8 megahertz.

On the strength of this agreement, it continued to build mobile-phone masts, switching centres and other installations it needed to operate, spending a further £100 million.

It was set to launch in June last year. Meanwhile, amid fierce local controversy, Wataniya managed to secure special additional loans from a US government programme that had been set up to help Palestinian farmers and small businesses – despite the backing it had from Qtel and, indirectly, banks such as JP Morgan.

Launching this programme in 2007, the State Department said it was aimed at 'an olive grower who wants to expand operations, a young person with a small information technology company, or someone who wants to hire neighbours to produce and export Palestinian embroidery' – not a £450 million mobile network.

The US loans to Wataniya, though worth a relatively modest £11 million, deprived other enterprises of them.

Critics pointed to the fact that involved with Wataniya were leading members of the Palestinian elite around Mr Abbas. Its Palestine chairman is Mohammad Mustafa – his financial adviser and closest associate, who accompanies him on virtually every foreign trip.

## 'In the meetings he had with the Prime Minister, he brought it up time and time again, and kept pushing, pushing.'

In the late spring of 2009, Mr Blair's frequency deal unravelled. Claiming that the Palestinian Authority had failed to fulfil unspecified commitments, Israel refused to release the necessary bandwidth. Wataniya teetered on the brink of collapse as first the June and then a second October launch date, came and went, with the network still inoperative.

Alan Richardson, a Scottish engineer who had already set up a mobile network in Iraq, was Wataniya's Palestine chief executive until June this year.

'We invested according to a business plan that was based on false promises,' he told me last October. 'We cannot meet our subscriber targets with the frequencies they are offering.'

However, Mr Blair was furiously trying to rescue the company. 'From day one of this problem, he's been very proactive through his role as Quartet representative,' Mr Richardson said.

A senior Israeli official said last week: 'In the meetings he had with the Prime Minister, he brought it up time and time again, and kept pushing, pushing.'

One reason the Israelis advanced for not releasing the bandwidth was security – claiming it needed the frequencies for military communications. Another Israeli source confirmed that Mr Blair repeatedly raised the matter in meetings with Israel's defence minister, Ehud Barak.

Mr Blair made several public statements about the Wataniya frequency dispute, and did not mention JP Morgan at all.

'If we cannot get the proper frequency and it cannot go forward then we don't have proper competition on mobile telephony and we don't get the investment and jobs,' he said after the first launch was cancelled in June 2009.

'It may seem a small thing in one sense but it's very important for the Palestinian economy.'

Finally, after Qtel threatened legal action, Mr Blair got his way. Although Israel agreed to release only 3.8 megahertz at first, local sources say it has promised to expand this to 4.8 megahertz once Wataniya has 350,000 customers.

Wataniya launched on November 10, with Mr Blair at the opening ceremony. He said it proved that 'Palestine is open for business'.

Earlier this year, Mr Blair singled out the affair in a report he wrote on his envoy work to the Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee.

'Wataniya's launch is overdue, but extremely welcome,' he wrote, '[it] means the completion of a key milestone in the economic reform and state building agenda...Wataniya is an example of a flagship project, which has a significant impact on people's perceptions and hopes for what a lasting peace might bring.'

Yesterday The Mail on Sunday asked Mr Blair's spokesman Matthew Doyle whether he had declared the bank's interest in his meetings with the Israelis.

He replied in an email, saying only: 'Tony Blair raised Wataniya at the request of the Palestinian Authority in his role as Quartet Representative. He has no knowledge of any connection between QTel and JP Morgan and has never discussed the issue with JP Morgan nor have they ever raised it with him. Any suggestion that he raised it for any reason other than the one stated to help the Palestinians or that in some way he has benefited from Wataniya is untrue and defamatory.'

Critics of the Wataniya mobile- phone project backed so strongly by Tony Blair claim it is marred by a longstanding feature of the Palestinian scene – cronyism, in which close associates of the ruling Fatah party leadership somehow manage to derive lucrative benefits.

In the case of Wataniya, the link could hardly be closer – for one big beneficiary of the firm's investments is none other than Tarek Abbas, the son of the Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas.

American-educated Tarek runs Sky, the West Bank's biggest advertising agency. Last year, it was awarded a contract to be Wataniya's lead advertising agent, with both a monthly retainer and further payments for individual campaigns.

Palestinian business sources say that its work for Wataniya has been worth approximately £700,000 in the past 12 months – almost certainly, the biggest advertising 'spend' in Palestine.

Meanwhile, businessman Firas Nasruddin, a friend of both Tarek and his father, owns Hemaya, a security company staffed by men in sunglasses and black uniforms, some of whom are former fighters against Israel in groups such as the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. Others are former Palestinian Authority police.

Hemaya has a contract to provide security for Wataniya personnel and installations.

It also serves several other firms that are supported by the Palestine Investment Fund, a large pot of money that is meant to be used to benefit the Palestinian people.

The fund has a 43 per cent stake in Wataniya. President Abbas's chief adviser Mohammad Mustafa is chairman and CEO of the fund, and chairman of Wataniya.

Wataniya's spokesman, Mohammad Nassar said last night he could not answer any questions about how the Sky and Hemaya contracts were awarded until next week, while Tarek Abbas's lawyer – who usually speaks on his behalf – could not be reached.

In an interview last year, Wataniya's former Palestine chief, Scot Alan Richardson, said there had been 'a straightforward contract process that went through all the normal procedures', adding that Sky and Hemaya had been given their deals because they represented 'best price, best quality'.

Wataniya, he said, operated in a 'fair and transparent manner'.

Nevertheless, the outcome means that as Tony Blair takes part in the renewed search for a peace deal, both sides will know that his support for Wataniya has produced sizeable benefits for President Abbas's family and friends.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 9:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: POLITICO Playbook, presented by Washington's NewsChannel 8: To deprive Dems of an issue, Boehner would compromise on tax-cut extension -- NYT softens Boehner wording after aide complains -- Maureen Dowd's sister, Peggy, may switch from Obama to RO...

**BREAKING – DNC goes up on national cable Tuesday** with an ad on "The Boehner plan." **A DNC official says it'll be up a little less than a week**: ""This ad is one product we'll use to define Mr. Boehner, his ethics and priorities for the American people - and there will be others." ***YouTube*** http://bit.ly/dB6Yb1

**ROBERT GIBBS (@PressSec) tweets on the NYT front-pager on House Republican Leader John Boehner:** "Headline says it all...A G.O.P. Leader Tightly Bound to Lobbyists http://nyti.ms/bxbF4D ... Don't forget this handy clip & save graphic of 'K Street Cabinet' (**black & white photo doesn't do that tan justice**!) http://nyti.ms/9n1wVp"

**BOEHNER taped "Face the Nation" yesterday from West Chester, Ohio:**

**Bob Schieffer:** "I want to make sure I heard what you said correctly: you're saying that you are willing to vote for those middle class tax cuts, even though the bill will not include … extending the tax cuts for the upper bracket American."

**Rep. Boehner:** "Bob, we don't know what the bill's going to say, alright? If the only option I have is to vote for those at 250 and below, of course I'm going to do that. But I'm going to do everything I can to fight to make sure that we extend the current tax rates for all Americans."

**A Boehner aide reads between the lines:** "Despite what Obama says, Republicans are not holding middle-class tax cuts hostage and we're not going to let him get away with those types of false claims. Our focus remains on getting bipartisan support for a freeze on all current rates, because that is what is best for the economy and small business job creation. Boehner's words were calculated to deprive Obama of the ability to continue making those false claims, and as a result we are in a better position rhetorically to pressure more Democrats to support a full freeze."

**AN INSTANT CLASSIC:**

**Schieffer**: "Mr. Boehner, I'm going to ask you this question because I'm not objective about this - I'm a cancer survivor, I used to be a heavy smoker. Do you still smoke?"

**Boehner:** "I do."

**Schieffer**: "You have taken $340,000 from the tobacco industry. They've been the largest contributor to your political campaigns over the year. How do you square that with the fact that cigarette smoking is the leading cause of preventable deaths in this country, 435,000 people, their deaths are linked to cancer, that's 1 in 5. How do you justify that in your own mind?"

**Boehner:** "Bob, tobacco is a legal product in America. The American people have a right to decide for themselves whether they want to partake or not. There are lots of things that we deal with and come in contact with every day, from alcohol to food to cigarettes, a lot of the things that aren't good for our health. But the American people ought to have the right to make those decisions on their own." …

**Schieffer:** "If you should become Speaker, you could set a good example for the country by saying, 'I'm going to stop smoking.' Maybe you could get the President, I understand he smokes too, maybe the two of you could find a way to try to stop smoking. That'd be kind of a good thing, wouldn't it?"

**Boehner:** "Bob, I appreciate your suggestion."

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Allen [redacted] B6
To: Undisclosed recipients:;
Sent: Sun, Sep 12, 2010 8:43 am
Subject: POLITICO Playbook, presented by Washington's NewsChannel 8: To deprive Dems of an issue, Boehner would compromise on tax-cut extension -- NYT softens Boehner wording after aide complains -- Maureen Dowd's sister, Peggy, may switch from Obama to ROMNEY

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**Schieffer**: "Mr. Boehner, I'm going to ask you this question because I'm not objective about this - I'm a cancer survivor, I used to be a heavy smoker. Do you still smoke?"

**Boehner:** "I do."

**Schieffer**: "You have taken $340,000 from the tobacco industry. They've been the largest contributor to your political campaigns over the year. How do you square that with the fact that cigarette smoking is the leading cause of preventable deaths in this country, 435,000 people, their deaths are linked to cancer, that's 1 in 5. How do you justify that in your own mind?"

**Boehner:** "Bob, tobacco is a legal product in America. The American people have a right to decide for themselves whether they want to partake or not. There are lots of things that we deal with and come in contact with every day, from alcohol to food to cigarettes, a lot of the things that aren't good for our health. But the American people ought to have the right to make those decisions on their own." …

**Schieffer:** "If you should become Speaker, you could set a good example for the country by saying, 'I'm going to stop smoking.' Maybe you could get the President, I understand he smokes too, maybe the two of you could find a way to try to stop smoking. That'd be kind of a good thing, wouldn't it?"

**Boehner:** "Bob, I appreciate your suggestion."

**** A message from Washington's NewsChannel 8**: Comcast has hired a vast army of lobbyists to rush through the largest media merger in American history. The Comcast/NBC monopoly would present serious problems for local news in communities across our country. Washington's decision makers must resist the

pressure from Comcast and take the necessary time to carefully review this controversial merger to protect the public interest. **

**SPOTTED** -- Saturday joggers: Sunlen Miller spotted at 18th and Columbia. Lizzie O'Leary at Connecticut and T.

**BIRTHDAYS** – CBS News' irreplaceable Capitol Hill Producer Jill Jackson (hat tips Kurt Bardella, Joe Brettell) … Henry Waxman ... Sam Brownback ... Politics Daily's Matt Lewis ... (h/ts Patrick Gavin).

**TOMORROW: Jim Angle**

**SLIDE SHOW: The First Lady and Laura Bush embrace yesterday in Shanksville, Pa. Philly Inquirer:** "Michelle Obama and Laura Bush led the ceremony on a windswept mountaintop Saturday commemorating the ninth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, which also marked a turning point in the evolution of the Flight 93 crash site from a scarred landscape to national memorial park." http://yhoo.it/b29QPM

**TECH BLOGS:** Apple may rush out new iPad version for holidays. http://bit.ly/aBj31P

**GAME CHANGE: 2012 OFF TO SLOW START – GOP heavyweights hold back, freezing field compared to past cycles -- Jonathan Martin and Ben Smith:** "[T]he primary is on track to start later, and more cautiously, than it has in the recent past. In the fall of 2006, Mitt Romney and John McCain were openly battling over endorsements from Republican operatives, donors and even county sheriffs in the early primary states. The two men beat a well-worn path to New Hampshire, South Carolina, and especially Iowa, where they had to watch their step to avoid tripping over Democratic hopefuls like John Edwards and Evan Bayh. But at the same point four years later, as the 2010 election enters the home stretch, top-tier Republican presidential contenders are hesitant to set foot in the states that kick off the presidential campaign process, let alone issue press releases touting their latest gets there.

**--"[The] GOP nominating contest is shaping up … as a game of chicken** … Romney, Sarah Palin, Haley Barbour, Mitch Daniels and a few other ambitious figures are largely eyeing each other while publicly holding back, leaving Tim Pawlenty as the only mainstream Republican trudging down the traditional, early path … Together, they're all making a mockery of the conventional wisdom about the longer and longer arcs that modern White House campaigns demand. … There are three main reasons for the delay: The intense focus on the 2010 midterms; the risks of starting too early; and, especially for the best-prepared candidate, Romney, a paralyzing fear of failure in Iowa. In a sense, the incentives this year are reversed: candidates have better reasons to publicly hold off on declaring their candidacy than to try to gain an early foothold." http://bit.ly/an4YW0

**STORY DU JOUR – N.Y. Times A1, 1 col. at the fold, "G.O.P. Leader Tightly Bound to Lobbyists," by Eric Lipton**: "Mr. Boehner … maintains especially tight ties with a circle of lobbyists and former aides representing some of the nation's biggest businesses … They have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to his campaigns, provided him with rides on their corporate jets, socialized with him at luxury golf resorts and waterfront bashes and are now leading fund-raising efforts for his Boehner for Speaker campaign, which is soliciting checks of up to $37,800 each, the maximum allowed. Some of the lobbyists readily acknowledge routinely seeking his office's help — calling the congressman and his aides as often as several times a week." http://nyti.ms/asBs02

**--BOEHNER OFFICE REBUTTAL**: "Setting the Record Straight: The New York Times' Misleading Attack on Boehner": "There is no surer sign that the liberal establishment is threatened by Leader Boehner than the story that will appear in … [The] New York Times." http://bit.ly/94Tq4D

**--A BOEHNER AIDE:** "Boehner's positions on the issues he cited are longstanding, and are obviously not the result of one lobbyist's influence. The fact that any reporter would believe or write that Boehner's opposition to a 'cap and trade' national energy tax, for example, is 1) recent, or 2) the result of one lobbyist's influence is ridiculous."

**--BEHIND THE CURTAIN:** Byron York documents changes the NYT made AFTER the story posted: "Boehner spokesman Michael Steel says he received a fact-checking email from Times reporter Eric Lipton Friday evening asking if Boehner did in fact oppose the cap on greenhouse gases, the tax change for hedge fund executives, the debit card fee cap, and increased fees on oil and gas companies. 'Yes, that is correct,' Steel responded to Lipton, adding 'I can tell you why, if you care.' Steel says he received no further notes from Lipton. Steel says Boehner has long held those positions and does not hold them as a result of lobbying. Hours after the email exchange, the Times story was published online, with the statement from the lobbyist that he had

'won' Boehner's backing on those matters. After Boehner's aides complained, ... [t]he statement that a lobbyist 'won' Boehner's backing was changed to one in which a lobbyist 'sought' Boehner's backing. That's a rather critical change. The Times also added Boehner's defense that these were long-held positions." http://bit.ly/dewsnU

**--RATES JUST WENT UP -- GRAPHIC WITH LIPTON STORY – "Boehner's K Street Cabinet: Some of the lobbyists and public affairs consultants with tight links to Representative John A. Boehner:** http://nyti.ms/cHYFOy

**"FORMER AIDES:** John Fish, Reynolds American (Tobacco); Teresa Fish, Electronic Industries Alliance (Electronics); Sam Geduldig, Clark Lytle & Geduldig (Financial services, telecommunications); Terry Holt, HDMK (Health care, energy); Marc Lampkin, Quinn Gillespie & Associates (Financial services, energy, telecommunications); Kevin Madden*, Jim Dyke & Associates (Public affairs, political consulting); Greg Maurer, UPS.

**"LONGTIME ASSOCIATES AND FRIENDS:** Gary Andres, Dutko Worldwide (Manufacturing, health care, shipping); Sue Andres, Union Pacific; Samuel J. Baptista, The Baptista Group (Financial services); Michael Boland*, Dome Advisors (Financial services); James Boland, Sundquist Anthony LLC (Waste management, financial services); Nicholas E. Calio Citigroup (Financial services); Donald Danner, National Federation of Independent Business; Bruce Gates Altria (Tobacco); Mark Isakowitz, Fierce, Isakowitz and Blalock (Telecommunications, health care, energy); Drew Maloney, Ogilvy Government Relations (energy, pharmaceuticals, finance); Bill Paxon, Akin Gump (Manufacturing, gambling); Dirk Van Dongen, National Association of Wholesaler- Distributors.

**"*Not registered as a lobbyist,** but works in the political consulting business." http://nyti.ms/cHYFOy

**TOP TWEETS:**

**--Washingtonian editor Garrett M. Graff (@vermontgmg):** "At Opening Night for the Opera. Down my row are Justices Ginsburg and Kagan. Ginsburg has a large piece of anti-Fenty lit in her handbag."

**--@LarrySabato:** "USA has pop of 300m+. At least 1 million are nuts. All have been encouraged to seek fame via outrageous actions, thx to FL feeding frenzy."

**TOP STORY – NYT col. 1, "Afghan Security Growing Worse, Aid Groups Say," by Rod Nordland, in Kabul:** "Large parts of the country that were once completely safe, like most of the northern provinces, now have a substantial Taliban presence ... The worsening security comes as the Obama administration is under increasing pressure to show results to maintain public support for the war, and raises serious concerns about whether the country can hold legitimate nationwide elections for Parliament next Saturday. Unarmed government employees can no longer travel safely in 30 percent of the country's 368 districts, according to published United Nations estimates ... The number of insurgent attacks has increased significantly ... American military officials say the increased level of violence is related to the rise in the number of its forces here. The last 2,000 of 30,000 new American troops are expected to arrive in the next week or two, military officials say. The result is more military operations, they say, and more opportunities for the insurgents to attack coalition forces." http://nyti.ms/bImb8E

**--DOYLE McMANUS, in L.A. Times "Opinion" section, "High-level doubts on Afghanistan: Former officials who once supported the war are now questioning it's worth the cost":** "The doubters include Richard N. Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the closest thing the United States has to an official 'foreign policy establishment'; Leslie H. Gelb, his predecessor; and Robert D. Blackwill, a former aide to President George W. Bush. 'The current strategy isn't working, and it's costing roughly $100 billion a year,' Haass, a former aide to then-Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, told me last week. 'It's time for a major recalibration: not an immediate withdrawal but a significant scaling down of our ambitions.' And last week, a group of 46 foreign policy experts issued a joint report arguing that the goal of building a unified, stable Afghanistan is beyond the ability of the United States, and unnecessary to boot. The panel, the Afghanistan Study Group, included both longtime critics of the war and some who supported U.S. policy until recently. ... They cite three main reasons for their escalating pessimism. The first: setbacks (including a major offensive in Kandahar that was scheduled to be in full swing by now but is only getting underway). Next: Afghan President Hamid Karzai's failure to support a U.S.-sponsored anti-corruption campaign. And finally, there's that $100-billion annual price tag. ... [A]s Obama approaches a December review of his strategy in Afghanistan, the debate is noticeably opening up, driven in part by the weight of that $100-billion cost." http://lat.ms/9XfkyC

**9 YEARS AGO THIS MORNING, the WP lede, by Michael Grunwald:** "Terrorists unleashed an astonishing air assault on America's military and financial power centers yesterday morning, hijacking four commercial jets and then crashing them into the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon and the Pennsylvania countryside."

**TOM BROKAW, 9/11/01, as he watched the second tower fall, live on NBC's air:** "Manhattan has been changed. Terrorists have declared war … This is war."

**WHERE WERE YOU ON 9/11?**

**--Robert Gibbs (@PressSec) tweets:** "Just drove by the Pentagon...remember the smoke coming from it nine yrs ago...thinking of all those we lost that day here and in NY and PA."

**--Howard Wolfson:** "Was on the 7am train from NYC to DC. We were the last train into Union Station before it was evacuated. Got off the train and was instructed to run out of the building. Discovered hundreds of staffers streaming out of the Senate office buildings towards us. All of the cabs lined up waiting for fares had their radios on and their windows open. I heard the buildings collapse that way. I connected with my wife who was in NYC and prayed for the people I had worked with many years before on the 103rd floor of the WTC."

**--Karen Finney:** "Saw the first plane from 6th Ave and 11th in NYC - got on what was the last #2 train to stop at Wall Street headed to the NYC Board of Education (where I worked at the time). Will never forget the black smoke that flooded the train car as people ran in; then spent the and night working with the schools Chancellor trying to assess situation in seven schools around ground zero and how to get 1.1 million kids home safely, knowing that in some cases their parent might not be coming home. Quite a shocker to step out of the subway in Brooklyn. Like 5 minutes later, the towers come down."

**TOP TALKERS:**

**MAUREEN DOWD, "When Peggy Left Barry: Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose":** "One of the independent voters Obama will be trying to charm over the next two years is my sister, Peggy, a formerly ardent Obamican (a Republican who changed spots to vote for Obama). … Despite being a Washington native, Peggy believed that the dazzling young newcomer could change Washington. But she has lost a lot of faith now, saying she might vote for Mitt Romney over Obama if Romney is the Republican nominee in 2012. (Sarah Palin shouldn't count on her vote though. In Peggy's words, 'Are you nuts?') Peggy thinks the president has done fine managing W.'s messes in Iraq and Afghanistan. And she lights up at the mention of his vice president, Joe Biden. But she thinks Obama has to get 'a backbone' if he wants to lure her back to the fold. … While Obama's out in the country trying to save Congressional Democrats, he should also think about how he's going to save himself. http://nyti.ms/92Dudr

**FRANK RICH, "Time for This Big Dog to Bite Back: The Democrats' obituaries may yet prove premature.":** "On Labor Day, the fighting Obama abruptly re-emerged, a far cry from the man whose Oval Office address on Iraq days earlier was about as persuasive as a hostage video. … For a guy facing a tidal wave, the president was so ebullient, you had to wonder if he knew something we didn't. Maybe he simply read the unabridged poll numbers … Those numbers are hardly as monochromatic as advertised. Obama's approval rating, for months a consistent (not imploding) 45-ish percent, still makes him arguably America's most popular national politician. The polls also continue to show that, while both political parties are despised, Democrats are slightly less despised than Republicans. … In a second forceful speech last week, delivered outside Cleveland, Obama titillated the political press by calling out Boehner by name eight times. But though Boehner is a nice soft target … he's merely a front-man. Obama must also call out the powerful interests who are pulling the G.O.P.'s strings (and filling its coffers), whether on Wall Street or in Big Oil or any other sector where special interests are aligned against reform in the public interest. If Obama can speak lucidly about a subject as thorny as race, he can surely do a far more specific job of telling the story of how we got to this economic impasse." http://nyti.ms/bgjS89

**WEEK AHEAD – "Pope to warn of dangers of secular society" -- The (London) Sunday Telegraph:** "THE POPE will this week urge the Government to protect religious freedoms to allow Christians to follow their beliefs [**during a British tour and state visit, Thursday to Saturday**]. In a speech to political and religious leaders in Westminster Hall, the Pontiff will deliver a thinly veiled attack on the perceived liberal direction of the country. … Senior Roman Catholic sources said his message would be seen as a criticism of the introduction of equality laws that have impinged on the freedom of religious groups, although he will not

directly refer to government policy. A number of Christians have lost their jobs or faced disciplinary action for practising their faith at work by wearing a crucifix or sharing their views on biblical teaching."

**MEDIAWATCH – "Bret Baier is the new face of Election Night coverage at Fox News: 40-year-old reporter part of a new generation of political news anchors," by Baltimore Sun's David Zurawik:** "Baier steps up this fall as lead political news anchor on Election Night replacing Brit Hume, who moved after the 2008 elections to the role of senior political analyst. Given the way Fox News has come to lead in ratings for coverage of political events since CNN's glory days during the presidential campaign of 2008, Baier's ascension makes for a significant changing of the guard in broadcast journalism. The seat he now occupies in Fox's Washington studios is one of the most influential in American political life — a fact not lost on the boyish-looking anchorman who turned 40 on Aug. 4, which also is President Barack Obama's birthday. … He has been invited for the first time in his career to moderate a televised debate — a role more often reserved for the likes of Jim Lehrer or Bob Schieffer of public and network TV. This one will be held Oct. 4 in Hartford, Conn., in a hotly contested race between Democrat Richard Blumenthal and Republican Linda McMahon for a U.S. Senate seat. …

**"As for his hour of news from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. weeknights ['Special Report], Baier almost doubles the combined audience of his competitors on CNN and MSNBC**. So far this year, 'Special Report' has an average nightly audience of 2,107,000 in viewers — compared with 604,000 for 'The Ed Show' on MSNBC and 545,000 for Wolf Blitzer's 'Situation Room' on CNN. … Michael Clemente, senior vice president at Fox News, says the foundation laid down by Hume has played a crucial role in Baier's success. 'Brit Hume had the legacy with the audience — a legacy that went back to his days with ABC News,' Clemente says. 'So why has it worked with Bret? First of all, the transition was handled well; Bret filled in quite a bit as Brit was winding down. But people make a judgment pretty quickly, and I think they judged Bret as being an honest, fair and smart reporter. And it wasn't like pulling some guy out of thin air who had just been a news reader on some local station.' … [Baier:] 'You know the Fox Atlanta bureau that I joined in 1998 — that started in my apartment in Atlanta with a fax machine and a cell phone. That was the bureau. And I still have that sense of us being that startup that is still trying to make it all come together." http://bit.ly/apgxA2

**SPORTS BLINK – COLLEGE FOOTBALL – AP: "Ohio State and Oklahoma won their BCS championship game rematches** and showed that a couple of former powerhouses from the Sunshine State are not quite ready to return to elite status. Behind the running of Terrelle Pryor and a ball-hawking defense, the second-ranked Buckeyes beat No. 12 Miami 36-24 on Saturday at the Horseshoe in Columbus. … In Norman, Okla., Landry Jones bounced back from a sluggish opener and led the 10th-ranked Sooners to an easy 47-17 victory over No. 17 Florida State."

**--"USC hangs on for a 17-14 victory over Virginia," by L.A. Times' Gary Klein:** "USC's defense is not as bad as it looked in the opener, the offense not nearly as good. Those were the immediate impressions Trojans fans came away with Saturday night at the Coliseum after the 16th-ranked Trojans' 17-14 victory over Virginia. The undisciplined style that resulted in multiple costly penalties? That remained consistent as the Trojans improved to 2-0 under first-year Coach Lane Kiffin. Quarterback Matt Barkley passed for two touchdowns late in the first half and, though the defense gave up a last-minute touchdown, the Trojans earned a harder-than-expected victory over the Cavaliers, a near three-touchdown underdog playing their first game in California. 'I'm extremely disappointed with our performance,' Kiffin said. 'That's the most miserable 2-0 locker room I've ever been in, which is good. I think our players understand.'" http://lat.ms/99w6au

**--ESPN TODAY** – *From release* – "ESPN's NFL studio shows return in earnest … for Kickoff Weekend … Chris Berman, recipient of the Pro Football Hall of Fame's 2010 Pete Rozelle Radio-Television Award, returns for his 25th season as host of the Emmy Award-winning *Sunday NFL Countdown presented by IBM* (11 a.m.), where he will be joined by analysts Cris Carter, Mike Ditka, Tom Jackson, Keyshawn Johnson and Chris Mortensen, and Insider Adam Schefter for the two-hour weekly NFL preview show. After the games, Berman and Jackson will be joined by John Saunders and Trent Dilfer throughout the season during the 7 p.m.

*SportsCenter* to review all the day's action. Berman and Jackson will team up again at 11 p.m. for '*The Blitz*' on *SportsCenter*."

** **A message from Washington's NewsChannel 8:** If the Comcast and NBC merger is rushed through the process, our country risks losing a powerful part of our democracy -- locally-owned, independent voices in markets where Comcast/NBC will control both access to the home and multiple channels of news. Dropping the independent news voice won't serve the consumer. It will only serve the interests of Comcast which would also own the other news channels. Please make sure that any merger approval serves the public interest and protects the local news consumers you represent. Don't let Comcast ram this monopoly merger through the review process. **

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 1:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update on PSA

fyi

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**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** Dowd, Katie W; McCall, Dawn L; Kenna, Corley; Hensman, Chris D; MacInnes, Duncan H; Bosshardt, Marcia P; Harper, Benjamin W; Jarvis, Catherine J; Sreebny, Daniel
**Cc:** Klevorick, Caitlin B; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Update on PSA

Thx katie. As soon as we have clearances let's send out a cable to all pao's asking them to try and get placement on local media outlets.

Jm

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**From**: Dowd, Katie W
**To**: McHale, Judith A; McCall, Dawn L; Kenna, Corley; Hensman, Chris D; MacInnes, Duncan H; Bosshardt, Marcia P; Harper, Benjamin W; Jarvis, Catherine J; Sreebny, Daniel
**Cc**: Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent**: Tue Aug 31 10:26:39 2010
**Subject**: Update on PSA

Morning all, wanted to update you on where we are with the PSA for Pakistan that we produced in conjunction with Ad Council. You can view the PSAs here: http://multivu.prnewswire.com/mnr/adcouncil/45926/ - please note this is NOT public yet.

The Ad Council is releasing the PSA @ 1pm today and we will be sending (once approved) a press release out as well linked to state.gov where the PSA's will live. There are TV, Radio and Web versions of the PSA cut into 30 and 60 second spots.

We still are working through some music and image questions with the Ad Council to secure international distribution. We are waiting to hear from them on this. Once we hear, the Ad Council will make some minor edits to the PSA e.g. removing the Text Donation information as it applies only to Americans and re-send the files with the revised transcript. Once we have that, then we can move forward translating into local languages. The Ad Council said they will need an additional 2 to 3 days to make edits but again I am waiting to confirm.

Hope this update is helpful. Please let me know if you have questions. Best, Katie

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Adler, Caroline E
**Subject:** Camera

Monica said you asked about the camera

He is shooting broll for the interview you will do with Julia Roberts later in October - focusing mainly on women's issues. By the time you read this they will be all done.

And FYI, the cameraman (Allan Palmer) and produce(Coby Atlas) might look familiar to you - they are from Tavis Smiley's team, they did his special on you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Ten Lessons re Middle East negotiations boiled down from Sandy and Steve Hadley's set of working papers
**Attachments:** Ten Lessons for 2010_final.doc; Ten Lessons for 2010_final.pdf; Ten Lessons for 2010 _final.doc; Ten Lessons for 2010_final.pdf

We asked Dan Kurtzer and Scott Lasensky to boil down 10 key lessons from the big book of working papers that Sandy and Steve's USIP task force has produced. They are attached. I think the most useful lessons are #3 re the process is not an end in itself but an opportunity to put forward substantive proposals; #4 re avoiding incrementalism and developing a regional strategy, and #7 on making sure we have a backroom operation to work through all the strategic dimensions of possible bridging proposals.
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: NHL scores big PD win in St. Pete!

At the end of the day, it's all about sports.....

---

**From:** Mellott, Joseph
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 06, 2010 8:43 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** NHL scores big PD win in St. Pete!

**First-Ever NHL-CHL Exhibition Game Helps Break International Ice in St. Petersburg:** Thanks to U/S Judith McHale who brought National Hockey League VP Ken Yaffe to Moscow under the auspices of the U.S.-Russia Bilateral Presidential Commission for an icebreaker with Continental Hockey League representatives, St. Petersburg's beloved SKA hockey team hosted the Carolina Hurricanes for an exhilarating exhibition game at the Ice Palace. From the opening ceremony featuring both the U.S. and Russian national anthems, the capacity crowd of 4,500 – including St. Petersburg Governor Valentina Matviyenko, SKA owner and Gazprom Chairman Alexey Miller, Hurricanes owner and Compuware Corporation CEO Peter Karmanos, Jr., and U.S. Consul General Sheila Gwaltney – cheered the two teams on. The heart-pounding, high-scoring game included dazzling play by the 'Canes Eric Staal and Jeff Skinner (Carolina's game MVP) plus SKA favorites Alexei Yashin (SKA's game MVP) and Maksim Sushinski. With Rossiya TV announcing that "we've waited 20 years for this," SKA broke the second period tie and led their team to a 5-3 victory over the 'Canes in the last period. SKA's enthusiastic organ player rocked the crowd with themes from "Ghostbusters" and "The Addams Family" – plus Tina Turner's "Simply the Best" – and helped the Russian crowd give their home team their traditional electrifying support. Continuing the "sports diplomacy" after the game, dozens of avid Russian hockey fans waited patiently by the team buses and were elated when 'Canes Goalie Cam Ward signed autographs and posed for photographs with them. The Russian crowd's enthusiasm for this match as well as their admiration for the American team were ice-crystal clear from the capacity crowd (the stadium only sells out for championship matches or games against their arch rival Moscow team), their cheers for the Hurricanes, plus the extensive media presence, including live nation-wide coverage on Rossiya TV.

Joe Mellott
Special Assistant
Office of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy
U.S. Department of State
HST Rm. 5931
202-647-9901

mellottj@state.gov

Help save paper - do you need to print this email?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Celebration of Steven Rattner's "Overhaul"

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 22, 2010 3:13 PM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: Celebration of Steven Rattner's "Overhaul"

Pls print and give copy to Eric and one to me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hajera Dehqanzada <
To: Hajera Dehqanzada <
Sent: Wed Sep 22 13:04:20 2010
Subject: Celebration of Steven Rattner's "Overhaul"

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) American visits Iran blast site under freedom deal

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Iran
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Oct 17 16:07:39 2010
**Subject:** (AP) American visits Iran blast site under freedom deal

TEHRAN (AP) – An Iranian-American businessman freed after more than two years in Tehran's main prison visited survivors of a deadly 2008 mosque bombing as a condition of his release in a scripted event that could carry propaganda value at home. Iranian authorities did not immediately explain their demand for 71-year-old Reza Taghavi to pay homage in the southern city of Shiraz and personally acknowledge an attack in which he denies having any connection. But it would fit neatly into possible Iranian attempts to squeeze multiple messages from Taghavi's October 16 release after 29 months in custody. Taghavi, accompanied by his wife and lawyer, fulfilled his pledge to visit the site of the mosque bombing. They later met with survivors, including people who lost relatives in the attack.

The U.S. and allies fear Iran could use its nuclear fuel labs to eventually produce weapons-grade material. Iran says it only seeks peaceful energy-producing reactors. Taghavi's attorney, former U.S. diplomat Pierre Prosper, said he purposely left American officials out of the negotiations to avoid having his client become a bargaining chip. "Our strategy was to make sure that our dialogue with the [Iranian] government was between us and them," said Prosper, who held five rounds of direct talks with Iranian envoys since Taghavi was jailed.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 9:40 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; H
**Subject:** RE: NHL scores big PD win in St. Pete!

This is awesome.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 06, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** 'H'; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: NHL scores big PD win in St. Pete!

At the end of the day, it's all about sports.....

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**Sent:** Wednesday, October 06, 2010 8:43 AM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty
**Subject:** NHL scores big PD win in St. Pete!

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202-647-9901

mellottj@state.gov

Help save paper - do you need to print this email?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 9:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Got this poll done with Brock; Begala helped. Sid

http://www.politico.com/static/PPM170_101005_boehner.html

Our top message--exposing Boehner as beholden to special interests--beat the Republicans" attack by 20 points with swing voters. Our second highest rated message--connecting Karl Rove"s secret efforts to hijack our elections to Boehner--beat the Republican attack by 15 points with swing voters and was the top rated message among Democratic likely voters.

Branding Boehner
RAPIDRESPONSEMEMO · OCTOBER6, 2010
ANALYST: DREWWESTEN, PH.D., WESTENSTRATEGIES
Karl Rove is back in business -- directing tens of millions in secret corporate cash to GOP campaigns to hijack our elections and our public discourse. If he's successful, John Boehner will become Speaker of the House. But the last thing Rove wants is for Boehner to be seen as the face of the GOP. That's why he's claiming it"s an ""inexplicable"" mistake for President Obama to put Boehner front and center. Progressives know better than to take advice from Rove.
Our new message testing shows that progressives should not only talk about Boehner but define him and his agenda. Every narrative we tested about Boehner -- from his loyalty to special interests and corporate donors over the interests of the middle class to Karl Rove"s efforts to elevate him as Speaker -- beat the Republicans" toughest attack language on Obama, Pelosi and Reid. Currently, Boehner is largely unknown, but when voters are told about him, they don't like what they hear.
The following ""one-liners"" beat GOP attack rhetoric by double digits with both likely and swing votersii:
The brief statements above beat this Republican attack:
""Obama, Pelosi and Reid have abused their power to impose an expansive government and destroyed our economy in the process. John Boehner and the Republicans won"t let them continue.""
Does Not Speak for Us or Our Values
□ We need a Speaker who is also a listener, who can hear the voices of ordinary Americans.
□ The Speaker of the House is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. Unfortunately, we know where John Boehner"s heart is, and it isn"t with the middle class.
□ We need moderation, not extremism. If John Boehner wants to speak for a party that has vowed to end Social Security, Medicare and public education--and force women who"ve been raped to bear their rapist"s child--that"s his business. But he doesn"t speak for America or American values.
Cares More about Special Interests
□ Ordinary Americans need a Speaker for their interests, not for the interests of billionaires and corporations that are outsourcing our jobs.
□ It"s not hard to keep a tan like John Boehner"s when you"re always out on the golf course with some CEO or lobbyist.
□ It"s time we return to government of, by, and for the people, not government of, bought, and paid for by special interests. But in John Boehner, big business has finally found their man.
Helped Invent the Problems We Face
□ John Boehner understands deficits. He"s spent nearly 20 years in Washington creating them.
□ John Boehner knows the ways of Washington. He helped invent them: Earmarks, deficits, and tax breaks for corporations that outsource our jobs to China.
Branding Boehner
Page 2
KEYS TO CONNECTING
1. Emphasize whose voices matter to Boehner: Voters want a Speaker who listens to the voice of the people, not the big corporations and lobbyists who Boehner represents.

2. Draw a strong contrast between the interests of working Americans and the special interests of powerful corporations: Speak strongly to populist themes that focus on the loyalty of Boehner and the Republicans in Congress to their corporate donors, like the tobacco CEOs whose campaign donations Boehner handed out on the House floor, over the interests and values of ordinary Americans.
3. Focus on realities that are hard for Boehner to defend: the social and economic extremism of his party and his long history in Washington helping to create the problems we face today.

NARRATIVES THAT BEAT THE GOP ATTACK

Longer narratives against Boehner beat a similar, but more in-depth Republican message, based on language drawn directly from Boehner and other conservative leaders:

Our top message--exposing Boehner as beholden to special interests--beat the Republicans" attack by 20 points with swing voters. Our second highest rated message--connecting Karl Rove"s secret efforts to hijack our elections to Boehner--beat the Republican attack by 15 points with swing voters and was the top rated message among Democratic likely voters.

i We surveyed a national sample of 1,013 adults matching the demographics of registered voters from October 2-3, 2010 using online dial testing. We analyzed their responses as they listened to narratives to understand what they found compelling, as well as their overall ratings of each narrative and additional ""one-liners."" The numbers reported here are likely underestimates of the strength of the narratives, as the statistics refer to the original narratives tested prior to revising them based on analysis of online dial tests.

ii Swing voters are defined as those who described themselves as anywhere from weak/moderate Republicans through Independents to weak/moderate Democrats.

THE REPUBLICAN ATTACK ON OBAMA, PELOSI AND REID

Obama, Pelosi and Reid have abused their power to impose an expansive and intrusive government and destroyed our economy in the process. Democrats think they can get away with their job-killing agenda by ramming it down people"s throats, excluding opposing viewpoints and eliminating fair debate. They are turning their backs on American families and businesses as they continue to tax, borrow and spend into oblivion. John Boehner and the Republicans believe government should reflect the priorities of the American people--priorities that have been ignored, even mocked by the powers-that-be in Washington. Obama, Pelosi and Reid must be stopped from raising taxes on any American during a recession and spending money we don"t have on big government programs no one wants. John Boehner and the Republicans are listening to the American people and understand that government is not the answer, it"s the problem.

""Boehner and Rove""- After the Iraq War went south and the economy went under, most of us thought we"d never hear again from Karl Rove, the architect of the Bush revolution. But Rove is back in business, directing tens of millions in secret corporate cash to hijack our elections, running ads against Members of Congress who want to put the public interest over the special interests. He and John Boehner aren"t working for ordinary Americans. They"re working for the big corporations that outsource our jobs and get tax breaks for doing it. Boehner"s voted down the line for big bonuses for bankers, big tax breaks for big oil, and big loopholes for insurance companies that discriminate against people with ""pre-existing conditions""——which is all of us if we just live long enough. We should be restoring the American Dream for all Americans, not just for the few, and we need a Speaker who stands with the middle class.

""They found their man""- We need to return to government of, by, and for the people, not government of, bought, and paid for by special interests. It"s time billionaires and big businesses paid their fair share of taxes rather than paying politicians to give them special tax breaks and loopholes. They"re putting a lot of money into John Boehner, and for good reason: they know as Speaker, he"d speak for them, not for ordinary Americans. Just ask the tobacco company CEOs whose campaign donations he handed out on the floor of the House of Representatives——which is supposed to be the People"s House, not the smokers" lounge. Or ask the bankers who played Russian roulette with our homes and jobs, who got out their checkbooks as he and his fellow Republicans held a special meeting with them this summer promising to block any efforts to hold Wall Street accountable. We need a Speaker whose voice is our voice, who"ll spend less time working on his tan and more time working on the problems of middle class Americans.

""Boehner and Rove""- After the Iraq War went south and the economy went under, most of us thought we"d never hear again from Karl Rove, the architect of the Bush revolution. But Rove is back in business, directing tens of millions in secret corporate cash to hijack our elections, running ads against Members of Congress who want to put the public interest over the special interests. He and John Boehner aren"t working for ordinary Americans. They"re working for the big corporations that outsource our jobs and get tax breaks for doing it. Boehner"s voted down the line for big bonuses for bankers, big tax breaks for big oil, and big loopholes for insurance companies that discriminate against people with ""pre-existing conditions""——which is all of us if we just live long enough. We should be restoring the American Dream for all Americans, not just for

the few, and we need a Speaker who stands with the middle class.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** one more, and I'll stop bombarding you
**Attachments:** Peace Talks Short.doc; ATT1381640.txt; Peace Talks Short.doc; ATT1381640.txt

I don't know if you had time to read the longer paper from Louise Diamond that I sent you, but here she has boiled down her basic arguments into 700 words.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:**

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B11.4(B) 1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 3:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Morningstar, Richard L
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Stein, Daniel D; Goldwyn, David L
Sent: Wed Sep 22 15:15:34 2010
Subject:

Please pass on to S.

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Dear Madam Secretary,

I would like to update you on the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline. Pres. Berdimuhamedov has been very active politically over the past several weeks. He has had several meetings of experts from the four countries and will have a Summit of the leaders of the four countries in December.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/21/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 10:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Bill Burns

It's worth you checking in with him before the meeting. His quick report of meeting with Allawi:

1. Allawi said he pulled back from striking a deal with ISCI because he is concerned that the Shia representation is too small and there is too much difficulty in trying to widen
2. Allawi asked bill if he thought Maliki was serious, suggesting that he was toying with the idea of a grand coalition
3. Allawi will see Barzani on the 11th

Bill's overall take is that Allawi might now be looking to test the wider coalition proposition and is not as interested in the ISCI gambit as first option.

Bill has also seen Al-Mahdi Talabani and Zebari. He said there would be a good meeting with Maliki -- he's obviously feeling confident, but was firm on limiting role of Sadrists and need to bring Iraqiyya into inclusive govt.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772383 Date: 08/31/2015

# Reflections on the Mideast Peace Talks

RELEASE IN FULL

By Louise Diamond, Ph.D.

As the direct Israeli-Palestinian peace talks in Washington progress, the U.S. mediation team will need to be attentive to several invisible dynamics. Even as the parties are talking about specifics – boundary lines, water rights, and such – there's more going on under the surface that, if ignored, can derail a successful conclusion.

The first concerns leadership. Everyone already knows the basic elements of a two-state solution. What we have never seen is the personal and political will and courage, on all sides and at the same time, to make the deal. There are bitter pills and unfulfilled dreams for both parties in this settlement, and pockets of resistance to it – sometimes violent – in both populations.

To manage that successfully, leaders need to articulate the immense gains as well, a positive future vision so compelling as to make the sacrifices worthwhile. This vision needs to be framed from a big-picture perspective: a just, viable, and sustainable peace between Israeli and Palestinian states and peoples that also brings regional security, stability, and prosperity. Every concrete item under discussion should be referred to that goal: how will agreeing or not agreeing on any one matter contribute to that ultimate outcome?

In addition to a shared vision, the other factor essential to true peace is a commitment to end, and eventually heal, the acute pain and suffering. In deep-rooted conflicts such as this, the parties develop recognizable patterns intended to help ameliorate the pain. They will emphasize accusing each other of being the roadblock; setting up the other side to fail so it can be blamed for lack of progress; or seeking to convince outsiders that the other side is at fault so as to avoid taking responsibility for its own actions.

Another pattern involves competing victimhoods. While each side has indeed been the target of un-rightable wrongs, emphasizing the role of victim might seem easier than seeing how one's own behavior has contributed to a mutual dance of spiraling enmity. Or each party may insist that its suffering is bigger, stronger, or more worthy of sympathy than that of the other side, as if there were a yardstick for suffering.

What is true, here and in all violent conflicts, is that the loss of life, homes, loved ones, hope, land, and way of life in each individual's experience is immeasurable. There is deep trauma on both sides. Each side has inflicted harm on the other, and has experienced its own pain within the context of its history and collective narrative. Clearly the road to peace will need to involve the building of trust, the healing of wounds, and ultimately, reconciliation.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772383 Date: 08/31/2015

These current peace talks are an opportunity for the parties to stop the cycle of violence before it escalates even further. Each missed opportunity only makes the healing journey that much harder, and with decades of broken bodies, agreements, and dreams, that road is already difficult enough.

So, the combination of a compelling vision and a commitment to stop the violence and start the healing are the true components of a successful peace process, regardless of any specific details of an agreement. Necessary, but not sufficient, I would suggest. The third element has to do with transforming the essential story of the relationship.

Jews and Arabs have been in a family relationship from biblical times. Every family fights occasionally, but this feud has infected the whole world with its bitter and deadly consequences. The only way to get a viable peace is to change the core story of this relationship from the rabid 'us' against 'them' narrative to one about 'we.'

'We' are in this relationship together and always will be, and can choose to take each other down or raise each other up. 'We' are more than just ourselves; 'we' are also our neighbors in a larger regional story. 'We' are our ancestors through whose courage and anguish we came to this point, and our grandchildren who will bear the consequences of what we create. Forging a partnership of 'we' can and must be the lynchpin of this peace journey.

There is a difference between signing a peace accord and securing a lasting peace. The U.S. mediation team will be concerned primarily with the former in this current round of talks. I sincerely hope they will also keep in mind the latter, and the invisible dynamics at play in the process. Secretary Clinton speaks of moving from a multi-polar world to a multi-partner world. These peace talks are a unique opportunity on that road.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 11:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Statement

You asked about this. It was Walter Isaacson.

New BBG chief wants more money to combat "enemies" such as China and Russia Posted By Josh Rogin Tuesday, October 5, 2010 - 4:43 PM

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) has a new chairman in Walter Isaacson, and the former CNN and Time magazine chief is calling for even more money for the BBG to combat the public diplomacy efforts of America's "enemies," which he identifies as Iran, Venezuela, Russia, and China.

The BBG, which oversees a $700 million annual budget to run such organizations as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Free Asia, funds breakthrough reporting in some of the most dangerous parts of the world, but at the same time is facing increased competition from other governments' forays into international broadcasting.

Isaacson said that other countries are stepping up their international broadcasting efforts and that the Congress must allow the U.S. government to do the same.

"We can't allow ourselves to be out-communicated by our enemies," he said. "You've got Russia Today, Iran's Press TV, Venezuela's TeleSUR, and of course, China is launching an international broadcasting 24-hour news channel with correspondents around the world [and has] reportedly set aside six to ten billion [dollars] -- we've to go to Capitol Hill with that number -- to expand their overseas media operations."

Isaacson said that combating internet censorship would be a major focus of the BBG under his leadership and that China and Iran were the prime targets.

"China, Iran, and other countries block democratic impulses using their later technologies, and Beijing has deployed armies of cyber militias to go after their country's cyber dissidents," he said. "The BBG is at the forefront of combating this. Through constant innovation and technical evolution, our engineers are opening up the Internet gateway for audiences in China and Iran."

"We know where we stand in the fight for Internet freedom," Isaacson said. "Wherever there is a firewall, it's our duty to storm it, to denounce it and to circumvent it."

Isaacson was speaking at last week's 60th anniversary celebration for Radio Free Europe, which he credited as contributing to the end of the Cold War. He made it clear the BBG's outlets will stick to reporting the news objectively, even if that conflicts with the foreign policy of the Obama administration.

"It's sometimes said that our international broadcasting is in a difficult position because by law and by tradition it's tasked with two separate missions that might conflict: first of all, covering the news with the highest journalistic standards and secondly, being a part of America's public diplomacy by accurately conveying its policies and values to the world," Isaacson said.

"Let me say to you, my fellow journalists, that I will stress and we will stress the primacy of the first of these missions, our mission of being credible journalists, because in fact, it's the only way to carry out the second mission. You can't do it unless you're credible and telling the truth, and in the end, the truth is on our side."

Pressed by The Cable to explain exactly what that means, especially in light of reports that the Obama administration sought to influence BBG reporting after the disputed Iranian presidential elections, Isaacson promised he wouldn't hesitate to air views that contradict American foreign policy on BBG stations.

He said that the goals of American foreign policy and the objectives of credible journalism overlap about 90 percent of the time -- as for the other 10 percent, a choice must be made.

"I feel it's the role of the BBG to always make the choice on the side of credible journalism, just as you would in the private sector," Isaacson said. "We can never compromise our credibility. And in doing so, that will probably help further the foreign policy interests of the United States. But if it's ever a real conflict, our goal one is to protect our credibility."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 11:55 AM
**To:** H; Fuchs, Michael H
**Subject:** Re: Cookstoves

Great news. Thanks for doing the call. We will get in touch to nail down their participation.

It has not been announced yet but we also learned that Shell Company is coming in as a founding member at $6M over three years.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M; Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Sep 12 07:48:57 2010
Subject: Cookstoves

The Norwegian FM told me Norway would join the Alliance and we should coordinate w his UN Rep. Will you pls follow up? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 12:07 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: John Kerry

I will have with me a big file on this; I raised the case on the margins of Aboul-Gheit's meeting with you on August 30. We will work with CA to have a letter prepared to take.

The case is typical in that the U.S. parent has custody that the Egyptian courts have not yet recognized (case is pending). But it's atypical in that it's the mother who took the kids to Egypt and the father who is in the U.S. We're in touch with Senator Kerry's office on this.

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 11, 2010 5:56 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: John Kerry

The Senator called to ask me to raise the Egyptian custody case of the mother absconding w her children from the US using fake passports. He said he has reason to believe if I ask Mubarak directly, "you could bring the kids home w you." Do you know about this?

I'd like to have a letter to Mubarak prepared outlining the facts that I could discuss and leave w him, assuming any of this makes sense.

Pls advise.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 3:14 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: one more, and I'll stop bombarding you

Printed for her

-----Original Message-----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tuesday, August 31, 2010 1:36 PM
To: 'H'
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: one more, and I'll stop bombarding you

I don't know if you had time to read the longer paper from Louise Diamond that I sent you, but here she has boiled down her basic arguments into 700 words.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 5:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) With statehood, Palestine ready to end all claims

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Oct 17 17:25:43 2010
**Subject:** (AP) With statehood, Palestine ready to end all claims

RAMALLAH (AP) – Palestinian President Abbas said the Palestinians are willing to end all historic claims against Israel once they get their state as part of a peace deal. An end-of-claims declaration is a long-standing Israeli demand, and Abbas addressed the issue in an interview with Israel TV on October 17. Abbas said negotiating with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu remains his preferred choice, but that he cannot return to talks unless settlement expansion stops. Abbas said other options remain on the table, including seeking UN recognition of a Palestinian state. He said resignation is not an option for now.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia warns of conflict between North and South Korea

**From**: Sidereas, Evyenia M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Wed Sep 22 16:27:55 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Russia warns of conflict between North and South Korea

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Russia warned that "conflict" could break out any day between North and South Korea, saying tension between the two countries was at its worst in a decade. The unusually stark words by Russian deputy foreign minister Alexei Borodavkin come two months after the North said it would wage a "sacred war" against the United States and its ally, South Korea. Washington replied that it would not enter a "war of words" with the North.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli PM: Current settlement curbs won't remain

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Sep 12 12:47:42 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israeli PM: Current settlement curbs won't remain

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu said the current restrictions on West Bank settlements will not remain in place, however there will still be some limits on construction.

Israel's 10-month slowdown on new housing starts in West Bank settlements expires at the end of this month and is a key point of contention in newly launched peace talks with Palestinians.

Netanyahu told Mideast envoy Tony Blair the Palestinians want a total freeze in construction. "That will not happen," he said.

Israel will not build "tens of thousands of housing units that are in the pipeline, but we will not freeze the lives of the residents" of the settlements, Netanyahu said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 5:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 8/31 Pakistan Flood Relief Donations Report

FYI

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**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 31, 2010 3:16 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Fw: 8/31 Pakistan Flood Relief Donations Report

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**From:** Grover, Charles H
**To:** Kennedy, Patrick F
**Cc:** Davisson, Brandon; Anderson, Roger W; Bordley, Donna; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Shah, Khushali P; Thessin, James H; Kaplan, Sid L; Millette, James L
**Sent:** Tue Aug 31 15:15:38 2010
**Subject:** 8/31 Pakistan Flood Relief Donations Report

Please find the updated Pakistan Flood Relief donation totals through August 30:

1. Have received $37,780 in pledge funds from texting all at $10 each so 3,778 pledges
2. Have received $246,423 in credit card donations from 2,736 donors
3. Have received $ 9,760 in ACH donations from 118 donors
4. Have received $50,144 in mailed in checks/cash from 276 donors

So in total we have received $344,107 in pledges and donations from 6,908 donors

On average this is about $50 per donation/pledge. If you excluded the ten dollar pledges/donations the average donation was $98 dollars.

Charlie

Charles H. Grover
Deputy Director
Bureau of Resource Management
Global Financial Services (RM/GFS)
Department of State
Charleston, SC

843-308-5607 phone
843-308-5577 fax


Save a tree... please don't print this e-mail *unless you really need to*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You up? Can you talk?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 1:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Hamas: Israeli strike in Gaza kills 3 Palestinians

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany; PA FO Group
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Sep 12 13:15:13 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Hamas: Israeli strike in Gaza kills 3 Palestinians

JERUSALEM (AP) - Hamas security officials said three Palestinians were killed by Israeli tank fire in the northern Gaza Strip. Five people were wounded.

There was no immediate comment September 12 from the Israeli military.

Israeli forces and Palestinians frequently clash in the area.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Reminder re Mike Rienzi

Madame Secretary,

You asked me to remind you to have President Clinton get in touch with Mike Rienzi. His contact info is below.

Mike Rienzi
Rienzi and Sons
18-81 Steinway St
Astoria, NY 11105

B6

*Claire L. Coleman*
*Office Manager to the Secretary of State*
*U.S. Department of State*
*Tel: 202-647-7098*
*E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (The Detroit News) Burned Quran smeared with feces found at East Lansing mosque

In case u didn't see story?

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; Hensman, Chris D
**Cc:** SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Sep 12 11:41:08 2010
**Subject:** (The Detroit News) Burned Quran smeared with feces found at East Lansing mosque

(The Detroit News) - A burned Quran was found at a mosque in East Lansing September 11, prompting the Michigan chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-MI) to ask the FBI to investigate.

CAIR-MI reports that officials of the Islamic Center of East Lansing say vandals left a burned Quran at the front entrance of the mosque and scatted pages in the street nearby.

"The perpetrators of this unconscionable act of religious intimidation must be apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of state and federal law," CAIR-MI Executive Director Dawud Walid, said in a statement.

Torn pages of the Quran appeared to be smeared with feces, CAIR officials said.

A spokesman for the FBI could not immediately be reached for comment.

A Florida pastor's plan to burn a Quran on Saturday, the ninth anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, resulted in worldwide condemnation and protests. Pastor Terry Jones of Gainesville, Fla., later abandoned his plan.

From The Detroit News: http://www.detnews.com/article/20100912/METRO/9120311/1361/Burned-Quran-smeared-with-feces-found-at-East-Lansing-mosque#ixzz0zKXB6q00

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** H

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

**Ops update on sara shourd:**

**Per 0420 telcon with Embassy Bern CG Ed Birsner:**

[redacted]

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/12/2030**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) Netanyahu seeks loyalty oath to Jewish nation-state

---

**From:** Hsiang, Margaret E
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 06, 2010 5:57 PM
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Subject:** (Reuters) Netanyahu seeks loyalty oath to Jewish nation-state

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will push for legislation to require those wanting to become Israeli citizens to pledge loyalty to the "nation-state of the Jewish people." Under Israeli law, Jews wanting to immigrate to Israel are granted automatic citizenship and non-Jews have to take a loyalty oath to the "state of Israel".

The amendment would win favor with one of Netanyahu's key coalition partners, Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, who leads the right-wing Israel our Home party. Lieberman has advocated a loyalty oath to the Jewish state for all Israelis, including Arab citizens who make up some 20 percent of the population.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 3:27 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Chas Freeman's Speech in Oslo -- YOU SHOULD READ
**Attachments:** Chas Freeman Speech.docx; Chas Freeman Speech.docx

----- Original Message -----
From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sun Sep 12 15:20:15 2010
Subject: Chas Freeman's Speech in Oslo -- YOU SHOULD READ

Fmr. Amb. Chas Freeman, whom I know is on the outs w/ us but who nevertheless merits the respect of many of the smartest foreign policy analysts I know, gave the attached speech to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo on Sept 1, the day before you held the opening peace talks in DC. His speech has been widely circulated on the Internet since then, so you should at least skim it for that reason alone. It is long, and there are parts of it you will strongly disagree with, but I would still recommend reading it, above all now. But given your time constraints, in the attached document I have excerpted the parts I think are most valuable for us and added a few comments of my own and then included the speech as a whole. In particular, given your interest in Palestinian/Arab psychology and where I think you personally can make a mark that has eluded others, I would point you to the three excerpted graphs below.

"Arabic has two quite different words that are both translated as "negotiation," making a distinction that doesn't exist in either English or Hebrew. One word, "musaawama," refers to the no-holds-barred bargaining process that takes place in bazaars between strangers who may never see each other again and who therefore feel no obligation not to scam each other. Another, "mufaawadhat," describes the dignified formal discussions about matters of honor and high principle that take place on a basis of mutual respect and equality between statesmen who seek a continuing relationship.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's travel to Jerusalem was a grand act of statesmanship to initiate a process of mufaawadhat - relationship-building between leaders and their polities. So was the Arab peace initiative of 2002. It called for a response in kind. The
West muttered approvingly but did not act. After a while, Israel
responded with intermittent, somewhat oblique suggestions of willingness to haggle over terms. But an offer to bicker over the terms on which a grand gesture has been granted is, not surprisingly, seen as insultingly unresponsive.

I [this is Freeman talking] cite this not to suggest that non-Arabs should adopt Arabic canons of thought, but to make a point about diplomatic effectiveness. To move a negotiating partner in a desired direction, one must understand how that partner understands things and help him to see a way forward that will bring him to an end he has been persuaded to want. One of the reasons we can't seem to move things as we desire in the Middle East is that we don't make much effort to understand how others reason and how they rank their interests."

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## EXCERPTS FROM CHAS FREEMAN SPEECH WITH SOME NOTES FROM AMS (SPEECH IN ITS ENTIRELY FOLLOWS)

Peace is a pattern of stability acceptable to those with the capacity to disturb it by violence. It is almost impossible to impose. It cannot become a reality, still less be sustained, if those who must accept it are excluded from it. This reality directs our attention to who is not at this gathering in Washington and what must be done to remedy the problems these absences create.

Obviously, the party that won the democratically expressed mandate of the Palestinian people to represent them - Hamas - is not there. Yet there can be no peace without its buy-in. Egypt and Jordan have been invited as observers. Yet they have nothing to add to the separate peace agreements each long ago made with Israel. (Both these agreements were explicitly premised on grudging Israeli undertakings to accept Palestinian self-determination. The Jewish state quickly finessed both.)

Activists from the Jewish diaspora disproportionately staff the American delegation. A failure to reconcile either American Jews or the Palestine diaspora to peace would doom any accord. But the Palestinian diaspora will be represented in Washington only in tenuous theory, not in fact.

Other Arabs, including the Arab League and the author of its peace initiative, Saudi Arabia, will not be at the talks tomorrow. The reasons for this are both simple and complex. At one level they reflect both a conviction that this latest installment of the "peace process" is just another in a long series of public entertainments for the American electorate and also a lack of confidence in the authenticity of the Palestinian delegation. **At another level, they result from the way the United States has defined the problems to be solved and the indifference to Arab interests and views this definition evidences. Then too, they reflect disconnects in political culture and negotiating style between Israelis, Arabs, and Americans.**

**To begin with, neither Israel nor the conveners of this proposed new "peace process" have officially acknowledged or responded to the Arab peace initiative of 2002.** This offered normalization of relations with the Jewish state, should Israel make peace with the Palestinians. Instead, the United States and the Quartet have seemed to pocket the Arab offer, ignore its precondition that Israelis come to terms with Palestinians, and gone on to levy new demands.

**In this connection, making Arab recognition of Israel's "right to exist" the central purpose of the "peace process" offends Arabs on many levels. In framing the issue this way, Israel and the United States appear to be asking for something well beyond pragmatic accommodation of the reality of a Jewish state in the Middle East. To the Arabs, Americans now seem to be insisting on Arab endorsement of the idea of the state of Israel, the means by which that state was established, and the manner in which it has comported itself. Must Arabs really embrace Zionism before Israel can cease expansion and accept peace?**

**Arabs and Muslims familiar with European history can accept that European anti-Semitism justified the establishment of a homeland for traumatized European Jews. But asking them even implicitly to agree that the forcible eviction of Palestinian Arabs was a morally appropriate means to this end is both a nonstarter and seriously off-putting. So is asking them to affirm that resistance to such displacement was and is sinful.** Similarly, the Arabs see the demand that they recognize a Jewish state with no fixed borders as a clever attempt to extract their endorsement of Israel's unilateral expansion at Palestinian expense.

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**The lack of appeal in this approach has been compounded by a longstanding American habit of treating Arab concerns about Israel as a form of anti-Semitism and tuning them out. Instead of hearing out and addressing Arab views, U.S. peace processors have repeatedly focused on soliciting Arab acts of kindness toward Israel. They argue that gestures of acceptance can help Israelis overcome their Holocaust-inspired political neuroses and take risks for peace.**

Each time this notion of Arab diplomacy as psychotherapy for Israelis has been trotted out, it has been met with incredulity. To most in the region, it encapsulates the contrast between Washington's sympathy and solicitude for Israelis and its condescendingly exploitative view of Arabs. Some see it as a barely disguised appeal for a policy of appeasement of Israel. Still others suspect an attempt to construct a "peace process" in which Arabs begin to supply Israel with gifts of carrots so that Americans can continue to avoid applying sticks to it.

The effort to encourage Arab generosity as an offset to American political pusillanimity vis-à-vis Israel is ludicrously unpersuasive. It has failed so many times that it should be obvious that it will not work. Yet it was a central element of George Mitchell's mandate for "peace process" diplomacy. And it appears to have resurfaced as part of the proposed follow-up to tomorrow's meeting between the parties in Washington. It should be no puzzle why the Saudis and other Arabs could not be persuaded to join this gathering.

**As a last thought before turning to what must be done, let me make a quick comment on a relevant cultural factor. Arabic has two quite different words that are both translated as "negotiation," making a distinction that doesn't exist in either English or Hebrew. One word, "musaawama," refers to the no-holds-barred bargaining process that takes place in bazaars between strangers who may never see each other again and who therefore feel no obligation not to scam each other. Another, "mufaawadhat," describes the dignified formal discussions about matters of honor and high principle that**

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*********

This brings me to a few thoughts about the Western and Arab interests at stake in the Holy Land and their implications for what must be done.

In foreign affairs, interests are the measure of all things. My assumption is that Americans and Norwegians, indeed Europeans in general, share common interests that require peace in the Holy Land. To my mind, these interests include - but are, of course, not limited to - gaining security and acceptance for a democratic state of Israel; eliminating the gross injustices and daily humiliations that foster Arab terrorism against Israel and its foreign allies and supporters, as well as friendly Arab regimes; and reversing the global spread of religious strife and prejudice, including, very likely, a revival of anti-Semitism in the West if current trends are not arrested. None of these aspirations can be fulfilled without an end to the Israeli occupation and freedom for Palestinians.

Arab states, like Saudi Arabia, also have compelling reasons to want relief from occupation as well as self-determination for Palestinians. They may not be concerned to preserve Israel's democracy, as we are, but they share an urgent interest in ending the radicalization of their own populations, curbing the spread of Islamist terrorism, and eliminating the tensions with the West that the conflict in the Holy Land fuels. These are the concerns that have driven them to propose peace, as they very clearly did eight years ago. **For related reasons, Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has made inter-faith dialogue and the promotion of religious tolerance a main focus of his domestic and international policy.**

**As the custodian of two of Islam's three sacred places of pilgrimage - Mecca and Medina - Saudi Arabia has long transcended its own notorious religious narrow-mindedness to hold the holy places in its charge open to Muslims of all sects and persuasions. This experience, joined with Islamic piety, reinforces a Saudi insistence on the exemption of religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem from political interference or manipulation.** The Ottoman Turks were careful to ensure freedom of access for worship to adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths when they administered the city. It is an interest that Jews, Christians, and Muslims share.

**There is, in short, far greater congruity between Western and Arab interests affecting the Israel-Palestine dispute than is generally recognized. This can be the basis for creative diplomacy.** The fact that this has not occurred reflects pathologies of political life in the United States that paralyze the American diplomatic imagination. Tomorrow's meeting may well demonstrate that, the election of Barack Obama notwithstanding, the United States is still unfit to manage the achievement of peace between Israel and the Arabs. If so, it is in the American interest as well as everyone else's that others become the path-breakers, enlisting the United States as best they can in support of what they achieve, but not expecting America to overcome its incapacity to lead.

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Here, I think, there is a lesson to be drawn from the Norwegian experience in the 1990s. The Clinton Administration was happy to organize the public relations for

the Oslo accords but did not take ownership of them. It did little to protect them from subversion and overthrow, and nothing to insist on their implementation. Only a peace process that is protected from Israel's ability to manipulate American politics can succeed.

This brings me to how **Europeans and Arabs might work together to realize the objectives both share with most Americans: establishing internationally recognized borders for Israel, securing freedom for the Palestinians, and ending the stimulus to terrorism in the region and beyond it that strife in the Holy Land entails.** I have only four suggestions to present today. I expect that more ideas will emerge from the discussion period. A serious effort to cooperate with the Arabs of the sort that Norway is uniquely capable of contriving could lead to the development of still more options for joint or parallel action on behalf of peace.

Now to my suggestions, presented in ascending order of difficulty, from the least to the most controversial.

First, get behind the Arab peace initiative. Saudi Arab culture frowns on self-promotion and the Kingdom is less gifted than most at public diplomacy. Political factors inhibit official Arab access to the Israeli press. The Israeli media have published some - mostly dismissive - commentary on the Arab peace initiative but left most Israelis ignorant of its contents and unfamiliar with its text. Why not buy space in the Israeli media to give Israelis a chance to read the Arab League declaration and consider the opportunities it presents? I suspect the Saudis, as well as other members of the Arab League, would consider it constructive for an outside party to do this. It might facilitate other sorts of cooperation with them in which European capabilities can also compensate for Arab reticence. The Turks and other non-Arab Muslims should be brought in as full participants in any such efforts. This wouldn't be bad for Europe's relations with both. By the way, given the U.S. media's notorious one-sidedness and American ignorance about the Arab peace plan, a well-targeted advertising campaign in the United States might not be a bad idea either.

Second, help create a Palestinian partner for peace. There can be no peace with Israel unless there are officials who are empowered by the Palestinian people to negotiate and ratify it. Israel has worked hard to divide the Palestinians so as to consolidate its conquest of their homeland. Saudi Arabia has several times sought to create a Palestinian peace partner for Israel by bringing Fatah, Hamas, and other factions together. On each occasion, Israel, with U.S. support, has acted to preclude this. Active organization of non-American Western support for diplomacy aimed at restoring a unity government to the Palestinian Authority could make a big difference.

The Obama Administration would be under strong domestic political pressure to join Israel in blocking a joint European-Arab effort to accomplish this. Under some circumstances, however, it might welcome being put to this test.

Third, reaffirm and enforce international law. The UN Security Council is charged with enforcing the rule of law internationally. In the case of the Middle East, however, the Council's position at the apex of the international system has served to erode and subvert the ideal of a rule-bound international order. Almost forty American vetoes have prevented the application to the Israeli occupying authorities of the Geneva Conventions, the Nuremberg precedents, human rights conventions, and relevant Security Council directives. American diplomacy on behalf of the Jewish state has silenced the collective voice of the international community as Israel has illegally colonized and annexed broad swaths of occupied territory, administered collective punishment to a captive people, assassinated their political leaders, massacred civilians, barred UN investigators, defied mandatory Security Council resolutions, and otherwise engaged in scofflaw behavior, usually with only the flimsiest of legally irrelevant excuses.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772410 Date: 08/31/2015

# America's Faltering Search for Peace in the Middle East: Openings for Others?

Remarks to staff of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
and, separately, to members of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.)
1 September 2010, Oslo, Norway

You have asked me to speak to current American policies in the Middle East, with an emphasis on the prospects for peace in the Holy Land. You have further suggested that I touch on the relationship of the Gulf Arabs, especially Saudi Arabia, to this. It is both an honor and a challenge to address this subject in this capital / at this ministry.

The declaration of principles worked out in Oslo seventeen years ago was the last direct negotiation between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs to reach consequential, positive results. The Oslo accords were a real step toward peace, not another deceptive pseudo-event in an endlessly unproductive, so-called "peace process." And if that one step forward in Oslo in 1993 was followed by several steps backwards, there is a great deal to be learned from how and why that happened.

There can be no doubt about the importance of today's topic. The ongoing conflict in the Holy Land increasingly disturbs the world's conscience as well as its tranquility. The Israel-Palestine issue began as a struggle in the context of European colonialism. In the post-colonial era, tension between Israelis and the Palestinians they dispossessed became, by degrees, the principal source of radicalization and instability in the Arab East and then the Arab world as a whole. It stimulated escalating terrorism against Israelis at home and their allies abroad. Since the end of the Cold War, the interaction between Israel and its captive Palestinian population has emerged as the fountainhead of global strife. It is increasingly difficult to distinguish this strife from a war of religions or a conflict of civilizations.

For better or ill, my own country, the United States has played and continues to play the key international part in this contest. American policies, more than those of any other external actor, have the capacity to stoke or stifle the hatreds in the Middle East and to spread or reverse their infection of the wider world. American policies and actions in the Middle East thus affect much more than that region.



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Yet, as I will argue, the United States has been obsessed with process rather than substance. It has failed to involve parties who are essential to peace. It has acted on Israel's behalf to preempt rather than enlist international and regional support for peace. It has defined the issues in ways that preclude rather than promote progress. Its concept of a "peace process" has therefore become the handmaiden of Israeli expansionism rather than a driver for peace. There are alternatives to tomorrow's diplomatic peace pageant on the Potomac. And, as Norway has shown, there is a role for powers other than America in crafting peace in the Holy Land.

Over thirty years ago, at Camp David, Jimmy Carter pushed Israel through the door to peace that Egypt's Anwar Sadat had opened. Twenty years ago, the first Bush administration pressed Israel to the negotiating table with Palestinian leaders, setting the stage for their clandestine meetings in Oslo. The capacity of the United States to rally other governments behind a cause that it espouses may have atrophied, but American power remains far greater than that of any other nation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Middle East.

For more than four decades, Israel has been able to rely on aid from the United States to dominate its region militarily and to sustain its economic prosperity. It has counted on its leverage in American politics to block the application of international law and to protect itself from the political repercussions of its policies and actions. Unquestioning American support has enabled Israel to put the seizure of ever more land ahead of the achievement of a modus vivendi with the Palestinians or other Arabs. Neither violent resistance from the dispossessed nor objections from abroad have brought successive Israeli governments to question, let alone alter the priority they assign to land over peace.

Ironically, Palestinians too have developed a dependency relationship with America. This has locked them into a political framework over which Israel exercises decisive influence. They have been powerless to end occupation, pogroms, ethnic cleansing, and other humiliations by Jewish soldiers and settlers. Nor have they been able to prevent their progressive confinement in checkpoint-encircled ghettos on the West Bank and the great open-air prison of Gaza.

Despite this appalling record of failure, the American monopoly on the management of the search for peace in Palestine remains unchallenged. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia - once a contender for countervailing influence in the region - has lapsed into impotence. The former colonial powers of the European Union, having earlier laid the basis for conflict in the region, have largely sat on their hands while ringing them, content to let America take the lead. China, India, and other Asian powers have prudently kept their political and military distance. In the region

itself, Iran has postured and exploited the Palestinian cause without doing anything to advance it. Until recently, Turkey remained aloof.

On rare occasions, as in the case of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the Arabs have backed their verbal opposition to Israel with action. Egypt and Jordan have settled into an unpopular coexistence with Israel that is now sustained only by U.S. subventions. Saudi Arabia has twice taken the initiative to offer Israel diplomatic concessions if it were to conclude arrangements for peaceful coexistence with the Palestinians. But, overall, Arab governments have earned the contempt of the Palestinians and their own people for their lack of serious engagement. For the most part, Arab leaders have timorously demanded that America solve the Israel-Palestine problem for them, while obsequiously courting American protection against Israel, each other, Iran, and - in some cases - their own increasingly frustrated and angry subjects and citizens.

Islam charges rulers with the duty to defend the faithful and to uphold justice. It demands that they embody righteousness. The resentment of mostly Muslim Arabs at their governing elites' failure to meet these standards generates sympathy for terrorism directed not just at Israel but at both the United States and Arab governments associated with it.

The perpetrators of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the United States saw it in part as reprisal for American complicity in Israeli cruelties to Palestinians and other Arabs. They justified it as a strike against Washington's protection of Arab governments willing to overlook American contributions to Muslim suffering. Washington's response to the attack included suspending its efforts to make peace in the Holy Land as well as invading and occupying Afghanistan and Iraq. All three actions inadvertently strengthened the terrorist case for further attacks on America and its allies. The armed struggle between Americans and Muslim radicals has already spilled over to Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, and other countries. Authoritative voices in Israel now call for adding Iran to the list of countries at war with America. They are echoed by Zionist and neo-conservative spokesmen in the United States,

The widening involvement of Americans in combat in Muslim lands has inflamed anti-American passions and catalyzed a metastasis of terrorism. It has caused a growing majority of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims to see the United States as a menace to their faith, their way of life, their homelands, and their personal security. American populists and European xenophobes have meanwhile undercut liberal and centrist Muslim arguments against the intolerance that empowers terrorism by equating terrorism and its extremist advocates with Islam and its followers. The

current outburst of bigoted demagoguery over the construction of an Islamic cultural center and mosque in New York is merely the most recent illustration of this. It suggests that the blatant racism and Islamophobia of contemporary Israeli politics is contagious. It rules out the global alliances against religious extremists that are essential to encompass their political defeat.

President Obama's inability to break this pattern must be an enormous personal disappointment to him. He came into office committed to crafting a new relationship with the Arab and Muslim worlds. His first interview with the international media was with Arab satellite television. He reached out publicly and privately to Iran. He addressed the Turkish parliament with persuasive empathy. He traveled to a great center of Islamic learning in Cairo to deliver a remarkably eloquent message of conciliation to Muslims everywhere. He made it clear that he understood the centrality of injustices in the Holy Land to Muslim estrangement from the West. He promised a responsible withdrawal from Iraq and a judicious recrafting of strategy in Afghanistan. Few doubt Mr. Obama's sincerity. Yet none of his initiatives has led to policy change anyone can detect, let alone believe in.

It is not for me to analyze or explain the wide gaps between rhetoric and achievement in the Obama Administration's stewardship of so many aspects of my country's affairs. American voters will render their first formal verdict on this two months from tomorrow, on the 2nd of November. The situation in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and adjacent areas is only part of what they will consider as they do so. But I do think it worthwhile briefly to examine some of the changes in the situation that ensure that many policies that once helped us to get by in the Middle East will no longer do this.

Let me begin with the "peace process," a hardy perennial of America's diplomatic repertoire that the Obama Administration will put back on public display tomorrow. In the Cold War, the appearance of an earnest and "even-handed" American search for peace in the Holy Land was the price of U.S. access and influence in the Middle East. It provided political cover for conservative Arab governments to set aside their anger at American backing of Israel so as to stand with America and the Western bloc against Soviet Communism. It kept American relations with Israel and the Arabs from becoming a zero-sum game. It mobilized domestic Jewish support for incumbent presidents. Of course, there hasn't been an American-led "peace process" in the Middle East for at least a decade. Still the conceit of a "peace process" became an essential political convenience for all concerned. No one could bear to admit that the "peace process" had expired. It therefore lived on in phantom form.

Even when there was no "peace process," the possibility of resurrecting one provided hope to the gullible, cover to the guileful, beguilement for the press, an excuse for doing nothing to those gaining from the status quo, and - last but far from least - lifetime employment for career "peace processors." The perpetual processing of peace without the requirement to produce it has been especially appreciated by Israeli leaders. It has enabled them to behave like magicians, riveting foreign attention on meaningless distractions as they systematically removed Palestinians from their homes, settled half a million or more Jews in newly vacated areas of the occupied territories, and annexed a widening swath of land to a Jerusalem they insist belongs only to Israel.

Palestinian leaders with legitimacy problems have also had reason to collaborate in the search for a "peace process." It's not just that there has been no obviously better way to end their people's suffering. Playing "peace process" charades justifies the international patronage and Israeli backing these leaders need to retain their status in the occupied territories. It ensures that they have media access and high-level visiting rights in Washington. Meanwhile, for American leaders, engagement in some sort of Middle East "peace process" has been essential to credibility in the Arab and Islamic worlds, as well as with the ever-generous American Jewish community. Polls show that most American Jews are impatient for peace. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, they are eager to believe in the willingness of the government of Israel to trade land for it.

Previous "peace processes" have exploited all these impulses. In practice, however, these diplomatic distractions have served to obscure Israeli actions and evasions that were more often prejudicial to peace than helpful in achieving it. Behind all the blather, the rumble of bulldozers has never stopped. Given this history, it has taken a year and a half of relentless effort by U.S. Special Envoy George Mitchell to persuade the parties even to meet directly to talk about talks as they first did here in Oslo, seventeen years ago. When the curtain goes up on the diplomatic show in Washington tomorrow, will the players put on a different skit? There are many reasons to doubt that they will.

One is that the Obama administration has engaged the same aging impresarios who staged all the previously failed "peace processes" to produce and direct this one with no agreed script. The last time these guys staged such an ill-prepared meeting, at Camp David in 2000, it cost both heads of delegation, Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat, their political authority. It led not to peace but to escalating violence. The parties are showing up this time to minimize President Obama's political embarrassment in advance of midterm elections in the United States, not to address his agenda - still less to address each other's agendas. These are indeed difficulties. But the problems with

this latest - and possibly final - iteration of the perpetually ineffectual "peace process" are more fundamental.

The Likud Party charter flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan River and stipulates that: "The Palestinians can run their lives freely in the framework of self-rule, but not as an independent and sovereign state." This Israeli government is committed to that charter as well as to the Jewish holy war for land in Palestine. It has no interest in trading land it covets for a peace that might thwart further territorial expansion. It considers itself unbound by the applicable UN resolutions, agreements from past peace talks, the "Roadmap," or the premise of the "two-state solution."

The Palestinians are desperate for the dignity and security that only the end of the Israeli occupation can provide. But the authority of Palestinian negotiators to negotiate rests on their recognition by Israel and the United States, not on their standing in the occupied territories, Gaza, or the Palestinian diaspora. Fatah is the ruling faction in part of Palestine. Its authority to govern was repudiated by voters in the last Palestinian elections. The Mahmoud Abbas administration retains power by grace of the Israeli occupation authorities and the United States, which prefer it to the government empowered by the Palestinian people at the polls. Mr. Abbas's constitutional term of office has long since expired. He presides over a parliament whose most influential members are locked up in Israeli jails. It is not clear for whom he, his faction, or his administration can now speak.

So the talks that begin tomorrow promise to be a case of the uninterested going through the motions of negotiating with the mandate-less. The parties to these talks seek to mollify an America that has severely lessened international credibility. The United States government had to borrow the modest reputations for objectivity of others - the EU, Russia, and the UN - to be able to convene this discussion. It will be held under the auspices of an American president who was publicly humiliated by Israel's prime minister on the issue that is at the center of the Israel-Palestine dispute - Israel's continuing seizure and colonization of Arab land.

Vague promises of a Palestinian state within a year now waft through the air. But the "peace process" has always sneered at deadlines, even much, much firmer ones. A more definitive promise of an independent Palestine within a year was made at Annapolis three years ago. Analogous promises of Palestinian self-determination have preceded or resulted from previous meetings over the decades, beginning with the Camp David accords of 1979. Many in this audience will recall the five-year deadline fixed at Oslo. The talks about talks that begin tomorrow can yield concrete results only if the international community is prepared this time to insist on the one-

year deadline put forward for recognizing a Palestinian state. Even then there will be no peace unless long-neglected issues are addressed.

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Obviously, the party that won the democratically expressed mandate of the Palestinian people to represent them - Hamas - is not there. Yet there can be no peace without its buy-in. Egypt and Jordan have been invited as observers. Yet they have nothing to add to the separate peace agreements each long ago made with Israel. (Both these agreements were explicitly premised on grudging Israeli undertakings to accept Palestinian self-determination. The Jewish state quickly finessed both.) Activists from the Jewish diaspora disproportionately staff the American delegation. A failure to reconcile either American Jews or the Palestine diaspora to peace would doom any accord. But the Palestinian diaspora will be represented in Washington only in tenuous theory, not in fact.

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To begin with, neither Israel nor the conveners of this proposed new "peace process" have officially acknowledged or responded to the Arab peace initiative of 2002. This offered normalization of relations with the Jewish state, should Israel make peace with the Palestinians. Instead, the United States and the Quartet have seemed to pocket the Arab offer, ignore its precondition that Israelis come to terms with Palestinians, and gone on to levy new demands.

In this connection, making Arab recognition of Israel's "right to exist" the central purpose of the "peace process" offends Arabs on many levels. In framing the issue this way, Israel and the United States appear to be asking for something well beyond pragmatic accommodation of the reality of a Jewish state in the Middle East.

To the Arabs, Americans now seem to be insisting on Arab endorsement of the idea of the state of Israel, the means by which that state was established, and the manner in which it has comported itself. Must Arabs really embrace Zionism before Israel can cease expansion and accept peace?

Arabs and Muslims familiar with European history can accept that European anti-Semitism justified the establishment of a homeland for traumatized European Jews. But asking them even implicitly to agree that the forcible eviction of Palestinian Arabs was a morally appropriate means to this end is both a nonstarter and seriously off-putting. So is asking them to affirm that resistance to such displacement was and is sinful. Similarly, the Arabs see the demand that they recognize a Jewish state with no fixed borders as a clever attempt to extract their endorsement of Israel's unilateral expansion at Palestinian expense.

The lack of appeal in this approach has been compounded by a longstanding American habit of treating Arab concerns about Israel as a form of anti-Semitism and tuning them out. Instead of hearing out and addressing Arab views, U.S. peace processors have repeatedly focused on soliciting Arab acts of kindness toward Israel. They argue that gestures of acceptance can help Israelis overcome their Holocaust-inspired political neuroses and take risks for peace.

Each time this notion of Arab diplomacy as psychotherapy for Israelis has been trotted out, it has been met with incredulity. To most in the region, it encapsulates the contrast between Washington's sympathy and solicitude for Israelis and its condescendingly exploitative view of Arabs. Some see it as a barely disguised appeal for a policy of appeasement of Israel. Still others suspect an attempt to construct a "peace process" in which Arabs begin to supply Israel with gifts of carrots so that Americans can continue to avoid applying sticks to it.

The effort to encourage Arab generosity as an offset to American political pusillanimity vis-à-vis Israel is ludicrously unpersuasive. It has failed so many times that it should be obvious that it will not work. Yet it was a central element of George Mitchell's mandate for "peace process" diplomacy. And it appears to have resurfaced as part of the proposed follow-up to tomorrow's meeting between the parties in Washington. It should be no puzzle why the Saudis and other Arabs could not be persuaded to join this gathering.

As a last thought before turning to what must be done, let me make a quick comment on a relevant cultural factor. Arabic has two quite different words that are both translated as "negotiation," making a distinction that doesn't exist in either English or Hebrew. One word, "musaawama," refers to the no-holds-barred

bargaining process that takes place in bazaars between strangers who may never see each other again and who therefore feel no obligation not to scam each other. Another, "mufaawadhat," describes the dignified formal discussions about matters of honor and high principle that take place on a basis of mutual respect and equality between statesmen who seek a continuing relationship.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's travel to Jerusalem was a grand act of statesmanship to initiate a process of mufaawadhat - relationship-building between leaders and their polities. So was the Arab peace initiative of 2002. It called for a response in kind. The West muttered approvingly but did not act. After a while, Israel responded with intermittent, somewhat oblique suggestions of willingness to haggle over terms. But an offer to bicker over the terms on which a grand gesture has been granted is, not surprisingly, seen as insultingly unresponsive.

I cite this not to suggest that non-Arabs should adopt Arabic canons of thought, but to make a point about diplomatic effectiveness. To move a negotiating partner in a desired direction, one must understand how that partner understands things and help him to see a way forward that will bring him to an end he has been persuaded to want. One of the reasons we can't seem to move things as we desire in the Middle East is that we don't make much effort to understand how others reason and how they rank their interests. In the case of the Israel-Palestine conundrum, we Americans are long on empathy and expertise about Israel and very, very short on these for the various Arab parties. The essential militarism of U.S. policies in the Middle East adds to our difficulties. We have become skilled at killing Arabs. We have forgotten how to listen to them or persuade them.

I am not myself an "Arabist," but I am old enough to remember when there were more than a few such people in the American diplomatic service. These were officers who had devoted themselves to the cultivation of understanding and empathy with Arab leaders so as to be able to convince these leaders that it was in their own interest to do things we saw as in our interest. If we still have such people, we are hiding them well; we are certainly not applying their skills in our Middle East diplomacy.

This brings me to a few thoughts about the Western and Arab interests at stake in the Holy Land and their implications for what must be done.

In foreign affairs, interests are the measure of all things. My assumption is that Americans and Norwegians, indeed Europeans in general, share common interests that require peace in the Holy Land. To my mind, these interests include - but are, of course, not limited to - gaining security and acceptance for a democratic state of

Israel; eliminating the gross injustices and daily humiliations that foster Arab terrorism against Israel and its foreign allies and supporters, as well as friendly Arab regimes; and reversing the global spread of religious strife and prejudice, including, very likely, a revival of anti-Semitism in the West if current trends are not arrested. None of these aspirations can be fulfilled without an end to the Israeli occupation and freedom for Palestinians.

Arab states, like Saudi Arabia, also have compelling reasons to want relief from occupation as well as self-determination for Palestinians. They may not be concerned to preserve Israel's democracy, as we are, but they share an urgent interest in ending the radicalization of their own populations, curbing the spread of Islamist terrorism, and eliminating the tensions with the West that the conflict in the Holy Land fuels. These are the concerns that have driven them to propose peace, as they very clearly did eight years ago. For related reasons, Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has made inter-faith dialogue and the promotion of religious tolerance a main focus of his domestic and international policy.

As the custodian of two of Islam's three sacred places of pilgrimage - Mecca and Medina - Saudi Arabia has long transcended its own notorious religious narrow-mindedness to hold the holy places in its charge open to Muslims of all sects and persuasions. This experience, joined with Islamic piety, reinforces a Saudi insistence on the exemption of religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem from political interference or manipulation. The Ottoman Turks were careful to ensure freedom of access for worship to adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths when they administered the city. It is an interest that Jews, Christians, and Muslims share.

There is, in short, far greater congruity between Western and Arab interests affecting the Israel-Palestine dispute than is generally recognized. This can be the basis for creative diplomacy. The fact that this has not occurred reflects pathologies of political life in the United States that paralyze the American diplomatic imagination. Tomorrow's meeting may well demonstrate that, the election of Barack Obama notwithstanding, the United States is still unfit to manage the achievement of peace between Israel and the Arabs. If so, it is in the American interest as well as everyone else's that others become the path-breakers, enlisting the United States as best they can in support of what they achieve, but not expecting America to overcome its incapacity to lead.

Here, I think, there is a lesson to be drawn from the Norwegian experience in the 1990s. The Clinton Administration was happy to organize the public relations for the Oslo accords but did not take ownership of them. It did little to protect them from subversion and overthrow, and nothing to insist on their implementation. Only

a peace process that is protected from Israel's ability to manipulate American politics can succeed.

This brings me to how Europeans and Arabs might work together to realize the objectives both share with most Americans: establishing internationally recognized borders for Israel, securing freedom for the Palestinians, and ending the stimulus to terrorism in the region and beyond it that strife in the Holy Land entails. I have only four suggestions to present today. I expect that more ideas will emerge from the discussion period. A serious effort to cooperate with the Arabs of the sort that Norway is uniquely capable of contriving could lead to the development of still more options for joint or parallel action on behalf of peace.

Now to my suggestions, presented in ascending order of difficulty, from the least to the most controversial.

First, get behind the Arab peace initiative. Saudi Arab culture frowns on self-promotion and the Kingdom is less gifted than most at public diplomacy. Political factors inhibit official Arab access to the Israeli press. The Israeli media have published some - mostly dismissive - commentary on the Arab peace initiative but left most Israelis ignorant of its contents and unfamiliar with its text. Why not buy space in the Israeli media to give Israelis a chance to read the Arab League declaration and consider the opportunities it presents? I suspect the Saudis, as well as other members of the Arab League, would consider it constructive for an outside party to do this. It might facilitate other sorts of cooperation with them in which European capabilities can also compensate for Arab reticence. The Turks and other non-Arab Muslims should be brought in as full participants in any such efforts. This wouldn't be bad for Europe's relations with both. By the way, given the U.S. media's notorious one-sidedness and American ignorance about the Arab peace plan, a well-targeted advertising campaign in the United States might not be a bad idea either.

Second, help create a Palestinian partner for peace. There can be no peace with Israel unless there are officials who are empowered by the Palestinian people to negotiate and ratify it. Israel has worked hard to divide the Palestinians so as to consolidate its conquest of their homeland. Saudi Arabia has several times sought to create a Palestinian peace partner for Israel by bringing Fatah, Hamas, and other factions together. On each occasion, Israel, with U.S. support, has acted to preclude this. Active organization of non-American Western support for diplomacy aimed at restoring a unity government to the Palestinian Authority could make a big difference. The Obama Administration would be under strong domestic political pressure to join Israel in blocking a joint European-Arab effort to accomplish this. Under some circumstances, however, it might welcome being put to this test.

Third, reaffirm and enforce international law. The UN Security Council is charged with enforcing the rule of law internationally. In the case of the Middle East, however, the Council's position at the apex of the international system has served to erode and subvert the ideal of a rule-bound international order. Almost forty American vetoes have prevented the application to the Israeli occupying authorities of the Geneva Conventions, the Nuremberg precedents, human rights conventions, and relevant Security Council directives. American diplomacy on behalf of the Jewish state has silenced the collective voice of the international community as Israel has illegally colonized and annexed broad swaths of occupied territory, administered collective punishment to a captive people, assassinated their political leaders, massacred civilians, barred UN investigators, defied mandatory Security Council resolutions, and otherwise engaged in scofflaw behavior, usually with only the flimsiest of legally irrelevant excuses.

If ethnic cleansing, settlement activity, and the like are not just "unhelpful" but illegal, the international community should find a way to say so, even if the UN Security Council cannot. Otherwise, the most valuable legacy of Atlantic civilization - its vision of the rule of law - will be lost. When one side to a dispute is routinely exempted from principles, all exempt themselves, and the law of the jungle prevails. The international community needs collectively to affirm that Israel, both as occupier and as regional military hegemon, is legally accountable internationally for its actions. If the UN General Assembly cannot "unite for peace" to do what an incapacitated Security Council cannot, member states should not shrink from working in conference outside the UN framework. All sides in the murder and mayhem in the Holy Land and beyond need to understand that they are not above the law. If this message is firmly delivered and enforced, there will be a better chance for peace.

Fourth, set a deadline linked to an ultimatum. Accept that the United States will frustrate any attempt by the UN Security Council to address the continuing impasse between Israel and the Palestinians. Organize a global conference outside the UN system to coordinate a decision to inform the parties to the dispute that if they cannot reach agreement in a year, one of two solutions will be imposed. Schedule a follow-up conference for a year later. The second conference would consider whether to recommend universal recognition of a Palestinian state in the area beyond Israel's 1967 borders or recognition of Israel's achievement of de jure as well as de facto sovereignty throughout Palestine (requiring Israel to grant all governed by it citizenship and equal rights at pain of international sanctions, boycott, and disinvestment). Either formula would force the parties to make a serious effort to strike a deal or to face the consequences of their recalcitrance. Either formula could be implemented directly by the states members of the international community.

Admittedly, any serious deadline would provoke a political crisis in Israel and lead to diplomatic confrontation with the United States as well as Israel, despite the Obama Administration itself having proclaimed a one-year deadline in order to entice the Palestinians to tomorrow's talks. Yet both Israel and the United States would benefit immensely from peace with the Palestinians.

Time is running out. The two-state solution may already have been overtaken by Israeli land grabs and settlement activity. Another cycle of violence is likely in the offing. If so, it will not be local or regional, but global in its reach. Israel's actions are delegitimizing and isolating it even as they multiply the numbers of those in the region and beyond who are determined to destroy it. Palestinian suffering is a reproach to all humanity that posturing alone cannot begin to alleviate. It has become a cancer on the Islamic body politic. It is infecting every extremity of the globe with the rage against injustice that incites terrorism.

It is time to try new approaches. That is why the question of whether there is a basis for expanded diplomatic cooperation between Europeans and Arabs is such a timely one. And it is why I was pleased as well as honored to have been asked to set the stage for a discussion of this issue.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 6:58 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Schwerin, Daniel B
**Subject:** Your speech on the Mideast

Madame Secretary,
On Wednesday, you're scheduled to give a 15-minute talk at a gala hosted by the American Task Force on Palestine, a moderate, pro-peace Palestinian-American organization. Here's a quick overview of our plans for the speech, which we developed with NEA. Please let us know if you have any reactions.

B5

The audience in the room will include Palestinian-Americans who are influential in their communities: lawyers, doctors, business leaders, etc. Of course, a much larger audience beyond the room will read this speech as well. This is your first opportunity to address this issue in a serious way since the end of the moratorium.

Key points:

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Israel flights

Flight from JFK leaves 725pm tonight and gets in at 1215pm tomorrow.

I told Hale Blair was thinking of [redacted] B5

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 9:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Assad says peace chances with Israel up in the air

**From**: Hsiang, Margaret E
**To**: NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Wed Oct 06 20:19:50 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Assad says peace chances with Israel up in the air

DAMASCUS (Reuters) - Western efforts to renew peace talks between Syria and Israel are focusing on finding common ground, but nothing has crystallized yet and the chances of success are unknown, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad said. In his first public assessment of U.S. and French moves to relaunch the talks, Assad told Turkey's TRT television that envoys from the two countries are trying to accommodate Syria's demands for the return of the Golan Heights and Israel's security objectives.

Assad said that if the talks were to resume they would be initially indirect, similar to the last four rounds that were mediated by Turkey and broke off in 2008 without a deal.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Monday, September 13, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** H; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Moratorium

Copy that - will do.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan B6
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Moratorium
Sent: Sep 13, 2010 7:34 AM

Can you ask SEMP/NEA to put together a chronology of the path to the morarat last year--especially all that we did? Maybe one already exists but I need as much detail as possible. If we can get an outline, Jeff and Dan (who both seem to have vivid memories) can add to it. Thx.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 10:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You were great today

And your answer to the question about your proudest achievement made all the work on the qddr worth it!
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 17, 2010 8:07 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Changing the subject B5
**Attachments:** 10.17.10.docx; 10.17.10.docx

Attached is a strategy memo --

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 6, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Israeli Labor party expects new settlement freeze as payoff for loyalty oath

B5

**From:** Hsiang, Margaret E
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Wed Oct 06 22:53:57 2010
**Subject:** (Haaretz) Israeli Labor party expects new settlement freeze as payoff for loyalty oath

(Hareetz) Labor party ministers angered by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's snap decision to back a controversial citizenship loyalty oath said late October 6 that they expected a new freeze in settlement building as a payoff. Netanyahu neglected to inform his Labor coalition partners that he had approved a right-wing minister's draft of a new oath that would require anyone taking Israeli citizenship to swear allegiance to Israel as a "Jewish and democratic state."

The move paves the way for a vote in the Knesset and was hailed as victory by ultra-nationalist Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman's Israel our Home party, Netanyahu's major coalition partner. But the prime minister must perform a balancing act. Allies at both ends of the political spectrum and the Labor party hope that his latest concession is a sop to right-wingers ahead of a decision to renew a ban on settlement building in the West Bank – a key demand of the left.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 6:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia to pay Iran $800 million for scrapped S-300 deal

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**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Iran; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-EB; Einhorn, Robert J
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Oct 07 05:50:06 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Russia to pay Iran $800 million for scrapped S-300 deal

NICOSIA (Reuters) - Russia plans to pay Iran about $800 million to compensate for its failure to deliver S-300 missile systems, the head of state-controlled conglomerate Russian Technologies Sergei Chemezov said. Russian President Medvedev outlawed the delivery of the high-precision missiles to Iran last month, saying that sending them would violate sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council in June.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

"Judith Kieffer"

To

01/08/2010 08:46 AM

cc

Subject Update

Heidi reports from the hospital this morning that Mickey had a quiet night.

B6

Judith Kieffer
Executive Director
Los Angeles Parks Foundation
11973 San Vicente Blvd.
Suite 200
Los Angeles, CA 90049
Office: 310-472-1990
FAX: 310-472-0992
Mobile:

B6
B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 6:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Israeli Labor party expects new settlement freeze as payoff for loyalty oath

**From:** Hsiang, Margaret E
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Wed Oct 06 22:53:57 2010
**Subject:** (Haaretz) Israeli Labor party expects new settlement freeze as payoff for loyalty oath

(Hareetz) Labor party ministers angered by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's snap decision to back a controversial citizenship loyalty oath said late October 6 that they expected a new freeze in settlement building as a payoff. Netanyahu neglected to inform his Labor coalition partners that he had approved a right-wing minister's draft of a new oath that would require anyone taking Israeli citizenship to swear allegiance to Israel as a "Jewish and democratic state."

The move paves the way for a vote in the Knesset and was hailed as victory by ultra-nationalist Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman's Israel our Home party, Netanyahu's major coalition partner. But the prime minister must perform a balancing act. Allies at both ends of the political spectrum and the Labor party hope that his latest concession is a sop to right-wingers ahead of a decision to renew a ban on settlement building in the West Bank – a key demand of the left.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 11:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Three embassies in Israel receive suspicious letters

**From**: Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Tue Sep 14 11:11:29 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Three embassies in Israel receive suspicious letters

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israeli police said envelopes containing a suspicious white powder have been discovered at the American, Spanish and Swedish embassies in Tel Aviv. Police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said workers at the three embassies alerted police after opening the envelopes September 14. Rosenfeld said it is still unclear what the substance is though police said the substance was not poisonous since no one was hurt. Police are trying to find who sent the envelopes and determine whether the incidents were connected.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 11:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Here's Iran hiker statement

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tue Sep 14 11:56:36 2010
Subject: Here's Iran hiker statement

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Release of Sarah Shourd

I welcome Sarah Shourd's release from detention in Iran, and am pleased that she will soon be reunited with her family. I appreciate the efforts of all those who have worked for her release, in particular the Swiss Protecting Power in Tehran, the Omani Government, and the many other world leaders who have raised this case and the cases of other detained or missing American citizens. Sarah's fiancé Shane Bauer, Joshua Fattal, and other U.S. citizens remain detained or missing in Iran. We urge Iranian authorities to extend the same consideration to them by resolving their cases without delay and allowing them to immediately return to their families.

###

Drafted by: NEA/IR: M Schwedt
NEA/PPD: A Sayles, x74184
Approved by:D(S): J Steinberg
NEA/FO: P Dibbleok

Cleared by:NEA/IR: J Hoodok
NEA/IR: S Hornerok
NEA/PPD: E Vasquezok
CA: J Echardok
P: E Catalano ok
D(S): D Schrepelok
S/P: J Burnsok
NSC: K Magsamenok
PA: D Schwerin ok
PA: P Reines ok
S: J Sullivan ok

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Wen

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/22/2025

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 10:09 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ann

Agreed--Maura is so smart!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 22:03:37 2010
Subject: FW: Ann

FYI

From: Pally, Maura M
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 1:36 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Ann

is so wonderful. Brilliant pick. Every time I meet with her I like her more and more and she is really the right pick for ECA. She brings so much to the table that we need. Everyone here is so pleased with the selection and the fact that R is equally pleased is even better –that we can both think she is "ours" is a testament to Ann. It may have taken a long time but it will be well worth the wait. She can take ECA in a new direction. And if she has the help of Joe Macmanus she can do it even quicker and better (I can't pass up a good plug opportunity!).

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 2:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** RE:

Will do.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 14, 2010 2:31 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw:

Pls check w Tamera to see if we can do dinner the 30th at her choice.

----- Original Message -----
From: Tamera Luzzatto [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 12 08:30:17 2010
Subject: Re:

Hooray. 30th looks great (have to go to Edie's on the 29th for Gillibrand, but I can meet you after if that's better).

My other updates are:

With Gina, I'm hosting one of several dinner parties to welcome the new SEIU prez (yes a bit of an unstated message) to women leaders. I think Wendy S and Judy L are doing the others. It's another of Gina's great ideas.

And we're holding a fundraiser for Bennet on the 27th that is looking really good. [redacted]

[redacted]

Finally, I did a brief intv with a Center for Public Service rep for their regular feature in the Post abt compelling leaders in the federal govnt. And this one will be about Kate Beale!
Oh, and after confirming to do so with PIR, did a quickie recalling the thoroughly positive vibes and experiences of you and Laura Bush to our pal at Politico!!

Finally, finally, and hope I didn't say this already, I started yesterday am sending an anniversary greeting and ode to Team 9-11 Clinton to everyone there when we waited for you to come in (for the Mrs. Bush testimony coincidentally)

and watched the 2nd plane, and of course the rest was our amazing journey together of work to be so proud of. I even included Ramon on the chain!!! [redacted] Impossible it now seems.

Done blabbing. Have a restful Sunday. Everyone, and I mean everyone despite what I recall about some, is singing your praises.

Xox
-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 12 Sep 2010 08:02:45
To: 'Luzzatto [redacted]
Subject: Re:

I'm all updated now! So, I will offer up some dates and you will pick the place for a catchup dinner--sounds like a deal!

I'm looking at 9/29 or 9/30. Do either of those work for you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tamera Luzzatto [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: Lauren Jiloty <JilotyLC@state.gov>; Lissa Muscatine [redacted] Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Sep 11 10:43:58 2010
Subject: Re:

Ps to all. My new work address is [redacted] and direct is [redacted] The job is utterly fascinating and invigorating, and only major deficiency is not working with you. Am at 9th and E so great restaurants galore, hint hint.
-----Original Message-----
From: "Tamera Luzzatto" [redacted]
Date: Sat, 11 Sep 2010 14:38:25
To: H<hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Reply-To: luzzatto [redacted]
Cc: Lauren Jiloty<JilotyLC@state.gov>; Lissa Muscatine< [redacted] Huma Abedin-
HRC< [redacted] > B6
Subject: Fw:

Am forwarding this for you to see Al's appreciation to you, and for Lauren to print out his edited as given beautiful and touching eulogy.

Splendid to see you and hope for a fall visit.

Xoxo, T

-----Original Message-----
From: Tamera Luzzatto [redacted]
Date: Sat, 11 Sep 2010 10:10:37
To: 'Tamera S. Luzzatto' [redacted]
Subject: FW:

Sent by Good Messaging (www.good.com)

-----Original Message-----
From: Mottur, Alfred E. [mailto:
Sent: Saturday, September 11, 2010 09:18 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: Tamera Luzzatto
Subject:

B6

Al

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 4:00 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Corker

Will vote yes on START....

Thanks for all your help with him.

Now, we need to [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 10:55 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Nye on Japan Alliance

Indeed. I'm a berry farmer.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 21:55:58 2010
Subject: RE: Nye on Japan Alliance

Ahh – you will reap what you sow . . . J

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 9:27 PM
To: 'H'
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: Nye on Japan Alliance

Madame S,

I promise I won't abuse the privilege of emailing you directly, but here is the piece by Joe Nye that I mentioned this morning. You may note that my S/P staffer who does Asia, and who is very good, agrees with my assessment that it was a valuable piece to write.

AM

From: Green, James B
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 10:49 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sokolsky, Richard D
Subject: Nye on Japan Alliance

From today's New York Times. Not sure if someone in this building (or the NSC) put Nye up to this, but agree with this assessment

Not surprisingly, some in Washington want to play hardball with the new Japanese government. But that would be unwise

January 7, 2010

Op-Ed Contributor

An Alliance Larger Than One Issue

By JOSEPH S. NYE Jr.

Cambridge, Mass.

SEEN from Tokyo, America's relationship with Japan faces a crisis. The immediate problem is deadlock over a plan to move an American military base on the island of Okinawa. It sounds simple, but this is an issue with a long back story that could create a serious rift with one of our most crucial allies.

When I was in the Pentagon more than a decade ago, we began planning to reduce the burden that our presence places on Okinawa, which houses more than half of the 47,000 American troops in Japan. The Marine Corps Air Station Futenma was a particular problem because of its proximity to a crowded city, Ginowan. After years of negotiation, the Japanese and American governments agreed in 2006 to move the base to a less populated part of Okinawa and to move 8,000 Marines from Okinawa to Guam by 2014.

The plan was thrown into jeopardy last summer when the Japanese voted out the Liberal Democratic Party that had governed the country for nearly half a century in favor of the Democratic Party of Japan. The new prime minister, Yukio Hatoyama, leads a government that is inexperienced, divided and still in the thrall of campaign promises to move the base off the island or out of Japan completely.

The Pentagon is properly annoyed that Mr. Hatoyama is trying to go back on an agreement that took more than a decade to work out and that has major implications for the Marine Corps' budget and force realignment. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates expressed displeasure during a trip to Japan in October, calling any reassessment of the plan "counterproductive." When he visited Tokyo in November, President Obama agreed to a high-level working group to consider the Futenma question. But since then, Mr. Hatoyama has said he will delay a final decision on relocation until at least May.

Not surprisingly, some in Washington want to play hardball with the new Japanese government. But that would be unwise, for Mr. Hatoyama is caught in a vise, with the Americans squeezing from one side and a small left-wing party (upon which his majority in the upper house of the legislature depends) threatening to quit the coalition if he makes any significant concessions to the Americans. Further complicating matters, the future of Futenma is deeply contentious for Okinawans.

Even if Mr. Hatoyama eventually gives in on the base plan, we need a more patient and strategic approach to Japan. We are allowing a second-order issue to threaten our long-term strategy for East Asia. Futenma, it is worth noting, is not the only matter that the new government has raised. It also speaks of wanting a more equal alliance and better relations with China, and of creating an East Asian community — though it is far from clear what any of this means.

When I helped to develop the Pentagon's East Asian Strategy Report in 1995, we started with the reality that there were three major powers in the region — the United States, Japan and China — and that maintaining our alliance with Japan would shape the environment into which China was emerging. We wanted to integrate China into the international

system by, say, inviting it to join the World Trade Organization, but we needed to hedge against the danger that a future and stronger China might turn aggressive.

After a year and a half of extensive negotiations, the United States and Japan agreed that our alliance, rather than representing a cold war relic, was the basis for stability and prosperity in the region. President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto affirmed that in their 1996 Tokyo declaration <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/security.html> . This strategy of "integrate, but hedge" continued to guide American foreign policy through the years of the Bush administration.

This year is the 50th anniversary of the United States-Japan security treaty. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html> The two countries will miss a major opportunity if they let the base controversy lead to bitter feelings or the further reduction of American forces in Japan. The best guarantee of security in a region where China remains a long-term challenge and a nuclear North Korea poses a clear threat remains the presence of American troops, which Japan helps to maintain with generous host nation support.

Sometimes Japanese officials quietly welcome "gaiatsu," or foreign pressure, to help resolve their own bureaucratic deadlocks. But that is not the case here: if the United States undercuts the new Japanese government and creates resentment among the Japanese public, then a victory on Futenma could prove Pyrrhic.

Joseph S. Nye Jr., a professor of government at Harvard and the author of "The Powers to Lead," was an assistant secretary of defense from 1994 to 1995.

James Green

Policy Planning Staff

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647 1178

greenjb@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B5

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 4:24 PM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Corker

Yes!

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Sep 14 16:00:08 2010
**Subject:** Corker

Will vote yes on START....

Thanks for all your help with him.

Now, we need to [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

From Israel Radio
By Shmuel Tal

"Prime Minister Exploring a trip to the U.S. next week

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is exploring the possibility of leaving at the beginning of next week to New York and Washington in order to meet with European leaders under the auspices of a gathering that is initiated by President Obama with the leaders. In addition, he is requesting to meet with the President of the United States Barack Obama and discuss the issue of Iran sanctions and its nuclear program. No confirmation has been given yet for those meetings to the trip has not been finalized yet."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 8:32 PM
**To:** H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 3:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) EU to call on Israel to extend settlement halt

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Wed Sep 15 15:10:21 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) EU to call on Israel to extend settlement halt

BRUSSELS (Reuters) - European Union leaders meeting in Brussels on September 16 will call on Israel to extend a moratorium on settlement building in the occupied West Bank, according to a draft of the summit conclusions. "The European Union deems it indispensable that both parties observe calm and restraint and refrain from actions that could affect negatively the progress of the negotiation," reads the draft, referring to direct Israeli-Palestinian peace talks that began this month. "In this regard, it recalls that settlements are illegal under international law and, with a view to ensure that these talks continue in a constructive manner, calls for an extension of the moratorium decided by Israel."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Just called you - call when conv

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Oct 07 20:32:16 2010

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 10:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Marc Pacheco

I am currently out of the office with limited access to email. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv, toivnf@state.gov, or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, at 202-647-5548.

If this is an emergency, please call the Operations Center and have them reach out to me.

thank you.

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 11:40 PM
**To:** H; preines [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Re: Economist op-ed

Here's some background: This piece is for a year-ending look-ahead issue of The Economist and we were asked to write about America's priorities and place in the world in 2011, ten years after 9/11 and twenty years after the end of the Cold War. The team (Jake, Josh, Anne-Marie, Derek) felt that this was a good opportunity to pull together for a wide audience some of the key themes you sounded in Krakow and elsewhere, and build on the President's call to action at UNGA. We don't say anything new here, its true, but the idea was to lay down another marker that these are issues that are important to you and to the administration.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'preines [redacted]; Schwerin, Daniel B
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Oct 07 22:36:30 2010
Subject: Economist op-ed

I just got the draft and don't think it says anything. What is the question we are trying to answer or issue we were asked to address in this?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 12:28 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Tech dinner TYs

Pls get list from Thursday dinner and do TYs. I'd like to sign letters. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 9, 2010 1:17 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tech dinner TYs

Also, pls add Gerry Ferraro to my call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:29:55 2010
Subject: Re: Tech dinner TYs

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V; Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Jan 09 12:28:08 2010
Subject: Tech dinner TYs

Pls get list from Thursday dinner and do TYs. I'd like to sign letters. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 8:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Hamas says group's lawmaker arrested in West Bank

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Mon Oct 18 03:45:04 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Hamas says group's lawmaker arrested in West Bank

HEBRON (AP) - The Palestinian militant Hamas group says Israeli soldiers have arrested one of its lawmakers in the West Bank.

A Hamas official said Hathem Qufishe was arrested early October 18 at his home in the city of Hebron. The official, Mushir al-Masri, said Israel is trying to "quash the legitimate representatives" of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli military had no comment on the arrest.

Qufishe was recently released from an Israeli prison after more than three years. He was among dozens of Hamas officials arrested after Hamas-affiliated militants captured Israeli soldier Sgt. Gilad Schalit in June 2006.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli official: Moroccan king won't meet Peres

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Mon Oct 18 04:46:28 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israeli official: Moroccan king won't meet Peres

JERUSALEM (AP) - An aide to Israel's president says the king of Morocco won't meet with the Israeli statesman because of the impasse in Mideast peace talks.

The aide says King Mohammed VI cited the deadlocked talks in turning down President Shimon Peres' request to meet at an upcoming international conference in Marrakech.

Peace talks have stalled over Israel's refusal to extend building curbs in the West Bank. The Palestinians say they won't negotiate if Israel doesn't relent, but have given the U.S. until early November to try to resolve the dispute.

The aide, who wasn't authorized to discuss the issue with the media and spoke on condition of anonymity, said October 18 that if Peres can't meet with the king, he won't attend the World Economic Forum on the Middle East and North Africa.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** 'doug [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Good to see you

Raj is off to a brilliant start and thank you for the help you provided him.

We share your assessment of Pakistan's need for a public narrative and better capacity to communicate effectively. Judith has been working on how we improve our comm work there, and I know you were talking to the Pakistani Ambassador about helping them. I'm copying Judith and asking that the two of you discuss what we could do given the very difficult political landscape.

Thx for all your good counsel. We need to follow thru on the campaign for women we discussed some months back. Are you still assisting Melanne? Let me know what I can do to hurry it along. H

----- Original Message -----
From: doug [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Good to see you

Mme Secretary:

I'm glad I got to see you at Raj's swearing-in. Hope you liked the speech. Alonzo said we hit the right notes and Raj is off to a strong start.

Of course I was kidding about "running away" from your "long list" of things you wanted to talk about with me. I'm happy to talk anytime.

In fact, it would be good to touch base on the women's initiative and Pakistan. I've been talking with NDI's highly regarded country director in Pakistan, who says communications is a desperate need and will definitely do some good for the government.

Look forward to seeing you again soon. All the best, Doug

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:47 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 18:33:26 2010
Subject: Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:49 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Fw: Andy Young

Pls set up appointment for Andy Young to come see me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 20:32:57 2010
Subject: FW: Andy Young

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Giffin, Gordon [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 8:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Andy Young

Happy New Year. I hope you got some time to enjoy the holiday season and could relax before getting back at it this year.
Andy Young is a very good friend of mine, and has been a stalwart for the Clintons over the years. He is also one of the most recognized and respected experts on Africa in America. He asked me today if I thought it would be appropriate for him to seek to see the Secretary to share some of his thoughts on Africa and current issues being confronted there. I told him of course and suggested that he reach out to you to try to arrange that dialogue. Hopefully that is ok from your perspective. Andy is a thoughtful, remarkable and decent man. If you don't know him you will enjoy getting to know him. Thanks and maybe one of these days when I am in DC we can grab a coffee together. Cheers.

Gordon D. Giffin
McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP
303 Peachtree St. Suite 5300
Atlanta, Ga. 30308
404-527-4020

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Hague is not available right now

We will try to get a time for later. He won't be available until after 4:45 PM today.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: The VMI "Distinguished Diplomat Award"

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:57:56 2010
Subject: Re: The VMI "Distinguished Diplomat Award"

That's good. I know he'll be delighted to hear that. I think it will be more than a good event.

On Coakley, the Globe has her up 15 today, but my friends in Mass say the Globe screen may be too broad. She's not a very good candidate, dull, dutiful, rote, voters are looking to vent on Deval Patrick, Dem enthusiasm flat. Nonetheless, Dems should pull her across, Danger is coming in below 10 percent win and effect on health care debate if any.

Will write you on NI and UK. Going back and forth with Shaun.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted]
Cc: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun, Jan 10, 2010 5:51 pm
Subject: Re: Fwd: The VMI "Distinguished Diplomat Award"

Thx for sending this along. I am very interested and am copying Lona so she can

follow up w Pat.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop [redacted]

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 09 15:06:56 2010

Subject: Fwd: The VMI "Distinguished Diplomat Award"

Hillary: Virginia Military Institute, George C. Marshall's school, through Pat Lang, would like to give you the Distinguished Diplomat Award. See Pat's note below. Though you must receive endless invitations, I think this one would be a particularly good venue for you for a host of obvious reasons, and where you could deliver a speech. You will have various speeches to give. You can give one at VMI and get honored. You can respond through me or to Pat directly one way or another. Also, I had a long conversation with Pat, who has many sources within the higher echelons of the military, and he describes what the generals are doing on Afghanistan deployment as a "slow motion mutiny." He believes the White House trying to counter it through press leaks as though this is a primary campaign generates contempt. Cheers, Sid

-----Original Message-----

From: Patrick Lang [redacted] B6

To: sbwhoeop [redacted]

Sent: Sat, Jan 9, 2010 2:54 pm

Subject: The VMI "Distinguished Diplomat Award"

Madame Secretary

I am a 1962 graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. VMI has always been

predominately a hard science and engineering school. I happen to have been an English major there. Today, there are more cadets with a "major" or "minor" in International Relations and Political Science than in any other field. The whole student body is around 1200 in number and deliberately kept to that size to keep quality up and to continue to rely on a teaching system that is almost tutorial in nature.

The Institute's most revered alumnus is George C. Marshall. His library is there as well as a brand new "Marshall Center for the Study of Leadership and Ethics."

I am a member of the advisory board of the "International Relations and Political Science" Department. The Institute (and the department) gives a prize from time to time to truly "Distinguished Diplomats. " Under that rubric have been included a few who were not strictly diplomats but who have been of great service to the United States. Jim Lilley was a recipient as was Susan Eisenhower, last year's recipient.

When I recently met with the Superintendent of VMI (my classmate), I told him that you would make an admirable recipient for the "Distinguished Diplomat" award. He was very welcoming of the idea. You may know him, General (ret.) JHB Peay.

I enclose a page from the VMI website that described Ms. Eisenhower's award last year.

VMI now has a substantial number of women cadets. It seems to me that your

presence there for this purpose would be a great symbol and a vast encouragement for them.

Best Regards

W. Patrick Lang (Pat)

http://academics.vmi.edu/NewsCenter.aspx?id=38929

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 12:07 AM
**To:** Schwerin, Daniel B; H; preines [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Re: Economist op-ed

To follow up - the team tried its hand at a boiled down version of the CFR speech, but in 700 words it lost the nuance and amounted to a series of generalisms. We felt that a more specific topic would allow for a sharper message. We selected democracy because it allows you to talk about a broad and relevant trend that cuts across global affairs; to reprise signature themes like internet freedom, civil society, and the democracy/development nexus; and to underscore that this administration takes these issues seriously. This was also an element of your CFR speech and provides some continuity in that respect as well. We were not looking to break new ground but rather to reinforce.

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; 'preines [redacted] B6
Cc: 'Huma@clintonemail.com' <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Thu Oct 07 23:40:16 2010
Subject: Re: Economist op-ed

Here's some background: This piece is for a year-ending look-ahead issue of The Economist and we were asked to write about America's priorities and place in the world in 2011, ten years after 9/11 and twenty years after the end of the Cold War. The team (Jake, Josh, Anne-Marie, Derek) felt that this was a good opportunity to pull together for a wide audience some of the key themes you sounded in Krakow and elsewhere, and build on the President's call to action at UNGA. We don't say anything new here, its true, but the idea was to lay down another marker that these are issues that are important to you and to the administration.

----- Original Message -----
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To: 'preines [redacted] Schwerin, Daniel B B6
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Oct 07 22:36:30 2010
Subject: Economist op-ed

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RELEASE IN PART
B4,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 8:13 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

What else can I do to help?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 19:03:24 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Google has been wierd about this whole deal but this whole Espo experience has been fascinating. Some companies will say absolutely no for months (Qualcomm, Bloomberg, J&J) and then pop out of nowhere and say yes. Others like ATT are in for [redacted] and then decide not to give us a penny. Therefore we have to keep bugging these guys. B4

We WILL raise the money. We are at $54M+ (this wk Hawaii came in for $500k and Bloomberg LLC [redacted] and need $7M more. Ideally we would like to raise $10 to 11M to cover any overruns (it's getting more expensive because the US was so late we are paying more now to build it quicker).

Where it will come from?

A- Right now we have three big companies talking to us in the range of [redacted] each - Monsanto, Disney, and Oracle. Haier may go from [redacted] If two or three come thru big we are done.

B- We also have a number of other companies like Invitrogen, Hormel, Mattel and Major League Baseball in the [redacted] range.

C- Interestingly the cities and states are going to their private funders and trying to raise money on their own to promote their jurisdictions - Chicago, Houston, Georgia, Montana, TN. (In the past, over 20 states participated with public funds but current budgets are tough). Maybe a chat w Mayor Bloomberg would be worthwhile. For example, I spoke to the University of WA and they will probably get benefactors to cosponsor at $250k making them the only university represented.

D- We have approached groups like Pharma and the fashion industry thru Diane von Furstenburg to get them to bundle smaller companies and both have agreed to do it. I met w DVL and she wants you to know that she is very excited about helping (they are in the [redacted] range).

E- We have talked to the elusive Chamber of Commerce again about getting SME's to raise $2-3M in smaller increments. They are contemplating it.

Finally the two obvious industries that are not involved are the banks (and we know why) and the insurance companies who are starting to look into the market over there.

Anyway, I did not mean to go on and on but that's where we stand and these are the potential areas to tap. We'll get there.

On your last Q - I too heard that [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:47:22 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

Do you know how [redacted]

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RELEASE IN PART
B4,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 10, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

If a city gives $ do they put up display/exhibits?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:37:29 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

This will be an important two weeks to nail down these big companies. We are negotiating with them now about possible options. I'll keep you posted.

May be good to mention this to Mayor Bloomberg if you run into him or see him. Doctoroff gave us [redacted] from Bloomberg, LLC but he thght the Mayor may be interested for the city. B4

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:13:04 2010
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On your last Q - I too heard that [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:47:22 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

Do you know how [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 18:33:26 2010
Subject: Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 8:05 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/8/10 Friday

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:20 am **EUROPE TRIP MEETING**
9:45 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:00 am **VIDEOS (5)**
10:40 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

10:40 am **CALL w/QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER**
11:00 am **HAMAD BIN JASIM (T)** Secretary's Office

11:00 am **CALL w/LIBYAN FOREIGN SECRETARY MOUSA KOUSA**
11:15 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **MEETING w/CHERYL MILLS**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **MEETING ON QDDR**
1:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room

1:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:50 pm Secretary's Office

1:50 pm **DROP BY w/CALVIN & JANE CAFRITZ***
1:55 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **DEEP DIVE ON MEXICO***
3:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room

4:00 pm **CALL w/BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY WILLIAM HAGUE**
4:15 pm Secretary's Office

4:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:15 pm Secretary's Office

5:20 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Washington Reagan National Airport

5:40 pm **ARRIVE** Washington Reagan National Airport (DCA)

6:00 pm **WHEELS UP** Washington Reagan National Airport via US Air 2182
En route LaGuardia Airport

7:15 pm **ARRIVE** LaGuardia Airport (LGA)

7:25 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport
En route Private Residence

8:15 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 8:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: For HRC Review: Statement on Jones & Donilon

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Oct 08 08:29:01 2010
Subject: For HRC Review: Statement on Jones & Donilon

Huma, below is a proposed statement on Jones & Donilon.
Dan

General Jim Jones has spent a lifetime serving our country with honor and distinction. In war and in peace, from foreign battlefields to the highest levels of our government, he has exemplified the best traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States. I have been honored to serve with him and to call him my friend. As National Security Advisor he brought a steady hand and clear vision to an unforgiving agenda. His leadership was crucial in winding down the combat mission in Iraq, refocusing the war in Afghanistan, and advancing our nation's interests and values around the world. America is more secure and the world is more stable because of Jim's tireless efforts. He will be sorely missed, but I am pleased that Jim will now be able to spend more time with his wife Diane and their wonderful family.

General Jones leaves Marine-sized shoes to fill, but we are fortunate that a public servant as talented and dedicated as Tom Donilon has agreed to take on the task. I have known Tom for many years and he brings deep experience and valuable skills to this crucial job. He has a proven ability to translate big-picture vision into concrete action. As Deputy National Security Advisor, Tom has been a trusted member of our team and has contributed to every major policy decision. I appreciate his support for the State Department and our diplomacy and development efforts around the world and I look forward to working closely with him to implement the President's agenda.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** NPR

Can you get me transcript of story on NPR this am about how nearsightedness is cause?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** S/P staff member's article on Mario Vargas Llosa

I thought that you might enjoy this by our newest S/P member, who was a journalist for the Wall Street Journalist and other places before she joined us in September. She is on an International Affairs Fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations. They asked her to write the following; it was cleared by L. It is quite profound.

By EMILY PARKER

In 2007 I flew down to Lima to interview Mario Vargas Llosa for this newspaper. We talked in his elegant home, surrounded by thousands of books. Mr. Vargas Llosa offered me a glass of red wine. Then he proceeded to discuss why he believes that literature can change the world.

Mr. Vargas Llosa's Nobel Prize is a great victory—and not just for a talented and prolific author. His work is perhaps the greatest rebuttal to those who believe that literature exists on the periphery of history and politics, or who claim that they have "no time" for fiction.

In a New Republic essay in 2001, Mr. Vargas Llosa argued for granting literature "an important place in the life of nations." He wrote, "Without it, the critical mind, which is the real engine of historical change and the best protector of liberty, would suffer an irreparable loss."

Mr. Vargas Llosa's novels reflect his deep, personal hatred of dictatorships and his staunch belief in the value of individual liberty. He is hardly the only novelist to have shed light on these themes, but I would argue that he is among the most successful.



Columnist Mary Anastasia O'Grady on the anti-Communist Peruvian writer.

A case in point is "Conversation in the Cathedral," the work that Mr. Vargas Llosa has said he would rescue first from a fire. The novel is set in Peru, in the dark days of the Manuel Odria dictatorship of the 1950s, which is when Mr. Vargas Llosa grew up. He told me that this was the book in which he wanted to describe how dictatorships impregnate "every act of life."

To demonstrate this, Mr. Vargas Llosa paints around Odria rather than confronting him outright. The book opens with a grim landscape of "uneven and faded buildings" and describes "dull and defeated eyes at the tables of Zela bar, hands that reach for ashtrays and glasses of beer." The narrative, which rapidly jumps from past to present, describes a stalled, confused world. You don't know who to trust.

Mr. Vargas Llosa attacks politics more openly in "The Feast of the Goat," which explicitly details the horrors of the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic. Rafael Trujillo was notorious for his victimization of women, and so we see life under his rule through the eyes of one young girl unlucky enough to have crossed his path. "The woman is almost always the first victim of a dictatorship," Mr. Vargas Llosa told me.

For some, Mr. Vargas Llosa's victory will be controversial because of his political background and his outspoken views. He unsuccessfully ran for president of Peru in 1990, losing to Alberto Fujimori. During the campaign Mr. Vargas Llosa gained notoriety for his emphasis on a market economy, free trade and private property. He was no less controversial for his support of the invasion of Iraq, which he saw as necessary to ending what he called the "monstrous dictatorship" of Saddam Hussein.

Mr. Vargas Llosa has now left politics, and he believes that he can better shape the world with his pen. Or as he told me in Lima: "Through writing, one can change history."

Not all of his work is dark. "Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter" is punctuated with humor, and "The Bad Girl," about one man's world-wide pursuit of an elusive lover, is a thoroughly entertaining read. The one constant is a perceptive and empathetic glimpse into a wide range of human experience.

As Mr. Vargas Llosa wrote in his 2001 essay about literature, "Nothing better protects a human being against the stupidity of prejudice, racism, religious or political sectarianism, and exclusivist nationalism than this truth that invariably appears in great literature: that men and women of all nations and places are essentially equal."

Ms. Parker is an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 2:38 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ben Feder

Can you also send me Rocco's #?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 12:43:16 2010
Subject: Ben Feder

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 4:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: The Boehner poll. Sid

# Drew Westen

Psychologist and neuroscientist; Emory University Professor
Posted: October 8, 2010 09:23 AM

# Bringing Up Boehner

According to news reports, today Republican minority leader and Coppertone model John Boehner will give his "closing argument" to the American people on why they should throw out the Democrats and kill the Obama-Pelosi-Reid "job-killing agenda." He will be returning to his working class roots, speaking at a piping manufacturing plant, an unusual venue these days for a man who is seen much more frequently at gatherings of Wall Street executives with open checkbooks and the males-only country club where he works on his tan when not making the rounds at other clubs with industry lobbyists.

Either the Speaker-to-be is following the model of Michael Steele and free-lancing, or Karl Rove and the Republicans believe it is safe or even advantageous to bring him out in public after the White House made an effort to put Boehner's face on what a Republican majority might look like, with the president invoking his name eight times in one speech.

I have to admit that at the time I was agnostic as to whether it made sense to try to brand him at this late date, as Boehner has minimal name recognition among voters. But the White House was no doubt responding to three realities.

First, Boehner is an unknown to most Americans, which means that, unlike most Republicans in the news, he has not been well branded by the GOP -- which means for once Democrats might actually brand someone or something first rather than playing catch-up. Second, Boehner would indeed be the highest-ranking Republican were the GOP to assume control over the House (other than of course Karl Rove, who is now directing traffic on the right side of the street in Washington again). And third, a concrete face is always better than an abstraction when telling a story, and other than perhaps Sarah Palin, who Republicans could alternately accept and decline as the leader of their party, Boehner's tanned visage and history as errand-boy for virtually every major corporate special interest in his two decades in Washington (including his stint as the Marlboro Man, handing out tobacco lobby campaign checks to his fellow Republicans on the floor of the House) made him a potential counter-villain to the Republican's bogeywoman, Nancy Pelosi.

I remained agnostic until this week, when colleagues at Media Matters Action Network and I conducted a national messaging survey with 1,000 registered voters, selected to match the demographics of the voting and likely voting populations. The goal was to see how effectively we could speak with voters about Boehner as not only the symbol and standard-bearer for the GOP but also the water-boy for corporate America. (The results were surprisingly similar whether we looked at registered voters or likely voters, although as others have described, precisely how to determine who is a "likely voter" in this election is as much art as science, and the point of good messaging at this point is actually to change the dynamics of likely voting, not just to reflect them.)

As detailed in a memo published in Politico, what we found was clear: Boehner is a target well worth defining, who readily stands for precisely what Americans perceive to be the reasons they would have to hold their noses to vote for Congressional Republicans (perhaps the only group left who poll worse than Congressional Democrats with swing voters). We tested both paragraph-length narratives and single-sentence language designed to capture the essence of those narratives, and in each case, we tested them against the toughest opposition language we could test them against: the words of Boehner, Cantor, Limbaugh and others combined in defining the "Obama-Pelosi-Reid" agenda.

What we found, in brief, is that we could beat a tough GOP narrative about the "job-killing" socialists in the White House and Congress by 15 to 20 points with two narratives starring Boehner in the leading role (with best supporting bad actor going in one of the narratives to Karl Rove and his corporate allies), and we could win with over 15 different sentence-long descriptions of "what's the matter with Boehner" with margins ranging from 10 to 60 points against a tough conservative attack on the Obama-Pelosi-Reid axis of conservative evil.

The narratives that most moved likely voters -- including swing voters, who preferred them by double-digits over tough Republican rhetoric -- made clear whose voices Boehner would be speaking for as Speaker (e.g., the Wall Street executives he convened to try to block Wall Street reform). They harnessed the same populist anger at the hijacking of Washington by corporate special interests that has enlivened the tea partiers and is palpable across the political spectrum, and they focused on the extremism of the party Boehner would Speak for. A narrative that brought Karl Rove into the picture was slightly more polarizing with swing voters but slightly more powerful with likely Democratic voters.

In some ways what was most surprising was the success of the single-line statements of what we need in a Speaker and who John Boehner really speaks for (although these single-line statements came after the narratives, and likely reflect the power of branding, even over the course of a brief online encounter with voters). They ranged from relatively lofty and aspirational (e.g., "We need a Speaker who is also a listener, who can hear the voices of ordinary Americans" -- a theme colleagues and I found highly resonant across the political spectrum in message testing on the role of money in politics) -- to the harder-edged (e.g., "The Speaker of the House is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. Unfortunately, we know where John Boehner's heart is, and it isn't with the middle class," or "John Boehner understands deficits. He's spent nearly 20 years in Washington creating them.")

If there's a message in this message research, it is at once short-term and long-term. In the short run, if Democrats want to hang onto their seats in November, they would do well to define this election in terms of the middle class and small business versus the billionaires and big corporations that are hijacking our democracy; to use Boehner as a poster child for the party whose primary commitment is to the latter and whose tan is a testament to that commitment; and to avoid giving voters reason to regret their vote if they give it to Democrats again this time, by supporting the things they say they stand for and avoiding that golden mean between the public interest and the special interests that finance campaigns on both sides of the aisle.

In the longer run, branding matters. One of the biggest strategic and messaging mistakes of the last two years was the failure of Democrats to brand their opponents while their opponents were busy branding them -- and in particular the failure to brand the Bush Recession as the natural consequence of failed Republican economic principles. Two years ago, that was a virtually uncontested political proposition, as the voters made clear in handing Democrats the White House and supermajorities in both the House and Senate. Today, the public is split down the middle as to who caused the recession.

Reality doesn't brand itself. Hopefully it won't take a debacle in November and another 10 million jobs lost for reality to unveil itself again for a brief political moment and for progressives to have a second bite at the apple.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 2:38 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Roy Spence

That's what I thought too. Can you get that done?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 11 12:04:35 2010
Subject: FW: Roy Spence

?

This is the role we discussed [redacted] for. B5 B6

cdm

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 11:53 AM
To: 'H'
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Roy Spence

As per your suggestion, I spoke with Roy Spence over the weekend and will be meeting with him on Wednesday to discuss candidates for the International Information programs (IIP) position. Will let you know how it goes.

JM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 5:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** kurt campbell

MS – Kurt Campbell returned your call
###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 3:20 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ben Feder

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 11 15:04:47 2010
Subject: RE: Ben Feder

Rocco DiFazio - cell [redacted] work [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 2:38 PM
To: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: Re: Ben Feder

Can you also send me Rocco's #?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 12:43:16 2010
Subject: Ben Feder

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 5:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

Yes will be at home after early rattner book party

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** ;sbwhoeop ' <sbwhoeop(
**Sent:** Fri, Oct 8, 2010 21:30:19 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

Are you reachable by phone tonight?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Oct 08 16:08:27 2010
Subject: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

The Huffington Post <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/> <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/>

Drew Westen <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen>

Psychologist and neuroscientist; Emory University Professor
Posted: October 8, 2010 09:23 AM

Bringing Up Boehner <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen/post_1034_b_755497.html>

According to news reports, today Republican minority leader and Coppertone model John Boehner will give his "closing argument" to the American people on why they should throw out the Democrats and kill the Obama-Pelosi-Reid "job-killing agenda." He will be returning to his working class roots, speaking at a piping manufacturing plant, an unusual venue these days for a man who is seen much more frequently at gatherings of Wall Street executives with open checkbooks and the males-only country club where he works on his tan when not making the rounds at other clubs with industry lobbyists.

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I remained agnostic until this week, when colleagues at Media Matters Action Network and I conducted a national messaging survey <http://cloudfront.mediamattersaction.org/static/images/pdf/BrandingBoehner.pdf> with 1,000 registered voters, selected to match the demographics of the voting and likely voting populations. The goal was to see how effectively we could speak with voters about Boehner as not only the symbol and standard-bearer for the GOP but also the water-boy for corporate America. (The results were surprisingly similar whether we looked at registered voters or likely voters, although as others have described, precisely how to determine who is a "likely voter" in this election is as much art as science, and the point of good messaging at this point is actually to change the dynamics of likely voting, not just to reflect them.)

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double-digits over tough Republican rhetoric -- made clear whose voices Boehner would be speaking for as Speaker (e.g., the Wall Street executives he convened to try to block Wall Street reform). They harnessed the same populist anger at the hijacking of Washington by corporate special interests that has enlivened the tea partiers and is palpable across the political spectrum, and they focused on the extremism of the party Boehner would Speak for. A narrative that brought Karl Rove into the picture was slightly more polarizing with swing voters but slightly more powerful with likely Democratic voters.

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Reality doesn't brand itself. Hopefully it won't take a debacle in November and another 10 million jobs lost for reality to unveil itself again for a brief political moment and for progressives to have a second bite at the apple.

<http://getglue.com/?s=w>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 3:22 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Ben Feder

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 12:43:16 2010
Subject: Ben Feder

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 3:27 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ben Feder

Thanks.

----- Original Message -----
From: Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 15:25:38 2010
Subject: RE: Ben Feder

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 3:22 PM
To: Russo, Robert V
Cc: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: Fw: Ben Feder

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 12:43:16 2010
Subject: Ben Feder

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 11, 2010 11:03 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

That's very nice but you should get it! But, of course, I would accept on behalf of all of us.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 11 22:40:35 2010
Subject: FW: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton

FYI

From: Rick Leach [mailto [redacted] B6
Sent: Monday, January 11, 2010 11:28 AM
To: Thompson, James F
Subject: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative - Award to Secretary Clinton
Importance: High

Hello and Happy New Year Jim,

Friends of WFP has decided to provide its annual "Leadership in the Fight Against Hunger" Award to Secretary Clinton this year. The award is presented at a ceremony on Capitol Hill (within one of the House/Senate caucus rooms). Approximately 200 people attend the event including Members of Congress, NGO representatives, business leaders, administration officials and other leaders in the fight against hunger.

As you know, Friends of WFP is a non-profit organization dedicated to addressing global hunger. Its board members include former agriculture secretary Dan Glickman, former Senators George McGovern and Bob Dole, YUM Brands CEO David Novak, former NSC Advisor Sandy Berger and others. I established the organization in 1997.

Before officially announcing Secretary Clinton as this year's award recipient, we hoped to confirm that Secretary Clinton will be available to personally accept the award. We plan to schedule the award ceremony in September on either a Tuesday or Wednesday evening (at approximately 6:30/7pm). We would select the specific date based on Secretary Clinton's schedule.

I think the ceremony would provide another good opportunity to shine a spotlight on the unprecedented commitment of Secretary Clinton and President Obama to addressing global hunger. Thank you for your help in engaging the appropriate officials in the State Department.

All the Best,

Rick Leach

---

From: Thompson, James F [ThompsonJF2@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, December 29, 2009 4:16 PM
To: Global Partnership Initiative
Subject: Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative Update

Friends,

As 2009 comes to a close, we wanted to provide you with an update on the U.S. Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative and share with you what is to come in the new year.

First, a word of thanks for the input that many of you provided on our Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative consultation document. We received a large amount of interest and excellent suggestions on the document, and we will soon release a new version that reflects this input.

We are also drafting an implementation plan that will describe in greater detail how we intend to implement the initiative. We look forward to sharing both documents with you.

In recent months, we have continued to garner international support for the five core principles for global food security that form the basis of our strategy. In November, all UN member states endorsed these principles at the World Summit on Food Security in Rome.

1) Invest in country-owned plans

2) Foster strategic coordination

3) Strive for a comprehensive approach to food security

4) Ensure a strong role for the multilateral system

5) Ensure sustained and substantial commitment by all partners to investment in agriculture and food security and nutrition

In establishing the Rome Principles, the international community declared a new business model for coordinated action to increase global food security.

Translating these principles into action, on December 6-8, the Government of Rwanda, together with the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program, hosted a technical review of its Agriculture Sector Investment Plan and convened a high-level stakeholders meeting. At the meeting, development partners and the African Union/NEPAD endorsed Rwanda's plan and agreed to mobilize support for scaled-up financing. The African Union/NEPAD and representatives from the World Bank, UN, donor countries, the private sector, civil society organizations, and NGOs attended the meeting.

The United States was represented by a whole-of-government team led by Special Assistant to the President Gayle Smith that included representatives from the Departments of State, Treasury, and Agriculture, USAID, and MCC. Our team committed to improve the quality of our aid; to provide robust financial commitments and technical support; and to work to mobilize additional financing of the Investment Plan.

In the new year, we will continue to engage all stakeholders, work with the international community, and build on our experience in Rwanda as we move forward with plans to implement our initiative.

Please continue to visit our website: www.state.gov/s/globalfoodsecurity to stay informed of planning for the initiative and to provide input.

We wish you a happy new year and look forward to continuing to work closely with you.

The Global Hunger and Food Security Team

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 12:49 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** John Gill

When can I call him?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 6:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Update

Some cats and dogs:

1. Talked to Denis about EU summit issue and Saakashvili. He said he would work both of them.

2. Hikers meeting was interesting and will fill you in Monday. Bottom line – we are actively working a number of the options, including the British option.

3. Saw Kurt this evening to discuss a potential Asia speech in Hawaii and he was focused on Jim again. I know you spoke with him and assume he gave you the same analysis.

4. Sent you updates on Libya – it played as we expected...a demand for a complete settlement freeze including Jerusalem. Our press line will be to gloss over that and focus on the top line: We have Arab support for efforts to create conditions to continue the negotiations .... i.e., no collapse. You will receive tomorrow morning two Plan B documents, one from the Mitchell team and one from Dennis Ross.

Will continue to report this weekend.

RELEASE IN PART
B4,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 10:45 AM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Can you send me a call sheet for Bloomberg?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:56:15 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Its not like a traditional trade show/expo with specific booths. It is more subtle and the pavilion folks would negotiate creatively on what they want. .

Depdg on amount, they get on the big wall of contributors, we show multiple scenes of NYC in the shows and displays, they can use the wonderful VIP lounge/auditorium to have NYC day or week at the Expo - the rockettes, Broadway goes to China, commercial diplomacy, mtgs betwn NYC and Chinese officials, .getting SME's access to China etc. We could really be creative.

LA, San Fran, San Antonio already in, chicago on way...

As you know the general theme is "Better Cities, Better Lives". How can NYC not be repped? They cam brag about their innovations.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:41:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

If a city gives $ do they put up display/exhibits?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:37:29 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

This will be an important two weeks to nail down these big companies. We are negotiating with them now about possible options. I'll keep you posted.

May be good to mention this to Mayor Bloomberg if you run into him or see him. Doctoroff gave us [redacted] from Bloomberg, LLC but he thght the Mayor may be interested for the city. B4

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M

Sent: Sun Jan 10 20:13:04 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

What else can I do to help?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 10 19:03:24 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

Google has been wierd about this whole deal but this whole Espo experience has been fascinating. Some companies will say absolutely no for months (Qualcomm, Bloomberg, J&J) and then pop out of nowhere and say yes. Others like ATT are in for [redacted] and then decide not to give us a penny. Therefore we have to keep bugging these guys. B4

We WILL raise the money. We are at $54M+ (this wk Hawaii came in for $500k and Bloomberg LLC [redacted] and need $7M more. Ideally we would like to raise $10 to 11M to cover any overruns (it's getting more expensive because the US was so late we are paying more now to build it quicker).

Where it will come from?

A- Right now we have three big companies talking to us in the range of [redacted] each - Monsanto, Disney, and Oracle. Haier may go from [redacted] If two or three come thru big we are done.

B- We also have a number of other companies like Invitrogen, Hormel, Mattel and Major League Baseball in the [redacted] range.

C- Interestingly the cities and states are going to their private funders and trying to raise money on their own to promote their jurisdictions - Chicago, Houston, Georgia, Montana, TN. (In the past, over 20 states participated with public funds but current budgets are tough). Maybe a chat w Mayor Bloomberg would be worthwhile. For example, I spoke to the University of WA and they will probably get benefactors to cosponsor at $250k making them the only university represented.

D- We have approached groups like Pharma and the fashion industry thru Diane von Furstenburg to get them to bundle smaller companies and both have agreed to do it. I met w DVL and she wants you to know that she is very excited about helping (they are in the [redacted] range).

E- We have talked to the elusive Chamber of Commerce again about getting SME's to raise $2-3M in smaller increments. They are contemplating it.

Finally the two obvious industries that are not involved are the banks (and we know why) and the insurance companies who are starting to look into the market over there.

Anyway, I did not mean to go on and on but that's where we stand and these are the potential areas to tap. We'll get there.

[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Balderston, Kris M

Sent: Sun Jan 10 17:47:22 2010
Subject: Re: Your technology dinner this evening

I don't think I made any progress. What will it mean if we can't raise the remaining $? Where else can we try?

Do you know how [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 18:33:26 2010
Subject: Your technology dinner this evening

I noticed on your schedule that you are meeting with a number of tech CEO's this evening. Google should be an obvious co-sponsor of the USA Pavilion and they have consistently pushed us off. Although they bring up IP issues as a reason not to participate, the Chinese frequently note that they do a lot of business in China. We are now at $54 million. If the opportunity arises, it would be helpful to note the importance of a USA standing in Shanghai.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 6:52 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Call request: Steinberg

Ms: dep. Sec steinberg has asked, via ops, for a secure call with you.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 7:08 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Call request: Steinberg

Ok- ill find out and get back to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Fri Oct 08 19:06:56 2010
Subject: Re: Call request: Steinberg

Pls let him know I won't be at secure phone for at least two hours. How late can I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 08 18:51:39 2010
Subject: Call request: Steinberg

Ms: dep. Sec steinberg has asked, via ops, for a secure call with you.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 7:19 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Call request: Steinberg

We let steinberg know that you won't be at a secure phone for at least two hours. He is unsure of how late he will be available this evening, so his preference is to check back in with ops later on in the evening. When he does that I will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Fri Oct 08 19:06:56 2010
Subject: Re: Call request: Steinberg

Pls let him know I won't be at secure phone for at least two hours. How late can I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 08 18:51:39 2010
Subject: Call request: Steinberg

Ms: dep. Sec steinberg has asked, via ops, for a secure call with you.
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 7:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Re: Call request: Steinberg

D steinberg informed ops that he has resolved the issue and has rescinded his request to speak with you this evening.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Oct 08 19:19:23 2010
Subject: Re: Call request: Steinberg

We let steinberg know that you won't be at a secure phone for at least two hours. He is unsure of how late he will be available this evening, so his preference is to check back in with ops later on in the evening. When he does that I will let you know.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Fri Oct 08 19:06:56 2010
Subject: Re: Call request: Steinberg

Pls let him know I won't be at secure phone for at least two hours. How late can I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Oct 08 18:51:39 2010
Subject: Call request: Steinberg

Ms: dep. Sec steinberg has asked, via ops, for a secure call with you.
###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 12, 2010 11:15 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Statement

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 12 23:12:29 2010
Subject: Statement

Here you go:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 8, 2010 9:40 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Call tmw with South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan

Ops has confirmed this call for tomorrow at 9:30 am EDT.
Ops informs us that the call with the thai fm will not be confirmed until closer to midnight tonight.
###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 12:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: For HRC: Economist op-ed

Do you want me to have faxed to you as well?

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Daniel, Joshua J; Fuchs, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Oct 08 21:02:59 2010
Subject: For HRC: Economist op-ed

Huma, here's a revised draft of the Economist op-ed that reflects the Secretary's suggestions:

B5

B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Calls

9:30 korean fm confirmed
10am thai fm confirmed
And kouchner called asking to speak to you today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 4:39 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: FW: Call Me or Email

I'm back on the ground, on the way to the house.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 13 21:44:33 2010
Subject: FW: FW: Call Me or Email

FYI - see Michele message

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Stewart Paperin [redacted] B6
Date: Wed, 13 Jan 2010 15:33:30 -0500
Subject: FW: Call Me or Email
To: raj.shah[redacted] rajivshah[redacted]

Raj,

In organizing efforts for Haiti you may want to reach out to Michele Pierre Louis, the former Prime Minister, who is on the ground. I have attaached below a short email describing the situation. She is a superb executive and has one of the best insights into what is needed.

Stewart

---

From: Michele Duvivier [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 2:13 PM
To: Stewart Paperin
Subject: Re: Call Me or Email

Stewart,

We are safe but Port-au-Prince is destroyed. My appartment is gone.
FOKAL is safe fortunately but a few employees had their homes destroyed, like mine. The phones don't work so it is easier to stay in touch by internet.

The situation is dramatic. the governement is powerless. The Palace, the Parliament, the Ministries, the Minustah are non operational. We cannot count the dead.[redacted] is dead and Minustah's headquarters collapsed. We ran out of medical supplies, water, food for the first reliefs, and then we have to think about reconstruction.

As soon as we can talk I'll call you to talk about specifics.

The hard part is that there have been over 40 repeats after the first tough seism and we don't know if it is over yet.

We keep in touch.

Michele

---

From: Stewart Paperin [redacted] B6
To: micheleduvivier [redacted]
Cc: Loraine Mangones [redacted]
Sent: Wed, January 13, 2010 12:09:15 PM
Subject: Call Me or Email

Michele,

I heard you, Loraine and the family are ok.. Please call me if you have a chance or ask Loraine to. I talked with [redacted] and want to discuss how we can be helpful.

SJP

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** H; Fuchs, Michael H
**Subject:** Re: For HRC: Economist op-ed

Thank you, we'll make that change.
Dan

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sat Oct 09 05:59:29 2010
Subject: Fw: For HRC: Economist op-ed

This is fine but needs to mention the G-20 and the way we used it to address economic crisis.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Oct 09 00:03:36 2010
Subject: Fw: For HRC: Economist op-ed

Do you want me to have faxed to you as well?

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Daniel, Joshua J; Fuchs, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Oct 08 21:02:59 2010
Subject: For HRC: Economist op-ed

Huma, here's a revised draft of the Economist op-ed that reflects the Secretary's suggestions:

B5

B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** 'brimmere@state.gov'
**Subject:** Law of the Seas

Esther--Can you tell me if China has signed this treaty?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:19 PM
**To:** 'brimmere@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Law of the Seas

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Brimmer, Esther D <BrimmerE@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 14 17:17:47 2010
Subject: RE: Law of the Seas

Yes, Ma'am, China ratified in 1996.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 14, 2010 4:06 PM
To: Brimmer, Esther D
Subject: Law of the Seas

Esther--Can you tell me if China has signed this treaty?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Raj Shah

Can you send me his email address?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772600 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# FOOD INDUSTRY CODEX COALITION

**Advancing Sound International Policy Through Science**

October 18, 2010

Secretary Hilary Clinton
US Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Secretary Tom Vilsack
US Department of Agriculture
Whitten Building
1400 Independence Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20250

Dear Secretary Clinton and Secretary Vilsack:

On behalf of the members of the Food Industry Codex Coalition (FICC)[1] we applaud the Administration's global commitment to food security, through its ***Feed the Future*** initiative, and urge your strong and continuing support for the US government's role in Codex[2] to further this objective. We address this appeal to both of you, as it relates both to your individual and joint responsibilities on Codex Alimentarius. We are much encouraged by the Administration's view that "the private sector is particularly important for combating food insecurity and increasing the sustainability of our efforts," and we enthusiastically welcome this partnership with the Administration.

We draw your attention especially to the critical relationship between Codex and ***Feed the Future***. A vibrant science-based global food safety regulatory system which Codex fosters is among the most tangible and valuable components in the strategy to further our shared goal to achieve global food security. Safe food is a prerequisite for a sufficient

[1] The FICC represents the interests of over 70 food companies and trade associations keenly interested in the international standard setting activities of the Codex Alimentarius Commission (CAC). FICC recognizes the critical role Codex serves to facilitate trade and protect consumer health. The coalition, which represents the entire food chain from production to retail, works to influence international food policy based on science. FICC members actively engage with U.S. delegates and Codex staff in an effort to support and strengthen U.S. leadership in Codex.

[2] The Codex Alimentarius was created in 1963 under the joint umbrellas of the United Nations' World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) with a dual mandate: protection of the health of consumers and the facilitation of fair practices in food trade.



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05772600 Date: 08/31/2015

supply. For our developing country partners, Codex standards serve a vital role in protecting the health of their people, and in facilitating market opportunities for their agricultural commodities. For the US food and agriculture industry, these science-based Codex rules help protect our $100 billion agricultural export market by setting global standards for safe and fair food trade. Moreover, they lay the foundation for achieving the President's National Export Initiative goal of doubling exports in the next five years.

For all these reasons the US should increase its presence and influence in Codex. Specifically, we urge your close attention, high priority, and full funding support in these areas:

- US Codex Office, USDA, and international outreach programs;
- Office of the Codex Chairperson, currently held by an American at USDA;
- Codex-related positions at both FAO and WHO, the two Codex UN oversight institutions:
- Committed and focused senior policy level participation in the US Codex Policy Committee;
- High-level participation in US delegations to Codex Commission and committee meetings;
- Consistent policy positions for Codex meetings; and
- Enhanced collaboration between the US Mission and the Codex Secretariat at FAO in Rome.

FICC acknowledges with appreciation our government's responsiveness to previous petitions to the Administration to give strong support to Codex issues, and notes particularly USDA's earlier action to strengthen the leadership of the US Codex Office.

At this time we respectfully urge your renewed attention to these other critical areas of Codex activity. Ensuring the full potential of Codex is an essential component to improve global food safety and achieving America's priority goal of global food security.

Thank you for your consideration of these views.

Sincerely,

American Beverage Association
American Frozen Food Institute
Animal Health Institute
Association of Dressings and Sauces
Biotechnology Industry Organization
Calorie Control Council
Campbell Soup Company
Corn Refiners Association
CropLife America

Enzyme Technical Association
Flavor and Extract Manufacturers Association of the United States
Global Agritrends
Grocery Manufacturers Association
Institute of Shortening and Edible Oils
International Association of Color Manufacturers
International Dairy Foods Association
International Food Additives Council
International Formula Council
Juice Products Association
National Cattleman's Beef Association
National Confectioners Association
National Fisheries Institute
National Oilseed Processors Association
National Pork Producers Council
National Renderers Association
Nestle USA
Pet Food Institute
US Meat Export Federation
ViaGen, Inc.
Vinegar Institute

cc:
Ron Kirk, USTR
Islam Siddiqui, USTR Agriculture Negotiator
Margaret Hamberg, Commissioner FDA
Ertharin Cousin, Ambassador to the US Mission to UN Agencies Rome
Jim Miller, Undersecretary of State USDA FFAS
Elizabeth Hagen, Undersecretary of Food Safety USDA
Catherine Woteki, Undersecretary of State USDA REE
Robert Hormats, Undersecretary of State Economic, Energy and Agriculture
Francisco Sanchez, Undersecretary for International Trade, DOC
Rajiv Shah, Administrator USAID
Jose Fernandez, Assistant Secretary of State, Economic Energy and Business
Ester Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of State, International Organizations
Cheryl Mills, Chief of Staff to Secretary of State
Ann Tutwiler, Global Food Security Coordinator USDA
Michael Taylor, Deputy Commissioner for Foods, FDA
Gayle Smith, White House National Security Council
Karen Hulebak, Codex Chairperson
Karen Stuck, US Codex Manager

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Good Job!

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 13 16:09:53 2010
Subject: FW: Good Job!

fyi

From: hugh parmer [mailto
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 3:58 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Good Job!

B6

Ms Mills,

I got your email address in a message from my good friend, Kathleen Townsend, several months ago but have never wanted to bother you directly. However, as the former head of humanitarian operations at USAID under Pres. Clinton, I thought it appropriate to commend you and your colleagues on the excellent job that is being done in the early days of the USG response to the tragedy in Haiti. The deployment of Coast Guard and SouthComm resources, the immediate organization of an interdepartmental group to coordinate USG efforts, the deployment of multiple USAID urban search and rescue units as well as a DART, and the ability to make these decisions without delay is impressive. Managing information flow with early statements by the Pres. and Sec. followed by your press conference on relief plans effectively focused attention on the US leadership role. Please pass on my "good job" to whomever has been leading this effort. It's as good as I have seen from the USG. Let me know if there is anyway I can be of help.

Hugh

Hugh Parmer

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Good to see you

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: Doug Hattaway [redacted] B6
Cc: Golden, Jennifer R <GoldenJR@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jan 13 12:56:19 2010
Subject: RE: Good to see you

Thanks for the note. Would love to follow up on Pakistan and also have another idea I'd like to talk to you about. By copy of this email I am asking Jenn Golden from my office to find a time to meet. Hope to see you soon.

JM

-----Original Message-----
From: Doug Hattaway [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 2010 10:01 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: RE: Good to see you

Judith:

I hope you've been well. Following up on the Secretary's request, when would you like to regroup about communications support in Pakistan?

As food for thought, I've been talking with [redacted] She's a great source of insight and information on the ground, with a valuable independent perspective. She is very tuned into the government's communications challenges and opportunities.

In her view, while the need is more urgent than ever, the government does have positive programs and policies that would generate good will if people knew about them. Communications seems to suffer both from a lack of perspective - politicians are obsessed with politics in the capital, rather than the needs of people at the grassroots - and a lack of both practical expertise and proactive strategy. They need a plan for publicizing initiatives that benefit people, as well as hands-on training and support to execute effectively.

This sounds very similar to the situation my team dealt with in Lebanon, where we worked with the government, political parties and NGOs. We learned not to let a state of crisis be an obstacle to moving forward with a communications program - they're always in crisis and, as you know, effective communications is part of the long-term solution.

I know there may be concern about working with US consultants. One approach would be to work through NDI, which has great contacts and credibility on the ground. That's how we did it in Lebanon.

I hope some of this is useful food for thought. You may recall that, when we met before the holidays, I showed you the program we did in Lebanon. Would you like me to put together ideas for a program in Pakistan?

Best, Doug

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 10, 2010 5:45 PM
To: 'doug [redacted] B6
Cc: 'mchaleja@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Good to see you

Raj is off to a brilliant start and thank you for the help you provided him.

We share your assessment of Pakistan's need for a public narrative and better capacity to communicate effectively. Judith has been working on how we improve our comm work there, and I know you were talking to the Pakistani Ambassador about helping them. I'm copying Judith and asking that the two of you discuss what we could do given the very difficult political landscape.

Thx for all your good counsel. We need to follow thru on the campaign for women we discussed some months back. Are you still assisting Melanne? Let me know what I can do to hurry it along. H

----- Original Message -----
From: doug [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Good to see you

Mme Secretary:

I'm glad I got to see you at Raj's swearing-in. Hope you liked the speech. Alonzo said we hit the right notes and Raj is off to a strong start.

Of course I was kidding about "running away" from your "long list" of things you wanted to talk about with me. I'm happy to talk anytime.

In fact, it would be good to touch base on the women's initiative and Pakistan. I've been talking with NDI's highly regarded country director in Pakistan, who says communications is a desperate need and will definitely do some good for the government.

Look forward to seeing you again soon. All the best, Doug

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:56 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: How to Address Global Burden of Chronic Disease
**Attachments:** Global Burden Chronic Disease.pdf; Global Burden Chronic Disease.pdf

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 12 16:16:38 2010
Subject: How to Address Global Burden of Chronic Disease

Dear Hillary,

I wanted to pass on some thoughts we are formulating on how to address the global burden of chronic disease and get your input..... We could have a short call about this if you have time..

I have been thinking about how Paul Farmer created a whole movement around infectious disease globally and how we can apply that to chronic disease -- and yes - I would love to meet him and talk with him about this problem.

So here's the problem.

1. By 2020 global mortality from chronic disease will claim 50 million lives compared to 20 million for communicable or infectious disease and currently mortality in DEVELOPING WORLD is 29 million people a year from chronic disease.

2. As you know in the US, chronic disease care (usually at end stage in acute settings) accounts for almost 80% of health care expenditures. This is likely to increase globally and in developing countries because countries like India have diabetes rates of 25%. Mortality from heart disease in China in 35 to 44 year olds has increased 300% in the last few decades.

3. Global Funding for prevention and treatment of the causes of chronic disease doesn't match the disease burden by an unacceptable margin.

4. Less than 5% of funding from governments, NGO's, private foundations is for chronic disease (i.e. World Bank - $4.5 billion to health sector work, 2.5% for non-communicable disease and Global Fund focuses only on HIV/AIDS, malaria and TB and the WHO spends $7.50 for infectious disease and $0.50 for chronic disease, Gates Foundation: no funding for chronic disease).

So here's what I see as the solution.....

We need a movement to create awareness, build the messaging, fund comparative research on innovative methods for preventing and treating chronic disease, develop changes in medical education to scale training for providers in effective prevention and treatment of chronic disease, build partnerships and support for demonstration projects and other initiatives, and develop health information technology platforms to support chronic disease prevention and care as an integrated system and other disruptive technologies.

There are a lot of potential partners for this -- but I was thinking that a strategic alliance could be made between the Institute for Functional Medicine and the Clinton Foundation (and potentially other key partners) to build and scale this movement -- then it would be much easier to raise awareness and raise money. I have a lot of donors who would fund something like this but it has to have organization and clout and staying power.

I also wonder if Chelsea would be interested in being part of/leading this initiative - it seems right up her alley and I know she is looking for a job in June!

And I also realized that the State Department plays a large role in global health issues and there are ways the State Dept can help address the chronic disease epidemic globally.

Many of pieces of this are already in place and happening - for example the VA of New England wants to bring the Functional Medicine model into the care of their patients. The health system in Colombia is implementing a model based on Functional medicine because they cannot cope with their chronic disease burden. CIGNA wants to bring this into their 11 million subscribers. We are building a research institute at Harvard and clinical programs. But it all needs organization and strategy and coordination and funding in an integrated way.

Would you have a few minute to talk about this in the next week or so?

Hope you are staying warm ..... Thanks again for all your help and support
--

Fondly,

Mark

On 1/4/10 9:56 PM, "Hillary Clinton" <hdr22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Dear Mark--
>
> Thank you for your good wishes, and Happy New Year to you and Pier.
> I hope
> 2010 is filled to the brim w blessings and opportunities for you both.
>
> Have you ever met Paul Farmer? He's a good friend and is now
> working w Bill in Haiti and Rwanda while continuing to teach at
> Harvard and run Partners in Health. Would you like to spend time w him? Even work in one of his programs?
> Just let me know and I could call him for you.
>
> I hope to see you again soon. There's always much to discuss! All
> the best always---H
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted] B6
> To: H
> Sent: Sun Jan 03 15:09:38 2010
Subject: Happy New Year
>
> Dear Hillary,
>

> I just wanted to wish you a happy new year and let you know how
> grateful I am for your help and friendship. Although health reform
> as it ended up still leaves a lot to be done I think their are other
> ways to create change.
>
> I just finished the book about Paul Farmer mountains beyond mountains
> and it made me think about how we can create a movement to address the
> global burden of chronic disease which affects hundreds of millions
> more than infectious disease.
>
> Once I get the strategy more formed I would love to get your thoughts.
>
> Hope you got some rest over the holidays.
>
> Be well. Fondly.
>
> Mark Hyman, MD
> Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Extremist Jews damage Palestinian olive trees

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** Shaker, Joan P
**Sent:** Sat Oct 09 08:54:26 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Extremist Jews damage Palestinian olive trees

IRAQ BURIN (AP) - Palestinians say extremist Jews damaged their olive trees close to a West Bank village as the yearly harvest of the important crop begins. Resident Bilal Eid said that two dozen men from a nearby Jewish settlement tore at about a dozen trees after trying to attack Palestinians bulldozing an access road to their fields. The attack came at the beginning of the 40-day Palestinian olive harvest. It's traditionally a time of heightened violence, as a minority of extremist Jews try to provoke Palestinians. Eid said the damage could kill the trees, which were meant to be harvested this week, near the village of Burin. A military spokeswoman said Israeli forces ordered the Jewish intruders to leave.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 9:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Abhisit canceled call. [redacted] B6

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# The Global Burden of Chronic Diseases: Overcoming Impediments to Prevention and Control

Derek Yach; Corinna Hawkes; C. Linn Gould; et al.

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 10:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke wants to talk.

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SPECIAL COMMUNICATION

# The Global Burden of Chronic Diseases
## Overcoming Impediments to Prevention and Control

Derek Yach, MBChB, MPH
Corinna Hawkes, PhD
C. Linn Gould, MS, MPH
Karen J. Hofman, MD

**Chronic diseases are the largest cause of death in the world. In 2002, the leading chronic diseases—cardiovascular disease, cancer, chronic respiratory disease, and diabetes—caused 29 million deaths worldwide. Despite growing evidence of epidemiological and economic impact, the global response to the problem remains inadequate. Stakeholders include governments, the World Health Organization and other United Nations bodies, academic and research groups, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector. Lack of financial support retards capacity development for prevention, treatment, and research in most developing countries. Reasons for this include that up-to-date evidence related to the nature of the burden of chronic diseases is not in the hands of decision makers and strong beliefs persist that chronic diseases afflict only the affluent and the elderly, that they arise solely from freely acquired risks, and that their control is ineffective and too expensive and should wait until infectious diseases are addressed. The influence of global economic factors on chronic disease risks impedes progress, as does the orientation of health systems toward acute care. We identify 3 policy levers to address these impediments: elevating chronic diseases on the health agenda of key policymakers, providing them with better evidence about risk factor control, and persuading them of the need for health systems change. A more concerted, strategic, and multisectoral policy approach, underpinned by solid research, is essential to help reverse the negative trends in the global incidence of chronic disease.**

*JAMA. 2004;291:2616-2622* www.jama.com

CHRONIC DISEASES ARE THE largest cause of death in the world (FIGURE 1), led by cardiovascular disease (17 million deaths in 2002, mainly from ischemic heart disease and stroke) and followed by cancer (7 million deaths), chronic lung diseases (4 million), and diabetes mellitus (almost 1 million).[1] These leading diseases share key risk factors: tobacco use, unhealthful diets, lack of physical activity, and alcohol use (TABLE).[2] The current burden of chronic diseases reflects past exposure to these risk factors, and the future burden will be largely determined by current exposures.

The global prevalence of all the leading chronic diseases is increasing, with the majority occurring in developing countries and projected to increase substantially over the next 2 decades (Figure 1).[3] Cardiovascular disease is already the leading cause of mortality in developing countries (FIGURE 2).[1] Between 1990 and 2020, mortality from ischemic heart disease in developing countries is expected to increase by 120% for women and 137% for men.[4] Predictions for the next 2 decades include a near tripling of ischemic heart disease and stroke mortality in Latin America, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. The global number of individuals with diabetes in 2000 was estimated to be 171 million (2.8% of the world's population), a figure projected to increase in 2030 to 366 million (6.5%), 298 million of whom will live in developing countries.[5] Cancer incidence increased 19% between 1990 and 2000, mainly in developing countries.[6] Death and disability due to chronic obstructive pulmonary disease are increasing across most regions.[7] Risks for chronic disease are also escalating. Smoking prevalence and obesity levels among adolescents in developing countries have risen over the past decade and portend rapid increases in chronic diseases.[8,9]

Numerous developing countries and countries in transition have witnessed a rapid deterioration of their chronic disease risk and mortality profiles.[2] In the world's most populous country, China, age-specific death rates from circulatory disease increased between 200% and 300% in those aged 35 through 44 years between 1986 and 1999, and by more than 100% in those aged 45 through 54 years.[10] During the same period, cancer death rates in-

**Author Affiliations:** World Health Organization, Geneva, Switzerland (Drs Yach, Hawkes, and Gould) and Fogarty International Center/US National Institutes of Health, Washington, DC (Dr Hofman). Linn Gould is now at Erda Environmental Services, Inc, Seattle, Wash.
**Correspondence:** Derek Yach, MBChB, MPH, World Health Organization, 20, Avenue Appia, CH-1211 Geneva 27 Switzerland (yachd@who.int).

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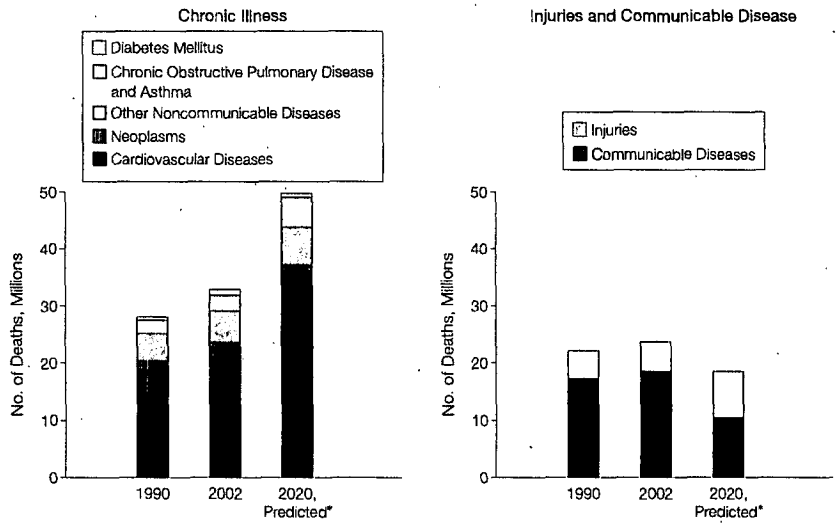
creased between 100% and 200% in those aged 35 through 44 years and between 100% and 160% in those aged 45 through 54 years.

Chronic diseases have not simply displaced acute infectious ones in developing countries. Rather, such countries now experience a polarized and protracted double burden of disease.[11] India, the second most populous country, has the highest number of diabetics in the world and annual coronary deaths are expected to reach 2 million by 2010.[12] At the same time, around 2.5 million children in India die from infections such as pneumonia, diarrhea, and malaria every year. In South Africa, infectious diseases account for 28% of years of lives lost while chronic diseases account for 25%.[13]

The increased burden of chronic diseases in countries that also have a high infectious disease burden is straining their health services. In all countries, it is also leading to growing economic costs, best documented with respect to tobacco-related diseases,[8] with increasing evidence emerging for cardiovascular disease,[4] diabetes,[14] and obesity.[15] Many developed nations have focused considerable efforts on addressing the burden of chronic diseases. In contrast, the rising burden of chronic diseases on developing countries has received inadequate attention.[16]

The rates and potential risks of chronic disease, vis-à-vis policy decisions, can be described conceptually. For example, as economic development occurs, tobacco use and obesity (and presumably other risk behaviors) increase.[9,17] Eventually uptake of risk factors leads to onset of disease. Mortality and morbidity from chronic disease subsequently decline along with continued economic development. Thus far, only the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries have achieved these declines,[4] which have been associated with consumption behavior, while declining mortality from chronic diseases is associated with very high levels of social and economic development. Thus, in the absence of policy actions, consumption of tobacco, alcohol, and foods high in fat and sugar increases along with gross national product, followed by associated increases in chronic diseases decades later. This contrasts with infectious diseases, which generally decline with economic growth.[18] Chronic disease risk rates do not begin to fall un-

**Figure 1.** Global Mortality From Chronic Diseases




Source derived from data in the World Health Report 2003[1] and Murray and Lopez.[3]
*The 2020 projections were estimated by Murray and Lopez.[3]

**Table.** Contribution of 10 Selected Risk Factors to Burden of Disease by Level of Development and Mortality*

| | Percentage of Mortality Attributable to Risk Factors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Developing Countries† | | |
| Risk Factor | High Mortality (Population: 2.3 Billion) | Low Mortality (Population: 2.4 Billion) | Developed Countries (Population: 1.4 Billion)† |
| Underweight | 14.9 | 3.1 | ... |
| Unsafe sex | 10.2 | ... | 0.8 |
| Unsafe water, sanitation and hygiene | 5.5 | 1.7 | ... |
| Indoor smoke from solid fuels | 3.7 | 1.9 | ... |
| Zinc deficiency | 3.2 | ... | ... |
| Iron deficiency | 3.1 | 1.8 | 0.7 |
| Vitamin A deficiency | 3.0 | ... | ... |
| Blood pressure | 2.5 | 5.0 | 10.9 |
| Tobacco | 2.0 | 4.0 | 12.2 |
| Cholesterol | 1.9 | 2.1 | 7.6 |
| Alcohol | ... | 6.2 | 9.2 |
| Overweight | ... | 2.7 | 7.4 |
| Low fruit and vegetable intake | ... | 1.9 | 3.9 |
| Physical inactivity | ... | ... | 3.3 |
| Illicit drugs | ... | ... | |

Ellipses indicates that it is not a top-10 mortality risk factor.
*Based on *The World Health Report 2003*.[2]
†Developed countries include the United States, Japan, and Australia; low-mortality developing countries include China, Brazil, and Thailand; and high-mortality developing countries include India, Mali, and Nigeria.

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til high levels of wealth and literacy are reached, whereupon governments are more likely to respond to public health concerns and use a broad range of policy instruments to influence consumption trends. The global challenge policymakers face is how to implement policies *now* that support continued economic development while simultaneously reducing the rates of increase of chronic diseases.

## KEY PLAYERS' POLICY RESPONSES TO THE GLOBAL BURDEN OF CHRONIC DISEASES

Although many key groups have responded to the infectious disease burdens of developing nations, they have not responded to the expanded chronic disease burden.

### Heads of State

Heads of state of the G8 countries recognized health as a global challenge at their Summit in 2000, acknowledging that health is the "key to prosperity" and that "poor health drives poverty."[19] The G8 leaders agreed to mobilize resources, ultimately leading to the establishment of the Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.[20] No subsequent commitment has yet been made for chronic diseases.

Similarly, the G77, representing heads of state from approximately 130 developing countries, recently discussed global health issues.[21] Their focus was communicable diseases although they did support the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control—a reversal for many G77 members, who previously feared reduced tobacco consumption would negatively affect their farmers.[21] The G77 have also expressed concerns that efforts to reduce sugar consumption might harm their economies.[22]

### Health Ministries

The capacity of 185 countries to prevent and treat chronic diseases was recently assessed by the World Health Organization (WHO).[23] Although there was a high level of awareness about chronic diseases among health ministry officials, this was not supported by comprehensive policies and budgets to develop integrated approaches to their prevention, surveillance, and control. Thirty-nine percent of countries reviewed had budget lines for chronic diseases. Only a few developing countries have committed significant resources to chronic disease control.[23]

### World Health Organization

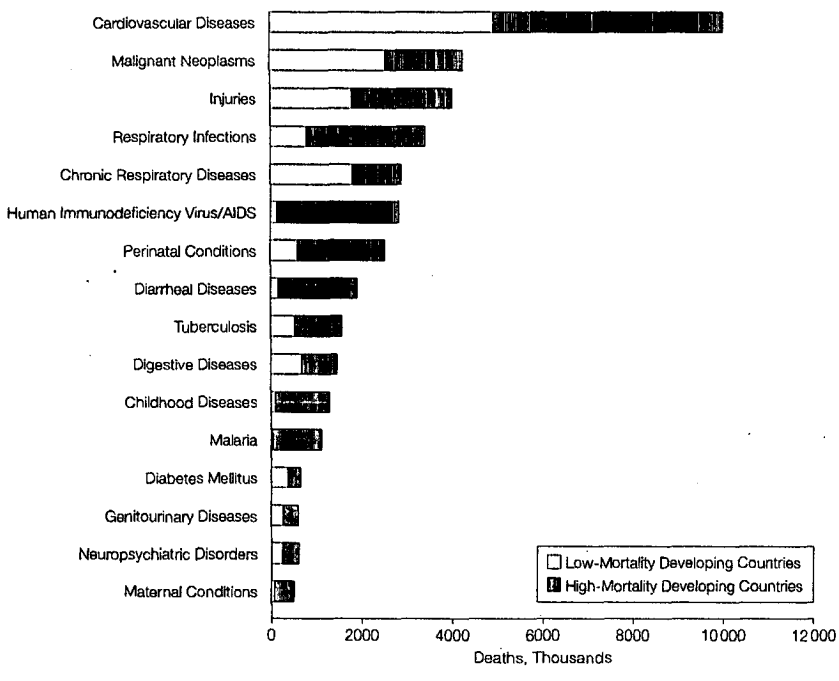
Many of WHO's functions are directly related to chronic disease control. WHO member states first requested action on chronic diseases in 1956 when India proposed a resolution on cardiovascular disease and hypertension at the Ninth World Health Assembly.[24] Subsequently, member states from both developed and developing countries have demanded action on chronic diseases, including the global strategy on "Prevention and Control of Non-communicable Diseases" in 2000[25] and a resolution and subsequent strategy on "Diet, Physical Activity and Health" in 2002-2004.[26] The landmark resolution on the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in 2003[27] was the first time WHO used its constitutional treaty-making right to address a global public health threat.

With the important exception of tobacco control, WHO's financial resources for chronic disease control are small. WHO Headquarters spends only $0.50 on chronic diseases (all noncommunicable diseases except for mental health) per death per person compared with $7.50 for leading communicable diseases.[28]

### Academic Health Centers and Research Institutions

Schools of public health in the United States train thousands of health professionals from developing countries who return home as potential future public health leaders. A survey of the core requirements of the curricula of members of the Association of Schools of Public Health indicates that international health course work does not yet reflect the current global burden of chronic diseases.[29] Although Johns Hopkins, University of North Carolina, and Yale now address obesity in their nutrition courses and Yale teaches chronic diseases and has

**Figure 2.** Deaths Attributable to 16 Leading Causes in Developing Countries, 2001






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a international tobacco seminar in its introductory global health course, the primary focus remains on infectious diseases and primary health care.

International committees convened by the Global Forum on Health Research recommend that greater support be given to chronic disease research specific to developing countries.[30] Yet the exponential growth of funding over the past decades has not been proportionally allocated to the growing burden of chronic disease.[31] Most research support focuses on infectious diseases.[32,33] A recent review showed that total health research funds spent on chronic diseases was only 7.4% in Cuba, 2.3% in Kazakhstan, and 14.4% in the Philippines.[34]

Nevertheless, there are efforts to focus more research on chronic diseases. The Fogarty International Center has begun to allocate one third of its resources to chronic disease research and training programs in the developing world.[35] Research funding agencies in India, Mexico, and South Africa are devoting increasing budgetary resources to chronic diseases.[36-38] Important insights into policies needed to strengthen research capability for chronic diseases in developing nations can be gained from experiences in tropical disease research and training over the past 3 decades.[39]

### Donors

Although official development assistance for health has increased in the past 5 years, these trends have been almost entirely absorbed by human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa (Catherine M. Michaud, MD, PhD, written communication, October 2003). Bilateral aid agencies rarely prioritize chronic disease or related risk factors.[40] Official Overseas Development Aid to the health sector in 2002 reached $2.9 billion, of which 0.1% was officially allocated to chronic diseases (including mental health; Catherine M. Michaud, MD, PhD, written communication, March 2004). The true figure may be higher since about 30% of Overseas Development Aid to health goes to basic health services, of which a proportion would benefit chronic disease control.

Private investment in global health far exceeds government assistance, but most target infectious diseases and humanitarian needs. There has been modest support for tobacco control from the UN Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Soros Foundations,[41,42] but this is now declining. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation does not include chronic diseases in its portfolio.[43] Although several US foundations support innovative domestic chronic disease research and training programs, they provide little support for such programs internationally.

### World Bank and Regional Development Banks

Although the World Bank recognizes the increasing burden of chronic diseases on the poor,[44] it has no comprehensive chronic disease policy. Over the last 5 years, it provided $4.25 billion in loans to countries for health sector work, about 2.5% of which was allocated to "noncommunicable disease prevention and control" programs, all in eastern Europe (Catherine M. Michaud, MD, PhD, written communication, March 2004).

The lack of an integrated approach to chronic diseases is reflected by the Bank's Poverty Strategy Reduction Papers, which are intended to guide investment priorities to reduce poverty in the poorest countries in the world. However, the Poverty Strategy Reduction Papers present no strategies to address chronic diseases, and in particular smoking.[45]

The Regional Development Banks have policies on health, but only the Asian Development Bank includes chronic diseases.[46] This policy has been met by minimal spending commitments. A review carried out for the Asian Development Bank in 1999 recommends that subsidies for chronic diseases would be better spent on the prevention and treatment of communicable diseases.[47] The rationale was that the cost of treating chronic disease is most likely to accrue to individuals and, as such, should be left to the private market.

### Global Nongovernmental Organizations

Nationally, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are reported to play a variety of roles in chronic disease control, but their precise roles and effectiveness are not well known.[23] Internationally, NGOs proved critical in the development of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.[16] Nongovernmental organizations have a wide geographic spread and have the ability to build capacity. Yet overall, there has been no concerted effort on chronic diseases by NGOs. Nongovernmental organizations concerned with diet and nutrition in developed countries have not built capacity in developing countries. International consumer group input is inadequate. Initiatives such as "sustainable development" and "corporate social responsibility" have not been applied to chronic diseases.

### Health and Development Initiatives

United Nations health and development reports play a major role in setting priorities for global health. Persistent problems that hinder development, such as infant and maternal mortality, malnutrition, and HIV/AIDS have received priority in the poorest countries. But the emphasis on communicable diseases has excluded consideration of chronic diseases in low-middle and middle income countries. The Millennium Development Goals are illustrative in this respect. Millennium Development Goal 6 is to "Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases."[48] Although the *other diseases* category theoretically includes chronic diseases, in practice, they are ignored. The UN Population Fund does not mention chronic diseases in its strategy on population and development[49] and UN Children's Fund's recent goal-setting program, "A World Fit for Children" does not include risk factors for chronic conditions among the 25 action points proposed to "promote healthy lives" despite strong evidence to the contrary.[50]

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### Reasons for Neglect: Impediments to Control Global Chronic Diseases

In most developing countries inadequate financing and lack of manpower to address chronic diseases have been major impediments to chronic disease control. Other impediments are the failure to provide key decision makers with up-to-date evidence on the burden of chronic diseases; a lack of understanding of the economic factors that influence chronic disease risks; and the current orientation of health systems toward acute care.

### Up-to-Date Evidence Is Not in the Hands of Key Decision Makers

Many key decision makers still believe that chronic diseases afflict only the affluent and the elderly and arise only from freely acquired risks and that their control is ineffective and too expensive and should wait until infectious diseases are addressed.

These beliefs are based on a misunderstanding of the chronic disease burden. In developed countries, the relationship between socioeconomic inequalities and many chronic diseases and their risk factors are well described.[51] Although the disease burden is more variable in developing countries, the poorest populations, particularly in rapidly growing cities, in many cases already exhibit the highest risks for tobacco use, alcohol use, and physical activity, with evidence emerging for obesity.[52-54] This will lead to a higher burden of chronic diseases over the long-term. Poverty also leads to greater comorbidity and decreased access to quality medical care.

Chronic diseases in developing countries are not just diseases of the elderly, since cardiovascular disease accounts for as many deaths in young and middle-aged adults as HIV/AIDS.[1] Also, in developing countries chronic diseases affect a much higher proportion of people during their prime working years than in developed countries. Male deaths during middle age could create a significant cohort of widows, which increases the likelihood that women will live out their final years in poverty.[4]

Many decision makers mistakenly believe that chronic diseases arise only as a result of the irresponsibility of the individuals who contract them, with the perception that "smoking is a free choice with health consequences."[55] Yet age and uptake of smoking in developing countries are showing a trend toward early teenage years,[8] the stage of life when the addictiveness of tobacco belies freedom of choice. Tobacco marketing is often targeted specifically at children,[56] alcohol advertisements shape young peoples' perceptions and encourage prodrink attitudes,[57] and food marketing works its way "into the skin" of children and adolescents.[58] There will always be a tension between the role of individuals vs the role of government, but it is clear that governments (and industry) must take some responsibility.[59]

Chronic disease control is not necessarily expensive or ineffective. For example, a recent review of tobacco control in Brazil, South Africa, Thailand, Poland, Bangladesh, and Canada showed that tobacco prevalence can be reduced cost-effectively in high-, middle-, and low-income countries.[60] Several clinical and public health interventions have the potential to reduce the burden of disease from cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and hypertension significantly and at low cost.[2] There is, however, an urgent need to develop best practices for obesity control.

The belief that scarce resources should not be used for chronic diseases until infectious diseases are addressed is also fallacious. Several infectious agents cause cancers[6]; tobacco increases deaths from tuberculosis in already infected populations,[61] and antiretroviral regimens in HIV-infected patients increase the risk of heart disease.[62] Better tobacco control would reduce tuberculosis mortality, and new vaccines could reduce the prevalence of cervical cancer and perhaps other cancers.

### Economic Factors Influence Chronic Disease Risks

At a macroeconomic level, it is often assumed that global economic development increases income and subsequently improves all aspects of health in developing countries. Yet, although greater economic investment and higher incomes among some groups have eased some of the health challenges in developing countries, chronic diseases have been exacerbated.[4]

Important drivers here are urbanization, trade, foreign investment, and promotional marketing. More open conditions for trade and foreign investment can bring economic benefits, but also encourage unhealthful behavior risks.[63] Several of the world's top 100 nonfinancial transnational corporations ranked by foreign assets in 2000 are associated with chronic disease risk factors, including tobacco, food, and automobile companies.[64] These companies all invest heavily in marketing their products,[56-58] which, if unregulated, encourages acquisition of the risk factors for chronic diseases.

Lobbyists for tobacco, sugar, and other food interests have diverted attention from the need to address consumption patterns that drive chronic diseases, and their views have become the accepted position of many policymakers.[65] Some companies and their trade associations have actively tried to thwart introduction of regulations and effective advocacy in advancing tobacco control.[66] Sugar lobbyists have been effective in having their messages that "sugar doesn't harm health—but less sugar consumption harms their economies" accepted by some governments despite evidence to the contrary.[67]

### Health Systems Are Not Oriented Toward Managing Chronic Diseases

Acute problems, such as certain infectious diseases and maternal and child care, have been the principal focus of health care systems.[68] Although infectious diseases continue to be a threat in many developing countries, their health systems now must address a double burden of chronic and acute conditions.

The chronic disease management model is more complex than that required for acute problems, such as


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many infectious diseases.[68] It entails multiple causes over a lifetime and a more horizontal and integrated approach, with patient, family, and the community being active participants.

Chronic care has tended to screen high-risk individuals with a high probability of contracting chronic diseases. Yet for chronic diseases, most risk factors are widely distributed in the population, with all individuals at risk but differing in the extent of their risk.[69] Prevention and treatment therefore requires a sustained, multisectoral commitment well beyond the traditional health sector. This model is also required for communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, since antiretroviral therapy must be taken for life.[70]

## TOWARD THE FUTURE—LEVERING LONG-TERM CHANGE

The rising global burden of chronic diseases needs stronger leadership by policy makers, advocates, and health professionals.

### Placing Chronic Diseases Higher on the Political and Health Agenda

Decision makers need to be fully informed with the up-to-date evidence about the burden and impacts of chronic diseases. Clearer messages on chronic diseases are needed and the advocacy base expanded. Gaps in our knowledge about chronic disease control should be tackled using a "grand challenges initiative."[71]

### Controlling Risk Factors for Chronic Diseases

The negative impacts of global economic development can be ameliorated through multisectoral action to tackle chronic diseases upstream. Policy leaders need to encourage transnational corporations to improve health while also making a profit by putting in place new business models, such as those being developed by Unilever (Paulus Verschuen and Harry Jongeneelan, written communication, May 13, 2004) and Novo Nordisk SA.[72] They should also encourage the creation of codes and incentives for healthy foreign investment in developing countries and incorporating chronic diseases into accountability initiatives such as the UN Global Compact.[73]

The role of government is critical to the development and implementation of well grounded risk-factor control programs such as the WHO's Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, which also has implications for food policies.[74] Age-specific death rates from the leading chronic diseases in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries have declined as a result of governmental and civil society action against tobacco use, emphasis on maintaining healthful lifestyles, and access to treatments.[4] Over the last decade, increased longevity has been accompanied by a compression of morbidity: in the United States, disability rates in people older than 65 years have decreased 2% a year while mortality rates have declined by 1%.[75]

Governments can play a role by altering economic incentives for business and individuals. Expanding markets for fruit and vegetables will allow developing countries to gain from increased export earnings and consumption. Raising the tobacco excise tax to levels that will reduce consumption effectively[76] will increase government revenue and reduce the burden of disease.

### Health System Realignment

Health systems should be realigned to accommodate diagnosis, secondary prevention, and primary prevention of chronic diseases. Governments need to support this transformation if they are to realize significant health gains. In an approach that has international applications, the United Kingdom Government Treasury has recommended a set of clear health targets and objectives for the nation based on scenarios.[77] The new financing opportunities for chronic infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis create a chance to build integrated systems in the poorest countries. The potential for secondary prevention of cardiovascular disease and diabetes in developing countries has been highlighted by several academics[4,16,68] but needs to be translated into action.

We are now at a critical juncture with respect to the global health agenda. Coordinated and focused emphasis on chronic disease is essential to address the enormity of the burden of those who now survive beyond childhood around the world.

**Disclaimer:** The views in this article represent the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or position of either the World Health Organization or the views or position of the US National Institutes of Health.

**Acknowledgment:** The authors would like to thank Dr Catherine Michaud for her analysis of Overseas Development Assistance for chronic diseases. Thanks also to Ian Neil from WHO and the anonymous reviewer for comments that helped strengthen the article.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Issues I cover
**Attachments:** Note on current projects.docx; Note on current projects.docx

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 10 11:17:32 2010
Subject: Issues I cover

Madam Secretary,

Attached and below, please find a list of the issues I cover.

Thanks,

Mike

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Clinton

FROM: Mike

CC: Cheryl, Jake

SUBJECT: Issues I Cover

In addition to the day-to-day projects and follow-up items I work on with Jake, I cover the following issues:

Long-Range Policy

- Helping Cheryl and Jake plan for, and follow-up on, the bi-monthly policy meetings
- Working with bureaus on end-of-year reports follow-up
- Keeping up to speed on issues discussed at Deputies meetings for weekly memos
- Helping shepherd speech ideas and providing feedback on drafts

Substantive Issue Areas

- Human rights/democracy
- Sudan
- Mexico
- Cookstoves
- Yemen-related issues
- Export controls
- Cybersecurity
- Terrorist finance issues
- Military families issues
- Climate change
- Dialogues and partnerships with Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Indonesia, Brazil

State Department Reform

- Report reform: Working with Rich Verma and his team on reforming state's system for producing annual reports to Congress
- QDDR-related assistance

RELEASE IN FULL

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CC: Cheryl, Jake

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**State Department Reform**

- Report reform: Working with Rich Verma and his team on reforming state's system for producing annual reports to Congress
- QDDR-related assistance

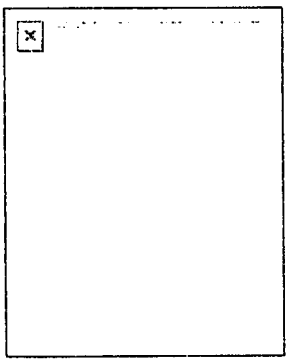
RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Dems should demand Boehner remove this GOP Nazi reenactor. Put Boehner in this blitzkrieg. Sid

# Why is This GOP House Candidate Dressed as a Nazi?

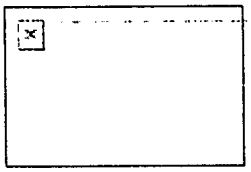
**By Joshua Green**

An election year already notable for its menagerie of extreme and unusual candidates can add another one: Rich Iott, the Republican nominee for Congress from Ohio's 9th District, and a Tea Party favorite, who for years donned a German Waffen SS uniform and participated in Nazi re-enactments.



Rich Iott, second from right, in a Nazi SS Waffen uniform.

Iott, whose district lies in Northwest Ohio, was involved with a group that calls itself Wiking, whose members are devoted to re-enacting the exploits of an actual Nazi division, the 5th SS Panzer Division Wiking, which fought mainly on the Eastern Front during World War II. Iott's participation in the Wiking group is not mentioned on his campaign's website, and his name and photographs were removed from the Wiking website.When contacted by The Atlantic, Iott confirmed his involvement with the group over a number of years, but said his interest in Nazi Germany was historical and he does not subscribe to the tenets of Nazism. "No, absolutely not," he said. "In fact, there's a disclaimer on the [Wiking] website. And you'll find that on almost any reenactment website. It's purely historical interest in World War II."



Rich Iott and his wife, as shown on his campaign website.

Iott, a member of the Ohio Military Reserve, added, "I've always been fascinated by the fact that here was a relatively small country that from a strictly military point of view accomplished incredible things. I mean, they took over most of Europe and Russia, and it really took the combined effort of the free world to defeat them. From a purely historical military point of view, that's incredible."

Iott says the group chose the Wiking division in part because it fought on the Eastern Front, mainly against the Russian

Army, and not U.S. or British soldiers. The group's website includes a lengthy history of the Wiking unit, a recruitment video, and footage of goose-stepping German soldiers marching in the Warsaw victory parade after Poland fell in 1939. The website makes scant mention of the atrocities committed by the Waffen SS, and includes only a glancing reference to the "twisted" nature of Nazism. Instead, it emphasizes how the Wiking unit fought Bolshevist Communism:

> Nazi Germany had no problem in recruiting the multitudes of volunteers willing to lay down their lives to ensure a "New and Free Europe", free of the threat of Communism. National Socialism was seen by many in Holland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and other eastern European and Balkan countries as the protector of personal freedom and their very way of life, despite the true underlying totalitarian (and quite twisted, in most cases) nature of the movement. Regardless, thousands upon thousands of valiant men died defending their respective countries in the name of a better tomorrow. We salute these idealists; no matter how unsavory the Nazi government was, the front-line soldiers of the Waffen-SS (in particular the foreign volunteers) gave their lives for their loved ones and a basic desire to be free.

Historians of Nazi Germany vehemently dispute this characterization. "These guys don't know their history," said Charles W. Sydnor, Jr., a retired history professor and author of "Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death's Head Division, 1933-45," which chronicles an SS division. "They have a sanitized, romanticized view of what occurred." Sydnor added that re-enactments like the Wiking group's are illegal in Germany and Austria. "If you were to put on an SS uniform in Germany today, you'd be arrested."

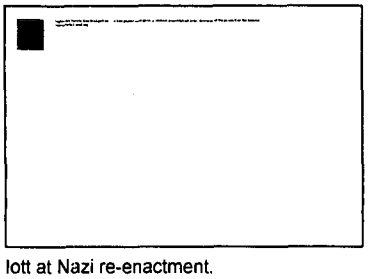
See web-only content:
http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/10/why-is-this-gop-house-candidate-dressed-as-a-nazi/64319/

Christopher Browning, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, said, "It is so unhistorical and so apologetic that you don't know to what degree they've simply caught up innocent war memorabilia enthusiasts who love putting on uniforms."

Iott says he does not recall exactly when he joined the Wiking group (his name appears on a unit roster as far back as 2003), but did so with his son "as a father-son bonding thing." He says his name and pictures were removed from the Wiking website not out of concern that they would harm his political career, but because he quit the group three years ago, after his son lost interest.

Iott participated in the group under his own name, and also under the alias "Reinhard Pferdmann," which has also been removed, and which Iott described as being his German alter ego. "Part of the reenactor's [experience]," Iott said, "is the living-history part, of really trying to get into the persona of the time period. In many, not just in our unit, but in many units what individuals do is create this person largely based on a Germanized version of their name, and a history kind of based around your own real experiences. 'Reinhard' of course is 'Richard' in German. And 'Pferdmann,' 'pferd' is a horse. So it's literally 'horse man.'"

Asked whether his participation in a Nazi re-enactor's group might not upset voters, particularly Jewish voters, Iott said he hoped it would not: "They have to take it in context. There's reenactors out there who do everything. You couldn't do Civil War re-enacting if somebody didn't play the role of the Confederates. [This] is something that's definitely way in the past. ... [I hope voters] take it in context and see it for what it is, an interest in World War II history. And that's strictly all."



Iott at Nazi re-enactment.

Rabbi Moshe Saks, of the Congregation B'nai Israel in Sylvania, Ohio, a suburb of Toledo that sits in the 9th district, disagreed. "Any kind of reenactment or glorification of Nazi Germany, to us, would be something unacceptable and certainly in poor taste, if not offensive," he said. "I think the reaction here will be very negative. And not just among the Jewish community, but the broader community."

In a follow-up email today, Iott seemed at pains to address concerns that his conduct may have alienated veterans groups but made no specific mention of possible offense to Jews or human rights groups: "Never, in any of my reenacting of military history, have I meant any disrespect to anyone who served in our military or anyone who has been affected by the

tragedy of war. In fact, I have immense respect for veterans who served our country valiantly, and my respect of the military and our veterans is one of the reasons I have actively studied military history throughout my life." He added that he has participated in re-enactments as a Civil War Union infantryman, a World War I dough boy and World War II American infantryman and paratrooper.

The actual Wiking unit has a history as grisly as that of other Nazi divisions. In her book "The Death Marches of Hungarian Jews Through Austria in the Spring of 1945," Eleonore Lappin, the noted Austrian historian, writes that soldiers from the Wiking division were involved in the killing of Hungarian Jews in March and April 1945, before surrendering to American forces in Austria.

"What you often hear is that the [Wiking] division was never formally accused of anything, but that's kind of a dodge," says Prof. Rob Citino, of the Military History Center at the University of North Texas, who examined the Wiking website. "The entire German war effort in the East was a racial crusade to rid the world of 'subhumans,' Slavs were going to be enslaved in numbers of tens of millions. And of course the multimillion Jewish population of Eastern Europe was going to be exterminated altogether. That's what all these folks were doing in the East. It sends a shiver up my spine to think that people want to dress up and play SS on the weekend."

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<img src="http://b.scorecardresearch.com/p?c1=2&c2=6463921&c3=&c4=&c5=&c6=&c15=&cj=1" alt="" />

RELEASE IN PART
B5

---

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 9:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Your speech on the Mideast

Of course. We're working on the deliverables now per your request.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Daniel, Joshua J
Sent: Mon Oct 18 20:59:36 2010
Subject: Re: Your speech on the Mideast

Thx, Josh. May I see a draft tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Oct 17 18:57:42 2010
Subject: Your speech on the Mideast

Madame Secretary,

On Wednesday, you're scheduled to give a 15-minute talk at a gala hosted by the American Task Force on Palestine, a moderate, pro-peace Palestinian-American organization. Here's a quick overview of our plans for the speech, which we developed with NEA. Please let us know if you have any reactions.

The audience in the room will include Palestinian-Americans who are influential in their communities: lawyers, doctors, business leaders, etc. Of course, a much larger audience beyond the room will read this speech as well. This is your first opportunity to address this issue in a serious way since the end of the moratorium.

B5

Key points:

B5

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 2:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke called again. Wants to talk before his 4pm flight

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** postmaster@state.gov
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 2:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Undeliverable: Schedule
**Attachments:** details.txt; Schedule (1.98 KB)

## Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

woodardew2@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

**Diagnostic information for administrators:**

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu

woodardew2@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

```
Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.238]) by
 MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959);         Sat, 9
 Oct 2010 14:50:50 -0400
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
        by vance2.state.gov  with ESMTP id o99IRX3G009077
        (version=TLSv1/SSLv3 cipher=AES128-SHA bits=128 verify=CAFAIL)
        for <woodardEW2@state.gov>; Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:27:34 -0400
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
 CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sat, 9
 Oct 2010 14:48:40 -0400
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'woodardEW2@state.gov'" <woodardEW2@state.gov>, Huma Abedin
                                                                              B6
Date: Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:48:39 -0400
Subject: Schedule
Thread-Topic: Schedule
Thread-Index: Actn4paKaQgL7soQQ5W0UtK1rs/T1g==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044881607D4E774@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
```

Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 09 Oct 2010 18:50:50.0911 (UTC) FILETIME=[E4CD22F0:01CB67E2]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4160-6.500.1024-17690.006
X-TM-AS-Result: No--12.519900-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 5:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Faxes

Odd - the specials say they sent to NY and got confirmation. Working to get them out again.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Faxes
Sent: Oct 9, 2010 2:51 PM

They did not arrive in NY so were they sent to DC instead? If they were, I will get them tomorrow by noon when I return.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 7:40 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** woodardew@state.gov
**Subject:** RE: Undeliverable: Schedule

MS,
It's WoodardEW@state.gov
I apologize for not seeing this sooner - I don't get my hotmail to my blackberry.
I'm copying Eric here.
-Lauren

From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
To: Laurenjiloty[redacted]
Date: Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:52:40 -0400
Subject: Fw: Undeliverable: Schedule

What is Eric W's address? The one below didn't work.

----- Original Message -----
From: postmaster@state.gov <postmaster@state.gov>
To: woodardew2@state.gov <woodardew2@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Oct 09 14:51:11 2010
Subject: Undeliverable: Schedule

Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

woodardew2@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

Diagnostic information for administrators:

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu

woodardew2@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.238]) by
 MSWASHDCIB03.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959); Sat, 9
 Oct 2010 14:50:50 -0400
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (001-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
 by vance2.state.gov with ESMTP id o99IRX3G009077

(version=TLSv1/SSLv3 cipher=AES128-SHA bits=128 verify=CAFAIL)
for <woodardEW2@state.gov>; Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:27:34 -0400
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by
CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sat, 9
Oct 2010 14:48:40 -0400
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'woodardEW2@state.gov'" <woodardEW2@state.gov>, Huma Abedin
[redacted] B6
Date: Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:48:39 -0400
Subject: Schedule
Thread-Topic: Schedule
Thread-Index: Actn4paKaQgL7soQQ5W0UtK1rs/T1g==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044881607D4E774@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 09 Oct 2010 18:50:50.0911 (UTC) FILETIME=[E4CD22F0:01CB67E2]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4160-6.500.1024-17690.006
X-TM-AS-Result: No--12.519900-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

--Forwarded Message Attachment--
From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
To: woodardEW2@state.gov; Huma [redacted]
Date: Sat, 9 Oct 2010 14:48:39 -0400
Subject: Schedule

Line block questions:

Why is the Julia Roberts interview during the time I have weekly depoartmental meeting?

Also, I don't see a mtg w POTUS on the 15th--can we get that scheduled?

I want to have my own pre-brief before the Kissinger event.

And, I notice that the HBO event conflicts w a PC mtg at WH. Now w/Donilon in charge can we get a set time for all the regular mtgs so we don't schedule conflicting events?

When is Adm Mullen having his small Pakistan dinner? If it's the 21st, can I get back in time from Paris?

If La Raza can pay for a reception for Raul, why is his swearing in ceremony in the Treaty Room instead of the Franklin? Can't we find a time for them? Also, I won't be able to go to his reception at a hotel since I have to go to the screening for the Nat Geo special so that day doesn't work so well. What about on the 26th after I get back from NY since Bill will be in Haiti and could come back to DC?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Irwin redlener

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 14 18:35:16 2010
Subject: Fw: Irwin redlener

Ill add him to your grid
[redacted] c.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Jan 14 18:34:22 2010
Subject: Irwin redlener

Just called me for her. Wants to talk to her about pediatric casualties in haiti

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 5:51 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Fw: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Fyi

---

**From:** Schwartz, Larry
**To:** McHale, Judith A; Douglas, Walter T; Davidson, Mark J
**Sent:** Sun Oct 10 01:35:11 2010
**Subject:** FW: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Interaction op-ed that Raj Shah was told will appear in the Washington Post also appeared in Sunday Daily Times in Pakistan.

---

by Samuel A. Worthington

The work that relief and humanitarian organizations carry out in Pakistan is far from easy or safe. We go to difficult areas and are targets for militants seeking to destroy our lifesaving mission through a campaign of killing, kidnapping and intimidation.

Overtly branding our efforts as sponsored by the U.S. government — as the Obama administration wants us to do — only makes our jobs harder and more dangerous.

I have the privilege of leading InterAction, an alliance of U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations conducting relief work around the world; nearly a quarter of our 200 members are responding to the recent floods in Pakistan, and many of them have been in Pakistan for decades.

Though our efforts are supported by public donations, much of the assistance we deliver — whether food, water, essential health care or education — comes via funding from the U.S. government. And in recent weeks, the Obama administration has pressured us to make that link as clear and public as possible. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton questioned our courage, suggesting last month that some NGOs are too "afraid to have association with the U.S. government" while distributing aid in Pakistan.

None of the NGO workers in Pakistan — living under a daily threat of kidnappings or targeted killings — are cowards. The dangers they face are immense, and their bravery must be commended as they help people whose lives have been devastated by terrorism or the epic floods.

Of course, I understand where the administration is coming from. The U.S.-funded assistance we provide saves lives and helps struggling communities rebuild. In the battle for hearts and minds in Pakistan, U.S. officials argue, the failure to clearly advertise that the American government is behind this help — with, for instance, logos on medicines or signs on food-distribution centers — is a missed opportunity. In 2009 the United States approved $7.5 billion in assistance to Pakistan over the next five years; however, as Washington Post columnist David Ignatius noted recently, Pakistanis read more about American drone attacks than about these aid dollars.

In countries such as Liberia or Democratic Republic of Congo, U.S. NGOs that get funding from the U.S. government routinely promote the fact that they are delivering help "from the American people." But in Pakistan, where aid workers' lives are more often at stake, an enforced branding campaign could undermine our ability to deliver assistance as fast as possible without being a lightning rod for protests or attacks. It would also put the lives of Americans and their Pakistani colleagues at risk. (It is usually Pakistani nationals who do the bulk of the work on the ground.)

In an environment where we are often soft targets for militants, drawing attention to our connection to the U.S. government makes us even more vulnerable.

In March, one of InterAction's most active members in Pakistan, World Vision — which works on issues from health care to farming to literacy — was attacked in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly called the North-West Frontier Province), and seven of its employees were killed. And a year ago, the office of the World Food Program in Islamabad was attacked, and five employees were killed.

There must be a balance among mitigating the risks NGOs face, communicating U.S. goodwill and delivering assistance effectively. NGOs must be allowed to strike that balance on their own every day — even if the upshot is that we don't include U.S. signs on new health clinics.

In some cases, particularly in less-volatile regions of Pakistan, conspicuously identifying aid as American may not pose a threat to our work. But in areas where militants are particularly active, the risks to those delivering the aid may be great. These judgments must be made by the NGOs on the ground, depending on local circumstances, and not directed by the State Department's branding concerns.

In Pakistani tribal areas along the Afghan border, for instance, the U.S. Agency for International Development has granted our members waivers allowing us not to brand U.S. assistance, but there is growing pressure by the government for these waivers to be phased out. While I agree that U.S. aid to the Pakistani people and government needs to be more visible, this could put humanitarian workers' lives in jeopardy.

The American people are enormously generous, as shown after Haiti's devastating earthquake in January and in the aftermath of the December 2004 tsunami in Asia. In Pakistan, the United States — through military and civilian assistance, as well as through NGOs — is playing a major role in response to the recent floods, which forced at least 15 million people from their homes. The humanitarian groups I represent are providing basics, including clean water, medicine and shelter.

The debate over branding our efforts is not simply another technical policy decision; for us, it can be a matter of life and death. NGOs and the Obama administration must work together to find a solution that allows humanitarian workers in the field flexibility to brand or not, according to security conditions on the ground.

We are ready and eager to have that dialogue. The lives of our front-line workers depend on it.

Samuel A. Worthington is president of InterAction, an alliance of U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations carrying out international humanitarian and development work.
END

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** H

Jon davidson will print your press clips today.
Was going to have monica help marina tomorrow morning unless you don't need it.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 9:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

I agree. As you know I believe passionately that it is not in our national interests to continue to provide billions of dollars in aid and assistance without the very people we are helping knowing we are the ones providing the assistance. Some of our research in Pakistan indicates that many people believe the assistancee is coming from China and of course the Chinese do nothing to correct the record.

I asked INR to provide me with an assessment of the current situation after the floods to determine the impact of our assistance. I have also asked them to work with the IC to give us an accurate and unbiased assessment of the security risks involved. I aksed for it a couple of weeks ago so hopefully they will have something we can use now which might be helpful in drafting a response.

In terms of the security arguments he makes, it is worth noting that the incidents he references are situations where the attacks occured in places where there was NO USG branding. The reality is that the terrorists attack any group or institution which might impede their ability to prevail.

I had already planned a USAID/State meeting to address this issue this week. I'll try to get everyone together today or tomorrow and will report back to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sun Oct 10 08:08:19 2010
Subject: Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

JM- [redacted] B5
[redacted] HRC

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Oct 10 05:50:43 2010
Subject: Fw: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Fyi

---

From: Schwartz, Larry
To: McHale, Judith A; Douglas, Walter T; Davidson, Mark J
Sent: Sun Oct 10 01:35:11 2010
Subject: FW: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

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Though our efforts are supported by public donations, much of the assistance we deliver — whether food, water, essential health care or education — comes via funding from the U.S. government. And in recent weeks, the Obama administration has pressured us to make that link as clear and public as possible. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton questioned our courage, suggesting last month that some NGOs are too "afraid to have association with the U.S. government" while distributing aid in Pakistan.

None of the NGO workers in Pakistan — living under a daily threat of kidnappings or targeted killings — are cowards. The dangers they face are immense, and their bravery must be commended as they help people whose lives have been devastated by terrorism or the epic floods.

Of course, I understand where the administration is coming from. The U.S.-funded assistance we provide saves lives and helps struggling communities rebuild. In the battle for hearts and minds in Pakistan, U.S. officials argue, the failure to clearly advertise that the American government is behind this help — with, for instance, logos on medicines or signs on food-distribution centers — is a missed opportunity. In 2009 the United States approved $7.5 billion in assistance to Pakistan over the next five years; however, as Washington Post columnist David Ignatius noted recently, Pakistanis read more about American drone attacks than about these aid dollars.

In countries such as Liberia or Democratic Republic of Congo, U.S. NGOs that get funding from the U.S. government routinely promote the fact that they are delivering help "from the American people." But in Pakistan, where aid workers' lives are more often at stake, an enforced branding campaign could undermine our ability to deliver assistance as fast as possible without being a lightning rod for protests or attacks. It would also put the lives of Americans and their Pakistani colleagues at risk. (It is usually Pakistani nationals who do the bulk of the work on the ground.)

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END

SBU

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 11:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Thx. I feel the same way! Just got off a call with usaid, srap and my team. We are drafting a response. I think we need something firm, accurate and rapid. Still deciding who will sign and whether it will be an op ed or letter to the editor. I want to be sure we avoid a public battle with the ngo community on this issue. UsAID is recommending that Raj meet with Worthington and read him the riot act for the op ed.

Will forward the draft before we send.

BTW, USAID confirmed that there was no USG branding in the attacks Worthington references.

Jm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sun Oct 10 10:48:22 2010
Subject: Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Thx--I love working w you--I feel sometimes we were separated at birth! Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Oct 10 09:07:53 2010
Subject: Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

I agree. As you know I believe passionately that it is not in our national interests to continue to provide billions of dollars in aid and assistance without the very people we are helping knowing we are the ones providing the assistance. Some of our research in Pakistan indicates that many people believe the assistancee is coming from China and of course the Chinese do nothing to correct the record.

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To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Sun Oct 10 08:08:19 2010
Subject: Re: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

JM- [redacted] B5
[redacted] HRC B5

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From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Oct 10 05:50:43 2010
Subject: Fw: InterAction op-ed on branding in Pakistan

Fyi

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From: Schwartz, Larry
To: McHale, Judith A; Douglas, Walter T; Davidson, Mark J
Sent: Sun Oct 10 01:35:11 2010
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END

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 8:38 PM
**To:** 'rshah[redacted]; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Is there still a bottleneck at the airport? I'm listening to a doctor (Bob Hoff w Salvation Army)on NPR saying he is upset because they are running out of supplies and he keeps being told they are in the air.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Gates says he needs to talk to u tonight

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 11:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Have talked a few times with Tom

Can debrief or discuss at your convenience Madame Secretary. Ops can find me at any time. Will be out of pocket 1 to 4. Thanks Kurt

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 14, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: FYI - Colombian President Uribe intends to travel to Haiti January 17,

When can you talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 14 20:54:25 2010
Subject: FYI - Colombian President Uribe intends to travel to Haiti January 17,

INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION

(U) Colombian President Uribe intends to travel to Haiti January 17, according to press. His government will also send a naval hospital ship. (Rendon News Alerts)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 10:25 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Fw: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake
**Attachments:** [Untitled].pdf; [Untitled].pdf

----- Original Message -----
From: Huang, Cindy Y
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Haslach, Patricia M
Sent: Mon Oct 18 18:39:51 2010
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Handwritten note of thanks from Tony Lake to S. Glad that he notes the meeting was "useful" -- maybe a sign that we managed to make it more than just talking heads? Thx!

-----Original Message-----
From: Sabar, Aisha (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 6:38 PM
To: Nagy, Eleanor; Huang, Cindy Y
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Nice note from Tony Lake to the Secretary regarding the nutrition event in case you didn't already see it..

Aisha I. Sabar
Economic and Social Affairs Adviser
U.S. Mission to the United Nations

799 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-415-4229
Email: sabara2@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----
From: Sammis, John F (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:39 PM
To: Nemroff, Courtney R (USUN); Glucksman, Tobias H (USUN)
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Who had the lead on the nutrition event for us?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Myers, Honora L (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:38 PM
To: DiCarlo, Rosemary A (USUN); Anderson, Brooke D (USUN); Barton, Rick (USUN); Ahmed, Salman (USUN); Sammis, John F (USUN); Nemroff, Courtney R (USUN)
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

-----Original Message-----
From: EXECUTIVE [mailto:EXECGRP@STATE.GOV]
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:35 PM
To: Myers, Honora L (USUN)
Subject: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 4:38 PM
**To:** H; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Faxes

Sorry - just seeing. I was told they were sent and received. Will check.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Faxes
Sent: Oct 9, 2010 2:51 PM

They did not arrive in NY so were they sent to DC instead? If they were, I will get them tomorrow by noon when I return.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Yes.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 05:57:10 2010
Subject: Schedule

MS -- Rich Verma would like to add a conference call this afternoon with the House Republicans to give them an update on the Haiti relief efforts. It would be an ideal way to cover many of these people instead of doing individual calls down the road. The time that works best for folks on the Hill is 3:30pm -- okay to add to your schedule?
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Representation

Jake -

Re the matter we discussed - no on-going representation since 2001.

Cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Megan Rooney [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 7:54 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Daniel, Joshua J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** framework for Sarajevo town hall

Madam Secretary,

I'm writing remarks for your town hall in Sarajevo on Tuesday. Jake and Josh discussed having the speechwriters send you bullets summarizing significant remarks ahead of time, so you can know the direction we're taking and let us know if we're on the right or wrong track.

Below are the main points for Sarajevo; the draft I'm writing is covering this ground. It will follow the flow of many of your previous town hall appearances.

If there is anything you'd like me to emphasize, add, or subject, let me know and I'll go for it.

Thanks very much,
Megan
[redacted] B6

- [redacted] B5
- 
- 
- 

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 7:53 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

I also want to call the head of the Red Cross.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 05:57:10 2010
Subject: Schedule

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Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct) B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 7:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Letter draft

I flagged same thing - Dan S said he would revert first thing tomorrow.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan
Subject: Letter draft
Sent: Oct 10, 2010 7:26 PM

In the copy delivered to me, words appear missing at the end of para beginning w "Fifth." Pls check your copy and advise. Thx.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 8:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

Good and I will tell shaun

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** sbwhoeop" <sbwhoeop B6
**Sent:** Mon, Oct 11, 2010 00:24:56 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

I gave to Bill who is trying to influence strategy.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Oct 08 16:08:27 2010
Subject: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

The Huffington Post <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/> <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/>

Drew Westen <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen>

Psychologist and neuroscientist; Emory University Professor
Posted: October 8, 2010 09:23 AM

Bringing Up Boehner <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen/post_1034_b_755497.html>

According to news reports, today Republican minority leader and Coppertone model John Boehner will give his "closing argument" to the American people on why they should throw out the Democrats and kill the Obama-Pelosi-Reid "job-killing agenda." He will be returning to his working class roots, speaking at a piping manufacturing plant, an unusual venue these days for a man who is seen much more frequently at gatherings of Wall Street executives with open checkbooks and the males-only country club where he works on his tan when not making the rounds at other clubs with industry lobbyists.

Either the Speaker-to-be is following the model of Michael Steele and free-lancing, or Karl Rove and the Republicans believe it is safe or even advantageous to bring him out in public after the White House made an effort to put Boehner's face on what a Republican majority might look like, with the president invoking his name eight times in one speech.

I have to admit that at the time I was agnostic as to whether it made sense to try to brand him at this late date, as Boehner has minimal name recognition among voters. But the White House was no doubt responding to three realities.

First, Boehner is an unknown to most Americans, which means that, unlike most Republicans in the news, he has not been well branded by the GOP -- which means for once Democrats might actually brand someone or something first rather than playing catch-up. Second, Boehner would indeed be the highest-ranking Republican were the GOP to assume control over the House (other than of course Karl Rove, who is now directing traffic on the right side of the street in Washington again). And third, a concrete face is always better than an abstraction when telling a story, and other than perhaps Sarah Palin, who Republicans could alternately accept and decline as the leader of their party, Boehner's tanned visage and history as errand-boy for virtually every major corporate special interest in his two decades in Washington (including his stint as the Marlboro Man, handing out tobacco lobby campaign checks to his fellow Republicans on the floor of the House) made him a potential counter-villain to the Republican's bogeywoman, Nancy Pelosi.

I remained agnostic until this week, when colleagues at Media Matters Action Network and I conducted a national messaging survey <http://cloudfront.mediamattersaction.org/static/images/pdf/BrandingBoehner.pdf> with 1,000 registered voters, selected to match the demographics of the voting and likely voting populations. The goal was to see how effectively we could speak with voters about Boehner as not only the symbol and standard-bearer for the GOP but also the water-boy for corporate America. (The results were surprisingly similar whether we looked at registered voters or likely voters, although as others have described, precisely how to determine who is a "likely voter" in this election is as much art as science, and the point of good messaging at this point is actually to change the dynamics of likely voting, not just to reflect them.)

As detailed in a memo published in Politico, what we found was clear: Boehner is a target well worth defining, who readily stands for precisely what Americans perceive to be the reasons they would have to hold their noses to vote for Congressional Republicans (perhaps the only group left who poll worse than Congressional Democrats with swing voters). We tested both paragraph-length narratives and single-sentence language designed to capture the essence of those narratives, and in each case, we tested them against the toughest opposition language we could test them against: the words of Boehner, Cantor, Limbaugh and others combined in defining the "Obama-Pelosi-Reid" agenda.

What we found, in brief, is that we could beat a tough GOP narrative about the "job-killing" socialists in the White House and Congress by 15 to 20 points with two narratives starring Boehner in the leading role (with best supporting bad actor going in one of the narratives to Karl Rove and his corporate allies), and we could win with over 15 different sentence-long descriptions of "what's the matter with Boehner" with margins ranging from 10 to 60 points against a tough conservative attack on the Obama-Pelosi-Reid axis of conservative evil.

The narratives that most moved likely voters -- including swing voters, who preferred them by

double-digits over tough Republican rhetoric -- made clear whose voices Boehner would be speaking for as Speaker (e.g., the Wall Street executives he convened to try to block Wall Street reform). They harnessed the same populist anger at the hijacking of Washington by corporate special interests that has enlivened the tea partiers and is palpable across the political spectrum, and they focused on the extremism of the party Boehner would Speak for. A narrative that brought Karl Rove into the picture was slightly more polarizing with swing voters but slightly more powerful with likely Democratic voters.

In some ways what was most surprising was the success of the single-line statements of what we need in a Speaker and who John Boehner really speaks for (although these single-line statements came after the narratives, and likely reflect the power of branding, even over the course of a brief online encounter with voters). They ranged from relatively lofty and aspirational (e.g., "We need a Speaker who is also a listener, who can hear the voices of ordinary Americans" -- a theme colleagues and I found highly resonant across the political spectrum in message testing on the role of money in politics) -- to the harder-edged (e.g., "The Speaker of the House is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. Unfortunately, we know where John Boehner's heart is, and it isn't with the middle class," or "John Boehner understands deficits. He's spent nearly 20 years in Washington creating them.")

If there's a message in this message research, it is at once short-term and long-term. In the short run, if Democrats want to hang onto their seats in November, they would do well to define this election in terms of the middle class and small business versus the billionaires and big corporations that are hijacking our democracy; to use Boehner as a poster child for the party whose primary commitment is to the latter and whose tan is a testament to that commitment; and to avoid giving voters reason to regret their vote if they give it to Democrats again this time, by supporting the things they say they stand for and avoiding that golden mean between the public interest and the special interests that finance campaigns on both sides of the aisle.

In the longer run, branding matters. One of the biggest strategic and messaging mistakes of the last two years was the failure of Democrats to brand their opponents while their opponents were busy branding them -- and in particular the failure to brand the Bush Recession as the natural consequence of failed Republican economic principles. Two years ago, that was a virtually uncontested political proposition, as the voters made clear in handing Democrats the White House and supermajorities in both the House and Senate. Today, the public is split down the middle as to who caused the recession.

Reality doesn't brand itself. Hopefully it won't take a debacle in November and another 10 million jobs lost for reality to unveil itself again for a brief political moment and for progressives to have a second bite at the apple.

<http://getglue.com/?s=w>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Ok to do conf call 1300 Sunday and call w Lady Ashton before that.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 20:58:51 2010
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

FYI Below.

FYI – I spoke to Lady Catherine Ashton who called to 1) wish you well on this trip and express her gratefulness that you are traveling; and 2) ask if you might be willing to call her Sunday morning to give her a read out of your trip b/c she has a briefing in Brussels and having a first hand report from you will allow her to forestall a trip to Haiti in the next week.

cdm

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:52 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reynoso, Julissa; Jacobson, David
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti
Importance: High

7th floor colleagues: Please advise whether Sunday at 1300 would work for S; Canadian-led conference call with Friends of Haiti. Many thanks. Roberta

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Alex.Bugailiskis

B6

Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 7:48 PM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti

Roberta,

with regard to the conference call of FMs of the Friends of Haiti, can we agree on Sunday, January 17th at 1300h?

We will be sending you a proposed agenda for the call and a list of participating Ministers.

Cheers

Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

125 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910 B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

W/whom? I thought she wanted to speak w me Sunday morning. I just want to do it as late as possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:11:07 2010
Subject: RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

I think she may do an earlier call

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:11 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
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Cc: De Pirro, Velia M; Sheaffer, Gary L; Breese, Terry A; Kelly, Craig A; Gonzalez, Juan S
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Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

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125 Sussex Drive

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Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 10:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Anniversary

Pres Bill lft a $$$$raiser 4 me and is on his way home to u//// he was a big draw and hit. Am doing well. My opponent is a doc who is a self funder who's media person is the guy who did that cruel campaign. Against max clealand. This $$event is agreat insurane policy. Hope all is going great with u. You are doing such. Good. Work. Take care. And. Big. Thanks 4lending. Bill 4 part of eve.

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:20 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] response to S call B6

Very touching.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:17:49 2010
Subject: FW: [redacted] response to S call

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Jan 15 19:21:18 2010
Subject: FW: [redacted] response to S call

Cheryl

E-mail from the Department's Casualty Assistance Office, who is in contact with the sister [principle living relative] of the [redacted]

Regards

pat

From: Boncy, Virginia W
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 11:26 AM
To: Powell, Nancy J; Browning, Steve A; Manzanares, J Robert (Bob); Taglialatela, Linda S
Cc: Leach, Kirk A
Subject: [redacted] response to S call B6

When I spoke to [redacted] this morning she said that the Secretary had called, and she said, "I can't tell you how much it meant to us." She went on to say that she and her husband were very moved by the Secretary's words and by how much everyone cares.

Ginny

Virginia Boncy
Deputy Director
Office of Casualty Assistance
Tel: 202-736-4302
Fax: 202-647-5313

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Bill wants me to speak to/meet w Eduard Mulette who will replace head of UN Mission. Do you know him?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:20:53 2010
Subject: RE: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

Not sure who they were but fine to do 1pm - I'll make sure it works.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 9:17 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Conference Call of Friends of Haiti; Lady Ashton

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To: H; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
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Alex Bugailiskis

Assistant Deputy Minister

Latin America and the Caribbean

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

125 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910

B6

Sous-ministre adjointe

Amérique latine et Caraïbes

Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada

125, promenade Sussex

Ottawa (ON) K1A 0G2

Tel. [redacted] Fax 613-944-1910

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 15, 2010 9:41 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: David (Lindwall)'s house in PoP....

What a reminder and tribute to our team.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 15 21:36:12 2010
Subject: FW: David (Lindwall)'s house in PoP....

Take a look – a reminder of the trauma our workers have confronted.

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 4:06 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: David (Lindwall)'s house in PoP....

Cheryl

Photo of Port au Prince DCM David Lindwall's house post-earthquake

Regards

pat

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:43 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]'; 'rshah[redacted]'; Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Fw: Help for dying patients

Mark, emergency room doc, is w Paul Farmer; Pier is his orthopedic surgeon wife. Is there any way to help asap? This should be the highest priority. Coulc one of the medical teams alreay there move over to help? Could Gen Keen or UN get the supplies and generators they need to them at first light?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: mark[redacted] H; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)[redacted]
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>; cheryl.mills[redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:33:23 2010
Subject: Re: Help for dying patients

Adding raj as well.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman[redacted]
To: Hillary Clinton <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C; cheryl.mills[redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Jan 16 22:00:42 2010
Subject: Help for dying patients

Dear Hillary and all.

We arrived at the general hospital last night with 1500 people sick or dying with 40 percent needing surgery. It has no water electricity or food and very limited surgical suites or supplies It the largest and most well known public hospital in the city and according to PIH and paul farmer needs to be supported and it's infrastucture needs to be rebuilt.

Right now we have surgeons but not enough operating rooms set up. We desperately need to get a generator and fuel and surgical lights and surgery supplies not just first aid. There are hundreds including children with festering wounds needing amputation and emergency surgical care. The doctors nurses and patients have no food or water.

Can you help get the infrastructure of electricity water and a medical hospital tent for post op patients. We are operating with headlamps and hacksaws rinsed with alcohol.

If we have the electricity and water we can open 11 operating rooms tomorrow if we get what we need. Can the military help ASAP and for security of equipment and medication.

Until this morning when [redacted] did the first amuptation there was almost no surgery happening at all here in the city and none at the General. B6

Five days after the quake with no acute surgical care wounds are festering patients are getting septic and dying. If we had a little help with basic servcices we could stop this.

I don't have cell or email at the hospital. Please coordinate with Claire Pierre or Nancy from PIH.

Thank you thank you thank you.

Mark Hyman, MD
Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:44 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mill[redacted]; 'rshah[redacted]; Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Re: Help for dying patients

Also food and water?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]; 'rshah[redacted]; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:42:53 2010
Subject: Fw: Help for dying patients

Mark, emergency room doc, is w Paul Farmer; Pier is his orthopedic surgeon wife. Is there any way to help asap? This should be the highest priority. Coulc one of the medical teams alreay there move over to help? Could Gen Keen or UN get the supplies and generators they need to them at first light?

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From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: mark[redacted]>; H; Shah, Rajiv (AID/A)[redacted]
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>; cheryl.mills[redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:33:23 2010
Subject: Re: Help for dying patients

Adding raj as well.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman[redacted]
To: Hillary Clinton <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C; cheryl.mills[redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Jan 16 22:00:42 2010
Subject: Help for dying patients

Dear Hillary and all.

We arrived at the general hospital last night with 1500 people sick or dying with 40 percent needing surgery. It has no water electricity or food and very limited surgical suites or supplies It the largest and most well known public hospital in the city and according to PIH and paul farmer needs to be supported and it's infrastucture needs to be rebuilt.

Right now we have surgeons but not enough operating rooms set up. We desperately need to get a generator and fuel and surgical lights and surgery supplies not just first aid. There are hundreds including children with festering wounds needing amputation and emergency surgical care. The doctors nurses and patients have no food or water.

Can you help get the infrastructure of electricity water and a medical hospital tent for post op patients. We are operating with headlamps and hacksaws rinsed with alcohol.

If we have the electricity and water we can open 11 operating rooms tomorrow if we get what we need. Can the military help ASAP and for security of equipment and medication.

Until this morning when [redacted] did the first amuptation there was almost no surgery happening at all here in the city and none at the General. B6

Five days after the quake with no acute surgical care wounds are festering patients are getting septic and dying. If we had a little help with basic servcices we could stop this.

I don't have cell or email at the hospital. Please coordinate with Claire Pierre or Nancy from PIH.

Thank you thank you thank you.

Mark Hyman, MD
Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 12:54 AM
**To:** 'jacobjlew 'lewjj@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Monday

Jack--

In looking at my schedule, I could talk w you by phone Sunday or Monday, rather than meeting, which would give you back your Monday and service event. I learned the office will be closed Monday, so I will be working from home. Does that make sense?

What times would be good to talk tomorrow or Monday?

Thx, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:13 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

I cannot do either time. We could send Raj or Jack.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 10:08:43 2010
Subject: FW: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

B5

Copying you as heads up for your 1pm call only –not for decision.

cdm

From: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:00 AM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S; S_SpecialAssistants; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: Re: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Cheryl needs to address

---

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
To: S_SpecialAssistants; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Sent: Sun Jan 17 09:58:11 2010
Subject: FW: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Please see attached additional information and question from Canadian government prior to this afternoon's 1300 phone call. Specifically, the Canadian government is asking whether the Secretary could come to Montreal for the GOC's "prep" donors meeting the evening of 1/23 or morning of 1/24? [Note: Montreal has world's second largest Haitian diaspora, hence location.]

WHA would recommend participation if at all possible. Thank you, Roberta

From: Alex.Bugailiskis[redacted] B6
Sent: Sunday, January 17, 2010 8:41 AM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S
Subject: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Good morning Roberta! Congratulations on a successful visit by the Secretary of State. We are looking forward to this afternoon's teleconference. After opening remarks, Minister Cannon will ask Prime Minister Bellerive to speak and the UN (we may only have DPKO LeRoy on line due to visit of Sec Gen to Haiti). He will then ask FM Amorim and Sec State Clinton to provide their views on the situation and then open the floor to Kouchner and others. Response has been good and most will be represented at FM level (Mexico/Espinosa may still be in flight from Japan, and Argentina and Costa Rica will be Vice-Ministers).

There is as well agreement in principle to begin laying the groundwork for a broader Donors Conference on Reconstruction and our offer to host a preparatory meeting on January 25th has been well received. However, early indications are that the EU has a conflict as they have their General Relations and Foreign Relations meetings scheduled for that day. As the EU would be essential for such a meeting we are scrambling to look for alternative dates. Given the momentum we would rather go earlier than later. Minister Cannon would be available to host this on the weekend of the 23-24th of January (dinner on the 23rd, meeting on the morning of the 24th). However, I believe that Ambassador Jacobsen had indicated that Mrs. Clinton has another engagement on the 23rd. Could you please let me know, before this afternoon's teleconference, if in principle, Mrs.Clinton might be available to attend a meeting in Montreal on the evening of the 23rd or the morning of the 24th?

Many thanks Roberta.

Alex

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Also, if they're holding a mtg, I would think they'd want the UN/Bill and he can't go either (it's a CVC thing).

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 10:08:43 2010
Subject: FW: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

B5

Copying you as heads up for your 1pm call only –not for decision.

cdm

From: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:00 AM
To: Jacobson, Roberta S; S_SpecialAssistants; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: Re: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

Cheryl needs to address

---

From: Jacobson, Roberta S
To: S_SpecialAssistants; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Gonzalez, Juan S
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Subject: URGENT: Friends of Haiti Teleconference

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Many thanks Roberta.

Alex

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 1:43 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call sheet.

He did. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:51:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call sheet.

Marina told me she left. I'm faxing to secret service. Dan will make sure u get it

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:48:20 2010
Subject: 1pm call sheet.

This is what you should have just gotten.

B5

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

The Canadians said they would do transcript of call so pls ask WHA to obtain one for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:09 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Can you ask WHA to work for times so I can fly up mid morning and return late afternoon. Could I see Frattini next day? What seems best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

If he's coming to London, could I see him there? Also what's status of France?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:14:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Contacting with wha now. Frattini would have to cancel his trip so we would have to re-schedule for another date or just do in context of one of these multilateral meetings. He has a big speech in italy on the 26th.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 13:48:18 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Can you ask WHA to work for times so I can fly up mid morning and return late afternoon. Could I see Frattini next day? What seems best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:28 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Can you do update call?

Of course.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills <cheryl.mills B6
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:25:28 2010
Subject: RE: Can you do update call?

Give me a few minutes

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:03 PM
To: 'cheryl.mills
Subject: Can you do update call?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 7:35 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Serbian anti-gay riots send wrong message to EU

You should discuss Dan's email w/ S on plane

---

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 05:47:15 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Serbian anti-gay riots send wrong message to EU

BELGRADE (AP) – Serbia's failure to prevent anti-gay riots could hurt its bid to join the European Union, a EU official said. Jelko Kacin, in charge of the European Parliament's evaluation reports on Serbia, said in a statement the anti-gay riots "show an elementary lack" of tolerance for minority rights in Serbia and the "inefficiency" of the state in preventing such a trend. "A very bad message was sent from Belgrade" that could hurt its bid to join the EU, the Slovenian official said. The gay pride march, was viewed as a major test for Serbia's government, which has pledged to protect human rights as it seeks EU membership.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 2:36 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 1pm call manifest

Since Davos is now about Haiti, do I need to go? Bill is going.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:32:08 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Ill confirm if he'll be there for london.
As for paris, looks like sarkozy will be there but we won't know for sure till tomorrow. So it would mean sarkozy meeting, speech and kouchner around 6pm when he's back from davos.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:27:44 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

If he's coming to London, could I see him there? Also what's status of France?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 14:14:07 2010
Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

Contacting with wha now. Frattini would have to cancel his trip so we would have to re-schedule for another date or just do in context of one of these multilateral meetings. He has a big speech in italy on the 26th.

----- Original Message -----
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To: Abedin, Huma
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Subject: Re: 1pm call manifest

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----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 12:52:51 2010
Subject: 1pm call manifest

We now have confirmed participation by Brazil/Amorim; France/Kouchner; Haiti/PM; Chile, Uruguay, Peru at ministerial level; Argentina, Mexico, and Costa Rica at Vice Min level. UN has committed to high-level participation as well, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: (AP) Serbian anti-gay riots send wrong message to EU

Will do.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 07:35:04 2010
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Serbian anti-gay riots send wrong message to EU

You should discuss Dan's email w/ S on plane

---

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 05:47:15 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Serbian anti-gay riots send wrong message to EU

BELGRADE (AP) – Serbia's failure to prevent anti-gay riots could hurt its bid to join the European Union, a EU official said. Jelko Kacin, in charge of the European Parliament's evaluation reports on Serbia, said in a statement the anti-gay riots "show an elementary lack" of tolerance for minority rights in Serbia and the "inefficiency" of the state in preventing such a trend. "A very bad message was sent from Belgrade" that could hurt its bid to join the EU, the Slovenian official said. The gay pride march, was viewed as a major test for Serbia's government, which has pledged to protect human rights as it seeks EU membership.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** 'lewjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Monday

Let's talk tomorrow. I'll call you in the morning about two subjects: Haiti and Af-Pak. Is there anything else you want to raise?

----- Original Message -----
From: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 06:08:52 2010
Subject: Re: Monday

Welcome back. I changed my plans and will be back in DC this morning. I have meetings between 9 and noon but will be available any time in the afternoon today or tomorrow and can work around your schedule. After spending several hours on the phone last night I wanted to come back and attend to some of the logistical coordination issues.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'jacobjlew [redacted] <jacobjlew [redacted] ; Lew, Jacob J B6
Sent: Sun Jan 17 00:54:07 2010
Subject: Monday

Jack--

In looking at my schedule, I could talk w you by phone Sunday or Monday, rather than meeting, which would give you back your Monday and service event. I learned the office will be closed Monday, so I will be working from home. Does that make sense?

What times would be good to talk tomorrow or Monday?

Thx, Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) U.S. commander orders probe into UK Afghan aid worker's death

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Cc:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 08:15:44 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) U.S. commander orders probe into UK Afghan aid worker's death

KABUL (Reuters) - The commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, General David Petraeus, has ordered a probe into the death of a British aid worker killed during a rescue bid by U.S. forces, the U.S. military said. "Initial reports indicated the explosion was caused by a detonation triggered by one of the captors who was in close proximity to Linda Norgrove. Subsequent review of surveillance footage and discussions with members of the rescue team do not conclusively determine the cause of her death," it said. The statement comes shortly after British Prime Minister David Cameron told a news conference Norgrove may have been killed by a grenade from foreign forces during the rescue operation.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

Did this with Sean. Sid

**The Political Scene**

# Confounding Fathers

## The Tea Party's Cold War roots.

**by Sean Wilentz October 18, 2010**

Glenn Beck's view of American history stems from the paranoid politics of the fifties.

A few months ago, the cable-television and radio host Glenn Beck began his Fox News show with one of his favorite props: a pipe clenched between his teeth. "I've got my pipe," he told his audience, his speech slightly muddled by the stem, "because we're going to speak about schoolish kind of things." The theme of the day was "Restoring History," and Beck, looking professorial in a neat dark blazer and a pink button-down shirt, began the lesson by peering at a stack of history textbooks and pronouncing them full of falsehoods, produced by "malicious progressive intent." Progressives, he explained—liberals, socialists, Communists, the entire spectrum of the left—"knew they had to separate us from our history to be able to separate us from our Constitution and God." For the next hour, Beck earnestly explained some of the history that "is being stolen from us": the depression of 1920, for example, or how conservative economics saved the nation from the "near-depression" of 1946—crises that progressives don't want you to know about. "You've been taught one lie, I think, your whole life," he said.

For the fractious Tea Party movement, Beck—a former drive-time radio jockey, a recovering alcoholic, and a Mormon convert—has emerged as both a unifying figure and an intellectual guide. One opinion poll, released in July by Democracy Corps, showed that he is "the most highly regarded individual among Tea Party supporters," seen not merely as an entertainer, like Rush Limbaugh, but as an "educator." And in the past few months Beck has established his own institute of learning: the online, for-profit Beck University. Enrollees can take courses like Faith 102, which contends with "revisionists and secular progressives" about the separation of church and state; Hope 102, an attack on the activist federal government; and the combined Charity 101/102/103, a highly restrictive interpretation of rights, federalism, and the division of powers.

During the "Restoring History" episode, Beck twice encouraged viewers to join his Web seminars, where they can hear "lessons from the best and brightest historians and scholars that we could find." The B.U. faculty consists of three members, including one bona-fide academic, James R. Stoner, Jr., the chair of the political-science department at Louisiana State University; the other two are the head of a management consulting firm and the founder of WallBuilders, which the Web site calls "a national pro-family organization." Beck himself often acts as a professor, a slightly jocular one, on his Fox News program. Surrounded by charts and figures, he offers explanations of current politics and history lessons about the country's long march to Obama-era totalitarianism. The decline, he says, began with the Progressive era of the early twentieth century, in particular with the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson, when both the Federal Reserve System and the graduated federal income tax came into existence. "Wilson," Beck told his radio audience in August, "just despised what America was."

Beck's claims have found an audience among Tea Party spokesmen and sympathizers. At the movement's Freedom Summit in Washington last September, one activist told a reporter, "The election between Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in 1912 was when it started going downhill." And in April an angry member of the Tea Party Patriots group from Cape Fear, North Carolina, claimed on the group's Web site that "the very things you see happening in this country today started with the Wilson Administration."

At a Tax Day rally this past spring, the veteran conservative organizer Richard Viguerie described the Tea Party as "an unfettered new force of the middle class." And, indeed, calling Obama a socialist in the tradition of Woodrow Wilson is audacious enough to seem like the marker of a new movement—or, at least, a new twist in the nation's long history of conspiracy-mongering. In fact, it marks a revival of ideas that circulated on the extremist right half a century ago, especially in the John Birch Society and among its admirers.

Beck's version of American history relies on lessons from his own acknowledged inspiration, the late right-wing writer W. Cleon Skousen, and also restates charges made by the Birch Society's founder, Robert Welch. The political universe is, of course, very different today from what it was during the Cold War. Yet the Birchers' politics and their view of American history—which focussed more on totalitarian threats at home than on those posed by the Soviet Union and Communist China—has proved remarkably persistent. The pressing historical question is how extremist ideas held at bay for decades inside the Republican Party have exploded anew—and why, this time, Party leaders have done virtually nothing to challenge those ideas, and a great deal to abet them.

The early nineteen-sixties were a turbulent time in American politics, for the right wing in particular. In the South, racist violence against civil-rights workers was constant, deepening sectional splits in the Democratic Party that would in time deliver the once solidly Democratic South to the Republicans. Southern elected officials, in support of what they called "massive resistance" to civil-rights laws and judicial rulings, resurrected the ideas of nullification and interposition, which claimed that individual states could void federal laws within their own borders. Others focussed on what they considered a fearsome Communist menace inside the United States. General Edwin A. Walker caused an enormous stir when he resigned from the Army in 1961, after President John F. Kennedy's Pentagon reprimanded him for spreading right-wing propaganda among his troops and accusing prominent American officials of Communist sympathies. Senator Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat from South Carolina, spoke for many on the far right when he declared that various modestly liberal domestic programs "fall clearly within the category of socialism."

The John Birch Society was one of the decade's most controversial right-wing organizations. Founded in 1958 by Robert Welch, a candy manufacturer from Massachusetts, the society took its name from a Baptist missionary and military-intelligence officer killed by Communist Chinese forces in 1945, whom Welch called the first American casualty of the Cold War. The group was founded at a propitious time. After Senator Joseph McCarthy's fall, in 1954, many of McCarthy's followers felt bereft of a voice, and Welch seemed to speak for them; by the mid-sixties, his society's membership was estimated to be as high as a hundred thousand. Welch, exploiting fears of what McCarthy had called an "immense" domestic conspiracy, declared that the federal government had already fallen into the Communists' clutches. In a tract titled "The Politician," he attacked President Dwight D. Eisenhower as "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy" who had been serving the plot "all of his adult life." Late in 1961, after the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, he accused the Kennedy Administration of "helping the Communists everywhere in the world while pretending to do the opposite."

Wherever he looked, Welch saw Communist forces manipulating American economic and foreign policy on behalf of totalitarianism. But within the United States, he believed, the subversion had actually begun years before the Bolshevik Revolution. Conflating modern liberalism and totalitarianism, Welch described government as "always and inevitably an enemy of individual freedom." Consequently, he charged, the Progressive era, which expanded the federal government's role in curbing social and economic ills, was a dire period in our history, and Woodrow Wilson "more than any other one man started this nation on its present road to totalitarianism."

In the nineteen-sixties, Welch became convinced that even the Communist movement was but "a tool of the total conspiracy." This master conspiracy, he said, had forerunners in ancient Sparta, and sprang fully to life in the eighteenth century, in the "uniformly Satanic creed and program" of the Bavarian Illuminati. Run by those he called "the Insiders," the conspiracy resided chiefly in international families of financiers, such as the Rothschilds and the Rockefellers, government agencies like the Federal Reserve System and the Internal Revenue Service, and nongovernmental organizations like the Bilderberg Group, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Trilateral Commission. Since the early twentieth century, they had done a good deal of their evil work under the guise of humanitarian uplift. "One broad avenue down which these conspiratorial forces advance was known as progressive legislation," Welch declared in 1966. "The very same collectivist theories and demagogic pretenses which had destroyed earlier civilizations were now paraded forth in the disguise of new and modern concepts."

In the worst case, Welch believed, military action might be necessary to dislodge the totalitarians. But for the moment a nonviolent political revolution would suffice. Accordingly, he designed the Birch Society roughly, if not explicitly, on the Marxist-Leninist model of a vanguard revolutionary party: a series of small cells that would work in secret to agitate the populace and elect right-thinking candidates to office. "It isn't numbers we have to worry about," Welch wrote, "but the courage on the part of our followers to stick their necks out and play rough—the same as the Communists do."

The "Founder" himself would dictate the society's policies, advised by a council of about two dozen businessmen and professionals, and the local cells would be overseen by unyielding commanders. "It is the leadership that is *most* demanding, most *exacting* of its followers," Welch observed, "that achieves really dedicated support." Welch's group

became synonymous with right-wing extremism, earning satirical blasts from critics ranging from the cartoonist Walt Kelly to the musicians Bob Dylan and Dizzy Gillespie. The trumpeter, whose actual name was John Birks Gillespie, made a humorous run for the Presidency in 1964, organizing John Birks Societies in twenty-five states.

Still, the most outlandish of the era's right-wing anti-Communists was not Welch but Willard Cleon Skousen. A transplanted Canadian who served as a Mormon missionary in his teens, Skousen was considered so radical in the early nineteen-sixties that even J. Edgar Hoover's F.B.I. watched him closely; one 1962 memo in his extensive F.B.I. file noted that "during the past year or so, Skousen has affiliated himself with the extreme right-wing 'professional communists' who are promoting their own anticommunism for obvious financial purposes." Skousen was himself employed by the F.B.I., from 1935 until 1951, much of that time as a special agent working chiefly in administration. These desk jobs, he claimed implausibly, gave him access to confidential domestic intelligence about Communism. Skousen also maintained that he had served as Hoover's administrative assistant; Hoover informed inquirers that there was no such position.

Skousen taught for years in the speech and religion departments at Brigham Young University, interrupted by a stint, from 1956 to 1960, as the police chief of Salt Lake City. His time in office was contentious, and after he raided a friendly card game attended by the city's right-wing mayor, J. Bracken Lee, he was promptly fired. Lee called Skousen "a master of half truths" and said that he ran the police department "like a Gestapo"; Skousen's supporters placed burning crosses on the Mayor's lawn.

After losing his police job, Skousen founded a group called the All-American Society, which *Time* described in 1961 as an exemplar of the far-right "ultras." Although he did not join the Birch Society, Skousen worked with its American Opinion Speakers' Bureau, and, in 1963, wrote a rousing tract titled "The Communist Attack on the John Birch Society," which condemned the society's critics for "promoting the official Communist Party line." (This was a tic of Skousen's; he later defended the Mormon policy of denying the priesthood to blacks with a pamphlet called "The Communist Attack on the Mormons.")

All along, Skousen's evolving thoughts ran in tandem with Welch's. In "The Naked Communist," a lengthy primer published in 1958, he enlivened a survey of the worldwide leftist threat with outlandish claims, writing that F.D.R.'s adviser Harry Hopkins had treasonously delivered to the Soviets a large supply of uranium, and that the Russians built the first Sputnik with plans stolen from the United States. A year before Richard Condon's novel "The Manchurian Candidate" appeared, Skousen announced that the Communists were creating "a regimented breed of Pavlovian men whose minds could be triggered into immediate action by signals from their masters." A later book, "The Naked Capitalist," decried the Ivy League Establishment, who, through the Federal Reserve, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Rockefeller Foundation, formed "the world's secret power structure." The conspiracy had begun, Skousen wrote, when reformers like the wealthy banker Edward M. (Colonel) House, a close adviser to President Woodrow Wilson, helped put into place the Federal Reserve and the graduated income tax.

In 1971, Skousen organized another group, the Freemen Institute, which he later renamed the National Center for Constitutional Studies. According to an article published in the *Review of Religious Research*, the center's targets included "the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Communication Commission's fairness doctrine in editorial broadcasting, the federal government's change of the gold standard in currency, all subsidies to farmers, all federal aid to education, all federal social welfare, foreign aid, social security, elimination of public school prayer and Bible reading, and (that familiar right-wing nemesis) the United Nations."

Skousen's pronouncements made him a pariah among most conservative activists, including some on the right-wing fringe. In 1962, the ultraconservative American Security Council threw him out, because members felt that he had "gone off the deep end." In 1971, a review in the Mormon journal *Dialogue* accused Skousen of "inventing fantastic ideas and making inferences that go far beyond the bounds of honest commentary," and advancing doctrines that came "perilously close" to Nazism. And in 1979, after Skousen called President Jimmy Carter a puppet of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Rockefeller family, the president of the Mormon church issued a national order banning announcements about his organizations.

Skousen was undeterred. In 1981, he produced "The 5,000 Year Leap," a treatise that assembles selective quotations and groundless assertions to claim that the U.S. Constitution is rooted not in the Enlightenment but in the Bible, and that the framers believed in minimal central government. Either proposition would have astounded James Madison, often described as the guiding spirit behind the Constitution, who rejected state-established religions and, like Alexander Hamilton, proposed a central government so strong that it could veto state laws. "The 5,000 Year Leap" is not a fervid book. Instead, it is calmly, ingratiatingly misleading. Skousen quotes various eighteenth-century patriots on the evils of what Samuel Adams, in 1768, called "the Utopian schemes of leveling," which Skousen equates with redistribution of wealth. But he does not mention the Founders' endorsement of taxing the rich to support the general welfare. Thomas Jefferson, for example, wrote approvingly in 1811 of having federal taxes (then limited to tariffs) fall solely on the wealthy, which meant that "the farmer will see his government supported, his children educated, and the face of his country made a paradise by the contributions of the rich alone, without his being called on to spend a cent from his earnings."

Skousen also challenges the separation of church and state, asserting that "the Founders were not indulging in any idle gesture when they adopted the motto 'In God We Trust.' " In reality, the motto that came out of the Constitutional Convention was "E Pluribus Unum": out of many, one. "In God We Trust" came much later; its use on coins was first permitted in 1864, and only in 1955, at the height of the Cold War, did Congress mandate that it appear on all currency. The following year, President Eisenhower—who Welch charged was a Communist agent—approved "In God We Trust" as the national motto.

In 1982, Skousen published a follow-up work, an ancestor-worshipping history text titled "The Making of America," and prepared a study guide for nationwide seminars based on its contents. As Alexander Zaitchik reports in his informative study of Beck, "Common Nonsense," the new book became an object of controversy in 1987, after the California Bicentennial Commission sold it as part of a fund-raising drive. Among its offenses was an account of slavery drawn from long-disgraced work by the historian Fred A. Shannon, which characterized slave children as "pickaninnies" and suggested that the worst victims of slavery were the slaveholders themselves. The constitutional scholar Jack Rakove, of Stanford, inspected Skousen's book and seminars and pronounced them "a joke that no self-respecting scholar would think is worth a warm pitcher of spit."

By the time Skousen died, in 2006, he was little remembered outside the ranks of the furthest-right Mormons. Then, in 2009, Glenn Beck began touting his work: "The Naked Communist," "The Naked Capitalist," and, especially, "The 5,000 Year Leap," which he called "essential to understanding why our Founders built this Republic the way they did." After Beck put the book in the first spot on his required-reading list—and wrote an enthusiastic new introduction for its reissue—it shot to the top of the Amazon best-seller list. In the first half of 2009, it sold more than two hundred and fifty thousand copies. Local branches of the Tea Party Patriots, the United American Tea Party, and other groups across the country have since organized study groups around it. "It is time we learn and follow the FREEDOM principles of our Founding Fathers," a United American Tea Party video declares, referring to the principles expounded by Skousen's book. If Beck is the movement's teacher, "The 5,000 Year Leap" has become its primer, with "The Making of America" as a kind of 102-level text.

The popularity of Beck's broadcasts, which now reach two million viewers each day, has brought neo-Birchite ideas to an audience beyond any that Welch or Skousen might have dreamed of. Several times a week, Beck informs his audience that socialists (whom he also sometimes calls Fascists or Communists) led by Obama have seized power, and that patriotic Americans must take their country back. His TV show for some time featured "Comrade Updates," in which Beck described perfidy while the Soviet anthem played in the background. He attacks all the familiar bogeymen: the Federal Reserve System (which he asserts is a private conglomerate, unaccountable to the public); the Council on Foreign Relations (born of a "progressive idea" to manipulate the media in order to "let the masses know what should be done"); and a historical procession of evildoers, including Skousen's old target Colonel House and Welch's old target Woodrow Wilson. His sources on these matters, quite apart from Skousen's books, can be unreliable. On September 22nd, amid a diatribe about House, Beck cited a passage from "Secrets of the Federal Reserve," by Eustace Mullins. The book, commissioned in 1948 by Ezra Pound, is a startlingly anti-Semitic fantasy of how a Jewish-led conspiracy of all-powerful bankers established the Federal Reserve in service of their plot to dominate the world.

Part of Beck's allure is the promise that he will reveal secret information. In one segment last year, he produced a drawing of fasces—which he described, anachronistically, as "the Roman symbol of Fascism"—and then a picture of an old Mercury dime, with fasces on the reverse side. "Who brought this dime in? It happened in 1916—Woodrow Wilson was the President," he said. "We've been on the road to Fascism for a while." Benito Mussolini, of course, didn't adopt the ancient symbol of authority as the Fascist emblem until the nineteen-twenties; the designer of the coin, the sculptor Adolph A. Weinman, intended it to signify the nation's military preparedness, and paired it with an olive branch to illustrate the desire for peace.

Beck's readings of Progressive-era politics are nearly as bizarre. Whatever can be said about Theodore Roosevelt, he was not a crypto-radical. It was Roosevelt who coined the term "lunatic fringe" to describe the extreme leftists of his day, and his concept of New Nationalism—in which an activist government built a vibrant capitalism, partly by regulating big business—looked back to Alexander Hamilton, not Karl Marx. Nor was Wilson a Bolshevik; in fact, in 1917 he sent American troops to Russia to support the anti-Bolshevik White Army. At home, his reforms sought to break up monopolies in order to restore competition among small companies. "If America is not to have free enterprise," Wilson declared, "then she can have no freedom of any sort whatever."

In 2007, Beck, then the host of "Glenn Beck," on CNN's Headline News, brought to his show a John Birch Society spokesman named Sam Antonio, who warned of a government plot to abolish U.S. borders with Mexico and Canada, "and eventually all throughout the Americas." Beck told Antonio, "When I was growing up, the John Birch Society—I thought they were a bunch of nuts." But now, he said, "you guys are starting to make more and more sense to me." His guest beamed. "Yes, we at the John Birch Society are not nuts," Antonio said. "We are just exposing the truth that's been out there for many, many years." Since then, the Birch Society's Web site has run clips from Beck's Fox broadcasts, proudly pointing out similarities with their own ideas. Last June, an essay on the site described a presentation by Beck on Communism in America as "the ultimate in complete agreement between the Beck and JBS presentations of American history."

Beck has also praised Ezra Taft Benson, one of Skousen's close associates. Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture under President Eisenhower and the thirteenth president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, gained notoriety for a speech in 1966 in which he denounced Democratic officeholders and intellectuals (including the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.) as socialists and Communist sympathizers, warned that "the Constitution will be endangered and hang, as it were, by a single thread," and praised the John Birch Society as "the most effective non-church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and Godless Communism." Last June, Beck aired a clip from another Benson speech, intoning, "Ezra Taft Benson warned about what was coming." The Birch Society's Web site subsequently praised Beck for "getting progressively (sorry for the bad word choice) closer to presenting American history in the way that The John Birch Society has been doing it for over 50 years."

Beck is no more the sole representative of today's multifaceted Tea Party than Welch or Skousen was of the nineteen-sixties far right; he recently told the *Times*, a bit disingenuously, that he was "not involved with the Tea Party." Why, then, have the politics of Skousen, Benson, and the John Birch Society had such a resurgence among conservative Republicans—not just through Beck but through Tea Party heroes like the Nevada Republican Senate candidate Sharron Angle? (Last month, Angle gave a warm address to a "freedom conference" in Salt Lake City, co-sponsored by the John Birch Society and Skousen's old group, the National Center for Constitutional Studies, praising her audience as "mainstream America" and patriots who had "heard the call.") The columnist Frank Rich, among others, has suggested that the election of a black President sowed "fears of disenfranchisement among a dwindling and threatened minority in the country." There are signs that this is so: Republicans' singling out of Thurgood Marshall as an "activist Justice" during Elena Kagan's Supreme Court confirmation hearings, the warnings on Fox News about the terrible dangers posed by the minuscule New Black Panther Party. But "socialist" is not a racial slur. Jim Crow was not built out of fears of the Federal Reserve and the I.R.S. The Tea Party's fulminations against cap-and-trade, federal-government bailouts, and big government generally play on very old themes that have nothing to do with the color of President Obama's skin.

The current right-wing resurgence has more to do with the inner dynamics of American conservatism in the past half century. In the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties, the far right was condemned by liberals, as might be expected; in November, 1961, President Kennedy devoted part of a speech in Los Angeles to denouncing those "discordant voices of extremism" that "equate the Democratic Party with the welfare state, the welfare state with socialism, and socialism with Communism." But the Bircher right also provoked deep anxiety among conservatives, who feared being perceived as paranoids and conspiracy-mongers.

The leading intellectual spokesman and organizer of the anti-Bircher conservatives was William F. Buckley, Jr., the editor of *National Review*. Buckley was by no means moderate in his conservatism. He was a lifelong defender of Joseph McCarthy and a foe of New Deal liberalism. But he drew the line at claiming that the course of American government was set by a socialist conspiracy, and he feared that the ravings of the extreme right would cost more balanced, practical conservatives their chance at national power. "By 1961," his biographer John B. Judis writes, "Buckley was beginning to worry that with the John Birch Society growing so rapidly, the right-wing upsurge in the country would take an ugly, even Fascist turn rather than leading toward the kind of conservatism *National Review* had promoted." In the next two decades, with Buckley's support and counsel, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan completed a conservative revolution that succeeded by keeping extremist elements far from the centers of power.

As confidant and adviser to leading conservative politicians, Buckley had far more political influence than might be expected from the editor of a weekly journal. Yet in the early nineteen-sixties he found fighting the Birchers and their fellow-travellers extremely difficult. Even though some of Buckley's colleagues at *National Review* thought that the Birch Society went too far, they would not attack the society publicly, for fear of alienating both the Birchers and the conservatives who sympathized with their views. When Buckley wrote an editorial in 1962 that accused Welch of "distorting reality" and failing to make "the crucial moral and political distinction" between Communists and liberals, the magazine immediately lost subscriptions and financial support.

By 1960, Senator Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, was emerging as the great political hope of conservative Republicans, and he consulted closely with Buckley. At a meeting at the Breakers hotel, in Palm Beach, in January, 1962, Buckley urged Goldwater to repudiate the Birch Society. Goldwater demurred; though he conceded that some embarrassing "kooks" lurked among the Birchers, he insisted to Buckley that there were also some "nice guys," and that it would be injudicious to attack the group in public. The Birchers' support helped gain Goldwater the Republican Presidential nomination in 1964, and he winked at them in his acceptance speech with his famous line: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. . . . Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

In the general election, though, Goldwater suffered a crushing loss to Lyndon Johnson, partly because Democrats succeeded in making him look like a captive of the loony right. (To the Goldwater slogan "In Your Heart, You Know He's Right," the Democrats shot back, "In Your Guts, You Know He's Nuts.") Buckley's fears had been confirmed. But he was undeterred in his efforts to build a respectable and viable conservative movement. In 1967, he favored Richard Nixon among a field of Republican aspirants. He liked Ronald Reagan's politics, but considered Reagan, who had only recently been elected the governor of California, too new to national politics. George Romney, the governor of Michigan, a wishy-washy moderate, was obviously unsuitable, to say nothing of the Republican archliberal Nelson Rockefeller, of New York. Nixon was a hard-nosed Republican with strong conservative views, especially on Communism and the Cold War; he had established himself as a Communist-hunter in the nineteen-forties by pressing the charge that Alger Hiss, a former official at the State Department, had spied for the Soviets. And, promisingly, Nixon was the front-runner. "It seems to me that we ought to have a real chance of winning this year," Buckley wrote to Goldwater around the time of the Republican National Convention. He served the campaign as an adviser, and by aiding his friend Frank Shakespeare, who had taken charge of Nixon's media operations.

But Buckley's candidate had a reputation for shiftiness that made him unpopular across the political spectrum. Some of the editors of *National Review*, recalling that Nixon had cut a deal with Rockefeller in order to secure the G.O.P. nomination in 1960, didn't sufficiently trust him. And the Birch Society had nothing but contempt for the figure whom Welch had called one of "the slipperiest politicians that ever showed up on the American scene." As President, in 1969, Nixon began to open diplomatic relations with Communist China, and the right wing placed him on its list of perfidious appeasers. When he visited Beijing in 1972, even Buckley was deeply offended. But when the general election took place later that year, with the antiwar Democratic candidate, George McGovern, voicing the country's anxieties over Vietnam,

Buckley and the mainstream of what he called "responsible conservatism" returned to Nixon. The purist conservatives were left to back the third-party candidacy of John Schmitz, a Republican congressman and a member of the John Birch Society.

Nixon won in a landslide, and the next year he appointed Buckley the American delegate to the United Nations. The conservative pragmatists had found the way to real power. And, despite the embarrassment of Watergate, in Nixon's second term, their strategy proved effective over time. Nixon's campaign against McGovern sharpened the Democrats' internal divisions over civil rights and Vietnam, and, Buckley wrote, revealed that the Democrats had "an indifference toward national independence and a hostility toward national freedom." Meanwhile, the Buckley mainstream, having read the Birchers out of the conservative movement, established itself as a permanent and growing force in the Republican Party and in national politics.

In 1976, Buckley and *National Review* supported Ronald Reagan's primary challenge to Nixon's successor, Gerald Ford. After two terms as governor, Reagan had matured into what Buckley considered a nearly ideal conservative politician: a shrewd leader as well as a man of principle. Reagan nearly succeeded in wresting the nomination from Ford, demonstrating how formidable a national figure he had become. The Bircher right had flourished in his political bastion of Orange County, and Reagan was adept at winning extremists' allegiance while he pursued realistic strategies. His pragmatic side showed immediately after he finally secured the Republican nomination in 1980, when he chose the relatively moderate George H. W. Bush, his bitter foe during the primaries, as his running mate. Though the decision dismayed right-wing ideologues, it had two practical benefits: it instantly healed the divisions between Republican moderates and conservatives, and it helped dampen charges from the Democrats that Reagan was a reckless right-winger. Nobody was more pleased by Bush's selection than his fellow Skull and Bones man William F. Buckley, who understood the political logic as clearly as Reagan had.

As President, Reagan flattered the extremists—he even delivered some admiring words about Skousen's Freemen Institute—but he saved his political capital for his real goals: undoing the fiscal underpinnings of New Deal-style government, and redirecting U.S. foreign policy by battling the Soviet Union and its proxies around the world. He appointed moderates to positions of importance, as when he made James Baker III, Bush's close associate, his first chief of staff, rather than the far more ideological Edwin Meese III, his former chief of staff from California. (As a top policy adviser, Meese helped Reagan stack the federal bench with conservatives, but he was otherwise eclipsed by Baker and Baker's deputy, the pragmatic Reaganite Michael Deaver, and his crusade, as Attorney General, to roll back civil-rights legislation largely failed.) When zealots in the Administration were exposed, as in the Iran-Contra scandal, Reagan skillfully evaded responsibility and replaced them with more centrist Republicans. And, when he recognized in Mikhail Gorbachev a Soviet leader with whom he could undertake genuine efforts to reduce the nuclear threat, Reagan pushed forward, ignoring the complaints that he had become, in the hard-liner Howard Phillips's phrase, "a useful idiot for Soviet propaganda."

Whatever misgivings may have arisen about him on the right, Reagan achieved a dramatic conservative overhaul of the federal tax code, a profound reconfiguring of the judiciary, and a near-victory for the West in the Cold War. From the standpoint of the mainstream right, the only problem with his legacy was that no other Republican could come close to matching his public appeal and political savvy. For the party of Reagan, his departure was the beginning of a long decline, and it is the absence of a similarly totemic figure, during the past twenty years, that has allowed the current resurgence of extremism. George H. W. Bush repelled right-wingers with his moderate tendencies—not least when, in the face of fiscal calamity, he broke his campaign pledge not to raise taxes. Bill Clinton inspired them to an almost ecstatic series of attacks, and though there remained enough of an older conservative establishment, personified by Senator Bob Dole, to check some of the wildest charges, the new Republican House majority after 1994, pushed by such ideologues as Tom DeLay and Dick Armey, had little interest in maintaining the center. They harassed Clinton, forcing an impeachment even though polls showed that more than sixty per cent of the American people disapproved. George W. Bush seemed at first to have a bit of Reagan's conservative charisma, but the right wing turned against him for failing to win the war in Iraq, for his moderate position on immigration, and for spending hundreds of millions of federal dollars to combat the financial collapse in 2008. When William F. Buckley died, during the 2008 primary season, it seemed to symbolize the end of a conservative era. David Klinghoffer, a former literary editor at *National Review*, lamented that "urbane visionaries and builders of institutions" such as Buckley have been replaced by media figures "who make their money by stirring fears and resentments." Conservatism, Klinghoffer added, "has undergone a shift toward demagoguery and hucksterism," and is now ruled by those he called "the crazy-cons."

Some Republicans have tried to extend the Buckley tradition, but to little effect. The commentator David Frum, a former speechwriter for George W. Bush, lost his job at the American Enterprise Institute after he complained about the Republicans' obstruction of health-care reform and called the right-wing surge a threat to conservatism. In June, the congressman Bob Inglis, of South Carolina, a tough conservative who nonetheless backed Bush's financial bailout, lost a vicious primary fight with a right-wing insurgent named Trey Gowdy. To his amazement, Inglis was confronted on the campaign trail by voters who were convinced that numbers on their Social Security cards indicated that a secret bank had bought them at birth. "And then, of course," he recalls, "it turned into something about the Federal Reserve and the Bilderbergers and all that stuff." Not even Karl Rove can afford open dissent with the Tea Partiers. Appearing on Fox News the night of the recent primaries, he described the Tea Party-backed Senate candidate in Delaware, Christine O'Donnell, as probably unelectable and said that some of her statements were "nutty." Instantly, criticism came from Sarah Palin, Rush Limbaugh, and other right-wing Republicans. Within days, he was back on Fox, proclaiming himself "a

huge Tea Party fan," endorsing O'Donnell, and affirming that the National Republican Senatorial Committee would give her its full backing.

So far, Rove, an unlikely dissident, is the only prominent Republican leader to so much as gesture at stepping forward, as Buckley and his allies did. Even strong conservatives like Inglis have been pushed aside, as have such former G.O.P. stalwarts as Charlie Crist, in Florida, and Mike Castle, in Delaware, both beaten in the primaries by Tea Party candidates; Crist is now running a long-shot campaign as an Independent. Desperate for gains in the midterm elections, the Republicans are neglecting the struggle it took to make politics safe for Reagan.

Fifty years ago, President Kennedy deplored the far right's "counsels of fear and suspicion." Today, Obama's White House is still struggling to make sense of its enemies. In the absence of forthright leadership, on both the right and the left, the job of standing up to extremists appears to have been left to the electorate. Candidates like O'Donnell may prove too eccentric to prevail, or voters may simply become disillusioned by politicians who campaign on their hatred of government. After the election, mainstream conservatives may well engage in what Richard Viguerie has forecast as "a massive, almost historic battle for the heart and soul of the Republican Party." (Already, Rove and some leading Bush political operatives, including the former Republican National Committee chairman Ed Gillespie, have been quietly supplanting the battered G.O.P. establishment in the effort to raise funds for this year's candidates.) But, according to a recent poll, more than seventy per cent of Republicans support the Tea Party, and it seems almost certain that a Republican Party that has unstintingly appeased the far right will enjoy a strong and perhaps smashing victory in the coming midterm elections.

In 1906, early in the Progressive era, the humorist Finley Peter Dunne's fictional barroom sage, Mr. Dooley, put the social and political tumult of the day into perspective. "Th' noise ye hear is not th' first gun iv a revolution," Dooley remarked. "It's on'y th' people iv th' United States batin' a carpet." A century from now, or even a year from now, Americans may say the same about the Tea Party. For the moment, though, it appears that the extreme right wing is on the verge of securing a degree of power over Congress and the Republican Party that is unprecedented in modern American history. For defenders of national cohesion and tempered adversity in our politics, it is an alarming state of affairs. ♦

Read more http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/18/101018fa_fact_wilentz?printable=true#ixzz123hWc5bz

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun, Oct 10, 2010 8:24 pm
Subject: Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

I gave to Bill who is trying to influence strategy.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Oct 08 16:08:27 2010
Subject: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

The Huffington Post <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/> <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/>

Drew Westen <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen>

Psychologist and neuroscientist; Emory University Professor
Posted: October 8, 2010 09:23 AM

Bringing Up Boehner <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen/post_1034_b_755497.html>

According to news reports, today Republican minority leader and Coppertone model John Boehner will give his "closing argument" to the American people on why they should throw out the Democrats and kill the Obama-Pelosi-Reid "job-killing agenda." He will be returning to his working class roots, speaking at a piping manufacturing plant, an unusual venue these days for a man who is seen much more frequently at gatherings of Wall Street executives with open checkbooks and the males-only country club where he works on his tan when not making the rounds at other clubs with industry lobbyists.

Either the Speaker-to-be is following the model of Michael Steele and free-lancing, or Karl Rove and the Republicans believe it is safe or even advantageous to bring him out in public after the White House made an effort to put Boehner's face on what a Republican majority might look like, with the president invoking his name eight times in one speech.

I have to admit that at the time I was agnostic as to whether it made sense to try to brand him at this late date, as Boehner has minimal name recognition among voters. But the White House was no doubt responding to three realities. First, Boehner is an unknown to most Americans, which means that, unlike most Republicans in the news, he has not been well branded by the GOP -- which means for once Democrats might actually brand someone or something first rather than playing catch-up. Second, Boehner would indeed be the highest-ranking Republican were the GOP to assume control over the House (other than of course Karl Rove, who is now directing traffic on the right side of the street in Washington again). And third, a concrete face is always better than an abstraction when telling a story, and other than perhaps Sarah Palin, who Republicans could alternately accept and decline as the leader of their party, Boehner's tanned visage and history as errand-boy for virtually every major corporate special interest in his two decades in Washington (including his stint as the Marlboro Man, handing out tobacco lobby campaign checks to his fellow Republicans on the floor of the House) made him a potential counter-villain to the Republican's bogeywoman, Nancy Pelosi.

I remained agnostic until this week, when colleagues at Media Matters Action Network and I conducted a national messaging survey <http://cloudfront.mediamattersaction.org/static/images/pdf/BrandingBoehner.pdf> with 1,000 registered voters, selected to match the demographics of the voting and likely voting populations. The goal was to see how effectively we could speak with voters about Boehner as not only the symbol and standard-bearer for the GOP but also the water-boy for corporate America. (The results were surprisingly similar whether we looked at registered voters or likely voters, although as others have described, precisely how to determine who is a "likely voter" in this election is as much art as science, and the point of good messaging at this point is actually to change the dynamics of likely voting, not just to reflect them.)

As detailed in a memo published in Politico, what we found was clear: Boehner is a target well worth defining, who readily stands for precisely what Americans perceive to be the reasons they would have to hold their noses to vote for Congressional Republicans (perhaps the only group left who poll worse than Congressional Democrats with swing voters). We tested both paragraph-length narratives and single-sentence language designed to capture the essence of those narratives, and in each case, we tested them against the toughest opposition language we could test them against: the words of Boehner, Cantor, Limbaugh and others combined in defining the "Obama-Pelosi-Reid" agenda.

What we found, in brief, is that we could beat a tough GOP narrative about the "job-killing" socialists in the White House and Congress by 15 to 20 points with two narratives starring Boehner in the leading role (with best supporting bad

actor going in one of the narratives to Karl Rove and his corporate allies), and we could win with over 15 different sentence-long descriptions of "what's the matter with Boehner" with margins ranging from 10 to 60 points against a tough conservative attack on the Obama-Pelosi-Reid axis of conservative evil.

The narratives that most moved likely voters -- including swing voters, who preferred them by double-digits over tough Republican rhetoric -- made clear whose voices Boehner would be speaking for as Speaker (e.g., the Wall Street executives he convened to try to block Wall Street reform). They harnessed the same populist anger at the hijacking of Washington by corporate special interests that has enlivened the tea partiers and is palpable across the political spectrum, and they focused on the extremism of the party Boehner would Speak for. A narrative that brought Karl Rove into the picture was slightly more polarizing with swing voters but slightly more powerful with likely Democratic voters.

In some ways what was most surprising was the success of the single-line statements of what we need in a Speaker and who John Boehner really speaks for (although these single-line statements came after the narratives, and likely reflect the power of branding, even over the course of a brief online encounter with voters). They ranged from relatively lofty and aspirational (e.g., "We need a Speaker who is also a listener, who can hear the voices of ordinary Americans" -- a theme colleagues and I found highly resonant across the political spectrum in message testing on the role of money in politics) -- to the harder-edged (e.g., "The Speaker of the House is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. Unfortunately, we know where John Boehner's heart is, and it isn't with the middle class," or "John Boehner understands deficits. He's spent nearly 20 years in Washington creating them.")

If there's a message in this message research, it is at once short-term and long-term. In the short run, if Democrats want to hang onto their seats in November, they would do well to define this election in terms of the middle class and small business versus the billionaires and big corporations that are hijacking our democracy; to use Boehner as a poster child for the party whose primary commitment is to the latter and whose tan is a testament to that commitment; and to avoid giving voters reason to regret their vote if they give it to Democrats again this time, by supporting the things they say they stand for and avoiding that golden mean between the public interest and the special interests that finance campaigns on both sides of the aisle.

In the longer run, branding matters. One of the biggest strategic and messaging mistakes of the last two years was the failure of Democrats to brand their opponents while their opponents were busy branding them -- and in particular the failure to brand the Bush Recession as the natural consequence of failed Republican economic principles. Two years ago, that was a virtually uncontested political proposition, as the voters made clear in handing Democrats the White House and supermajorities in both the House and Senate. Today, the public is split down the middle as to who caused the recession.

Reality doesn't brand itself. Hopefully it won't take a debacle in November and another 10 million jobs lost for reality to unveil itself again for a brief political moment and for progressives to have a second bite at the apple.

<http://getglue.com/?s=w>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

This is the distilled, pure and utterly conventional wisdom of much of the DC political chattering class at this moment. The first two paragraphs are the most important, completely accurate in assessment, the rest twaddle:

[redacted]
Monday, Oct. 11, 2010

# Why Obama Is Losing the Political War

By Mark Halperin
Barack Obama is being politically crushed in a vise. From above, by elite opinion about his competence. From below, by mass anger and anxiety over unemployment. And it is too late for him to do anything about this predicament until after November's elections.
With the exception of core Obama Administration loyalists, most politically engaged elites have reached the same conclusions: the White House is in over its head, isolated, insular, arrogant and clueless about how to get along with or persuade members of Congress, the media, the business community or working-class voters. This view is held by Fox News pundits, executives and anchors at the major old-media outlets, reporters who cover the White House, Democratic and Republican congressional leaders and governors, many Democratic business people and lawyers who raised big money for Obama in 2008, and even some members of the Administration just beyond the inner circle. (See Obama's troubled first year, issue by issue.)
On Friday, after the release of the latest bleak unemployment data — the last major jobs figures before the midterms — Obama said, "Putting the American people back to work, expanding opportunity, rebuilding the economic security of the middle class is the moral and national challenge of our time." But elites feel the President has failed to meet that challenge and are convinced he will be unable to do so in the remainder of his term. Moreover, there is a growing perception that Obama's decisions are causing harm — that businesses are being hurt by the Administration's legislation and that economic recovery is stalling because of the uncertainty surrounding energy policy, health care, deficits, housing, immigration and spending.
And that sentiment is spreading. Many members of the general public appear deeply skeptical of Obama's capacity to turn things around, especially, but not exclusively, those inclined to dislike him — Tea Partyers and John McCain voters, but also tens of millions of middle-class Americans, including quite a few who turned out for Obama in 2008. (See how some Americans are facing the prospect of long-term unemployment.)
The misery afflicting the country has no political affiliation. Listen to the voices from this striking TV ad for Rob Portman, the Republican former Congressman and Bush budget director who is running for Senate from Ohio. One woman at a Dayton career fair says starkly, "There are no jobs." A man announces plaintively and with obvious frustration, "I've been looking for a job now for 13 months." Events like this job fair are becoming the grim iconic gatherings of our time, the breadlines for the Obama years.
Most of Obama's private (and sometimes public) rebuttals to the voices slamming him on all sides are justified or spot on. He did inherit a lot of problems from the Bush Administration. He did act quickly in the initial weeks of his Administration to stave off a worldwide depression. His efforts at job creation have been obstructed by Republicans (even the proposals based on policies supported by the GOP in the past). His opponents haven't put forth specifics of their own, nor offered genuine compromise, while the media have allowed the right's activists and gabbers to run wild with criticism without furnishing legitimate alternative solutions. (See Barack Obama's top 10 sound bites.)
But Obama has exacerbated his political problems not just by failing to enact policies that would have actually turned the economy around, but also by authorizing a series of tactical moves intended to demonize Republicans and distract from the problems at hand. He has wasted time lambasting his foes when he should have been putting forth his agenda in a clear, optimistic fashion, defending the benefits of his key decisions during the past two years (health care and the Troubled Asset Relief Program, for example) and explaining what he would do with a re-elected Democratic majority to spur growth.

Throughout the year, we have been treated to Obama-led attacks on George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, Rush Limbaugh, Congressman Joe Barton (for his odd apology to BP), John Boehner (for seeking the speakership — or was it something about an ant?) and Fox News (for everything). Suitable Democratic targets in some cases, perhaps, but not worth the time of a busy Commander in Chief. In the past few days, we have witnessed the spectacle of the President himself and his top advisers wading into allegations that Republicans are attempting to buy the election using foreign money laundered through the Chamber of Commerce, combining with Karl Rove and his wealthy backers to fund a flood of negative television commercials. Not only is this issue convoluted and far-fetched, but it also distracts from the issues voters care about, frustrating political insiders and alienating struggling citizens (not that many are following such an offbeat story line). Feinting and gibing can't obscure those job numbers. (See the best viral campaign ads of 2010.)

The President and Democrats have passed many significant measures (the stimulus spending, the auto-company rescue, the health care law and the financial regulation effort) that someday may be seen as brave and bold, the foundation for a better economy. Obama and his closest aides certainly think that will happen. But the President was correct when he said Friday, "the only piece of economic news that folks still looking for work want to hear is, 'You're hired,'" and that's still not occurring for too many Americans.

The politically good news for Obama is that no matter what the outcome of the midterm elections, everything changes in January. Republicans will have a greater obligation, politically and morally, to help govern, rather than thwart and badger. The President will get a chance, in his State of the Union address and in his budget proposal, to show he is turning the page on the political horrors of 2010 for his party and the nation. But before then, Republicans are almost certainly going to demonstrate that you *can* beat something with nothing, especially when Americans seem to think that the Obama Administration hasn't much to offer either, except more of the same that isn't working.

- Find this article at:
- http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,2024718,00.html

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-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun, Oct 10, 2010 8:24 pm
Subject: Re: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

I gave to Bill who is trying to influence strategy.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Oct 08 16:08:27 2010
Subject: H: The Boehner poll. Sid

The Huffington Post <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/> <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/>

Drew Westen <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen>

Psychologist and neuroscientist; Emory University Professor
Posted: October 8, 2010 09:23 AM

Bringing Up Boehner <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/drew-westen/post_1034_b_755497.html>

According to news reports, today Republican minority leader and Coppertone model John Boehner will give his "closing argument" to the American people on why they should throw out the Democrats and kill the Obama-Pelosi-Reid "job-killing agenda." He will be returning to his working class roots, speaking at a piping manufacturing plant, an unusual venue these days for a man who is seen much more frequently at gatherings of Wall Street executives with open checkbooks and the males-only country club where he works on his tan when not making the rounds at other clubs with industry lobbyists.

Either the Speaker-to-be is following the model of Michael Steele and free-lancing, or Karl Rove and the Republicans believe it is safe or even advantageous to bring him out in public after the White House made an effort to put Boehner's face on what a Republican majority might look like, with the president invoking his name eight times in one speech.

I have to admit that at the time I was agnostic as to whether it made sense to try to brand him at this late date, as Boehner has minimal name recognition among voters. But the White House was no doubt responding to three realities. First, Boehner is an unknown to most Americans, which means that, unlike most Republicans in the news, he has not been well branded by the GOP -- which means for once Democrats might actually brand someone or something first rather than playing catch-up. Second, Boehner would indeed be the highest-ranking Republican were the GOP to assume control over the House (other than of course Karl Rove, who is now directing traffic on the right side of the street in Washington again). And third, a concrete face is always better than an abstraction when telling a story, and other than perhaps Sarah Palin, who Republicans could alternately accept and decline as the leader of their party, Boehner's tanned visage and history as errand-boy for virtually every major corporate special interest in his two decades in Washington (including his stint as the Marlboro Man, handing out tobacco lobby campaign checks to his fellow Republicans on the floor of the House) made him a potential counter-villain to the Republican's bogeywoman, Nancy Pelosi.

I remained agnostic until this week, when colleagues at Media Matters Action Network and I conducted a national messaging survey <http://cloudfront.mediamattersaction.org/static/images/pdf/BrandingBoehner.pdf> with 1,000 registered voters, selected to match the demographics of the voting and likely voting populations. The goal was to see how effectively we could speak with voters about Boehner as not only the symbol and standard-bearer for the GOP but also the water-boy for corporate America. (The results were surprisingly similar whether we looked at registered voters or likely voters, although as others have described, precisely how to determine who is a "likely voter" in this election is as much art as science, and the point of good messaging at this point is actually to change the dynamics of likely voting, not just to reflect them.)

As detailed in a memo published in Politico, what we found was clear: Boehner is a target well worth defining, who readily stands for precisely what Americans perceive to be the reasons they would have to hold their noses to vote for Congressional Republicans (perhaps the only group left who poll worse than Congressional Democrats with swing voters). We tested both paragraph-length narratives and single-sentence language designed to capture the essence of those narratives, and in each case, we tested them against the toughest opposition language we could test them against: the words of Boehner, Cantor, Limbaugh and others combined in defining the "Obama-Pelosi-Reid" agenda.

What we found, in brief, is that we could beat a tough GOP narrative about the

"job-killing" socialists in the White House and Congress by 15 to 20 points with two narratives starring Boehner in the leading role (with best supporting bad actor going in one of the narratives to Karl Rove and his corporate allies), and we could win with over 15 different sentence-long descriptions of "what's the matter with Boehner" with margins ranging from 10 to 60 points against a tough conservative attack on the Obama-Pelosi-Reid axis of conservative evil.

The narratives that most moved likely voters -- including swing voters, who preferred them by double-digits over tough Republican rhetoric -- made clear whose voices Boehner would be speaking for as Speaker (e.g., the Wall Street executives he convened to try to block Wall Street reform). They harnessed the same populist anger at the hijacking of Washington by corporate special interests that has enlivened the tea partiers and is palpable across the political spectrum, and they focused on the extremism of the party Boehner would Speak for. A narrative that brought Karl Rove into the picture was slightly more polarizing with swing voters but slightly more powerful with likely Democratic voters.

In some ways what was most surprising was the success of the single-line statements of what we need in a Speaker and who John Boehner really speaks for (although these single-line statements came after the narratives, and likely reflect the power of branding, even over the course of a brief online encounter with voters). They ranged from relatively lofty and aspirational (e.g., "We need a Speaker who is also a listener, who can hear the voices of ordinary Americans" -- a theme colleagues and I found highly resonant across the political spectrum in message testing on the role of money in politics) -- to the harder-edged (e.g., "The Speaker of the House is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. Unfortunately, we know where John Boehner's heart is, and it isn't with the middle class," or "John Boehner understands deficits. He's spent nearly 20 years in Washington creating them.")

If there's a message in this message research, it is at once short-term and long-term. In the short run, if Democrats want to hang onto their seats in November, they would do well to define this election in terms of the middle class and small business versus the billionaires and big corporations that are hijacking our democracy; to use Boehner as a poster child for the party whose primary commitment is to the latter and whose tan is a testament to that commitment; and to avoid giving voters reason to regret their vote if they give it to Democrats again this time, by supporting the things they say they stand for and avoiding that golden mean between the public interest and the special interests that finance campaigns on both sides of the aisle.

In the longer run, branding matters. One of the biggest strategic and messaging mistakes of the last two years was the failure of Democrats to brand their opponents while their opponents were busy branding them -- and in particular the failure to brand the Bush Recession as the natural consequence of failed Republican economic principles. Two years ago, that was a virtually uncontested political proposition, as the voters made clear in handing Democrats the White House and supermajorities in both the House and Senate. Today, the public is split down the middle as to who caused the recession.

Reality doesn't brand itself. Hopefully it won't take a debacle in November and another 10 million jobs lost for reality to unveil itself again for a brief political moment and for progressives to have a second bite at the apple.
<http://getglue.com/?s=w>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: when you have time... Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

October 11, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: David Miliband, Third Way, etc.

I just had a conversation with Jonathan Powell. David Sainsbury (chief donor to the Labour Party, Shaun's wife's cousin) wants to fund a new Third Way organization headed by David Miliband. David is up for it. Tony very keen. To discuss.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Qaeda offers to free French if burqa ban ended - TV

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 10:30:48 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Qaeda offers to free French if burqa ban ended - TV

DUBAI/PARIS (Reuters) - Al Qaeda's north African arm wants a repeal of a ban on the Muslim face veil in France, the release of militants and 7 million Euros in exchange for freeing hostages who include five French, Al Arabiya TV said. Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is holding seven foreigners in the Sahara desert after kidnapping them last month. "The abductors have unrealistic demands which Mali and France could not accept... including withdrawing a ban on the face veil in France and the release of some of the group's elements detained in France, Mauritania and other countries," the television quoted unnamed sources as saying. The sources did not specify which militants the hostage-takers wanted released. France's Foreign Ministry dismissed the report as one of several "rumors" since the kidnappings in mid-September.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:43 AM
**Subject:** Rothkopf on Jones, et al

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/08/goodbye_mr_jones

# Goodbye, Mr. Jones

## And good riddance. Why Jim Jones was the worst national security advisor in decades.

### BY DAVID J. ROTHKOPF | OCTOBER 8, 2010

The president's inexperience did in Jones more than any of the general's deficits. He didn't know what he wanted. He vacillated on key issues. He simply demonstrated the problems America repeatedly has when it hires men with no foreign-policy background to take on the most important international job in the world. Further, he did not really know enough about how the presidency works to nip in the bud the creation of the inner-circle bubble that effectively negated much of the work that the formal policy process did. Obama encouraged (or tolerated for long-enough that it looks like encouragement) his campaign foreign-policy deputies to continue to report directly to him, and this led to some public and private backdooring of Jones that undercut his authority dramatically. He did not empower Jones, and that combined with Jones's own shortcomings led to the zero-chemistry, ineffective collaboration that has been openly criticized by senior White House and foreign policy officials since the spring of Obama's first year in office.

In fact the situation got so bad that Jones was publicly undercut by true Obama confidante Denis McDonough more than once. It is something of a surprise he lasted this long. As one former national security advisor said to me while we were discussing a well-known instance of McDonough publicly undercutting Jones, "That would have only happened once on my watch. It would have been me or him."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Kosovo-Serbia talks likely delayed to March

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** SES-O_OS; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** Shaker, Joan P
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 12:13:47 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Kosovo-Serbia talks likely delayed to March

PRISTINA (Reuters) - European Union-mediated talks between Belgrade and Pristina will begin only after a new Kosovo government takes power following elections in February, Kosovo's acting president said. Last month Serbia, which does not recognize Kosovo's independence, agreed to hold talks with Pristina after it was told its hardline stance on its former province could halt progress to the EU. In an interview, acting President Jakup Krasniqi said it would be difficult to start talks during a political crisis that followed President Fatmir Sejdiju's resignation last month. "The first half of February is the optimal time to hold early elections," he told Reuters. "The end of March is the period when Kosovo will have its own institutions and then it can have talks with Serbia." Krasniqi said he will announce the date of early elections a day or two after U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visits Pristina. Kosovo had scheduled elections for November 2011, but Sejdiju's resignation hurt relations between the two main coalition partners: the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) and Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK). Krasniqi said early elections could postpone the sale of Telekom, which is expected to bring between 300 million - 600 million euros. Whether the government can secure a parliamentary majority for necessary legislation to sell Telekom is uncertain, he said. "This is complicated at this point," he said.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 4:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: FYI. Sid

The Huffington Post
October 12, 2010

Howard Fineman
fineman@huffingtonpost.com | HuffPost Reporting

# The Power Of Clinton, The Invisibility Of Obama

First Posted: 10-12-10 02:37 PM | Updated: 10-12-10 02:37 PM

LOUISVILLE -- I see that Dr. Rand Paul has taken out after Bill Clinton, dredging up Monica Lewinsky. And I know why Paul did so. The former president was here in Kentucky yesterday and in this state, as in many others, he is a far more potent and popular foe than President Barack Obama.

On my first day working for The Huffington Post, I came back to Kentucky, where I began my career many years ago at the *Courier-Journal*. The people who run the University of Louisville Kentucky Author Forum wanted me to do an on-stage interview with a certain best-selling author who is also my new boss: Arianna Huffington. It was a tricky mix of professional incest and personal nostalgia, but the event worked out well and I also got a chance to play Kentucky reporter once again out in the state.

I raced over to Lexington and here is the ground-level, outside-the-Beltway reality I witnessed:

Like Voldemort's, Obama's is a name no one dares utter -- and that includes Clinton speaking to Democrats.

At a sunny, noontime rally on the campus of the University of Kentucky in Lexington yesterday, the former president made a stirring, well-argued case for Democratic Senate candidate Jack Conway and for Democrats generally -- without once mentioning Obama and rarely mentioning the presidency. It was as though we suddenly had only two branches of government.

To be fair, almost no one else at the one-hour rally mentioned the sitting president. And Kentucky is staunch Republican territory. "We're farther ahead in the generic ballot here than ever," GOP Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky told me yesterday. "President Obama was never popular here, even at his peak."

Still, the eerie invisibility of the president is a telling commentary on the Democrats' confused, divided and defensive predicament as they brace for the verdict of the voters on Election Day, Nov. 2. There was something odd -- and, if you're a Democrat, depressing -- about a former Democratic president avoiding any mention of his Democratic successor.

Clinton sincerely wants to help out on the trail -- and certainly wants to avoid the accusation that he didn't try to help. But his travels have turned into a personal victory lap that often makes him -- not the candidate he's touting -- the center of attention. That was true here in Kentucky. The rally's mechanics were mostly handled by the Secret Service; more to the point, the final (and therefore top-billed) speaker wasn't Conway. It was Clinton. The Conway people didn't mind. They were glad to have him.

Rail-thin but not frail, wearing a tweedy professorial sports coat and his signature rueful, knowing smile, Clinton was treated with a respect bordering on awe. His familiar mane of white hair, thinning now, was translucent in the sun, giving him an almost otherworldly look: the Sage from a Better Age.

Clinton is beloved In Kentucky. He won the state twice. He speaks the local dialect, which contains Appalachian notes of working-class pride, suspicion of big shots and Baptist revivalism. But more than that -- and more than just in Kentucky -- Clinton's economic record (22.7 million jobs created, and he tends not to forget to mention the .7) looks spectacularly good in the context of what has followed.

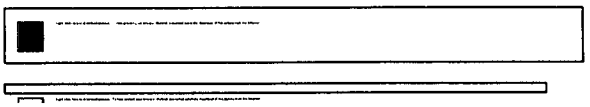
These days there is almost an Old Testament, milk-and-honey reverence for that economic record, at least as expressed by former Kentucky Sen. Wendell Ford. An old-school podium pounder, Ford -- stooped but still strong voiced at 86 -- talked of the former president in messianic terms. "Bill Clinton found us the path to gold!" he shouted. The crowd of 2,000, most of them students, didn't laugh. They seemed to think he was right.

How any of this helps Obama is far from clear; it isn't even clear that it helps many Democrats -- since they'd be joining the same Washington party that the current president ostensibly heads.

But Clinton is all too happy to show Obama how it's done. As a campaigner and as president, Clinton's gift was his ability to untangle the knots of even the most complex policy issue and explain it in plain language to people suspicious of the powerful -- but eager not to be screwed by them or to be seen as dupes. Republicans and their corporate allies were out to shut down the few good things that government does for you, he said, in the name of balancing a budget that they themselves destroyed. "I gave you budget surpluses!" Clinton said, as if this had been an act of personal beneficence.

Knowing his audience, the former president focused on Pell Grants, and on a new program that allows graduates to pay back their loans over longer periods and at lower rates. Paul, he said, will try to take that new program away -- and, given the GOP's deliberate vagueness about spending cuts -- there is reason to think Clinton is right.

Which is why Paul got personal today. Which means Clinton drew blood. Which means that he did what he came to do. Which means Obama will remain invisible, at least in Kentucky, at least for now, and probably for a long time to come.



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 9:31 PM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Haiti - child trafficking

That is important. I will work on it--there's a very long and sobering list. Does Jillian have specific ideas?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H
Sent: Fri Jan 15 12:28:05 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti - child trafficking

This is a good suggestion from Jillian Burns in S/P....to make sure that children (and wonen) don't become targets of traffickers, as happened in Pakistan.

From: Burns, Jillian L
Sent: Friday, January 15, 2010 12:01 PM
To: Gonzalez, Francisco J; Muscatine, Lissa
Subject: Haiti - child trafficking

http://www.cbsatlanta.com/news/22239047/detail.html

Child Trafficking Major Concern After Quake

Thousands Of Children Left Without Parents

By Mike Paluska, CBS Atlanta Reporter

POSTED: 4:58 pm EST January 14, 2010

UPDATED: 5:28 pm EST January 14, 2010

ATLANTA -- UNICEF and international adoption agencies said getting children into safe zones is a top priority after the devastating earthquake in Haiti.

The massive magnitude 7.0 earthquake that hit the island of Hispaniola has left thousands of children without parents.

Before the quake even hit UNICEF statistics from 2007 show there were 380,000 orphans already in Haiti.

"There are so many children that are in desperate need of help that's what we are here to do to keep them alive and get them the nutrients they need and clean water. It becomes the one place of stability for the kids where they have people UNICEF workers they can relate to they have educational material so they can start back with school," said Alissa

Silverman, deputy director for UNICEF in the southeast region. "UNICEF is tracing family members and caring for children orphaned by the disaster to protect them from harm or exploitation."

The number of children on the island is staggering. Forty-six percent of Haiti's population (nearly 10 million) is under the age of 18, more than half of the population is under 21. Prior to the earthquake, four of every 10 children lived in homes with mud floors or severely overcrowded conditions.

"My first concern is who is with the kids how many of our nannies our ok and who is watching the kids and then all the kids on the streets," said Chareyl Moyes, the program manager for Wasatch International Adoption. Moyes works with a number of different agencies and orphanages in Haiti. She said early reports about how much damage they suffered are good.

"But, there is going to be a concern about child trafficking so both Haitian and the United States governments are going to be careful about forging ahead with new adoptions. The need is going to be great," Moyes said.

A lot of families in the U.S. according to a number of international adoption agencies across the country said some people were at the very end of the process to adopt a child from Haiti. "Now, it will set everyone back," Moyes said.

Even though child trafficking is a major concern for Moyes she worries about the immediate help children need trapped in the rubble from a country in ruins. "How long will that child survive without somebody rescuing them," Moyes said.

http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/26294/

Save the Children Emergency Team Reaches Haiti <http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/comments/26294/>

An emergency response team from Westport's Save the Children successfully reached Haiti today and worked quickly with staff already on the ground to organize the distribution of tents, medicine, and toiletries to children and families in desperate need, the charity said.
"Save the Children is extremely concerned about the well-being of children in Haiti at this critical moment and we are doing everything we can to quickly get relief supplies to those who need it most," said Charles MacCormack, president and CEO of Save the Children, in a news release.

"Our staff on the ground is pulling out all the stops to overcome hurdles like blocked roads and unreliable access to the airport."

"This is just the beginning of what will be a comprehensive five-year effort to build back better in Haiti. We are dedicated to not only addressing the immediate needs of children and families, but to making sure they have a brighter future ahead."

http://children.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/01/13/haitis-disastrous-earthquake-hits-children-hardest/

As someone in the anti-trafficking news of the disaster in Haiti has my mind rushing to worrying thoughts on how the disaster will increase human trafficking in the country. Such a large scale disaster will undoubtedly leave thousands and thousands of children, and their families, at an increased to be victimized by modern slavery.

Haiti's Restavek system still has a tight grip on the community, leaving some 300,000 children in the country enslaved as domestic workers according to the UN. It is these children who will continue to anguish and suffer the most in the shadows of the earthquake.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti - child trafficking

Pls print.

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To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H
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Subject: Haiti - child trafficking

http://www.cbsatlanta.com/news/22239047/detail.html

Child Trafficking Major Concern After Quake

Thousands Of Children Left Without Parents

By Mike Paluska, CBS Atlanta Reporter

POSTED: 4:58 pm EST January 14, 2010

UPDATED: 5:28 pm EST January 14, 2010

ATLANTA -- UNICEF and international adoption agencies said getting children into safe zones is a top priority after the devastating earthquake in Haiti.

The massive magnitude 7.0 earthquake that hit the island of Hispaniola has left thousands of children without parents.

Before the quake even hit UNICEF statistics from 2007 show there were 380,000 orphans already in Haiti.

"There are so many children that are in desperate need of help that's what we are here to do to keep them alive and get them the nutrients they need and clean water. It becomes the one place of stability for the kids where they have people UNICEF workers they can relate to they have educational material so they can start back with school," said Alissa

Silverman, deputy director for UNICEF in the southeast region. "UNICEF is tracing family members and caring for children orphaned by the disaster to protect them from harm or exploitation."

The number of children on the island is staggering. Forty-six percent of Haiti's population (nearly 10 million) is under the age of 18, more than half of the population is under 21. Prior to the earthquake, four of every 10 children lived in homes with mud floors or severely overcrowded conditions.

"My first concern is who is with the kids how many of our nannies our ok and who is watching the kids and then all the kids on the streets," said Chareyl Moyes, the program manager for Wasatch International Adoption. Moyes works with a number of different agencies and orphanages in Haiti. She said early reports about how much damage they suffered are good.

"But, there is going to be a concern about child trafficking so both Haitian and the United States governments are going to be careful about forging ahead with new adoptions. The need is going to be great," Moyes said.

A lot of families in the U.S. according to a number of international adoption agencies across the country said some people were at the very end of the process to adopt a child from Haiti. "Now, it will set everyone back," Moyes said.

Even though child trafficking is a major concern for Moyes she worries about the immediate help children need trapped in the rubble from a country in ruins. "How long will that child survive without somebody rescuing them," Moyes said.

http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/26294/

Save the Children Emergency Team Reaches Haiti <http://www.westportnow.com/index.php?/v2/comments/26294/>

An emergency response team from Westport's Save the Children successfully reached Haiti today and worked quickly with staff already on the ground to organize the distribution of tents, medicine, and toiletries to children and families in desperate need, the charity said.
"Save the Children is extremely concerned about the well-being of children in Haiti at this critical moment and we are doing everything we can to quickly get relief supplies to those who need it most," said Charles MacCormack, president and CEO of Save the Children, in a news release.

"Our staff on the ground is pulling out all the stops to overcome hurdles like blocked roads and unreliable access to the airport."

"This is just the beginning of what will be a comprehensive five-year effort to build back better in Haiti. We are dedicated to not only addressing the immediate needs of children and families, but to making sure they have a brighter future ahead."

http://children.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/01/13/haitis-disastrous-earthquake-hits-children-hardest/

As someone in the anti-trafficking news of the disaster in Haiti has my mind rushing to worrying thoughts on how the disaster will increase human trafficking in the country. Such a large scale disaster will undoubtedly leave thousands and thousands of children, and their families, at an increased to be victimized by modern slavery.

Haiti's Restavek system still has a tight grip on the community, leaving some 300,000 children in the country enslaved as domestic workers according to the UN. It is these children who will continue to anguish and suffer the most in the shadows of the earthquake.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Issues I cover

Thx Mike. I'd like to meet w you this week. Pls get a time from Lona.

----- Original Message -----
From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 10 11:17:32 2010
Subject: Issues I cover

Madam Secretary,

Attached and below, please find a list of the issues I cover.

Thanks,

Mike

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Clinton

FROM: Mike

CC: Cheryl, Jake

SUBJECT: Issues I Cover

In addition to the day-to-day projects and follow-up items I work on with Jake, I cover the following issues:

Long-Range Policy

- Helping Cheryl and Jake plan for, and follow-up on, the bi-monthly policy meetings
- Working with bureaus on end-of-year reports follow-up
- Keeping up to speed on issues discussed at Deputies meetings for weekly memos
- Helping shepherd speech ideas and providing feedback on drafts

Substantive Issue Areas

- Human rights/democracy
- Sudan
- Mexico
- Cookstoves
- Yemen-related issues
- Export controls
- Cybersecurity
- Terrorist finance issues
- Military families issues
- Climate change
- Dialogues and partnerships with Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Indonesia, Brazil

State Department Reform

- Report reform: Working with Rich Verma and his team on reforming state's system for producing annual reports to Congress
- QDDR-related assistance

RELEASE IN PART B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 15, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI conference

Shaun has been excluded from the NI conference in its entirety. I've included the exchange of emails below. Exactly how Shaun has been shut out remains unclear.

Sid - my email exchange with Declan. Seems like Labour is firmly to be excluded!

On 15/10/10 18:22, "Declan Kelly" <[redacted]> wrote: B6

> Shaun,
>
> Ran the traps on this. I'm told Sidney asked S if it would be ok for you to
> attend and she said she had no problem with it if there were no issues
> associated with same, but if there are then it can't happen.
>
> Unfortunately there are a number of protocol issues. Owen Paterson and
Peter
> Power (michael cannot come now) are only attending the first remarks by the
> Secretary and not participating in the conference. Owen is not attending
the
> dinner because he has to go back for the Cabinet mtg next day, so having
his
> Opposition counterpart there would obviously cause protocol issues as you
can
> appreciate. It also would raise questions in the Irish government as to why
> the opposition representative from their side wasn't invited either.
Finally,

> there just isn't enough time to rewind the tape on all of this with just one
> working day left between now and the event.
>
> As you know, it's nothing personal but that appears to be the situation. I
> hope you understand and if you want to chat further give me a call.
>
> Best,
>
> Declan

------ Forwarded Message
From: Shaun Woodward [redacted]
Date: Fri, 15 Oct 2010 20:50:24 +0100
To: Declan Kelly [redacted]
Conversation: <no subject>
Subject: Re: <no subject>

B6

Declan,

Thanks for your email. Of course it's not personal. But I do think it's wrong.

When we were in Government we believed we could only succeed if we treated Northern Ireland as a bi-partisan issue and I encouraged other Governments to adopt the same approach. That meant when President Bush was in the White House, I went out of my way always to see and brief Democrats - in Congress and in the Senate - whenever I came to the States. It also meant when we held the first economic conference led by Mayor Bloomberg in Belfast, the dinner we gave at Hillsborough was not restricted to just those in respective Governments.

In respect of how we handled the issue within the UK, that didn't mean I invited the Shadow Secretary of State to share every platform, but the Shadow was not excluded from being at major events. Indeed we made a point of not only saying we were bi-partisan, but acted accordingly.

Having brokered the Hillsborough Agreement and having discussed with your Secretary of State - at all stages - how the US could help through an Economic Conference, I am obviously somewhat disappointed not to have been invited to attend the Conference in any capacity.

That of course should never be confused with my deep respect and admiration for Secretary Clinton. Frankly without her help during her time in the White House, as a Senator, as a candidate and now as Secretary, we could never have made the progress we did. You will know that, at the time, I was always disappointed that her contribution to the peace process and political process was not recognized appropriately by the Conservative Party and their spokesmen when they were in Opposition.

The decision by Owen Patterson to decide not to be present at next week's Conference is a matter for him and the political demands he has chosen on which to determine his priorities. You would not expect me to comment on his decision.

However, I don't have to rehearse with you that successful long-term

>
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However, I don't have to rehearse with you that successful long-term economic investment in Northern Ireland will require building not only a stable peace process, but continuing to build cross-party and cross-community consensus. I am sorry we have not been invited to help.

The current coalition Government in Britain will not always be in power and it may not even last the course. It seems regrettable that in such a challenging global economic environment that those of us who helped build the peace are not even invited to continue helping.

Best,

Shaun

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Best,

Shaun

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** 'oterom2@state.gov'; 'slaughtera@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'
**Subject:** Water

Maria, Anne-Marie and Cheryl,

March 22 is World Water Day (who knew?) Could we have a policy ready to announce by then? I have some ideas so when we all get a chance to breathe, let's discuss. Here's to H2O.

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 17, 2010 10:28 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Ok. Has it gone out yet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 22:19:45 2010
Subject: Fw:

See final b/l - [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:45:46 2010

JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF
THE GOVERNMENTS OF HAITI AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ISSUED AT PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI JANUARY 17, 2010

President René Préval of Haiti and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States of America met in Port-au-Prince in the wake of the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010 and its tragic aftermath, and issued the following joint communiqué:

Recognizing:

the long history of friendship between the people of Haiti and the people of the United States and their mutual respect for each other's sovereignty;

the grievous suffering of the people of Haiti, including the massive loss of life, widespread injuries, and extensive damage to public infrastructure and private property;

the urgent need for an immediate response to the requests by the Government of Haiti and the paramount importance of safe, swift and effective implementation of rescue, relief, recovery, and reconstruction efforts;

the current, unprecedented challenges facing the Haitian Government; and

the January 15, 2010 conversation between President Obama and President Préval underscoring the urgency of the needs of Haiti and its people, President Obama's pledge of the full support of the American people for the Government and people of Haiti in relation to both the immediate recovery effort and the long-term rebuilding effort, and the two

Presidents' commitment to coordinate assistance among the various parties, including the Haitian Government, the United Nations, the United States and the many international partners and organizations on the ground;

President Préval, on behalf of the Government and people of Haiti, welcomes as essential the efforts in Haiti by the Government and people of the United States to support the immediate recovery, stability and long-term rebuilding of Haiti and requests the United States to assist as needed in augmenting security in support of the Government and people of Haiti and the United Nations, international partners and organizations on the ground;

Secretary Clinton, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, reaffirms the intention of the United States, through its assistance, to stand by the Haitian people in this time of great tragedy; and

President Préval and Secretary Clinton jointly reaffirm that the Governments of Haiti and the United States will continue to cooperate under this shared understanding to promote the most safe and effective rescue, relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts possible.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 6:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Can you come back--I have one more question.

Coming.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon Oct 11 18:53:11 2010
Subject: Can you come back--I have one more question.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 8:32 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Obama, Cameron call for review over slain worker

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Oct 11 20:09:20 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Obama, Cameron call for review over slain worker

WASHINGTON (AP) - The White House said President Obama and British Prime Minister Cameron agree their nations must investigate what happened during an American rescue attempt in which a captive British aid worker was killed in Afghanistan.

The White House said President Obama called Cameron to offer condolences. Officials said Obama and Cameron both agreed the rescue operation was necessary and it was essential to "get to the bottom" of what happened in the rescue attempt.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 11, 2010 10:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: USSC LTG Dayton

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Dayton, Keith W
Sent: Thursday, October 07, 2010 8:40 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: USSC LTG Dayton

Cheryl

You have graciously facilitated a couple of meetings between me and Secretary Clinton and I need to express my thanks.

Today is my last day as the US Security Coordinator for Israel/Palestine and I would be grateful if you could pass my appreciation for S's support these past two years. Our Ambassadors in Jordan and Israel think it would be useful for me to give her a summary of where I see things after almost 5 years here in Jerusalem, but I do not wish to intrude. However, should she want to chat, I will be on pre-retirement leave in the DC area until mid-November.

Thanks again for the assistance along the way.

Lieutenant General Dayton

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 8:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: names for my swearing in

---

**From:** White, Pamela (Monrovia/Dir) [mailto
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** Silski, Andrew L
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: names for my swearing in

B6

I will have people coming from Portland Oregon and Portland Maine ( ). Minister Konneh will represent Liberia - isn't that GREAT! This should all be in the Sec State's short remarks - she will get a kick out of this I think. Some of her HUGEST fans will be in the room - that is for sure.

---

**From:** Amara Konneh [mailto
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 12:14 PM
**To:** White, Pamela (Monrovia/Dir)
**Subject:** RE: names for my swearing in

GREAT! I will be there my friend. I am so HAPPY, HAPPY for you.

**Amara M. Konneh**
**MINISTER**
**National Coordinator**
Liberia Reconstruction & Development Committee
Ministry of Planning & Economic Affairs
Republic of Liberia
Tel: +231 661-1777
Email:
www.mopea.gov.lr
www.liftliberia.gov.lr

---

**From:** White, Pamela (Monrovia/Dir) [mailto
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 11:57 AM
**To:** Silski, Andrew L
**Cc:** Williams, Aaron; Sandy Nadeau; Cynthia Watson; cindiwatsor ; Phillips, Lucianne; Luten, Drew (M/AA); David Shear; Hubbard, Peter (AFR/WA); Cromer, Sharon (AFR/AA); Crites, Sarah (AFR/WA); Knepp, Paul C(AFR/DP/PAB); Pitas, Cecilia (HR/FSP); Sarah Cowper; Patrick White; Kristopher White; Dickson-Horton, Valerie (HR/OD); Weisenfeld, Paul (LAC/AA); MUMPAT ; Ballantyne, Janet (HR/OD); nicole mechem; Virginia Leavitt; mretzer mark green; Fine, Patrick C (DCO/VP) [MCC]; mimar Nedelcovych, Mima; Nancy Gehron; DeeDee Spence; Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); Shauket, Maureen(M/OAA/OD); Freeman, Karen (HARARE/DIR); Ott, Dana (AFR/DP); Sukin, Hope(AFR/SD); Myers, Gregory(EGAT/NRM/LRM); Julie Stagliano; Buckley, Bishop (HR/PPIM); wbucknam ; Stein-Olson, Monica (HAITI/ORC); Kent B. Hickman; Thomas-Greenfield, Linda(MS); Delly, Daniel P; Ostermeyer, David(M/ICFO); Russell, Ranta L (AFR/AA); Amara

Konneh; Keita, Fanta M. (Bamako/DIR); Sally Shelton-Colby; Hardy, Sharon L; Chaka, Malik (DPE/POL-CPI) [MCC]; Caroline Connolly; seansharifi[redacted] B6
**Subject:** names for my swearing in

I would like the people in the cc line to be sent invitations to my swearing in - on the 18th of November. If I have forgotten someone important please let me know. I am limited to 100 people so this is my A list. MAKE sure you say yes or no to Andrew because I have another 50 people waiting in line! Thanks. Some I sent invites (like Fanta) just because I love you - I know you cannot come but I wanted to invite you anyway.

For those of you who will be coming in from out of town, Andrew will ask you for certain information (needed for security reasons).

Steve - send names of people you want invited with email addresses - I sent Sarah's already but not Diane or John H. or Bill Livengood or Nickie.

Ambassdor T-Greenfield please forward to Deuce - I do not have his email (I thought I did).

Andrew this list does NOT include the MUST invites like Ambassador Carson, Amb Yamamoto, Undersecretary Patrick Kennedy and Chief of Staff Cheryl Mills (SHE IS VERY IMPORTANT TO ME). AND of course Administrator Shah.

[redacted]

Patrick and Kris - if Robbie or Fred want to come FINE - send their emails to Andrew but ONLY if they are really coming.
Pam White
USAID Director/Liberia

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 10:39 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** some nice news

To take your mind off the Balkans for a second, see below – a great plug for our global entrepreneurship program, which Lorraine Hariton and Steve Koltai are running. I commissioned a memo last week from Greg Behrman on S/P as to how we could pull the various different entrepreneurship efforts/initiatives that are part of MEPI, post-Cairo follow up etc. into something bigger under the Global Entrepreneurship Program umbrella; we will have it for you when you get back. AM

---

**From:** Behrman, Greg M
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H
**Subject:** FYI, a nice piece

# FINANCIAL TIMES

## Innovative path for Egypt's entrepreneurs

By Ian Wylie
Published: October 10 2010 19:57 | Last updated: October 10 2010 19:57

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/ebfe3b30-d2e6-11df-9166-00144feabdc0.html

The Great Mosque of Cordoba in Spain is the inspiration for the grand, domed entrance to the American University in Cairo's new campus. Its architects wanted to symbolise the height of intellectual and mathematical achievement in Islamic civilisation.

But this new $400m, 260-acre oasis of sandstone, *mashrabiya* window screens and *malqaf* windcatchers in the 40-degree heat is also a hot spot of western credo: entrepreneurship.

An hour's drive east of Cairo's gridlocked streets, the Cairo desert campus is one of the first nodes in a network of universities and business schools that the US government is using to support and educate entrepreneurs in Egypt and other Muslim-majority countries.

"Tell me what innovation we Egyptians have done since the pyramids?" asks Hassan Azzazy, a professor at AUC, who points out that Egypt was ranked last in a study of education in 30 countries by Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, a not-for-profit academic research consortium.

"Where are all the entrepreneurs? The Egyptian mindset needs to be rewired. We are not China – but we are blessed with a large number of smart people, so education has to be the missing link."

It was to Cairo that Barack Obama, US president, came last year to announce foreign policy toward the Middle East and that promoting entrepreneurship would be the platform for encouraging economic, political and social change.

It was Egypt that Mr Obama selected as the pilot country for a new Global Entrepreneurship Program. Some 17 organisations have signed up to this US-inspired effort to educate Egyptian entrepreneurs – including AUC and Nile University and their business schools, the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology and the Egyptian Junior Business Association.

But it is a project that might have caused even the Pharaohs to pause. Throughout its history, Cairo has been a crossroads in the trade of spices, silk, incense and gold between Africa, the Middle East, Europe and the Asia. But today Egypt is far from being a top entrepreneurial economy; the World Bank ranks it 106th among 183 economies in terms of the ease of doing business. More significantly, says Prof Azzazy, young Egyptians still hesitate to take the entrepreneurial path.

According to Prof Azzazy, the prevailing culture discourages entrepreneurship but exalts positions in academia or the government. It does not help that going bankrupt is still a crime punishable by imprisonment. "Parents in Egypt will tell you, I want my son to have a government job, it's secure. Their children will say, I would like to start a business... but I might lose money. We need to change this."

Prof Azzazy is not a professor of business but chemistry. At AUC, he has been replicating the work he pioneered at the University of Maryland, where he helped teach biotechnology students the skills and training to spin out their ideas into companies. He has since introduced entrepreneurship courses in AUC's school of science to graduate students and in the engineering school to both degree and graduate students.

In 2008, he was appointed by the Ministry of Industry to work alongside ETF, a European Union agency that supports education in countries surrounding the EU and has marked entrepreneurial learning as a priority. With the representatives from 16 other countries, Prof Azzazy helped draft entrepreneurship education indicators and policy objectives for both government and universities.

"We agreed that universities must implement entrepreneurial learning across campus and achieve a critical mass of professors who can teach it." After hosting a conference at AUC on the topic, Prof Azzazy convinced university provost Lisa Anderson to pilot the indicators.

"But AUC has 6,000 students, compared with Cairo University, which alone has 250,000," says Prof Azzazy. "We need to transfer this experience to larger universities, so we are in the process of developing a national policy to introduce entrepreneurship."

Prof Azzazy works in partnership with AUC's School of Business. "I can teach biotech entrepreneurship, ethics and intellectual property, but I do not teach business planning or marketing" he says. "When it comes to that, we bring in faculty from the school of business. I know the science, so I can speak the same language as my students, but we respect expertise and we do not cross boundaries.

"We've also been thinking about introducing entrepreneurship into the core curriculum so that anyone coming to AUC, whether they are doing music or engineering, would have to do it, regardless of their discipline."

Last year, AUC restructured its School of Business to align undergraduate and graduate programmes with three themes: entrepreneurship, innovation and leadership. The school is also the location for one of Goldman Sachs's 10,000 Women in Leadership and Entrepreneurship Centres, where it delivers certificate programmes in partnership with the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. The 10,000 Women initiative aims to boost the number of women in developing nations who receive management training.

"Our mission is to educate principled, innovative entrepreneurs who can make a difference," says Sherif Kamel, dean of the business school. "It's more than just a fashion. We've been teaching entrepreneurship courses for 20 years but last year we decided to look at it differently."

**Is he concerned that a chemistry professor is teaching entrepreneurship within his university? "I think entrepreneurship is a very horizontal platform – knowledge should be shared by everyone and not dominated by one school," says Prof Kamel. "In business life, you work with people from different, complementary backgrounds.**

"What Hassan is doing definitely complements what we are doing. And our students will be the beneficiaries."

## Several paths to the same goal

On the door of Steven Koltai's office at the State Department, Washington DC, is a banner that reads "World Peace Through Entrepreneurship".

"I was an entrepreneur myself," says Mr Koltai, a senior adviser who created and now manages the Global Entrepreneurship Program. "And I believe that entrepreneurship is something that is fundamental to every country in the world."

According to Mr Koltai, GEP consists of six categories of activity that he believes are needed to grow entrepreneurship: identify, train, connect, guide to funding, sustain and celebrate entrepreneurs.

In Egypt, GEP is pulling together a number of training programmes, including those offered by AUC and Nile University, as well as non-government organisations, which provide training for entrepreneurs, such as the Cisco Entrepreneur Institute, which has a centre in Egypt and in nine other Muslim-majority countries. In the US, the Legatum Institute Center for Development and Entrepreneurship at MIT has created a two-week boot camp for up to 100 entrepreneurs identified through business plan competitions around the world and taught by faculty from Harvard, Tufts, Wellesley and MIT.

There is no single path. "Our different partners will offer boot camps that are two weeks long, some programmes that are six weeks long, full-time programmes or evening programmes.

"Our idea is to assemble a menu with as many choices as possible," says Mr Koltai.

None of the programmes is being underwritten by State Department money. "We're giving them zero dollars. What we are doing is asking them to do more with their own resources," adds Mr Koltai.

"What we introduce to a country like Egypt is new organisations that were not previously there, such as American players, NGOs, universities, and foundations focused on entrepreneurship. However, we can also tap into existing US government programmes from USAID or the departments of commerce, education or small business administration that might be relevant. We are looking for countries near a tipping point to go entrepreneurial, but GEP will look entirely different in each country."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 11:45 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Germany wins Security Council seat

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-IO; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-WHA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS
**Sent**: Tue Oct 12 11:40:56 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Germany wins Security Council seat

UNITED NATIONS (AP) – Germany won a seat on the U.N. Security Council in a heated three-way race. Portugal and Canada must now battle for a second seat on the U.N.'s most powerful body for pro-Western nations. African, Asian and Latin American seats were uncontested so South Africa, India and Colombia easily won on Tuesday's first ballot in the 192-member General Assembly. Germany received 128 votes, one more than the two-thirds required. Portugal received 122 and Canada 114.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 11:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Inzko

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 11:58:07 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Inzko

Huma can you pass this along to S? Thx.

---

**From:** Moore, Roderick W
**To:** Gordon, Philip H
**Cc:** Moon, Patrick S
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 10:19:43 2010
**Subject:** Inzko

Phil-

The Secretary's messages at the meeting were outstanding, from OHR's point of view. Inzko is elated - particular with her firm support for 5+2 and for judicious use of Bonn Powers (BP). Other than from the U.S., and usually from the UK, there has been, at most, strong reluctance in the Quint to support BP use -- even when there are direct challenges to Dayton and the functionality of the BH state. We have also sensed some Quint backsliding on 5+2. Although he missed the opportunity you gave him to make the pitch directly, he later asked me to convey to you his hope that the Secretary would be willing to help shore up European support for 5+2 and BP with key PIC colleagues -- especially from Quint countries (Germany, France; Italy in particular). We certainly foresee a need to employ BP on the State Property issue, unless Dodik abruptly alters course. Inzko is grateful as well to the Secretary for her offer to speak with Lady Ashton.

Many thanks and best regards, Rod

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Inzko

From phil

---

**From:** Gordon, Philip H
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 11:58:07 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Inzko

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---

**From:** Moore, Roderick W
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**Cc:** Moon, Patrick S
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 10:19:43 2010
**Subject:** Inzko

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Many thanks and best regards, Rod

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 1:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: UNSC Elections

Fyi

**From:** Brimmer, Esther D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 13:09:50 2010
**Subject:** UNSC Elections

Huma, Jake,
Germany and Portugal were elected to the UNSC to serve in the two non-permanent WEOG slots in 2011-2012. Germany won a seat in the first round of voting. Canada withdrew in the second round of voting after losing support from the first round. The WEOG group was the only contested regional group.
Esther

*Dr. Esther Brimmer*
*Assistant Secretary*
*Bureau of International Organization Affairs*
*U.S. Department of State*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 2:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Your meeting with Simoes [Brazil]

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

HRC

Just fyi for you - note the highlighted parts.

-----Original Message-----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
Sent: Tuesday, October 12, 2010 9:10 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Your meeting with Simoes

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 10/12/2030

Cheryl:

I met with Simoes last week, and he expressed his appreciation for your willingness to meet with him. He has a high regard for you, and sees today's meeting as evidence of our respect for and interest in Brazil's role in Haiti.

He is in D.C. trying to get IDB funding for an energy production project in Haiti. He expressed frustration at the slow pace of decision-making [redacted] on nearly all issues related to reconstruction and development, and also at the discrepancy within the international community between pledged monies and actual obligation of funds. 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Several other issues that you should be aware of.

[redacted]

Not good. I can fix all of this, and I have been working with Patriota and Simoes to keep our conversations [redacted] on a positive plane. Again, I don't think Simoes will raise this, but you should be aware that there is friction.

Finally, regarding your trip here, the second round of the elections is all consuming. Until the outcome of the October 31 vote is in hand, I don't think you would get done here what you would like to accomplish. You might want to raise this with Simoes. The polls still point to a Dilma win, but it will be a fight to the finish. Could we think about a November or December trip?

Happy to talk about any or all of this.

Regards,
Tom

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 3:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Iranian participation in Rome

Fyi

---

**From:** Feldman, Daniel F
**To:** 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>; Singh, Vikram J; Ruggiero, Frank J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Blanc, Jarrett N
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 15:02:16 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Iranian participation in Rome

---

**From:** Hach, Clemens
**To:** Feldman, Daniel F; Blanc, Jarrett N
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 13:34:50 2010
**Subject:** Iranian participation in Rome

Steiner informed me that he had been told that

1. Ambassador Mohammad Ali Qanezadeh, Director General for Asia at the MoFA, and
2. Mr. Mahmoud Bajat, Director General for International affairs at the Presidency in charge of anti-narcotics

were likely to form the Iranian delegation in Rome.
Clemens

---

Clemens A. Hach
Senior Adviser, International Partnership
Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
US Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington D.C., 20520 USA
(202) 647 6288

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 3:14 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

Fyi, good coverage.

Jm

---

**From:** Wharton, David B
**To:** McHale, Judith A; Stanton, Katie; Berkowitz, Elana
**Cc:** Diallo, Robin D; Namba, Nicholas; Haynes, John D; Thomas, Katya
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 14:46:02 2010
**Subject:** FW: BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

In case you haven't seen this yet.

Bruce Wharton
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Diplomacy
Bureau of African Affairs
202-663-0500

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Scott, Marianne C
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 2:17 PM
**To:** Kemp, Edward; Strassberger, William R; Wharton, David B; Roche, Lynn W; McClanahan, Julie A; Bergin, Caitlin D; Domowitz, Susan
**Subject:** BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

BBC NEWS

**8 October 2010** Last updated at 05:40 ET
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-11496993

# Cow farming program wins Apps 4 Africa competition

**An application which tracks the fertility of cows has won the first ever Apps 4 Africa competition to find new talent as smartphones become increasingly popular in Africa.**

Offering a prize fund of $5,000, the competition asked developers in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania to come up with a mobile application that is widely accessible, easy to use and simple.

"I want to thank you for lending your innovate spirit and creativity to the enterprise of building a better future for your communities."

End Quote Hillary Clinton US Secretary of State

The competition, funded by the United States government, hoped to unite the brightest African developers with people who could benefit most from innovate mobile technology.

Launched back in July in Nairobi, the competition attracted 20 entrants - each offering a unique approach to improving life in the region.

**Moo-bile innovation**

The winner, announced this week, was iCow - an application that helps cow farmers maximise breeding potential by tracking the fertility cycle of their animals.

"It's a voice-based application, meaning they don't have to have a special smart-phone," explained Charles Kithika, the app's creator.

"[They] just need an ordinary phone and then dial in a toll-free number."

Mr Kithika said the rise in popularity of mobile apps in Africa is partly down to M-PESA, software which facilitates the transfer of money.

Runner-up in the competition was Kleptocracy Fighters, an app which helps users combat instances of government corruption.

Features include the ability to upload audio, video and text to the web quickly - acting as evidence of bribery or other wrong-doing.

All the competition entrants were praised by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who said that the apps "solved real problems".

"The ideas generated from this competition will help doctors monitor the growth and nutrition of young patients, will help expand trade by translating prices and quantities

into local languages, will hold public officials accountable by reporting election violations and tracking public expenditures.

"I want to thank you for lending your innovative spirit and creativity to the enterprise of building a better future for your communities."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 3:16 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A; H
**Subject:** Re: BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

Really solid.

---

**From:** McHale, Judith A
**To:** 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 15:14:14 2010
**Subject:** Fw: BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

Fyi, good coverage.

Jm

---

**From:** Wharton, David B
**To:** McHale, Judith A; Stanton, Katie; Berkowitz, Elana
**Cc:** Diallo, Robin D; Namba, Nicholas; Haynes, John D; Thomas, Katya
**Sent:** Tue Oct 12 14:46:02 2010
**Subject:** FW: BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

In case you haven't seen this yet.

Bruce Wharton
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Diplomacy
Bureau of African Affairs
202-663-0500

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

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**Sent:** Tuesday, October 12, 2010 2:17 PM
**To:** Kemp, Edward; Strassberger, William R; Wharton, David B; Roche, Lynn W; McClanahan, Julie A; Bergin, Caitlin D; Domowitz, Susan
**Subject:** BBC on Apps4Africa - "Moo-bile Innovation"

BBC NEWS

**8 October 2010** Last updated at 05:40 ET
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"I want to thank you for lending your innovative spirit and creativity to the enterprise of building a better future for your communities."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 7, 2010 6:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli police flatten mosque, say built illegally

**From**: Vu, Anny T
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Sun Nov 07 05:30:53 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Israeli police flatten mosque, say built illegally

RAHAT (AP) – Israeli police said they demolished an illegally built mosque in the southern Bedouin city of Rahat, touching off rock-throwing protests by residents. Police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said the two-story mosque was knocked down November 7 in keeping with a court ruling. Mosque activist Yousef Abu-Jama said residents built the structure illegally because Israeli authorities would take too long to issue approval. Authorities rarely target mosques for demolition. This particular mosque was financed by a group that is frequently in conflict with authorities.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 7, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Canada considering staying in Afghanistan

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Nov 07 15:33:32 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Canada considering staying in Afghanistan

HALIFAX (AP) – Canada's defense minister says Canada is considering a U.S. request to keep troops in Afghanistan past 2011 and switch from a combat to a training role. Defense Minister Peter MacKay said November 7 the troops would be "behind the wire" and not remain in Afghanistan's volatile southern Kandahar province. Parliament has mandated that the combat mission end in 2011. U.S. Senators John McCain said Lindsey Graham, who both sit on the Armed Services Committee, urged Canada November 6 to remain in Afghanistan past 2011.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 7, 2010 5:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Netanyahu to Biden: Palestinians must not take unilateral steps toward state

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Nov 07 17:23:35 2010
**Subject:** (Haaretz) Netanyahu to Biden: Palestinians must not take unilateral steps toward state

HAARETZ.com

- Published 23:57 07.11.10
- Latest update 23:57 07.11.10

# Premier meets U.S. Vice President on sidelines of Jewish GA, warns that sanctions have not been enough against Iran.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told U.S. Vice President Joe Biden during their meeting in New Orleans on Sunday that Israel had made enough efforts to reach a peace settlement with the Palestinians, and has not received sufficient gestures in return.

Speaking to the vice president before the latter's address to the General Assembly of Jewish Federations, Netanyahu said that a peace agreement could not be reached from above and added that the Palestinians must be stopped from taking unilateral action at the United Nations in their quest to establish a state.

Netanyahu also told Biden that other Arab states must be brought into the peace process to give Israel the political backing needed.

An Israeli political source said earlier Sunday that Netanyahu would tell Biden that the U.S. must create a credible threat in the form of a military campaign to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

According to the official in Jerusalem, Netanyahu planned to stress that the West must operate with suspicion and great caution in the face of Iran's recently stated intentions to renew dialogue over its nuclear program.

The source also said that Netanyahu would warn Biden that the international community must be careful not to fall into any sort of Iranian trap with regard to this expressed willingness, said the official.

The prime minister was expected to say that a credible threat of military action is the only way to ensure that Iran will rethink its nuclear program, according to the Jerusalem official. Although Netanyahu believes that the harsh military sanctions have weakened Iran, said the official, there is still no sign that they have led the Islamic Republic to consider halting its nuclear program.

"The only way to ensure that Iran will not go nuclear is to create a credible threat of military action against it if it doesn't cease its race for a nuclear weapon," the source said Netanyahu would tell Biden.

"The economic sanctions are making it difficult for Iran, but there is no sign that the Ayatollah regime plans to stop its nuclear program because of them," the source said Netanyahu would add.

Netanyahu was also say that the only time Iran stopped its nuclear program was in 2003, when it believed there was a threat of American military action, the source said, adding that the threat alone is enough to prevent the need for military action.

Netanyahu arrived earlier Sunday in the U.S., where he was also set to meet Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and address the General Assembly of Jewish Federations in New Orleans.

Asked about the comments, an Israeli official traveling with Netanyahu said the prime minister call in all his meetings in the United States for pressure to be stepped up against Iran. He is also expected to discuss with U.S. officials Israel's impasse in direct negotiations with the Palestinians.

"It is our fervent desire that the current impasse can be overcome and we see an expeditious return to direct talks with the Palestinians," Netanyahu spokesman Mark Regev said on board the prime minister's flight from Tel Aviv to New Orleans.

Netanyahu will meet Biden before the latter's own address to the GA. Netanyahu will deliver his speech to the forum on Monday, before his four-day visit to New York.

During the trip, he will not see President Barack Obama, who is on a visit to Asia. But the U.S. visit will give Netanyahu an opportunity to gauge the impact of last week's Republican rout of Obama's Democrats in the midterm congressional elections.

Netanyahu was scheduled to hold talks in New York with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on Monday and Clinton on Thursday, before flying home.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 7, 2010 7:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Burma

Quick summary of Burma elections:

While there was no independent election observation or monitoring of Burma's November 7 elections, anecdotal and initial media reports suggest low to medium voter turnout. There were no major incidents that disrupted polling, according to available information. The United States declined to participate in staged-Government of Burma (GOB) led "election tours" as did EU missions. Though all signs point to a full victory for pro-regime parties, the GOB has not announced election results yet and has not provided any clear indication of when it plans to do so. Opposition and exile groups claim advance voting schemes are one indication of significant fraud and vote rigging. End Summary.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 7, 2010 10:54 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Canada considering staying in Afghanistan

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Nov 07 15:33:32 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Canada considering staying in Afghanistan

HALIFAX (AP) – Canada's defense minister says Canada is considering a U.S. request to keep troops in Afghanistan past 2011 and switch from a combat to a training role. Defense Minister Peter MacKay said November 7 the troops would be "behind the wire" and not remain in Afghanistan's volatile southern Kandahar province. Parliament has mandated that the combat mission end in 2011. U.S. Senators John McCain said Lindsey Graham, who both sit on the Armed Services Committee, urged Canada November 6 to remain in Afghanistan past 2011.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 8, 2010 10:19 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel announces new east Jerusalem housing plans

See Alon's analysis below

---

**From:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Rudman, Mara
**Sent:** Mon Nov 08 10:12:22 2010
**Subject:** RE: (AP) Israel announces new east Jerusalem housing plans

In addition to the longer chain, you should know that the location of these units is very problematic and would significantly change the demographic dynamics of the city and the ability to divide it, if we get to the point. Har Homa is located in southern Jerusalem just north of Bethlehem. The B and C phases of Har Homa will expand the neighborhood eastward (hotdog shape), going a long ways to cutting off Bethlehem for Jerusalem and the Arab neighborhoods there.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Monday, November 08, 2010 9:46 AM
**To:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Rudman, Mara
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel announces new east Jerusalem housing plans

What do you know?

---

**From:** Virgil, Lynn C
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Mon Nov 08 09:31:55 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israel announces new east Jerusalem housing plans

JERUSALEM - (AP) Israel says it is moving ahead with plans to build 1,300 new apartments in disputed east Jerusalem. The Interior Ministry's announcement and its timing could embarrass Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is visiting the U.S. Washington is already frustrated over his refusal to curb settlement construction. Palestinians condemned the plans. They claim east Jerusalem for a future capital. The government plans to expand the Har Homa neighborhood by 978 apartments and to build 320 new apartments in the Ramot neighborhood.

Lynn Virgil
Watch Officer
Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 8, 2010 3:47 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** FW: Cheryl -- Wanted to make sure Hillary and you'd seen this -- Released at 1:00 PM Today: Statement from Lisa McGovern

**From:** Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, November 08, 2010 2:23 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Buhl, Cindy
**Subject:** Cheryl -- Wanted to make sure Hillary and you'd seen this -- Released at 1:00 PM Today: Statement from Lisa McGovern

**For Immediate Release:**
**November 8, 2010**

**Contact: Michael Mershon**
**(202) 225-6101**

## STATEMENT FROM LISA MCGOVERN:

"Earlier today, Jim underwent successful surgery in Washington to remove his thyroid gland. During a recent routine examination, we discovered a small nodule that a biopsy showed to be cancerous. This type of thyroid cancer grows very slowly, and is successfully treatable. He's feeling good, and his prognosis is excellent. Jim will take a few days off and is looking forward to being back at work next week for the lame-duck session. Until then, I'll be trying to convince him to rest and stay off the phone!

"As Executive Director of the Congressional Families program at the Prevent Cancer Foundation, I know how important early detection and treatment can be. Jim and I urge everyone to get their regular check-ups and screenings, and to take steps to prevent cancer by making healthy lifestyle choices, which include a good diet, exercise, not smoking and knowing your family history and risk factors. Lots of good information can be found at www.preventcancer.org."

**The following is a statement from Dr. Brian P. Monahan, the Congressional Attending Physician:**

"Congressman McGovern was admitted to the Washington Hospital Center today for surgery to remove the thyroid gland in his neck. He was discovered to have a nodule in his thyroid gland on routine health examination. A biopsy of this nodule showed papillary cancer of the thyroid gland. He underwent today's procedure to remove the gland from his neck as a curative therapy for his cancer. He completed the surgery without complications and will be discharged from the hospital after a brief period of observation.

"Thyroid cancer is diagnosed in about 37,000 people in the United States each year with over 75% of these being the papillary type. The vast majority of patients are cured with surgery and do not experience any

further issues with the disease. Further tests and therapies will be determined after study of the thyroid gland removed at surgery, and Congressman McGovern will take a daily thyroid medication to replace the functions of his thyroid gland. He will return to his usual duties next week after a brief convalescence."

**-30-30-30-**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 8, 2010 5:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tomorrow

This is your day tomorrow. Anything you want to add or take off?
8:15 am DEPART Private Residence
En route State Department
[drive time: 10 minutes]

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room
Participants: Jack Lew, Pat Kennedy, P.J. Crowley, Cheryl Mills, Steve Mull, Harold Koh, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Rich Verma and Joe Macmanus

9:15 am MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am OFFICE TIME
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am VIDEOS
12:00 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor
Staff: Case

Note: Room reserved from 10:15 am to 12:00 pm

- International Education Week

- FINCA 25th Anniversary

- Mobile Money Policy Forum

- Freedom Fields USA Gala

12:00 pm OFFICE TIME
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm STAFF MEETING*
3:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office
Participants: Ellen Tauscher, Jack Lew, Cheryl Mills, Philippe Reines, Jake Sullivan, Derek Chollet, Kurt Campbell, Rich Verma

Note: Meeting called for 2:00 pm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Monday, November 8, 2010 11:04 PM
**To:** H; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Did you get any feedback from BC?

No - we spoke for about 30 mins before the meeting - he said he'd try to call after but did not.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan
Subject: Did you get any feedback from BC?
Sent: Nov 8, 2010 11:01 PM

I just landed and can't get him so he probably took off.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 12:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Fwd: Mark's election night HuffPo piece

Rec'd all 7.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Nov 08 23:36:43 2010
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Mark's election night HuffPo piece

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark J. Penn [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Nov 03 07:26:45 2010
Subject: Fwd: Mark's election night HuffPo piece

Begin forwarded message:

> From: Don Baer [redacted]
> Date: November 3, 2010 5:43:12 AM EDT
> To: Andrew Stillman - BM [redacted]
> Cc: "Mark J. Penn" [redacted]
> Subject: Re: Mark's election night HuffPo piece
>
> Here is my quick take on the results -- see below. It's 1994 all over again -- that's for sure. Brilliant of you to be thousands of miles away from this.
>
> No Tea Party for the Tea Party
>
> But Obama must heed the message of exit polls

By Mark Penn

Without doubt the Tea Party will be rejoicing at the results and laying down ultimatums to the Republican Party to steer to the right , and the Republican Party having embraced the Tea party will be hard pressed to say "no" to the new right wing in America.

Poll after poll shows that the Tea Party is really a splinter of the Republican Party, and the exit polls show that this was a vote about the economy, not ideology. Only 23% of the voters said that they were casting a vote for the Tea Party while 56% said it was not a factor and the rest outright opposed them.

But 62% of the voters said that the economy was the key factor determining their vote. The polls show that the voters want tax cuts not tax increases, modification or repeal of healthcare, spending cuts and above all jobs.

With healthcare reform, cap and trade bills, and tax increases, President Obama got out of step with the voters. Why he didn't just kick the Bush tax cuts down the road a year and get them out of the election cycle is mystifying. Instead -- just like in 1994 -- the Democrats ran on the platform of increasing taxes for the wealthy, amplifying class warfare rather than ending it.

Whoever told President Obama "don't worry, just pass healthcare and they will love it" must be squirming in his seat tonight. And all those who think that tacking further to the left is the answer for the Democrats should look at these results carefully and think again.

President Obama and the Democrats lost many of the new constituencies they had won in 2008 -- they lost independents by 15 per cent in the CNN exit poll. Obama had won them by 8 points. They lost seniors by 16 points, doubling the loss from 8 points while seniors turned out in droves. And they lost voters in households making over $100,000 by 16 points, compared to an even split in 2008, evidence of the damage of the reinvigorated class warfare strategy. These are all battleground voting blocks that Obama had done well enough with to trounce McCain.

And the two other core constituencies of President Obama -- young voters and minorities -- stayed home, with their percentage of the vote dropping dramatically. In the end the Republicans and the Tea Party won the turnout war and those differences are also a major factor in the outcome. 41% of the voters were conservative, up from 34% in the 2008 presidential election. Only 11% of the voters were aged 18 to 29 compared to 18% in the presidential election.

These results are just plain facts, and the President needs to stand up and take notice. The voters are rejecting the current course and have thrown up a major roadblock to his policies.

But this does not mean that the voters want to gut Medicare, Medicaid, Education or the Environment. They don't want the government shut down; they want it fully open for business. Above all, they want jobs, and they are willing to vote for any party they believe may have the answer to the presidential election. Nancy Pelosi became the poster child of the left and became the target of the Republican right. They scored a bulls eye on her, but all glory is fleeting. The burden will be on the Republicans now to be a responsible handbrake -- if they again shut down the government they will lose the public's trust and support very quickly.

If President Obama wants to serve a second term, he will have to heed the call to recalibrate his administration. He was elected as a centrist. They want him to be one. He was elected as a youthful, vigorous candidate who would lead us into a more global future. They want him to do just that. He was elected to end, not amplify partisanship. President Clinton turned his White House around from a similar defeat in 1994. President Obama faces the same choices and opportunities to remain true to democratic values and yet set a new direction to turn all this around.

RELEASE IN FULL

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 8:10 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 11/9/10 Tuesday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING
8:30am Secretary's Office

8:45am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING
9:15am Secretary's Conference room

9:15am MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES
10:00am Principals conference Room 7516

10:00am OFFICE TIME
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am VIDEOS (4)
12:00 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

12:00 pm OFFICE TIME
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00pm STAFF MEETING
3:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

TBD DEPART State Department *En route Private Residence

TBD ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 9:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Issa plans hundreds of hearings

FYI

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 09, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Issa plans hundreds of hearings

POLITICO

## Issa plans hundreds of hearings

By: Jake Sherman and Richard E. Cohen
November 8, 2010 05:13 PM EST

California Rep. Darrell Issa is already eyeing a massive expansion of oversight for next year, including hundreds of hearings; creating new subcommittees; and launching fresh investigations into the bank bailout, the stimulus and, potentially, health care reform.

Issa told POLITICO in an interview that he wants each of his seven subcommittees to hold "one or two hearings each week."

"I want seven hearings a week, times 40 weeks," Issa said.

Issa is also targeting some ambitious up-and-comers like Reps. Jason Chaffetz of Utah, Patrick McHenry of North Carolina and Jim Jordan of Ohio — all aggressive partisans — to chair some of his subcommittees.

He also wants to organize aggressive oversight beyond his committee and plans to refer inquiries to other House panels, drawing even more incoming GOP chairmen to the cause of investigating the executive branch.

"As Clint Eastwood says, a man needs to know his limitations," Issa said in the interview. "With other committees, we have good working relationships. Our committees have some areas of primary jurisdiction, including the federal work force, procurement and the Postal Service. We will take care of our core knitting, but we have very narrow legislative jurisdiction."

While he promises an ambitious — and some say confrontational — agenda, Issa is making overtures to the Obama administration: He already has a meeting scheduled with Vice President Joe Biden to discuss stimulus oversight.

But Issa's specific plans bring a certain reality to what has been known for months: Oversight of the Obama administration and congressional Democrats will be a central

purpose for the new Republican House.

To give an idea of how expansive Issa's oversight plans are, look at the record of Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.) when he chaired the oversight committee during in the 110th Congress during George W. Bush's presidency. Waxman held 203 oversight hearings in two years; Issa has signaled he's prepared to hold about 280 in just one year.

Issa sees the committee's role as not policy but to "measure failures." He likens his job to seeing "whether the fuel being consumed meets the specifications." And he isn't looking to catch witnesses off guard, saying that "oversight should be done with a balance for the American people and not as a gotcha."

Issa won't have a shortage of targets. He's been hammering for better tracking of the stimulus and has a growing list of other investigative targets, including the housing meltdown and the bank bailout.

Earlier this year, Issa pressured Oversight and Government Reform Committee Chairman Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.) to issue a subpoena to Countrywide Financial about its VIP loan program. Other investigations during the minority included inquests into actions taken during the financial meltdown and a look at problems with Toyota automobiles.

There are already résumés piling up from people looking to join Issa's staff — mostly lawyers, a source said. Republicans have a good deal of hiring to do in the weeks ahead, although the House Republican Steering Committee will approve chairmen in December. Issa will most likely face no serious challenge.

In the coming weeks, Issa and his staff are also planning to reach out to the inspector general community and staffers at the various bureaucracies the committee will oversee.

Issa also is looking to dig into procurement and government contracting, and he seems sure to return to the Countrywide VIP program — which has subpoenaed records en route to the Capitol. He's also got inquiries into Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac's role in the financial collapse. And with earmarks all but gone from the Capitol, Issa will turn his fire toward the White House and the far larger sums of cash controlled by the executive branch at a time of huge deficits.

"We really want to study presidential earmarks and the grant-making process: How do we take all this discretionary money and see what is necessary," Issa said. "The debate on how to shrink the federal government is at the core of our problem of government not doing its job."

Issa is also pointedly looking to avoid probing what he seems to view as peripheral issues — like Waxman and former Chairman Tom Davis's foray into hearings on steroids in baseball.

"This is important, in contrast to hearings on steroids in baseball, where I felt that it was inherently wrong to get Roger Clemens to lie to Congress," Issa said. "The American people really want us to shrink government."

Issa also wants to avoid the sometimes petty controversies that enmeshed Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) as committee chairman during the Clinton presidency and sometimes

made him the issue.

Another, more cosmetic change could be coming up the pipe.

"We will seriously consider a name change back to what it was," Issa said, hinting the committee will again be named the Government Reform and Oversight Committee — "to emphasize government reform and not oversight."




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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** just a little self-promotion

I know I'm not supposed to lift my head from the QDDR, but just thought you would like to see this – it's for all the ideas you wanted promoted when you picked me. AM

---

# The Crossroads Nation

By DAVID BROOKS

Bill Clinton used to talk about building a bridge to the 21st century. President Obama talks about laying down a "new foundation." But Clinton was always vague about what the land on the other side of that bridge was going to look like, and Obama is vague about what edifice is going to go on top of that foundation.

They are vague because nobody is clear about what sort of country America is going to be in 2030 or 2050. Nobody has quite defined America's coming economic identity.

In thinking about this question, it probably helps to start at the beginning. Five hundred years ago, agriculture was the major economic activity. One hundred years ago, it was industrial production. Now, of course, we're living in an information age. Innovation and creativity are the engines of economic growth.

Howard Gardner of Harvard once put together a composite picture of the extraordinarily creative person: She comes from a little place somewhat removed from the center of power and influence. As an adolescent, she feels herself outgrowing her own small circle. She moves to a metropolis and finds a group of people who share her passions and interests. She gets involved with a team to create something amazing.

Then, at some point, she finds her own problem, which is related to and yet different from the problems that concern others in her group. She breaks off and struggles and finally emerges with some new thing. She brings it back to her circle. It is tested, refined and improved.

The main point in this composite story is that creativity is not a solitary process. It happens within networks. It happens when talented people get together, when idea systems and mentalities merge.

Now imagine you are this creative person in the year 2010, 2025 or 2050. You are living in some small town in Ukraine or Kenya or some other place, foreign or domestic. You long to break out and go to a place where people are gathering to think about the things you are thinking about, creating the things you want to create.

If you are passionate about fashion, maybe you will go to Paris. If it's engineering, maybe it'll be Germany. But if you are passionate about many other spheres, I suspect you'll want to be in America.

You'll want to be in the U.S. because English has become the global language. You'll want to come because American universities lead the world in research and draw many of the best minds from all corners of the earth.

You'll want to be there because American institutions are relatively free from corruption. Intellectual property is protected. Huge venture capital funds already exist.

Moreover, the United States is a universal nation. There are already people there with connections all over the world. A nation of immigrants is more permeable than say, Chinese society.

You also observe that America hosts the right kind of networks — ones that are flexible and intense. Study after study suggests that America is one of those societies with high social trust. Americans build large, efficient organizations that are not bound by the circles of kinship and clan. Study after study finds that Americans are not hierarchical. American children are raised to challenge their parents. American underlings are relatively free to challenge their bosses. In this country you're less likely to have to submit to authority.

From this story you can see that economic power in the 21st century is not going to look like economic power in the 20th century. The crucial fact about the new epoch is that creativity needs hubs. Information networks need junction points. The nation that can make itself the crossroads to the world will have tremendous economic and political power.

In 2009, Anne-Marie Slaughter, now director of policy planning at the State Department, wrote an essay for Foreign Affairs in which she laid out the logic of this new situation: "In a networked world, the issue is no longer relative power, but centrality in an increasingly dense global web."

Slaughter's essay was titled "America's Edge." That is apt. Americans are now in a depressed state of mind. As China and India rise, nearly two-thirds of Americans believe their nation is in decline.

In fact, the U.S. is well situated to be the crossroads nation. It is well situated to be the center of global networks and to nurture the right kinds of networks. Building that America means doing everything possible to thicken connections: finance research to attract scientists; improve infrastructure to ease travel; fix immigration to funnel talent; reform taxes to attract superstars; make study abroad a rite of passage for college students; take advantage of the millions of veterans who have served overseas.

The nation with the thickest and most expansive networks will define the age. There's no reason to be pessimistic about that.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 10:05 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: just a little self-promotion

Love it.

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 09, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** 'H'
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** just a little self-promotion

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# The Crossroads Nation

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Newt Gingrich: Hillary Clinton 'Terrific' Defense Secretary

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 09, 2010 5:03 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Newt Gingrich: Hillary Clinton 'Terrific' Defense Secretary

# Newt Gingrich: Hillary Clinton 'Terrific' Defense Secretary

If President Obama decides to move Hillary Clinton to the Pentagon as part of a mid-term shake-up, he can count on some unlikely support -- from Newt Gingrich.

"She is knowledgeable, she is tough, I think that she'd be a very aggressive defender of the military in terms of what it needs, its budgets and its concerns," Gingrich told me.

The Washington rumor mill has been talking about Clinton moving over to the Pentagon for some time -- but the secretary of state told my colleague Cynthia McFadden that she has "made it clear that I love the job I have."

The former speaker of the House said he was impressed with Clinton when they served together on the Transformation Advisory Group for the Joint Forces Command.

"If she would take it she would be terrific," he told me.

"I'm not sure she would have quite as much fun," Gingrich added. "I think she probably would have an even better time being secretary of state."

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Pls start calls again

ok

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**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 09, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Subject:** Pls start calls again

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 7:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Welcome back!

B6

Your trip looked very prodcutive from here and thanks for embracing the women's initiatives in AU and NZ. Their governments were thrilled and the press was excellent. Lots of good work ahead.

The video for the women presidents was gratefully received. I sat with Lithuania, Slovakia and Liberia at dinner and they all mentioned it.

You were lucky to miss election day.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty <laurenjiloty
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 8:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Pls try the following

I didnt get it to my State account! So frustrating. but I see it here now... I'll get going on them

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty
> Date: Tue, 9 Nov 2010 20:00:10 -0500
> Subject: Fw: Pls try the following
>
> Did you get this at state.gov?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: H
> To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
> Sent: Tue Nov 09 19:31:58 2010
> Subject: Pls try the following
>
> Murray
> Boxer
> Feingold
> Blumenthal
> Boccieri
> Bosweil
> Andrew Cuomo
> Mark Dayton
> Diane Denish
> Ted Deutch
> Dingell
> Steve Grossman
> Kanjorski
> Chris Carney
> Nita Lowey
> John Lynch
> Dan Maffei
> Joe Manchin
> Kendrick Meek
> Mikulski
> Libby Mitchell
> Gavin Newsom
> Martin O'Mallry
> Dan Onorato
> Rory Reid
> Loretta Sanchez
> Mark Schauer
> Ted Strickland
> Dina Titus
> Wasserman-Schultz

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Pls try the following

MS,
Here (below) is where we stand on calls. You left a lot of messages. The ones that are blank we have not yet tried. I'll mesh this with your call grid.
-Lauren
----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Nov 09 19:31:58 2010
Subject: Pls try the following

Murray - DONE
Boxer – She returned your call – she is in Hawaii with bad cell reception. She will try you back tomorrow.
Feingold – You LM.
Blumenthal – You LM.
Boccieri – You LM.
Boswell – DONE
Andrew Cuomo – You LM at his office (my cell number is bad).
Mark Dayton – You LM at his office.
Diane Denish – You LM.
Ted Deutch – You LM.
Dingell – You LM.
Steve Grossman – You LM.
Kanjorski
Chris Carney
Nita Lowey – You LM.
John Lynch
Dan Maffei – You LM.
Joe Manchin
Kendrick Meek
Mikulski - DONE
Libby Mitchell
Gavin Newsom
Martin O'Malley - DONE
Dan Onorato
Rory Reid
Loretta Sanchez
Mark Schauer
Ted Strickland
Dina Titus
Wasserman-Schultz

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 11:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Commission on the Status of Women

Anyone else you want?

---

**From:** Jones, Kerri-Ann
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Nov 09 19:18:47 2010
**Subject:** Commission on the Status of Women

Cheryl,

As you know, we are working with Melanne on the upcoming Commission on the Status of Women/February 2011. The US has been asked to nominate experts to participate in interactive panels during the meeting. Specifically, experts should focus on the link between women's education and employment, women's participation in science and technology education and employment, women's access to and use of technology, or gender biases in scientific knowledge production and product design. We understand that US nominees are often not selected for these panels given needs to balance regional representations. Still, we should submit one or two names for consideration. Our suggested nominations would be [redacted] who could speak to any of the topical areas listed; Dr. [redacted] another possibility is [redacted] who just left DOE. Just wondering if S would have anyone else in particular she would like to put forward. B6

Thanks.
Kerri-Ann

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 9, 2010 11:32 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** millscd@state.gov; cheryl.mills[redacted]sullivanjj@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: QDDR

we will get you the most up-to-date chapter 3 tomorrow.

On Tue, Nov 9, 2010 at 10:23 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Will I get the revised chapter 3 tomorrow?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 8:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 11/10/10 Wednesday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **MANAGEMENT TEAM MEETING**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:15 am **DIGITAL VIDEO CONFERENCE w/PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY**
10:45 am **PRIME MINISTER SALAM FAYYAD** HST 2209 (Press Briefing Room)

10:50 am **DEPART** State Department *En route White House

11:00 am **ARRIVE** White House

11:00 am **MEETING w/VICE PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN**
12:00 pm Office of The Vice President, West Wing, The White House

12:00 pm **DEPART** White House, En route State Department

12:10 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

12:15 pm **MEETING w/HEIFER INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT JO LUCK**
12:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **WORKING LUNCH w/EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AHMED ALI**
2:00 pm **ABOUL GHEIT** Madison/Monroe Rooms, 8th Floor

2:00 pm **PRESS PREP**
2:05 pm Secretary's Office

2:05 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALI**
2:20 pm **ABOUL GHEIT** Treaty Room, 7th Floor

2:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:30 pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **MEETING w/SLOVAK PRIME MINISTER IVETA RADICOVA**
4:00 pm Secretary's Conference Room

4:15 pm **DROP-BY EAP POST-TRIP CELEBRATION PARTY**
4:45 pm HST 6205 (EAP Front Office)

5:00 pm **PHOTO w/TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO PRIME MINISTER**
5:10 pm **KAMALA PERSAD-BISSESSAR** East Hall, 7th Floor

Tbd pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

Tbd pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** "Direct"

This is Jonathan's email on the issue:

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 3:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FROM MIKE POSNER - trip report

FYI

---

**From:** Graze, Deborah E
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 1:07 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FROM MIKE POSNER - trip report

Jake, Cheryl,
Mike sent this note from Israel, and we will send to S as a note for the Secretary – wanted to give you an advance copy. Will share with Jeff Feltman and Mara Rudman too.
Regards, Deborah G

NOTE from Mike Posner for the Secretary
Tomorrow, Nov. 11, we are completing a four day visit to Israel. I am accompanied by Colonel (Ret.) David Graham, the Director of the Army Jag School in Charlottesville. This trip builds on our January visit in which we met with various Israeli officials, including the Chief of Staff of the IDF, to discuss follow-up to the Goldstone Report.

Our approach has been to offer our support and willingness to work with the Government of Israel to reframe the public debate from defensive (responding to Goldstone or Flotilla reports and resolutions at the UN, etc.) to a more pro-active narrative focused on the challenges of fighting an urban or asymmetrical war. We are having productive, and generally positive preliminary conversations about a possible GOI white paper that would: 1) set the context, outlining the challenges in fighting an asymmetrical conflict; 2) spell out the steps the IDF and other agencies have taken to address these challenges; and 3) identify ongoing challenges that Israel and other professional armies will need to address in the future.

We have been clear that this must be an Israeli initiative, not ours, but that we can help promote and use the report once it has been completed. Thus far we have met with Deputy Foreign Minister Dan Ayalon, Minister without Portfolio Benny Begin, Justice Minister Yaakov Neeman, and Deputy PM, Dan Meridor. Meridor, in particular is very interested and supportive of what we are exploring. Tomorrow we will meet with Gabi Ashkenazi, the IDF Chief of Staff, and with several other senior IDF officials, including General Avichai Mandelblit, the IDF's Judge Advocate, who has led the the government's investigation of the Goldstone/Cast Lead cases.

At this juncture we do not expect or need you to raise any of this with the PM or other Israeli officials. I simply wanted you to know what we are doing, and the status of these efforts, in case anyone in the Israeli delegation raises this with you.

End note

***Deborah Graze***
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor

U.S. Department of State
202 647 2590

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** aclb
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 8:15 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan
**Subject:** Note
**Attachments:** PLAN 10.11.2010.docx

Hi Hillary. Here is the note I promised. It is at least a first stab. I would be grateful if it could be kept just between us.

Best Tony

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** 'stalbott [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: All praise on Haiti

Can you talk/meet today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:24:03 2010
Subject: All praise on Haiti

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** 'stalbott[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: All praise on Haiti

Am on call now so let me know when you can talk later.

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:30:32 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

At airport, flying to LA. Landing around 3 p.m. Available for a few minutes now on [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:28:29 2010
Subject: Re: All praise on Haiti

Can you talk/meet today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:24:03 2010
Subject: All praise on Haiti

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 8:58 AM
**To:** 'valenzuelaaa@state.gov'; 'KellyC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Venezuela

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** 'KellyC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Venezuela

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H; Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:38:54 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

Madam Secretary:

[redacted] B5

Best,

Craig

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:58:13 2010
Subject: Venezuela

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 10:05 AM
**To:** 'oterom2@state.gov'; 'slaughtera@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'; 'MauldinCP@state.gov'; 'SchonanderCE@state.gov'; 'JonesK@state.gov'; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Water

Lona--pls pull together a meeting after Maria gets back on Feb 2 for us to review where we are. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
To: H; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>; cheryl.mills[redacted]<cheryl.mills[redacted]
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>; Mauldin, Caroline P <MauldinCP@state.gov>; Schonander, Carl E <SchonanderCE@state.gov>; Jones, Kerri-Ann <JonesK@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:41:13 2010
Subject: Re: Water

Dear all:

To update you, at G we have been working on water and World Water Day (the event planned takes place at the National Geographic Building), since I am taking on water as the key issue I am/will working on. I sent S a memo on water in December outlining our plans. Note that we are mandated to report to Congress annually as part of the "Water for the Poor" Act.

I have met with Kerri-Ann, with OES "water" staff in the last weeks to address this and also with several regional bureau A/S (Carson, Feltman, Blake so far) on water in the respective regions.
There is a great deal of interest on their part and we have started outlining specific initiatives that we could focus on.

We've also met on the Nile Basin Initiative, with World Bank "experts" leading NGOs, McKinsey, etc. I've also spoken to Raj (USAID allocated about $480 million in FY 2009 to water, and MCC about $500 million) but of course he has been unable to focus on this. And Cheryl and I haven't spoken yet about Food Security/water.

[redacted] B5

Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills[redacted]<cheryl.mills[redacted]
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:53:19 2010
Subject: Water

Maria, Anne-Marie and Cheryl,

March 22 is World Water Day (who knew?) Could we have a policy ready to announce by then? I have some ideas so when we all get a chance to breathe, let's discuss. Here's to H2O.

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 10:33 AM
**To:** 'KellyC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Venezuela

Good. Let's document all of this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:29:43 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 10:00:01 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A <KellyC@state.gov>
To: H; Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 09:38:54 2010
Subject: Re: Venezuela

Madam Secretary:

Best,

Craig

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Mon Jan 18 08:58:13 2010
Subject: Venezuela

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 18, 2010 11:12 AM
**To:** 'oterom2@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Water

Ok. Safe travels.

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 18 11:01:48 2010
Subject: Re: Water

Hillary:
I had planned to meet with you on water after returning from Bolivia's inauguration - there is so much we can do. Haiti is beyond what one's spirit can absorb. I am grateful that my former colleagues from ACCION, missing until friday, are safe.
Best,
Maria

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Otero, Maria; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] <cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sun Jan 17 21:53:19 2010
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[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Great ideas (no surprise). Let's work toward solid proposal maybe to Red Cross and Clinton Foundation since they have unencumbered $

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 19 03:43:19 2010
Subject: Fw: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Read all the way down (2 emails)

Cdm

---

From: David Domenici <[redacted]> B6
To: David Domenici <[redacted]>; Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>
Sent: Mon Jan 18 21:05:40 2010
Subject: RE: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

One other thought.

If the idea of building network of small new schools is just nuts given the infrastructure challenges, an alternative is more of the 'street school' approach. We take storefronts, little mom and pop storefronts, etc...and do minor reconfiguration and you have a whole set of little street schools clustered around central location. This could work, poses some challenges re: isolation of teachers, ability to offer a robust set of classes/offerings, but can still do the job, and can still have clear grand openings to help jumpstart culture, etc.

dd

---

From: David Domenici
Sent: Monday, January 18, 2010 7:55 PM
To: 'Mills, Cheryl D'; 'Cheryl Mills'
Subject: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Hey Cheryl,

Here are some quick thoughts on re-building school infrastructure in Port-au-Prince. Feel free to share with whomever you'd like.

I have little idea of the larger context here – how many schools/kids are we looking at, but one thing we've learned in the US in the last 5 years is that good teachers are the #1 lever of change in education. If we got 1,000 really great teachers into Port-au-Prince (w/ even a modicum of support and materials), they'd make a big difference and touch the lives of 30,000-60,000 kids.

I think this is totally doable, in short-order, in a magnificent way that could set the foundation for a well-educated generation of Haitians who could lead the country out of poverty, to self-sustainability, self-governance and openness.

To do--

Goal 1: Bring immediate influx of human capital into education sector in concentrated areas, and map out plan for long-term development of teachers/human capital.

Goal 2: Build curriculum, instructional materials that will support current Haitian elementary age students learning the academic and related skills they need to lead country to long-term sustainability.

Goal 3: Build/reconstruct schools and training centers that will support high quality education, and on their own, motivate and inspire children, families, and communities to send children to school.

Goal 4: Create (develop) family, community, economic, cultural, socio-political infrastructure that encourages and support all children going to school through elementary school, with goal of eradicating illiteracy and expanding the average level of education for Port-a-Prince residents to the [6th/8th] grade.

Goal 1: Human Capital:

Create Haiti Teacher Corps. Model loosely off of Peace Corps/Teach for America, CityYear

- Teacher corps (US): Recruit, train, and place 500-1000 teachers from US this spring and summer. We can do this.

o Recruiting: Limit variable this year, and build up and out as we go. This spring we go to Georgetown, Univ of Maryland and Univ of Miami and University of Florida/S. Florida. Given crisis, current opportunities in the US, we could easily hire 500 college graduates of very high quality from 4 major universities under 2 year contracts.

o Summer institute is 8 weeks in US; language training, intensive teacher training; onsite at two major universities (College Park, Univ. of Miami).

o Language/culture training: TDB – find the best folks out there to train in French/Creole, and Haitian culture, current socio-political situation – 50% of the training program.

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- Teacher Corps (Haitian):

o I need to learn more on this...but this would likely be critical both short-and long-term.

o Need to know who/how to recruit. Avoid political pitfalls; focus on what we've learned about good teachers—you want people who have excelled in something—almost anything; so, we set up recruiting team on the ground in Haiti to find cohort of 500 new teachers; training is nearly identical to US teaching corp (i.e., modeled off of TFA summer institute).

o Training: either bring them over to US to live and learn w/ US counterparts, or if that's too precarious, look to move them out of the city for 6-8 weeks over the summer. Find space 100 miles out and build summer camp/institute for them.

- Teacher leaders/principals/trainers:

o Much easier than you'd think. Huge network now in the charter and ed reform community of hard-working, mission-driven teacher-leaders who would take this on.

o (US Based) TFA/New Teacher Project alumni are in schools all over the US. They have taught for 2-6 years, want a chance to do something totally meaningful. This is is. We'll recruit 100-200 of them, and they will lead cohorts of 20 teachers...

o Haiti-based: Less clear what the teacher-leader pipeline is like...but we can figure out and get whoever we can.

- Compensation, related.

o We should build dorms/apts for people. Serve food in cafeteria's on-site at the schools; have community kitchens available, etc.

o All US staff gets paid minimally during their tour/commitment, but earns stipends/completion bonuses. If folks convinced their expenses will be covered, they will have money to spend, we then backload this. So, might be a $10,000 salary and a $10,000 bonus upon completion. You live cheap; two years later, you get check that amounts to what you would have saved if you had been living, working, paying bills, etc. in the US.

o Not sure about how to do Haitian pay. But structure similarly.

- What do we need to accomplish the Human Capital Goal?

o In the US, not much.

§ A small staff of the right people could recruit, interview, assess and hire 500 corp members and we could get that done between Feb 1 and June 1, 2010—easily.

§ Cost:

- 2-4 staff on board by 2.1; 10-15 staff on board by 3.1.10; that team will get everyone hired by 6.1.10

· Summer training institutes: 500-100 teachers, housing at universities; training/supervision staff at 1:20 ratio to recruits

· 8.1.10—Teaching Corp heads to Haiti, ongoing cost of housing, stipends/salary, health care, training/supervision, etc (we could build out draft operating budget quickly, but not doing that now).

o In Haiti, less clear, but I think if we identify the right people, we'd concurrently recruit, interview, assess, hire 500 people.

§ Staffing and Cost: See notes above re: US recruitment and training. Assess current status in Haiti, and set up staffing, recruiting, hr function.

- Concurrently, we have team that is developing summer training materials, and working on curriculum/content (see below).

- Concurrently, we have team that is working on facilities (see below)

- Concurrently, we have team working on community outreach (see below).

Goal 2: Build a robust curriculum and teacher instruction program

We need to immediately tilt teaching and learning in the early grades to the skills and contents that are necessary in Haiti so that it people can enable it grow and develop economically, politically.

I am not a curriculum expert, but I think this is really doable, as well, so long as we get the right team—which in this case is likely a team of leading experts from Haiti, possibly other countries that have intentionally undergone an intensive ramp-up in the education sector, and US curriculum writers.

- US-Team:

o Similar to above, there is incredible talent in the charters, and in a few major cities where structural education reform has taken hold.

o We just need a small team to join us for 1 year to help us jump start the project.

- Haiti/Other countries:

o We need to talk w/ folks in Haiti and find current state of curriculum, standards, instructional guides, books, materials, etc.

- Backwards Mapping: This is not as hard as it seems.

o We get the right people to help us figure out what a 10-12 year old Haitian should know and we map backwards, all the way to preschool.

o Once we get an end goal in key areas – math, reading, writing, history/social studies, science...we map backwards and start to define what we will teach.

o And once we decide this, we use some of the tools we've developed in the US in the last 5-10 years to help us write curriculum, produce instructional materials.

o This will be a jumbled mess to start...but will work and sort itself out.

o We build it in clusters and in modules that can be swapped in and out, and mixed and matched. You want to give teachers tools so they can be successful with kids of different ages and abilities, particularly early on when we're likely to be operating more like one-room school houses than grade level schools we're used to here.

o We build in assessments, standards, and teach teachers how to recognize when kids are falling behind, how to build in supports and tutorials.

o The goal is to get large cohort of younger kids, I think, who start to learn and be taught to standards...all the while, we push hard in the upper grades, knowing it will be a lot less clear (and possibly much more directed towards helping current teens develop basic skills they need to be employable and contributing members of the rebuilding efforts –so this may be basic literacy, key vocational skills, etc.).

- Cost/staffing: Small US team that works with Haitian/other country team. Within a year or so, this team should be Haiti-based, w/ possible long-term support/membership from the US team. The start-up team sets up framework, establishing learning standards, builds tools and cranks out curricular materials—some of which are developed specifically for Haiti, but many of which may be translations from high quality materials from US and elsewhere.

Goal 3: Build high quality, durable schools that entice families, children into education.

In spite of current situation, this seems like another very doable goal.

- Get some schools built quickly to entice attendance.

o Once rebuilding starts up, we can build schools quickly, affordably. And once they are up, if done correctly, they will immediately be attractive to families and communities. This, ironically, will be the case if we can get schools up quickly—while much of the other infrastructure is still in poor shape. Families will want kids in schools if the schools are safe, offer food, health care and structure—much of which will be wanting in devastated, poor neighborhoods.

- I'm not facilities expert, either; this is an area where we can look to other examples in the developing world for best practices. Nonprofits and governments have worked together to build great schools in many places in Africa, South America, and even recently in the Middle East.

- To think about: Consider technology and technology infrastructure as a part of the initial construction plan so it's not add-on later.

- To think about: Keeping the schools small, functional, really basic will help us get them up; including significant health care and related services complicates planning, build-out, but increases functionality.

- Cost/staffing: I don't have enough knowledge about this, particularly in Haiti. I think it would be quite easy to find the best models and quickly develop turnkey model for design/build that would ensure functionality, safety, and cost compliance.

- Once we have this, we either develop this capacity internally, or contract out and get these built, quickly.

Goal 4: Create family, community impetus for all school age children to be in school

This is both the end-game and a necessary condition along the way.

- The simpleton in me thinks that highly engaged, spirited teachers, inside safe, modern school buildings that serve healthy meals at no charge will, for some period of time (years) be a catalyst for socio-political change. And if we can get traction for a few years, and get large cohorts of young children actively engaged in school, then it will be hard to unwind the long-term, salutary benefits.

- Clearly, if families remain in poverty, and adults have no means to earn enough money to support families, then children of all ages, but particularly as they move toward teen years, will be attracted to alternatives other than school—some legitimate, but low-wage, and others illegal and destructive.

- In short-term, while we are developing program, we should be doing extensive community outreach and in all cases, getting neighborhoods and communities engaged in the pre-planning process. Families everywhere get excited about a new school, new teachers, and a new chance. And w should play on this—this will enable us to do necessary planning around enrollment, student/family needs, etc. We shouldn't sort of move slowly from no school to some school, we should go from no school to a new school and fresh start—even if that delays opening a bit. The first day should be major community event, that everyone can reflect upon and hold to in difficult times.

Gotta run. See you shortly.

xo,

dd

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 19 03:43:19 2010
Subject: Fw: Hope you are well, where ever you get this-- below are ideas re: education corps for Haiti that you asked for

Read all the way down (2 emails)

Cdm

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To: David Domenici <[redacted]>; Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills [redacted]
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· 8.1.10—Teaching Corp heads to Haiti, ongoing cost of housing, stipends/salary, health care, training/supervision, etc (we could build out draft operating budget quickly, but not doing that now).

o In Haiti, less clear, but I think if we identify the right people, we'd concurrently recruit, interview, assess, hire 500 people.

§ Staffing and Cost: See notes above re: US recruitment and training. Assess current status in Haiti, and set up staffing, recruiting, hr function.

- Concurrently, we have team that is developing summer training materials, and working on curriculum/content (see below).

- Concurrently, we have team that is working on facilities (see below)

- Concurrently, we have team working on community outreach (see below).

Goal 2: Build a robust curriculum and teacher instruction program

We need to immediately tilt teaching and learning in the early grades to the skills and contents that are necessary in Haiti so that it people can enable it grow and develop economically, politically.

I am not a curriculum expert, but I think this is really doable, as well, so long as we get the right team—which in this case is likely a team of leading experts from Haiti, possibly other countries that have intentionally undergone an intensive ramp-up in the education sector, and US curriculum writers.

- US-Team:

o Similar to above, there is incredible talent in the charters, and in a few major cities where structural education reform has taken hold.

o We just need a small team to join us for 1 year to help us jump start the project.

- Haiti/Other countries:

o We need to talk w/ folks in Haiti and find current state of curriculum, standards, instructional guides, books, materials, etc.

- Backwards Mapping: This is not as hard as it seems.

o We get the right people to help us figure out what a 10-12 year old Haitian should know and we map backwards, all the way to preschool.

o Once we get an end goal in key areas – math, reading, writing, history/social studies, science...we map backwards and start to define what we will teach.

o And once we decide this, we use some of the tools we've developed in the US in the last 5-10 years to help us write curriculum, produce instructional materials.

o This will be a jumbled mess to start...but will work and sort itself out.

o We build it in clusters and in modules that can be swapped in and out, and mixed and matched. You want to give teachers tools so they can be successful with kids of different ages and abilities, particularly early on when we're likely to be operating more like one-room school houses than grade level schools we're used to here.

o We build in assessments, standards, and teach teachers how to recognize when kids are falling behind, how to build in supports and tutorials.

o The goal is to get large cohort of younger kids, I think, who start to learn and be taught to standards...all the while, we push hard in the upper grades, knowing it will be a lot less clear (and possibly much more directed towards helping current teens develop basic skills they need to be employable and contributing members of the rebuilding efforts –so this may be basic literacy, key vocational skills, etc.).

- Cost/staffing: Small US team that works with Haitian/other country team. Within a year or so, this team should be Haiti-based, w/ possible long-term support/membership from the US team. The start-up team sets up framework, establishing learning standards, builds tools and cranks out curricular materials—some of which are developed specifically for Haiti, but many of which may be translations from high quality materials from US and elsewhere.

Goal 3: Build high quality, durable schools that entice families, children into education.

In spite of current situation, this seems like another very doable goal.

- Get some schools built quickly to entice attendance.

o Once rebuilding starts up, we can build schools quickly, affordably. And once they are up, if done correctly, they will immediately be attractive to families and communities. This, ironically, will be the case if we can get schools up quickly—while much of the other infrastructure is still in poor shape. Families will want kids in schools if the schools are safe, offer food, health care and structure—much of which will be wanting in devastated, poor neighborhoods.

- I'm not facilities expert, either; this is an area where we can look to other examples in the developing world for best practices. Nonprofits and governments have worked together to build great schools in many places in Africa, South America, and even recently in the Middle East.

- To think about: Consider technology and technology infrastructure as a part of the initial construction plan so it's not add-on later.

- To think about: Keeping the schools small, functional, really basic will help us get them up; including significant health care and related services complicates planning, build-out, but increases functionality.

- Cost/staffing: I don't have enough knowledge about this, particularly in Haiti. I think it would be quite easy to find the best models and quickly develop turnkey model for design/build that would ensure functionality, safety, and cost compliance.

- Once we have this, we either develop this capacity internally, or contract out and get these built, quickly.

Goal 4: Create family, community impetus for all school age children to be in school

This is both the end-game and a necessary condition along the way.

- The simpleton in me thinks that highly engaged, spirited teachers, inside safe, modern school buildings that serve healthy meals at no charge will, for some period of time (years) be a catalyst for socio-political change. And if we can get traction for a few years, and get large cohorts of young children actively engaged in school, then it will be hard to unwind the long-term, salutary benefits.

- Clearly, if families remain in poverty, and adults have no means to earn enough money to support families, then children of all ages, but particularly as they move toward teen years, will be attracted to alternatives other than school—some legitimate, but low-wage, and others illegal and destructive.

- In short-term, while we are developing program, we should be doing extensive community outreach and in all cases, getting neighborhoods and communities engaged in the pre-planning process. Families everywhere get excited about a new school, new teachers, and a new chance. And w should play on this—this will enable us to do necessary planning around enrollment, student/family needs, etc. We shouldn't sort of move slowly from no school to some school, we should go from no school to a new school and fresh start—even if that delays opening a bit. The first day should be major community event, that everyone can reflect upon and hold to in difficult times.

Gotta run. See you shortly.

xo,

dd

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 8:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Can you do more calls tonight--starting w those who returned my calls?

Yes- ill get working on them now

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wed Nov 10 20:05:21 2010
Subject: Can you do more calls tonight--starting w those who returned my calls?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:09 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti

I agree.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 19 20:58:28 2010
Subject: FW: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti

FYI – I think we should do

From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:46 PM
To: Haiti DLC Distro; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E; O'Neill, Maura (AID/A)
Subject: Cuba-USG Cooperation re Haiti
Importance: High

Interesting offer to cooperate re Haiti by Cuban Govt. FYI. Julissa

From: Zuniga, Ricardo F
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 3:07 PM
To: TaskForce-1
Cc: 'Gray, Eugene'; Reynoso, Julissa; Kelly, Craig A; Webster, Christopher W; De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: FW: Haiti Note
Importance: High

Task Force – the attached diplomatic note was shared with PDAS Kelly by Cuban Interests Section Chief of Mission Jorge Bolaños today at 2:30 pm. It is an offer to cooperate in Haiti relief work, information regarding Cuban relief efforts in Haiti, and a request for info regarding USG relief operations on the ground in Haiti. WHA is following up on this matter, but pls convey this information to appropriate USAID and Task Force officials. We are prepared to offer medicine and other humanitarian supplies to Cuban relief personnel and have conveyed this to the Cuban government.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Border Issues Update

Ok. Anything else to discuss? Hope you get some sleep.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 19 21:00:00 2010
Subject: FW: Border Issues Update

fyi

From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 5:40 PM
To: Haiti DLC Distro; Schwartz, Eric P; Robinson, David M; Powell, Catherine
Cc: De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: FW: Border Issues Update

Border still functional and migration apparently under control. Julissa

From: Norman, Alain G
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 4:47 PM
To: Reynoso, Julissa; De Pirro, Velia M; Smith, Willard T; Schadrack, Geoffrey F
Cc: Schimmel, Mike R; Lambert, Christopher A; Fitzgibbons, Timothy T
Subject: Border Issues Update

The latest regarding border issues:

a) Per EmbOff, border at Jimani remained disorganized but functional as in recent days.

b) The flow of persons across the border is constant, but no mass influx. However, official figures under-report the numbers of people crossing, as the data reflect only those being processed correctly. Some Haitians are sneaking across the border, per USG official. Haitian media also report "tens of thousands" leaving Port-au-Prince, some for the DR border. However, police officials say they have not seen increased illegal entry attempts in the mountains around the Jimani crossing.

c) A Haitian immigration official said that as of 1pm on 1/19 he had issued approximately 600 laissez-passes to travelers without documents. Dominican authorities at the other side of the border crossing are generally turning away travelers without a valid visa or official travel document. Medical emergency cases continue being allowed in.

d) The border crossing at Jimani was closed for 45 minutes after the Haitian colonel in charge of customs on the Haitian side began demanding "manifests" from vehicles trying to bring assistance across. GODR officials managed to talk the colonel into backing down, but plan to seek his removal. (Note: It is unclear whether this was an attempt at rent-seeking by the Haitian official, but some reporting implied that. End Note).

e) As the next Market Day in Jimani will be Thursday, efforts are already underway to see if market activities that day can be organized so as not to block/hamper through-put of assistance / evacuation vehicles.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED based on the definitions provided in E.O.12958.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 19, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Year-end report

Thx. I'll be ready to discuss tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 19 20:17:17 2010
Subject: Year-end report

A draft of the year-end report is coming your way with Huma. It definitely needs your magic touch. I've done my best to craft something readable (and useful) in the midst of all the craziness.

Derek has read and commented. Cheryl will give her comments tomorrow. I'd be happy to circulate it to others who you would like to have weigh in.

Look forward to discussing tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: It Never Rains.....

I didn't know they were doing operations in the conference room. Can we get some details--and promise new carpet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 20 07:19:53 2010
Subject: FW: It Never Rains.....

fyi

From: Merten, Kenneth H
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2010 10:53 PM
To: Smith, Daniel B; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: 'Susan Merten'
Subject: It Never Rains.....

I just got called by the French Ambo. The [redacted] has had a cerebral haemmorage and needs to be medivaced. We're working on getting [redacted] on a plane to Miami. [redacted] was medivaced today. Army doctors tell me they just did their 100th operation in our multi-purpose (aptly named) conference room – including 4 amputations. They joked: "Sorry, but you're gonna need a new carpet sir." B6

Let's see what tomorrow brings....

Kenneth Merten

Ambassador

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Tel: 509-2-229-8000

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 8:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: just a little self-promotion

Many thanks. And we're getting there, I PROMISE you. AM

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 10, 2010 8:55 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: Re: just a little self-promotion

As I told you today--well-deserved kudos!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Nov 09 09:58:12 2010
Subject: just a little self-promotion

I know I'm not supposed to lift my head from the QDDR, but just thought you would like to see this – it's for all the ideas you wanted promoted when you picked me. AM

---

The Crossroads Nation

By DAVID BROOKS
<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/opinion/editorialsandoped/oped/columnists/davidbrooks/index.html?inline=nyt-per>

Bill Clinton used to talk about building a bridge to the 21st century. President Obama talks about laying down a "new foundation." But Clinton was always vague about what the land on the other side of that bridge was going to look like, and Obama is vague about what edifice is going to go on top of that foundation.

They are vague because nobody is clear about what sort of country America is going to be in 2030 or 2050. Nobody has quite defined America's coming economic identity.

In thinking about this question, it probably helps to start at the beginning. Five hundred years ago, agriculture was the major economic activity. One hundred years ago, it was industrial production. Now, of course, we're living in an information age. Innovation and creativity are the engines of economic growth.

Howard Gardner of Harvard once put together a composite picture of the extraordinarily creative person: She comes from a little place somewhat removed from the center of power and influence. As an adolescent, she feels herself outgrowing her own small circle. She moves to a metropolis and finds a group of people who share her passions and interests. She gets involved with a team to create something amazing.

Then, at some point, she finds her own problem, which is related to and yet different from the problems that concern others in her group. She breaks off and struggles and finally emerges with some new thing. She brings it back to her circle. It is tested, refined and improved.

The main point in this composite story is that creativity is not a solitary process. It happens within networks. It happens when talented people get together, when idea systems and mentalities merge.

Now imagine you are this creative person in the year 2010, 2025 or 2050. You are living in some small town in Ukraine or Kenya or some other place, foreign or domestic. You long to break out and go to a place where people are gathering to think about the things you are thinking about, creating the things you want to create.

If you are passionate about fashion, maybe you will go to Paris. If it's engineering, maybe it'll be Germany. But if you are passionate about many other spheres, I suspect you'll want to be in America.

You'll want to be in the U.S. because English has become the global language. You'll want to come because American universities lead the world in research and draw many of the best minds from all corners of the earth.

You'll want to be there because American institutions are relatively free from corruption. Intellectual property is protected. Huge venture capital funds already exist.

Moreover, the United States is a universal nation. There are already people there with connections all over the world. A nation of immigrants is more permeable than say, Chinese society.

You also observe that America hosts the right kind of networks — ones that are flexible and intense. Study after study suggests that America is one of those societies with high social trust. Americans build large, efficient organizations that are not bound by the circles of kinship and clan. Study after study finds that Americans are not hierarchical. American children are raised to challenge their parents. American underlings are relatively free to challenge their bosses. In this country you're less likely to have to submit to authority.

From this story you can see that economic power in the 21st century is not going to look like economic power in the 20th century. The crucial fact about the new epoch is that creativity needs hubs. Information networks need junction points. The nation that can make itself the crossroads to the world will have tremendous economic and political power.

In 2009, Anne-Marie Slaughter, now director of policy planning at the State Department, wrote an essay for Foreign Affairs in which she laid out the logic of this new situation: "In a networked world, the issue is no longer relative power, but centrality in an increasingly dense global web."

Slaughter's essay was titled "America's Edge." That is apt. Americans are now in a depressed state of mind. As China and India rise, nearly two-thirds of Americans believe their nation is in decline.

In fact, the U.S. is well situated to be the crossroads nation. It is well situated to be the center of global networks and to nurture the right kinds of networks. Building that America means doing everything possible to thicken connections: finance research to attract scientists; improve infrastructure to ease travel; fix immigration to funnel talent; reform taxes to attract superstars; make study abroad a rite of passage for college students; take advantage of the millions of veterans who have served overseas.

The nation with the thickest and most expansive networks will define the age. There's no reason to be pessimistic about that.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Calls

ok.

> From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
> To: Laurenjiloty JilotyLC@state.gov
> Date: Wed, 10 Nov 2010 21:16:36 -0500
> Subject: Calls
>
> In addition to calls to returnees, pls try Kendrick Meek, Rory Reid, and Strickland

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 10:29 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Note
**Attachments:** PLAN 10.11.2010.docx

Want to make sure you both got this

---

**From:** Catherine Sumpster [redacted] B6
**To:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Wed Nov 10 20:25:52 2010
**Subject:** Note

Hi,

As discussed please find attached the personal note Mr Blair sent to Secretary Clinton.

Thanks,

Catherine

---

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 10:32 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Steve grossman returned your call

B6

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 2010 11:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Note

Yes

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Nov 10 22:33:52 2010
Subject: Re: Note

I got it. Can you print for me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Nov 10 22:28:36 2010
Subject: Fw: Note

Want to make sure you both got this

---

From: Catherine Sumpster [redacted] B6
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Nov 10 20:25:52 2010
Subject: Note

Hi,

As discussed please find attached the personal note Mr Blair sent to Secretary Clinton.

Thanks,

Catherine

---

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Windrush Ventures No. 3 LP is a limited partnership registered in England and Wales with registered number LP012665. Its registered office is 50 Broadway, London SW1H 0BL. The members of Windrush Ventures No.3 LP are BDBCO No.819 Limited and Windrush Ventures No.2 LLP and the address at which each of these can be served is 50 Broadway, London SW1H 0BL.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 6:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: KORUS

This was bubbling in news reports...

----- Original Message -----
From: Hormats, Robert D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 11 04:51:30 2010
Subject: KORUS

You may know this already but the negotiations broke down.

Plan is to reconvene in several weeks. No specific date. Will have more details shortly. Just arrived Seoul.

Regards,
Bob

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 6:57 AM
**To:** H; Lew, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: House Schedule

CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS – CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS
Nov. 10, 2010 – 6:25 p.m.

# House Democrats Plan Schedule for Lame-Duck Session

By Alan K. Ota, CQ Staff

House Democratic leaders on Wednesday outlined a schedule for the lame-duck session that would have lawmakers in town for at least two weeks in November and into early December.

Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., assistant to Speaker Nancy Pelosi, said in an interview after a conference call among Democratic leaders that lawmakers were likely to work through next week, take a week off for the Thanksgiving recess, and return for a second — and, for now, final — week from Nov. 29 to Dec. 3.

Van Hollen, who is poised to take over next year as the top Democrat on the Budget Committee, said he was unsure how Democrats would resolve disputes over unfinished business such as tax cuts that are set to expire Dec. 31 and funding for federal programs beyond the stopgap spending measure (PL 111-242) that expires Dec. 3.

"We simply identified some of the issues that are out there," Van Hollen said of the private leadership chat. "Obviously, the big issue is how we deal with various tax issues. And then there's the issue of an omnibus [spending bill] versus a continuing resolution. There are a lot of other potential issues. We're going to try to get the nutrition bill."

He was referring to ongoing talks over a possible extension of expiring provisions of the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts (PL 107-16, PL 108-27), the debate over whether to move an omnibus spending bill for fiscal 2011 or another temporary spending measure, and a stalled child nutrition bill (HR 5504).

Van Hollen said that Pelosi, D-Calif., did not bring up the issue of the tough caucus race for minority whip — the second-ranking Democrat in the next Congress — between Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland and James E. Clyburn of South Carolina. Both men were on the telephone call, Van Hollen said, but the issue did not come up.

Democratic aides said Pelosi has encouraged both men to reach a settlement to avert the potentially bloody intraparty fight. "That wasn't part of the discussion," Van Hollen said.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 8:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Security Talks

See below

Also, Allawi appears to be in.

**From:** Hof, Frederic C
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Nov 11 08:39:20 2010
**Subject:** Security Talks

Jake, just one small point to file away.

Fred

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/11/2025

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 1:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Hezbollah: We won't accept arrests

---

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Nov 11 13:36:48 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Hezbollah: We won't accept arrests

BEIRUT (AP) - The leader of Hezbollah says his militant group will "cut the hand" of anyone who tries to arrest any member of the party. Sheik Hassan Nasrallah said in a speech the group will not accept any accusation against any of its fighters or leaders in the 2005 assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. He said the group would defend itself anyway it chooses. He did not elaborate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 2:43 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pls clear: Statement on Iraqi Government Coalition Agreement

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Adler, Caroline E
**Sent:** Thu Nov 11 13:00:14 2010
**Subject:** Pls clear: Statement on Iraqi Government Coalition Agreement

## STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

## Iraqi Government Coalition Agreement

I applaud Iraq's political leaders for working together to agree on an inclusive government that represents the will of the Iraqi people and moves their country forward. Today's coalition decision is a milestone in the emergence of the new Iraq and it is a testament to the determination of the Iraqi people to build their own democracy, a goal only they can achieve.

This agreement ensures meaningful representation for the election winners, encompassing all of Iraq's ethnic and sectarian communities. It also includes critical provisions for power-sharing and other reforms, including revisions to the to the de-Ba'athification process. In addition, Iraqi leaders have agreed to establish a National Council of Strategic Policies. This important body will serve as a steering group in the areas of defense policy, foreign affairs, economic policy, and other strategic issues.

As Iraqis continue their progress, they will have a committed and consistent partner in the United States. Our relationship is rooted in mutual respect and mutual interest. We look forward to expanding our cooperation under the Strategic Framework Agreement and together pursuing our shared goal of building a long-term, multidimensional relationship between our two nations that contributes to growing peace and prosperity in Iraq and security and stability in the Middle East.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 5:43 PM
**To:** H; jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Let me know when we can talk.

Will call shortly.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'jake.sullivar[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Nov 11 17:20:11 2010
Subject: Let me know when we can talk.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 12:01 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Oh, my--and , thankfully, Happy New year!

Dear Anne-Marie,

I was just reading your two wonderful memos on S/ P accomplishments and the QDDR, [redacted] B6

I also want to thank you for a wonderful year of work, creativity, collaboration and progress. I know the start for all of us was shaky, but we have hit our stride and you are such a valuable member of the team, a generator of ideas, a conductor of talent and even a necessary nudge from time to time. Thank you for making this journey w me.

I will schedule the S/P visit and photo as soon as I can. Until we see one another next week, be well and take care (please!)

All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 12:09 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Happy New Year!

Thx for sending the emails about the Nigerian. We are working on all of the issues raised.

I hope you, Jackie and the boys (men??) have a happy, healthy, prosperous 2010. I will look forward to seeing more of you in the upcoming months.

All the best, H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 1, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** 'SteinbergJB@state.gov'
**Subject:** Happy New Year!

Dear Jim--

I hope you and your family have had time to enjoy the holidays together and that 2010 brings blessings to you all. Thanks for all your great work, support and advice this past year, and I'm looking forward to the year ahead.

All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** 'verveerms@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

And, the very best new year to you, [redacted] and the Verveer tribe. Thanks for all you are doing and for working w me again. We have a lot of big challenges and many opportunities ahead of us and I'm excited to get started again. See you next week! B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 02 01:33:36 2010
Subject:

The new year is bound to bring in a continuing wave of crisis around the world. Consider this photo a momentary respite. It is evocative of the good feeling you engender everywhere. The photo is of the Director of New Life Center in Chiang Mai. They are doing incredible work there and have made exceptional progress since your visit. They remember you with great gratitude. I had one of your signed photos left after distributing the others to the Burmese women human rights leaders (who also felt that you were on their side).

Everywhere I went over the holidays, there was much favorable comment about your leadership. I'm so proud to be back working with you. Because you've created such ripples of hope, we've got so much to do!

Love to all the Clintons and best wishes for a healthy, happy, productive and rewarding New Year.

<<New Life Center Foundation 2009.jpg>>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 6:08 AM
**To:** 'stalbott [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Strobe---Happy New Year! Namiste! All good wishes for 2010. Thx so much for the message from four generations of Talbotts and Ramesh--quite a combo. When I see you next (hopefully soon) I will give you the background on my re/interactions w him. [redacted] Much love to you and the clan, Hillary

P.S. Can you confirm my email address thru this--i don't want you wandering around cyberspace!

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]
To: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; cheryl.mills [redacted]
<cheryl.mills [redacted]
Cc: H2; H
Sent: Fri Dec 25 09:13:20 2009
Subject: RE: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Thanks, Huma. Albest. S.

---

From: Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 25, 2009 9:11 AM
To: Strobe Talbott; Mills, Cheryl D; cheryl.mills [redacted]
Cc: hr15@att.blackberry.net; hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Yes of course
Passed on to her
Hope toy are well

---

From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Cheryl Mills <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; Abedin, Huma
Cc: HRC <hr15@att.blackberry.net>; HRC Blackberry <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Dec 25 06:35:42 2009
Subject: FW: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Cheryl or Huma, this message bounced back from hr15@att.blackberry.net, which is the only email address I've got for HRC. Can you please make sure she gets it? Best wishes of the holiday to you both. Strobe

---

From: Strobe Talbott
Sent: Friday, December 25, 2009 6:31 AM
To: HRC
Cc: Cheryl Mills (State); 'Cheryl Mills'
Subject: message from India -- and from down the street.....

Hi, Hillary, and Merry Christmas. Hope you and the family are getting a bit of respite from it all. I'm sending you this message because—somewhat to my surprise—Jairam Ramesh has asked me to pass along a personal message, which is pasted below. I've known him since the 70s

B6

Cheers, Strobe

Dear Madam Secretary of State:

It was wonderful catching up with you in Copenhagen. The opportunity to interact with President Obama and you at the very last minute to salvage the Copenhagen Accord at the US-BASIC Summit Meeting was fantastic and unforgettable for me personally. I am still reeling from that historic 75 minutes!!

With greetings for Xmas and best wishes for the New Year,

With warmest regards,

Jairam Ramesh

Minister of Environment and Forests

India

==========

Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200
stalbott <mailto: > ==========

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, November 11, 2010 8:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: End of day Iraq wrap-up.

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Corbin, Michael H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Catalano, Elisa; Wells, Alice G; Schrepel, Dawn M; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Desrocher, John P; Bitter, Rena; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Davis, Jason L
Sent: Thu Nov 11 19:47:59 2010
Subject: End of day Iraq wrap-up.

Today's tumultuous session of Iraq's COR culminated with the election and swearing in of Jalal Talabani as President, and the immediate nomination of Nuri al Maliki as prime minister. Of more significance was the election of leading Iraqiyya member Osama al-Nujayfi as speaker of the Council of Representatives. This represented Iraqiyya and Sunni buy-in to the new, inclusive Government. As the newly nominated Prime Minister, Maliki now has 30 days to form the Council of Ministers, which must be approved in the COR by absolute majority.

1.4(D)
B1

These developments were marred by a theatric walkout by Iraqiyya. Members of Iraqiyya had called for a motion to cancel de-Baathification proceedings for Saleh Mutlaq and two others to be added to the COR agenda in advance of voting on the presidency.

Michael Corbin
Deputy Asst Secy for Near East Affairs

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/11/2025

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 8:53 AM
**To:** 'kohhh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Blackwater case

Harold---

First, Happy New Year to you and your family and thank you for all of your great work this past year. I am looking forward to the year ahead.

Second, what can we do about Judge Urbina's ruling [redacted] For example, what is the likelihood of success on appeal? Can the US file a civil action against the company? Pay compensation to the victims? What other options do we have? B5

All the best, H

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 2, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** 'kohhh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Blackwater case

Thanks, as always. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 02 10:24:37 2010
Subject: RE: Blackwater case

ATTORNEY-CLIENT PRIVILEGE/ATTORNEY WORK-PRODUCT

And Happy New Year to you (and your family) too! I am so thrilled to be in this job and working with you. I am having a great time, and hope to have an even better 2010.

Re Blackwater. I have already put these very questions to our team, and they are working up a memo on the subject. Significantly, the press accounts are all saying that State Department lawyers appropriately warned the DOJ prosecutors, but that the DOJ lawyers chose to take a different route.

My initial reactions to your questions are as follows:

[redacted]

I will keep pressing and give you an oral report at Monday's 8:45, and we can get the promised memo to you soon thereafter.

Please let me know if you need more.
Best
Harold

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 02, 2010 8:53 AM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Blackwater case

Harold---

First, Happy New Year to you and your family and thank you for all of your great work this past year. I am looking forward to the year ahead.

Second, what can we do about Judge Urbina's ruling [redacted] For example, what is the likelihood of success on appeal? Can the US file a civil action against the company? Pay compensation to the victims? What other options do we have? B5

All the best, H

RELEASE IN PART B6

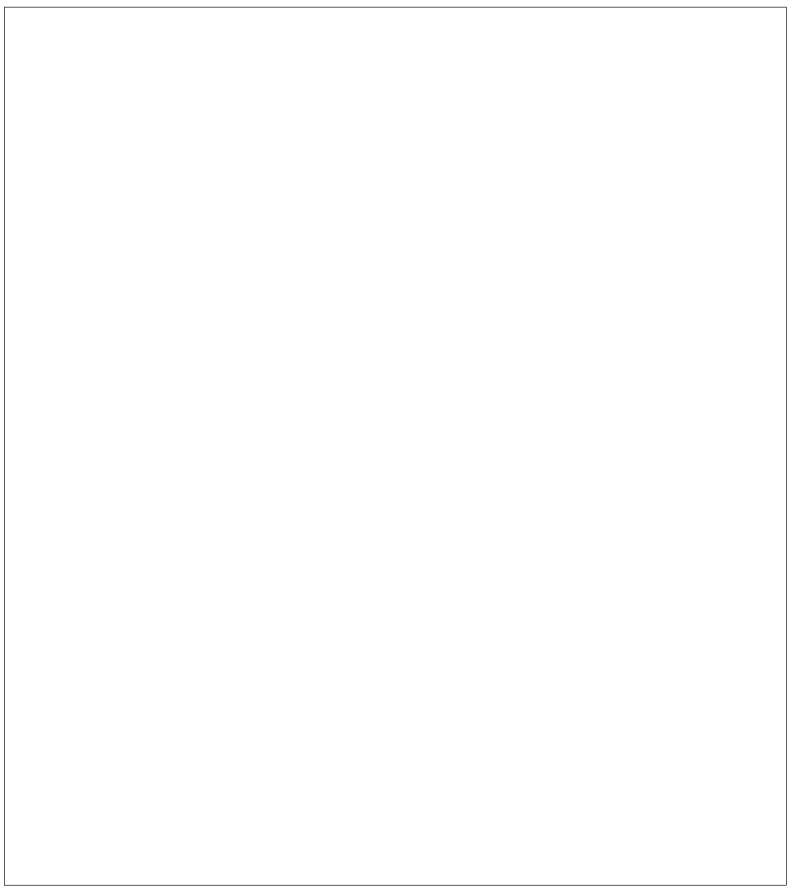
**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 11:36 AM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Xmas TYs

Rob--

First, Happy New Year and thank you for all of your great work this past year. It is a treat having you on our team, and I'm looking forward to an even better 2010. Also, pls let me know if you have any ideas about how we could improve our processes and products. Thanks for everything.

B6

B6



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 11:42 AM
**To:** 'sterntd@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Question

First, Happy New Year to Jen and Stern clan. Hope to talk soon about our way forward for 2010.

I received the following email from Jairem Ramesh over the holidays. I intend to respond in kind but wanted to run by you for advice.

Thx. HRC---

---

Dear Madam Secretary of State:

It was wonderful catching up with you in Copenhagen. The opportunity to interact with President Obama and you at the very last minute to salvage the Copenhagen Accord at the US-BASIC Summit Meeting was fantastic and unforgettable for me personally. I am still reeling from that historic 75 minutes!!

With greetings for Xmas and best wishes for the New Year,

With warmest regards,

Jairam Ramesh

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 11:42 AM
**To:** 'sterntd@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Question

First, Happy New Year to Jen and Stern clan. Hope to talk soon about our way forward for 2010.

I received the following email from Jairem Ramesh over the holidays. I intend to respond in kind but wanted to run by you for advice.

Thx. HRC---

---

Dear Madam Secretary of State:

It was wonderful catching up with you in Copenhagen. The opportunity to interact with President Obama and you at the very last minute to salvage the Copenhagen Accord at the US-BASIC Summit Meeting was fantastic and unforgettable for me personally. I am still reeling from that historic 75 minutes!!

With greetings for Xmas and best wishes for the New Year,

With warmest regards,

Jairam Ramesh

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Happy New Year!

Jake--I hope you and the Sullivan clan had a glorious and joyous holiday and that you're revved up for 2010! Thanks for all you did to make this past year a successful launch. Now, the hard work starts as we try to deliver. But, it's no hyperbole to say you are a joy to work. Onward--and upward! H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** Jackson Diehl Editorial

Madame Secretary, as we understood on Wednesday, our conscious decision not to mention domestic Egyptian issues publicly was noticed at the Post editorial board. I had multiple exchanges with Jackson over the course of the day yesterday. Based on your colloquy with Aboul-Gheit and Jeff's follow-up, we are quoted in the piece which you see in the clips as having a direct and spirited exchange with the Egyptians and that there was no misunderstanding of the importance that we attach to these issues. So in the end Jackson grants some credit for the discussion, and we agree to disagree on the degree to which this discussion should be public.

PJ

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 4:11 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list and HRC Support Network

Pls add:

Marsha Lauffer [redacted]--but I think she's moved to Florida so ask KPK if she has another # B6

Stephanie Minor and Jack Mannion; she's the new mayor of Syracuse

Sen. Kit Bond to discuss his book The Next Front

Paul Farmer

Add Sec Ken Salazar--note the Arctic

Jon Bon Jovi--TY

Jo Luck

Cong. Dianne Watson

Kirsten Gillibrand--cybersecurity

Marvin Hammlisch

Martha Stewart

Robert Hunter--omit from the end and move up

Sec Sebelius

Ed Koch

Dorothy Height

---

Pls remove from list the following:

Thomases
Corzine
Engel
Kenney
Newsom

Webb
Allida Black
Chavez
Schneider
Mutombo
Loida Lewis
Winifred Greene

---

Also, we have to decide what to do w the "Fan Club" and tell Ruth Love and Rosemary. Should we invite them to lunch?
Also, whatever happened w [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 3:30 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: CA speech

Will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin < > B6
Sent: Wed Sep 15 15:24:51 2010
Subject: CA speech

Pls be sure my friend, Susan Kennedy in SF gets info about my speech there in October. B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 5:06 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; H
**Subject:** Re: Xmas TYs

Thx. Here are a few more--

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 03 16:14:03 2010
Subject: Re: Xmas TYs

Thank you so much - it's a pleasure and an honor!

I'll get to work on these first thing tomorrow morning and I'll consult with Huma to fill in the blanks.

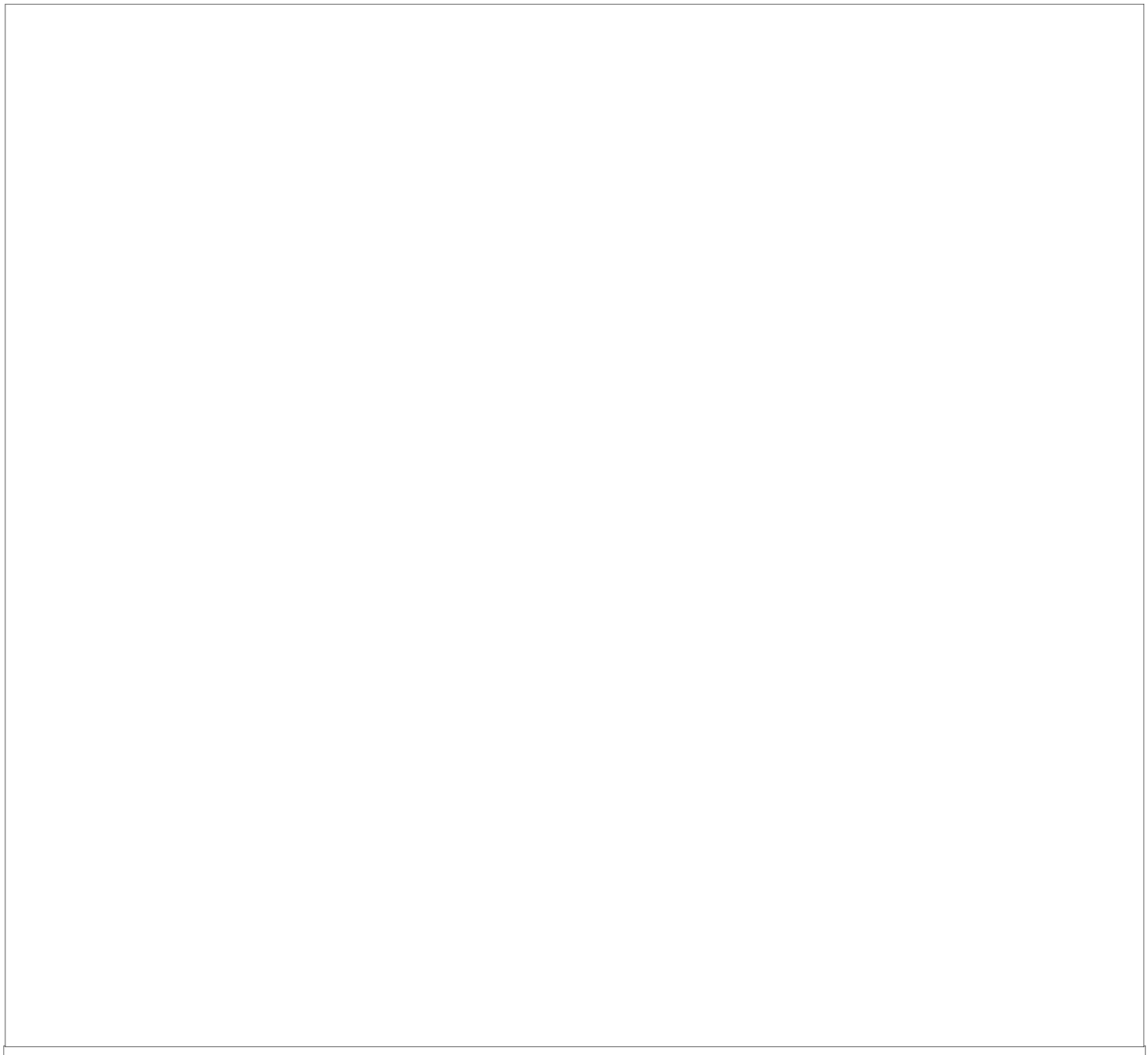
Have a safe trip back to DC!

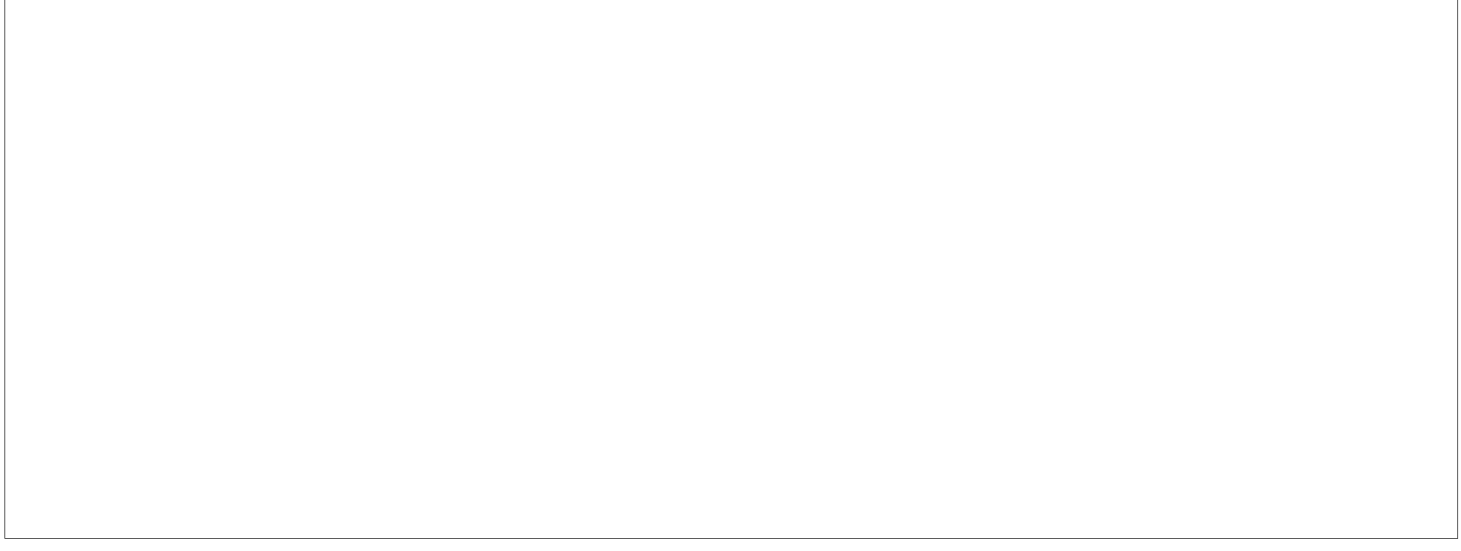
----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Cc: Huma Abedin H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> B6
Sent: Sun Jan 03 11:35:55 2010
Subject: Xmas TYs

Rob--

First, Happy New Year and thank you for all of your great work this past year. It is a treat having you on our team, and I'm looking forward to an even better 2010. Also, pls let me know if you have any ideas about how we could improve our processes and products. Thanks for everything.

B6





RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 4:59 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Tax reform essential for rescuing Pakistan's economy
**Attachments:** pakistan_tax.pdf; pakistan_tax.pdf

Fyi, in case you have not seen this. Interesting piece. I've attached a copy of the full article.

jm

**From:** Carnegie South Asia Program [mailto:claw@ceip.org]
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 4:46 PM
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Subject:** Tax reform essential for rescuing Pakistan's economy

[redacted]

CARNEGIE SOUTH ASIA PROGRAM

# Tax reform essential for rescuing Pakistan's economy

**S. Akbar Zaidi** is a visiting scholar in the Carnegie Endowment's South Asia Program. A visiting professor at Columbia University, with a joint appointment in the School of International Public Affairs and the Department of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies, his research focuses on development, governance, and political economy in South Asia.

Zaidi taught economics at the University of Karachi from 1983 to 1996 before becoming a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (1998) and later a research fellow at the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for

Unable to sustain solid growth, Pakistan's economy is teetering on the brink of collapse, with one-third of the population living below the poverty line. S. Akbar Zaidi writes in a new brief that Pakistan's economic instability stems in large part from low government revenue due to the elite's use of tax evasions, loopholes, and exemptions. Without tax reform, Pakistan will continue to run an unsustainable debt and be forced to rely on Western donors for bailouts.

the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi (2002–2003). From 2004 to 2005 he was a visiting professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and in 2008 he was a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy.

Zaidi's twelfth book, *Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan*, is to be published by Vanguard Press, Lahore in October 2010.

[redacted]

**Policy Recommendations:**

- **Eliminate exemptions.** Fewer than three million of Pakistan's 175 million citizens pay any income tax, and the country's tax-to-GDP ratio is just 9 percent. By eliminating tax exemptions for the rich, politicians can fund essential social services.
- **Increase tax revenue.** Pakistani legislators must build a consensus to tax the rich and elite if they want to match growth rates in nearby developing countries.
- **Spend more on development.** Pakistan has spent twice as much on defense during peacetime as it has on education and health combined—this needs to change.
- **Stop the bailouts.** Donor countries must put conditions on funding and should emphasize tax and economic reform to help Pakistan develop long-term economic plans for sustainable growth.

"Pakistan's lack of a proper tax and revenue regime has resulted in high rates of tax evasion, burdening the country with unsustainable debt and undermining its development priorities," writes Zaidi. "The key to the country's economic prosperity—even its survival—is a far-reaching program of tax reform."

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** More about call list

Take off--

Bendheim
Destito
Latham
Suozzi
Brian Roberts

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

POLICY
BRIEF

# Pakistan's Roller-Coaster Economy: Tax Evasion Stifles Growth

S. AKBAR ZAIDI
Visiting Scholar, South Asia Program

## SUMMARY

Over the last sixty years, Pakistan's economy has seen severe ups and downs. Once considered a model for other developing nations, Pakistan has been unable to sustain solid growth. Furthermore, a third of its population now lives below the poverty line, and its literacy rate is abysmally low.

Pakistan's economic instability stems in large part from low government revenue resulting from the elite's use of tax evasions, loopholes, and exemptions. Fewer than three million of Pakistan's 175 million citizens pay any income taxes, and the country's tax-to-GDP ratio is only 9 percent. Tax evasion means fewer resources are available for essential social services.

Pakistan spends too much on defense and too little on development: It has spent twice as much on defense during peacetime as it has on education and health combined.

The government knows how to increase its revenue through tax reform, but the rich and powerful have resisted such measures for fear of lowering their own incomes.

Without sufficient revenue the government will continue to be burdened with an unsustainable debt. It needs to end tax exemptions for the wealthy and develop broader, long-term economic plans for sustainable growth.

In the past, the United States and other Western nations have come to Pakistan's rescue by paying off debts and funding development initiatives. Pakistan's elite has no reason to support reform as long as these bailouts come with no conditions attached.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015



**ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

**S. Akbar Zaidi** *is a visiting scholar in the Carnegie Endowment's South Asia Program. Currently a visiting professor at Columbia University with a joint appointment in the School of International Public Affairs and MESAAS, the Department of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies, his research focuses on development, governance, and political economy in South Asia. Zaidi taught economics at the University of Karachi from 1983 to 1996 before becoming a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (1998) and later a research fellow at the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi (2002–2003). From 2004 to 2005 he was a visiting professor at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins, and in 2008 he was a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy. Zaidi's next book,* Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan, *is to be published by Vanguard Press, Lahore, in October 2010.*

Once heralded as a beacon for other developing countries, Pakistan's economy bears little worthy of emulation today. For years now, it has fluctuated wildly between periods of impressive growth and dismal slumps. While political competition between the military and civilian politicians has been partly responsible for this instability, Pakistan's lack of a proper tax and revenue regime has resulted in high rates of tax evasion, burdening the country with unsustainable debt and undermining its development priorities. Pakistan's politics may recently have taken a turn for the better with the strengthening of democratic institutions and the judiciary, but the key to the country's economic prosperity—even its survival—is a far-reaching program of tax reform.

## A TOPSY-TURVY PAST

On January 18, 1965 the *New York Times* wrote: "Pakistan may be on its way toward" economic success "that so far has been reached by only one other populous country, the United States." A year later the London *Times* struck a similar enthusiastic note, saying that "the survival and development of Pakistan is one of the most remarkable examples of state and nation building in the post-war period."

Forty years later, the press was offering a very different bouquet of sobriquets to describe Pakistan. International newspapers and magazines called it "the most dangerous place in the world," a "failed state," and a "rogue state with a nuclear arsenal," to name just a few. Only a few decades before, several far less developed countries, such as South Korea, Malaysia, China and India, were considered far less likely than Pakistan to survive, much less thrive. Today, all of those countries and others have surged ahead of Pakistan economically.

Pakistan didn't fall behind because it stood still; rather, its economic history spans six decades of roller coaster ups and downs. The first decade, 1947–1958, was one of "settling down," in which the new country comprising East and West Pakistan emerged from British India. The second period, 1958–1968, was marked by the rule of General Muhammad Ayub Khan and is now known as the Decade of Development for its high growth rates. Accompanying those high growth rates, however, were high income and regional inequality, which contributed to the

**Pakistan and its Neighbors**




UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

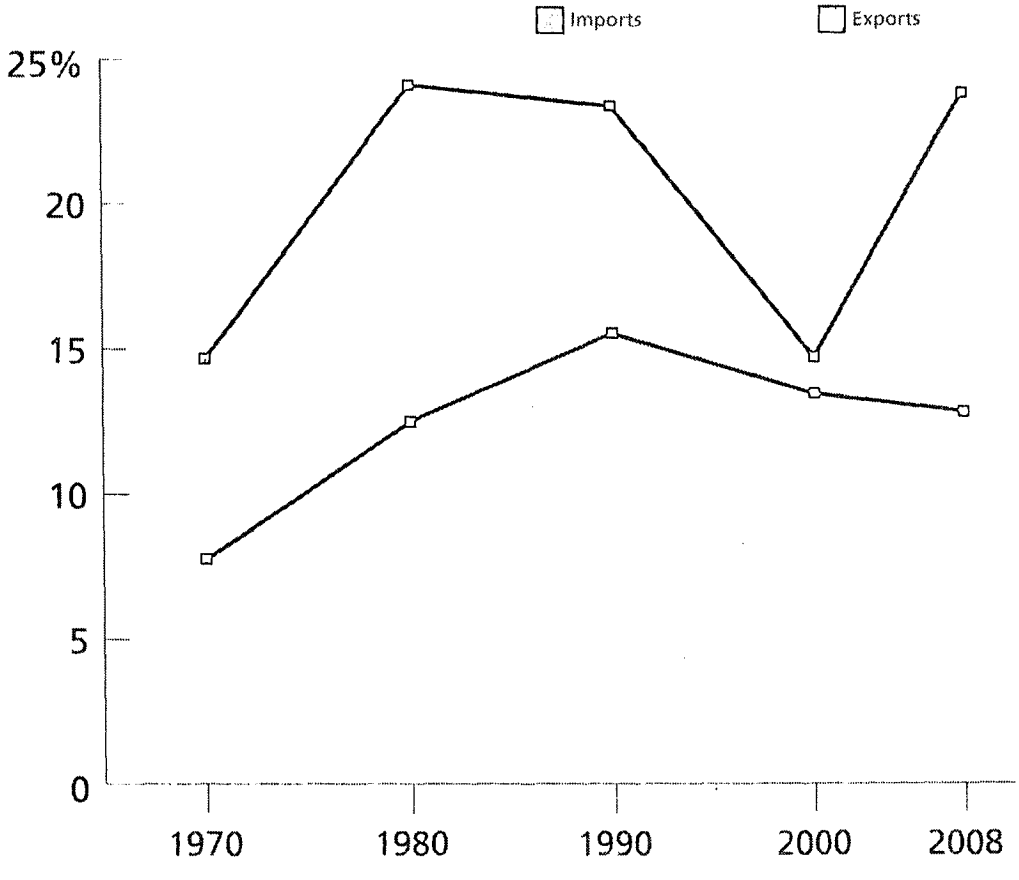


## Pakistan in Context

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 169.7 million | Aid per capita (in USD) | 14 |
| Population growth (annual) | 2.2% | Infant mortality (per 1,000 births) | 73 |
| Life expectancy (years) | 65 | GDP growth | 3.7% |
| Adult literacy, male | 68% | GDP per capita growth | 1.5% |
| Adult literacy, female | 40% | Urban population (of total population) | 36% |

Source: World Bank, 2010

## EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES (% OF GDP)




UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015



secession of East Pakistan and the war that gave birth to Bangladesh.

In 1971 a new Pakistan emerged under the government of the left-of-center Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Nationalization of private businesses and public sector–led development were the norm for the new regime. Growth was relatively low compared to the decades before and after, but adequate under the dire and constrained circumstances of the time. Following Bhutto's ouster in 1977, General Muhammad Zia ul-Haq inaugurated Pakistan's fourth "era," ruling until 1988. Zia's era saw the return of high growth rates, but it also saw the role of the military increase greatly in the economy, politics, foreign policy and in society more generally. Zia's death brought a period of active civilian politics and electioneering. "Democracy" is perhaps too generous a term for this process. There were

| | |
|---|---|
| **1947** | Pakistan becomes independent nation-state |
| **1958–1968** | Ruled by General Ayub Khan; known as the Decade of Development; high growth rates; high income and regional inequality |
| **1971** | Growth is relatively low; nationalization of private businesses under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; public sector–led development the norm |
| **1977–1988** | High growth rates under General Muhammad Zia ul Haq |
| **1988–1999** | Numerous governments; debt crisis; high dependence on international loans; economic performance nosedives |
| **1999–2008** | Pakistan ruled by its third military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf; economy grows due to debt restructuring and large doses of foreign aid and assistance following the 9/11 terrorist attacks |
| **Dec. 2007** | Assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto |
| **Feb. 2008** | Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gillani elected to head a coalition government |
| **Sept. 2008** | President Asif Ali Zardari replaces General Musharraf |
| **Nov. 2008** | IMF lends Pakistan $7.6 billion; later increases loan amount to $11.2 billion |
| **2008–2009** | Growth rate of only 1.2%; inflation rate of 21% |
| **2009–2010** | Growth rate around 4% |
| **July 2010** | Total foreign debt rose to $55 billion |

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numerous governments between 1988 and 1999, and economic performance nosedived as it never had before. From October 1999 until to 2008, Pakistan was ruled by its third military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf. Pakistan's economy grew again during this period, thanks to debt restructuring and large doses of aid and assistance. Several factors gave rise to these benevolent circumstances, the most important of which was the international political atmosphere following 9/11. Since 2008, a democratically elected coalition government has been forced to deal with the collateral damage caused by its predecessor's politics and economics.

Despite the rise-and-fall pattern of GDP growth over the last fifty years, Pakistan's economy has grown on average by more than 5 percent per year. This is no mean achievement. While many comparable countries in the region have also grown at similar or higher rates, Pakistan has the unenviable distinction of inconsistent growth. Other countries such as Malaysia, South Korea and, of course, China have all had much higher growth rates over the same period, and they generally have been able to sustain those rates over decades. India too, which had a far slower growth rate than Pakistan's from about 1947 to the 1980s, has not only improved its performance fundamentally over the last twenty years, but has also grown consistently for the past two decades, leaving Pakistan far behind. Even Bangladesh, once dismissed as a "basket case" by arrogant Pakistani economists and planners, has recently had several years of stable growth despite political uncertainty. What distinguishes Pakistan from these other countries is its inability to sustain good performance for more than five or six years. While India, China, Malaysia, Vietnam, and numerous other countries east of Pakistan have now emerged as regional and global economic and political powerhouses, Pakistan has barely stumbled along.

## EXPLAINING THE UP-AND-DOWN PATTERN

Is Pakistan and its economy forever doomed to instability and stuttering growth? Why has Pakistan's economy been so troubled? Does it have deep rooted structural features that make it peculiarly susceptible to crises?

A major explanation of Pakistan's volatile economic history is the state's poor revenue generation. Low tax revenues are in turn caused by tax evasion and a legal structure that allows for too many exemptions and loopholes. Pakistan's tax-to-GDP ratio is just 9 percent. This figure puts Pakistan in the 155th position out of 179 nations on the Heritage Foundation's Index of Economic Freedom. Only oil-rich countries that impose few taxes perform worse. Fewer than three million of Pakistan's population of 175 million pay any income tax. A huge and buoyant informal (underground) economy, estimated to be anywhere from 30 to 80 percent of the real economy, goes untaxed and unrecorded. These are the attributes of a rentier state, except that Pakistan lacks the wealth-producing oil and gas reserves normally associated with such states.

**The key to Pakistan's economic prosperity—even its survival—is a far-reaching program of tax reform.**

Clearly, tax evasion and the inability of the regime to tax the informal sector mean that it has fewer resources for education, health, infrastructure and development. A perennial debt crisis has affected Pakistan's economy largely because its expenditures, many of which are justified, are well in excess of revenue, forcing the country to go to foreign (and domestic) borrowers. This indebtedness affects issues of political economy at the domestic and international level.

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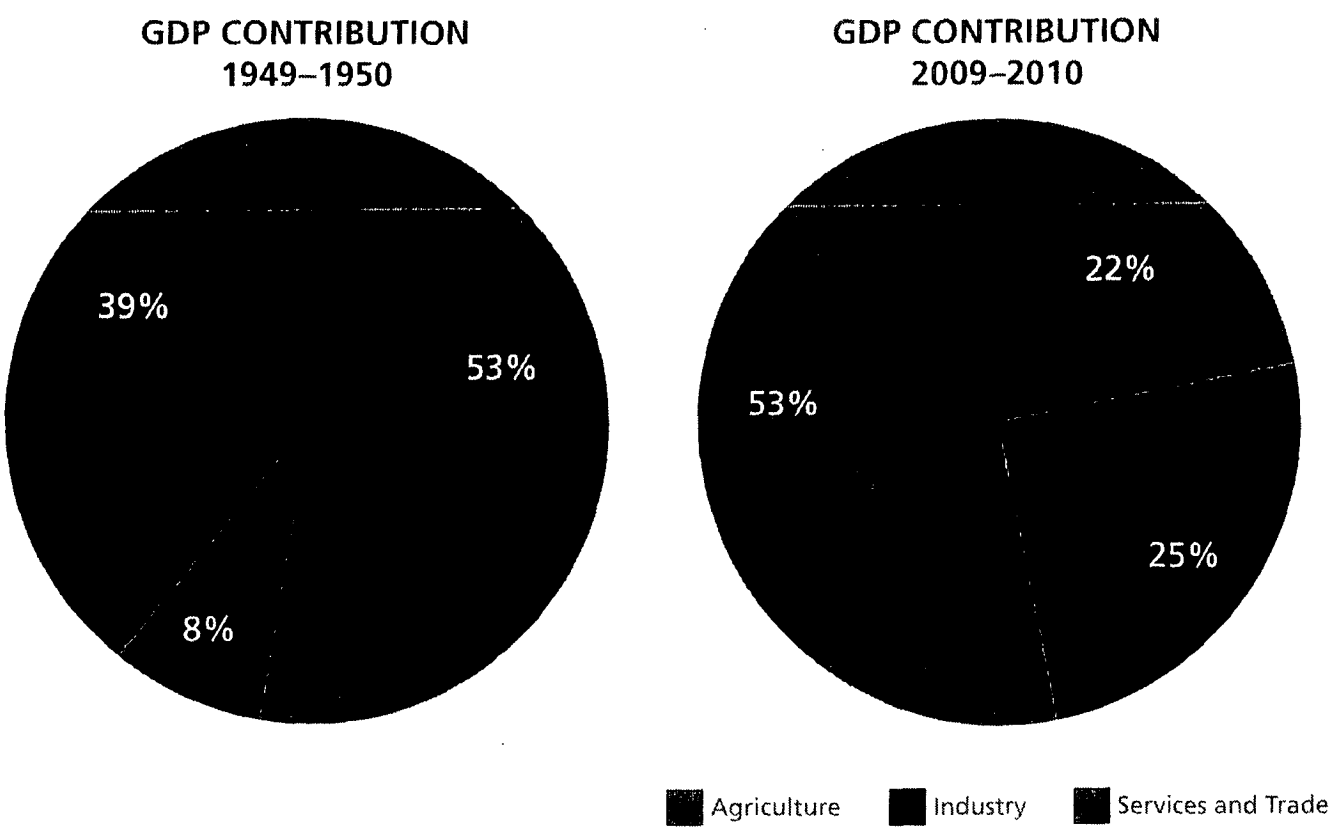
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For example, the severe debt burden had been the single most important attribute of Pakistan's economy through the 1990s. Overall outstanding debt was equal to GDP, and foreign debt servicing alone in 2001–2002 was as much as 10 percent of GDP. Excessive tax evasion was the primary cause of this.

After 9/11, however, the Musharraf regime was able to sign agreements with bilateral and multinational donors to write off or reschedule huge amounts of this debt, giving them unprecedented fiscal space. This fiscal freedom was the main reason the economy turned around so sharply. Growth rose to 7.5 percent in 2003–2004 until maxing out the following year at 9 percent, the highest level in two decades. The fiscal deficit was near its lowest level in almost two decades, remittances were at historic highs, and exports crossed the $17 billion mark for the first time and showed signs of further growth. By 2006–2007, domestic debt had fallen to 30 percent of GDP, and foreign debt servicing was less than 5 percent of GDP. The government claimed that the economy had rebounded, that there had been a "turnaround," and that good times of high growth and high human development had returned. Even the stock market soared to unprecedented levels, shattering records weekly.

Moreover, at some point between 2002 and 2004, Pakistan joined those ninety or so countries that the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) puts in the category of "Medium Human Development." From the time of the first annual HDR in 1990, Pakistan had consistently been classified as one of the forty or so countries in the "Low Human Development" category. (By comparison, both India and Bangladesh both




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moved from the low to the medium category in the late 1990s, well before Pakistan.) Many thought that, after years of being considered a "middle income country with low human development," Pakistan had at last moved into a category that better reflected its economic and social characteristics.

Following the 2002–2007 period, Pakistan seemed set on a course for sustained economic improvement. Yet despite exceptional and unanimous support from the international donor community, little political opposition at home, and uninterrupted political stability and control of government (in sharp contrast to the eleven changes of government between 1985–1999), these few years of remarkable growth quickly unraveled.

## REASONS FOR UNRAVELING GROWTH

### ABSENCE OF LONG-TERM PLANNING AND INVESTMENT

The boom of the Musharraf years unraveled so quickly because it was built on false foundations: largely, consumer-led growth and investments in the speculative sector (real estate and the stock market) fueled by remittances and foreign aid. What was missing was a longer-term strategy to guide the money being sent to Pakistan into more productive sectors. Banks awash with excess liquidity were all too eager to feed the growing middle class with cheap loans to finance their consumption. This consumer-led boom did prompt the manufacturing sector to ramp up production to meet increasing demand for cars, motorcycles and other items, but it also helped create a bubble, which eventually burst.

The budgetary maneuvering space created by aid and debt write-offs did enable the government to spend money on much needed infrastructure. The resulting new roads and communication networks helped Pakistan, although they couldn't keep up with the increase in demand. The extent of the consumer boom had caught the government off guard, leaving them unable to provide the resources that the growing middle class required. The government's inability to meet the huge spurt in demand for electric power, for example, resulted in extensive power shortages which have hurt manufacturing and industry.

**While India, China, Malaysia, Vietnam, and numerous other countries east of Pakistan have now emerged as regional and global economic and political powerhouses, Pakistan has barely stumbled along.**

### THE ROUNDABOUT OF POLITICS

The governments of Generals Ayub (1958–1968), Zia (1977–1988), and Musharraf (1999–2008) were all, by definition, authoritarian military dictatorships, though each had its own particular hue. Western powers supported all three of them, but for very different reasons. All three were relatively benign compared to the ruthless Latin American dictatorships of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. One could, moreover, say that Musharraf's rule was "softer" than the first two military dictatorships, with the former even being forced to follow the Constitution on numerous occasions. Nevertheless, the absence of political participation by the major parties marked all three regimes.

A key factor separating Pakistan's military dictatorships from those of Africa or Latin America is their relatively short life spans. None of them managed to successfully pass off the baton to a military successor. Once political pressure began to emerge, the Ayub and Musharraf regimes crumbled (Zia was killed in a plane crash) because they excluded key civilian political actors.

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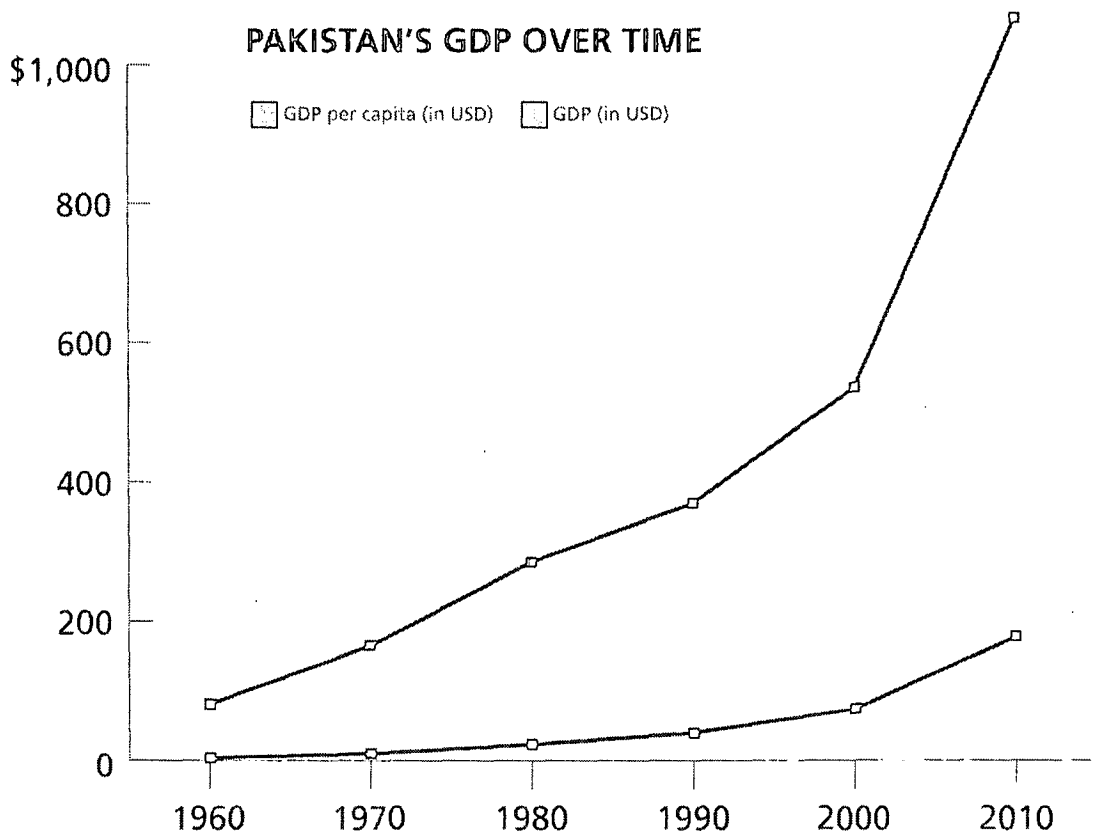


When civilians regained power, they tended to blame the military for Pakistan's problems, regardless of whether such blame was justified. The threat of yet another military coup hung over these civilian governments, weakening them and thus creating the rationale for the military to intervene. The extremely short tenures of Pakistan's elected governments left them no opportunities to craft long-term strategies.

**Pakistani policy makers and politicians need to understand that they cannot go on living on borrowed money forever.**

The experiences of Pakistan's neighbor India provide an important point of comparison here. The Indian electorate rejected the "India shining" slogans of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)–led government of 1999–2004 in favor of a Congress-led government. Yet despite the intense antagonism between the Congress Party and the BJP, the political transition was a smooth one. Of course, India is a mature democracy whereas Pakistan's has had little opportunity to grow, but the example nevertheless shows that smooth political transitions and high growth rates are not entirely foreign to the region.

Pakistan's frequent regime changes aren't the only reason that the country has never been able to engage in long-term planning. It is also possible that the system itself, regardless of whether civilians or the military are at the helm, encourages the rentier mentality. Recent events related to profiteers hoarding wheat and sugar, for example, suggest that corruption continues to enjoy support from key elements of Pakistan's society. Such systemic




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corruption severely distorts the signaling functions of markets, and thus efficient development as well.

### LOW EMPHASIS ON HUMAN CAPITAL

One of the paradoxes of Pakistan's economy is its periodic achievement of high rates of growth despite being burdened with poor social indicators. Pakistan's economic and social profile from 1993 to 2003 looked more like that of an African country, combining an abysmally low literacy rate with a skyrocketing population, poor treatment of women, and endemic poverty. Economic growth has done little to ameliorate Pakistan's social problems.

One reason why investment in human capital has been so low is that defense expenditure has been so high. In peacetime, military expenditure has exceeded 7 percent of GDP, twice the amount allocated to education and health combined. With debt service and defense taking up as much as 75 percent of the government's annual budget throughout the 1980s and 1990s, very little remained for development.

In the age of globalization, such failure to invest in human capital bodes ill for Pakistan's future. While Pakistan's neighbor India, by contrast, has successfully diversified into services such as information technology, Pakistan has failed to do so, despite sharing one of India's biggest advantages: a large English-speaking population.

One of the fundamental reasons Pakistan's elite has failed to invest in human capital is its lack of appreciation for the idea of the public good. Short-term, narrow and selfish interests, whether class-, institution- or ethnic-based, override the common good. It's hard to understand why this behavior persists, and hence even more difficult to "solve" the problems it creates, but at least recognizing it is the first step toward a solution.

### TAX EVASION—THE CORE ISSUE?

There are at least two sides to Pakistan's overinvestment in defense (and thus its underinvestment in development). On the demand side, defense overinvestment derives from the perception that "national insecurity" is a defining feature of the Pakistani state. This is both a cause and an effect of the military's dominance of the country's political economy. But there is a supply side to this issue, too. Essentially, if government revenues were higher, Pakistan might be able to fund both defense and development at a level more conducive to national well-being. The question remains: Why aren't government revenues higher?

**Pakistan's lack of a proper tax and revenue regime has resulted in high rates of tax evasion, burdening the country with unsustainable debt and undermining its development priorities.**

The main culprit is tax evasion. Pakistan's tax evasion problem is caused by three things: poor legal frameworks and bureaucratic capabilities with regard to revenue extraction; corruption in the form of a predatory class that privileges certain sectors and vested interests with unjustified tax "exemptions"; and elites who cut deals with the state to avoid taxation, made possible by an anemic agriculture income tax (agriculture makes up 22 percent of Pakistan's GDP, but only 1 percent of its tax revenue). Research suggests that with a more extensive, transparent, progressive and equitable tax structure, government revenue could easily double, thus closing the huge gap between defense and development expenditures.

The fact that Pakistan—the world's 26th richest country in purchasing power parity—

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does so poorly when it comes to revenue generation suggests that deep structural factors are at work. A small elite comprised of the military, land owners, and the rising urban upper and middle classes, is loath to give up any of its wealth (some of which is illegally accumulated). Even the apparently forward-looking, enlightened, and modernist military regime headed by General Pervez Musharraf failed to restructure Pakistan's tax regime, and backed down in the face of a massive popular revolt to his proposal to register traders and shop owners. It's unlikely that an elected government will do any better. Given their typically short political tenures, elected governments are too fearful of daggers in the night to propose bold, politically unpopular solutions. And despite their loud protestations to the contrary, opposition parties would be no more likely to champion reform if they came into power.

**Pakistan spends too much on defense and too little on development: It has spent twice as much on defense during peacetime as it has on education and health combined.**

Thus it isn't that the military and civilian elite of Pakistan don't know how to fix the problem; it's that their short-sightedness and penchant for self-preservation make them not want to. Their certain knowledge that "the West will never let Pakistan fail" also gives the elite tremendous confidence in the status quo.

## CONCLUSIONS

Is there anything that can be done? Is Pakistan's economy fated to hover perpetually near the edge of crisis? Perhaps not. Some positive trends suggest that some of Pakistan's liabilities may be receding. One must keep in mind, of course, that predicting Pakistan's economic and political future is a game whose rules are extremely uncertain.

Despite the uncertainties, two observations about the post-Musharraf period stand out. First, while Pakistan's economic growth rate dipped considerably in 2008–2009 to 1.2 percent, it rebounded to about 4 percent the following year. This figure, although still low compared to earlier years, is respectable in a time of increasing internal terrorism and global slowdown, and it suggests that even in difficult times, economic growth is possible in Pakistan. It may also suggest that the underlying structures in the economy have shifted much as they did two decades ago. In sharp contrast to its dismal performance in the 1990s and the period after Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998, Pakistan's economy may have ascended to a higher, more stable plane. If Pakistan can perform so well when the rest of the world is reeling from a global recession, then a more forceful economic policy might produce truly exceptional results.

The second observation concerns the maturing of the political process, which suggests the possibility of greater continuity, a key requirement for economic stability. Despite numerous attacks, challenges and tensions from within, Pakistan's democracy has managed to weather the past two-and-a-half years fairly comfortably—so far. An assertive judiciary, a supportive civilian opposition and a reticent, contemplative military have all helped to strengthen and deepen the political process of democracy.

Ever mindful of uncertainties, and keeping these two observations in mind, it is clear that the government will have to make several

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decisions to break out of the high-low cycle and place the economy on a more stable footing. First, it must undertake a comprehensive revision of the tax regime if it is ever to seriously tackle development, particularly in the social sectors. This can only happen if there is a political consensus to tax the rich. Given that many of the rich are elected policy makers, this means that the elite will have to look past their strong, vested interests in the status quo. Forging such a consensus will require not just technocratic innovations but political settlements in which members of the civilian, political and military elites come to some form of agreement on a long-term strategy for Pakistan's political and economic future. The international community has a role to play, too. Multilateral agencies, the United States, and other countries must carefully reconsider their aid and loan packages to avoid creating a moral hazard. If large amounts of foreign assistance are always at hand when Pakistan nears a crisis, then Pakistan's elite will have no incentive to look past the short term.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Pakistani policy makers and politicians need to understand that they cannot go on living on borrowed money forever. They must build a partisan consensus to tax the rich and the elite (mostly themselves) if they wish to bring Pakistan up to speed with other developing countries in the region.
- They must eliminate unjustifiable tax exemptions and preferences given to sectors or individuals, and institute in its place a broader policy that taxes earnings and wealth, not activities.
- Pakistan must improve documentation of the economy in order to better estimate taxable income and increase government revenue.
- Pakistan's leadership needs to rise above party politics and, with the advice and consent of a supportive opposition, implement a broader economic framework.
- Donor countries need to recognize that they have bailed out Pakistan too often. They should instead pursue a "do more" approach, emphasizing tax and economic policies that can harness Pakistan's huge underreported revenue potential. □

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## FURTHER READING

Visit **www.CarnegieEndowment.org/pubs** for these and other publications.

**Issues in Pakistan's Economy**, S. Akbar Zaidi (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

**The Political Economy of Military Rule in Pakistan: The Musharraf Years**, S. Akbar Zaidi, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, Working Paper no. 31, January 2008.

**Pakistan's Economy at the Crossroads: Past Policies and Present Imperatives**, Parvez Hasan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

**Final Report of the Panel of Economists, Medium-Term Development Imperatives and Strategy for Pakistan**, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, April 2010.

**Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan,** S. Akbar Zaidi (Lahore: Vanguard Press, 2010).

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# PAKISTAN'S ROLLER COASTER ECONOMY: TAX EVASION STIFLES GROWTH

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773013 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** pverveer
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 11:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: for Hillary

from your friend, DVF

-----Original Message-----
From: DVF
To: pverveer
Sent: Fri, Nov 12, 2010 1:29 am
Subject: for Hillary

*Dearest Madame Secretary,*
*I am in Abu Dhabi, watching you on television with Prime Minister Natanyaou. You are looking so well ! You are more and more impressive…I am so proud of you !*
*We are planning our Women of the World Conference again for next March. On Saturday night, March 12th, I will be having the 2nd DVF Award at a dinner at the UN. 2 of the recipients will be women from Vital Voices, one will be voted by people on line and the fourth one is the special one give to formidable example of courage and leadership. Last year it was given to Ingrid Betancourt by Meryll Streep.*
*More than anything, I would love if you would be willing to accept that award. YOU are such an example of strength. leadership and spirit to all of us women.*
*Am I dreaming or would you be willing to accept it ?*
*Lots of love*
*Diane*

Diane von Furstenberg
DVF Studio L.P.
440 West 14th Street
New York, NY 10014
Tel: 212-741-6607

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** H; Fuchs, Michael H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** RE: Cookstoves

We spoke to the Norway's Ambassador to the UN and they are joining the Alliance for Clean Cookstoves for $600,000 the first year. They noted that this is a down payment and would contribute a "substantial amount for this endeavor" in the future. They wanted to move quickly for the CGI announcement and ant to see a business plan before they commit more.

Thnx for making this important call. Other countries including France and Finland were waiting for the Norway signal.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 12, 2010 7:49 AM
To: Balderston, Kris M; Fuchs, Michael H
Subject: Cookstoves

The Norwegian FM told me Norway would join the Alliance and we should coordinate w his UN Rep. Will you pls follow up? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 2:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Jordan 123

Yes.

On Thu, Sep 16, 2010 at 8:02 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Can you find out what the status is of Jim S's efforts on this? You may not be able to do so before my mtg w the King. But I need to know what to say to him and in the press statement about it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Happy New Year and onto 2010!

Rich---Thanks for all you did to make the past year a successful one, I hope you and your family will have a happy and healthy new year. I'm looking forward to 2010!

Here's some questions and I'm copying Jake so he can help w the followup--

Right before I left, Kirsten Gillibrand called to discuss her cybersecurity bill. She wants to draft it so it favors State. I told her we would connect her up w the right person who would call her to discuss in the new year. Who should that be in your shop or elsewhere? Pls let me know so I can call and tell her.

When I was in Kabul, the Aga Khan told me he had given a "roadmap" to stability in Afghanistan and wanted me to see it. That's all I know; can you track it down?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Happy New Year!

Monica--I hope you had a wonderful holiday season and thank you for all of your help this past year. You've been a life saver. I'm looking forward to 2010 being even better.

Here are a few things as we start the year--

I'd like to work w you to prepare a menu for Jason. Also does he give me a monthly bill for the food he buys and prepares for me?
Could you or he buy skim milk for me to have for my tea? Also, pls remind me to bring more tea cups from home.

Also, pls try to get me a copy of the Human Rights Watch report titled "We Have the Promises of the World: Women's Rights in Afghanistan."

Can you give me times for two TV shows: Parks and Recreation and The Good Wife?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 8:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** fyi, more later on campaign... Sid

The Daily Mail

# Catty Carla Bruni lifts lid on Michelle Obama's 'hellish' job

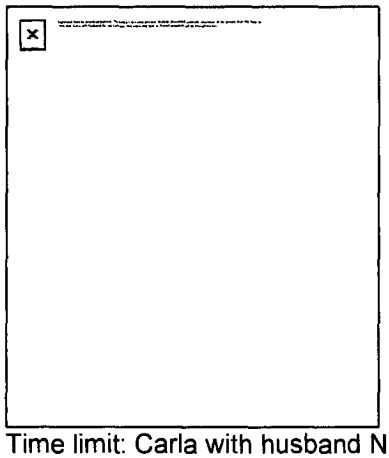
By Peter Allen and Michael Seamark
Last updated at 1:26 AM on 16th September 2010
Michelle Obama thinks being America's First Lady is 'hell', Carla Bruni reveals today in a wildly indiscreet new book.
Miss Bruni reveals that Mrs Obama replied when asked about her position as the U.S. president's wife: 'Don't ask! It's hell. I can't stand it!'
Details of the private conversation, which took place at the White House during an official visit by Nicolas Sarkozy last March, emerged in Carla And The Ambitious, a book written in collaboration with Miss Bruni.

No secrets: Michelle Obama, left, and Carla Bruni last year. Bruni made the revelations about the U.S. First Lady's feelings in a wildly indiscreet new book
In it, she says one term as French president 'will be enough' for her husband and suggests he might take tips from his friend Tony Blair: 'Why not start making money?'

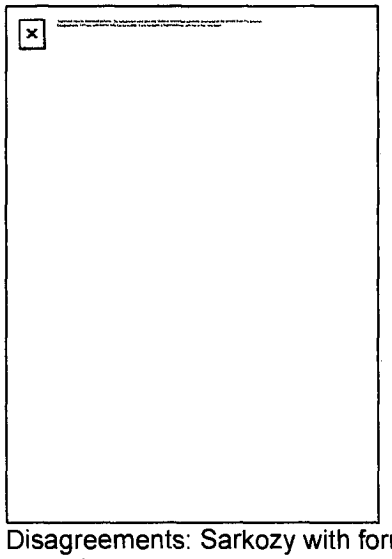
## More...

- France hits back at EU after accusations Sarkozy government acted 'like Nazis' in treatment of Roma

According to a friend quoted in the book, the Sarkozys have been 'impressed and inspired' by Mr Blair's fortune built up since he left Downing Street.
Miss Bruni also takes a thinly veiled swipe at Princess Diana when talking about a visit to an African hospital full of Aids victims earlier this year.
She says she refused requests by French cameramen for a photograph of her carrying a baby in her arms 'like Lady Di', adding: 'There's something obscene in promoting yourself when you are giving of yourself.'



Time limit: Carla with husband Nicolas Sarkozy. She claims one term as French president will be enough for him



Disagreements: Sarkozy with former wife Cecilia in 2006. Carla recounts a telephone row with her in her new book

In the book, the Italian model 42, accuses French government officials of trying to 'kill' her husband with too much work, and claims Mr Sarkozy lets himself be 'bullied' into complying.

Comparing herself to other leaders' wives, Miss Bruni says: 'I'm so different. I was a model. I sing, and I want to continue to sing. And on top of that you expect me to be subtle?' And she admits: 'I am a femme fatale, my dear.'

She also recounts a telephone row with Mr Sarkozy's ex-wife Cecilia, who warned her that Mr Sarkozy had 'not yet turned a new page' after their marriage.

Miss Bruni replied: 'Not only has he turned a page but he's changed books altogether. And you are the only person on earth not to have noticed it.'

Read more: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/worldnews/article-1312462/Michelle-Obama-thinks-First-Lady-hell-says-Carla-Bruni.html#ixzz0zf4aSfQi

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 3, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Schedule

There will be an inauguration in Uruguay in Feb or March. Pls find out exact date.

Also I told FM Sikorsky I would attend Community of Democracies mtg in Poland this summer. He said we could pick date. Do you have any more info?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, September 17, 2010 10:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** max's new preface. sid

http://www.opendemocracy.net/max-blumenthal/days-of-rage-tea-party-and-american-conservatism

# Days of rage: the Tea Party & America's right

Max Blumenthal begin_of_the_skype_highlighting end_of_the_skype_highlighting, 17 September 2010

About the author
Max Blumenthal begin_of_the_skype_highlighting end_of_the_skype_highlighting is a journalist whose work is published in the *New York Times*, the *Daily Beast*, the *Nation*, the *Huffington Post*, *Salon*, and other publications. He is author of *Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement that Shattered the Party* (Basic/Nation Books, 2009). His website is here

**Subjects:**

- Democracy and government
- International politics
- United States
- democracy & power
- american power & the world
- rise of the new right

*The rise of the Tea Party movement in the United States in the first twenty months of Barack Obama's presidency is shaking the political establishment, a trend reinforced by the victories of its candidates in Republican Party primaries. But where has the movement come from, and what is its inner life? Max Blumenthal begin_of_the_skype_highlighting end_of_the_skype_highlighting, author of "Republican Gomorrah", enters the heady world of the Tea Party to unravel the mix of driven personalities, feverish rhetoric, toxic hatreds, and flirtation with violence that fuel its sub-culture's insurgent activism.*

"He will tell you that he wants a strong authority to take from him the crushing responsibility of thinking for himself. Since the Republic is weak, he is led to break the law out of love for obedience. But is it really strong authority that he wishes? In reality he demands rigorous order for others, and for himself disorder without responsibility" - Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*

I am not sure when I first detected the noxious fumes that would envelop the conservative movement in the Barack Obama era. It might have been in April 2009, when I visited a series of gun shows in rural California and Nevada. Perusing tables piled high with high-calibre semi-automatic weapons and chatting with anyone in my vicinity, I heard urgent warnings of mass roundups, concentration-camps, and a socialist government in Washington. "These people that are purchasing these guns are people that are worried about what's going on in this country", a gun dealer told me outside a show in Reno. "Good luck Obama", a young gun enthusiast remarked to me. "We outnumber him 100 to 1." At this time, the Tea Party movement had not even registered on the national media's radar.

In September 2009, I led a panel discussion at the University of California-Riverside about my book *Republic Gomorrah* (Basic/Nation Books, 2009). Inside an auditorium filled with nearly 100 students and faculty, I sat alongside Jonathan Walton, an African-American professor of religious studies and prolific writer, and Mark Takano, an erudite, openly gay

former Democratic congressional candidate and local community-college trustee. In the middle of our discussion, a dozen college Republicans stormed the front of the stage with signs denouncing me as a "left-wing hack" while a hysterical young man leaped from the crowd, blowing kisses mockingly at Takano while heckling Walton as a "racist". Afterward, university police-officers insisted on escorting me to my ride after the right-wing heckler attempted to follow me as he shouted threats.

Who was this stalker? Just a concerned citizen worried about taxes? His name was Ryan Sorba and he was an operative of a heavily funded national conservative youth outfit, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Besides founding dozens of Republican youth groups across the country, Sorba has devoted an exceptional amount of energy to his interest in homosexuals. His intellectual output consists of a tract titled The Born Gay Hoax, arguing that homosexuality is at once a curable disease and a bogus trend manufactured by academic leftists. Adding to his credentials, Sorba has a history of run-ins with the law, he explained when I called him about the order.

My encounter with this aggressive right-wing cadre seemed a strange, isolated event. But the hostility turned out to be symptomatic of the intensifying campaign to delegitimise President Obama and his allies in Congress. The right's days of rage were only beginning.

**The constellation**

Through his first year in office, Obama seemed oblivious to the threat of the far right. He campaigned against partisanship, declaring that there were "no red states" and no "conservative America". Apparently, he thought it was merely a contrivance or myth that there were people who rejected science, demonised gays, assailed minority and women's rights - not that they genuinely believed in what they said. Speaking of changing Washington, Obama seemed to think that the entire history of politics since the rise of Ronald Reagan and the right and their strategies of polarisation was not deeply rooted but a superficial problem attributable to certain "divisive" personalities, easily wiped away with gestures toward bipartisanship. His view of the parties was that they were simply mirror images sharing fundamental beliefs but separated by "partisans". The skilled and devoted community organiser could bring them together.

Many of his supporters in the media, often partisans of political wars over the years, reinforced and amplified his innocence, proclaiming he was the one at last who could "bridge the partisan divide". Andrew Sullivan, a disaffected conservative who once called critics of George W Bush policies "fifth columnists" but now fervently supported Obama, wrote that the new president was destined to become "a liberal Reagan who can reunite America". This optimism pervaded the White House as the new president and his aides sought out Republicans willing to vote for his programmes. After all, why couldn't we all just get along?

In his autobiographical book *The Audacity of Hope*, Obama highlighted a key component of his political strategy: "I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes project their own views." Once he was elected, conservatives concluded that they could reverse Obama's strength by transforming him into a human tableau for the most fearsome images they could conjure (see "Barack Obama, the fallen messiah", 23 December 2009).

Obama's multiracial background was crucial in cultivating resentment among the shock-troops. Those who rejected Obama's legitimacy to serve as president on the basis of his background gave birth to the "Birther" movement that sought to challenge his citizenship. The movement's most visible figure, and therefore the most eccentric, was Orly Taitz, a dentist and self-trained lawyer who had immigrated from the former Soviet republican of Moldova to Israel before settling in the conservative bastion of Orange County, California. Convinced by claims on the far-right website WorldNetDaily that Obama planned to create a "civilian national security force", Taitz told me she "realised that Obama was another Stalin - it's a cross between Stalinist USSR and Hitler's Germany."

After becoming transfixed by online conspiracy theories claiming Obama's family had forged his birth-certificate in Hawaii, Taitz snapped into action. She filed a lawsuit in November 2008 with California's secretary of state Debra Bowen demanding an investigation into Obama's eligibility to serve as president. Taitz's plaintiff in the case was Wiley Drake, an Orange County radio-preacher and former second vice-president of the Southern Baptist Convention who once publicly prayed for Obama's death. While her lawsuit went nowhere, and subsequent suits earned her angry rebukes from judges, Taitz became an instant media sensation, delivering heavily accented screeds against Obama before friendly interviewers from Sean Hannity to CNN's Lou Dobbs (the latter, described by Taitz as her "greatest supporter", was eventually fired as an indirect result of his hosting of her).

In March 2009, the Texas Representative Randy Neugebauer signed on to a Birther bill proposing that future presidential candidates must prove their citizenship before becoming eligible to campaign. The Birther movement had found its voice in government and made an indelible impact on the Republican grassroots. By June 2009, 28% of Republican respondents to a Kos/Research 2000 poll said they thought Obama wasn't born in the United States, while 30% "weren't sure". "Obama should be in the Big House", Taitz shrieked to me, "not the White House!"

When Obama announced healthcare reform as the first major initiative of his administration, the conservative movement activated a campaign of demonisation - transformational politics - designed to turn Obama into the "Other", making him seem as unfamiliar, and therefore as threatening, as possible. When the president urged the Congress to deliver a healthcare-reform bill in 2009, the right staged a living theatre of political hatred which turned Obama's dream of bipartisanship into a nightmarish version of Peter Weiss's *Marat/Sade*. On 12 September 2009, tens of thousands of far-right activists belonging to a loose confederation of anti-government groups called the Tea Party Patriots converged on Washington's National Mall for a giant protest against the Obama healthcare plan. The date was significant: Fox News's top-ranked talk-show host Glenn Beck had declared the birth of the "9-12 Project" to restore the sense of unity (and siege mentality) that Americans experienced on 11 September 2001. But this time, Obama - not Osama - was the enemy.

While covering the rally, I witnessed sign after sign declaring Obama a greater danger to America's security than al-Qaida; demonstrators held images that juxtaposed Obama's face with images of evildoers from Hitler to Pol Pot to Bin Laden; others carried signs questioning Obama's status as a United States citizen. "We can fight al-Qaida, we can't kill Obama", said an aging demonstrator. Another told me, "Obama is the biggest Nazi in the world", pointing to placards he had fashioned depicting Obama and House of Representatives' majority leader Nancy Pelosi in SS outfits. According to another activist, Obama's agenda was similar to Hitler's: "Hitler took over the banking industry, did he not? And Hitler had his own personal secret service police. [The community-organising group] Acorn is an extension of that."

The seemingly incongruous Tea Party propaganda recalled signs waved by right-wing Jewish settlers during rallies against Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and his support of the peace process, portraying him as an SS officer and as the French collaborator Marshall Pétain. In 1995, amid this provocative atmosphere, a young right-wing Jewish zealot assassinated Rabin. The Israeli tragedy was a cautionary example of targeted hatred leading to violence.

Members of the Tea Party "Patriots" did not seem to care that their rhetoric was irrational, or that comparing Obama to Hitler and Stalin was contradictory and obviously hyperbolic. Their motives were entirely negative. By purging government of the multicultural evil that had seized power through illicit means (several activists told me they believed Acorn helped Obama steal the election), they were convinced that a mythical golden American yesteryear would return. They had no interest in building anything new or even articulating an agenda, much less discussing the merits of policies. The Tea Party's primary concern was cultural purification - freedom from, not freedom to. Against the dark image of the president and his liberal allies, Tea Party activists defined themselves as the children of light. The racial subtext was always transparent.

The Tea Party's strategy rested on a guerrilla campaign of chaos and sabotage designed not only to intimidate Democrats but also to disorient independent voters who might have supported healthcare reform. The Tea Partiers were convinced this would be an easy feat, since they believed the majority of the country was on their side - that they represented the "real America". At the 9-12 rally Matt Kibbe, one of the march organisers, told the crowd that ABC News was reporting that 1 million to 1.5 million people were in attendance; ABC denied this, saying "ABCNews.com reported an approximate figure of 60,000 to 70,000 protesters." Then one Dick Armey led the crowd in a chant of "Freedom works! Freedom works!" Unknown to most of the Tea Partiers, they were intoning the name of a corporate-funded Beltway advocacy-group, not the battle-cry of Mel Gibson's version of William Wallace in *Braveheart*.

Indeed, contrary to its image as a grassroots movement mobilised to stifle the machinations of Washington elites, the Tea Party movement was the creation of a constellation of industry-funded conservative groups with close Republican ties. The movement's leading puppet-master was the same Dick Armey, who directed resources and talking-points to the Tea Party "Patriots" from his Washington-based advocacy group, FreedomWorks. Among the corporate clients of Armey's lobbying firm, which he was forced to leave as a result of his involvement in the Tea Parties, was the pharmaceutical giant Bristol Myers Squibb, a company with a clear interest in defeating healthcare reform. (Armey's other "real American" clients included the Marxist terror-cult, the People's Mojahedin of Iran, which received funding and assistance from Saddam Hussein in order to launch terrorist strikes throughout the 1990s against Iranian civilian targets.) Armey collected a consulting fee of $250,000 directly from FreedomWorks and $300,000 from allied astroturf front groups. FreedomWorks paid out much of its money to an assortment of Republican political consultants.

**The rumour**

If Dick Armey was the Tea Party king, Sarah Palin was eager to be crowned the Tea Party queen. Just days after Obama's inauguration, Palin abruptly quit her job as Alaskan governor to vie for the honour. Palin's motives for quitting became clear when she inked a lucrative deal to write her political memoir *Going Rogue*, signed on as a regular contributor to Fox News, and received $1 million an episode for a reality-show on cable television, "Sarah Palin's Alaska". Palin's book-tour, which sent her through Middle America in a luxuriously outfitted bus, resembled both a presidential campaign and a travelling carnival.

Whether or not Palin intends to run for president, her growing media presence has magnified her influence within the Republican Party. Yet the ever-expanding Palin phenomenon was greeted with hostility by Republican politicos desperately seeking to expand the party's base after the drubbing in 2008. Steve Schmidt, formerly John McCain's campaign manager in the doomed presidential campaign of 2008, warned that Palin's nomination in 2012 would be "catastrophic" for the GOP. His doomsday prediction was backed by an Gallup poll in October 2009 revealing her as one of the most polarising and unpopular political figures in the country with a disapproval rating of over 50%. Unfortunately for Schmidt and other party pragmatists, those who approve of Palin represent the heartbeat of the Republican Party, its most fervent activists, and cannot be dissuaded from following her, even if she is leading the party off a cliff.

A special congressional election in New York's heavily Republican 23rd district in November 2009 was the first major test of Palin's power. Along with a parade of nationally recognised conservatives, Palin endorsed Doug Hoffman, an unknown far-right third-party candidate closely allied with the Tea Party - in the process helping to force a popular moderate Republican politician, Dede Scozzafava, from the race. In the end, Palin's ideological purge in upstate New York led to an improbable Democratic victory, the first in that district in more than 100 years. After the disaster Palin and her allies claimed victory, insisting they had at least hastened the purge of ideologically impure Republicans from the party. She went on to endorse Rand Paul, the son of right-wing libertarian Representative Ron Paul and a candidate in Kentucky's GOP senatorial primary; meanwhile George W Bush's vice-president Dick Cheney went out of his way to endorse Rand's regular Republican opponent, Trey Grayson, the Kentucky secretary of state.

The self-described "hardcore pro-lifer" Palin followed the Tea Party script of avoiding social issues like abortion and gay marriage in order to obscure the large presence of the Christian right within the movement's ranks, recasting herself accordingly as a libertarian concerned primarily with issues of "economic freedom". She claimed the Democratic "cap-and-trade" plan to limit carbon-emissions would harm the livelihood of blue-collar workers, and she assailed healthcare reform as a Trojan horse for "socialism" (though she admitted her family "used to hustle over the border" to take advantage of Canada's single-payer healthcare system). But no Palin attack had as much effect as the one she blasted out on her Facebook page claiming the Obama healthcare plan included a provision for "death panels" that would recommend euthanasia for severely ill patients like her Down syndrome-afflicted son, Trig. With the click of a button, Palin transformed the tone of the healthcare debate from rancorous to poisonous.

The source of Palin's "death panels" smear was a practiced propagandist, former New York's lieutenant governor Betsy McCaughey. When Bill Clinton introduced healthcare reform during his first term as president, McCaughey falsely claimed in an article published in the New Republic that the plan would force consumers to drop their private plans and buy into the government's programme (the article, widely circulated by Republicans, would go on to win a National Magazine Award, only to be retracted years later by the New Republic's editors). Now she was back in the spotlight, pushing a rumour that would be voted by the non-partisan fact-checking website Politifact.com as "the lie of 2009". McCaughey's latest innuendo was boosted by the cult of political crank Lyndon LaRouche, which mobilised to push the rumour into the mainstream.

In June 2009, one of LaRouche's top lieutenants publicly confronted Ezekiel Emanuel, the National Institute of Health's chief bioethicist and brother of White House chief of staff Rahm Emanuel, accusing him of seeking to reintroduce Hitler's T-4 programme to kill the handicapped through healthcare reform. "President Obama has put in place a reform apparatus reviving the euthanasia of Hitler Germany in 1939, that began the genocide there", LaRouche staffer Anton Chaitkin charged. Soon, LaRouche's followers were on street corners around the country with posters depicting Obama with a Hitler moustache. At a townhall forum on healthcare reform hosted by Barney Frank, a Democratic Representative, a LaRouche follower waved one of the Obama-as-Hitler posters and demanded: "Why do you continue to support a Nazi policy, as Obama has expressly supported this policy?"

Two months later, after Palin whispered the rumour on Facebook, prominent conservatives from former House speaker Newt Gingrich to ranking Senate finance-committee member Charles Grassley, parroted her claims before audiences of indignant Tea Partiers. Not to be outdone, Glenn Beck devoted an extended rant on his show to the reality of death panels. Beck, echoing the LaRouche cultists, accused Ezekiel Emanuel of "the devaluing of human life, putting a price on each individual." He thundered, "The death panel is not a firing-squad. Rationing is inevitable and they know it!"

The death-panel rumour served a variety of functions, all useful to the movement, but not necessarily to the Republican Party. Most importantly, the rumour resonated both with hard-core libertarians who resented the very existence of the federal government and Christian right activists who viewed the legalisation of abortion as a slippery-slope to government-sponsored euthanasia. The hysteria it engendered helped repair the rift exposed by the Terri Schiavo charade in 2005, when the evangelical conservative James Dobson publicly clashed with Armey, the libertarian leader, over the right of the government to interfere in a private family matter of life and death.

**The enemy**

The slurring of Obama as a sort of sleeper-agent crypto-Muslim helped bring the neo-conservatives back into the fray. The new neocon generation was led by Dick Cheney's daughter, Liz, who founded an anti-Obama advocacy group, Keep America Safe, by leveraging donations from pro-Israel sources. Asked by CNN's Larry King about the Birther movement that was challenging Obama's status as an American citizen, Liz Cheney remarked: "One of the reasons you see people so concerned about this is people are uncomfortable with having for the first time ever, I think, a president who seems so reluctant to defend the nation overseas." With the libertarians, Christian right, and the neocons seated around the same table, united in resentment of the alien president, the conservative movement was whole again.

The experiments in "terror-management theory" developed by three professors of psychology (Sheldon Solomon of Skidmore College, Jeff Greenberg of the University of Arizona, and Tom Pyszczynski of the University of Colorado) have demonstrated the connection between fear of death and intensification of conservative attitudes. The findings help explain the effectiveness of the death-panel rumour and insinuations by conservative figures that Obama was not truly American and somehow sympathetic to Islamic terrorists. Indeed, these seemingly irrational smears were guided by tactical reasoning, calculated to agitate voters with constant reminders of their own mortality. Whether or not independent voters responded, the rhetoric of death kept the Tea Party crowd in a persistent state of panic and rage, ensuring a standing army ready to fan out to rallies and town halls at the first sign of liberal malfeasance.

Obama's first year in office was marked by more than raucous protests; there were several disturbing murders committed by far-right extremists. In April 2009, a 22-year-old neo-Nazi wannabe named Richard Poplawsi mowed down a Swat team of Pittsburgh cops, killing three. Poplawski's best friend told reporters the young killer "grew angry recently over fears Obama would outlaw guns." Later it was discovered that Poplawski had posted a video-clip to a neo-Nazi website portraying Fox's Glenn Beck contemplating the existence of concentration-camps. (After a characteristically thorough investigation, Beck conceded they were not real.) On another occasion, the killer posted a video promoting Tea Party rallies. A month after the Pittsburgh bloodbath, Scott Roeder, a supporter of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, shot Dr George Tiller to death while he prayed at his church in Wichita, Kansas. Tiller was declared fair game by the anti-abortion movement because of his role as Kansas's only late-term abortion provider. During at least twenty-eight episodes of Bill O'Reilly's "O'Reilly Factor," O'Reilly had referred to Tiller as "Tiller the baby killer", a criminal guilty of "Nazi stuff." "I wouldn't want to be [Tiller] if there is a Judgment Day", O'Reilly proclaimed.

In August 2009, a middle-aged professional named George Sodini walked into a health club in suburban Pittsburgh and gunned down three women. The major media outlets explained Sodini's motives away by homing in on passages in his online diaries describing his loneliness, inability to convince women to have sex with him, and descent into chronic masturbation. Nearly every publication omitted or ignored a long deranged entry in which Sodini projected his sexual frustration onto Obama, whom he seemed to view as a symbol of black male virility and predation.

The day after Obama's election victory, Sodini wrote: "Good luck to Obama! He will be successful. The liberal media LOVES him. Amerika has chosen The Black Man. Good! In light of this I got ideas outside of Obama's plans for the economy and such. Here it is: Every black man should get a young white girl ... Kinda a reverse indentured servitude thing. Every daddy know when he sends his little girl to college, she be ... real good. I saw it. 'Not my little girl', daddy says! (Yeah right!!) Black dudes have thier [sic] choice of best white?? [ellipses in original]."

In another posting to an anti-Clinton forum in 1994, during the height of the Republicans' Whitewater investigation, Sodini revealed that he had purchased a bumper-sticker reading, "Stop Socialism, Impeach Clinton," from a *National Review* ad. A year later, Sodini ranted on an anti-government militia site: "I am convinced that more drastic action is required to bring the country back to the Constitutional order that it was 200 years ago. I don't think any group of political leaders will achieve this for us." Whether or not Sodini's murder-spree was motivated by his political passions, he was pathologically death-driven and fixated on the phantasmagoria of right-wing imagery. In his final diary entry, Sodini proclaimed: "Death lives!"

**The bible**

More than any other media figure of the Obama era, Glenn Beck encouraged the campaign of racial demonisation and conspiracy that consumed the Tea Party "Patriots". During a broadcast of "Fox and Friends", Beck opined that Obama "has exposed himself over and over and over again as a guy who has a deep-seated hatred for white people, or the white culture." As evidence, Beck pointed to White House green-jobs czar Van Jones, an African-American former community organiser who was eventually forced to resign as a direct result of Beck's crusade. From there, Beck targeted another black Obama adviser, Valerie Jarrett, highlighting her ties to Acorn while upholding her and Jones as evidence of Obama's "socialist" agenda. In another broadcast, Beck played an audio clip of unidentified African-Americans referring to "Obama money" as they collected welfare-cheques in Detroit. Then he showed footage of members of a Kansas City-based youth group practicing a step show, a traditional African-American group dance apparently unfamiliar enough to Beck and his transfixed audience that he felt at liberty to claim the footage as evidence that "Obama's SS" was being trained across inner-city America.

In September 2009, Beck relentlessly targeted Acorn, the right's new favourite hobgoblin, admitting that he intended to use the poor people's advocacy group to distract his viewers from the healthcare debate. "Trust me", Beck said, "Everybody now says they're going to be talking about healthcare. I don't think so." (His statement was reminiscent of Rush Limbaugh's scandal-mongering remark during the early Clinton administration: "Whitewater is about healthcare.")

Beck promptly cued up a series of hidden-camera videos shot by conservative youth activists James O'Keefe and Hannah Giles inside Acorn field offices.
In the videos, O'Keefe baited African-American staffers into making statements explaining that Giles, who claimed she was a prostitute, could obtain low-income housing. O'Keefe edited in images of himself clad in an outlandish pimp costume to create the impression that he was dressed that way during the meetings with Acorn; however, Giles later admitted her partner had lied about wearing his costume to further incriminate Acorn. In the end, Acorn was exonerated of all criminal wrongdoing.

In a separate incident O'Keefe was arrested and charged with a federal crime after he and several conservative pals disguised themselves as telephone repairmen and attempted to wiretap phone-lines in the office of Senator Mary Landrieu of Louisiana. Like Ryan Sorba, O'Keefe and his posse were movement cadres paid and directed by well-funded conservative outfits; O'Keefe had been trained by the Leadership Institute, the right-wing youth group that nurtured leading lights like Jack Abramoff, Karl Rove, Ralph Reed, and Jeff Gannon.

While O'Keefe and his buddies plea-bargained with prosecutors, Beck basked in his formula for success. His show earned the highest ratings at Fox News, topping network franchises like O'Reilly and Sean Hannity. In the process, Beck's opinions became firmly implanted in the nervous systems of Tea Party activists. "Glenn Beck has taught us everything we know", a demonstrator at the 9-12 rally told me. "He's opened our eyes to so much."

But unlike the right-wing radio warhorses who helped usher in Newt Gingrich's Republican counter-revolution of 1994, Beck was not an authentic product of the movement. When Rush Limbaugh first began dominating the AM airwaves, Beck was mired in the world of mid-level commercial radio, delivering corny yarns about lesbians and celebrity trash in hopes of becoming the next Howard Stern. By night, as he has tirelessly recounted, he medicated his anxiety with cocaine and alcohol, destroying his first marriage in the process. "We remember Glenn from the womanising, the drinking, the drugs. Everybody who knew him at the time saw what a complete mess he was", a shock- jock from Tampa, Florida, who called himself Bubba the Love Sponge remarked to me during a broadcast of his nationally syndicated show.

Like Dusty Rhodes, the pseudo-populist demagogue of Elia Kazan's 1957 film, *A Face in the Crowd*, Beck was a self-destructive drifter who might have been crumpled up with a bottle of Mad Dog 20/20 in an alleyway or been locked away in a prison cell had fame not found him first. Beck was only able to stabilise his life when he made his escape from freedom, marrying a conservative Mormon, converting to her religion, and transmuting his urge to abuse drugs into conservative radio diatribes.
When Beck first broke into television on CNN's Headline News Channel, he struggled to articulate a coherent political worldview. If he distinguished himself from other big-time conservative hosts in any way, he did so through strained and often snide attempts at humour, remnants of his failed radio career. Nevertheless, with help from his liberal agent, Matthew Hiltzik, Beck snagged a primetime slot at Fox News in early 2009. Around this same time, Beck began promoting the work of an arcane Mormon conspiracy-peddler named W Cleon Skousen, whom he described as his political lodestar. Suddenly, Beck had something more to offer than irritable mental gestures.

Thanks to Beck's designation of Skousen's pseudo-historical tract *The 5000 Year Leap* as "required reading" on the website of his 9-12 Project, and his promotion of the book on his show, the previously obscure Skousen became the Hidden Imam of the Tea Party movement. By summer 2009, Skousen's *Leap* was among the top ten books on Amazon and a fixture on literature tables at Tea Party gatherings. It went from selling a puny couple of thousand copies in 2007 to selling over 200,000 copies in 2009. Just why the book generated such an instant appeal is difficult to understand. It is little more than a slapdash of quotes from the Founding Fathers, often taken out of context and deliberately oversimplified, to explain why America is the greatest nation in history. In the process, Skousen claims that church and state separation is un-American, that "coercive taxation" is communist, and that marriage is the underpinning of a free society. Benjamin Franklin, who wrote at length on the merits of "amours" with "old women," and who famously solicited prostitutes and fathered a son of out of wedlock, was the ultimate authority Skousen quoted on the importance of marriage.

Though Skousen claims the Founders as the world's foremost source of eternal wisdom, he buttressed his points with fringe sources like the conspiracist Norman Dodd's screeds about the Illuminati. According to Skousen, Dodd claimed that "powerful influences congregating in the United States" like the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds had forced the United States into the first world war. Skousen published Dodd's manifestoes in his obscure journal *Freemen's Digest*, which he founded for the express purpose of propagating conspiracies.

Skousen's paranoid politics were an outgrowth of his participation in extreme anti-communist groups during the 1950s. He boasted of a close friendship with then-FBI director J Edgar Hoover and said he provided him with research on communist plots, claims disputed by FBI historians. (During a recent interview, Skousen's son, Paul, told me that contrary to rumours of Hoover's cross-dressing and homosexual dalliances, he would set the top cop up on blind dates with live women.) Skousen was fired from his job as Salt Lake City's police chief for, in the words of the city's conservative Mormon mayor, "conduct[ing] his office as chief of police in exactly the same manner in which the communists operate their government." From there, Skousen sailed off to the far shores of the right-peddling conspiracy tracts like *The Naked Communist*, and earning condemnation from his beloved FBI, which accused him in an internal memo of "promoting [his] own anti-communism for obvious financial purposes."

Skousen's vocal support for the far-right John Birch Society's claim that communists controlled President Dwight Eisenhower cost him the support of the corporate backers who had paid for his Red-bashing lecture tours. He went off the radar for several years, returning during the late 1960s to accuse the Jewish Rothschild family of secretly bankrolling everyone from Ho Chi Minh to the civil-rights movement. By the late 1970s, even the Church of Latter-Day Saints distanced itself from Skousen and his conspiracy theories. His work fell through the margins and might have disappeared entirely had Beck not revived it, turning *The 5000 Year Leap* into the bible of the Tea Party movement. Alexander Zaitchik observed in his authoritative profile of Skousen on Salon that Skousen's renewed influence through Beck and the Tea Party "suggests that the modern base of the Republican Party is headed to a very strange place."

**The descent**

Besides influencing Beck, Skousen's teachings inspired one of the Tea Party movement's most visible grassroots celebrities, retired sheriff Richard Mack. I met Mack in February at a far-right rally just outside of Montgomery, Alabama. On a makeshift stage towed into the middle of a rodeo arena by a pickup truck, Mack recalled with reverence his mentorship by Skousen, who he said taught him everything he needed to know about the constitution. Mack urged his spellbound audience to stockpile ammo and store food. "If you control the food supply", Mack warned, "you control the people. And that's the first step to slavery."

Already a hero to conservatives for successfully suing the Clinton administration over the provision in the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act requiring law enforcement to conduct criminal-background checks of gun purchasers, Mack reemerged in the Obama era as the archetypal local lawman who vowed to resist the tyrannical federal government. Along with a few dozen former and active military and law-enforcement personnel, Mack helped form a self-styled Tea Party militia called the Oathkeepers. Galvanised by their fear of creeping socialism, the Oathkeepers solemnly swore to refuse tyrannical federal orders such as cooperating with foreign troops and forcing Americans into concentration-camps. Because the group's members trained for combat, the vow came with suggestion of armed resistance.

Besides Mack, the Oathkeepers attracted a coterie of militia-movement retreads into its ranks. The most well-established figure was Mike Vanderboegh, a longtime militia fanatic who published a booklet in the mid-1990s entitled *Strategy and Tactics for a Militia Civil War*, calling for sniper attacks on "war criminals, secret policemen, rats." With Obama in office, Vandeboegh churned out anti-government screeds on right-wing blogs with renewed passion and supported his efforts by cashing in the $1,300 in federal disability compensation he received each month.

For all the energy the far right exerted in its campaign to strangle Obama's agenda, it was a Democrat who posed the greatest threat to the passage of healthcare reform. Representative Bart Stupak of Michigan had been in office since 1993, placing him among the senior leadership of the so-called centrist Blue Dog Democrats. When healthcare reform was introduced in Congress, Stupak became the leader of an informal caucus of anti-abortion Democrats, making him the de facto swing vote on the House version of the bill. By extension, Stupak was the point man in the campaign to ensure that the bill would not allow federal funding for abortion for low-income women.

But after close consultation with leaders of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, Stupak went a step further. He introduced a draconian amendment to block women from paying for abortions from even their own private insurance plans. The amendment, which passed the House but was shut down in the Senate, became a key sticking point in healthcare negotiations. "He's a big hero now in the pro-life community", Deal Hudson - former Catholic issues adviser to George W Bush - told me in November 2009. "Thanks to him, this is the first time I can remember the pro-life Democrats having any power."

To the chagrin of the Republicans, Stupak entertained offers of compromise from the Democratic leadership. According to Hudson, the Catholic bishops were keen to see healthcare reform pass, but only if the bill contained a clear provision forbidding patients from spending federal money on abortion. Finally, in March 2010, after pressure from Nancy Pelosi, Obama agreed to sign an executive order forbidding the federal funding of abortion. Stupak had been mollified. Now he and his anti-abortion caucus pledged to deliver the swing votes the Democrats needed to pass the bill. As soon as reports seeped out declaring the imminent passage of healthcare reform, major right-wing blogs like RedState.org churned out

virulent denunciations of Stupak, calling him a traitor and sellout. The blog comment sections filled up with dozens of diatribes referring to Stupak in language previously reserved for Dr George Tiller: "Bart the Baby-Killer."

On 20 March 2010, thousands of Tea Party activists surrounded the Capitol's Longworth Building in expectation of Obama's pep talk to the House Democrats and the healthcare vote. Democratic Representative John Lewis, a hero of the civil-rights movement, and Representative Barney Frank, the first openly gay member of Congress, passed through the crowd on their way inside the Capitol. "Nigger!" a demonstrator barked at Lewis. Another called Frank a "faggot", eliciting laughter and cheers from nearby protesters. Meanwhile, as another African-American Democrat, Representative Emanuel Cleaver, ascended the Capitol steps, a protester who had been screaming at Lewis and Frank spat on his face.

With the demonstration carried on into the night, cries of "Kill the bill!" drifted into calls for violence. "I would gladly stand with any of you men here and take these fascists down", a man in camouflage battle-dress uniform proclaimed in front of an amateur videographer, pointing toward the Capitol. "You haven't heard the last of me!"

The next day, Republican members of Congress emerged from the Longworth Building to salute the Tea Partiers. The demonstrators cheered wildly for their proxies on the inside. Finally, after hours of impassioned speeches on the House floor, the bill passed. But the drama was hardly over.

Republican Representative Joe Pitts, an anti-abortion Catholic who co-authored Stupak's original amendment, demanded a motion to bring it back to the floor for a vote, a transparent exercise in grandstanding that was certain to fail. In response, Stupak rushed to the podium with a stinging rebuke to Pitts and the Republicans. "The motion to commit does not support life", Stupak declared. "It is the Democrats who have stood up...." Heckling from the Republican side interrupted his statement. As Stupak looked around the House chamber, Representative Randy Neugebauer, a right-wing Republican from Texas who openly supported the Birther movement, began shouting at him from the backbench, "Baby killer!" Other Republicans joined in, parroting base insults.

While the Republicans sank their heads in defeat, some more militant devotees of the Tea Party movement called for a right-wing Kristallnacht. "If you wish to send a message that Pelosi and her party cannot fail to hear, break their windows", Vanderboegh of the Oathkeepers wrote on a far-right blog hours after the bill passed. "Break them NOW. Break them and run to break again." Within three days, windows and doors at Democratic Party headquarters in New York, Kansas and Arizona had been shattered.

Meanwhile, at least ten Democratic members of Congress reported receiving death threats. Images of nooses were faxed to the offices of Stupak and James Clyburn, an African-American congressman from South Carolina. Representative Anthony Weiner, an especially vocal proponent of healthcare reform, received a menacing letter filled with white powder. The brother of Representative Tom Perriello, another healthcare supporter, had his home gas line deliberately sabotaged after a local Tea Party organiser posted his address online (he had meant to post the congressman's) and encouraged activists to "drop by" to express their anger about Perriello's recent vote. In Tucson, Arizona, the windows of Democratic Representative Gabrielle Giffords' office were shattered by shots from a pellet gun. And a brick was thrown through the window of Representative Louise Slaughter's office in New York as her voicemail filled with threats of impending sniper attacks.

After the passage of the healthcare bill, the Tea Party floated into a grey zone between authoritarianism and anarchy. Crusading to restore a holy social order, they promoted disorder. Claiming to protect democracy, they smashed windows of elected representatives. Warning of death panels, they called in death threats. With the atmosphere of violence thickening, Palin took to her Twitter account to issue a battle-cry: "Don't Retreat, Instead-RELOAD!" Thus concluded the first phase of the Obama era that was to usher in a peaceable kingdom of bipartisanship.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 2:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 12:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Jordan compact signing

I am currently out of the office traveling overseas with limited access to email. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Joanne Laszczych at 202-647-5548.

If this is an emergency, please call the Operations Center and have them reach out to me.

thank you.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 16, 2010 1:14 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B
**Subject:** Final vote on START

14 to 4

All dems + lugar, corker and isakson voted yes.

Wicker, baraso, risch and inhoffe voted no.

Demint not voting.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Latest

Daniel teed up for tomorrow.

You'll see Bibi call sheet but call timing is in flux as we discussed.

Letter still being worked.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:49 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: FYI... David Crane... Fw: Catch up

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 15:12:30 2010
Subject: FYI... David Crane... Fw: Catch up

Wanted you to see both requests/comments from David Crane...

Burns Strider

---

From: "Crane, David" [redacted]
Date: Thu, 21 Jan 2010 15:07:44 -0500
To: BStrider [redacted]
Cc: O'Brien, John [redacted] gailfritzinger [redacted]>
Subject: Catch up

Dear Burns:

It has been some time since we spoke so I wanted to start by wishing you a happy new year and thanking you for your assistance in placing our corporate contribution for Haiti Relief through the Clinton Foundation.

My hope is that you can further help me with two very different requests related to the Haitian tragedy:

1. After the tsunami devastated parts of Indonesia in 2004, I felt strongly that the CEOs of American corporations involved in the planning, construction and operation of civil, energy, water and telecommunication infrastructure should lead a charitable effort involving human as well as financial resources to develop an implementation plan for the rebuilding of the country once the Red Cross, the Military and the other "first responders" had stabilized the situation. I think the concept is even more relevant in 2010 with respect to Haiti which obviously is much closer to the United States and has much less indigenous skills and resources of its own to apply to the rebuilding effort. Given President Clinton's normal powers of persuasion and his passion for improving Haiti even before the earthquake (it was the only thing he wanted to talk about when Isabella and I met with him in November), he would have little difficulty recruiting a group of appropriate CEOs to form an "advisory council on Haitian infrastructure" (which

then could springboard to greater things and deeper commitments). If you could reach out to the appropriate person on President Clinton's staff, we of course would be available to assist in giving shape to the concept, compiling a list of names of infrastructure CEOs, etc.

2. On a much more personal note, two friends of Isabella and mine, [redacted] were in the final stages of adopting two infants out of a Haitian orphanage when the earthquake struck. Since that time, the process has obviously stopped and they have had no word on the fate of these two babies, their welfare or the prospects for getting them out of their earthquake-ravaged environment into their new home and family in the United States. I have attached a significant amount of detail about the babies, the orphanage, etc. B6

Burns, I know President Clinton is devoting all of his herculean energy to humanitarian relief for Haiti at the macro level, but knowing his humanistic approach, there must be someone on his staff who can help with these type of individual situations. Is it possible for you to find that person so that I can make the request and so our friends [redacted] can provide him/her with any additional information that they might need?

I really appreciate your assistance with respect to both of these matters. Please do not hesitate to contact me night or day on my cell phone [redacted]

Come visit us in Princeton.

Best regards,

David Crane

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Haiti

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Tina Flournoy, Office of the President [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 21 18:25:17 2010
Subject: Haiti

Hi -- you guys are doing great work.

Wanted to let you know that we've sent a dozen members -- nurses, paramedics and trauma specialists to Haiti. They are working with Paul Farmer's Partners in Health. This is the first deployment of 74 members who have volunteered in Vermont. The work and being helpful is so important to them and to us. A number of people on our staff worked throughout the weekend to make all the necessary arrangements, but the impetus came directly from our members.

As you know the challenges are enormous, but we have a long-term commitment to the reconstruction of the health and education sectors in Haiti. Please let us know how we can be helpful.

Hope you're well.

This e-mail and any attachments are confidential and are intended solely for the named addressee(s). If you are not a named addressee, you should not copy, alter, post, forward, distribute or disseminate the contents of the e-mail or attachments. Any views or opinions expressed are solely those of the individual and do not necessarily represent those of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Haiti

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Zachary Iscol [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 17:24:21 2010
Subject: Haiti

Madam Secretary-

It looks like the 24 MEU is headed ashore this weekend after all. Col Petronzio asked me to join him and I'm flying down tomorrow to link-up with them and should be on the ground in Haiti by Sunday. Radha is coming with me and I have no idea what we will be doing, I just hope that we are able to make ourselves as useful as possible.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: early review. Sid

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 22:19:34 2010
Subject: H: early review. Sid

H: Jim Fallows told me he was at your speech and thrilled by it. He's just returned from three years in China. He didn't expect you would be so frank. Here's his post on The Atlantic website. Sid

http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/a_momentous_40_hours.php#more

<http://ad.doubleclick.net/click%3Bh=v8/392a/3/0/%2a/d%3B220891182%3B0-0%3B0%3B44073402%3B3454-728/90%3B33541978/33559856/1%3B%3B%7Efdr%3D220121663%3B0-0%3B1%3B17654873%3B3454-728/90%3B34945512/34963342/1%3B%3B%7Esscs%3D%3fhttp://www.adobe.com/opengov/?sdid=FCFPP>

<http://ad.doubleclick.net/jump/TheAtlanticOnline/james_fallows;pos=topleader;tile=1;sz=728x90,468x60;ord=352212445?>

James Fallows <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/>
« Hillary Clinton's "Internet freedom" speech
<http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/hillary_clintons_internet_free.php> | Main
<http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/>

A momentous 40 hours, leading to Clinton/China/Internet

21 Jan 2010 04:12 pm
Apart from two obvious pieces of momentous news in the past day-and-a-half -- the new junior Senator from Massachusetts, and the new Buckley v. Valeo <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buckley_v._Valeo> (by which I mean today's lamentable, straight-party-line Supreme Court ruling <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703699204575016942930090152.html> that removes limits from direct corporate underwriting of political campaigns) -- there is one other event today that will have big ripple effects. I mean SecState Hillary Clinton's speech this morning about "Internet Freedom," mentioned here <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/hillary_clintons_internet_free.php> and with a prelude discussion here <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/interesting_chinagoogle_discus.php> .

I'm not going to take time for a thorough gloss of the speech. Instead I highly recommend reading the full text, here <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm> , or watching the official video, here <http://link.brightcove.com/services/player/bcpid1705667530?bctid=62730021001> . And for now some of the main points while listening (and noting main points down in real time with the handy LiveScribe <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2009/07/my_new_favorite_gadget_li.php> pen.)

- In contrast to the dreamy Internet optimism of a decade or so ago -- I'm not naming names, but I remember! -- when many people imagined that info technology, by itself, would undermine oppression and bring the world together, Clinton started off with a very astringent reminder that this technology, like others, was neither good or bad in itself and is already being used in both helpful and destructive ways:

"Amid this unprecedented surge in connectivity, we must also recognize that these technologies are not an unmitigated blessing. These tools are also being exploited to undermine human progress and political rights. Just as steel can be used to build hospitals or machine guns, or nuclear power can either energize a city or destroy it, modern information networks and the technologies they support can be harnessed for good or for ill. The same networks that help organize movements for freedom also enable al-Qaida to spew hatred and incite violence against the innocent. And technologies with the potential to open up access to government and promote transparency can also be hijacked by governments to crush dissent and deny human rights."

And a very nice pivot out of this section, effective because it's so blunt and plain:

"On their own, new technologies do not take sides in the struggle for freedom and progress, but the United States does."

- Underscoring the "this is a big deal" tone of the speech, she enumerated the "Four Freedoms <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four_Freedoms> " that FDR proclaimed in 1941, as part of the struggle for the world's future, and said there were a comparable set of Four Freedoms for the Internet age. Check out the speech yourself for details.

- The China surprise: the speech was a more frontal challenge to Chinese internet and overall censorship policy than I expected, and than I recall in other US-China interactions in a very long time. For instance, early in the speech, an itemization of the places where suppression is getting worse:

"In the last year, we've seen a spike in threats to the free flow of information. China, Tunisia, and Uzbekistan have stepped up their censorship of the internet. In Vietnam, access to popular social networking sites has suddenly disappeared. And last Friday in Egypt, 30 bloggers and activists were detained."

Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Egypt -- this is not the grouping of countries that the Chinese government, in its recent sense of rise to superpower status, is used to being lumped with. Compared to the US as a financial power, OK; overtaking Japan in economic size, yes; being a crucial player in environmental negotiations... all that is one thing. Bracketed in the same sentence with Tunisia and Uzbekistan is different. Sentences like this don't appear in formal, big-deal SecState addresses by accident.

Other passages to the same effect:

"As I speak to you today, government censors somewhere are working furiously to erase my words from the records of history. But history itself has already condemned these tactics....

"Those who disrupt the free flow of information in our society or any other pose a threat to our economy, our government, and our civil society. Countries or individuals that engage in cyber attacks should face consequences and international condemnation...."

And then the Google section itself.
I had wondered whether the speech would mention Google by name -- and had reason to think it might not. (Main argument for leaving it implicit rather than referring directly to the Google case: in the company's ongoing efforts to find a "win-win-win <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/behind_on_google-china-ology.php> " acceptable way to remain in China, rather than a lose-lose-lose permanent split, it's not necessarily a help to have the U.S. government standing officially by its side. ) But the way Sec. Clinton introduced the point was significant: as a proxy for China's own ability to fulfill its potential <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/about_the_stakes_for_china_in.php> and sustain its economic rise:

"To use market terminology, a publicly listed company in Tunisia or Vietnam that operates in an environment of censorship will always trade at a discount relative to an identical firm in a free society. If corporate decision makers don't have access to global sources of news and information, investors will have less confidence in their decisions over the long term. Countries that censor news and information must recognize that from an economic standpoint, there is no distinction between censoring political speech and commercial speech. If businesses in your nations are denied access to either type of information, it will inevitably impact on growth.

"Increasingly, U.S. companies are making the issue of internet and information freedom a greater consideration in their business decisions. I hope that their competitors and foreign governments will pay close attention to this trend. The most recent situation involving Google has attracted a great deal of interest. And we look to the Chinese authorities to conduct a thorough review of the cyber intrusions that led Google to make its announcement. And we also look for that investigation and its results to be transparent.

"The internet has already been a source of tremendous progress in China, and it is fabulous. There are so many people in China now online. But countries that restrict free access to information or violate the basic rights of internet users risk walling themselves off from the progress of the next century. Now, the United States and China have different views on this issue, and we intend to address those differences candidly and consistently in the context of our positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship."

There's a lot more in the speech, including about terrorism, disaster relief, religion, etc -- but it's there for the reading.
Back to the to-do list for me now.
Permalink <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/a_momentous_40_hours.php> ::
Share This <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Thank you

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 19 22:19:05 2010
Subject: Thank you

Dear Hillary
Wanted to take a minute to thank you for what you have down. I am sure preident Clinton and Chelsea told you what is happening at the hospital.
It was deserted when we arrived except for 1500 patients and a few administrators. Now it is starting to function. We have done over 100 operations and each day is better. The military is working with is
now to provide food water supplies support. They are amazing. Thank
you thank you thank you. Blessings on you and your family. Will
share more when I get real Internet access. To learn more see my posts on Huffington post.

Mark Hyman, MD
Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 7:41 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Been a pretty slow day. Can u reply all on this email?
- dennis ross asking to do secure call at 9:30 instead of 10. Is that ok?
- bill burns wants to give you trip download in person so he will come see you monday.
- I just got a call sheet for netanyahu which I'm told you may do over weekend.
- I sent draft remarks for dorothy height service for your review.
- geoff morell just reported that wash post is going to run your/gates start oped on monday.
- also a new call list coming your way. Only new call is ted deutch returned your call. The rest of the outstanding foreign calls are in your folder but we haven't done anything with them.
- I connected with [redacted] today who said [redacted] offered to keep her job for 2 more years. [redacted] still seems inclined to want to come to you but I encouraged her to stay
- we got our allotment for wh holiday tour tickets so we have been offering to people B6
- I saw jen hanley today who is doing very very well and sends her best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 15:44:41 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:16:54 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

---

From: Withers, Anne M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 7:23 PM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'; 'rooneym@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Development Speech

AMS mentioned Maria's edits. Here's email from her w specifics.

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 17:56:59 2010
Subject: Development Speech

Dear Secretary:

I was pleased to learn about your development speech this week, and offered the insights below to Anne-Marie earlier today. Overall, it's a very good speech, and I look forward to hearing you deliver it tomorrow.

B5

4. Mike, through Dan Baer, and I provided language to ensure consistency with the Human Rights Speech.

Thank you,

Maria

Under Secretary of State

for Democracy and Global Affairs

Department of State

2201 C St. NW Room 7261

Washington DC 20520

202 - 647-6240

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 9:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Call confirmed for 930
Bill wants to do in person
Netanyahu letter still isn't done, just checked. Will get to u when it is.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 20:24:54 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

I'll talk to Dennis at 9:30am tomorrow.

I'd be willing to talk by phone w Bill Burns either by phone over the weekend or on Monday whichever he wants.

And I will decide tomorrow about what, if any, of the foreign calls I'll make.

I'm supposed to get faxed to me tonight a letter for Netanyahu from the specials. Can you find out when it's coming?

I hope you were convincing w [redacted] and am happy Jen is doing well. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Nov 12 19:41:20 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Been a pretty slow day. Can u reply all on this email?
- dennis ross asking to do secure call at 9:30 instead of 10. Is that ok?
- bill burns wants to give you trip download in person so he will come see you monday.
- I just got a call sheet for netanyahu which I'm told you may do over weekend.
- I sent draft remarks for dorothy height service for your review.
- geoff morell just reported that wash post is going to run your/gates start oped on monday.
- also a new call list coming your way. Only new call is ted deutch returned your call. The rest of the outstanding foreign calls are in your folder but we haven't done anything with them.
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- we got our allotment for wh holiday tour tickets so we have been offering to people
- I saw jen hanley today who is doing very very well and sends her best to you.

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To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 15:44:41 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:16:54 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

---

From: Withers, Anne M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:31 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Daniel Yohannes

Ok. Can you call me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:13:26 2010
Subject: FW: Daniel Yohannes

fyi

From: Steve Radelet [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 6:32 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Daniel Yohannes

Just a heads up -- can someone let the Secretary know that Daniel Yohannes will be there tomorrow at the speech, so she may want to recognize him (presumably along with Raj) in her opening comments.

Thanks,

Steve

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 2, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** What is this meeting about?

I did not know I was going out there today and I'm not sure why I'm going. What is it for?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 5:34 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Can I call you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:25:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

---

From: Rubiner, Laurie
To: jenklein. pverveer ; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tue Feb 02 17:35:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

B6

You guys are totally great. Please thank Secy Clinton for us - we know it wouldn't have happened without her and all of you. We are also posting a video from Cecile on our website about this. Best, Laurie

---

From: Jordan, Brannon
To: Natl Communications Division; McHugh, Lorrie; Rubiner, Laurie; Meer, Jeff; Chaney, Joi; Taylor, Amy
Sent: Tue Feb 02 16:05:36 2010
Subject: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Statement below and attached just sent to reporters.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: PPFA Media Relations 202-973-4882

February 2, 2010

Statement from Cecile Richards on International

Family Planning in the Obama Administration Budget

WASHINGTON, DC —The women of the world have true friends in Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Obama administration. After years of inadequate funding during the previous administration, yesterday's Fiscal Year 2011 budget request for an increase in international family planning is a critical step forward in demonstrating our nation's renewed commitment to ensuring that women worldwide have access to safe and effective reproductive health care.

The Obama administration has sent a strong signal that the status quo is unacceptable. Every year more than half a million women — nearly all of whom live in developing countries — die of pregnancy-related causes. Moreover, one in three deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth could be avoided if women who wanted effective contraception had access to it.

To strengthen our working relationships with partners around the world, as well as our image, the United States must increase access to family planning. By ensuring that women have increased access to the family planning they need, our nation is working to make good on its commitment to promote the health of all women and their families.

An investment in family planning is an investment that reaps significant dividends. By providing education, counseling and contraceptives to women and couples, we are working to strengthen families worldwide. We also will help achieve major reductions in infant and maternal mortality, HIV infections and global poverty. As Secretary Clinton has said, "There's a direct connection between a woman's ability to plan her family, space her pregnancies, and give birth safely, and her ability to get an education, work outside the home, support her family, and participate fully in the life of her community."

Planned Parenthood works with partners across the globe to eliminate barriers to basic reproductive health care that is essential to the health and well-being of women, men and children everywhere. Limited access to health care, lack of political will, legal and regulatory restrictions, cultural taboos, and harsh gender inequality all put women at risk of unintended pregnancy, unsafe abortion and childbirth, and HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. The commitment of Secretary Clinton and the Obama administration to international family planning will further the efforts of Planned Parenthood and others to help women overcome barriers to accessing needed reproductive health care.

As the Fiscal Year 2011 budget and appropriations process moves forward, we look forward to working with Congress to build on this request so that we may adequately address the global health challenges facing women worldwide.

###

Planned Parenthood Federation of America is the nation's leading sexual and reproductive health care provider and advocate. We believe that everyone has the right to choose when or whether to have a child, and that every child should be wanted and loved. Planned Parenthood affiliates operate more than 840 health centers nationwide, providing

medical services and sexuality education for millions of women, men, and teenagers each year. We also work with allies worldwide to ensure that all women and men have the right and the means to meet their sexual and reproductive health care needs.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:32 PM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: New top for development

Good. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:26:20 2010
Subject: New top for development

Here is a new top. We will add the point about how much we actually spend on foreign aid (vs what people think we spend) a little later in the speech. Wanted to get this to you to see if it is going in the right direction. Am also faxing to you.

Development / New Top

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 9:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Aiming to send monday for tues delivery.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:29:51 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Do you know when the Oscar jackets will be ready?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:12:11 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Call confirmed for 930
Bill wants to do in person
Netanyahu letter still isn't done, just checked. Will get to u when it is.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 20:24:54 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

I'll talk to Dennis at 9:30am tomorrow.

I'd be willing to talk by phone w Bill Burns either by phone over the weekend or on Monday whichever he wants.

And I will decide tomorrow about what, if any, of the foreign calls I'll make.

I'm supposed to get faxed to me tonight a letter for Netanyahu from the specials. Can you find out when it's coming?

I hope you were convincing w [redacted] and am happy Jen is doing well. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Nov 12 19:41:20 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Been a pretty slow day. Can u reply all on this email?
- dennis ross asking to do secure call at 9:30 instead of 10. Is that ok?

- bill burns wants to give you trip download in person so he will come see you monday.
- I just got a call sheet for netanyahu which I'm told you may do over weekend.
- I sent draft remarks for dorothy height service for your review.
- geoff morell just reported that wash post is going to run your/gates start oped on monday.
- also a new call list coming your way. Only new call is ted deutch returned your call. The rest of the outstanding foreign calls are in your folder but we haven't done anything with them.
- I connected with [redacted] today who said [redacted] offered to keep her job for 2 more years. [redacted] still seems inclined to want to come to you but I encouraged her to stay B6
- we got our allotment for wh holiday tour tickets so we have been offering to people
- I saw jen hanley today who is doing very very well and sends her best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 15:44:41 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:16:54 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

---

From: Withers, Anne M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 5, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Daniel Yohannes

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:31:31 2010
Subject: RE: Daniel Yohannes

Getting on a 9:30pm call - can I call you after?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 9:31 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Daniel Yohannes

Ok. Can you call me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:13:26 2010
Subject: FW: Daniel Yohannes

fyi

From: Steve Radelet [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 05, 2010 6:32 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa; Rooney, Megan; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Daniel Yohannes

Just a heads up -- can someone let the Secretary know that Daniel Yohannes will be there tomorrow at the speech, so she may want to recognize him (presumably along with Raj) in her opening comments.

Thanks,

Steve

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 8:11 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Statement on Aung San Suu Kyi

Madame Secretary, passing along a statement on Aung San Suu Kyi for your review.
Thanks
Dan

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Release of Aung San Suu Kyi

Today I join with billions of people around the world to welcome the long-overdue release of Burmese democracy leader and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest.

Aung San Suu Kyi has endured enormous personal sacrifice in her peaceful struggle to bring democracy and human rights to Burma, including unjustified detention for most of the past twenty years. The Burmese regime has repeatedly rejected her offers to engage in dialogue and work together, trying instead to silence and isolate her. Through it all, Aung San Suu Kyi's commitment to the Burmese people has not wavered.

The United States calls on Burma's leaders to ensure that Aung San Suu Kyi's release is unconditional so that she may travel, associate with her fellow citizens, express her views, and participate in political activities without restriction. They should also immediately and unconditionally release all of Burma's 2,100 political prisoners.

We urge Burma's leaders to break from their repressive policies and begin an inclusive dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi and other democratic and ethnic leaders towards national reconciliation and a more peaceful, prosperous, and democratic future.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 6, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: sorry - just getting off calls and leaving the building - are you still up?

Sorry. But I'm up now if you want to call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 05 22:56:20 2010
Subject: sorry - just getting off calls and leaving the building - are you still up?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 6, 2010 7:19 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Speech

When will I get it? Can it be faxed to house?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 8:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Letter

Have you read the letter? Will it work?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 6, 2010 7:18 AM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: New top for development

Will I get speech soon? Can yo fax it to house?

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 05 21:26:20 2010
Subject: New top for development

Here is a new top. We will add the point about how much we actually spend on foreign aid (vs what people think we spend) a little later in the speech. Wanted to get this to you to see if it is going in the right direction. Am also faxing to you.

Development / New Top

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 6:51 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: From coco

Pls print.
------Original Message------
From: Chelsea Clinton
To: Hillary Clinton
Subject: From coco
Sent: Jan 6, 2010 7:06 AM

Interesting re; Iran. Coco counsels that Maziar Bahari thinks [redacted] s a bit emotional - but admits that for those of us confined to English we take what we can get. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: coco.ferguson[redacted]
To: Diane Reynolds
Sent: Mon Jan 04 17:29:33 2010
Subject: Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

Quite an interesting reply to my fanmail to [redacted] the blogger I've been copying to you.

Hello Coco,Thank you for your kind words and sorry for the late reply -- I've been busy with the holiday season (also why there's been a drop-off in posts lately).I wouldn't place an extra emphasis on Haji's arrest (or on anyone at Baran, for that matter). I think those arrests were geared at intimidating Khatami more than anything. Although he's been more quiet than either Mousavi or Karoubi, he has "international clout," if you will, so I believe the regime is less willing to attack him head-on. (Though what we witnessed on Tasooa was admittedly shocking). Actually, with a few exceptions, I think a threshold has been passed where arrests aren't even strategic anymore. It seems that the vast majority are for the sake of intimidation. The regime is looking increasingly desperate.Rafsanjani, I'm sure, is up to something. He's a good ally, but I think the pro-democracy movement should always be wary of his intentions. Ultimately, Rafsanjani is looking out for Rafsanjani. Having said that, I think his interests and those of the Greens have and will continue to coalesce. Before the election, this was him funding Mousavi's campaign (in hopes that Mousavi's presidency would bring him back into the fold after the rise of the "new right"). Now (and going forward), he's probably more concerned about his legacy in Iran. We should remember he was the driving force that ascended Khamenei to the Supreme Leadership, and that there were also accusations that the 2005 election (where he lost to Ahmadinejad) was fixed. Not to simplify things, but I'm sure there is some resentment. Regardless, sooner or later he's going to have to be more bold and give the opposition something (namely momentum, as he did with his July sermon) if he wants to get something back (clout, legacy, etc.).Things are continuing to heat up! God-willing, change will come in 2010. Whether such a change is ultimately 'regime change' should be up to the Iranian people inside Iran.Best [redacted] Sent using BlackBerry® from Orange

-----Original Message-----
From: Diane Reynolds [redacted]
Date: Mon, 4 Jan 2010 13:03:57
To: 'coco.ferguson[redacted]
Subject: Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

I've always wanted to go to Qom, and Iran too admittedly, as you know, more for the far history than recent I confess. I can't sort out whether I want to go more or less now though because of recent turmoil/promise/discontent; maybe want and sense are merely opposing forces! If only I could find an approproate Jane Austen quote...
I'm still very sad we missed your 30th and will miss your official fund launch. Hopefully we can celebrate with you soon, soon. Coming back to fundraise in NY anytime soon?

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Coco Ferguson <
To: Diane Reynolds
Sent: Mon Jan 04 08:28:50 2010
Subject: Re: Maris Africa Fund launch

A bit of arcana = but important.

http://www.payvand.com/news/10/jan/1008.html

The Society of Qom Seminary Teachers has disqualified Ayatollah Sanei as a Marja-e Taqhlid (source of emulation - high clerical rank). Ayatollah Sanei, second to Montazeri, was the most outspoken critic of the election and subsequent repression in Qom - he's also a very popular cleric in Iran and many of Montazeri's supporters were shifting to him. Iran suppresses any figures about the support these clerics have, but we're talking millions.

The Society's power to disqualify Sanei is pretty questionable and it's a provocative act - all you need in Shiism to become a Marja-e Taghlid is the faith of followers and confirmation of "two fair and knowledgeable individuals" and this move is the latest in a decade long move by Khamenei to shift the clergy's power and authority away from their constituency of followers and towards the government (increasing the clergy's dependence on the state for funds has been the primary tool of reform.) Since Ashura the silence from Qom has been notable and this disqualification will split the clergy further into those who side with the government and those who bet on popular support for their long term influence. This last group are increasingly being forced to show their hand and incur punishment/risk assassination of themselves or family members (cf Mousavi's nephew.)

Predictably, harder line clerics like Ayatollah Hussein Nouri Hamedani and former Judiciary Chief Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi have sided with Khamenei and the Rev Guard, as has Larijani (a key move by a smart betting man), but the majority remain on the fence - and the next few weeks that include the mourning rituals for Ayatollah Montazeri, the Ashura Martyrs, Arbein (40 days after Ashura) and the Anniversary of the Revolution on 2nd February will be events to watch. Each of them are mass public rituals that have underpinned the Islamic Revolution for 30 years, and canceling them would indicate extraordinary weakness by the government. They are obvious opportunities for the Green Movement to mobilize, risk death and continue the cycle; the government knows it doesn't have the training or self control to contain them peacefully and must be scratching their heads over how to stop this cycle. Forcing Revolutionary Guard officers to shoot civilians is also a very risky move.

The ultimate fence sitter, and key figure behind Mousavi and Karroubi is of course Rafsanjani - who came out in veiled support of the government, and it's supporters on Saturday, 2nd Jan. This support either cost Khamenei something, or the Revolutionary Guard and he found leverage with the Shark. All a bit murky. Rafsanjani's clearly hedging his bets and may feel that he would do best out of a negotiated National Unity Plan.

(NB [redacted]'s pretty emotional - and clearly skewed, but useful info). http://www.thenewestdeal.org/2009/10/national-unity-plan.html B6

http://www.presstv.ir/detail.aspx?id=115190&sectionid=351020101

I still think the Western Press is optimistic about Khamenei and the Revolutionary Guard's weakness - but moves like that against Montazeri and Sanei, and inflation running unofficially at 25% (confirmed by furious down town Tehran friends quoting tomato prices) may finally push a broader tranche of society to join what has been a middle class protest until now. The big problem with the 'protest' is that it doesn't have a credible leader, or stated ideals, but it's certainly terrified those in power.

Predictions are for nutters in this situation, but I would doubt that Khamenei has the stomach for civil war, and there must be some deals cooking. It's a tricky one for the West over who to support - because no deal will be clean.

To be continued...

All love,

Coco

Maris Capital

20 Conduit Street

London

W1S 2XW

---

Tel: +44 (0)207 499 0368

Fax: +44 (0)207 629 0995

UK Roaming mobile: [redacted]

[redacted]

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On Jan 4, 2010, at 12:35 PM, Diane Reynolds wrote:

Hmm...how much of his commentay to you will make it on the news (ie part. the part abt the"wrong man")?

----- Original Message -----
From: Coco Ferguson
To: Diane Reynolds
Sent: Mon Jan 04 03:01:07 2010
Subject: Fwd: Maris Africa Fund launch

fyi from Channel 4's Jon Snow.

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Snow, Jon"
Date: January 4, 2010 5:42:28 AM BST
To: Coco Ferguson
Subject: RE: Maris Africa Fund launch

B6

Yes Iran..i emerged from Preident A interview very downcast..and suspecting i had most certainly ebeen talking to the wrong man. the Supreme Leader is in the frame and unlikely to survive it..in my humble opinion. Tehran a frighetning and eery place..but officials and minders much more talkative 'behind the hand'..

x Jon

JON SNOW
NEWSCASTER, CHANNEL 4 NEWS
Jon Snow blogs at http://www.channel4.com/snowblog

200 GRAY'S INN ROAD
LONDON
WC1X 8XZ
UNITED KINGDOM
T +44 (0)20 7430 4237
F
M
E
http://www.channel4.com/news
P Please consider the environment. Do you really need to print this email?

---

From: Coco Ferguson
Sent: Wednesday, December 30, 2009 12:07 PM

B6

To: Snow, Jon
Subject: Maris Africa Fund launch

Dear Jon,

[redacted] B6

Very best wishes,

Coco

Please Note:

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those of Independent Television News Limited unless specifically stated.
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we may monitor and read messages sent to and from our systems.

Thank You.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 6:52 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan
**Attachments:** 2009-12-31 Lewis Department Notice.docx; 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan.docx; 2009-12-31 Lewis Department Notice.docx; 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan.docx

**Importance:** High

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 03 13:53:16 2010
Subject: FW: 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan

HRC:

Per our conversation, she advised I could forward this – it will also come through channels.

cdm

From: Lewis, Reta Jo
Sent: Thursday, December 31, 2009 5:18 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: 2009-12-31 Lewis Work Plan
Importance: High

Hi Cheryl:

Today, I was able to have good preliminary conversations with Jean Bonilla and Lorraine Hariton in EEB. Both Jean and Lorraine are very excited about the opportunity to partner on this new area for the Secretary and provided me with some very valuable insight and discussion on how we can partner and collaborate on programming and initiatives together.

I also included the information from ECA – that we discussed in the document. The INR meeting was cancelled today and will be scheduled for early next week. As I move around the Department and talk with other officials in the coming week, I believe we will be able to build out a more robust Work Plan and garner some great collaborations on this effort.

Additionally, in a recent conversation that I had with Governor O'Malley from Maryland, I shared with him that the Secretary was launching a new effort that would assist state and local leaders with respect to their global affairs portfolios. The Governor was extremely excited and remarked that he has some great idea for the Secretary about how the Department can be a major value-add to local governments. He told me that he wants to be very engaged in what we do in the Department in this area. I will be scheduling a time to meet with him and his economic team once my position has been announced. He wanted me to let her know that he had been thinking about her and wanted to reach out and did not know how and then I walked in and we began to have this discussion and he said – what a way to start his year for 2010 – something coming to reality that he had been thinking about.

Also, Maura Pally in ECA forwarded me a meeting that I took with the Deputy Director of the National Lieutenant Governor's Association. They were in town working on their upcoming Washington meeting. They too are very excited about what we are planning and want to work very closely with us in the coming months as we launch this effort. Lt. Governor Bill Bolling in VA is the current Chair.

Please let me know if you need to make any additional changes. Thanks so much for all of your assistance and support!!!

Have a great New Years!!

Best,

Reta

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Kibaki doesn't want to lose call. Is trying to do it at 7:30 so ops may call.

Ok. Is Raj coming tonight?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 07 07:21:54 2010
Subject: Kibaki doesn't want to lose call. Is trying to do it at 7:30 so ops may call.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Development speech

I want to send the development speech as delivered w a note from me to the appropriate Members of Congress (authorizing, appropriating, leadership, others?). I can sign the letters anytime before I leave for Asia/Pacific on Monday am. Thx so much.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 7:51 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Robinson

We should try to reschedule call. The press statements explain a lot.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 7, 2010 8:22 AM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Development speech

We should try.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H; Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Jan 07 08:19:55 2010
Subject: Re: Development speech

Great idea. I wonder if we should also try to get it published in Foreign Affairs or something equivalent.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Thu Jan 07 07:33:45 2010
Subject: Development speech

I want to send the development speech as delivered w a note from me to the appropriate Members of Congress (authorizing, appropriating, leadership, others?). I can sign the letters anytime before I leave for Asia/Pacific on Monday am. Thx so much.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773090 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

United Nations Children's Fund
Three United Nations Plaza
New York, New York, 10017

Telephone 212 326 7035
Facsimile 212 326 7758
www.unicef.org

11 October 2010

Excellency,

I would be grateful if you would kindly forward the enclosed letter from Mr. Anthony Lake, Executive Director of UNICEF, to The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Washington, DC.

A copy of the letter is attached for your information.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Maria Calivis
Director and Chief of Staff

Her Excellency
Ms. Susan E. Rice
Permanent Representative of the United States
to the United Nations
140 East 45th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

unite for children

unicef

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773090 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 12:19 PM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'; 'crowleypj@state.gov'
**Subject:** US radio

Can you also put people on domestic radio, including talk shows getting out info and answering questions?

RELEASE IN FULL

Anthony Lake
Executive Director

Dear Hillary,

A short note to thank you and your colleagues for organizing such a good event on nutrition and for making it so useful. We look forward to further collaboration with the U.S.G.

And I enjoyed seeing you, if only briefly.

No need to reply - I suspect you are rather busy. unicef

Best wishes,
Tony

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 7:26 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call followup

Sen. Tester--Pls ask someone on Michele Bond's team to call Jamie Wise on Sen. Tester's staff to explain our orphan procedures. The Senator said he had about 15 families who had gone thru the adoption process.

Pls add Stephanie Miner and Jack Mannion to a guest list for a future event at State.

Also, Jack Rosen still wants a mtg sometime in the future. So ask Lona just to add him to a list but not schedule it.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Looks like both of them can do monday night. Krystal confirming. Sunday might be better for her.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 22:45:50 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Did we get Kristy and Krystal (for color) scheduled for Sunday or Monday night?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:51:19 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Aiming to send monday for tues delivery.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:29:51 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Do you know when the Oscar jackets will be ready?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:12:11 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Call confirmed for 930
Bill wants to do in person
Netanyahu letter still isn't done, just checked. Will get to u when it is.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 20:24:54 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

I'll talk to Dennis at 9:30am tomorrow.

I'd be willing to talk by phone w Bill Burns either by phone over the weekend or on Monday whichever he wants.

And I will decide tomorrow about what, if any, of the foreign calls I'll make.

I'm supposed to get faxed to me tonight a letter for Netanyahu from the specials. Can you find out when it's coming?

I hope you were convincing w[ ] and am happy Jen is doing well. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Nov 12 19:41:20 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Been a pretty slow day. Can u reply all on this email?
- dennis ross asking to do secure call at 9:30 instead of 10. Is that ok?
- bill burns wants to give you trip download in person so he will come see you monday.
- I just got a call sheet for netanyahu which I'm told you may do over weekend.
- I sent draft remarks for dorothy height service for your review.
- geoff morell just reported that wash post is going to run your/gates start oped on monday.
- also a new call list coming your way. Only new call is ted deutch returned your call. The rest of the outstanding foreign calls are in your folder but we haven't done anything with them.
- I connected with[ ] today who said[ ] offered to keep her job for 2 more years. [ ] still seems inclined to want to come to you but I encouraged her to stay
- we got our allotment for wh holiday tour tickets so we have been offering to people
- I saw jen hanley today who is doing very very well and sends her best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 15:44:41 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:16:54 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

---

From: Withers, Anne M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 10:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Ill offer
Also, did u see statement from dan schwerin on aung san suu kyi? Are u ok with it?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Nov 13 09:13:11 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

I could do Sunday night w Krystal--what about 8pm?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Nov 13 09:11:57 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Looks like both of them can do monday night. Krystal confirming. Sunday might be better for her.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 22:45:50 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Did we get Kristy and Krystal (for color) scheduled for Sunday or Monday night?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:51:19 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Aiming to send monday for tues delivery.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:29:51 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

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----- Original Message -----

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Sent: Fri Nov 12 21:12:11 2010
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And I will decide tomorrow about what, if any, of the foreign calls I'll make.

I'm supposed to get faxed to me tonight a letter for Netanyahu from the specials. Can you find out when it's coming?

I hope you were convincing w [redacted] and am happy Jen is doing well. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Nov 12 19:41:20 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

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- I sent draft remarks for dorothy height service for your review.
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- also a new call list coming your way. Only new call is ted deutch returned your call. The rest of the outstanding foreign calls are in your folder but we haven't done anything with them.
- I connected with [redacted] today who said [redacted] offered to keep her job for 2 more years. [redacted] still seems inclined to want to come to you but I encouraged her to stay
- we got our allotment for wh holiday tour tickets so we have been offering to people
- I saw jen hanley today who is doing very very well and sends her best to you.

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To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri Nov 12 15:44:41 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:16:54 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

---

From: Withers, Anne M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
Sent: Fri Nov 12 14:08:14 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Saudi king told to rest over slipped disc

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has been told by doctors he had to rest because he had a slipped disc, the state-news agency SPA reported on November 12. SPA quoted a royal court statement as saying doctors had ordered the king, who is in his 80s, to rest under a treatment plan.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 8:36 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Morales

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jan 20 20:28:29 2010
Subject: Morales

Morales blasted the U.S. efforts in Haiti today. See below. Craig Kelly and I agree that you should consider a call to Morales. Perhaps we could discuss tomorrow.

From: Rocha, Barbara
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 1:26 PM
To: Roberts, Asel K
Subject: FW: Garcia Linera on Haiti

Rough translation of the points below:

- Evo Morales announced today that his government will ask for an emergency meeting at the UN to "reject the U.S. military occupation" in Haiti, according to Spanish news agency EFE.

- "It is not possible that the U.S. is using a natural disaster to invade and occupy Haiti," said Morales, who qualified as "inhumane, savage, and opportunist" the deployment of troops in the Caribbean island.

- "We'll ask the UN, via our Foreign Ministry, for an emergency meeting to reject this military occupation of the U.S. in Haiti," announced Morales.

- Morales recalled that President Obama has guaranteed in international fora that he wants partners and respectful diplomatic relations with other countries. "You don't achieve this (partners, diplomatic relations) with military occupation, or troops, or bases," he said and expects "a pronouncement by the peoples of the world and social forces rejecting this intervention and military occupation in Haiti."

- Morales also asked "how much money, food and water" will be destined to the 12,000 soldiers the U.S. sent to Haiti and noted that this money "should be spend on the victims."

- He trusted that the American people will reject "the abusive use" of their economic resources for what he insisted on qualifying as "military intervention."

- "The times of empire have ended: these are times of the people."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Rocha, Barbara
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 1:09 PM
To: Roberts, Asel K
Subject: FW: Garcia Linera on Haiti

Following up on this, President Morales has now said he will call for an emergency meeting at the UN to "reject the U.S. military occupation of Haiti." I've alerted IO. I'll reach out to Labor and G staff to offer a briefing, will keep you looped in.

EVO MORALES PIDE REUNION DE EMERGENCIA PARA REPUDIAR Y RECHAZAR A EEUU EN HAITI, INFORMA EFE

- Evo Morales anunció hoy que su Gobierno pedirá a Naciones Unidas una reunión de emergencia para "repudiar y rechazar la ocupación militar de Estados Unidos" en Haití, informa la agencia española EFE.

- "No es posible que Estados Unidos use una desgracia natural para invadir y ocupar militarmente Haití", dijo Morales, quien calificó de "inhumano, salvaje y oportunista" el despliegue de las fuerzas armadas estadounidenses en la isla caribeña.

- "Vamos a pedir mediante la cancillería a las Naciones Unidas una reunión de emergencia para repudiar y rechazar esta ocupación militar de Estados Unidos hacia Haití", anunció Morales.

- Morales recordó que el mandatario de Estados Unidos, Barack Obama, ha garantizado en foros internacionales que desea tener socios y relaciones diplomáticas de respeto mutuo con el resto de países. "Ser socios o tener relaciones diplomáticas no se hace con ocupación militar, ni con tropas militares, ni con bases militares", dijo y espera "un pronunciamiento de todos los pueblos del mundo y de las fuerzas sociales rechazando esta intervención y ocupación militar en Haití".

- Morales se preguntó también "cuánta plata, cuántos alimentos o cuánta agua" se van a destinar para abastecer a los 12.000 soldados que Estados Unidos ha mandado a Haití y consideró que ese dinero "debería gastarse en los damnificados" por el terremoto y no en los militares.

- Confió en que el propio pueblo estadounidense rechace "el uso abusivo" de sus recursos económicos para lo que insistió en calificar como "intervención militar".

"Los tiempos de imperio se terminan: son tiempos de pueblos", sentenció.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 18, 2010 11:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Mon Oct 18 22:33:26 2010
Subject: Fw: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Pls try to find the h/w letter for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Oct 18 22:24:32 2010
Subject: Fw: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

----- Original Message -----
From: Huang, Cindy Y
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Haslach, Patricia M
Sent: Mon Oct 18 18:39:51 2010
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Handwritten note of thanks from Tony Lake to S. Glad that he notes the meeting was "useful" -- maybe a sign that we managed to make it more than just talking heads? Thx!

-----Original Message-----
From: Sabar, Aisha (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 6:38 PM
To: Nagy, Eleanor; Huang, Cindy Y
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Nice note from Tony Lake to the Secretary regarding the nutrition event in case you didn't already see it..

Aisha I. Sabar
Economic and Social Affairs Adviser
U.S. Mission to the United Nations

799 United Nations Plaza

New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-415-4229
Email: sabara2@state.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----
From: Sammis, John F (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:39 PM
To: Nemroff, Courtney R (USUN); Glucksman, Tobias H (USUN)
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

Who had the lead on the nutrition event for us?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Myers, Honora L (USUN)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:38 PM
To: DiCarlo, Rosemary A (USUN); Anderson, Brooke D (USUN); Barton, Rick (USUN); Ahmed, Salman (USUN); Sammis, John F (USUN); Nemroff, Courtney R (USUN)
Subject: FW: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

-----Original Message-----
From: EXECUTIVE [mailto:EXECGRP@STATE.GOV]
Sent: Monday, October 18, 2010 12:35 PM
To: Myers, Honora L (USUN)
Subject: Letter to Secty Clinton from Tony Lake

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 10:44 AM
**To:** H; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Did I do an interview w Lebanon's paper An-Nahar?

This was the written interview where you met the journalist and took the photo.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan
To: 'feltmanjd@state.gov'
Subject: Did I do an interview w Lebanon's paper An-Nahar?
Sent: Nov 13, 2010 10:38 AM

That's what my clips say. Was this taken from public statements?

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Speech being faxed right now.

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:37:05 2010
Subject: Speech being faxed right now.

Book will be there in 10 minutes.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 11:04 AM
**To:** jake.sullivan[redacted]H; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
**Subject:** Re: Did I do an interview w Lebanon's paper An-Nahar?

It has gotten incredibly positive coverage in the region. HbJ just called to praise it, and Hossam Zaki said that Aboul-Gheit thought it was "perfect.". The timing was serendipitous -- the day after the latest Nasrallah screed (where you and I were mentioned by name), thus pushing Nasrallah aside in the media. Maura Connelly reports that Hariri was pleased. We got big bang out of this.
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----
From: jake.sullivan[redacted]
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Sat Nov 13 10:44:19 2010
Subject: Re: Did I do an interview w Lebanon's paper An-Nahar?

This was the written interview where you met the journalist and took the photo.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivar[redacted]
To: 'feltmanjd@state.gov'
Subject: Did I do an interview w Lebanon's paper An-Nahar?
Sent: Nov 13, 2010 10:38 AM

That's what my clips say. Was this taken from public statements?

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia will go to NATO meeting, eyes missile - source

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Tue Oct 19 05:53:47 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Russia will go to NATO meeting, eyes missile - source

DEAUVILLE (Reuters) - Russia wants to take part in a NATO-backed missile defense shield and will go to next month's NATO summit, softening its stance after reassurances from France and Germany, a source close to participants said on October 19.

Security is a major stumbling block in Russia's relationship with the West and has dominated talks between Presidents Sarkozy and Medvedev and Chancellor Merkel in the northern French seaside town of Deauville.

The source said that Medvedev himself would attend the NATO summit, which is due to unveil a new strategic plan for the 28-country alliance on November 19-20 in Lisbon.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:30 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'tillemnants@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Speech ETA?

Thank you TT for a very good speech. I have a few questions:

B5

Also, pls be sure the text is carefully proofread since there are a number of typos and missing words.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jan 20 21:26:43 2010
Subject: RE: Speech ETA?

It's on its way with the book but someone will fax now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 2010 9:23 PM
To: Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Speech ETA?

Do you know when it will arrive?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:32 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** The speech

Jake--[redacted] B5

What's your take on the impact of this version?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Indian report: Pakistan spies tied to Mumbai siege

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-SCT
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Tue Oct 19 03:55:17 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Indian report: Pakistan spies tied to Mumbai siege

NEW DELHI (AP) - A U.S. citizen convicted of scouting locations for the 2008 Mumbai attack said Pakistan's spy agency was deeply involved in the planning of the assault.

David Headley told Indian interrogators that officers from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency gave him $25,000 to fund his scouting missions to Mumbai ahead of the attack.

He said he debriefed his ISI handler every time he returned to Pakistan from Mumbai. He said his handler also made suggestions about how best to carry out the attack.

The revelations were contained in the Indian government's report on its June interrogation of Headley. The report, marked secret, was obtained by The Associated Press.

The Mumbai attacks killed 166 people.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 10:33 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Tomicah

Do you have his email address? The email I sent to you both came back undelivered.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Chavez in Iran for talks on boosting oil, gas ties

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-WHA
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Tue Oct 19 02:55:18 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Chavez in Iran for talks on boosting oil, gas ties

TEHRAN (AP) - Venezuelan President Chavez has arrived in Tehran for talks with Iranian leaders expected to focus on efforts to boost cooperation between the allies' oil, gas and petrochemical industries.

Iranian state television says Chavez was greeted by Industry Minister Ali Akbar Mehrabian at Tehran's Mehrabad airport upon arrival early October 19.

State TV says Chavez will hold talks with President Ahmadinejad, during his two-day visit.

The Venezuelan leader backed Iran in its confrontation with the West over Tehran's disputed nuclear program. The U.S. accuses Iran of seeking to develop an atomic bomb. Iran says its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 20, 2010 11:06 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Ashton meeting

I'd like to invite two EUR staffers--Jeremy Shapiro and Siddharth Mohandas-- who wrote a good memo about US-EU to come by and meet Lady Ashton tomorrow. Or even sit in on the mtg if ok w Phil Gordon.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 2:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) French government resigns ahead of reshuffle

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 14:17:33 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) French government resigns ahead of reshuffle

PARIS (Reuters) - French Prime Minister Francois Fillon and his government resigned on November 13 before a long-awaited ministerial reshuffle, according to a statement from President Nicolas Sarkozy's office.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 12:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Very cool article about S tech/empowerment for women

See below

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Stock, Ann; Dowd, Katie W; Reines, Philippe I; Chitre, Nanda S; Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Very cool article about S tech/empowerment for women

Yes, Sarah Granger blogging on Blogher which is the largest community of women who blog, 23+ million unique visitors per month according to their site

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:24 AM
**To:** Ross, Alec J; Stock, Ann; Dowd, Katie W; Reines, Philippe I; Chitre, Nanda S; Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: Very cool article about S tech/empowerment for women

Where is this from? A blogger

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:19 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Stock, Ann; Dowd, Katie W; Reines, Philippe I; Chitre, Nanda S; Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Very cool article about S tech/empowerment for women

**Very, very cool article.**

http://www.blogher.com/hillary-clinton-calls-techwomen-and-green-girls

**Hillary Clinton Calls on TechWomen and Green Girls for Global Change**

Friday night, I waited at the San Francisco Marriott Marquis, surrounded by Bomb Squad vehicles and black bulletproof SUVS, for Hillary Clinton to speak to an audience of 1,400, only her third appearance in the United States since she took office as Secretary of State in early 2009. Upon entering the room, she grinned widely and received a standing ovation, welcomed with open arms by the loyal crowd. After a brief introduction, she cut straight to the point. The government needs innovation to solve our problems and the world's problems. And she meant it.

I live tweeted much of the event, including a lengthy Q&A that brought up issues all over the world, starting with Afghanistan, leading to our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. E.B. Boyd of *FastCompany* described the call for tech innovators quite well in her article, and the full transcript of the event was published on the State.gov website. So while I could regurgitate many quotes from the two hour Commonwealth Club event again here, I won't. Instead, I'll focus on the fine points affecting women, girls and bloggers -- our community here at BlogHer.

The world is broken in so many ways. We're reminded of it every day with photos of flooded villages, exploding cities, and starving children. Rather than taking the "glass half empty" approach and leaving it for other people to deal with, Secretary Clinton holds onto optimism. Slowly, over generations, she believes we can solve these problems through collaboration across governments and cultures, paired with innovative thinking and an entrepreneurial spirit. Included in this, not just as an afterthought, comes the role of women and girls.

It's no secret Clinton is an advocate for women's rights, but she has also become a champion of global education for all, based not only on her personal conviction but on numerous data sources showing how educating girls can change entire communities. The State Department understands that this is a complex undertaking. But these communities also need protection. In order to help them, Clinton explains, we must equip their governments and their people with the knowhow and a multitude of resources and tools to continue developing on their own. Afghanistan is only one example of this, and the mWomen global initiative puts cell phones directly in the hands of women who need them for basic communications and commerce.

Meanwhile, in more developed regions, we can provide mentorship opportunities. That's where State's new TechWomen initiative comes in. Implemented by the Institute of International Education and the Anita Borg Institute for Women and Technology, TechWomen will bring 38 women from Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, the West Bank and Gaza for five weeks of mentorship by leaders in Silicon Valley companies, including Google, Twitter, HP Labs, Facebook, Symantec along with Bay Area based Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Sandia National Laboratories.

TechWomen provides just one way of opening up dialogues between women on how to innovate to solve global problems. It's part of her view on "21st Century Statecraft." The State Department has also, over the past 20 months, taken extraordinary leaps in terms of new media, for those who haven't noticed. Just look at their website now vs. two years ago (courtesy Archive.org), view their Twitter feed, or observe their Facebook page. They're not just giving the Gov 2.0 movement lip service; they're full partners.

Which brings me back to girls. The final question from the Q&A on Friday night was from a young girl. She asked, "I am 10 years old and I'm worried about my future environment. What can people do to help?" Clinton's soft spot couldn't have been more obvious. She beamed at the young girl and told her "there is a lot that you can do."

Clinton continued to explain that in her experience, "young people are much more environmentally conscious and committed to protecting the world you're growing up in than some of us older people are." (Earlier in the Q&A, she emphasized her extreme displeasure at the lack of strong environmental legislation coming out of the Senate.) She then provided a disclaimer that she can't comment on politics as Secretary of State, but noted, "speaking as a private citizen, I think people running for office should be asked to explain their positions on what they're going to do." In other words, improve transparency about what candidates plan to do for the environment and other important issues when they're elected, and hold them accountable.

After another standing ovation, Clinton stepped off the ballroom stage and departed the hotel, along with the Secret Service, Bomb Squad trucks and darkened motorcade. But she left behind a room full of proactive thinkers, dreamers and doers, the majority of whom were women, who will take her words to heart and make them happen. I implore the BlogHer community to join in this worthy endeavor.

*Sarah Granger blogs here and there. She is curating BlogHer's political content through Election 2010.*

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:45 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: speech

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 00:10:57 2010
Subject: speech

You'll have a new draft when you wake up. I think it's getting close but can use one more pass from you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 2:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Need to talk

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: speech

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 07:51:35 2010
Subject: Re: speech

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jan 21 07:44:59 2010
Subject: Re: speech

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 00:10:57 2010
Subject: speech

You'll have a new draft when you wake up. I think it's getting close but can use one more pass from you. [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:30 AM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Round table in my outer office

When I get my new table in place, pls arrange for the round table to be moved into Cheryl's office; just the table, not the chairs. She and I discussed what else could come out of her space. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:25 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: great job

And well-deserved. You're a rock star!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:21:57 2010
Subject: FW: great job

nice

From: Ann O'Leary [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 6:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: great job

Dearest Cheryl -

You are so good at what you do. I was reminded of it this morning when I heard you on NPR. You're the perfect person to be on the ground dealing with the operation and also translating for the public what is going on. I know you don't enjoy doing press, but you are very good at it and I think it is important for the American public to understand the mission of the U.S. government and the high respect and deference you are giving to the Haitian government. You really got that across this morning.

Sending you lots of love and good luck in your incredibly important mission.

xo,
Ann

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:01 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: A potential climate call tomorrow

Let me know what you find out. Probably need to talk w Bader and Froman too.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:46:34 2010
Subject: FW: A potential climate call tomorrow

FYI. I'm following up with Kurt to get his thoughts.

---

From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:09 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: A potential climate call tomorrow

Jake – it would be useful if HRC could call Wen Jiabao [redacted] B5

B5

<<S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx>>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: early review. Sid

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 22:19:34 2010
Subject: H: early review. Sid

B6

H: Jim Fallows told me he was at your speech and thrilled by it. He's just returned from three years in China. He didn't expect you would be so frank. Here's his post on The Atlantic website. Sid

http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/a_momentous_40_hours.php#more

<http://ad.doubleclick.net/click%3Bh=v8/392a/3/0/%2a/d%3B220891182%3B0-0%3B0%3B44073402%3B3454-728/90%3B33541978/33559856/1%3B%3B%7Efdr%3D220121663%3B0-0%3B1%3B17654873%3B3454-728/90%3B34945512/34963342/1%3B%3B%7Esscs%3D%3fhttp://www.adobe.com/opengov/?sdid=FCFPP>

<http://ad.doubleclick.net/jump/TheAtlanticOnline/james_fallows;pos=topleader;tile=1;sz=728x90,468x60;ord=352212445?>

James Fallows <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/>
« Hillary Clinton's "Internet freedom" speech
<http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/hillary_clintons_internet_free.php> | Main
<http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/>

A momentous 40 hours, leading to Clinton/China/Internet

21 Jan 2010 04:12 pm
Apart from two obvious pieces of momentous news in the past day-and-a-half -- the new junior Senator from Massachusetts, and the new Buckley v. Valeo <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buckley_v._Valeo> (by which I mean today's lamentable, straight-party-line Supreme Court ruling <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703699204575016942930090152.html> that removes limits from direct corporate underwriting of political campaigns) -- there is one other event today that will have big ripple effects. I mean SecState Hillary Clinton's speech this morning about "Internet Freedom," mentioned here <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/hillary_clintons_internet_free.php> and with a prelude discussion here <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/interesting_chinagoogle_discus.php> .

I'm not going to take time for a thorough gloss of the speech. Instead I highly recommend reading the full text, here <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm> , or watching the official video, here <http://link.brightcove.com/services/player/bcpid1705667530?bctid=62730021001> . And for now some of the main points while listening (and noting main points down in real time with the handy LiveScribe <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2009/07/my_new_favorite_gadget_li.php> pen.)

- In contrast to the dreamy Internet optimism of a decade or so ago -- I'm not naming names, but I remember! -- when many people imagined that info technology, by itself, would undermine oppression and bring the world together, Clinton started off with a very astringent reminder that this technology, like others, was neither good or bad in itself and is already being used in both helpful and destructive ways:

"Amid this unprecedented surge in connectivity, we must also recognize that these technologies are not an unmitigated blessing. These tools are also being exploited to undermine human progress and political rights. Just as steel can be used to build hospitals or machine guns, or nuclear power can either energize a city or destroy it, modern information networks and the technologies they support can be harnessed for good or for ill. The same networks that help organize movements for freedom also enable al-Qaida to spew hatred and incite violence against the innocent. And technologies with the potential to open up access to government and promote transparency can also be hijacked by governments to crush dissent and deny human rights."

And a very nice pivot out of this section, effective because it's so blunt and plain:

"On their own, new technologies do not take sides in the struggle for freedom and progress, but the United States does."

- Underscoring the "this is a big deal" tone of the speech, she enumerated the "Four Freedoms <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four_Freedoms> " that FDR proclaimed in 1941, as part of the struggle for the world's future, and said there were a comparable set of Four Freedoms for the Internet age. Check out the speech yourself for details.

- The China surprise: the speech was a more frontal challenge to Chinese internet and overall censorship policy than I expected, and than I recall in other US-China interactions in a very long time. For instance, early in the speech, an itemization of the places where suppression is getting worse:

"In the last year, we've seen a spike in threats to the free flow of information. China, Tunisia, and Uzbekistan have stepped up their censorship of the internet. In Vietnam, access to popular social networking sites has suddenly disappeared. And last Friday in Egypt, 30 bloggers and activists were detained."

Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Egypt -- this is not the grouping of countries that the Chinese government, in its recent sense of rise to superpower status, is used to being lumped with. Compared to the US as a financial power, OK; overtaking Japan in economic size, yes; being a crucial player in environmental negotiations... all that is one thing. Bracketed in the same sentence with Tunisia and Uzbekistan is different. Sentences like this don't appear in formal, big-deal SecState addresses by accident.

Other passages to the same effect:

"As I speak to you today, government censors somewhere are working furiously to erase my words from the records of history. But history itself has already condemned these tactics....

"Those who disrupt the free flow of information in our society or any other pose a threat to our economy, our government, and our civil society. Countries or individuals that engage in cyber attacks should face consequences and international condemnation...."

And then the Google section itself.
I had wondered whether the speech would mention Google by name -- and had reason to think it might not. (Main argument for leaving it implicit rather than referring directly to the Google case: in the company's ongoing efforts to find a "win-win-win <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/behind_on_google-china-ology.php> " acceptable way to remain in China, rather than a lose-lose-lose permanent split, it's not necessarily a help to have the U.S. government standing officially by its side. ) But the way Sec. Clinton introduced the point was significant: as a proxy for China's own ability to fulfill its potential <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/about_the_stakes_for_china_in.php> and sustain its economic rise:

"To use market terminology, a publicly listed company in Tunisia or Vietnam that operates in an environment of censorship will always trade at a discount relative to an identical firm in a free society. If corporate decision makers don't have access to global sources of news and information, investors will have less confidence in their decisions over the long term. Countries that censor news and information must recognize that from an economic standpoint, there is no distinction between censoring political speech and commercial speech. If businesses in your nations are denied access to either type of information, it will inevitably impact on growth.

"Increasingly, U.S. companies are making the issue of internet and information freedom a greater consideration in their business decisions. I hope that their competitors and foreign governments will pay close attention to this trend. The most recent situation involving Google has attracted a great deal of interest. And we look to the Chinese authorities to conduct a thorough review of the cyber intrusions that led Google to make its announcement. And we also look for that investigation and its results to be transparent.

"The internet has already been a source of tremendous progress in China, and it is fabulous. There are so many people in China now online. But countries that restrict free access to information or violate the basic rights of internet users risk walling themselves off from the progress of the next century. Now, the United States and China have different views on this issue, and we intend to address those differences candidly and consistently in the context of our positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship."

There's a lot more in the speech, including about terrorism, disaster relief, religion, etc -- but it's there for the reading. Back to the to-do list for me now.
Permalink <http://jamesfallows.theatlantic.com/archives/2010/01/a_momentous_40_hours.php> ::
Share This <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Tom vilsack has a call into you.

Ill add to grid. His cell is [redacted] ### B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Griot education project in Haiti - anothter idea -- much quicker ramp-up

Another good idea.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 21:57:11 2010
Subject: FW: Griot education project in Haiti - anothter idea -- much quicker ramp-up

fyi

From: David Domenici [mailto [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 8:54 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Griot education project in Haiti - anothter idea -- much quicker ramp-up

Cheryl:

After watching scenes on TV, talking w/ you and others, here is idea for nearly immediate way to get kids back 'in school' or into school for the first time. It would be very cheap, could get started very soon—say mid-February, could be linked to other distribution networks (food/medical supplies), and would be quite organic and grassroots. I'll call it the Griot education project (in the west African tradition of a streetside storytellers).

Context/Understanding:

Looks like there are a few hundred thousand kids in Port-au-Prince who pretty soon will be (already are) sitting around day-to-day w/ more or less nothing to do. Their schools got destroyed, their neighborhoods in rough shape. These are young kids who would be best served if they could get out of the house for a few hours a day (possibly even freeing up parents to do rebuilding or other work), and not spend their time getting caught up in crime, or desperately searching through rubble for a mal to eat...and get back to school, and engage their naturally curious brains.

The goal of this program is to immediately give them a place to go, a chance to interface with an energetic educator, and at least expose them to relevant, skill-enhancing academic work that engages them while we rebuild education infrastructure. It also would likely get them 1 meal each day, and if needed a way to get referred for immediate medical attention.

Griot Educators:

We recruit and equip a cadre of teachers who will go out into communities with a set of portable materials each morning—educators who after a few days will find a place to teach, and will have attracted class of students. This is modeled off the street artist/storyteller.

We flyer the neighborhoods, advertising teaching positions. We work w/ whoever we can find who can help us identify people who were good teachers prior to the earthquake and/or people who have the abilty to attract kids (appropriately).

We select teachers. We agree to pay them a daily/weekly stipend. We want people who know their communities, who don't need a lot of direction, who will take a cart full of educational materials, find a corner, or abandoned building and start teaching to whoever shows up. People who will do anything to get some young kids to try to read or do some math problems or sing songs and write poetry...

Education Supply Centers

We set up education supply centers and a distribution system. Each center is staffed by small team—1 lead person is an education-leader, others are admin and support. Griots come the center in the morning, they get a day's worth of educational materials (we select it, we photocopy it, we give them 50 pencils, etc.). We agree to send over 50 meals two hours later. Each Griot wheels his portable classroom to his/her spot and sets up shop...Kids come, and he/she teaches. It builds momentum and kids get off the streets, out of their homes and come to the morning 'school' site. Kids who come get a meal. Maybe we end up w/ 3 tiers of Griots—1 who works w/ 4, 5, 6 year olds, 1 with 7, 8, 9 year olds, 1 with 10, 11, 12 year olds. Each one picks up a packet of material that is more or less appropriate for that age group. All this is incredibly flexible and fluid. Maybe one morning session and then an after lunch session.

The education supply centers are warehouses we set up. They have copiers, lots of paper, basic school supplies, some art supplies, etc. (Over time, maybe people donate a bunch of books or magazines, etc—they become ways for artists, volunteers, entertainers to connect w/ kids, as well.) Each morning a group of Griots go to their supply centers and pick up materials, and fill up their cart...and roll down the block, or blocks and set up their 'school' for the day. Maybe someone wants to donate a bunch of art supplies, or harmonicas—who knows—whatever it takes to get kids to show up and do some academic and enrichment activities. These education supply centers likely get linked to other distribution hubs. This way they can get linked w/ food or other supplies.

Longer-term/setting the stage for longer-term ramp up

Over time, some of the Griots will end up running little schools that start to feel permanent. Kids will bring in chairs and stools...maybe some of the teaching material ends up staying at the school sites, and the end up as likely places for folks to build/rebuild schools. But in the near term, the 'school' is whatever spot the Griot goes to where he/she can attract a cadre of kids—and the good news is that can be almost anywhere.

This program is cheap -- as costly as it is to pay stipends to the Griots, plus the cost of supplies, delivery, and some human capital to man the supply centers, develop/acquire high interest, high educational value material. I think quite cheap, and could easily be costed out once we knew about how much we need to pay a Griot for a day of teaching.

It also gets some folks working, immediately.

Some Griots would take stipend and not teach; some wouldn't do it well; some would pawn off the food/biscuits...But we could weed much of that out and w/ this sort of approach, you don't let a few bad apples spoil the larger program (or fear of them stop it from getting started). This program is about planting the seeds for the future schools to come, about getting young kids off streets and stoops and into a fun/learning environment, about empowering talented teacher-artists to go out into their communities armed w/ some basic materials, their good will, their creativity (and a paycheck)—together the kids and the Griots will find local places to call and claim as their schools.

And while this is going on, we have time to build out infrastructure (human capital, facilities, instructional/curricular materials) for more robust ramp-up over time.

Per usual, feel free to ignore or pass on.

dd

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:15 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: A potential climate call tomorrow

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 19:46:34 2010
Subject: FW: A potential climate call tomorrow

FYI. I'm following up with Kurt to get his thoughts.

---

From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2010 7:09 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
Subject: A potential climate call tomorrow

Jake – it would be useful if HRC could call Wen Jiabao [redacted] B5

[redacted]

B5

<<S points for Wen call 1-21-10 v3.docx>>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 6:18 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: FYI... David Crane... Fw: Catch up
**Attachments:** Details of [redacted] Details of [redacted] doc

**Importance:** High

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 15:12:30 2010
Subject: FYI... David Crane... Fw: Catch up

Wanted you to see both requests/comments from David Crane...

Burns Strider

---

From: "Crane, David" [redacted] B6
Date: Thu, 21 Jan 2010 15:07:44 -0500
To: BStrider [redacted]
Cc: O'Brien, John [redacted]; gailfritzinger [redacted]
Subject: Catch up

Dear Burns:

It has been some time since we spoke so I wanted to start by wishing you a happy new year and thanking you for your assistance in placing our corporate contribution for Haiti Relief through the Clinton Foundation.

My hope is that you can further help me with two very different requests related to the Haitian tragedy:

1. After the tsunami devastated parts of Indonesia in 2004, I felt strongly that the CEOs of American corporations involved in the planning, construction and operation of civil, energy, water and telecommunication infrastructure should lead a charitable effort involving human as well as financial resources to develop an implementation plan for the rebuilding of the country once the Red Cross, the Military and the other "first responders" had stabilized the situation. I think the concept is even more relevant in 2010 with respect to Haiti which obviously is much closer to the United States and has much less indigenous skills and resources of its own to apply to the rebuilding

effort. Given President Clinton's normal powers of persuasion and his passion for improving Haiti even before the earthquake (it was the only thing he wanted to talk about when Isabella and I met with him in November), he would have little difficulty recruiting a group of appropriate CEOs to form an "advisory council on Haitian infrastructure" (which then could springboard to greater things and deeper commitments). If you could reach out to the appropriate person on President Clinton's staff, we of course would be available to assist in giving shape to the concept, compiling a list of names of infrastructure CEOs, etc.

2. On a much more personal note, [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Burns, I know President Clinton is devoting all of his herculean energy to humanitarian relief for Haiti at the macro level, but knowing his humanistic approach, there must be someone on his staff who can help with these type of individual situations. [redacted]

[redacted]

I really appreciate your assistance with respect to both of these matters. Please do not hesitate to contact me night or day on my cell phone [redacted]

Come visit us in Princeton.

Best regards,

David Crane

RELEASE IN PART
B6

We are

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 6:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Tom vilsack has a call into you.

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Nov 13 15:57:32 2010
Subject: Re: Tom vilsack has a call into you.

I called him so no need to add to list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Nov 13 15:23:36 2010
Subject: Tom vilsack has a call into you.

Ill add to grid. His cell is [redacted] ### B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Commencements

Shall we wait until we make decisions [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 6:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) U.S. offered incentives for freeze of settlement building

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 17:22:50 2010
**Subject:** (AP) U.S. offered incentives for freeze of settlement building

JERUSALEM (AP) - Diplomatic sources said the United States offered Israel an incentive package to reinstate a moratorium on West Bank settlement building in an effort to revive stalled peace talks with the Palestinians. Under the deal, Israel would stop settlement construction for 90 days in the West Bank, but not in east Jerusalem. Among the incentives, the United States would fight resolutions critical of Israel at the United Nations.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** 'gordonph@state.gov'; 'kohhh@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Turkey/Armenia

I want to debrief you on my call w Davutogla and discuss strategy. Pls try to read the memcon before we meet. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 9:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: for Hillary

It's a very New York crowd and very Diane style event (i.e. unconventional) Last year, it was held in one of the big delegates' lounges at the UN and she redid all the chairs, etc in her patterns. The awards are all serious and DVF is the moderator. Each awardee receives 50K for her ongoing work. The event bears no resemblance to a typical foreign policy event, but if you were in NY, you could arrive for the awards and leave. I have no doubt you would be very warmly embraced and DVF and Barry are so fond of you. I would only do it if could be easily done.

In a message dated 11/13/2010 8:51:10 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, HDR22@clintonemail.com writes:

Do you think I should do this?

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer
To: H
Sent: Fri Nov 12 11:32:48 2010
Subject: Fwd: for Hillary

from your friend, DVF

-----Original Message-----
From: DVF
To: pverveer
Sent: Fri, Nov 12, 2010 1:29 am
Subject: for Hillary

Dearest Madame Secretary,
I am in Abu Dhabi, watching you on television with Prime Minister Natanyaou. You are looking so well ! You are more and more impressive...I am so proud of you !
We are planning our Women of the World Conference again for next March. On Saturday night, March 12th, I will be having the 2nd DVF Award at a dinner at the UN. 2 of the recipients will be women from Vital Voices, one will be voted by people on line and the fourth one is the special one give to formidable example of courage and leadership. Last year it was given to Ingrid Betancourt by Meryll Streep.
More than anything, I would love if you would be willing to accept that award. YOU are such an example of strength, leadership and spirit to all of us women.
Am I dreaming or would you be willing to accept it ?
Lots of love
Diane von Furstenberg
DVF Studio L.P.
440 West 14th Street
New York, NY 10014
Tel: 212-741-6607

---

01:29:41 Fri 12 Nov 2010 Diane von Furstenberg L.P.

---

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti
**Attachments:** image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg; image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg

As predicted.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:55:39 2010
Subject: news report on missing kids in Haiti

This is an AFP report from today.

Also, GTIP is working on a memo for you and Cheryl about child trafficking dangers in Haiti.

Trafficking fears as Haiti children go missing

Posted 5 hours 47 minutes ago
Updated 5 hours 46 minutes ago

<javascript:slideshowPrev();> <javascript:slideshowNext();> Slideshow: Photo 1 of 2

<http://www.abc.net.au/reslib/201001/r498072_2617306.jpg>

The UN has warned countries not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the wake of the disaster. (AFP: Matthew Marek

United Nations officials say children have gone missing from hospitals in Haiti since the devastating January 12 earthquake, raising fears of trafficking for adoption abroad.

"We have documented around 15 cases of children disappearing from hospitals and not with their own family at the time," said UNICEF adviser Jean Luc Legrand.

"UNICEF has been working in Haiti for many years and we knew the problem with the trade of children in Haiti that existed already beforehand.

"Unfortunately, many of these trade networks have links with the international adoption market."

The agency said it had warned countries during the past week not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the immediate wake of the quake.

However several are fast-tracking adoption procedures already under way, including Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the United States.

Mr Legrand said the situation was similar to the aftermath of the tsunami in Asia five years ago.

Trafficking networks were springing into action immediately after the disaster and taking advantage of the weakness of local authorities and relief coordination "to kidnap children and get them out of the country".

Rupert Colville, a spokesman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, said child enslavement and trafficking in Haiti was "an existing problem and could easily emerge as a serious issue over the coming weeks and months".

The UN mission in Haiti has stepped up surveillance of roads, UNICEF officials said.

Mr Legrand said there was separate but only anecdotal evidence of people taking children by road to the neighbouring Dominican Republic and loading children on to planes.

"We have seen over the past years many children being taken out of the country without any legal procedure," he said.

"This is going on. This is happening now. We are starting to have the first evidence of that, this is unquestionable."

He was unable to give details on the 15 missing children or their condition or clearly connect the anecdotal observations in Haiti's chaos with trafficking.

The cases were documented by social workers and by partner non-governmental organisations working for UNICEF in hospitals.

- AFP

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:27 PM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: internet freedom

I did once before speech and will do again. Thx to all.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:59:34 2010
Subject: internet freedom

If you have the time or inclination, it would be really nice if you could send an email to Tomicah, or phone him. He went for almost 100 hours without sleep to get the speech done, under unusually trying circumstances. He deserves some recognition for grace under pressure and a job well done.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:28 PM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti
**Attachments:** image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg; image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg

Pls show to Cheryl.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:55:39 2010
Subject: news report on missing kids in Haiti

This is an AFP report from today.

Also, GTIP is working on a memo for you and Cheryl about child trafficking dangers in Haiti.

Trafficking fears as Haiti children go missing

Posted 5 hours 47 minutes ago
Updated 5 hours 46 minutes ago

<javascript:slideshowPrev();> <javascript:slideshowNext();> Slideshow: Photo 1 of 2

<http://www.abc.net.au/reslib/201001/r498072_2617306.jpg>

The UN has warned countries not to step up adoptions from Haiti in the wake of the disaster. (AFP: Matthew Marek

United Nations officials say children have gone missing from hospitals in Haiti since the devastating January 12 earthquake, raising fears of trafficking for adoption abroad.

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The cases were documented by social workers and by partner non-governmental organisations working for UNICEF in hospitals.

- AFP

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:29 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti
**Attachments:** image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg; image001.png; image002.png; image003.jpg

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'cheryl.mills com' <cheryl.mills B6
Sent: Fri Jan 22 17:26:15 2010
Subject: Fw: news report on missing kids in Haiti

As predicted.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:55:39 2010
Subject: news report on missing kids in Haiti

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- AFP

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:31 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti American Deaths/Confidential

The idea of a statement as requested below is a good one.

----- Original Message -----
From: Brian Greenspun [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 17:17:12 2010
Subject: Fw: Haiti American Deaths/Confidential

Hi hillary,

[redacted] Below is a message from my friend kevin thanking me for your efforts and alerting me to the letter that has or will find its way to you from the university president. I forward it to you in case you haven't seen it, want to get out in front of it, or whatever. The fact that you were instinctively sensitive to this situation should always be enough but, of course, with this type of loss, it never is. I hope all else is well, there has to be some good news somewhere. Right? All the best, brian

---

From: kevin stuessi [redacted]
To: Brian Greenspun
Sent: Fri Jan 22 14:04:07 2010
Subject: Fw: Haiti American Deaths/Confidential

Dear Brian,

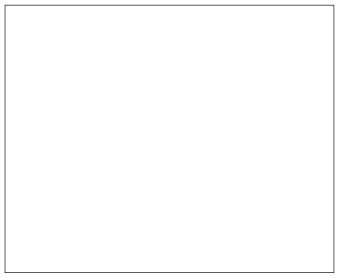
I wanted to thank you again for [redacted]

I read with interest today's article in the NY Times on how well the Obama Administration-State Dept is managing the crisis and associated PR. I know this would be a wonderful opportunity to serve two causes and get some great PR as well as put the minds of many families at ease if the Sate Department were to make a statement of support for "leaving no stone unturned until all Americans lost in Haiti can be returned to their families". I have already reached out to Senator Reid as well who had a liaison of his following up on search efforts. You will notice below the University is making a plea to Secretary Clinton directly, she may or may not be aware. Again, thank you for your time and if this can be put in the proper hands it would so be appreciated. You have already done more than I would have expected; and, I did not want anyone to be surprised if they had not heard of the University and the families making the plea to Secretary Clinton.

Kind Regards,

K

Kevin A. Stuessi



B6

----- Forwarded Message ----
From: "froggylala <froggylala
To: kevinstuessi
Sent: Thu, January 21, 2010 5:41:31 PM
Subject: Lynn University Update: MEDIA ALERT:

hi kev...please take note and see if anything else can be done...

President Kevin M. Ross remarks from 5 p.m. press briefing

As we all know, the world suffered one of the greatest natural disasters in history last Tuesday. The 7.0 earthquake that was centered just outside Port-au-Prince imperiled the lives of all those in Haiti, including 14 members of our Lynn University family who were there on a mission trip. All 14 were on site at the Hotel Montana when the quake struck, and we have reason to believe that our four missing students and two faculty may be there still.

In the nine days since that tragedy, we have all been captivated by the stories of heroism, triumph, anguish and loss that have followed in the wake of this earthquake. And every day, we rejoice for what good news has been broadcast out of the country: the elderly woman rescued from beneath a crumbled cathedral; the child pulled alive and almost completely well from a wrecked home. As the family members of our missing students and employees have said in recent days, we have taken comfort in these reports, and celebrated them almost as if they were our own good news.

And for good reason. It is our good news. This tragedy is not a Lynn University tragedy alone. It does not affect just us, our community members, and their families. It affects us all. It affects people from around the world. It affects those that survived, and those that did not. And it impacts most severely those in Haiti itself – the people who call that country home.

Our "Journey of Hope" students went to Haiti to deliver hope. Eight have returned. And six remain missing. We still have hope– hope that a miracle is in the making. Hope that our six are found safe and sound. And hope that many

others too will be freed and reunited with loved ones around the world. That remains our most ardent wish here at Lynn University.

But there is another hope we have. A different kind of hope. And it is that hope that I wish to express tonight. We have hope that whatever the days ahead may bring, that we have the United States government's assurance that every person lost in this tragedy will be returned to their loved ones.

I want this personally. I want this for the families of our missing students and faculty, and our more than three dozen employees and eight students with family missing in the country. And I want it for the campus community I serve– a community that will need to grieve as well.

This is needed for every grieving father, son, mother, daughter, friend and neighbor who is aching at this very moment for a phone call. Whenever that phone call comes, I join the families of our missing six in demanding that such a call contain news of the whereabouts of the missing. A missing family member, whether alive or dead, must be returned to his or her loved ones.

Forces are mounting in defense against such a call. From the outset of this crisis my office has been served in immeasurable ways by Senator George S. LeMieux and Congressman Ron Klein and their staffs in Florida and D.C. The two have helped however they could to aid us in our search efforts. And tonight they are standing with us to ask Secretary Clinton and others to ensure that all Americans missing and unaccounted for in Haiti be returned home.

This is the assurance our campus community – and the families of these missing loved ones – will require in the days ahead. And many other American families will appreciate the same.. Tonight I have a letter already signed by Senator LeMieux urging the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and the U.S. Agency for International Development to continue "search and rescue efforts until the possibility of survival no longer exists" and to do "everything within (their) power to ensure that every American known to be missing in Haiti is located and returned home."

I am so thankful for the senator's support, and the support of Congressman Klein, who has also pledged to back us in this push. We hope all of our elected officials will join us – including those in Massachusetts, Georgia, New Jersey and New York, the home states of our four missing students. So many have already shown their support and concern. But now, we need assurances. We need a commitment to returning the missing to their families. Only this will give the families of the victims the peace they need to carry on.

We have been saying from the beginning how thankful we are for the prayers and support we have received here at Lynn University. The outpouring of support has been incredible. Please continue to offer those prayers and cross those fingers. We still believe in miracles. And we wish those same miracles upon all of you who are still uncertain at this hour.

Thank you all. And God bless.

<http://www1.lynn.edu/index.php?cid=1254451&forward=img>
To be removed from the Lynn University e-mail list, please click here.
<http://www1.lynn.edu/index.php?cid=1254451&src=broadcastemail&optoutall=3180&key=bb1ea2fb>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 5:46 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:36:29 2010
Subject: Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Will call at six - still doing email [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:33:44 2010
Subject: Re: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Can I call you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 05:25:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

---

From: Rubiner, Laurie [redacted]
To: jenklein [redacted] pverveer [redacted]; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tue Feb 02 17:35:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

You guys are totally great. Please thank Secy Clinton for us - we know it wouldn't have happened without her and all of you. We are also posting a video from Cecile on our website about this. Best, Laurie

---

From: Jordan, Brannon
To: Natl Communications Division; McHugh, Lorrie; Rubiner, Laurie; Meer, Jeff; Chaney, Joi; Taylor, Amy
Sent: Tue Feb 02 16:05:36 2010
Subject: Final: International Family Planning Budget Statement

Statement below and attached just sent to reporters.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: PPFA Media Relations 202-973-4882

February 2, 2010

Statement from Cecile Richards on International

Family Planning in the Obama Administration Budget

WASHINGTON, DC —The women of the world have true friends in Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Obama administration. After years of inadequate funding during the previous administration, yesterday's Fiscal Year 2011 budget request for an increase in international family planning is a critical step forward in demonstrating our nation's renewed commitment to ensuring that women worldwide have access to safe and effective reproductive health care.

The Obama administration has sent a strong signal that the status quo is unacceptable. Every year more than half a million women — nearly all of whom live in developing countries — die of pregnancy-related causes. Moreover, one in three deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth could be avoided if women who wanted effective contraception had access to it.

To strengthen our working relationships with partners around the world, as well as our image, the United States must increase access to family planning. By ensuring that women have increased access to the family planning they need, our nation is working to make good on its commitment to promote the health of all women and their families.

An investment in family planning is an investment that reaps significant dividends. By providing education, counseling and contraceptives to women and couples, we are working to strengthen families worldwide. We also will help achieve major reductions in infant and maternal mortality, HIV infections and global poverty. As Secretary Clinton has said, "There's a direct connection between a woman's ability to plan her family, space her pregnancies, and give birth safely, and her ability to get an education, work outside the home, support her family, and participate fully in the life of her community."

Planned Parenthood works with partners across the globe to eliminate barriers to basic reproductive health care that is essential to the health and well-being of women, men and children everywhere. Limited access to health care, lack of political will, legal and regulatory restrictions, cultural taboos, and harsh gender inequality all put women at risk of unintended pregnancy, unsafe abortion and childbirth, and HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. The

commitment of Secretary Clinton and the Obama administration to international family planning will further the efforts of Planned Parenthood and others to help women overcome barriers to accessing needed reproductive health care.

As the Fiscal Year 2011 budget and appropriations process moves forward, we look forward to working with Congress to build on this request so that we may adequately address the global health challenges facing women worldwide.

###

Planned Parenthood Federation of America is the nation's leading sexual and reproductive health care provider and advocate. We believe that everyone has the right to choose when or whether to have a child, and that every child should be wanted and loved. Planned Parenthood affiliates operate more than 840 health centers nationwide, providing medical services and sexuality education for millions of women, men, and teenagers each year. We also work with allies worldwide to ensure that all women and men have the right and the means to meet their sexual and reproductive health care needs.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 7:24 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Cdm trying to reach you.

I just tried calling but couldn't find her. I'm on way home.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 03 19:14:59 2010
Subject: Cdm trying to reach you.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 22, 2010 5:36 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Thank you!

TT (As prepared)--Thank you for all you did to make the speech yesterday so effective and powerful. We've gotten many positive comments and laid a solid foundation for future action.
Please get caught up on sleep! All the best, Hillary

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 10:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** The Hamburgs

I had a longtime postponed lunch with Betty and David. He was remembering his briefing with you at Blair House before you were to officially become FL. He said after all the talk about what could be done for kids, he remembers telling you as he was leaving that you could you make a real contribution on the international stage and he hoped that you would consider doing so.

He would like to be helpful. He's done a lot of work on preventive diplomacy which he feels is too often overlooked and extremely essential.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 8:59 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** London

I have to find time to meet w Rasmussen while I'm there. Maybe 20 minutes but I will give him whatever time he wants.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 10:17 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Honduras

I prefer (1) and they can all stay the next day for meetings if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 10:14:04 2010
Subject: Honduras

I spoke with Arturo this morning about the delegation to Honduras. [redacted] B5

They are proposing one of two alternatives: (1) Arturo, Jose F, Craig, and Dan R. or [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 11:17 PM
**To:** 'crowleypj@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'preines [redacted] 'sullivanjj@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Re: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

P.J.---Thanks for the headsup about [redacted] question. I was not saying anything new and believe I have said this before B6
and am copying both Philippe and Jake so all three of you can help me remember when, where and whether. Also, I believe the POTUS has also said this. Let's discuss tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Prince, Jonathan M (PACE) <PrinceJM@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mitchell, George J <MitchellG@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 03 22:49:58 2010
Subject: Feedback on Middle East Comments Today

Madam Secretary, good evening. I just received a question [redacted] B5

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 3, 2010 7:30 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Sunday

When am I scheduled to fly back?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 3:51 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

This is unbelievable. Or maybe totally so given the forces at work.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 09:26:25 2010
Subject: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

B6

http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election

Hugo Chavez's state-owned Petroleos Corp set to spend on your U.S. election
<http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election>

Digg <http://digg.com/submit?url=http://coloradoindependent.com/46462/hugo-chavezs-state-owned-petroleos-corp-set-to-spend-on-your-u-s-election&title=Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election&bodytext=Blogging+on+the+Citizens+United+Supreme+Court+ruling+is+more+of+what+we+love+about+the+web.+It%26%238217%3Bs+the+kind+of+typical+collective+dissection+we+have+now+come+to+expect+but+that+never+really+existed+before%3A+serious%2C+speculative%2C+arcane%2C+funny%2C+brilliant%2C+baked%2C+etc.+The+Sunlight+Foundation+blogging+is+predictably+good.+Paul+Blumenthal+dips+into+the+%5B...%5D&media=news&topic=politics> Tweet <http://twitter.com/home?status=RT%20@COindependent%20-%20Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election%C2%A0%20http://bit.ly/7duhoY> By John Tomasic <http://coloradoindependent.com/author/johntomasic/> 1/22/10 3:58 PM Blogging on the Citizens United Supreme Court ruling is more of what we love about the web. It's the kind of typical collective dissection we have now come to expect but that never really existed before: serious, speculative, arcane, funny, brilliant, baked, etc. The Sunlight Foundation blogging <http://blog.sunlightfoundation.com/2010/01/22/wait-can-foreign-companies-now-spend-on-us-political-elections/> is predictably good. Paul Blumenthal dips into the multinational dimension of the new "corporation as full citizen-person" framework, drawing on blogging going on at Newsweek <http://biog.newsweek.com/blogs/thegaggle/archive/2010/01/22/should-foreign-corporations-spend-money-on-u-s-political-candidates.aspx> and the Center for Public Integrity <http://www.publicintegrity.org/articles/entry/1913/> . "Looks like [the Court] might support allowing foreign companies to spend freely in elections in the United States. I guess this would be the corporate globalization of the U.S. electoral system." So you gotta ask yourself: Who does Hugo Chavez want for President?
Blumenthal excerpting the Center for Public Integrity:

<http://coloradoindependent.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Picture-142.png>
The Center for Public Integrity looks at this closer and shows what kind of foreign influence we are looking at:

One prominent examples is CITGO Petroleum Company — once the American-born Cities Services Company, but purchased in 1990 by the Venezuelan government-owned Petróleos de Venezuela S.A. The Citizens

United ruling could conceivably allow Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, who has sharply criticized both of the past two U.S. presidents, to spend government funds to defeat an American political candidate, just by having CITGO buy TV ads bashing his target.

And it's not just Chavez. The Saudi government owns Houston's Saudi Refining Company and half of Motiva Enterprises. Lenovo, which bought IBM's PC assets in 2004, is partially owned by the Chinese government's Chinese Academy of Sciences. And Singapore's APL Limited operates several U.S. port operations. A weakening of the limit on corporate giving could mean China, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, and any other country that owns companies that operate in the U.S. could also have significant sway in American electioneering.

I really can't see Americans being too happy about this.

Dahlia Lithwick reported for Slate <http://www.slate.com/id/2242208/> from the Supreme Court as the opinions were being read. She offered this aside:

While Stevens is reading the portion of his concurrence about the "cautious view of corporate power" held by the framers, I see Justice Thomas chuckle softly.

Was it a disdainful chuckle at the impotence of his colleague? Was it merely a chuckle of disagreement, of good-natured exasperation? Was it a chuckle at an anachronistic vision of the framers set beside today's modern corporate silicon and steel behemoths? I doubt he was thinking about Hugo Chavez.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 5:47 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: National Prayer Breakfast

What is evidence that this group sponsored it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:42:26 2010
Subject: Fw: National Prayer Breakfast

See b/l - perhaps [redacted] was prescient - see b/l B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J
To: Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Thu Feb 04 05:38:03 2010
Subject: National Prayer Breakfast

Just heard NPR report criticizing President for attending NPB sponsored by same group that promoted anti-homosexuality law in Uganda. Have not seen her remarks, but do we take it head on and criticize that action in her remarks? Would seem like obvious solution. PJ

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 3:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Fuchs, Michael H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: FYI Fwd: Clinton's Moment to Act on Congo

FYI

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Enough Project** <enoughproject@enoughproject.org>
Date: Tue, Oct 19, 2010 at 1:48 PM
Subject: Clinton's Moment to Act on Congo
To: caitlin.klevorick [redacted] B6

View on mobile. View in web browser.

**Congo's Enough Moment:**
**The Case for Conflict Minerals Certification and Army Reform**

As a growing consumer movement demands cell phones and gadgets that are guaranteed not to fuel atrocities in eastern Congo, there is an opportunity to end the exploitation of Congo's people and the pillaging of its resources.

In a new report, **"Congo's Enough Moment: The Case for Conflict Minerals Certification and Army Reform,"** Enough Project Co-founder John Prendergast argues that growing international attention to Congo and widespread interest in conflict minerals has shined a spotlight on eastern Congo, opening a significant window for policy reform.

"The new U.S. law on conflict minerals and the growing global campaign have shaken up the supply chain, and all those that are profiting say they are willing to change," says Prendergast. "It is time for the U.S. government and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to help leverage the end of the war in eastern Congo through leadership on two of the issues that will catalyze a broader solution to the cycles of violence there: minerals certification and comprehensive army reform."

**Read the full paper: "Congo's Enough Moment"**

Support Enough Project | Privacy Policy | Unsubscribe

Enough Project
1225 Eye St NW | Washington, DC 20005

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 5:10 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Corker

Is apparently in a good place. I don't think you need to speak with him.

Reid, with Lugar's support, will file cloture on the treaty tonight setting up a tuesday cloture vote.

Senate will go into closed session monday at 2 to discuss verification. Bond and Kyl will lead the charge. Kerry and Feinstein are prepared to push back. Clapper will be here in the capitol if needed.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: DUP

Pls do.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 18:00:31 2010
Subject: DUP

DUP has gone behind closed doors at Stormont and the smart money is on them emerging at some point supporting the deal.

There was movement today on the ancillary issue of government support for the Presbyterian Mutual Society, a savings and loan that lost a lot of money and whose investors didn't get the same financial crisis protections as those in other institutions. DUP members are pointing to that as enough of a carrot to change their posture on the policing and justice deal.

Brown and Cowen are poised to go to NI tomorrow. Will keep you posted.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me when it's over. Sid

Let me know. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 17:58:26 2010
Subject: H: Robinson has just entered decisive DUP meeting. Shaun will call me when it's over. Sid

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank You--It Gets Better

Scroll down

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: McGlothlin, Kevin (USAID/MEXICO/DEG)
Sent: Tue Oct 19 21:41:05 2010
Subject: Re: Thank You--It Gets Better

Many thanks to you - sending her this message now.

Best

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: McGlothlin, Kevin (USAID/MEXICO/DEG) [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Oct 19 20:20:18 2010
Subject: Thank You--It Gets Better

Dear Counselor Mills:

Please convey to the Secretary my most profound thanks for her contribution to the 'It Gets Better' video series. [redacted] appreciated deeply her actions on behalf of the LGBT community within the Department and USAID, and this latest statement--that gay youth can count the Secretary of State among their supporters-- is a moving and powerful message for our country.

Again, my thanks,

Kevin McGlothlin
Team Lead, Economic Growth and Environment USAID/Mexico

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Fyi. So I need to do press early starting by 9.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:02:28 2010
Subject: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

Shaun just called (7 pm EST) to report 100 percent unanimous support in DUP for Peter Robinson's recommendation to complete devolution. The deal will be agreed with the two PMs at Hillsborough tomorrow morning, 8:15 am (London time). If you wish you may call Shaun. You can reach him through No. 10 Downing St switchboard. Gordon will mention your role tomorrow at the event. Hooray! Sid

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

B6

That is wonderful! Kudos to Gordon and Shaun.

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**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

How would you frame the relevance? I'm copying Jake Sullivan who works w me on this.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 19:55:26 2010
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

You should prepare a statement for tomorrow, noting the relevance for other places ------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted]
Sent: Feb 4, 2010 7:09 PM
Subject: Re: URGENT GOOD NEWs ON NI!!!! Sid

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

Good for him. I wish he were 50 instead 90!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop@[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 16:06:22 2010
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

This is from Justice Stevens' dissent in the Citizens United case:

If taken seriously, our colleagues' assumption that the identity of a speaker has no relevance to the Government's ability to regulate political speech would lead to some remarkable conclusions. Such an assumption would have accorded the propaganda broadcasts to our troops by "Tokyo Rose" during World War II the same protection as speech by Allied commanders. More pertinently, it would appear to afford the same protection to multinational corporations controlled by foreigners as to individual Americans: To do otherwise, after all, could " 'enhance the relative voice' " of some ( i.e. , humans) over others ( i.e. , nonhumans). Ante , at 33 (quoting Buckley , 424 U. S., at 49). 51 <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/08-205.ZX.html#51> Under the majority's view, I suppose it may be a First Amendment <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct-cgi/get-const?amendmenti> problem that corporations are not permitted to vote, given that voting is, among other things, a form of speech.

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/08-205.ZX.html

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Sat, Jan 23, 2010 3:51 pm
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

This is unbelievable. Or maybe totally so given the forces at work.

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From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 23 09:26:25 2010

Subject: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a

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Tweet <http://twitter.com/home?status=RT%20@COindependent%20-%20Hugo%20Chavez%E2%80%99s%20state-owned%20Petroleos%20Corp%20set%20to%20spend%20on%20your%20U.S.%20election%C2%A0%20http://bit.ly/7duhoY>

By John Tomasic <http://coloradoindependent.com/author/johntomasic/> 1/22/10

3:58 PM

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and the Center for Public Integrity <http://www.publicintegrity.org/articles/entry/1913/>

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And it's not just Chavez. The Saudi government owns Houston's Saudi Refining Company and half of Motiva Enterprises. Lenovo, which bought IBM's PC assets in 2004, is partially owned by the Chinese government's Chinese Academy of Sciences. And Singapore's APL Limited operates several U.S. port operations.

A weakening of the limit on corporate giving could mean China, Saudi Arabia,

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I really can't see Americans being too happy about this.

Dahlia Lithwick reported for Slate <http://www.slate.com/id/2242208/> from the Supreme Court as the opinions were being read. She offered this aside:

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: The Pasters

Fyi

Howard fell ill overseas in egypt

They got him help, hospital care and other support

---

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** Perry, Mark D; Kirby, Michael D; Grandfield, Mary E
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Oct 19 18:05:41 2010
**Subject:** The Pasters

Team CA-

Huge thanks for taking care of Howard and [redacted] and making sure they got their flight. You guys are amazing. B6

Nora

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 8:44 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

They did.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 20:36:52 2010
Subject: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 4, 2010 9:23 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

Yes.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 04 20:47:26 2010
Subject: Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

Will aim for robinson and Mccue for 745 one after the other. Ok?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Feb 04 20:43:43 2010
Subject: Re: Ops may be connecting sean Woodward soon

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

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Not sure there is a legislative fix. Haven't read the opinion yet. May require constitutional amendment.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 16:08:34 2010
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

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By John Tomasic <http://coloradoindependent.com/author/johntomasic/> 1/22/10

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RELEASE IN PART
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**Sent:** Saturday, January 23, 2010 4:27 PM
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**Subject:** Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front companybecomes a "person" under US law. S

Agreed.

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To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 16:23:28 2010
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front companybecomes a "person" under US law. S

Some groups going for amendment but foreign corps may be low hanging fruit. Don't know, an idea to investigate Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sat, 23 Jan 2010 16:15:21
To: 'sbwhoeop[redacted]'<sbwhoeop[redacted]
Subject: Re: H: FYI: Any foreign nation or leader with a front company becomes a "person" under US law. S

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B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 10:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Thank you

Context

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**To:** 'Mike Berman' [redacted]; Laszczych, Joanne; Mills, Cheryl D B6
**Sent:** Tue Oct 19 15:56:39 2010
**Subject:** RE: Thank you

Your welcome. Glad to hear Howard's feeling a little better.

**From:** Mike Berman [mailto:[redacted]]
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Thank you

I am sure you all know but Howard is better. He is on his feet and getting ready to leave Egypt. Thanks for all you did to ease his way home.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:07 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B6

I will be doing a press event at 8:30. Do you know if Gordon mentioned me? Can you find out? Is Shaun still coming Monday? If so, I want to take you both out to dinner!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/northernireland> 's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.
Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/sinn-fein> and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/dup> was a foundation for lasting peace.
The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.
It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.
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A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.

Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".

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The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:12 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Fyi - robinson/mcguiness haven't confirmed yet.

And I doubt they will. Too much else going on. Also, we should put out the statement now to get into stories before anyone else. I can still do press event.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:09:36 2010
Subject: Fyi - robinson/mcguiness haven't confirmed yet.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 6:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: News Ticker: (Reuters) ROK to carry out live-fire drills December 20-TV

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Korea; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_CMS; SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Dec 19 18:20:51 2010
**Subject:** News Ticker: (Reuters) ROK to carry out live-fire drills December 20-TV

SEOUL (Reuters) - The ROK plans to carry out a planned firing drill from an island near the border with the DPRK early December 20, domestic media quoted military officials as saying. Officials at Seoul's defence ministry could not immediately confirm the reports by Yonhap news agency and YTN cable news channel that cited unnamed officials.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:13 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Reaction?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:10:49 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B6

Will find out. Why not invite uk and irish ambassadors to State to brief press with you today?
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PVerveer
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 12:33 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:**

I met with this afternoon.

Maybe you can think of a place for her.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted]'; Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Witten statement now?

I'd like to be first w statement on behalf of USG. Can we do asap and then repeat on camera?

RELEASE IN PART B5, B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:10:49 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B6

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

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**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

B6

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Madeleine Albright [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Where can I reach you?

I will be home at [redacted] about 8:45. Would love to talk leave for aspen tomorrow. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Madeleine Albright
Sent: Sun Dec 19 18:02:22 2010
Subject: Where can I reach you?

M--I tried calling you back w/out luck. Where can I call you tonight? H

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Agreed.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:38:57 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Declan thinks bad idea because sends wrong message to NI and because this is your moment.
Philippe thinks practically impossible to do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Ambos at event would praise your role
Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Fri, 5 Feb 2010 07:06:39
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted]
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

I will be doing a press event at 8:30. Do you know if Gordon mentioned me? Can you find out? Is Shaun still coming Monday? If so, I want to take you both out to dinner!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Cc: MillsCD@state.gov <MillsCD@state.gov>; SullivanJJ@state.gov <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Northern Ireland agrees power-sharing deal

Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

* Henry McDonald <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/henrymcdonald>
* guardian.co.uk <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> , Friday 5 February 2010 11.42 GMT
*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/help/accessibility>

Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

Justice and policing powers will be devolved to Northern Ireland <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/northernireland> 's power-sharing government from 12 April in a historic deal agreed by the main parties that "opens a new chapter" after decades of violence, Gordon Brown said today.

Standing alongside his Irish counterpart, Brian Cowen, at a press conference at Hillsborough Castle outside Belfast, the prime minister said the "inspirational" agreement between Sinn Féin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/sinn-fein> and the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/dup> was a foundation for lasting peace.

The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.

It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.

Brown, who travelled to Belfast this morning, said the agreement had been possible because of "a new spirit of mutual co-operation and respect".

The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.

A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.

Brown told reporters: "The achievements have been as great as they are inspirational. This moment and this agreement belongs to the people of Northern Ireland, all of the people, and now more than ever before so does their future ... This is the last chapter of a long and troubled story and the beginning of a new chapter after decades of violence, years of talks, weeks of stalemate."

Cowen praised both unionists and nationalists for making "fair and balanced compromises" to bridge the divisions and said the quality of the negotiations meant that the "devolved institutions can and will work".

The Northern Ireland secretary, Shaun Woodward, said the deal would further isolate republican dissidents who have launched three separate gun and bomb attacks against police stations in the province over the last 10 days. The deal would "absolutely" make Northern Ireland a safer place, he said.

The DUP leader, Peter Robinson, said the agreement "will be more enduring because of the time spent" in forming it.

Referring back to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 <http://www.nio.gov.uk/the-agreement> when negotiations bore fruit at the 11th hour, the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, described the current deal and the rescue of power-sharing as "yet another very good Friday".

Jeffrey Donaldson told the Guardian the DUP's 36-strong assembly team was now unanimously in favour of the deal.

But the Ulster Unionist party (UUP) has yet to officially back the package which will allow the assembly to set up legislation to change the way parades are judged.

A UUP spokeswoman said members wanted to see the proposed agreement before giving their response to the two governments. "We have not had sight of this agreement and until we do we will not be signing up to it," she said.
The talks, which centred on Hillsborough Castle, outside Belfast, are the longest set of continuous negotiations held in the near 20-year peace process. Sinn Féin had accused the DUP of stalling on the transfer of policing powers for the last three years and it was feared that failure to find agreement could see the collapse of the power-sharing government led by the two parties.
The agreement finally came near midnight at Stormont's parliament building. Earlier in the evening Sinn Féin had said the basis of a deal was on the table and it was giving the DUP leadership the time to persuade its party to accept it.
Robinson emerged from a meeting of party colleagues to confirm that he had secured unanimous support for the proposals. Earlier in the week up to 14 DUP assembly members had opposed a proposed deal because it did not give unionists enough concessions.
Robinson said he would now look to gain the support of the community and the smaller assembly parties for the deal.
"We have a basis upon which we can go forward and recommend it [the deal] to our party, to the other parties in Northern Ireland and to the community.
"An essential element of the Democratic Unionist Party's manifesto is the requirement for community confidence; we believe this can be the basis for gaining that confidence."
However the leader of the hardline Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), Jim Allister, questioned why the 14 DUP rebels had changed their minds.
"The deal hasn't changed, only the snowmen of the DUP, who melted once the heat came on," Allister said.
The DUP now faces a struggle to ward off the TUV threat in the forthcoming general election. Allister will portray the deal as a sell-out of unionist principles and a sop to republicanism.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 7:59 AM
**To:** 'reinesp@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

On another matter--I'd like to w you. Pls remind me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:44:29 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

And your statement is out

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:41:36 2010
Subject: Re: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Here is what Brown said:

Let me thank the American Government for their unstinting support -- especially Secretary of State Clinton, her efforts over these last few weeks. And Presidents Obama, Bush and Clinton. And we particularly welcome Secretary of State Clinton's initiative today that she will host a Northern Ireland Investment Conference this spring.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:27:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
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To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 07:24:17 2010
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B6

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To: H
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Sent: Fri Feb 05 06:58:04 2010
Subject: Bravo! Brava! Issue your statement! Sid

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Gordon Brown hails historic deal which will see justice and policing powers be devolved to Stormont from 12 April

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Gordon Brown, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness <http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2010/2/5/1265368562294/Gordon-Brown-Peter-Robins-001.jpg>
Gordon Brown, the DUP leader, Peter Robinson, and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness (l to r) talk to the press after the Northern Ireland power-sharing deal was announced. Photograph: Julien Behal/PA

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The deal – finally agreed to by the DUP <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/feb/05/northern-ireland-dup-ulster-deal> last night and described as a final piece in the jigsaw after a long search for peace – comes after two weeks of round-the-clock negotiations and brings an end to fears that the power-sharing government might collapse.
It will see policing and justice powers devolved from Westminster to the assembly within weeks and includes new plans on overseeing parades.
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The deal meets a key Sinn Féin demand and prevents the republican party from walking out of the power-sharing executive. In return, the DUP has secured reforms to the way loyalist marches are handled in Northern Ireland, including the abolition of the Parades Commission, a body most unionists regard as biased in favour of nationalists.
A cross-community vote will now be held in the Stormont assembly on 9 March before the policing and justice powers are devolved from London on 12 April.
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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 8:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: tomorrow gets better

---

**From:** Baer, Daniel B
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: tomorrow gets better

Fyi—good feedback.
Mike guest wrote sep email to say it was great

---

**From:** Mark Bromley [mailto B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 9:39 PM
**To:** Baer, Daniel B; 'Julie Dorf'
**Cc:** 'Michael Guest'
**Subject:** RE: tomorrow gets better

Thanks, Dan. This is great. Everyone was talking about it tonight at the Human Rights First reception at HRC. (And your A/S was great, as always.) These things really do make a difference, and maybe we (meaning CGE, not you) could challenge other foreign ministries to do it?! We have a meeting in a week with other national LGBT groups that work with/lobby their foreign ministries, and maybe this could be an agenda item?

---

**From:** Baer, Daniel B [mailto:BaerDB@state.gov]
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 8:34 PM
**To:** Julie Dorf
**Cc:** Mark Bromley; Michael Guest
**Subject:** RE: tomorrow gets better

Agree—
There's movement afoot to have folks in the dept—glifaa members—do a series of vids too...
Willkeep you posted

---

**From:** **On Behalf Of** Julie Dorf B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 19, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** Baer, Daniel B
**Cc:** Mark Bromley; Michael Guest
**Subject:** Re: tomorrow gets better

Thanks for sharing. We'll put on our blog now. Her saying you matter "to your country" is particularly powerful.

On Tue, Oct 19, 2010 at 2:45 PM, Baer, Daniel B <BaerDB@state.gov> wrote:

http://www.youtube.com/user/statevideo#p/a/u/0/zXBpW8GCDtY

--
Julie Dorf, Senior Advisor
Council for Global Equality
Advancing an American Foreign Policy Inclusive of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
[redacted] B6
www.globalequality.org
and our blog: www.globalequality.wordpress.com

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Attached Letter of Appreciation
**Attachments:** Secretary Clinton 1-29-10.pdf; Secretary Clinton 1-29-10.pdf

Pls print

----- Original Message -----
From: williamsbarrett
To: H; Cheryl D Mills <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 08:22:59 2010
Subject: Fw: Attached Letter of Appreciation

B6

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

---

From: George Rupp
Date: Mon, 1 Feb 2010 17:30:02 -0500
To: williamsbarrett
Subject: Attached Letter of Appreciation

Dear Ms. Williams,

I would appreciate your forwarding the attached letter to Secretary Clinton.

The original letter is being sent to Secretary Clinton's attention via FedEx today.

Sincerely,

George Rupp

President

International Rescue Committee

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Contact Message from HR Ashton

Pls give her Huma's state email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 01 05:20:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Contact Message from HR Ashton

[redacted] - see b/l B5

Cdm

---

From: Steven.EVERTS[redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Beverley.Tempest[redacted] B6
Sent: Mon Feb 01 05:04:37 2010
Subject: Contact Message from HR Ashton

Dear Ms Mills,

My name is Steven Everts and I am responsible in the Private Office of HR/VP Ashton for EU-US relations (I was the one handlig the very successful meeting in Washington that the Secretary had with the HR/VP on 21 Jan).

I now have a more personal issue: apparently the Secretary and the HR/VP spoke briefly in London [redacted] B6
The HR asked me whether there is a more personal, direct email she could use for transmitting this type of messages?

From our side, the email to use would be [redacted] B6

I would be very grateful if you could send us an email which is similarly private.

Many thanks for your help.

Kind regards

Steven Everts

Private Office of HR/VP Catherine Ashton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 9:59 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Confirmations Update

What can we do?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 05 09:45:48 2010
Subject: FW: Confirmations Update

FYI --

Reid: Shelby Has Hold On All Nominees

Friday, Feb. 5, 2010

Sen. Richard Shelby, R-Ala., has placed a blanket hold on all executive nominations on the Senate calendar in an effort to win concessions from the Obama administration and Pentagon on a variety of fronts affecting his home state, according to aides to Senate Majority Leader Reid.

Reid spokeswoman Regan Lachapelle said Shelby is blocking more than 70 pending nominations. Reid can force a vote on any nomination by filing cloture.

Because of the time required to vote on multiple nominations, the Senate processes most nominations by unanimous consent. Any one senator can block any of those nominations by objecting to a unanimous consent request to take it up. The nominations will remain stalled unless Reid files cloture.

While holds are frequent, Senate aides said a blanket hold represents a far more aggressive use of the power than is normal.

"He should not be holding up 70-plus nominees for a parochial issue," a Democratic aide said. "They're qualified and they should be moving forward."

Disclosure of the blanket hold came after two days in which top Democrats voiced mounting frustration with Republican holds on executive nominees.

"We've got a huge backlog of folks who are unanimously viewed as well qualified -- nobody has a specific objection to them -- but end up having a hold on them because of some completely unrelated piece of business," President Obama said Wednesday in a televised meeting with Senate Democrats.

On the Senate floor Thursday, Reid, Senate Majority Whip Durbin, Senate Judiciary Chairman Patrick Leahy and Senate Armed Services Chairman Carl Levin ripped Republicans for holds on national security nominees and judges.

Reid, who kept the Senate in pro forma session over recent holidays to prevent former President George W. Bush from making recess appointments, said he has grown so frustrated he might advocate such appointments, which the president can make when the Senate is out of session.

"What alternatives do we have?" Reid said on the floor Thursday. "What alternative do we have?"

Earlier in the day, a spokesman for Shelby said the senator has placed holds on "several pending nominees due to unaddressed national security concerns," including frustrations with the Air Force's handling of the competition for an aerial refueling tanker. The spokesman did not respond to later requests for comment about the blanket hold.

Northrop Grumman Corp. and EADS, the European consortium behind Airbus, and Boeing Co. are vying for the high-stakes contract, potentially worth $40 billion. The Northrop/EADS team would build the planes in Mobile, Ala., but has threatened to pull out of the competition unless the Air Force makes changes to a draft request for proposals.

"Nearly 10 years after the U.S. Air Force announced plans to replace the aging tanker fleet, we still do not have a transparent and fair acquisition process to move forward," the spokesman said. "The Department of Defense must recognize that the draft request for proposal needs to be significantly and substantively changed."

Defense Secretary Gates Wednesday told House lawmakers the Pentagon plans to issue the final request for proposals soon, and will proceed with the program whether or not there is a competition.

"Obviously we would like to have a competition for it, and we hope that both companies will agree to participate, but we will move forward," Gates said. "We have to have new tankers."

In addition to the tanker issue, Shelby's spokesman said he is frustrated that the Obama administration won't build an Alabama-based FBI center to analyze improvised explosive devices.

Shelby secured a $45 million earmark in the FY08 omnibus appropriations bill for a Terrorist Explosive Device Analytical Center to be set up at the Army's Redstone Arsenal.

"Sen. Shelby will continue to work with the FBI to give them the capability to coordinate intelligence as well as forensic and technical exploitation related to IEDs, but this administration's coddling of terrorists makes this an uphill effort," the spokesman said. "He has made the administration aware of these concerns and is willing to discuss them at any time."

Also Thursday, Vice President Biden said he was so frustrated by Republican foot-dragging that he was considering whether Senate rules should be changed.

"There's a little disappointment in that it seems like the only way to do business up here anymore is with a supermajority on almost everything," Biden said moments after swearing in Sen. Scott Brown, R-Mass., who gives Republicans 41 votes, enough to filibuster on any issue.

"What I have been doing is spending a lot of time having my staff go back and scrub this, you know, the use of the filibuster and how it's worked," Biden said. "This is not a constitutional requirement."

Biden defended the 60-vote requirement, calling it "a useful tool. It's legitimate, but from my perspective having served here, having been elected seven times, I've never seen a time when it's become sort of standard operating procedure. ... Requiring a supermajority is just not a good way to do business."

by Dan Friedman and Megan Scully

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 1:38 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Geithner

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 13:36:02 2010
Subject: Geithner

They may seek Geithner's co-signature on the letter, if they can get him while he's in Canada snow-boarding. You can't make this stuff up.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** New

B5
B6

I have given this a great deal of thought.

AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 3:08 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Good meeting

Are you getting ready to leave? [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:02:32 2010
Subject: Good meeting

I just spent an extra hour explaining the architecture of the IHRC/HDA.

They had misconstrued it to be something that wjc now could not do b/c of his new un role.

We can discuss.

Will fill wjc in on the plane.

I hear it's snowing - won't likely make it back to dc until sun or mon

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 5, 2010 3:12 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Good meeting

I know! So are you there or leaving now? I'd love to talk w you and Bill.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:09:24 2010
Subject: Re: Good meeting

You are sooo lucky!!!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:08:25 2010
Subject: Re: Good meeting

Are you getting ready to leave? B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 05 15:02:32 2010
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 1:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thank You

**From:** Tollefson, Jon T
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 1:39 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Cheng, Dennis W; Patel, Mira D
**Subject:** Thank You

Ma'am,

Thank you so much for your support for this project and for how quickly you made it move. Please convey our thanks to the Secretary for her leadership on this issue. It has truly touched our members. As you may have seen, it received wide attention within LGBT media, youth media (MTV and VHI), and the wider media. The video has over 110,000 views on youtube already, and she is likely to touch many more people as it spreads.

Many thanks,

Jon

Jon Tollefson
President
Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (GLIFAA)
U.S. Department of State
(202) 670-5428

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: LGBT rights

Fyi

---

**From:** Sicade, Lynn M (DRL)
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 1:18 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** LGBT rights

Jake

You may remember that I called on you early in the Administration on the UN statement on sexual orientation. You were tremendous as was the Secretary. This request is not in keeping with the regular hierarchy, but I had to send it. The video the Secretary did is extraordinarily powerful. Can you let her know that individual employees in the building appreciate what she has been doing on LGBT rights? I know GLIFFA will do so, but it's kind of their job to advocate. But if you could just tell her in a minute how deeply her work is touching us in the trenches, well, it's something I think she deserves to hear.

http://www.youtube.com/user/statevideo#p/a/u/0/zXBpW8GCDtY

Lynn M. Sicade
Senior Policy Advisor
U.S. Department of State
DRL/MLGA
202-647-2362

"Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle." --Thomas Jefferson: 1st Inaugural, 1801.
"With the same honest views, the most honest men often form different conclusions." --Thomas Jefferson to Robert Livingston, 1801.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:09 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Ok at 10:30.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 07:25:26 2010
Subject: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

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**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:09 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

Is there a call sheet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 07:25:26 2010
Subject: Mubarak is available for a call between 10:30 and 12 this morning. Will that work for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:03 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok I'm done w Strobe. Also let's go on our trip. I think it's worth it. And we can always add Israel as we did before!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Oscar Flores
Cc: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:42:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Mubarak Call Sheet

Oscar, can u print this asap for hrc. Its for her 9:30am call. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sat Feb 06 08:25:57 2010
Subject: Mubarak Call Sheet

<<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> <<020510 S-Mubarak Talking Points.doc>> Hi Huma,

Per our conversation earlier this morning, here's the call sheet for President Mubarak. We are standing by to begin the secure fax as well.

Best regards,

Andrew Kim Johnson
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center S/ES-O
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:18 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

I don't have call sheets for Lobo or Equadoran. Can you send on my email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:12:10 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok great! We'll do ecuador now cause otherwise we lose him.
So pinato, mubarak, lobo.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:22 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Secure fax coming now followed by pdb

Getting it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Oscar Flores
Cc: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:13:24 2010
Subject: Secure fax coming now followed by pdb

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:22 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

If we can stop in Bahrain, I'd like to but what would schedule be?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:14:04 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

So qatar and saudi?
Yes or no to bahrain?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:23 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Pls send me call sheet for Equadoran--i don't have a clue!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:14:04 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:37 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

I talked w Lobo already but Equdoran not available.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:27:39 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

You are congratulating him on becoming foreign minister, and purpose is to establish a personal relationship with him.
Trying to get u call sheet, its classified....
Lobo call not happening today.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:23:13 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Pls send me call sheet for Equadoran--i don't have a clue!

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 9:38 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Yes I did. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:28:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Sorry I mean pinato
He's not available
Heard u got lobo.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:27:39 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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Trying to get u call sheet, its classified....
Lobo call not happening today.

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202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Ok. Can we do now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:54:28 2010
Subject:

Aboul gheit just called to follow up on mubarak call. Do you want to take it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:34 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

They were earlier but somewhere along the way disappeared!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:28:28 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Call sheets should have been in your call sheet folder. Not sure what happened.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:17:46 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

I don't have call sheets for Lobo or Equadoran. Can you send on my email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:12:10 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

Ok great! We'll do ecuador now cause otherwise we lose him.
So pinato, mubarak, lobo.

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Sent: Sat Feb 06 09:03:18 2010
Subject: Re: Mubarak Call Sheet

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202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 5:08 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: NEW developments NI. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo NEW NI developments 020610.docx; hrc memo NEW NI developments 020610.docx

Fyi. Can you determine when Shaun wants to talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 15:59:24 2010
Subject: H: NEW developments NI. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New developments on NI

Shaun regrets he cannot come here tomorrow. Here's the problem and the plan: Cameron is still quietly giving encouragement to the Ulster Unionists, which, led by Reg Empey, are trying to scuttle the agreement somehow. So the plan is for Shaunn to announce he will deliver a speech on Monday in the House of Commons presenting the agreement—except that at the last second Gordon will step in on the floor for Shaun, requiring Cameron to respond, theoretically forcing him to support the agreement. In his speech, Gordon will explicitly cite your role and support of the US—among other things further cornering Cameron (and Empey). Shaun would like to speak with you soon depending on how things are working out there, perhaps tomorrow (Sunday) or perhaps Monday (perhaps after Commons). Dinner will be on a rain-check.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773332 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New developments on NI

Shaun regrets he cannot come here tomorrow. Here's the problem and the plan: Cameron is still quietly giving encouragement to the Ulster Unionists, which, led by Reg Empey, are trying to scuttle the agreement somehow. So the plan is for Shaunn to announce he will deliver a speech on Monday in the House of Commons presenting the agreement—except that at the last second Gordon will step in on the floor for Shaun, requiring Cameron to respond, theoretically forcing him to support the agreement. In his speech, Gordon will explicitly cite your role and support of the US—among other things further cornering Cameron (and Empey). Shaun would like to speak with you soon depending on how things are working out there, perhaps tomorrow (Sunday) or perhaps Monday (perhaps after Commons). Dinner will be on a rain-check.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773332 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 5:09 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Did you get home in the blizzard?

Hope all is well. Let me know if and when you can talk yonight or tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:17 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Of course I will do. Is the text set?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:14:15 2010
Subject: Fw: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

FYI. The latest thinking is that this would be a Clinton-Ashton statement. We'll make sure you have a chance to see/approve final, and we can work to incorporate any changes you have now.

---

From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Burns, William J; Rana, Gautam A; Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:46:41 2010
Subject: US-EU Statement on Iran's Human Rights Situation

Hi Jake/Huma:

Hope you're not too snowed in wherever you are.

B5

Here is the draft statement that we're trying to put out with the EU:

B5

Please let me know if you have any concerns, or need further information.

Thanks!

Steve

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 6:18 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Can we do in morning? What time works for you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:14:08 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

It took 19 hours but I got home at noon today.

I can talk at 830pm tonight if that works for you? I cam also do tomorrow am.
Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Feb 06 17:08:57 2010
Subject: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Hope all is well. Let me know if and when you can talk yonight or tomorrow.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 8:41 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 20:13:35 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

How about 830am?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:17:42 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

Can we do in morning? What time works for you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills <cheryl.mills B6
Sent: Sat Feb 06 18:14:08 2010
Subject: Re: Did you get home in the blizzard?

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 6, 2010 10:13 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: H: NEW developments NI: Sid

B6

I'm happy to talk w Shaun anytime.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 06 15:59:24 2010
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CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 2010

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773349 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 2:40 PM
**Subject:** Latest: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear: Inside the Bizarre Cabal

# Tomgram: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear

**By Max Blumenthal**
**Posted on December 19, 2010, Printed on December 20, 2010**
**http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175334/**

Moments of imperial and economic decline -- according to a recent poll, 65% of Americans now believe this country to be "in a state of decline" -- can also be periods of cultishness, even of madness incarnate. Such a mood now seems to be spreading through the United States. It's not so surprising, really. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, fear has been injected into this "homeland" like a drug and a penumbra of official secrecy has settled over the land in a way that makes the secrecy of the Cold War years (when this country faced a superpower, not a ragtag set of *jihadis*, guerrillas, and terrorists) seem like an era of sunshine. In an atmosphere of swirling fears and hysteria amid declining living conditions, "explanations" that at other times might have remained confined to tiny crews of conspiracy-mongers can suddenly gain a patina of plausibility and so traction. No wonder then that, as hard times hit, as the financial system seemed on the verge of collapse, as unemployment soared and a massive wave of home foreclosures swept into view, increasing numbers of Americans became prey to any wacky explanation for our troubles, none more so than the idea that Islam was somehow

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773349 Date: 08/31/2015

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responsible, that mosques and Islamic centers meant for a sliver of a minority here were capable of imposing anything, no less a way of life on this country, or that Sharia law (of all things) might somehow worm its way into state legal systems, or that YouTube was a hotbed of terrorism worthy of suppression, or... well, you name it. Max Blumenthal, author of the bestselling book *Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement That Shattered the Party*, has done the necessary legwork to take us deep into one of those crews of conspiracy-mongers who, at another time, just about no one would have paid much attention to, but in twenty-first-century America have gained a remarkable audience. They are a chilling barometer of the changing weather in America. *Tom*

# The Great Islamophobic Crusade

## Inside the Bizarre Cabal of Secretive Donors, Demagogic Bloggers, Pseudo-Scholars, European Neo-Fascists, Violent Israeli Settlers, and Republican Presidential Hopefuls Behind the Crusade

By Max Blumenthal

Nine years after 9/11, hysteria about Muslims in American life has gripped the country. With it has gone an outburst of arson attacks on mosques, campaigns to stop their construction, and the branding of the Muslim-American community, overwhelmingly moderate, as a hotbed of potential terrorist recruits. The frenzy has raged from rural

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773349 Date: 08/31/2015

Tennessee to New York City, while in Oklahoma, voters even overwhelmingly approved a ballot measure banning the implementation of Sharia law in American courts (not that such a prospect existed). This campaign of Islamophobia wounded President Obama politically, as one out of five Americans have bought into a sustained chorus of false rumors about his secret Muslim faith. And it may have tainted views of Muslims in general; an August 2010 Pew Research Center poll revealed that, among Americans, the favorability rating of Muslims had dropped by 11 points since 2005.

Erupting so many years after the September 11th trauma, this spasm of anti-Muslim bigotry might seem oddly timed and unexpectedly spontaneous. But think again: it's the fruit of an organized, long-term campaign by a tight confederation of right-wing activists and operatives who first focused on Islamophobia soon after the September 11th attacks, but only attained critical mass during the Obama era. It was then that embittered conservative forces, voted out of power in 2008, sought with remarkable success to leverage cultural resentment into political and partisan gain.

This network is obsessively fixated on the supposed spread of Muslim influence in America. Its apparatus spans continents, extending

from Tea Party activists here to the European far right. It brings together in common cause right-wing ultra-Zionists, Christian evangelicals, and racist British soccer hooligans. It reflects an aggressively pro-Israel sensibility, with its key figures venerating the Jewish state as a Middle Eastern Fort Apache on the front lines of the Global War on Terror and urging the U.S. and various European powers to emulate its heavy-handed methods.

Little of recent American Islamophobia (with a strong emphasis on the "phobia") is sheer happenstance. Years before Tea Party shock troops massed for angry protests outside the proposed site of an Islamic community center in lower Manhattan, representatives of the Israel lobby and the Jewish-American establishment launched a campaign against pro-Palestinian campus activism that would prove a seedbed for everything to come. That campaign quickly -- and perhaps predictably -- morphed into a series of crusades against mosques and Islamic schools which, in turn, attracted an assortment of shady but exceptionally energetic militants into the network's ranks.

Besides providing the initial energy for the Islamophobic crusade, conservative elements from within the pro-Israel lobby bankrolled the network's apparatus, enabling it to influence the

national debate. One philanthropist in particular has provided the beneficence to propel the campaign ahead. He is a little-known Los Angeles-area software security entrepreneur named Aubrey Chernick, who operates out of a security consulting firm blandly named the National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination. A former trustee of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, which has served as a think tank for the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a frontline lobbying group for Israel, Chernick is said to be worth $750 million.

Chernick's fortune is puny compared to that of the billionaire Koch Brothers, extraction industry titans who fund Tea Party-related groups like Americans for Prosperity, and it is dwarfed by the financial empire of Haim Saban, the Israeli-American media baron who is one of the largest private donors to the Democratic party and recently matched $9 million raised for the Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces in a single night. However, by injecting his money into a small but influential constellation of groups and individuals with a narrow agenda, Chernick has had a considerable impact.

Through the Fairbrook Foundation, a private entity he and his wife Joyce control, Chernick has provided funding to groups

ranging from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and CAMERA, a right-wing, pro-Israel, media-watchdog outfit, to violent Israeli settlers living on Palestinian lands and figures like the pseudo-academic author Robert Spencer, who is largely responsible for popularizing conspiracy theories about the coming conquest of the West by Muslim fanatics seeking to establish a worldwide caliphate. Together, these groups spread hysteria about Muslims into Middle American communities where immigrants from the Middle East have recently settled, and they watched with glee as likely Republican presidential frontrunners from Mike Huckabee to Sarah Palin promoted their cause and parroted their tropes. Perhaps the only thing more surprising than the increasingly widespread appeal of Islamophobia is that, just a few years ago, the phenomenon was confined to a few college campuses and an inner city neighborhood, and that it seemed like a fleeting fad that would soon pass from the American political landscape.

**Birth of a Network**

The Islamophobic crusade was launched in earnest at the peak of George W. Bush's prestige when the neoconservatives and their allies were riding high. In 2003, three years after the collapse of President Bill Clinton's attempt to resolve

the Israeli-Palestinian issue and in the immediate wake of the invasion of Iraq, a network of Jewish groups, ranging from ADL and the American Jewish Committee to AIPAC, gathered to address what they saw as a sudden rise in pro-Palestinian activism on college campuses nationwide. That meeting gave birth to the David Project, a campus advocacy group led by Charles Peters, who had co-founded CAMERA, one of the many outfits bankrolled by Chernick. With the help of public relations professionals, Peters conceived a plan to "take back the campus by influencing public opinion through lectures, the Internet, and coalitions," as a memo produced at the time by the consulting firm McKinsey and Company stated.

In 2004, after conferring with Martin Kramer, a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the pro-Israel think tank where Chernoff had served as a trustee, Peters produced a documentary film that he called *Columbia Unbecoming*. It was filled with claims from Jewish students at Columbia University claiming they had endured intimidation and insults from Arab professors. The film portrayed that New York City school's Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures as a hothouse of anti-Semitism.

In their complaints, the students focused on one figure in particular: Joseph Massad, a Palestinian professor of Middle East studies. He was known for his passionate advocacy of the formation of a binational state between Israel and Palestine, as well as for his strident criticism of what he termed "the racist character of Israel." The film identified him as "one of the most dangerous intellectuals on campus," while he was featured as a crucial villain in *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, a book by the (Chernick-funded) neoconservative activist David Horowitz. As Massad was seeking tenure at the time, he was especially vulnerable to this sort of wholesale assault. When the controversy over Massad's views intensified, Congressman Anthony Weiner, a liberal New York Democrat who once described himself as a representative of "the ZOA [Zionist Organization of America] wing of the Democratic Party," demanded that Columbia President Lee Bollinger, a renowned First Amendment scholar, fire the professor. Bollinger responded by issuing uncharacteristically defensive statements about the "limited" nature of academic freedom.
In the end, however, none of the charges stuck. Indeed, the testimonies in the David Project film were eventually either discredited or never

corroborated. In 2009, Massad earned tenure after winning Columbia's prestigious Lionel Trilling Award for excellence in scholarship.

Having demonstrated its ability to intimidate faculty members and even powerful university administrators, however, Kramer claimed a moral victory in the name of his project, boasting to the press that "this is a turning point." While the David Project subsequently fostered chapters on campuses nationwide, its director set out on a different path -- initially, into the streets of Boston in 2004 to oppose the construction of the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center.

For nearly 15 years, the Islamic Society of Boston had sought to build the center in the heart of Roxbury, the city's largest black neighborhood, to serve its sizable Muslim population. With endorsements from Mayor Thomas Menino and leading Massachusetts lawmakers, the mosque's construction seemed like a *fait accompli* -- until, that is, the Rupert Murdoch-owned *Boston Herald* and his local Fox News affiliate snapped into action. *Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby also chimed in with a series of reports claiming the center's plans were evidence of a Saudi Arabian plot to bolster the influence of radical Islam in the United States,

and possibly even to train underground terror cells.
It was at this point that the David Project entered the fray, convening elements of the local pro-Israel community in the Boston area to seek strategies to torpedo the project.
According to emails obtained by the Islamic Society's lawyers in a lawsuit against the David Project, the organizers settled on a campaign of years of nuisance lawsuits, along with accusations that the center had received foreign funding from "the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia or... the Moslem Brotherhood."
In response, a grassroots coalition of liberal Jews initiated inter-faith efforts aimed at ending a controversy that had essentially been manufactured out of thin air and was corroding relations between the Jewish and Muslim communities in the city. Peters would not, however, relent. "We are more concerned now than we have ever been about a Saudi influence of local mosques," he announced at a suburban Boston synagogue in 2007.
After paying out millions of dollars in legal bills and enduring countless smears, the Islamic Society of Boston completed the construction of its community center in 2008.
Meanwhile, not surprisingly, nothing came of the David Project's dark warnings. As Boston-area National Public

Radio reporter Philip Martin reflected in September 2010, "The horror stories that preceded [the center's] development seem shrill and histrionic in retrospect."

**The Network Expands**

This second failed campaign was, in the end, more about movement building than success, no less national security. The local crusade established an effective blueprint for generating hysteria against the establishment of Islamic centers and mosques across the country, while galvanizing a cast of characters who would form an anti-Muslim network which would gain attention and success in the years to come.

In 2007, these figures coalesced into a proto-movement that launched a new crusade, this time targeting the Khalil Gibran International Academy, a secular Arabic-English elementary school in Brooklyn, New York. Calling their *ad hoc* pressure group, Stop the Madrassah -- *madrassah* being simply the Arab word for "school" -- the coalition's activists included an array of previously unknown zealots who made no attempt to disguise their extreme views when it came to Islam as a religion, as well as Muslims in America. Their stated goal was to challenge the school's establishment on the basis of its violation of the church-state separation in the U.S. Constitution. The true aim

of the coalition, however, was transparent: to pressure the city's leadership to adopt an antagonistic posture towards the local Muslim community.

The activists zeroed in on the school's principal, Debbie Almontaser, a veteran educator of Yemeni descent, and baselessly branded her "a jihadist" as well as a 9/11 denier. They also accused her of -- as Pamela Geller, a far-right blogger just then gaining prominence put it, "whitewash[ing] the genocide against the Jews." Daniel Pipes, a neoconservative academic previously active in the campaigns against Joseph Massad and the Boston Islamic center (and whose pro-Likud think tank, Middle East Forum, has received $150,000 from Chernick) claimed the school should not go ahead because "Arabic-language instruction is inevitably laden with Pan-Arabist and Islamist baggage." As the campaign reached a fever pitch, Almontaser reported that members of the coalition were actually stalking her wherever she went.

Given what Columbia Journalism School professor and former *New York Times* reporter Samuel Freedman called "her clear, public record of interfaith activism and outreach," including work with the New York Police Department and the Anti-Defamation League after the September 11th

attacks, the assault on Almontaser seemed little short of bizarre -- until her assailants discovered a photograph of a T-shirt produced by AWAAM, a local Arab feminist organization, that read "Intifada NYC." As it turned out, AWAAM sometimes shared office space with a Yemeni-American association on which Almontaser served as a board member. Though the connection seemed like a stretch, it promoted the line of attack the Stop the Madrassah coalition had been seeking.

Having found a way to wedge the emotional issue of the Israel-Palestine conflict into a previously New York-centered campaign, the school's opponents next gained a platform at the Murdoch-owned *New York Post*, where reporters Chuck Bennett and Jana Winter claimed her T-shirt was "apparently a call for a Gaza-style uprising in the Big Apple." While Almontaser attempted to explain to the *Post's* reporters that she rejected terrorism, the Anti-Defamation League chimed in on cue. ADL spokesman Oren Segal told the *Post*: "The T-shirt is a reflection of a movement that increasingly lauds violence against Israelis instead of rejecting it. That is disturbing."

Before any Qassam rockets could be launched from Almontaser's school, her

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former ally New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg caved to the growing pressure and threatened to shut down the school, prompting her to resign. A Jewish principal who spoke no Arabic replaced Almontaser, who later filed a lawsuit against the city for breaching her free speech rights. In 2010, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that New York's Department of Education had "succumbed to the very bias that the creation of the school was intended to dispel" by firing Almontaser and urged it pay her $300,000 in damages. The commission also concluded that the *Post* had quoted her misleadingly. Though it failed to stop the establishment of the Khalil Gibran Academy, the burgeoning anti-Muslim movement succeeded in forcing city leaders to bend to its will, and having learned just how to do that, then moved on in search of more high-profile targets. As the *New York Times* [illegible] at the time, "The fight against the school... was only an early skirmish in a broader, national struggle."

"It's a battle that has really just begun," Pipes told the *Times*.

**From Scam to Publicity Coup**

Pipes couldn't have been more on the mark. In late 2009, the Islamophobes sprang into action again when the Cordoba Initiative, a non-profit Muslim group

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headed by Feisal Abdul Rauf, an exceedingly moderate Sufi Muslim imam who regularly [illegible] representing the United States at the behest of the State Department, announced that it was going to build a community center in downtown New York City. With the help of investors, Rauf's Cordoba Initiative purchased space two blocks from Ground Zero in Manhattan. The space was to contain a prayer area as part of a large community center that would be open to everyone in the neighborhood.

None of these facts mattered to Pamela Geller. Thanks to constant prodding at her blog, Atlas Shrugged, Geller made Cordoba's construction plans a national issue, provoking fervent calls from conservatives to protect the "hallowed ground" of 9/11 from creeping Sharia. (That the "mosque" would have been out of sight of Ground Zero and that the neighborhood was, in fact, [illegible] everything from strip clubs to fast-food joints didn't matter.) Geller's activism against Cordoba House earned the 52-year-old full-time blogger the attention she apparently craved, including a [illegible] in the *New York Times* and frequent cable news spots, especially, of course, on Fox News.

Mainstream reporters tended to focus on Geller's bizarre stunts. She posted a video of herself [illegible]

in a string bikini on a Fort Lauderdale beach, for instance, while ranting about "left-tards" and "Nazi Hezbollah." Her call for boycotting Campbell's Soup because the company offered *halal* -- approved under Islamic law (as kosher food is under Jewish law) -- versions of its products got her much attention, as did her promotion of a screed claiming that President Barack Obama was the illegitimate lovechild of Malcolm X.

Geller had never earned a living as a journalist. She supported herself with millions of dollars in a divorce settlement and life insurance money from her ex-husband. He died in 2008, a year after being indicted for an alleged $1.3 million scam he was accused of running out of a car dealership he co-owned with Geller. Independently wealthy and with time on her hands, Geller proved able indeed when it came to exploiting her strange media stardom to incite the already organized political network of Islamophobes to intensify their crusade.

She also benefited from close alliances with leading Islamophobes from Europe. Among Geller's allies was Andrew Gravers, a Danish activist who formed the group Stop the Islamicization of Europe, and gave it the unusually blunt motto: "Racism is the lowest form of human stupidity, but Islamophobia is the height of common

sense." Gravers' group inspired Geller's own U.S.-based outfit, Stop the Islamicization of America, which she formed with her friend Robert Spencer, a pseudo-scholar whose bestselling books, including *The Truth About Muhammad, Founder of the World's Most Intolerant Religion*, prompted former advisor to President Richard Nixon and Muslim activist Robert Crane to call him, "the principal leader... in the new academic field of Muslim bashing." (According to the website Politico, almost $1 million in donations from Chernick has been steered to Spencer's Jihad Watch group through David Horowitz's Freedom Center.)

Perfect sources for Republican political figures in search of the next hot-button cause, their rhetoric found its way into the talking points of Newt Gingrich and Sarah Palin as they propelled the crusade against Cordoba House into the national spotlight. Gingrich soon compared the community center to a Nazi sign next to the Holocaust Memorial Museum, while Palin called it "a stab in the heart" of "the Heartland." Meanwhile, Tea Party candidates like Republican Ilario Pantano, an Iraq war veteran who killed two unarmed Iraqi civilians, shooting them 60 times -- he even stopped to reload -- made their opposition to Cordoba House the

centerpiece of midterm congressional campaigns conducted hundreds of miles from Ground Zero. Geller's campaign against "the mosque at Ground Zero" gained an unexpected assist and a veneer of legitimacy from established Jewish leaders like Anti-Defamation League National Director Abraham Foxman. "Survivors of the Holocaust are entitled to feelings that are irrational," he remarked to the *New York Times*. Comparing the bereaved family members of 9-11 victims to Holocaust survivors, Foxman insisted, "Their anguish entitles them to positions that others would categorize as irrational or bigoted." Soon enough, David Harris, director of the (Chernick-funded) American Jewish Committee, was demanding that Cordoba's leaders be compelled to reveal their "true attitudes" about Palestinian militant groups before construction on the center was initiated. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, another major Jewish group, insisted it would be "insensitive" for Cordoba to build near "a cemetery," though his organization had recently been granted permission from the municipality of Jerusalem to build a "museum of tolerance" to be called The Center for Human Dignity directly on top of the Mamilla Cemetery, a Muslim graveyard that contained

thousands of gravesites dating back 1,200 years.

**Inspiration from Israel**

It was evident from the involvement of figures like Gravers that the Islamophobic network in the United States represented a trans-Atlantic expansion of simmering resentment in Europe. There, the far-right was storming to victories in parliamentary elections across the continent in part by appealing to the simmering anti-Muslim sentiments of voters in rural and working-class communities. The extent of the collaboration between European and American Islamophobes has only continued to grow with Geller, Spencer, and even Gingrich standing beside Europe's most prominent anti-Muslim figure, Dutch parliamentarian Geert Wilders, at a rally against Cordoba House. In the meantime, Geller was issuing statements of support for the English Defense League, a band of unreconstructed neo-Nazis and former members of the whites-only British National Party who intimidate Muslims in the streets of cities like Birmingham and London.

In addition, the trans-Atlantic Islamophobic crusade has stretched into Israel, a country that has come to symbolize the network's fight against the Muslim menace. As Geller told the *New York Times*' Alan Feuer, Israel is "a very good guide because, like I

said, in the war between the civilized man and the savage, you side with the civilized man."

EDL members regularly wave Israeli flags at their rallies, while Wilders claims to have formed his views about Muslims during the time he worked on an Israeli cooperative farm in the 1980s. He has, he says, visited the country more than 40 times since to meet with rightist political allies like Aryeh Eldad, a member of the Israeli Knesset and leader of the far right Hatikvah faction of the National Union Party. He has called for forcibly "transferring" the Palestinians living in Israel and the occupied West Bank to Jordan and Egypt. On December 5th, for example, Wilders traveled to Israel for a "friendly" meeting with Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, then declared at a press conference that Israel should annex the West Bank and set up a Palestinian state in Jordan.

In the apocalyptic clash of civilizations the global anti-Muslim network has sought to incite, tiny armed Jewish settlements like Yitzar, located on the hills above the occupied Palestinian city of Nablus, represent front-line fortresses. Inside Yitzar's state-funded yeshiva, a rabbi named Yitzhak Shapira has instructed students in what rules must be applied when considering killing non-Jews. Shapira summarized his opinions in a widely

publicized book, *Torat HaMelech*, or *The King's Torah*. Claiming that non-Jews are "uncompassionate by nature," Shapira cited rabbinical texts to declare that gentiles could be killed in order to "curb their evil inclinations." "There is justification," the rabbi proclaimed, "for killing babies if it is clear that they will grow up to harm us, and in such a situation they may be harmed deliberately, and not only during combat with adults."

In 2006, the rabbi was briefly held by Israeli police for urging his supporters to murder all Palestinians over the age of 13. Two years later, according to the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, he signed a rabbinical letter in support of Israeli Jews who had brutally assaulted two Arab youths on the country's Holocaust Remembrance Day. That same year, Shapira was arrested as a suspect in helping orchestrate a rocket attack against a Palestinian village near Nablus.

Though he was not charged, his name came up again in connection with another act of terror when, in January 2010, the Israeli police raided his settlement seeking vandals who had set fire to a nearby mosque. One of Shapira's followers, an American immigrant, Jack Teitel, has confessed to murdering two innocent Palestinians and attempting to the kill the liberal Israeli historian Ze'ev Sternhell with a mail bomb.

What does all this have to do with Islamophobic campaigns in the United States? A great deal, actually. Through New York-based tax-exempt non-profits like the Central Fund of Israel and Ateret Cohenim, for instance, the omnipresent Aubrey Chernick has sent tens of thousands of dollars to support the Yitzar settlement, as well as to the messianic settlers dedicated to "Judaizing" East Jerusalem. The settlement movement's leading online news magazine, *Arutz Sheva*, has featured Geller as a columnist. A friend of Geller's, Beth Gilinsky, a right-wing activist with a group called the Coalition to Honor Ground Zero and the founder of the Jewish Action Alliance (apparently run out of a Manhattan real estate office), organized a large rally in New York City in April 2010 to protest the Obama administration's call for a settlement freeze. Among Chernick's major funding recipients is a supposedly "apolitical" group called Aish Hatorah that claims to educate Jews about their heritage. Based in New York and active in the fever swamps of northern West Bank settlements near Yitzar, Aish Hatorah shares an address and staff with a shadowy foreign non-profit called the Clarion Fund. During the 2008 U.S. election campaign, the Clarion Fund distributed 28 million DVDs of a

propaganda film called *Obsession* as newspaper inserts to residents of swing states around the country. The film featured a who's who of anti-Muslim activists, including Walid Shoebat, a self-proclaimed "former PLO terrorist." Among Shoebat's more striking statements: "A secular dogma like Nazism is less dangerous than is Islamofascism today." At a Christian gathering in 2007, this "former Islamic terrorist" told the crowd that Islam was a "satanic cult" and that he had been born again as an evangelical Christian. In 2008, however, the *Jerusalem Post*, a right-leaning newspaper, exposed him as a fraud, whose claims to terrorism were fictional.

Islamophobic groups registered only a minimal impact during the 2008 election campaign. Two years later, however, after the Republicans regained control of the House of Representatives in midterm elections, the network appears to have reached critical mass. Of course, the deciding factor in the election was the economy, and in two years, Americans will likely vote their pocketbooks again. But that the construction of a single Islamic community center or the imaginary threat of Sharia law were issues at all reflected the influence of a small band of locally oriented activists, and suggested that when a certain presidential

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candidate who has already been demonized as a crypto-Muslim runs for reelection, the country's most vocal Islamophobes could once again find a national platform amid the frenzied atmosphere of the campaign. By now, the Islamophobic crusade has gone beyond the right-wing pro-Israel activists, cyber-bigots, and ambitious hucksters who conceived it. It now belongs to leading Republican presidential candidates, top-rated cable news hosts, and crowds of Tea Party activists. As the fervor spreads, the crusaders are basking in the glory of what they accomplished. "I didn't choose this moment," Geller mused to the *New York Times*, "this moment chose me."

*Max Blumenthal is an award-winning journalist whose work has appeared in the* New York Times, *the* Los Angeles Times, *the Daily Beast, the* Nation, *the Huffington Post, the Independent Film Channel, Salon.com, Al Jazeera English, and other publications. He is a writing fellow for the Nation Institute and author of the bestselling book* Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement That Shattered the Party *(Nation Books).*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Fw: Oscar/Navy

Pls note on calendar. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Oscar Flores
To: Doug Band; 'AbedinH@state.gov' <AbedinH@state.gov>; Justin Cooper; H; Hannah Richert
Sent: Wed Feb 03 08:17:10 2010
Subject: Oscar/Navy

**FYI**
I will not be around Feb 10-14
Have to drill in Syracuse four days cause I did not drill in Jan.

In March I'm scheduled for my 2 week AT (annual training) in Norfolk I'm away March 22-April 5th

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan (DOS); Cheryl Mills (State); Cheryl Mills ; Dan Feldman
**Subject:** PERSONAL

**Importance:** High

I'm involved in preparations for the Holbrooke memorial service at the Kennedy Center on Jan. 14, and I need to get your guidance/decision on your own role. I'm reachable through Ops, or on my cell although I'll be out-of-pocket between 5 and 7 this afternoon/evening. Regards, Strobe

==========

Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Praise from DFID

When the snow melts, I'd love to hear what he had to say!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Feb 04 06:50:35 2010
Subject: Praise from DFID

I thought you both should hear the words of Andrew Stear, DG of policy at DFID, who told me yesterday that "throughout the development community around the world there is great relief that the US is back, and leading particularly in health and food security/agriculture. He said that we were once again the acknowledge "go to people" in both these areas. He also had lots to say that will b v useful in QDDR re relationship b/w development and diplomacy.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 6:05 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Followup

Pls be sure Bill and I do a letter to [redacted] for his marriage in June. B6

And pls put the following on my call list:

Alston Johnson
Francis Collins
Derek Harvey (he came into see me in the Senate) Paul Charron Lisa Caputo Marty Edelman

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 7, 2010 7:59 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Costa Rican presidential election

Good on all counts! Are you at a Super Bowl party?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 07 19:57:06 2010
Subject: Fw: Costa Rican presidential election

----- Original Message -----
From: Kelly, Craig A
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 07 18:53:12 2010
Subject: Costa Rican presidential election

Ruling party private exit polling shows Laura Chinchilla ahead with 44 percent. Two opponents in the 20s. If that holds (she has to get over 40 percent to avoid a runoff), we will have our fifth elected woman president in recent Latin American history. Chinchilla is same party as Arias. Will keep you posted. ck

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 4:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Lockerbie report tomorrow

FYI

**From:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 3:03 PM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Gordon, Philip H; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Lockerbie report tomorrow

First of all, heads up on Menendez tomorrow. We could punt today and simply say we look forward to receiving the committee's recommendations without commenting further. Regarding the Brits, all we need to say is that the British government, like the U.S. government, believe that the release was a mistake. I do not see a need to feed this, but we will be asked about it tomorrow.

PJ

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Isikoff, Michael (NBC Universal) [mailto [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Lockerbie report tomorrow

PJ-- Senator Menendez and company are released their report on Lockerbie/Megrahi release timed for tomorrow, the 22nd anniversary of the bombing. One of their recommendations that is that the State Department "launch its own inquiry into al-Megrahi's release" to "exhaustively identify and interview sources" to determine how and why Megrahi was released.
Looking for comment...
Im also led to believe that the British govt. inquiry promised by Cameron has in fact uncovered additional documents showing there may have additional communcations by the Brits to the Scots about the importance of releasing Megrahi. Im assuming that State Department has been informed about some of this and you might be able to shed some light...
Mike Isikoff

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:26 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: US-EU statement on human rights in Iran

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 08:06:48 2010
Subject: Fw: US-EU statement on human rights in Iran

FYI. They want to issue as USG. Are you comfortable with that?

---

From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Burns, William J; Mull, Stephen D; Sullivan, Jacob J; McEldowney, Nancy E; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Steinberg, James B
Sent: Mon Feb 08 07:35:44 2010
Subject: US-EU statement on human rights in Iran

The EU has agreed to issue the joint statement on human rights situation in Iran with support of all 27 member states. Text they approved is below. They will issue as European Union. Can we issue as "The USG" or "the United States"? (Had been discussion of HRC-Ashton but they want to put in names of EU and US.) Hope is to get it out today.

JOINT STATEMENT

BY THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CALLING ON THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT

TO FULFIL ITS HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

The United States and the European Union condemn the continuing human rights violations in Iran since the June 12 election. The large scale detentions and mass trials, the threatened execution of protestors, the intimidation of family

members of those detained and the continuing denial to its citizens of the right to peaceful expression are contrary to human rights norms.

Our concerns are based on our commitment to universal respect for human rights. We are particularly concerned by the potential for further violence and repression during the coming days, especially around the anniversary of the Islamic Republic's founding on 11 February. We call on the Government of Iran to live up to its international human rights obligations, to end its abuses against its own people, to hold accountable those who have committed the abuses and to release those who are exercising their rights.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 7:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Israeli air strikes target Gaza after rocket fire (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Dec 20 19:23:40 2010
**Subject:** Israeli air strikes target Gaza after rocket fire (Reuters)

GAZA (Reuters) - Israel carried out a series of air strikes in the Gaza Strip, Palestinian Authority officials and witnesses said, after militants from the Hamas-ruled territory fired rockets into southern Israel. No one was reported killed in any of the attacks. The Israeli strikes targeted a Hamas training camp, where two gunmen were wounded, smuggling tunnels along Gaza's border with Egypt, and other, unpopulated areas, Hamas officials and witnesses said. An Israeli military spokeswoman, who was checking that report, said 13 rockets were fired from Gaza into Israel in the past two days. None of the attacks caused any injuries. Hamas leaders have tried to curb rocket fire at Israel, but smaller groups continue to carry out such attacks. Israel's military said more than 200 cross-border missiles, rockets and mortars have been fired from Gaza this year. An air strike in Gaza on December 18 killed five militants from a rocket launching squad.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:38 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: From Embassy London

Not a surprising assessment from Embassy.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 08:05:36 2010
Subject: From Embassy London

This is from the political officer in London:

David Cameron will be given the right of reply after the PM's statement this afternoon -- followed by Q&A. UUP MP Sylvia Hermon is likely to be "unhelpful" during the Q&A.

The Conservatives are becoming exasperated by the rumors that appear in the press and elsewhere that they are unsupportive of the agreement. Our contacts say the Tories have been completely consistent in supporting the government on devolution, though they don't believe HMG handled the issue well (i.e. allowing the exclusion of the UUP and SDLP).

Reg Empey is scheduled to meet his MLAs tonight to review the document and prepare for the working group with SDLP's Margaret Ritchie.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: National security strategy

Ok. I can also talk after the Lavrov call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 13:49:03 2010
Subject: National security strategy

We should get you together with Jim, Jack, and Anne-Marie on the early side tomorrow, so that your guidance can be reflected in the BCL that Anne-Marie's shop is preparing for Jim and Jack for the 5:30 DC.

For what it's worth, my overall take on the document [redacted] B5

[redacted]

My other concern [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 1:55 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: National security strategy

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 13:54:16 2010
Subject: RE: National security strategy

Jim appears to be largely out-of-pocket, and it's critical that he be part of the conversation. So tomorrow might be most productive.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2010 1:53 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: National security strategy

Ok. I can also talk after the Lavrov call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 13:49:03 2010
Subject: National security strategy

We should get you together with Jim, Jack, and Anne-Marie on the early side tomorrow, so that your guidance can be reflected in the BCL that Anne-Marie's shop is preparing for Jim and Jack for the 5:30 DC.

For what it's worth, my overall take on the document [redacted] B5

[redacted]

My other concern [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 20, 2010 10:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Update

The Senate goes back in at 930 tues am. The Cloture vote on the cr will be at 1015. Alexander will also be recognized for a 10 minute statement - most believe so he can announce his support for START.

Brown also announced his support for the Treaty this evening. With Alexander, that should put us at the 9 needed Republicans (Alexander, Bennett, Brown, Collins, Gregg, Isakson, Lugar, Snowe and Voinovich). There are several others in play (Corker, Chamblis, Cochran, McCain and Murkowski). Moreover, there are bound to be some "sleepers" as the vp called them. This could be Roberts, Crapo, Kirk or others.

We have a meeting in the morning with Kerry, Lugar and Kyl to discuss the remaining amendments. Reid is encouraging Kerry to offer to vote on a handful of R amendments post cloture, but then move fairly deliberately to a vote on ratification.

The end is in sight....

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 8:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 12/21/10 Tuesday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **MEETING w/FRANK WISNER**
9:30 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am **PHOTOS (2)**
10:05 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:05 am **BRIEFING ON DASHBOARD**
10:15 am Cheryl's Office

10:15 am **BUDGET TEAM MEETING**
11:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

11:45am **PHONE CALL w/ANGOLAN FM JORGE REBELO CHICOTY**
Secretary's Office

12:00pm **PHONE CALL w/GERMAN FM GUIDO WESTERWELLE**
Secretary's Office

12:30pm **PHONE CALL w/IAEA DIR. GEN. YUKIYA AMANO**
Secretary's Office

1:00pm **PHONE CALL w/EU HIGH REP CATHERINE ASHTON**
Secretary's Office

1:30pm **OFFICE TIME**
Secretary's Office

2:30pm **PHONE CALL w/ITALIAN FM FRANCO FRATTINI**
Secretary's office

3:00pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00(t) Secretary's Office

6:00 pm (t)**DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

6:10 pm (t)**ARRIVE** Private Residence

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*Claire L. Coleman*
*Office Manager to the Secretary of State*
*U.S. Department of State*
*Tel: 202-647-7098*

*E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 8:44 AM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Cloture and final passage on START

Will let you know about timing on each. Apparently the VP may come up for the cloture vote but that hasn't been decided yet.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 8:45 AM
**To:** Verma, Richard R; H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Cloture and final passage on START

Thank rich
Passing to hrc

-----Original Message-----
From: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 2010 8:44 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Cloture and final passage on START

Will let you know about timing on each. Apparently the VP may come up for the cloture vote but that hasn't been decided yet.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Alexander

Is speaking now. Saying he supports and releasing the letter.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** H; Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** RE: Wyden

Will start work on it right now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:18 PM
To: Russo, Robert V; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Fw: Wyden

Pls do letter asap.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 16 19:41:20 2010
Subject: Fw: Wyden

---

From: Terrell, Louisa [redacted] B6
To: McKeon, Brian P. [redacted] Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M
Sent: Thu Dec 16 17:42:46 2010
Subject: FW: Wyden

- Sen. Ron Wyden Has Early Stage Prostate Cancer, Will Miss Votes

Posted Thursday, December 16, 2010 5:06 PM | By David Weigel
<http://www.slate.com/blogs/search/searchresults.aspx?u=2539>

Here is the statement -- Wyden caught the cancer early, but will have to miss votes tomorrow and next week.

After my annual physical in late November, I was diagnosed with early stage prostate cancer. After reviewing all the options with multiple physicians, I decided to take a proactive approach and have surgery, which will be performed December 20 at Johns Hopkins Hospital by Dr. Alan Partin.

Thanks to routine screening, this was diagnosed very early and I expect a full and speedy recovery.

I scheduled the surgery for the Monday before Christmas anticipating that the Senate would have recessed by that time and that there would be no disruption to my work in Oregon or Washington. However, it now appears that I will be missing votes tomorrow and possibly next week while I prepare and undergo this procedure. I expect to be back to work full-time when the Senate reconvenes in January.

If anything is taken away from my experience, I hope it is the importance of getting routine physicals. One in six men will be diagnosed with prostate cancer during their lifetimes. Early detection is critical to catching this disease when treatment is most effective.

Wyden's vote is one Democrats are counting on for tough votes; he's needed to pass the START treaty, the omnibus, and possibly the DREAM Act. According to current vote counts, it would be possible for the Senate to repeal DADT without Wyden's vote -- with the support of key Republicans, vote counters say they're at 61 or 62.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** H; Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** RE: From [redacted] B6

Will do

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:19 PM
To: Russo, Robert V; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Fw: From [redacted]

Pls draft letter to [redacted] w/cc to Melanne.

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 17 00:11:44 2010
Subject: From [redacted]

---

From: [redacted]
To: PVerveer [redacted]
CC: alysenelson [redacted]
Sent: 12/14/2010 4:04:15 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
Subj: Hello

Hi dear Melanne and Alyse,
Hope this email reaches you at good time. [redacted] Please let me know if I can be of any help to your department and will happy to do and please thank Mrs. Hillary Clinton on behalf of me [redacted] and supporting Afghan women.

Thank you,

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Latest: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear: Inside the Bizarre Cabal

I'm at the post office but Huma has this printed for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Tue Dec 21 14:17:28 2010
Subject: Fw: Latest: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear: Inside the Bizarre Cabal

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop B6
Sent: Mon Dec 20 14:39:32 2010
Subject: Latest: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear: Inside the Bizarre Cabal

TomDispatch <http://www.tomdispatch.com/application/images/site/logo_print.gif>

Tomgram: Max Blumenthal, The Great Fear

By Max Blumenthal
Posted on December 19, 2010, Printed on December 20, 2010 http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175334/

Moments of imperial and economic decline -- according to a recent poll, 65% of Americans now believe <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/38996574/ns/politics/> this country to be "in a state of decline" -- can also be periods of cultishness, even of madness incarnate. Such a mood now seems to be spreading through the United States. It's not so surprising, really. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, fear <http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175325/tomgram%3A_engelhardt,_the_united_states_of_fear/> has been injected <http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/175206/tomgram:_engelhardt,_fear_inc.> into this "homeland" like a drug and a penumbra <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/> of official secrecy has settled over the land in a way that makes the secrecy of the Cold War years (when this country faced a superpower, not a ragtag set of jihadis, guerrillas, and terrorists) seem like an era of sunshine.
In an atmosphere of swirling fears and hysteria amid declining living conditions, "explanations" that at other times might have remained confined to tiny crews of conspiracy-mongers can suddenly gain a patina of plausibility and so traction. No wonder then that, as hard times hit, as the financial system seemed on the verge of collapse, as unemployment soared and a massive wave of home foreclosures swept into view, increasing numbers of Americans became prey to any wacky explanation for our troubles, none more so than the idea that Islam was somehow responsible, that mosques and Islamic centers <http://www.tomdispatch.com/archive/175283/stephan_salisbury_extremism_at_ground_zero> meant for a sliver of a minority here were capable of imposing anything, no less a way of life on this country, or that Sharia law (of all things) might somehow worm its way into state legal systems <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/shariah-law-ban-oklahoma-renews-debate-draws-legal/story?id=12112985> , or that YouTube was a hotbed of terrorism <http://www.wnd.com/index.php?fa=PAGE.view&pageId=239393> worthy of suppression, or... well, you name it.

Max Blumenthal, author of the bestselling book Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement That Shattered the Party <http://www.amazon.com/dp/1568584172/ref=nosim/?tag=tomdispatch-20> , has done the necessary legwork to take us deep into one of those crews of conspiracy-mongers who, at another time, just about no one would have paid much attention to, but in twenty-first-century America have gained a remarkable audience. They are a chilling barometer of the changing weather in America. Tom

The Great Islamophobic Crusade

Inside the Bizarre Cabal of Secretive Donors, Demagogic Bloggers, Pseudo-Scholars, European Neo-Fascists, Violent Israeli Settlers, and Republican Presidential Hopefuls Behind the Crusade

By Max Blumenthal <http://www.tomdispatch.com/authors/maxblumenthal>

Nine years after 9/11, hysteria about Muslims in American life has gripped the country. With it has gone an outburst <http://www.tomdispatch.com/archive/175283/stephan_salisbury_extremism_at_ground_zero> of arson attacks on mosques, campaigns to stop their construction, and the branding of the Muslim-American community, overwhelmingly moderate, as a hotbed of potential terrorist recruits. The frenzy has raged from rural Tennessee to New York City, while in Oklahoma, voters even overwhelmingly approved <http://thinkprogress.org/2010/11/11/oklahoma-sharia-native-americans/> a ballot measure banning the implementation of Sharia law in American courts (not that such a prospect existed). This campaign of Islamophobia wounded President Obama politically, as one out of five Americans have bought into <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1701/poll-obama-muslim-christian-church-out-of-politics-political-leaders-religious> a sustained chorus of false rumors about his secret Muslim faith. And it may have tainted views of Muslims in general; an August 2010 Pew Research Center poll revealed <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1706/poll-americans-views-of-muslims-object-to-new-york-islamic-center-islam-violence> that, among Americans, the favorability rating of Muslims had dropped by 11 points since 2005.

Erupting so many years after the September 11th trauma, this spasm of anti-Muslim bigotry might seem oddly timed and unexpectedly spontaneous. But think again: it's the fruit of an organized, long-term campaign by a tight confederation of right-wing activists and operatives who first focused on Islamophobia soon after the September 11th attacks, but only attained critical mass during the Obama era. It was then that embittered conservative forces, voted out of power in 2008, sought with remarkable success to leverage cultural resentment into political and partisan gain.

This network is obsessively fixated on the supposed spread of Muslim influence in America. Its apparatus spans continents, extending from Tea Party activists here to the European far right. It brings together in common cause right-wing ultra-Zionists, Christian evangelicals, and racist British soccer hooligans. It reflects an aggressively pro-Israel sensibility, with its key figures venerating the Jewish state as a Middle Eastern Fort Apache on the front lines of the Global War on Terror and urging the U.S. and various European powers to emulate its heavy-handed methods.

Little of recent American Islamophobia (with a strong emphasis on the "phobia") is sheer happenstance. Years before Tea Party shock troops massed for angry protests outside the proposed site of an Islamic community center in lower Manhattan, representatives of the Israel lobby and the Jewish-American establishment launched a campaign against pro-Palestinian campus activism that would prove a seedbed for everything to come. That campaign quickly -- and perhaps predictably -- morphed into a series of crusades against mosques and Islamic schools which, in turn, attracted an assortment of shady but exceptionally energetic militants into the network's ranks.

Besides providing the initial energy for the Islamophobic crusade, conservative elements from within the pro-Israel lobby bankrolled the network's apparatus, enabling it to influence the national debate. One philanthropist in particular has provided the beneficence to propel the campaign ahead. He is a little-known Los Angeles-area software security entrepreneur named Aubrey Chernick, who operates out of a security consulting firm blandly named the National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination. A former trustee of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, which has served as a think tank for the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a frontline lobbying group for Israel, Chernick is said to be worth $750 million.

Chernick's fortune is puny compared to that of the billionaire Koch Brothers <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/08/30/100830fa_fact_mayer> , extraction industry titans who fund Tea Party-related groups like Americans for Prosperity, and it is dwarfed by the financial empire of Haim Saban, the Israeli-American media baron who is one of the largest private donors <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/05/10/100510fa_fact_bruck> to the Democratic party and recently matched <http://www.jewishjournal.com/hollywoodjew/item/haim_saban_andrea_bocelli_add_up_to_9_million-dollar-night_for_fidf_2010121/> $9 million raised for the Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces in a single night.

However, by injecting his money into a small but influential constellation of groups and individuals with a narrow agenda, Chernick has had a considerable impact.

Through the Fairbrook Foundation <http://www.politico.com/blogs/laurarozen/0910/The_Park51_money_trail.html?showall> , a private entity he and his wife Joyce control, Chernick has provided funding to groups ranging from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and CAMERA, a right-wing, pro-Israel, media-watchdog outfit, to violent Israeli settlers living on Palestinian lands and figures like the pseudo-academic author Robert Spencer, who is largely responsible for popularizing conspiracy theories about the coming conquest of the West by Muslim fanatics seeking to establish a worldwide caliphate. Together, these groups spread hysteria about Muslims into Middle American communities where immigrants from the Middle East have recently settled, and they watched with glee as likely Republican presidential frontrunners from Mike Huckabee to Sarah Palin promoted <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbUxcgrgUnE&feature=related> their cause and parroted <http://www.politicsdaily.com/2010/07/18/sarah-palin-to-muslims-reject-ground-zero-mosque/> their tropes. Perhaps the only thing more surprising than the increasingly widespread appeal of Islamophobia is that, just a few years ago, the phenomenon was confined to a few college campuses and an inner city neighborhood, and that it seemed like a fleeting fad that would soon pass from the American political landscape.

Birth of a Network

The Islamophobic crusade was launched in earnest at the peak of George W. Bush's prestige when the neoconservatives and their allies were riding high. In 2003, three years after the collapse of President Bill Clinton's attempt to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue and in the immediate wake of the invasion of Iraq, a network of Jewish groups, ranging from ADL and the American Jewish Committee to AIPAC, gathered to address what they saw as a sudden rise in pro-Palestinian activism on college campuses nationwide. That meeting gave birth to the David Project, a campus advocacy group led by Charles Peters, who had co-founded CAMERA, one of the many outfits bankrolled by Chernick. With the help of public relations professionals, Peters conceived <http://www.thenation.com/article/mideast-comes-columbia> a plan to "take back the campus by influencing public opinion through lectures, the Internet, and coalitions," as a memo produced at the time by the consulting firm McKinsey and Company stated.

In 2004, after conferring with Martin Kramer, a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the pro-Israel think tank where Chernoff had served as a trustee, Peters produced a documentary film that he called Columbia Unbecoming <http://nymag.com/nymetro/urban/education/features/10868/> . It was filled with claims from Jewish students at Columbia University claiming they had endured intimidation and insults from Arab professors. The film portrayed that New York City school's Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures as a hothouse of anti-Semitism.

In their complaints, the students focused on one figure in particular: Joseph Massad <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/mealac/faculty/massad/> , a Palestinian professor of Middle East studies. He was known for his passionate advocacy of the formation of a binational state between Israel and Palestine, as well as for his strident criticism of what he termed "the racist character of Israel." The film identified him as "one of the most dangerous intellectuals on campus," while he was featured as a crucial villain in The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America, a book by the (Chernick-funded) neoconservative activist David Horowitz. As Massad was seeking tenure at the time, he was especially vulnerable to this sort of wholesale assault.

When the controversy over Massad's views intensified, Congressman Anthony Weiner, a liberal New York Democrat who once described himself <http://www.zoa.org/sitedocuments/pressrelease_view.asp?pressreleaseID=228> as a representative of "the ZOA [Zionist Organization of America] wing of the Democratic Party," demanded that Columbia President Lee Bollinger, a renowned First Amendment scholar, fire the professor. Bollinger responded by issuing uncharacteristically defensive statements about the "limited" nature of academic freedom.

In the end, however, none of the charges stuck. Indeed, the testimonies in the David Project film were eventually either discredited or never corroborated. In 2009, Massad earned tenure after winning <http://www.college.columbia.edu/cct/jul_aug08/around_the_quads10> Columbia's prestigious Lionel Trilling Award for excellence in scholarship.

<http://www.amazon.com/dp/1568584172/ref=nosim/?tag=tomdispatch-20> Having demonstrated its ability to intimidate faculty members and even powerful university administrators, however, Kramer claimed a moral victory in the name of his project, boasting to the press that "this is a turning point." While the David Project subsequently fostered chapters on campuses nationwide, its director set out on a different path -- initially, into the streets of Boston in 2004 to oppose the construction of the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center.

For nearly 15 years, the Islamic Society of Boston had sought to build the center in the heart of Roxbury, the city's largest black neighborhood, to serve its sizable Muslim population. With endorsements from Mayor Thomas Menino and leading Massachusetts lawmakers, the mosque's construction seemed like a fait accompli -- until, that is, the Rupert Murdoch-owned Boston Herald and his local Fox News affiliate snapped into action. Boston Globe columnist Jeff Jacoby also chimed in with a series of reports <http://www.boston.com/news/globe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2007/01/10/the_boston_mosques_saudi_connection/> claiming the center's plans were evidence of a Saudi Arabian plot to bolster the influence of radical Islam in the United States, and possibly even to train underground terror cells.

It was at this point that the David Project entered the fray, convening elements of the local pro-Israel community in the Boston area to seek strategies to torpedo the project. According to emails <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0705/S00149.htm> obtained by the Islamic Society's lawyers in a lawsuit against the David Project, the organizers settled on a campaign of years of nuisance lawsuits, along with accusations that the center had received foreign funding from "the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia or... the Moslem Brotherhood."

In response, a grassroots coalition of liberal Jews initiated <http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2009/07/05/trustworthy_community/> interfaith efforts aimed at ending a controversy that had essentially been manufactured out of thin air and was corroding relations between the Jewish and Muslim communities in the city. Peters would not, however, relent. "We are more concerned now than we have ever been about a Saudi influence of local mosques," he announced <http://www.forward.com/articles/11052/> at a suburban Boston synagogue in 2007.

After paying out millions of dollars in legal bills and enduring countless smears, the Islamic Society of Boston completed the construction of its community center in 2008. Meanwhile, not surprisingly, nothing came of the David Project's dark warnings. As Boston-area National Public Radio reporter Philip Martin reflected <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/phillip-martin/the-mosque-next-door-what_b_720914.html> in September 2010, "The horror stories that preceded [the center's] development seem shrill and histrionic in retrospect."

The Network Expands

This second failed campaign was, in the end, more about movement building than success, no less national security. The local crusade established an effective blueprint for generating hysteria against the establishment of Islamic centers and mosques across the country, while galvanizing a cast of characters who would form an anti-Muslim network which would gain attention and success in the years to come.

In 2007, these figures coalesced into a proto-movement that launched a new crusade, this time targeting the Khalil Gibran International Academy, a secular Arabic-English elementary school in Brooklyn, New York. Calling their ad hoc pressure group, Stop the Madrassah <http://stopthemadrassa.wordpress.com/> -- madrassah being simply the Arab word for "school" -- the coalition's activists included an array of previously unknown zealots who made no attempt to disguise their extreme views when it came to Islam as a religion, as well as Muslims in America. Their stated goal was to challenge the school's establishment on the basis of its violation of the church-state separation in the U.S. Constitution. The true aim of the coalition, however, was transparent: to pressure the city's leadership to adopt an antagonistic posture towards the local Muslim community.

The activists zeroed in on the school's principal, Debbie Almontaser, a veteran educator of Yemeni descent, and baselessly branded <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/nyregion/13principal.html> her "a jihadist" as well as a 9/11 denier. They also accused her of -- as Pamela Geller, a far-right blogger just then gaining prominence put it <http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/khalil_gibran_international_academy/> , "whitewash[ing] the genocide against the Jews." Daniel Pipes, a neoconservative academic previously active in the campaigns against Joseph Massad and the Boston Islamic center (and whose pro-Likud think tank, Middle East Forum, has received $150,000 from Chernick) claimed <http://www.danielpipes.org/4441/a-madrasa-grows-in-brooklyn> the school should not go ahead because "Arabic-language instruction is inevitably laden with Pan-Arabist and Islamist baggage." As the campaign reached a fever pitch, Almontaser reported that members of the coalition were actually stalking <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/05/16/former-arabic-school-principal-faces-defamation-suit/> her wherever she went.

Given what Columbia Journalism School professor and former New York Times reporter Samuel Freedman called <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/29/education/29education.html> "her clear, public record of interfaith activism and outreach," including work with the New York Police Department and the Anti-Defamation League after the September 11th attacks, the assault on Almontaser seemed little short of bizarre -- until her assailants discovered a photograph of a T-shirt produced by AWAAM, a local Arab feminist organization, that read "Intifada NYC." As it turned

out, AWAAM sometimes shared office space with a Yemeni-American association on which Almontaser served as a board member. Though the connection seemed like a stretch, it promoted the line of attack the Stop the Madrassah coalition had been seeking.

Having found a way to wedge the emotional issue of the Israel-Palestine conflict into a previously New York-centered campaign, the school's opponents next gained a platform at the Murdoch-owned New York Post, where reporters Chuck Bennett and Jana Winter claimed <http://www.nypost.com/p/news/regional/item_UerzwvF7fcSQY8YOP1ln4K> her T-shirt was "apparently a call for a Gaza-style uprising in the Big Apple." While Almontaser attempted to explain to the Post's reporters that she rejected terrorism, the Anti-Defamation League chimed in on cue. ADL spokesman Oren Segal told the Post: "The T-shirt is a reflection of a movement that increasingly lauds violence against Israelis instead of rejecting it. That is disturbing."

Before any Qassam rockets could be launched from Almontaser's school, her former ally New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg caved to the growing pressure and threatened to shut down the school, prompting her to resign. A Jewish principal who spoke no Arabic replaced Almontaser, who later filed a lawsuit against the city for breaching her free speech rights. In 2010, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/26/nyregion/26principal.html?emc=eta1> that New York's Department of Education had "succumbed to the very bias that the creation of the school was intended to dispel" by firing Almontaser and urged it pay her $300,000 in damages. The commission also concluded that the Post had quoted her misleadingly.

Though it failed to stop the establishment of the Khalil Gibran Academy, the burgeoning anti-Muslim movement succeeded in forcing city leaders to bend to its will, and having learned just how to do that, then moved on in search of more high-profile targets. As the New York Times reported <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/28/nyregion/28school.html> at the time, "The fight against the school... was only an early skirmish in a broader, national struggle."

"It's a battle that has really just begun," Pipes told the Times.

From Scam to Publicity Coup

Pipes couldn't have been more on the mark. In late 2009, the Islamophobes sprang into action again when the Cordoba Initiative, a non-profit Muslim group headed by Feisal Abdul Rauf, an exceedingly moderate Sufi Muslim imam who regularly traveled abroad <http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/archives/individual/2010_08/025164.php> representing the United States at the behest of the State Department, announced that it was going to build a community center in downtown New York City. With the help of investors, Rauf's Cordoba Initiative purchased space two blocks from Ground Zero in Manhattan. The space was to contain a prayer area as part of a large community center that would be open to everyone in the neighborhood.

None of these facts mattered to Pamela Geller. Thanks to constant prodding at her blog, Atlas Shrugged, Geller made Cordoba's construction plans a national issue, provoking fervent calls from conservatives to protect the "hallowed ground" of 9/11 from creeping Sharia. (That the "mosque" would have been out of sight of Ground Zero and that the neighborhood was, in fact, filled with <http://www.nydailynews.com/ny_local/2010/08/16/2010-08-16_a_sea_of_filth_near_ground_zer0_mosque_gets_all_the_press_but_porns_around_corne.html> everything from strip clubs to fast-food joints didn't matter.) Geller's activism against Cordoba House earned the 52-year-old full-time blogger the attention she apparently craved, including a long profile <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/10/nyregion/10geller.html> in the New York Times and frequent cable news spots, especially, of course, on Fox News.

Mainstream reporters tended to focus on Geller's bizarre stunts. She posted a video of herself splashing around <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7TG7DTOkU-s> in a string bikini on a Fort Lauderdale beach, for instance, while ranting about "left-tards" and "Nazi Hezbollah." Her call <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/17/AR2010101702840.html> for boycotting Campbell's Soup because the company offered halal -- approved under Islamic law (as kosher food is under Jewish law) -- versions of its products got her much attention, as did her promotion <http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2008/10/how-could-stanl.html> of a screed claiming that President Barack Obama was the illegitimate lovechild of Malcolm X.

Geller had never earned a living as a journalist. She supported herself with millions of dollars in a divorce settlement and life insurance money from her ex-husband. He died in 2008, a year after being indicted <http://www.nypost.com/p/news/regional/item_ufV1Zj9XnA9Qn0Ukjs8QJM> for an alleged $1.3 million scam he was accused of running out of a car dealership he co-owned with Geller. Independently wealthy and with time on her hands, Geller proved able indeed when it came to exploiting her strange media stardom to incite the already organized political network of Islamophobes to intensify their crusade.

She also benefited from close alliances with leading Islamophobes from Europe. Among Geller's allies was Andrew Gravers, a Danish activist who formed the group Stop the Islamicization of Europe, and gave it <http://www.loonwatch.com/2010/07/sioa-is-an-anti-muslim-hate-group/> the unusually blunt motto: "Racism is the lowest form of human stupidity, but Islamophobia is the height of common sense." Gravers' group inspired Geller's own U.S.-based outfit, Stop the Islamicization of America <http://sioaonline.com/> , which she formed with her friend Robert Spencer, a pseudo-scholar whose bestselling books, including The Truth About Muhammad, Founder of the World's Most Intolerant Religion, prompted former advisor to President Richard Nixon and Muslim activist Robert Crane to call him <http://smearcasting.com/smear_spencer.html> , "the principal leader... in the new academic field of Muslim bashing." (According to the website Politico <http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=D979BED4-18FE-70B2-A8314DD53412ADF8> , almost $1 million in donations from Chernick has been steered to Spencer's Jihad Watch group through David Horowitz's Freedom Center.)

Perfect sources for Republican political figures in search of the next hot-button cause, their rhetoric found its way into the talking points of Newt Gingrich and Sarah Palin as they propelled the crusade against Cordoba House into the national spotlight. Gingrich soon compared <http://www.mediaite.com/online/newt-gingrich-compares-ground-zero-islamic-center-to-nazi-sign-next-to-holocaust-museum/> the community center to a Nazi sign next to the Holocaust Memorial Museum, while Palin called it "a stab in the heart" of "the Heartland." Meanwhile, Tea Party candidates like Republican Ilario Pantano, an Iraq war veteran who killed <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/26/us-veteran-killed-iraqis-tea-party> two unarmed Iraqi civilians, shooting them 60 times -- he even stopped to reload -- made their opposition <http://www.pantanoforcongress.com/posts/video-ilario-pantano-at-the-9-11-rally-of-remembrance> to Cordoba House the centerpiece of midterm congressional campaigns conducted hundreds of miles from Ground Zero.

Geller's campaign against "the mosque at Ground Zero" gained an unexpected assist and a veneer of legitimacy from established Jewish leaders like Anti-Defamation League National Director Abraham Foxman. "Survivors of the Holocaust are entitled to feelings that are irrational," he remarked <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/31/nyregion/31mosque.html> to the New York Times. Comparing the bereaved family members of 9-11 victims to Holocaust survivors, Foxman insisted, "Their anguish entitles them to positions that others would categorize as irrational or bigoted."

Soon enough, David Harris, director of the (Chernick-funded) American Jewish Committee, was demanding <http://tpmcafe.talkingpointsmemo.com/2010/08/03/american_jewish_committee_also_opposes_mosque/> that Cordoba's leaders be compelled to reveal their "true attitudes" about Palestinian militant groups before construction on the center was initiated. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, another major Jewish group, insisted it would be "insensitive" for Cordoba to build near "a cemetery," though his organization had recently been granted permission from the municipality of Jerusalem to build <http://www.alzaytouna.net/arabic/?c=1519&a=116500> a "museum of tolerance" to be called The Center for Human Dignity directly on top of the Mamilla Cemetery, a Muslim graveyard that contained thousands of gravesites dating back 1,200 years.

Inspiration from Israel

It was evident from the involvement of figures like Gravers that the Islamophobic network in the United States represented a trans-Atlantic expansion of simmering resentment in Europe. There, the far-right was storming to victories in parliamentary elections across the continent in part by appealing to the simmering anti-Muslim sentiments of voters in rural and working-class communities. The extent of the collaboration between European and American Islamophobes has only continued to grow with Geller, Spencer, and even Gingrich standing beside Europe's most prominent anti-Muslim figure, Dutch parliamentarian Geert Wilders, at a rally against Cordoba House. In the meantime, Geller was issuing statements of support <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/03/so-who-are-the-nazis-meet-atlass-thugs/> for the English Defense League, a band of unreconstructed neo-Nazis <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/English-Defence-League-Hooligans-Unmasked.php> and former members of the whites-only British National Party who intimidate Muslims in the streets of cities like Birmingham and London.

In addition, the trans-Atlantic Islamophobic crusade has stretched into Israel, a country that has come to symbolize the network's fight against the Muslim menace. As Geller told the New York Times' Alan Feuer, Israel is "a very good guide because, like I said, in the war between the civilized man and the savage, you side with the civilized man."

EDL members regularly wave <http://www.loonwatch.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/edl_israel_flag.jpg> Israeli flags at their rallies, while Wilders claims to have formed his views about Muslims during the time he worked on an Israeli cooperative farm in the 1980s. He has, he says, visited the country more than 40 times since to meet with <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/141007> rightist political allies like Aryeh Eldad, a member of

the Israeli Knesset and leader of the far right Hatikvah faction of the National Union Party. He has called for forcibly "transferring" the Palestinians living in Israel and the occupied West Bank to Jordan and Egypt. On December 5th, for example, Wilders traveled to Israel for a "friendly" meeting <http://www.rnw.nl/english/bulletin/geert-wilders-meets-israeli-foreign-minister-lieberman> with Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, then declared <http://www.rnw.nl/english/bulletin/minister-rejects-wilders-plea-palestinian-state-jordan> at a press conference that Israel should annex the West Bank and set up a Palestinian state in Jordan.

In the apocalyptic clash of civilizations the global anti-Muslim network has sought to incite, tiny armed Jewish settlements like Yitzar, located on the hills above the occupied Palestinian city of Nablus, represent front-line fortresses. Inside Yitzar's state-funded yeshiva <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/features/akiva-eldar-u-s-tax-dollars-fund-rabbi-who-excused-killing-gentile-babies-1.2137> , a rabbi named Yitzhak Shapira has instructed students in what rules must be applied when considering killing non-Jews. Shapira summarized his opinions in a widely publicized book <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/08/how-to-kill-goyim-and-influence-people-leading-israeli-rabbis-defend-manual-for-for-killing-non-jews/> , Torat HaMelech, or The King's Torah. Claiming that non-Jews are "uncompassionate by nature," Shapira cited rabbinical texts to declare that gentiles could be killed in order to "curb their evil inclinations." "There is justification," the rabbi proclaimed, "for killing babies if it is clear that they will grow up to harm us, and in such a situation they may be harmed deliberately, and not only during combat with adults."

In 2006, the rabbi was briefly held by Israeli police for urging his supporters to murder all Palestinians over the age of 13. Two years later, according to the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, he signed <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/violence-follows-removal-of-trailer-from-west-bank-outpost-1.250450> a rabbinical letter in support of Israeli Jews who had brutally assaulted two Arab youths on the country's Holocaust Remembrance Day. That same year, Shapira was arrested as a suspect in helping orchestrate <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/news/the-king-s-torah-a-rabbinic-text-or-a-call-to-terror-1.261930> a rocket attack against a Palestinian village near Nablus.

Though he was not charged, his name came up again in connection with another act of terror when, in January 2010, the Israeli police raided his settlement seeking vandals who had set fire to a nearby mosque. One of Shapira's followers, an American immigrant, Jack Teitel <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1934103,00.html> , has confessed to murdering two innocent Palestinians and attempting to the kill the liberal Israeli historian Ze'ev Sternhell with a mail bomb.

What does all this have to do with Islamophobic campaigns in the United States? A great deal, actually. Through New York-based tax-exempt non-profits like the Central Fund of Israel <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/features/akiva-eldar-u-s-tax-dollars-fund-rabbi-who-excused-killing-gentile-babies-1.2137> and Ateret Cohenim, for instance, the omnipresent Aubrey Chernick has sent tens of thousands of dollars to support the Yitzar settlement, as well as to the messianic settlers dedicated to "Judaizing" East Jerusalem. The settlement movement's leading online news magazine, Arutz Sheva, has featured Geller as a columnist. A friend of Geller's, Beth Gilinsky, a right-wing activist with a group called the Coalition to Honor Ground Zero and the founder of the Jewish Action Alliance (apparently run <http://www.manta.com/c/mmzgtfs/jewish-action-alliance> out of a Manhattan real estate office), organized a large rally in New York City in April 2010 to protest the Obama administration's call for a settlement freeze.

Among Chernick's major funding recipients is a supposedly "apolitical" group called Aish Hatorah that claims to educate Jews about their heritage. Based in New York and active in the fever swamps of northern West Bank settlements near Yitzar, Aish Hatorah shares an address and staff with a shadowy foreign non-profit called the Clarion Fund. During the 2008 U.S. election campaign, the Clarion Fund distributed <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/JI26Ak03.html> 28 million DVDs of a propaganda film called Obsession as newspaper inserts to residents of swing states around the country. The film featured a who's who of anti-Muslim activists, including Walid Shoebat, a self-proclaimed "former PLO terrorist." Among Shoebat's more striking statements: "A secular dogma like Nazism is less dangerous than is Islamofascism today." At a Christian gathering in 2007, this "former Islamic terrorist" told the crowd that Islam was a "satanic cult" and that he had been born again as an evangelical Christian. In 2008, however, the Jerusalem Post, a right-leaning newspaper, exposed him <http://www.jpost.com/Features/Article.aspx?id=96502> as a fraud, whose claims to terrorism were fictional.

Islamophobic groups registered only a minimal impact during the 2008 election campaign. Two years later, however, after the Republicans regained control of the House of Representatives in midterm elections, the network appears to have reached critical mass. Of course, the deciding factor in the election was the economy, and in two years, Americans will likely vote their pocketbooks again. But that the construction of a single Islamic community center or the imaginary threat of Sharia law were issues at all reflected the influence of a small band of locally oriented activists, and suggested that when a certain presidential candidate who has already been demonized as a crypto-Muslim runs for

reelection, the country's most vocal Islamophobes could once again find a national platform amid the frenzied atmosphere of the campaign.

By now, the Islamophobic crusade has gone beyond the right-wing pro-Israel activists, cyber-bigots, and ambitious hucksters who conceived it. It now belongs to leading Republican presidential candidates, top-rated cable news hosts, and crowds of Tea Party activists. As the fervor spreads, the crusaders are basking in the glory of what they accomplished. "I didn't choose this moment," Geller mused <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/10/nyregion/10gellerb.html> to the New York Times, "this moment chose me."

Max Blumenthal is an award-winning journalist whose work has appeared in the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Daily Beast, the Nation, the Huffington Post, the Independent Film Channel, Salon.com, Al Jazeera English, and other publications. He is a writing fellow for the Nation Institute and author of the bestselling book Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement That Shattered the Party <http://www.amazon.com/dp/1568584172/ref=nosim/?tag=tomdispatch-20> (Nation Books).

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View this story online at: http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175334/

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 3:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cloture

67 -28

Better than we thought. !

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 3:26 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: It worked. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni tactic 020810.docx; hrc memo ni tactic 020810.docx

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 15:23:59 2010
Subject: H: It worked. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 8, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI/tactic works

The plan worked perfectly. Gordon made the speech in the late afternoon. Cameron felt compelled to support both the deal and the timing. Shaun called Lou Susman beforehand and Susman made a helpful call to Cameron "seeking clarification" an hour and a half before the event.

Now, Reg Empey is boxed in. He's considering his position. It may be that you will have to call him in a couple days.

Shaun will call you tomorrow at a time convenient to you.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773423 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773423 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 5:07 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Call list

Pls remove the following:

Lobo
Lavrov
Talbott
Conyers
Murtha
Solis
Nagin
Stewart
Height

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Pop Quiz on START: Who Would You Listen To?

You will enjoy this - the senate democratic communications center sent it out today. AM

---

**From:** Bruce Jentleson [redacted]
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H
**Sent:** Tue Dec 21 11:46:01 2010
**Subject:** Fwd: Pop Quiz: Whose Would You Listen To?

This is great!!

Bruce Jentleson
Duke University

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

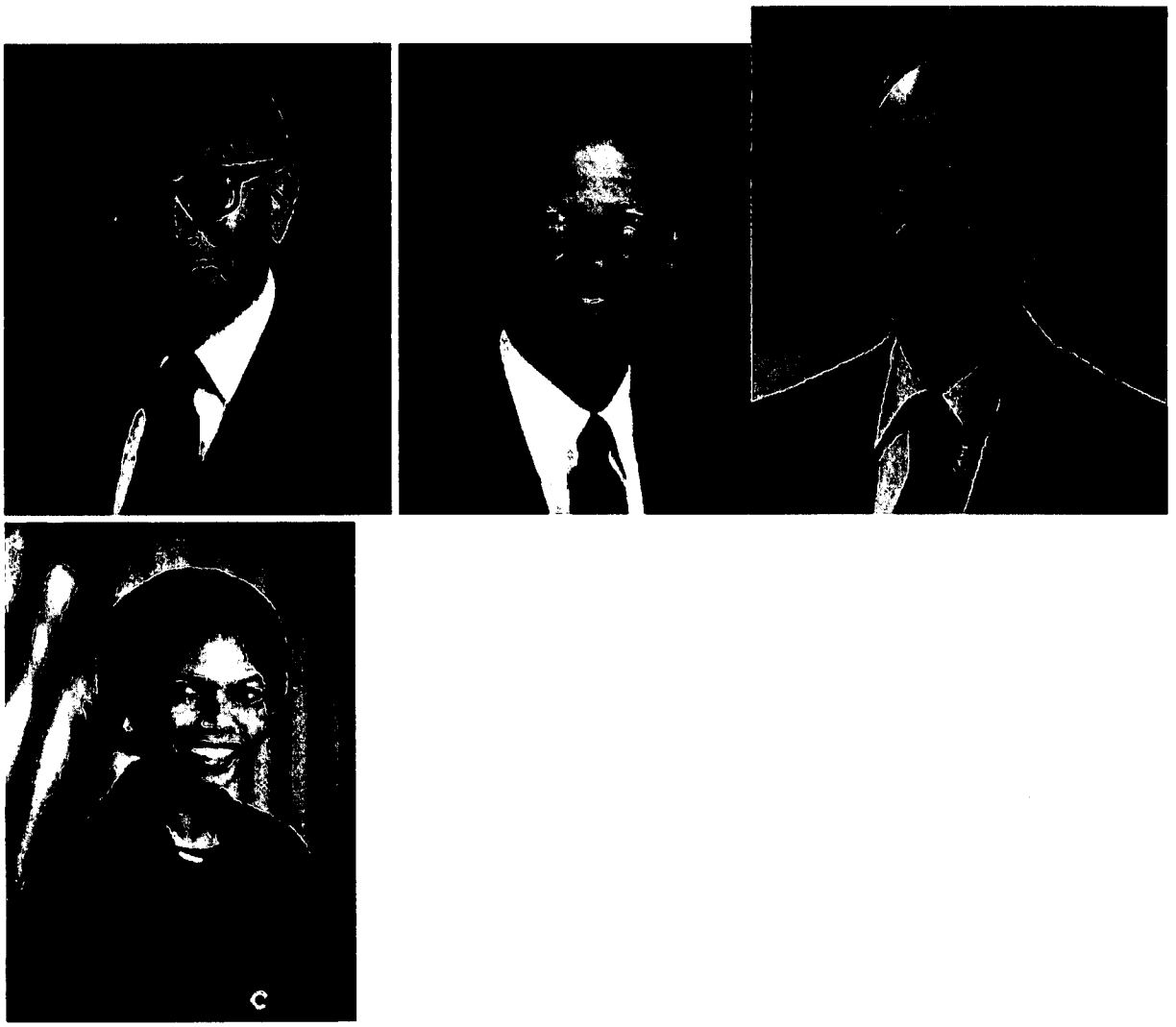
> **From:** "Jentleson, Adam (Reid)" <Adam_Jentleson@reid.senate.gov>
> **Date:** December 21, 2010 11:34:24 AM EST
> **To:** "Bruce Jentleson, Ph.D." [redacted] "Barbara C. Jentleson" <[redacted] B6
> **Subject: FW: Pop Quiz: Whose Would You Listen To?**
>
> Thought you guys would enjoy this. Sent it to reporters this morning.

---

**From:** SDCC-PRESS [mailto:SDCC-PRESS@DEMOCRATIC-MESSAGE-CENTER.SENATE.GOV] **On Behalf Of** Communications Center, Senate Democratic (Reid)
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 9:41 AM
**To:** SDCC-PRESS@DEMOCRATIC-MESSAGE-CENTER.SENATE.GOV
**Subject:** Pop Quiz: Whose Would You Listen To?

A question from your friends at the Senate Democratic Communications Center: **If you were making a major foreign policy decision affecting massive arsenals of nuclear weapons, would you tend to lean towards the position supported by:**





***Or...?***



In supporting ratification of the New START Treaty, Democrats are siding with the cross-party consensus view of virtually the entire foreign policy establishment – including former President George H.W. Bush, Secretary of Defense Gates, Secretary of State Clinton, and the secretaries of state from the last five presidents. In opposing ratification, many Senate Republicans are siding with the position supported by… Sarah Palin.

**The individuals in the first group have over a century of foreign policy experience between them, and have worked closely on U.S.-Russia relations for decades. On the other hand, Palin can see Russia from her house. Apparently, that's good enough for many Senate Republicans.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:28 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** TFTP

Did EUR get memcon of my call w Westerwelle?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 8:48 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: TFTP

But I just heard that federal agencies will be closed again tomorrow! What are we doing to avoid or win the EP vote on 2/11?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 20:46:32 2010
Subject: Re: TFTP

Phil got a readout from Ops following the call. Memcon will be done tomorrow because of the snow day.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Feb 08 20:27:41 2010
Subject: TFTP

Did EUR get memcon of my call w Westerwelle?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Your example

I wouldn't have closed the govt again tomorrow but once the decision was made, it is difficult to operate inside the Building since so many staff will stay away. So let's work from home--again!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 21:34:52 2010
Subject: Your example

Your staying home tomorrow will make lots of parents at higher levels feel ok about staying home with their kids. I may be one of them!

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:05 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I read all the way down and am very concerned but not surprised. Have you shared the content w Bill? What do you think should be done--and by whom--to address these issues?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 21:45:58 2010
Subject: Fw: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

See traffic b/l

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Foote, Daniel L
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:44:29 2010
Subject: RE: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Cheryl, Bellerive hit me up before the beginning of a donors' meeting this morning to say that it's important that the US troops in country be covered by a bilateral agreement that defines, among other things, their immunities. [redacted] He noted that we have had SOFAs covering every military exercise in Haiti since he has been in government. [redacted] His critics have been on the radio daily accusing him and Préval of selling out Haiti's sovereignty by allowing foreign troops into the country. [redacted]. From other statements he made today, [redacted]. David

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/08/2025**

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Mills, Cheryl D

Sent: Monday, February 08, 2010 7:10 PM
To: Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; [redacted] B6
Cc: [redacted] Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; [redacted] Anderson, Gerald C; Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Can you explain more on his goals for a SOFA given our joint communique

Adding harold koh

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; Trivelli, Paul A AMB USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L) [redacted]
Cc: 'Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L)' [redacted] Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; [redacted] Anderson, Gerald C
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:01:51 2010
Subject: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I was in three meetings today with Prime Minister Jean Max Bellerive and he made the following points:

Donors' Confab: The GOH would like to hold the donors' pledging conference in New York on April 15. They have discounted their original date (March 22-23) because there is an IDB meeting in Mexico City on those same dates. There is a technical donors' meetings in Santo Domingo on April 14, and the GOH would like the pledging session to come after it. Bellerive said the GOH would also be open to doing the pledging session on March 31, though they prefer April 15.

Status of Forces Agreement: Bellerive asked me if we could propose to the GOH a SOFA covering US troops in Haiti. [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 [redacted] I told him we would consult and get back to him ASAP.

Adoptions: Bellerive signed the two lists of humanitarian parole letters I brought him, [redacted] 1.4(B) [redacted] 1.4(D) asking if we are close to finishing all the kids in the pipeline. In a later meeting with multiple donors Bellerive talked about the case of the ten Amcits being held for allegedly trying to take Haitian children out of the country withou B1 authorization. He said that this case is in the hands of the courts and that the Executive has no influence over the outcome, but said it is an example of the GOH's need to control the problem of child trafficking which he said has increased exponentially since the earthquake. He said the judge has three months to decide the case. He has already dropped the most serious charge of kidnapping, and now the charges "only carry a maximum of 15 years in prison." He said that the judge might determine that there isn't enough evidence in the case to try the Amcits. He said that the only

power the Executive has in the case would be a presidential pardon in the event they are found guilty. He would not speculate on whether Préval would consider a pardon if the Amcits are found guilty.

Migrants: He approved the return to Haiti of 62 Haitian migrants detained on Great Exuma and said repatriations should continue as pre-earthquake normal.

Relations with Dominican Republic: On instructions, I asked Bellerive in private what the GOH believed would be the appropriate role of the Dominican Republic in donor coordination mechanisms. 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Political dilemma: The executive decree establishing a state of urgency expires on February 15 and can only be extended by Parliament. Parliament has been fiercely critical of the Préval/Bellerive government since the disaster, and This leaves the government with the dilemma of how to handle extraordinary disaster needs (such as declaring land of public utility) after February 15. UN SRSG Mullet encouraged Bellerive to seek a "full consensus" with the opposition as "nothing short of unanimity" would be required to address the enormous challenges Haiti is facing. Bellerive told the donor community that the GOH may soon have to choose between becoming totally ineffective (which he said they will not do) or taking actions that exceed the authority given to the Executive by the law (which he implied they are prepared to do). The government is meeting with the private sector to get their approval of their reconstruction strategy, recognizing that they will have great difficulty getting a consensus with the political parties. Bellerive said that the GOH is also evaluating what to do about upcoming elections and constitutional reform, but implied that they have more time to reach a decision on these matters.

Préval to address the nation: The government is going to designate February 12 (the month anniversary of the quake) as a day of national mourning and President Préval will make his first formal address to the nation since the disaster. They are drafting his speech to be part mourning and part the vision of the future. Préval wants to announce that all the ministries are up and running as usual.

Ministries: The PM said that the Primature and the Ministry of Planning will be moving into the old US Embassy building. The courts will move into the old USAID building. The plan to move a number of the ministries out to Croix des Bouquets has met with very little enthusiasm from the main line ministries. They prefer to clear the rubble off of their properties in downtown Port-au-Prince and either build new buildings (EU is offering to finance) or put up temporary structures (Canada is offering to finance).

David E. Lindwall

Chargé d'Affairs

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 8:56 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Asking.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 21 20:55:32 2010
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:08 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Tomorrow

I can't believe the govt is closed again. I guess I will work from home again but think this is silly.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Yang

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 10:46:07 2010
Subject: Yang

Jake said he spoke to you about making yang call. U willing to do tonite? Tomorrow morning?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 9:05 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Any word on vote yet?

Think it will be in the 12 to 2 timeframe. We are down to about 5 amendments, two of which we may just be able to accept. Spent some quality time with John McCain tonight, who once again railed about Putin on Larry King. Totally surreal that's what this has come down to...will email or call when we know more. Just had our last vote for the night.

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 2010 08:55 PM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Any word on vote yet?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:27 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

I am so sorry we lost him. Ed Rendell told me he wants to hold a big memorial service in the State Capitol in Harrisburg but he hasn't spoken to Joyce yet. I haven't either. I'd like to go too wherever it is. Let me know what you hear.

Also, since the govt is closed again tomorrow and Congress cancelled too, and another big storm is expected tomorrow night, do you think Congress will even bother showing up for our hearings? I'm planning on working from home.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:22:20 2010
Subject:

Still haven't heard anything about funeral arrangements for Mr Murtha. I am planning to attend, wherever it will be (johnstown or arlington). Will let you know when I hear something. It's such a big loss for the community, the state and the country. PA officials are talking about a special election on May 18th.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 9:24 PM
**To:** H; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

[redacted] Cannot do 8:30am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Dec 21 20:55:32 2010
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:38 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: On the Ground Intelligence

Remind me who Bob McGuire is.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 11:24:34 2010
Subject: On the Ground Intelligence

Ruh-roh

From: remaguire [redacted] [mailto:remaguire [redacted] B6
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:42 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: RE: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

General and specific concerns: Specifically heard from Haiti is that Preval has acceded too much authority to the Vorbe family.

Second, more general, is that the BAMBAM families (the term, I understand, created from the initials of the 6 leading elite families) are gearing up to inflate costs of doing things and to try to monopolize to the extent they can. Will forward in a separate email one or two articles I've seen on this.

I'm off to Trinity to prepare my classes for this week. (A reality of my full-time teaching load). While check email later. Thanks for this opportunity to share thoughts. Am very anxious to do this.

Can't miss the NFC game, even though the Eagles (I'm from Philly) already collapsed. I also lived in S.W. Louisiana during the N.O. "Aints" years.

Best - Bob

On Jn 24, 2010, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> You and our secretary share similar concerns about making sure Haiti's future is decided by Haiti.
>
> When we met with PM and P, they both indicated they wanted US to play a large coordination role on their behalf to ensure their voice, plans and goals were accomplished. We are committed to doing that as they requested.

I do think fast will mean some will make money they shouldn't – but goal is to have balance so we move with enough alacrity to build confidence that things are getting done.

Who are the Haiti "operator" types of which this concern is being spoken?

From: remaguire [mailto:remaguire B6
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:44 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: RE: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points

I hope the GOH has back-up to hold firm to its positions. Some will want to push it around. Also, while urgent need for tent cities clear PAP is clear, definitely not part of solution. Fearful of potential permanance of them unless alternates for rural resettlement along lines of talking points exist.

Am hearing that lots of concern that Haiti's "operators" are licking their chops to make lots of money off this. Fact of life or need to expand circle of actors?

Hang in there. - Bob

On Jan 24, 2010, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

> Great – right in line with our thinking so this is great.
>
> Thanks for forwarding – anything else of note?
>
> cdm
>
> From: remaguire [mailto:remaguire
> Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 9:23 AM
> To: Mills, Cheryl D
> Subject: from GOH - Montreal meeting talking points
>
> Cheryl - See below the response of Leslie Voltaire and PM Jean Max Bellerive to talking points for tomorrow's Montreal meeting I proposed yesterday. Talking points at the end. Response positive. I have also shared these with Paul Farmer. Same response. Sources at the UN fear, however, that the donors will focus on PAP and miss this historic opportunity. - Bob

(email sent also to Patrick G.)

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Leslie Voltaire
Date: Jan 23, 2010
Subject: Tr : Montreal - talking points - urgent
To: remaguire B6

Komisyon pa chaj

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
De : Jean Max Bellerive
À : Leslie Voltaire
Envoyé le : Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 19 h 33 min 51 s
Objet : Re: Montreal - talking points - urgent

Thanks ! En ligne avec ce que je pense dire

JMB

---

From: Leslie Voltaire
To: Jean-Max Bellerive
Sent: Sat, January 23, 2010 10:23:24 PM
Subject: Montreal - talking points - urgent

PM

Reflexions de Bob Maguire

Leslie

----- Message transféré ----
De : "remaguire <remaguire B6
À : lvoltaire
Envoyé le : Sam 23 Janvier 2010, 13 h 22 min 27 s
Objet : Montreal - talking points - urgent

Leslie - First, thank god you were in NYC on Jan 12th. I hope your personal losses were minimal. Surely, Haiti has lost much. We all have...

Thoughts for Montreal:

1. This offers an opportunity to 'rebalance' Haiti.
2. Pay attention to the exodus from PAP and catch up with it. (The migration to PAP over the past 30 years was an unnatural development, spurred by rural neglect and urban concentration.)
3. A decentralized system of 'welcome centers' in town and villages can assist returnees re-integrate. Medical and continuing education services should be a part of them. NEED TO ACT NOW.
4. More important, the centers must be equipped to provide work - make them the basis for organizing the civic service corps. Higly decentralized: work for cash; public works/environmental restoration/food production; restoration of human dignity; rural-urban partnerships through work;e in Haiti's real future. Also a chance to begin repairing the social fabric. Will need a 'tough love' approach; disciplined management. Not the work for NGOs.
5. No investment in rural areas and no response to this opportunity will = back to the future re. crowded PAP. People will trickle back to the city to replicate past problems.
6. The damage was done before the earthquake by development/investment policies that ignored the rural areas; saw Haitians simply as sources of cheap labor; denigrated human dignity; failed to strengthen local institutions.
7. This must stop; can't happen again.
8. This is the time to move forward with the Civic Service Corps - quickly.

kenbe. Pa lage. - Bob

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:29 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Are you going to stay home?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:27:49 2010
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Am going to connect w/ bellerive in am

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:04:44 2010
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I read all the way down and am very concerned but not surprised. Have you shared the content w Bill? What do you think should be done--and by whom--to address these issues?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 21:45:58 2010
Subject: Fw: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

See traffic b/l

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/08/2025

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Foote, Daniel L
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:44:29 2010
Subject: RE: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Cheryl, Bellerive hit me up before the beginning of a donors' meeting this morning to say that it's important that the US troops in country be covered by a bilateral agreement that defines, among other things, their immunities. [redacted] He noted that we have had SOFAs covering every military exercise in Haiti since he has been in government. [redacted] His critics have been on the radio

daily accusing him and Préval of selling out Haiti's sovereignty by allowing foreign troops into the country. 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

From other statements he made today, David

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2010 7:10 PM
To: Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; B6
Cc: ; Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M; ; Anderson, Gerald C; Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: Re: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

Can you explain more on his goals for a SOFA given our joint communique

Adding harold koh

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F; Brimmer, Esther D; Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A; Robinson, David M; Jacobs, Janice L; Bond, Michele T; Reynoso, Julissa; Lambert, Christopher A; Trivelli, Paul A AMB USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L) <
Cc: 'Keen, Ken LTG USA USSOUTHCOM/SC-CC (L)' < ; Lucke, Lewis (HAITI/TDY); Dei, Carleene (HAITI/DIR); De Pirro, Velia M;
Anderson, Gerald C
Sent: Mon Feb 08 19:01:51 2010
Subject: PM Bellerive on Donors' Conference, SOFA, adoptions, migrants, political dilema and more

I was in three meetings today with Prime Minister Jean Max Bellerive and he made the following points:

Donors' Confab: The GOH would like to hold the donors' pledging conference in New York on April 15. They have discounted their original date (March 22-23) because there is an IDB meeting in Mexico City on those same dates. There is a technical donors' meetings in Santo Domingo on April 14, and the GOH would like the pledging session to come after it. Bellerive said the GOH would also be open to doing the pledging session on March 31, though they prefer April 15.

Status of Forces Agreement: Bellerive asked me if we could propose to the GOH a SOFA covering US troops in Haiti. 1.4(D) B1 I told him we would consult and get back to him ASAP.

Adoptions: Bellerive signed the two lists of humanitarian parole letters I brought him, 1.4(B) 1.4(D) asking if we are close to finishing all the kids in the pipeline. In a later meeting with multiple donors Bellerive talked about the case of the ten Amcits being held for allegedly trying to take Haitian children out of the country without B1 authorization. He said that this case is in the hands of the courts and that the Executive has no influence over the outcome, but said it is an example of the GOH's need to control the problem of child trafficking which he said has increased exponentially since the earthquake. He said the judge has three months to decide the case. He has already dropped the most serious charge of kidnapping, and now the charges "only carry a maximum of 15 years in prison." He said that the judge might determine that there isn't enough evidence in the case to try the Amcits. He said that the only power the Executive has in the case would be a presidential pardon in the event they are found guilty. He would not speculate on whether Préval would consider a pardon if the Amcits are found guilty.

Migrants: He approved the return to Haiti of 62 Haitian migrants detained on Great Exuma and said repatriations should continue as pre-earthquake normal.

Relations with Dominican Republic: On instructions, I asked Bellerive in private what the GOH believed would be the appropriate role of the Dominican Republic in donor coordination mechanisms. 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Political dilemma: The executive decree establishing a state of urgency expires on February 15 and can only be extended by Parliament. Parliament has been fiercely critical of the Préval/Bellerive government since the disaster, and This leaves the 1.4(B) 1.4(D) government with the dilemma of how to handle extraordinary disaster needs (such as declaring land of public utility) after February 15. UN SRSG Mullet encouraged Bellerive to seek a "full consensus" with the opposition as "nothing short of unanimity" would be required to address the enormous challenges Haiti is facing. B1 Bellerive told the donor community that the GOH may soon have to choose between becoming totally ineffective (which he said they will not do) or taking actions that exceed the authority given to the Executive by the law (which he implied they are prepared to do). The government is meeting with the private sector to get their approval of their reconstruction strategy, recognizing that they will have great difficulty getting a consensus with the political parties. Bellerive said that the GOH is also evaluating what to do about upcoming elections and constitutional reform, but implied that they have more time to reach a decision on these matters.

Préval to address the nation: The government is going to designate February 12 (the month anniversary of the quake) as a day of national mourning and President Préval will make his first formal address to the nation since the disaster. They are drafting his speech to be part mourning and part the vision of the future. Préval wants to announce that all the ministries are up and running as usual.

Ministries: The PM said that the Primature and the Ministry of Planning will be moving into the old US Embassy building. The courts will move into the old USAID building. The plan to move a number of the ministries out to Croix des Bouquets has met with very little enthusiasm from the main line ministries. They prefer to clear the rubble off of their properties in downtown Port-au-Prince and either build new buildings (EU is offering to finance) or put up temporary structures (Canada is offering to finance).

David E. Lindwall

Chargé d'Affairs

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 11:43 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

Who? I thought Eikenberry.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 11:42:34 2010
Subject: Setting up holbrooke first, and then Eugenie.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 8, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Murtha statement

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 08 22:38:38 2010
Subject: Murtha statement

You ok with this?
I was deeply saddened to hear of the passing of Congressman Jack Murtha. From the battlefields of Vietnam to the hills of Western Pennsylvania to the halls of Congress, Jack Murtha lived by the Marine Corps credo "Semper Fidelis," never wavering in his faithful commitment to the country he loved and the men and women who bravely defend her. In war and in peace, he fought for what he knew was right, even when it was unpopular. He was a fierce advocate for working families struggling with a changing economy and for better health care and equipment for servicemembers. And over the course of more than three decades in Congress, he became one of our nation's most respected voices on national security and foreign policy. Presidents of both parties sought his advice and generations of colleagues looked to him for leadership and wisdom. As Senator from New York serving on the Armed Services Committee, I was fortunate to call Jack a friend and mentor. And as Secretary of State, I continued to rely on his expertise and judgment. I knew that Jack would always shoot straight, like the Marine he was, and never shy away from a difficult question or a tough fight. Today our country has lost a decorated war hero and a distinguished public servant. The men and women of the our armed forces have lost a tireless champion. And the people of Pennsylvania's 12th district have lost a neighbor, an advocate, and a true friend. My thoughts and prayers are with them and with Jack's beloved wife Joyce and their family. He will be sorely missed.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Tavis Smiley

I just saw an article he wrote in USA Weekend claiming we had FOX on our airplane screens. What is he talking about? He makes a big deal out of it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 11:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: ROK army to hold largest ever live-fire drill (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Korea; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Tue Dec 21 21:57:25 2010
**Subject:** ROK army to hold largest ever live-fire drill (Reuters)

SEOUL (Reuters) - The Republic of Korea (ROK) army said it will hold its largest-ever live-fire drill near the military border with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on December 23 in a show of force in the wake of Pyongyang's attack on one of its islands last month. The drill, involving artillery, fighter jets and the largest number of personnel in a peace-time exercise, comes after the ROK's live-fire artillery exercise on December 20 on the island near the tensely guarded sea border and is likely to infuriate Pyongyang. It will take place on the ROK mainland.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 7:39 AM
**To:** 'preines 'sullivanjj@state.gov' B6
**Cc:** 'cheryl.mills ; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** David Brooks

Took a shot at me in his column today. Any ideas what prompted it?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Tavis Smiley

But why did he make such a big deal out of it? And what did I say when he asked?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 12:06:34 2010
Subject: Re: Tavis Smiley

He asked you about this when you sat down. The press hangs in the Andrews DV lounge and gets on the plane well before you, the Air Force must have had Fox on when he was with us.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Tavis Smiley
Sent: Jan 24, 2010 12:04 PM

I just saw an article he wrote in USA Weekend claiming we had FOX on our airplane screens. What is he talking about? He makes a big deal out of it.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 7:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Contact Information

**From:** Jaime Aleman [mailto ] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 21, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** Jaime Aleman
**Subject:** Contact Information

Dear Friends,
As you probably know by now, I have decided to resign as Ambassador of Panama to the White House, effective January 2, 2011.

Regards,
Jaime

H.E. Jaime Alemán
Ambassador of the Republic of Panama to the United States
2862 McGill Terrace NW
Washington, D.C. 20008
tel. (202) 332-1275

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 9, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: David Brooks

Agreed--full speed ahead. But, I think we may also need a more aggressive strategy of pushing our message. Can you call me at home thru OPs? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills [redacted] Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan < [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 09 09:44:59 2010
Subject: Re: David Brooks

Not sure - but this is a good excuse to bring him in for an OTR with you. Lona mentioned you wanted to see Tom Friedman - with your ok, we could schedule both (separately) over the next month or so

I'd very much like to get back in the habit of bringing someone or a small group in every few weeks.

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Cc: CDM
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: David Brooks
Sent: Feb 9, 2010 7:39 AM

Took a shot at me in his column today. Any ideas what prompted it?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:13 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano

What is Eric Scwarz's email?

----- Original Message -----
From: postmaster@state.gov <postmaster@state.gov>
To: scwarzericp@state.gov <scwarzericp@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 24 16:09:23 2010
Subject: Undeliverable: Followup w Sec Napolitano

Delivery has failed to these recipients or distribution lists:

scwarzericp@state.gov
The recipient's e-mail address was not found in the recipient's e-mail system. Microsoft Exchange will not try to redeliver this message for you. Please check the e-mail address and try resending this message, or provide the following diagnostic text to your system administrator.

Diagnostic information for administrators:

Generating server: MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu

scwarzericp@state.gov
#< #5.1.1> #SMTP#

Original message headers:

Received: from vance2.state.gov ([10.4.16.249]) by
MSWASHDCIB01.washdc.state.sbu with Microsoft SMTPSVC(6.0.3790.3959); Sun, 24
Jan 2010 16:09:22 -0500
Received: from mail.clintonemail.com (ool-18bbeabb.static.optonline.net [24.187.234.187])
by vance2.state.gov with ESMTP id o0OKfLRW013222;
Sun, 24 Jan 2010 15:41:21 -0500
Received: from CLNTINET08.clinton.local ([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993]) by CLNTINET08.clinton.local
([fe80::d0bb:23d3:f75e:4993%10]) with mapi; Sun, 24 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: "'cheryl.mills[redacted]" <cheryl.mills[redacted]>, B6
"'brimmere@state.gov'" <brimmere@state.gov>, "'scwarzericp@state.gov'"
<scwarzericp@state.gov>

CC: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 24 Jan 2010 16:09:21 -0500
Subject: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Topic: Followup w Sec Napolitano
Thread-Index: AcqdOX+x0D6YJ2s7QS+7tLkSF8OrVw==
Message-ID: <786762D781A7FF4FAC9060892B4044880368178E41@CLNTINET08.clinton.local>
Accept-Language: en-US
Content-Language: en-US
X-MS-Has-Attach:
X-MS-TNEF-Correlator:
acceptlanguage: en-US
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="utf-8"
Content-Transfer-Encoding: base64
MIME-Version: 1.0
Return-Path: HDR22@clintonemail.com
X-OriginalArrivalTime: 24 Jan 2010 21:09:22.0667 (UTC) FILETIME=[806AF3B0:01CA9D39]
X-TM-AS-Product-Ver: SMEX-8.0.0.4125-6.000.1038-17148.000
X-TM-AS-Result: No--15.161000-5.000000-31
X-TM-AS-User-Approved-Sender: No
X-TM-AS-User-Blocked-Sender: No

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Need a favor

Nora--

Cheryl has emailed dozens of memos about Haiti to me this weekend. Can you please print them and organize them in chrono order for me for my trip tomorrow or send to Lauren so she can do? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 9:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Floor Update: Senate passes DoD Authorization

FYI

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Floor Update: Senate passes DoD Authorization

In case you're giving an update to S, wanted to be sure you saw that Defense Authorization has indeed passed the Senate and is now heading back to the House.

**From:** Engle, Tricia (DPC) [mailto:Tricia_Engle@dpc.senate.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 9:08 AM
**To:** Undisclosed recipients
**Subject:** Floor Update: Senate passes DoD Authorization

By unanimous consent, the Senate has passed Calendar #717, H.R. 6523, the DoD Authorization bill, with Levin-McCain amendment.

Tricia Engle
Senior Floor Assistant to Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid

To view the Senate Democratic Floor Schedule, vote tallies, unanimous consent agreements, and legislative and executive action visit http://democrats.senate.gov/calendar/

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** McCain

Think we just got him. He cosponsored the Corker missile defense amendment...

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:56 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Jim's going to call you

Who's Jim?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 22:32:31 2010
Subject: FW: Jim's going to call you

fyi

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 4:32 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Jim's going to call you

Dear Cheryl -
He's going to call your [redacted] number. We're both hoping, on one had, that you're not there and you're at home. Please feel free to call his cell phone [redacted] -- or he'll call you again on Monday. In the meantime, he asked me to pass along to you this simple but heartfelt comment: "Please tell her I've never been prouder of my government. I mean that. Sincerely." B6

Cindy

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 24, 2010 10:59 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Really good ideas. But remind me who McGuire is.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 22:35:56 2010
Subject: FW: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Think I may have sent this but interesting insights and overlapping ones.

---

From: Peter Harrell [redacted] B6
To: Harrell, Peter E
Sent: Sun Jan 24 14:56:20 2010
Subject: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Cheryl,

I had a good conversation with Bob this afternoon. The major points he wanted to emphasize were the ones he had included in his emails to you, including:

* "Rebalancing" Haitian development: Redevelopment should occur nationwide and encourage a more even distribution of the Haitian population. The international community should not rebuild Port-au-Prince at the expense of the rest of the country. Bob thinks that nationwide rebuilding will also reduce the chances of elite capture of the rebuilding effort, since elites are strongly concentrated in Port-au-Prince.

* Transparency: Bob is cautious about just throwing money at the problem. He thinks the international community should establish a new norm of transparency in Haiti, for example, to ensure that there isn't widespread corruption, price gauging, grants of monopolies, etc.

* Link the Haitian business community to other business communities: Bob thinks that if all the rebuilding is done by the usual suspects in the Haitian business community, they'll simply build back the country they had before. He recommends working to bring in foreign investors, and then linking foreign investors and leading Haitian businessmen (e.g., in a business roundtable) to socialize better business practices in Haiti.

* On the issue of legal authorities for reconstruction: Bob recommends exploring whether presidential commission-like structures could be empowered to resolve the legal problems likely to arise as barriers to reconstruction.

* Duration of US presence: Bob cautioned that most Haitians would be happy to see a long-term US military presence in the country, though this would likely have adverse reputational consequences in the hemisphere for the United States. Given that hurricane season will begin in the fall, Bob recommends that when we do draw down, we make clear that we will return if needed.

* Getting people to work: Bob argued that NGOs may not be the best vehicles for getting Haitians to work (e.g., through job training, etc.). In short, they're too nice. Many Haitians have never held a regular job, are unfamiliar with showing up on time, etc. They'll need a bit of tough love and discipline. Bob though ex-military might set the right kind of example.

* Diaspora: Engaging the diaspora is clearly important, but we do not want to support widespread repatriation of the diaspora as NGO employees, reconstruction experts, etc., at the expense of Haitians who never left. This reinforces wage differentials and social discontent about returnees.

* Conditional cash transfers: Bob thinks that conditional cash transfer programs have a lot of potential to improve education and the delivery of health services in Haiti.

--
Peter E. Harrell



B6

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 11:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: QDDR FOLLOWUP

Sigh – despite my having advised otherwise . . .

**From:** Hormats, Robert D
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 11:07 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** QDDR FOLLOWUP

Hi Cheryl,

As I head out of town for few days, I wanted to pass on a few comments on the QDDR.

First, on the "E" side of things, [redacted] B5

To prepare for the changes ahead, I have pulled together a team with Kerri-Ann, Jose, Dick Morningstar, David Goldwyn and Andy Reynolds from STAS to discuss [redacted] Tom Smitham on my staff will set up a coordination group with their deputies.

I want to ensure that the [redacted]

In my discussions over the past week with the A/Ss and Special Envoys, we identified the need [redacted] B5

I look forward to discussing with you, Tom Nides, Pat and others in the new year.

I want to wish you and your family a very happy holiday. It has been a pleasure working with you this year and I look forward to 2011.

Best regards,

Bob.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: URGENCE
**Attachments:** IMG_1902.JPG; IMG_1902.JPG

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 20:13:09 2010
Subject: FW: URGENCE

Dear Hillary,

I just arrived back but my heart and mind are back in Haiti..... I am thankful that you helped me get there and supported the resurrection of the hospital in just one week. General Keen was key in reestablishing the hospital (and I got to appreciate MRE's). When we got there there were 1500 patients and 400 corpses in a deserted hospital — our team of 7 was the only group there.... And slowly over the week we have built a functioning hospital again.

Meeting and working with Paul has been good for the soul---- although when I felt I wanted to meet him – this was not the way...But I think I am in this for the long haul...

Below is an email for President Clinton (it was good to see him and Chelsea and Mark there) I promised to forward this email by a medical student he spoke to in the operating room .... Desperate to find a way to continue his education. Attached is picture of him and I in front of the surgery area. And there were 3 more I met a few nights later who had volunteered since the first days but had not eaten in a week (I managed to gather bag of biscuits from the world food program from behind 3 padlocks after 1 hours of searching – They slept on the hospital grounds because their homes were destroyed.

I am not sure what we can do... But I promised to pass this on!

Thank you for who you are in the world.. God bless you!

Your friend in gratitude,

Mark

------ Forwarded Message
From: [redacted]
Date: Sun, 24 Jan 2010 18:22:03 -0600
To: Mark Hyman < [redacted]
Subject: URGENCE

Dear M. President
My name is [redacted] the young man who took to you on the Hospital in Haiti.

With all my Heart i want to thank you so much for helping Haiti in this terrible situation,... Thank you so much for your visit in the country, we really appreciate that, so thank you so much...
As you know, all the universities are broken, so now we get no way to continue our education... And we are with our family in the streets, so life is become more difficult as we never imagine.... I know that the USA used to help Haiti with Scholarship, but is really sad to tell you that the kind of young man as me, never get chance to benefice a scholarship, just because we are in the last categories in the society (the poor persons)....So, In that Situation we need your help more than ever, Please, please, please M. President we are "3" friends are helping in the hospital since after the catastrophe, and now we are thinking about how to continue to sturdy, So Please, please, please help us have a scholarship in USA... And we promiss to come back after to teach, and help the orders... God will Bless you for that M. President because we are really, really, really in need...
Thank you so much to gave me a chance to talk to you, when you was in the country, and thank you for reading this mail, God bless you...

------ End of Forwarded Message

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 12:18 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Update

Just adopted the last amendment...could vote in the next hour or two. Still waiting for a uc agreement to lock in a time certain. But I believe it will be between now and 2.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:15 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Fw: URGENCE
**Attachments:** IMG_1902.JPG; IMG_1902.JPG

We should help students whose education has been interrupted finish here or in French speaking countries. See story below.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 20:13:09 2010
Subject: FW: URGENCE

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I am not sure what we can do... But I promised to pass this on!

Thank you for who you are in the world.. God bless you!

Your friend in gratitude,

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Thank you so much to gave me a chance to talk to you, when you was in the country, and thank you for reading this mail, God bless you...

B6

------ End of Forwarded Message

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:16 AM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Need a favor

Thx so much.

----- Original Message -----
From: Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 24 18:53:21 2010
Subject: RE: Need a favor

Yes. I'll have them for you before you leave State in the morning.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 24, 2010 6:33 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Need a favor

Nora--

Cheryl has emailed dozens of memos about.Haiti to me this weekend. Can you please print them and organize them in chrono order for me for my trip tomorrow or send to Lauren so she can do? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: URGENCE
**Attachments:** IMG_1902.JPG; IMG_1902.JPG

Mark posted several postings on HuffPost from Haiti. Pls print them all for me. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Dr. Mark Hyman [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 20:13:09 2010
Subject: FW: URGENCE

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B6

------ End of Forwarded Message

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Pls print.

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From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 24 22:35:56 2010
Subject: FW: Conversation with Bob Maguire

Think I may have sent this but interesting insights and overlapping ones.

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To: Harrell, Peter E
Sent: Sun Jan 24 14:56:20 2010
Subject: Conversation with Bob Maguire

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* Conditional cash transfers: Bob thinks that conditional cash transfer programs have a lot of potential to improve education and the delivery of health services in Haiti.

--
Peter E. Harrell



B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Can you pls give me email addresses

For Claire, the special assistants and Joe?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: feedback on the internet speech

That is so gratifying! Thx for all your encouragement.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 23 10:50:12 2010
Subject: Fw: feedback on the internet speech

You must read this -- a Chinese blogger said that the Internet speech "was like a song to his heart."

---

From: Chollet, Derek H
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Ross, Alec J; Cohen, Jared A; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 23 06:23:11 2010
Subject: Fw: feedback on the internet speech

Pretty cool

---

From: Heather Hurlburt [redacted] B6
To: Chollet, Derek H
Sent: Fri Jan 22 16:04:00 2010
Subject: feedback on the internet speech

Several NSN staff went to a CAP forum with some Chinese bloggers today, and came back emotionally overwhelmed by the bloggers' positive response to her speech. One of them apparently said the speech was like "a song to his heart" and my hard-bitten 20-something staffer said he almost cried when the guy said it. Nice work.

Heather Hurlburt

Executive Director

National Security Network

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, January 25, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: feedback on the internet speech

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'slaughtera@state.gov' <slaughtera@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jan 25 07:36:18 2010
Subject: Re: feedback on the internet speech

That is so gratifying! Thx for all your encouragement.

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From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
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Subject: Fw: feedback on the internet speech

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Heather Hurlburt

Executive Director

National Security Network

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 4:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Congratulations!!

This is an major achievement, and an even greater disaster averted. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 5:02 PM
**To:** H; Steinberg, James B; Hormats, Robert D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A
**Subject:** trade preferences (Andean included...)

We just got a short term extension through the House and Senate.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 5:24 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Statement on Senate Passage of 9/11 Health Legislation

Madame Secretary, we have drafted a statement on the 9/11 health bill with help from Chris Falvo, Miguel, and Ann Gavaghan. Passing it along for your review.
Thanks
Dan

B5

###

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 5:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: HRC Veterans Legislation

**From**: Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Cc**: Reines, Philippe I
**Sent**: Wed Dec 22 17:24:43 2010
**Subject**: HRC Veterans Legislation

S getting kudos from Durbin on the floor for her leadership on the Caregiver and Veterans Health Services Act, which he took up after she departed the Senate and provisions of which were enacted this year.

**Miguel E. Rodriguez**
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs
Bureau of Legislative Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2645
rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 6:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: HRC Veterans Legislation

Done.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 22 18:21:36 2010
Subject: Re: HRC Veterans Legislation

That is great news. Pls be sure Andrew Shapiro knows.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 22 17:25:39 2010
Subject: Fw: HRC Veterans Legislation

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Wed Dec 22 17:24:43 2010
Subject: HRC Veterans Legislation

S getting kudos from Durbin on the floor for her leadership on the Caregiver and Veterans Health Services Act, which he took up after she departed the Senate and provisions of which were enacted this year.

Miguel E. Rodriguez
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs Bureau of Legislative Affairs U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2645
rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nides Confirmed

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 08:05 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Campbell, Piper; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Steinberg, James B
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Nides Confirmed

Tom Nides was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 6:54 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Northern Ireland

Ok. I'm forwarding you more background from Shaun via Sid.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 26 06:52:16 2010
Subject: Northern Ireland

Gordon Brown called Lou Susman a short while ago. Brown believes you should make a call to McGuinness this morning around 830 am (Declan and I agree that if you call McG you also must call Robinson). Brown proposes to speak with you at 820 or so to bring you up to speed before those calls.

The current situation is that Brown and Cowen are in Belfast, and met with Robinson, McGuinness, and other parties until 330 in the morning Belfast time. They have now resumed today. The sticking point is parades. Robinson wants the current parades commission abolished because it gives Republicans too much say. McGuinness refuses to allow the parades issue to be tied to the devolution issue.

The key message to McGuinness is to keep working this thing through -- not to take any drastic action that would bring down the assembly or collapse the process.

Declan agrees that this is the moment to make calls.

If you agree we can have the ops center set up the Brown call as well as the other two.

We'll get you some more background before the calls, but talking points will be fluid and shaped in large measure by Brown's report.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nides Confirmed

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Campbell, Piper; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Steinberg, James B
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:05:24 2010
Subject: Nides Confirmed

Tom Nides was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Nides Confirmed

What do u think about calling mcconnell?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:09:30 2010
Subject: Re: Nides Confirmed

If she is amenable, a call to McConnell would go a long way. Tom was the only person confirmed tonight...Miguel can confirm that...so it was a big deal.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 08:06 PM
To: Rodriguez, Miguel E; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Campbell, Piper; Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re: Nides Confirmed

Thanks! Just passed to hrc too.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Campbell, Piper; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Steinberg, James B
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:05:24 2010
Subject: Nides Confirmed

Tom Nides was just confirmed by the Senate.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Nides Confirmed

Ok. Rich confirms we got Nides, Brownfield, the MCC reps, and the UNGA reps. USAID got Paige Alexander.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:17:58 2010
Subject: Re: Nides Confirmed

I already thanked him when he told me on the floor.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:12:28 2010
Subject: Fw: Nides Confirmed

What do u think about calling mcconnell?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Wed Dec 22 20:09:30 2010
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Cc: Verma, Richard R
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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Draft on settlements ready for UN - Palestinians (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-IO; NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Wed Dec 22 20:52:18 2010
**Subject:** Draft on settlements ready for UN - Palestinians (Reuters)

BETHLEHEM (Reuters) - A Palestinian Authority draft resolution condemning Israel's West Bank settlement activity is ready to be presented to the UNSC, a senior Palestinian Authority official said. Saeb Erekat, the chief Palestinian Authority negotiator in peace talks with Israel, said he expected the resolution would be put to a UNSC vote in February, after the United States ends its presidency of the council. "We are not condemning Israel. We are condemning settlement activities and we hope the resolution will pass," Erekat said. He said 15 nations had helped draft the proposal after Palestinian Authority President Abbas requested a UNSC meeting to discuss settlement building in November. "Something must be done on the international level to halt the settlement expansion which the Israeli government is undertaking in the West Bank, including Jerusalem," Nabil Abu Rdainah, Abbas's spokesman, said at the time. As the Palestinian Authority has only observer status at the UN, the resolution will be presented by a full member of the council. Erekat said he hoped the United States would not use its veto to defeat the resolution and added that if it did not succeed at the UNSC, "we will go to the International Court of Justice."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Bolivia sends formal letter recognizing Palestine (AP)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Sent:** Wed Dec 22 20:46:56 2010
**Subject:** Bolivia sends formal letter recognizing Palestine (AP)

LA PAZ (AP) - Bolivia has formally declared its recognition of an independent and sovereign state of Palestine. President Morales says his government "could not continue waiting with its arms crossed given the problems of human rights, territory and sovereignty." A Foreign Ministry official later confirmed that Bolivia sent a letter to Palestinian Authority President Abbas declaring its support. She spoke on condition of anonymity because she is not authorized to talk to the news media. Bolivia joins the governments of Argentina, Cuba, Brazil and Venezuela in supporting a sovereign state of Palestine with borders recognized prior to the 1967 Mideast war.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 11:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Confirmations

----- Original Message -----
From: Kennedy, Patrick F
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 22 21:15:37 2010
Subject: Confirmations

Cheryl

Only Nides, Brownfield, the MCC reps, and the UNGA reps were confirmed.

USAID got Paige Alexander.

==========

NOT/NOT confirmed were

APEC - Tong
IRF - Johnson
USUN/Mgt - Torsella
Several Public Diplomacy Commission Members ASEAN - Carden

Azberbaijan - Bryza
Brunei - Shields
Czech - Eisen
Kyrgyz - Spratlen
Montenegro - Brown
Syria - Ford
Turkey - Riccardone
Venezuela = Palmer

Six (6) F.S. commissioning and promotion lists

Will try to catch a few minutes tomorrow to discuss/firm up way ahead

Regards

pat
---

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Northern Ireland

Here it is. Also, would be good if I could start calls now.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 26 06:54:29 2010
Subject: Re: Northern Ireland

Ok. I'm forwarding you more background from Shaun via Sid.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jan 26 06:52:16 2010
Subject: Northern Ireland

Gordon Brown called Lou Susman a short while ago. Brown believes you should make a call to McGuinness this morning around 830 am (Declan and I agree that if you call McG you also must call Robinson). Brown proposes to speak with you at 820 or so to bring you up to speed before those calls.

The current situation is that Brown and Cowen are in Belfast, and met with Robinson, McGuinness, and other parties until 330 in the morning Belfast time. They have now resumed today. The sticking point is parades. Robinson wants the current parades commission abolished because it gives Republicans too much say. McGuinness refuses to allow the parades issue to be tied to the devolution issue.

The key message to McGuinness is to keep working this thing through -- not to take any drastic action that would bring down the assembly or collapse the process.

Declan agrees that this is the moment to make calls.

If you agree we can have the ops center set up the Brown call as well as the other two.

We'll get you some more background before the calls, but talking points will be fluid and shaped in large measure by Brown's report.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 10:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Daniel Rubinstein

He has some interesting reports from the Pal side, if you have a moment to talk secure.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: New Start foreign media

Thought you'd like to see this. Rose did a great job, especially with Russian media, and the new system seems to be working.

Sorry I didn't get to see you before you left. Hope you have a happy and peaceful holiday and actually manage to get a bit of down time --- is that even possible???

Cheers,

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: Smith, Dana S
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 7:39 PM
To: McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR
Subject: Fw: New Start foreign media

Since I send you guys the complaints when principals don't come through, thought it would be nice to send a positive message when things go as they should. Rose is a champ and IME did great today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Korman, Samuel I. (Shai)
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 07:34 PM
To: Ratney, Michael A; Smith, Dana S
Subject: RE: New Start foreign media

I'll also add that when the dust settles this might warrant some kind of email to A/S Gottemoeller who was herself a driving force behind getting this done, getting out on the Russian media tonight to get into Russian media cycle to help advance policy. Sets a great example for her senior colleagues. Will send around the final round-up in a few.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ratney, Michael A
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 7:21 PM
To: Smith, Dana S
Cc: Korman, Samuel I. (Shai)
Subject: New Start foreign media

Dana -

IME staff kicked ass tonight on New START. We arranged a press call for Gottemoeller with five Russian journos at 6:00 pm - and it went perfectly. Then two TV interviews with Russian television from the mezzanine. BBC Russian radio to

top it. Thursday we're setting up a conference call for DC-based press (foreign and domestic) supplemented by reporters from key countries in Europe such as Poland. (We're getting an assist on that from EUR and the Brussels Hub.)

We'll get Gottemoeller into the studio here tomorrow as well to do some clips that we'll push out on NewsMarket and America.gov.

All told, a very nice foreign media package on very short notice - and on a very big ticket issue. My hat is off to Shai, David, and Holly, and also to great collaboration from OBS and FPC.

Michael

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 26, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** 'doug [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Personal

Of course. I will send a letter and welcome you, [redacted] to DC. The closer the better!

I'm copying Rob Russo so he can work w you to draft the letter.

This is very exciting.

----- Original Message -----
From: Doug Hattaway [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Jan 25 18:59:54 2010
Subject: Personal

Mme. Secretary:

[redacted]

All the best, Doug

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 11:49 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Smith, Jeannemarie E; Laszczych, Joanne; Oscar Flores
**Subject:** DRAFT LETTER FOR OMB PASSBACK

HRC:

(Oscar – can you print for her)

Below is the draft OMB letter. After you review, we will send it to OMB with the goal to get it to them early afternoon. I am heading to a lunch and then back – you can reach me or Jeanne through Ops.

Cdm

Dear Mr. Lew:

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

Sincerely,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Secretary of State

Enclosure:
As stated.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: steve in the cable

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Caitlin Klevorick [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, December 23, 2010 12:54 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: steve in the cable

B6

Names: Radelet from State to USAID
Posted By Josh Rogin Thursday, December 23, 2010 - 12:34 PM Share

Steve Radelet, who joined the State Department last January to be Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's top advisor on development, is moving over to USAID to be their first ever Chief Economist.

Radelet left his post as a senior fellow the Center for Global Development to help Clinton during the development of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, which was unveiled earlier this month. While at State he co-led the QDDR task force on aid effectiveness and helped stand up the Feed the Future Initiative, a huge program that will be transferred to USAID as part of the QDDR implementation. The Chief Economist job at USAID is new.

"The new position of Chief Economist (CE) will help establish USAID as a global leader for innovative policy analysis, research, and implementation," read an internal USAID email about Radelet's move, obtained by The Cable. Radelet will be part of the senior management team and report director to USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah.

According to the email, the job will have four functions:

1. Building USAID's capacity to conduct rigorous economic analysis, especially macroeconomic analysis, 2. Developing a network of leading economic researchers and development economists, 3. Cultivating a new generation of economists and research analysts at the Agency, and 4. Providing strategic and analytical support to USAID's work in priority countries, and implementation of Presidential Initiatives and the Presidential Policy Directive.

Before working at CGD, Radelet was a founding co-chair of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Africa, the Middle East, and Asia from
2000 to 2002.

Read the full job description after the jump:

Chief Economist

The new position for Chief Economist (CE) will help establish USAID as a global leader for innovative policy analysis, research, and implementation by:

1. Building USAID's capacity to conduct rigorous economic
analysis, especially macroeconomic analysis,

2. Developing a network of leading economic researchers and development economists,

3. Cultivating a new generation of economists and research analysts at the Agency, and

4. Providing strategic and analytical support to USAID's work in priority countries, and implementation of Presidential Initiatives and the Presidential Policy Directive.

Structure:

The Chief Economist will work extensively across the agency with both the functional and regional bureaus.

The CE will report to the Administrator and be a member of the Senior Management Team. The CE will be part of the Front Office and have a special assistant and administrative support.

The CE will serve in an advisory capacity to the Bureau of Policy Planning and Learning (PPL) and the Bureau for Sustainable Economic Growth (SEG). Given the cross cutting nature of the CE's work, and the resources and capacity it will draw upon from both PPL and SEG, the CE will need to work in close alignment with the leadership of these two Bureaus. The CE will participate in leadership meetings at both PPL and SEG, and be actively involved in advising both bureaus. The details of this functional relationship will require further discussion between the CE and the Assistant Administrators for PPL and SEG.

Build USAID's capacity to conduct rigorous economic analysis

Conduct focused economic and policy analysis in support of Administrator priorities at the direction of the Administrator and serve as an economics advisor to the Administrator Enhance USAID's abilities to evaluate and understand the cost-effectiveness and economic impacts of projects and programs.
Working closely with SEG, build USAID's capacity to incorporate rigorous economic analysis into project design, implementation, and evaluation.
Strengthen USAID's capacity for understanding innovative ideas from external research and analysis and best practices from other agencies, and incorporating these ideas into USAID programs.
Strengthen the knowledge base of all USAID staff on development economics through seminars, teaching, and training.
Establish regular development economics training seminars and courses for USAID staff and other staff from the interagency.
Develop a network of researchers and development economists

Build and sustain networks of development economists from both inside and outside of the federal government
Establish and lead an interagency group of development economists and allow for USAID to be seen as a leader for inter-agency thinking, analysis, and debate on development issues.
Develop strong partnerships between economic units and other major donor organizations such as World Bank, IMF, DFID, etc.
Develop a "brain trust" / advisory board consisting of the world's leading development economists. The "Brain trust" would be a mechanism under ACFVA and would leverage outside expertise and analysis in support USAID's economic growth agenda.
Publish thought pieces for the agency on key priority economic growth issues.
Lead, mentor and guide a network of Agency economists and researchers

Working with SEG and PPL, help cultivate a cadre of senior, mid-career and junior professional policy analysts and researchers that combine solid analytic and research skills with practical development experience.
Provide structured mentorship, support and guidance for the 77 economists working throughout the Agency.
Mentor and train a new generation of DLI economists.
Provide critical outlet and exchange function for Agency economists with the academic/ intellectual community.

Provide strategic and analytical support for priority Missions and Initiatives

Support PPL and the Missions in providing analysis and guidance as they lead implementation of the enhanced engagement countries.
Support SEG in bringing economic analysis - particularly macroeconomics, trade and investment analysis to Feed the Future and Climate Change Initiatives Review from time to time the effectiveness of economic growth programming.
Advise the Administrator on broad Agency policy issues, as needed.
Provide support to the Administrator to serve as the deputy governor at the regional development banks Working with PPL, lead a process in developing a new economic growth agenda and vision for USAID, articulating the Agency's contributions in relation to other USG agencies and the wider USG growth agenda.
Work with PPL, State and NSC to strategically increase the frequency with which USAID has the lead role in interagency policy analysis, discussion, and debate for major development issues.
Working closely with PPL, support efforts in the lead up to the November 2011 South Korean Aid effectiveness meeting.
Working closely with the SEG focal point on the MCC, provide advice and analysis to the Administrator in his role as a Board member of the MCC.
Represent the Agency at a senior level in interagency meetings and discussions, as appropriate.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Smith, Jeannemarie E; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** RE: DRAFT LETTER FOR OMB PASSBACK

thanks

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 23, 2010 12:43 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Smith, Jeannemarie E; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Re: DRAFT LETTER FOR OMB PASSBACK

All set to go from my perspective. Thx so much.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Smith, Jeannemarie E <SmithJE3@state.gov>; Laszczych, Joanne <LaszczychJ@state.gov>; Oscar Flores
Sent: Thu Dec 23 11:49:09 2010
Subject: DRAFT LETTER FOR OMB PASSBACK

HRC:

(Oscar – can you print for her)

Below is the draft OMB letter. After you review, we will send it to OMB with the goal to get it to them early afternoon. I am heading to a lunch and then back – you can reach me or Jeanne through Ops.

Cdm

Dear Mr. Lew:

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

Sincerely,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Secretary of State

Enclosure:

As stated.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 5:56 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** you were absolutely great

All the women I talked to afterwards from State had the same reaction; you make us SO proud.
AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 2:54 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: maggie

I want to do dinner but discuss invites w me first. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 26 20:39:34 2010
Subject: FW: maggie

thoughts

From: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Tuesday, January 26, 2010 9:30 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: maggie

Maggie is going to be down in DC on Thursday, February 18th and could do a "big think" dinner that evening – that date works well on HRC's calendar too.

Cheryl, if it's good on your end, should we run by HRC and move forward with invites?

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

202-647-9071 (direct)

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 12:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: message from Vjosa

Ok
I have a staffer going to Kosovo next week

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Oct 21 00:13:33 2010
Subject: Re: message from Vjosa

I'd like to discuss how we do followup. Are you in on Thursday? If so, pls come see me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Oct 14 05:24:23 2010
Subject: Fw: message from Vjosa

I thought you'd like to see Vjosa's reaction tp your visit to Kosovo.

---

From: vjosa dobruna [redacted] B6
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Wed Oct 13 17:11:26 2010
Subject: Re: message from Vjosa

Dear Melanne,

Thank you; We, group of women leaders met with Secretary Clinton. It was a short meeting, introduction and photo opportunity. But, I hope the event send a message to our government that women should be supported. I also think that the Embassy will consider more vision of women of Kosova.
Secretary Clinton was just remarkable. Her message for our, also Belgrade leadership was clear and strait forward; dialogue, dialogue, dialogue as two independent states!
The admiration expressed by the population in the streets as motorcade was passing, meeting with PM and acting President, open meeting with students and media was impressive. She is really inspiration for all.
Maybe was not a right time, but I only wish she has pressed the PM on corruption practices.
Thank you once again for facilitating this meeting.

Best regards,

Vjosa

---

From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: vjosadobruna[redacted] B6
Sent: Sat, October 9, 2010 6:38:34 PM
Subject: Re: message from Vjosa

She is eager to see you. The embassy told me that they talked to you and you're able to see her.

---

From: vjosa dobruna[redacted] B6
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Sat Oct 09 12:51:03 2010
Subject: Re: message from Vjosa

Thanks for replying to the message.
My phone number is[redacted].
Today someone called me from the US Embassy to invite me to meet Secretary on Wednesday. It is going to be a close 15 min meeting with several women leaders.
Thank you .

Vjosa

[redacted]
Sent: Fri, October 8, 2010 3:26:51 PM
Subject: RE: message from Vjosa

Vjosa, do you have a phone number? We're hoping that the Secretary will get to see you.

Melanne S. Verveer

Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues

U.S. Department of State

2201 C Street NW, Room 6805

Washington, DC 20520

Tel: (202) 647-7283

Fax: (202) 647-7288

VerveerMS@state.gov

From: vjosa dobruna [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 3:59 PM
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: message from Vjosa

Dear Melanne,

Hope this message finds you well.
I am trying to follow your work and every time I run into information that involves you as a speaker or presenter, I know that strong advocacy for the benefit of women is coming for the future.

I am starting a foundation, with a objective to advocate policies on health, environment and human rights. Women in the region have serious obstacles to access health care and services, and are suffering from a luck of information. Many preventable diseases are taking its toll because of the lack of information and facilities, especially regarding breast cancer and cervical cancer. Also, laws on health care do not require for preventive services such as mammography, pap smear and other preventive services. I am planning to work on different level, not excluding other target groups but starting with women.
Today, media have announce the visit of Secretary Hillary Clinton in the region, including Kosovo. Is there any chance to meet with her during short visit in Prishtina? I know she is coming to assist the dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade, but she would be even more helpful if she meets me and other women.
New early elections are coming in few months and she would bust our confidence and would support better participation of women and better election result.
I am afraid that our government officials are going to meet alone and/or be very selective who can meet her because is going to have impact on the election.
I am not with any political party but would be wonderful and extremely helpful for the support of woman's agenda Is any chance that you will be coming with Secretary Clinton?

Best regards,
Vjosa

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 3:53 PM
**To:** Oscar Flores
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** FW: Letter to the Secretary and paper Toward a New Policy on Iran
**Attachments:** Toward a New Policy on Iran (Dec 2010) (3) (3).doc; Letter to Secretary Clinton.doc

Please print for HRC

cdm

**From:** Pickering, Thomas R [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 22, 2010 11:17 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Burns, William J
**Subject:** Letter to the Secretary and paper Toward a New Policy on Iran

Dear Cheryl:

As you know, a small group of us met with the Secretary and Bill Burns on Tuesday morning on Iran. We would like her to have both the attached letter of thanks and a paper which provides fuller detail on the ideas we discussed with her along with some further thoughts and suggestions in response to her statements to and questions of us.

With my thanks and good wishes for Christmas and New Years,

Sincerely, Tom Pickering

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 2:15 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Communique

Pls follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: Melanne Verveer [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 27 14:11:47 2010
Subject: Communique

You might want to look at the reintegration parag in the communique.

[redacted] B5

Melanne Verveer
Pverveer [redacted] B6

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773680 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# TOWARD A NEW POLICY ON IRAN

BY HEINTZ, LUERS, PICKERING AND WISNER
December 21, 2010

**I INTRODUCTION: US-Iran relations are never ripe for an opening but there is high risk to continuing to put it off. We propose that you urge the President to instruct you to open a direct relationship with Iran. That might begin by a letter of congratulations to Foreign Minister Salehi offering to work with him toward a new relationship. The burden rests on the US to convince an uncertain Iranian leadership to come out of its shell.** The next few months offer an opportune moment for a new policy. The 2010 sanctions are taking a toll on Iran but are not changing Iran's behavior. The Iranian government has moved in a more repressive direction against the opposition and for consolidation of Khamenei/Ahmadinejad power, with an increasing role of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard.

The Administration has a responsibility and an opportunity now to take initiatives in 2011 that will diminish the possibility of conflict and enhance the US role in the Middle East. We try to answer below: Why now? What are the elements of a new policy? How to get started?

**II Why Now?**

**A. The Administration's 2009 moves to reset US policy in the Middle East and the Islamic world have been well received by most Islamic nations but undercut by Iran.** A US policy of isolating Iran is comforting and easier than alternatives but it also weakens the larger US objectives of resetting our role in the region. A new US policy toward Iran would enhance the administration's regional strategy and return the US to being a strategic player rather than a polarizing one.

**B. The President's initiatives to engage Iran last year failed.** The Iranian expectations for corrective actions from the Obama administration have been high. Iran's self image as an aggrieved



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05773680 Date: 08/31/2015

victim of the US perfidy and efforts at regime change, provide a partial explanation for the Iranian unresponsiveness. Another factor has been Iran's domestic turmoil, almost unprecedented since the 1979 revolution. As a result the leadership has been even more immobilized than usual on whether and under what conditions to meet with American officials. Now is the time to return with even greater authority in an effort to talk to the Iranians (C below). ~~[Why now is a key question. Not clear the answer is here in the paper. We did say the longer it drags out the harder it becomes. A change in tactics re sanctions and signs of moving away from regime change can help condition the atmosphere. Iran is engaged in buying time and the task is to make clear that is an approach which lends only to danger and potential conflict by accident or failure to develop other opportunities.~~

Formatted: Font color: Red

**C. Significant US steps toward engagement now would surprise Iran's leaders. A new policy now would be more effective in changing Iranian behavior than the sanctions have been.** The multilateral agreements in 2010 to strengthen the sanctions against Iran have sent a strong message to the Iranian leadership about the seriousness of the Obama administration. But the sanctions have also reinforced Iran's determination to stay the course. Iran's leaders perceive US policies over the past 30 years of seeking to isolate, punish, threaten, subvert, sanction, intimidate, and overthrow if possible Iran as a permanent fixture of American foreign policy. They have been successful in convincing the Iranian public that they are right. Now is the time to engage the Iranians with a new and determined US policy.

**D. Failure to reach an agreement soon on Iran's nuclear program will increase the risk that Iran will have the capacity to develop a nuclear weapon.** The decision to continue to deploy UNSC sanctions as our "weapon of choice" for stopping Iran's enrichment of uranium has failed. This policy has contributed to making Iran's nuclear program (not a nuclear bomb) a symbol of national unity and pride. As the UNSC approves more sanctions Iran builds more centrifuges. This US insistence on having some suspension of enrichment or a deal on their nuclear program as a precondition for talks on other subjects has led both countries into a dead end. The resulting confrontation

seems likely to allow Iran the time to develop a nuclear bomb and as a result eventually toward potential conflict as the only option. Although the US has stressed that it is following a two track policy toward Iran, in fact the diplomatic track has been mainly in the successful diplomatic effort to expand sanctions. A new US policy must give Iran reasons to limit its nuclear program to peaceful purposes. We should consider an approach that provides enrichment in Iran under international supervision but such a discussion awaits a US decision and must be coordinated with the other members of the P-5.

**E. The consequences of a failure in US policy toward Iran will severely damage US interest's world wide.** US military action against Iran is unthinkable as a strategy or as the consequence of no strategy. Military conflict would gravely set back our programs in Iraq and Afghanistan, further derail the peace process, and perhaps lead to a regional war involving Israel, some Arab states and Hezbollah and Hamas. A new toll of human life in the Islamic world would be catastrophic for the goals of resetting US policy with consequences for US interests from Morocco to South East Asia. The consequences of prolonging the current policy without accomplishing any of its objectives will degrade US authority and power. Another consequence will be the missed opportunity to engage Iran in a long term constructive regional strategy:

1) To put in place a crisis management understanding that will reduce the possibility of US-Iran conflict in the Gulf or over Iraq and Afghanistan.

2) To deal directly with Iran over its nuclear program.

**3)** To help establish a regional security structure aimed at giving Iran and the Gulf states a greater sense of stability.

**4)** To build a regional stabilization program for Afghanistan and Iraq,

**5)** To carry out a joint program to reduce drug trafficking,

**6)** To develop a coordinated effort to deal with refugees in the region.

**7)** To develop together approaches to weaken the Taliban and destroy Qa'eda and eventually to weaken Iran's support for Hamas and Hezbollah.

**8)** To develop other common approaches to serious issues in the region where U.S. and Iranian interests are at play – drugs, refugees are examples.

**III WHAT ARE THE ELEMENTS OF A NEW POLICY? The US should make a determined and carefully designed effort to get the Iranians to the table. The risks of delaying this relationship are getting higher. Any new policy toward Iran should begin with the following characteristics.**

**A. A new policy must engender a positive decision from the Supreme Leader and his advisors and thus must be seen to come from the President and have his full commitment to its implementation.** It must aim in the first instance at defining a framework of negotiations that address all outstanding issues between the US and Iran.

**B. It must eliminate suggestions to Iran that the suspension of enrichment or some other "progress" on our nuclear demands is a precondition for any progress to direct talks.** The Iranians still believe that broader talks on a full range of issues with the US based on mutual respect and justice will only happen if Iran suspends enrichment. This Iranian posture is partially a reflection of their paranoia and insecurity in dealing with the US. But fruitful discussions on nuclear issues are only likely to come after Iran has determined that the US seriously seeks a bilateral relationship based on mutual respect for each other's interests, concerns and role in the region.

**C. The US should achieve an arrangement with Iran that would maximize IAEA and other international access to and monitoring of Iran's nuclear program.** As the US sets aside its zero enrichment preconditions for any progress in the talks, it should link Iran's assurances that it will not build a nuclear bomb to a new agreement. That agreement should provide for intrusive inspections from the IAEA and multilateral or international management of their enrichment program.

**D. A US offer to cooperate with Iran as an equal partner on one or more non-nuclear issues will set the stage for more fruitful**

**discussion of the nuclear issue.** The US will improve markedly chances to get Iran to deal seriously with the nuclear issues by starting with an offer to cooperate on other problems in the region. The Iranians do not want to "talk" or "negotiate" with the US. Small gestures such as direct flights to Tehran from the US and liberalizing travel restrictions on their diplomats in the US might help but not change the situation significantly. They want to work together with the US. The issues that would demonstrate a serious US intention to work with Iran would be:

a. Create crisis management mechanisms to deal with the possibility of incidents in the Gulf or in Iraq and Afghanistan.
b. Renew the cooperation on Afghanistan (that was cut off in January 2002).
c. Seek cooperation on Iraq (in anticipation of further US force draw down) building on the bilateral talks that took place in Baghdad several years ago.
d. Seek cooperation on controlling drug trafficking along the Afghan border and more broadly.

E. **Take actions that will signal to Iran's leaders that the US has genuinely rejected a regime change strategy. Oral assurances have not been sufficient. The Iranians have appreciated President Obama's rhetorical outreach but argue that the rhetoric has not been matched with any material change in US actions.** Such steps would include a decision to reduce or cease ~~for a period of time~~ some executive branch actions taken against Iran, particularly anysome covert political military activities (with the exception of efforts to delay or disrupt their progress on enrichment) that Iran's leaders might identify as part of the US strategy of regime change.

F. **One way to begin a new effort at engagement would be for the Secretary of State to send a letter to the new Iranian Foreign Minister Salehi congratulating him on his new position and suggesting a willingness to work with him toward a new era in US-Iranian relations.** Such a letter might be delivered directly through the Iranian Permanent Representative to the United

Nations along with the oral message to the Supreme Leader that we recommend below.

**G. Set a new tone in reciprocal communications including a moratorium on the rhetorical attacks from leaders on both sides.** The President and cabinet members would constrain their threats and red lines on Iranian behavior, make clear at every opportunity that the US does not have a policy of regime change and agree to open up the entire range of bilateral issues that are particularly important to the Iranians. Astute subtle gestures on both sides can diminish the distrust. The Iranian leadership would be asked to agree to comparable restraint in relation to the US. Our overall goal is to secure Iranian recognition that we are legitimate players in the region, have interests and will defend them. At the same time, we will not seek to destabilize Iran's domestic order. We can compete peacefully on the playing field of ideas, without challenging the legitimacy of each other's interests.

**H. Establish a formal structure through which the two governments will communicate directly. But diplomatic relations should not be sought at the outset.** One early priority will be for both sides to empower a senior representative to conduct regular discussions on official business. Key communications should go through one established channel, agree to avoid informal back channels, and seek progressively to raise the level of those authorized officials. Each side will want to establish a bilateral process to manage the multiple bilateral incidents and problems such as arrested nationals and travel of Iranian diplomats at the UN. Iranian officials have underscored their reluctance to establish diplomatic relations for now since they have a long history of distrust for the purposes and activities of a US Embassy in Tehran.

## IV. HOW TO GET STARTED?

**A. The President must find a way to communicate directly with the Supreme Leader a US desire to open official talks.**

Further written communications alone from the President will not persuade the Leader that the US is serious this time. Getting directly to the Leader with an oral message (perhaps confirmed by a non-paper), delivered at a very senior level, is important to get through despite~~around~~ the intense internal political struggles in Tehran over relations with the US – and over who will rule Iran.

The message to the Leader should declare that President Obama has designated his personal representative to conduct official discussions with a representative of the Supreme Leader. In a respectful tone the message should call for:

- The avoidance of misunderstandings in the Gulf, Afghanistan, Iraq or the Levant that would lead to conflict.
- Greater cooperation between these two important states – the US and Iran - in the Middle East.
- Mutual recognition of the other's legitimate interests in the area.
- The beginning, without preconditions, of discussions on cooperative steps on regional and global problems.
- Mutual recognition that both leaders of the US and Iran have stated publicly their desire for a world without nuclear weapons.
- An understanding that the Leader's fatwa against the building or use of nuclear weapons could establish an excellent basis for discussions with the aim of agreement for greater IAEA access to Iran's nuclear program to assure the world about Iran's nuclear intentions and develop an arrangement regarding enrichment.
- Finally, an understanding of what types of reciprocal actions might be undertaken by each side to demonstrate the seriousness of this new effort to work toward cooperation.

**B. Getting this message directly to the Supreme Leader is a major hurdle. We offer several possible approaches:**

- **First**. A senior US Government official, perhaps the Secretary of State, would make an oral presentation to the Iran's permanent representative to the UN, who is the senior Iranian official within reach and request that the message get directly to the Supreme Leader. This approach would have the advantage of not appearing to bypass President Ahmadinejad and provide an opportunity for the new Foreign Minister Salehi to become a player. It would have the disadvantage of throwing the message into the middle of Iran's political disorder and competitive environment where US relationships have become a touchstone...
- **Second**. A senior American, not a member of the administration, could deliver this message to a senior counterpart in Tehran. For example Senator Kerry might meet with Larijani the President of the Majlis. The advantage would be that it would enable the President to have deniability should this initial approach prove to be unproductive or be rejected. But the disadvantage is that it would bring in a key player who is a strong competitor to Ahmadinejad and perhaps not be seen as a serious US Presidential initiative...
- **Third.** A senior Envoy from the US or a Third Country could take this message directly to Ahmadinejad, who claims to be the strongest supporter of closer US/Iran contacts. The advantage of this approach would be to engage the second most important player in the Iranian government. The disadvantages are that it would enhance, at least temporarily, Ahmadinejad's stature in Iran's governing structure and open up even more open opposition within Iran's power elite.

- **Fourth.** A senior statesman from a third country who has direct access to the Supreme Leader could be asked to determine whether the Leader would respond favorably to President Obama's message. We have in mind someone like Prime Minister Erdogan of Turkey, who is one of the few statesmen who probably has direct access to the Leader. There may well be others in that category such as Oman. The advantage of this approach is that Erdogan's stature as an Islamic leader friendly to Iran might make the message more credible to the Leader. Another advantage would be that the initial approach could be confidential and provide some deniability for the President should this approach sour or fail. The disadvantage would be the involvement of a third country national whose personal and national prestige would become engaged and raise the possibility that the President's message to the Leader might be distorted or misunderstood. The Iranians see Turkey in a competitive and possibly disdainful light based on a history with periods of confrontation and tension.

**C. Should the ~~initial~~ approach to the Supreme Leader prove successful in setting up ~~initial~~ discussions between designated envoys, one possible and ambitious route for the administration would be an agreement between President Obama and the Supreme Leader on a structure to manage the bilateral differences and promote the common interests.** Such an agreement would provide clear direction to each government on establishing a new tone and spirit in conducting relations. It would also set the agenda for cooperation on a wide range of bilateral problems.

**D. The administration would need to develop a public diplomatic strategy in advance of the first meeting of empowered representatives to explain the objectives to the**

**Congress, to our allies and friends and to the American people.**

**Conclusion: We can give no assurances that any of these suggestions would work. We are convinced however that given the Iranian obsession about US regime change policies and the negative consequences for US interests of not changing the relationship, the US will have to take the lead in persuading the Supreme Leader and his advisers that the US generally seeks a new relationship.**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 27, 2010 6:18 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: maggie

Anything else going on?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jan 27 04:39:31 2010
Subject: Re: maggie

K

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Jan 27 02:54:26 2010
Subject: Re: maggie

I want to do dinner but discuss invites w me first. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jan 26 20:39:34 2010
Subject: FW: maggie

thoughts

From: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Tuesday, January 26, 2010 9:30 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: maggie

Maggie is going to be down in DC on Thursday, February 18th and could do a "big think" dinner that evening – that date works well on HRC's calendar too.

Cheryl, if it's good on your end, should we run by HRC and move forward with invites?

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

202-647-9071 (direct)

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 11:33 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Feedback

Fyi

**From:** Eikenberry, Karl W
**To:** Ruggiero, Frank J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Wayne, E Anthony
**Sent:** Thu Dec 23 22:23:28 2010
**Subject:** Feedback

Frank – the Secretary's call was extraordinarily well-received. Good morale boost as we enter the holiday seasons which, as you know, can be a difficult time for those serving in tough assignments far from home. Please pass on our collective gratitude to her for spending the time with the Mission.

Also – would like to recommend [redacted] B5

Happy holidays to all,

Karl

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 11:11 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Plane reading: old boys network v Ashton

What is her family life complexity?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 10:12:47 2010
Subject: Plane reading: old boys network v Ashton

Below is from the Economist blogger re efforts w/l EU to discredit Ashton, particularly from the French. Wouldn't hurt to mention her positively with French interlocutors. See particularly this line: "There is, frankly, a whiff of old boy's network against Lady Ashton: she is not a lifetime member of the honourable guild of former foreign ministers, and she is surrounded by men in suits who think they know a lot more about foreign policy than she does. There is not much sympathy for her complicated family life, involving young children, and much commuting between Brussels and Britain."

A blog by the author of our column on the European Union

Charlemagne's notebook <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne>

- Why did Lady Ashton take the EU's foreign policy job?
<http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2010/01/should_lady_ashton_have_taken_eus_top_foreign_policy_job>

- Jan 26th 2010, 22:04

NOT yet February, and the briefing against Catherine Ashton, the newly appointed EU foreign policy chief, is getting nasty. Jean Quatremer, the Brussels blogger and well-connected EU correspondent of Libération, dropped another depth charge against the baroness tonight <http://bruxelles.blogs.liberation.fr/coulisses/2010/01/ashton-ne-r%C3%A9pond-plus-au-t%C3%A9l%C3%A9phone-europ%C3%A9en-apr%C3%A8s-20-heures.html#more> . His list of complaints against her is long, and I have a feeling some of them are a smidgeon exaggerated. I find it hard to believe it is literally impossible to reach Lady Ashton after eight o'clock in the evening as Mr Quatremer charges, because she allegedly has her mobile telephones diverted to the EU situation centre (a small intelligence analysis cell staffed by officers from national servicies) after that hour. I also have some doubts about the stress laid on the fact that she has not yet got round to having top secret security clearance yet, so cannot see any confidential papers. As a former British cabinet minister, and serving UK commissioner, something tells me the British at least may share just the odd secret with her.

A senior official I saw today also made the point that any holder of Lady Ashton's post would currently be struggling with teething problems and squabbling as the new foreign policy apparatus created by the Lisbon Treaty takes shape. There is, frankly, a whiff of old boy's network against Lady Ashton: she is not a lifetime member of the honourable guild of former foreign ministers, and she is surrounded by men in suits who think they know a lot more about foreign policy than she does. There is not much sympathy for her complicated family life, involving young children, and much commuting between Brussels and Britain.

Finally, at the risk of sounding too loyal to the British, I think Mr Quatremer is being unfair when he says that it suits the Foreign Office in London to have Lady Ashton "sabotage" the post. My impression is that the British government feels Lady Ashton needs a lot of support right now and worries she is not getting enough support, but at the same time worries that if she receives too much help in the way of briefings and advice from British officials, she will be seen as a British stooge. That may be a self-serving sort of fear (because it allows the British to offer Lady Ashton lots of help) but it is real enough.

Other charges probably have something to them. They certainly chime with things I have been told by other people.

But most damaging, to my mind, is the intimate nature of some of the briefing: this stuff is coming from officials close to Lady Ashton, or who are senior enough to have significant contact with her. And I can confirm from my own conversations that people across the whole EU foreign policy machine are asking the same question: why did she take this huge job, when her instinct seems to be to make it as low key as possible? That is a dangerous question mark to have hanging over you.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:26 PM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Call w Cheryl

Nora--Pls tell Cheryl to call me back on my berry # which Ops has. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** 'toivnf@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Call w Cheryl

Later is fine.

----- Original Message -----
From: Toiv, Nora F <ToivNF@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 15:31:29 2010
Subject: RE: Call w Cheryl

She is headed downstairs to do a quick interview with Andrea Mitchell and then she's off to the PC. I'll try!!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 3:26 PM
To: Toiv, Nora F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; [redacted] B6
Subject: Call w Cheryl

Nora--Pls tell Cheryl to call me back on my berry # which Ops has. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, January 28, 2010 9:00 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Lugar Remarks tonight

Can you call my berry?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 20:54:47 2010
Subject: FW: Lugar Remarks tonight

fyi

From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 4:44 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Lugar Remarks tonight

Speech of Senator Lugar

Foreign Assistance and Development in a New Era

Thursday, January 28, 2010

U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar will deliver the following speech tonight at the Society for International Development's annual dinner.

I thank the Society for International Development, its members and its leadership – Betsy Bassan and Joe Feuer – for the work they do on development issues around the world, and for organizing this annual gala. It is unfortunate that Chairman Kerry could not be with us tonight, but I know he shares my gratitude for your recognition.

I also want to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Shah for his remarks and to recognize the efforts of USAID and its new Administrator in responding to the tragic earthquake in Haiti. Dr. Shah has faced one of the most challenging crises imaginable only five days after being sworn in. The job ahead of him – in Haiti and around the globe – is monumental. I look forward to supporting his work and that of his agency in the coming years. I commend all of our responders from all

government agencies for their courage, compassion, and skill as they continue their mission in Haiti, and I join all of you in extending our prayers to the people of that nation.

Tonight I would like to offer a few points about where we have come from and where we might be going with regard to U.S. investments in development.

The challenges of global poverty and hunger are growing at a time when worries about the sustainability of natural resources are increasing. Population growth and increased affluence in some parts of the globe will require that we more than double world food production by 2050 to keep pace. At the same time, to address environmental concerns, we will have to harvest that food from roughly the same amount of land that is in production today. The accessibility and availability of food deeply affects the health of populations. Childhood malnutrition has lifelong consequences for the productivity of individuals and nations. Poverty denies opportunity to the world's young people and breeds extremism and instability that spills over borders. It is not surprising that the CIA has long tracked and analyzed global food supplies as an indicator of potential conflict.

There is probably not a person in this room who would disagree that development is critical for U.S. national security and that the alleviation of poverty and hunger is a key component. This is a sentiment that is shared in most parts of our government, including the Department of Defense.

But even though the importance of advancing development goals is evident, constructing the most efficient, accountable, and transparent means for achieving those goals is complex and challenging. Differences of opinion exist with regard to who should be performing development functions and how these activities should be integrated into our broader foreign policy efforts. We have not reached a consensus within our government on who should be doing what, where, when and why.

As we debate these issues, we should keep in mind that diplomacy and development are two distinct disciplines. Although diplomacy and development often can be mutually reinforcing, at their core, they have different priorities, resource requirements, and time horizons. Most obviously, diplomacy is far more concerned with solving immediate problems, usually associated with countries of strategic interest. Although we hope that our development efforts will sometimes yield short-term strategic benefits, that is not their primary purpose. In a development context, we are willing to take a much longer view of the world and devote resources to countries of less, or even minimal, strategic significance. We are willing to allow the diplomatic and national security benefits of development work to accrue over time. And we are willing to engage in missions for purely altruistic reasons. These differences underscore why development must be an independent partner of diplomacy, not merely its servant.

Reforming U.S. Foreign Assistance

Reforming U.S. foreign assistance – in both substance and architecture – has been a priority for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary Clinton has stated: "I want USAID to be seen as the premier development agency in the

world." I share that sentiment. One of the basic questions with respect to foreign aid reform is how we can best strengthen the capacity of USAID to run effective assistance programs. During the last two decades, decision-makers have not made it easy for the agency to perform its mission. Development resources declined precipitously in the 1990s and reorganization initiatives resulted in the agency's loss of evaluation, budget, and policy capacity. There is broad consensus among development experts that the loss of these functions at USAID is inhibiting the success of our development programs. Our development efforts will never be as effective as they should be if the agency that houses most of our development expertise is cut out of relevant policy and budget decisions.

Events since 2001 have spurred greater investments in foreign assistance. But many of these resources have been located outside of USAID. Roughly two dozen departments and agencies have taken over some aspects of foreign assistance, including the Department of Defense and the Department of Agriculture.

The President has advocated doubling foreign assistance over time, and has announced new initiatives on food security and health. Given the increased resources needed for these initiatives, it is crucial that the American people and Congress have confidence that these funds will be used efficiently.

USAID must have a central role in development policy decisions. If we are to avoid inefficient experimentation, it must have the capacity to evaluate programs and disseminate information about best practices and methods. That requires policy makers to continue augmenting the agency's staffing and expertise. These principals are reflected in legislation that Senator Kerry and I introduced last year, S. 1524, the Foreign Assistance Revitalization and Accountability Act.

The Administration has initiated two separate studies – the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the National Security Council's Presidential Study Directive on Development – in an attempt to make recommendations on how development programs can better support U.S. foreign policy objectives. The QDDR will not be completed until this fall and it is uncertain when, or if, we will know the outcomes of the PSD.

I am eager to review the Administration's ideas when they are ready. But in the meantime, Congress should be offering its own ideas on how to improve our government's development capacity. The Kerry-Lugar foreign assistance reform bill is the product of well over a year of research and analysis by Senators and their staffs. It has strong support in the aid community. And it is co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of 23 Senators, twelve of whom are members of the Foreign Relations Committee. This level of backing for a bill related to foreign assistance is extremely rare. It provides an opportunity to build something approaching a consensus on this issue. I am hopeful that the Executive Branch will recognize that a bill co-sponsored by a majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and nearly a quarter of the full Senate should be given substantial weight in its review process. A strong development agency that serves under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State, as envisioned in our bill, will best empower her to advance U.S. goals.

A Development Policy Guided by Objectives

Even as we reconsider our development architecture, it is vital that development policy is guided by objectives rather than by how we organize our government to deliver development assistance. We should focus on the big issues – food scarcity, poverty, disease, environmental degradation -- that prevent economic growth in a large swath of the world's countries. Those objectives require that strategies reflect the needs of the countries we are helping rather than the vagaries of our own budget process, which often allocates funds in response to lobbying pressures, media interest, or political favoritism. Country strategies based on broad objectives also give us the best chance to avoid dependence on arbitrary spending targets for specific sectors. For example, promoting food security requires investments not just in agricultural productivity, but in clean water, infrastructure, basic and higher education, and land titling, to name just a few factors.

The Global Food Security Act, which I authored with Senator Casey and which Senator Kerry has co-sponsored, reflects these principles. The food price crisis that occurred in 2008 resulted from a culmination of policy choices by donor and recipient governments over a decades-long period. That crisis was a wakeup call for the development community, for international donors, and for policymakers worldwide. Because achieving food security must be a multi-sector endeavor that goes beyond simply raising crop yields, U.S. policy must seek to integrate a variety of approaches and actors. At the same time, we do not want to delegate responsibility for food security policy to multiple departments. That could further weaken our already fractured foreign assistance structure. That is why our bill designates USAID, which has the broad development experience necessary, as the lead agency to implement the strategy.

"Whole-of-Government" in Perspective

The term "whole-of-government" has come into vogue in policy circles. To the extent that the term underscores the complexity of development problems and the need to apply the talents of a diverse set of agencies to their solution, it is useful and descriptive. Our government must have the capacity to draw on expertise to achieve vital development missions without artificial barriers erected by agencies. Many agencies are working together successfully on development problems in many parts of the world.

But we should not mistake the term "whole-of-government" for an organizational strategy. Even if multiple agencies are making contributions, someone must be in charge, someone must coordinate the activities of all involved, and someone must take responsibility for inefficiencies and failures.

This is especially important in a development context because of our highly fragmented aid system. The risk is that the term "whole-of-government," will be used to justify that fragmentation or preserve roles for agencies where they are not justified. We also must be careful that the whole-of-government concept does not re-define development as a series of technical decisions – from where to dig wells to which seeds to plant in which soils. Such a redefinition would devalue the discipline of development, which many practitioners have spent a lifetime studying and testing. We know from long experience that technical expertise must be grounded in an understanding of development. For example, agricultural advancement depends as much or more on reaching women farmers, building agriculture education, and engaging civil society in support of rural development than it does on seed quality and planting decisions. An integrated strategy can only come from an agency that understands development is a separate discipline, as Dr. Shah has said.

I believe the starting point for any future design of our assistance programs should not be the status quo, but rather the period in which we had a well-functioning and well-resourced aid agency. Even if we emphasize the talents of multiple agencies, a strong aid agency that can design integrated country-specific strategies is a key to success.

Unity of Purpose

Instead of accepting whole-of-government, or any other organizational model, as the guiding narrative, I believe there is a more helpful way of viewing the development mission – that is "unity-of-purpose." We need to be unified around common purposes for which we can marshal the appropriate level of resources and variety of approaches. There will be situations that call for the involvement of multiple agencies under the direction of one government entity. But, the decision to involve other government actors should be driven by the purpose. Such is clearly the case now in Haiti. The U.S. government and international actors are unified for the purpose of disaster response. That response involves the coordination of hundreds of organizations to rescue people and to provide basic elements needed for survival. At some point soon, the mission will evolve from disaster response to reconstruction to development. We should be asking whether we will be able to maintain a unity-of-purpose even as that purpose changes.

The Lugar-Casey bill proposes that there be a unity-of-purpose around achieving global food security. Regardless of the situation, it is the unity-of-purpose that should guide how foreign assistance is designed. I applaud Secretary Clinton for adopting food security as a top priority. Her inter-agency team has been working diligently on its Global Food Security and Hunger Initiative, and Congress has been responsive in appropriating funding. Many operational decisions have yet to be made, particularly decisions relating to coordination, but I stand ready to work with the Administration to pass the Lugar-Casey bill as soon as possible. I look forward to achieving a unity-of-purpose between Congress and the Administration on food security.

These are not easy issues to solve. I applaud all of you here tonight for your dedication to development and your willingness to work with Congress and the Administration as we try to rebuild our assistance infrastructure. I would conclude with a quote from Dr. Norman Borlaug, the Nobel Laureate and Father of the Green Revolution, whose optimism never flagged. He believed that constant striving would eventually wear down all obstacles. He said, "I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that further progress depends on intelligent, integrated and persistent effort by government leaders, statesmen, tradesmen, scientists, educators and communication agencies." That is as true today as when he said it 39 years ago, and I invite everyone here to make their own contributions in that spirit.

###

Caitlin Klevorick

Office of the Counselor

Department of State

KlevorickCB@state.gov

202.647.6115

[redacted](blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 3:27 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: Lugar Remarks tonight

Well, as I thought, this bill has legs and looks like it's about to start running. Also, I thought the QDDR would be done much sooner than Fall. Let's discuss this weekend.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 20:54:47 2010
Subject: FW: Lugar Remarks tonight

fyi

From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 4:44 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Lugar Remarks tonight

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imaginable only five days after being sworn in. The job ahead of him – in Haiti and around the globe – is monumental. I look forward to supporting his work and that of his agency in the coming years. I commend all of our responders from all government agencies for their courage, compassion, and skill as they continue their mission in Haiti, and I join all of you in extending our prayers to the people of that nation.

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There is probably not a person in this room who would disagree that development is critical for U.S. national security and that the alleviation of poverty and hunger is a key component. This is a sentiment that is shared in most parts of our government, including the Department of Defense.

But even though the importance of advancing development goals is evident, constructing the most efficient, accountable, and transparent means for achieving those goals is complex and challenging. Differences of opinion exist with regard to who should be performing development functions and how these activities should be integrated into our broader foreign policy efforts. We have not reached a consensus within our government on who should be doing what, where, when and why.

As we debate these issues, we should keep in mind that diplomacy and development are two distinct disciplines. Although diplomacy and development often can be mutually reinforcing, at their core, they have different priorities, resource requirements, and time horizons. Most obviously, diplomacy is far more concerned with solving immediate problems, usually associated with countries of strategic interest. Although we hope that our development efforts will sometimes yield short-term strategic benefits, that is not their primary purpose. In a development context, we are willing to take a much longer view of the world and devote resources to countries of less, or even minimal, strategic significance. We are willing to allow the diplomatic and national security benefits of development work to accrue over time. And we are willing to engage in missions for purely altruistic reasons. These differences underscore why development must be an independent partner of diplomacy, not merely its servant.

Reforming U.S. Foreign Assistance

Reforming U.S. foreign assistance – in both substance and architecture – has been a priority for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary Clinton has stated: "I want USAID to be seen as the premier development agency in the world." I share that sentiment. One of the basic questions with respect to foreign aid reform is how we can best strengthen the capacity of USAID to run effective assistance programs. During the last two decades, decision-makers have not made it easy for the agency to perform its mission. Development resources declined precipitously in the 1990s and reorganization initiatives resulted in the agency's loss of evaluation, budget, and policy capacity. There is broad consensus among development experts that the loss of these functions at USAID is inhibiting the success of our development programs. Our development efforts will never be as effective as they should be if the agency that houses most of our development expertise is cut out of relevant policy and budget decisions.

Events since 2001 have spurred greater investments in foreign assistance. But many of these resources have been located outside of USAID. Roughly two dozen departments and agencies have taken over some aspects of foreign assistance, including the Department of Defense and the Department of Agriculture.

The President has advocated doubling foreign assistance over time, and has announced new initiatives on food security and health. Given the increased resources needed for these initiatives, it is crucial that the American people and Congress have confidence that these funds will be used efficiently.

USAID must have a central role in development policy decisions. If we are to avoid inefficient experimentation, it must have the capacity to evaluate programs and disseminate information about best practices and methods. That requires policy makers to continue augmenting the agency's staffing and expertise. These principals are reflected in legislation that Senator Kerry and I introduced last year, S. 1524, the Foreign Assistance Revitalization and Accountability Act.

The Administration has initiated two separate studies – the State Department's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the National Security Council's Presidential Study Directive on Development – in an attempt to make recommendations on how development programs can better support U.S. foreign policy objectives. The QDDR will not be completed until this fall and it is uncertain when, or if, we will know the outcomes of the PSD.

I am eager to review the Administration's ideas when they are ready. But in the meantime, Congress should be offering its own ideas on how to improve our government's development capacity. The Kerry-Lugar foreign assistance reform bill is the product of well over a year of research and analysis by Senators and their staffs. It has strong support in the aid community. And it is co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of 23 Senators, twelve of whom are members of the Foreign Relations Committee. This level of backing for a bill related to foreign assistance is extremely rare. It provides an opportunity to build something approaching a consensus on this issue. I am hopeful that the Executive Branch will recognize that a bill co-sponsored by a majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and nearly a quarter of the full Senate should be given substantial weight in its review process. A strong development agency that serves under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State, as envisioned in our bill, will best empower her to advance U.S. goals.

A Development Policy Guided by Objectives

Even as we reconsider our development architecture, it is vital that development policy is guided by objectives rather than by how we organize our government to deliver development assistance. We should focus on the big issues – food scarcity, poverty, disease, environmental degradation -- that prevent economic growth in a large swath of the world's countries. Those objectives require that strategies reflect the needs of the countries we are helping rather than the vagaries of our own budget process, which often allocates funds in response to lobbying pressures, media interest, or political favoritism. Country strategies based on broad objectives also give us the best chance to avoid dependence on arbitrary spending targets for specific sectors. For example, promoting food security requires investments not just in agricultural productivity, but in clean water, infrastructure, basic and higher education, and land titling, to name just a few factors.

The Global Food Security Act, which I authored with Senator Casey and which Senator Kerry has co-sponsored, reflects these principles. The food price crisis that occurred in 2008 resulted from a culmination of policy choices by donor and recipient governments over a decades-long period. That crisis was a wakeup call for the development community, for international donors, and for policymakers worldwide. Because achieving food security must be a multi-sector endeavor that goes beyond simply raising crop yields, U.S. policy must seek to integrate a variety of approaches and actors. At the same time, we do not want to delegate responsibility for food security policy to multiple departments. That could further weaken our already fractured foreign assistance structure. That is why our bill designates USAID, which has the broad development experience necessary, as the lead agency to implement the strategy.

"Whole-of-Government" in Perspective

The term "whole-of-government" has come into vogue in policy circles. To the extent that the term underscores the complexity of development problems and the need to apply the talents of a diverse set of agencies to their solution, it is useful and descriptive. Our government must have the capacity to draw on expertise to achieve vital development missions without artificial barriers erected by agencies. Many agencies are working together successfully on development problems in many parts of the world.

But we should not mistake the term "whole-of-government" for an organizational strategy. Even if multiple agencies are making contributions, someone must be in charge, someone must coordinate the activities of all involved, and someone must take responsibility for inefficiencies and failures.

This is especially important in a development context because of our highly fragmented aid system. The risk is that the term "whole-of-government," will be used to justify that fragmentation or preserve roles for agencies where they are not justified. We also must be careful that the whole-of-government concept does not re-define development as a series of technical decisions – from where to dig wells to which seeds to plant in which soils. Such a redefinition would devalue the discipline of development, which many practitioners have spent a lifetime studying and testing. We know from long experience that technical expertise must be grounded in an understanding of development. For example, agricultural advancement depends as much or more on reaching women farmers, building agriculture education, and engaging civil society in support of rural development than it does on seed quality and planting decisions. An integrated strategy can only come from an agency that understands development is a separate discipline, as Dr. Shah has said.

I believe the starting point for any future design of our assistance programs should not be the status quo, but rather the period in which we had a well-functioning and well-resourced aid agency. Even if we emphasize the talents of multiple agencies, a strong aid agency that can design integrated country-specific strategies is a key to success.

Unity of Purpose

Instead of accepting whole-of-government, or any other organizational model, as the guiding narrative, I believe there is a more helpful way of viewing the development mission – that is "unity-of-purpose." We need to be unified around common purposes for which we can marshal the appropriate level of resources and variety of approaches. There will be situations that call for the involvement of multiple agencies under the direction of one government entity. But, the decision to involve other government actors should be driven by the purpose. Such is clearly the case now in Haiti. The U.S. government and international actors are unified for the purpose of disaster response. That response involves the coordination of hundreds of organizations to rescue people and to provide basic elements needed for survival. At some point soon, the mission will evolve from disaster response to reconstruction to development. We should be asking whether we will be able to maintain a unity-of-purpose even as that purpose changes.

The Lugar-Casey bill proposes that there be a unity-of-purpose around achieving global food security. Regardless of the situation, it is the unity-of-purpose that should guide how foreign assistance is designed. I applaud Secretary Clinton for adopting food security as a top priority. Her inter-agency team has been working diligently on its Global Food Security and Hunger Initiative, and Congress has been responsive in appropriating funding. Many operational decisions have yet to be made, particularly decisions relating to coordination, but I stand ready to work with the Administration to pass the Lugar-Casey bill as soon as possible. I look forward to achieving a unity-of-purpose between Congress and the Administration on food security.

These are not easy issues to solve. I applaud all of you here tonight for your dedication to development and your willingness to work with Congress and the Administration as we try to rebuild our assistance infrastructure. I would conclude with a quote from Dr. Norman Borlaug, the Nobel Laureate and Father of the Green Revolution, whose optimism never flagged. He believed that constant striving would eventually wear down all obstacles. He said, "I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that further progress depends on intelligent, integrated and persistent effort by government leaders, statesmen, tradesmen, scientists, educators and communication agencies." That is as true today as when he said it 39 years ago, and I invite everyone here to make their own contributions in that spirit.

###

Caitlin Klevorick

Office of the Counselor

Department of State

KlevorickCB@state.gov

202.647.6115

[redacted] (blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/21/10 Thursday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am **DROP BY KURT CAMPBELL MEETING w/CHINESE MINISTER**
11:40 am **FOR TAIWAN AFFAIRS WANG YI** Secretary's Conference Room

11:45 am **MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY FOR INTERNATIONAL**
12:00 pm **ENERGY AFFAIRS DAVID GOLDWYN** Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **MEETING w/DANNY ABRAHAM**
2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **MEETING w/STROBE TALBOTT AND PHIL GORDON**
3:00 pm Secretary's Office

3:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:45 pm Secretary's Office

4:50 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Bureau of Medicine Compound, Navy Hill

4:55 pm **ARRIVE** Navy Hill

5:00 pm **U.S.-PAKISTAN DIALOGUE SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION AND DINNER**
8:00 pm Residence of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Quarters AA
Bureau of Medicine Compound, Navy Hill

8:05 pm **DEPART** Navy Hill
En route Private Residence

8:15 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**
6:30 pm "TOMORROW'S YOUTH" ORGANIZATION DINNER HONORING
9:00 pm WJC AND CHERIE BLAIR Ballroom, Ritz Carlton Hotel
1150 22nd Street, NW

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 3:28 AM
**To:** 'verveerms@state.gov'
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Let's discuss Monday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 19:44:29 2010
Subject: Fw: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Thank you SO much! We will get the photo off widely.

Had a good meeting w Melinda Gates. They are ready to support our maternal and child health initiative. Your husband touched everyone here with his Haiti plea.
We're making good progress on women's issues.

----- Original Message -----
From: Breeden, Philip X
To: Ghori, Saba N; Modi, Anjana J; Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane; Kaiser, Sandra L; Palmer, Christopher G
Sent: Thu Jan 28 14:07:37 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

The secretary had her picture taken with the 4 women right before her press conference. She met them as she walked to the site, and then invited them to walk with her to the press conference. The four Afghan women sat together during the conference and the Secretary asked them to rise so she could acknowledge and applaud their courageous work promoting women's rights in Afghanistan. We will send some photos around. Cheers, P

**********

Philip Breeden
Press Counselor, US Embassy London
Tel: 44-(0) 20-7894-0672
Fax: 44-(0) 20-7491-2485
Cell: [redacted] B6
Email: breedenpx@state.gov
**********

----- Original Message -----
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: Breeden, Philip X; Modi, Anjana J; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C; Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 09:51:22 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Thanks, please let us know if this works!

----- Original Message -----
From: Breeden, Philip X
To: Modi, Anjana J; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C
Cc: Ghori, Saba N; Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 09:36:58 2010
Subject: Re: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

I'm working this. We will see. P

**********

Philip Breeden
Press Counselor, US Embassy London
Tel: 44-(0) 20-7894-0672
Fax: 44-(0) 20-7491-2485
Cell: B6
Email: breedenpx@state.gov
**********

----- Original Message -----
From: Modi, Anjana J
To: Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C
Cc: Breeden, Philip X; Ghori, Saba N; Goshko, Matt E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Sent: Thu Jan 28 08:43:15 2010
Subject: RE: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Caroline and Ashley:

Saba Ghori (from the State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues covering Afghanistan) can be reached at [redacted] She is in London and in contact with the 4 Afghan Civil Society Women representatives observing today's conference, and understands here is a possibility of a photo/pull aside for the Afghan women with the Secretary.

Of the Afghan women, three are at the media center, and one is at the civil society conference. Saba doesn't have a way to access the media canter/Lancaster House. If the Secretary can do this photo opp/pull aside, someone would need to meet and escort the women. Two of the women have local cell numbers: [redacted] Hope you can help to coordinate with Saba and 4 Afghan women.

Thanks,
Anjana
-----Original Message-----
From: Goshko, Matt E
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 1:19 PM
To: Modi, Anjana J; Ghori, Saba N
Cc: Breeden, Philip X; Yehl, Ashley C; Adler, Caroline E; Mayhew, Sarah-Jane
Subject: RE: S Photo w/ 4 Afghan Civil Society Women

Saba and Modi,

I have included the Secretary's press team Ashley Yehl and Caroline Adler on this chain. They are best placed to coordinate with Huma and Philippe on this. Sarah Jane-Mayhew, our official photographer, will be at the media center at about 1530.

Please note that Embassy blackberries are very slow. (I have this message on my desk top but it has not yet reached my bb) If Phil needs to take quick action on this please send him a text message at

Best,

Matt

Matt Goshko
Press Officer
U.S. Embassy London
GoshkoME@state.gov
office: 020 7894 0651
cell:
(If calling from outside the UK dial + 44 and omit the first zero)

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: Modi, Anjana J
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 1:10 PM
To: Goshko, Matt E
Subject: FW:

Matt,

This is the email chain regarding the a possibly opportunity for the 4 Afghan women civil society representatives to meet with the Secretary and take a photo. Three of the 4 are in the media center and Saba who has been travelling with them isPhil suggested she contact Huma. If you have other thoughts on who Saba can contact let me know and I'll pass that info along.

Saba is from the State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues covering Afghanistan for the U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues, Ambassador Melanne Verveer.

Thanks,
Anjana

-----Original Message-----
From: Modi, Anjana J
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 12:24 PM
To: Ghori, Saba N
Cc: 'mansury 'koppell
Subject: RE:

Saba,

Our press office says your best bet would be to work with Huma to see if this is possible. The logistics are a challenge. Huma's number is

-----Original Message-----
From: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 11:54 AM

To: 'mansury [redacted] 'koppell [redacted] Modi, Anjana J B6
Subject: Fw:

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted]
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:35:16 2010
Subject: Re:

Huma told me they will do a photo but that was befoire last night ------Original Message------
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted]
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 5:31 AM
Subject: Re:

I haven't been able to get in. I emailed huma and she hasn't responded.

The conference is going on right now.

If the women could even meet with the Secretary for a few minutes, that would be great! Can you ask huma?

I have the nos of the women who are in the conf

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted]
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:22:36 2010
Subject: Re:

Yes, huma told me about last night
What time is the conf?
Are you in? I asked her

------Original Message------
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted]
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 2:30 AM
Subject: Re:

Apparently, the women gave their recommendations to S and SRAP at a reception hosted by the prince of whales last night. They urged the two not to forget @ them

----- Original Message -----
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: 'pverveer [redacted]
Sent: Thu Jan 28 02:27:05 2010
Subject: Re:

The conference is today (thurs).
I asked mary beth googman in SRAP if I cd go and was told it was very difficult S will take a photo with the women? Do you have access to a phone?

----- Original Message -----
From: pverveer [redacted] B6
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 02:12:31 2010
Subject: Re:

I'm talking about the conference at which the women will be observers. Isn't that tomw?
S will take a hoti w women but you need to be with them ------Original Message------
From: Ghori, Saba N
To: pverveer [redacted]
Sent: Jan 28, 2010 2:00 AM
Subject: Re:

I want to but I'm not accredited. I think I asked you @ this in the other email. Who could we ask to get me in? You have to get there super early, and its already 7 am here! Please advise

----- Original Message -----
From: Melanne Verveer [redacted]
To: Ghori, Saba N
Sent: Thu Jan 28 01:39:53 2010

Just watched .ary and Wazhma on CNN
Are you going to the conf w them tomw?

Melanne Verveer
Pverveer [redacted]

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 24, 2010 4:21 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; McHale, Judith A; Koh, Harold Hongju; Kennedy, Patrick F; Verma, Richard R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Goldberg, Philip S; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Hormats, Robert D; Posner, Michael H; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** WikiLeaks Update

**Madame Secretary, first of all, Merry Christmas. I trust you, the President and Chelsea will have a special holiday.**

B5

B5

PJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: North Korea

See highlighted

---

**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2010 11:10 AM
**To:** Toiv, Nora F; Burns, William J; Crowley, Philip J; Chollet, Derek H; Mills, Cheryl D; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J; Verma, Richard R; Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Daniel, Joshua J; Woodard, Eric W
**Cc:** Parker, Emily
**Subject:** North Korea

Following up on the discussion in yesterday's policy committee meeting about North Korea, I thought some of you might be interested in the following articles:

"North Koreans Use Cell phones to Bare Secrets" New York Times
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/29/world/asia/29news.html

"North Korean man executed for calling a friend in South Korea on mobile phone"
http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/worldnews/article-1255375/North-Korean-man-executed-calling-friend-South-Korea-mobile-phone.html

I have also attached a very good article (translated) from a Korean publication which describes what is called the "Information Belt" formed along the North Korea-China border.

Anybody with an appetite for more content, let me know and I'll send on high side.

Alec

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 3:31 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]'; 'millscd@state.gov'; Doug Band B6
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Haiti

Fyi.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 17:20:10 2010
Subject: Haiti

I had a group call me today... It is "F & B Catering" who have an agreement they are working to finalize with the International Disaster Relief Fund... One of the principles is Craig Fant. Their operation is on the Gulf Coast. The agreement would be to provide meals to 120,000 folks a day for a year in Haiti. I did a good bit of due diligence thru the afternoon with contacts I have on the coast, in Jackson and in the Delta (the ag region) and these folks did a lot of the Katrina work and have the staging facilities in Gulfport to move their goods to Haiti... the facility, in fact, was built with Katrina money as part of the single largest FAA grant in history... this airport is used as the staging and departure area for troops going to Afghanistan... the cargo terminals and personnel are equipped and experienced in this type of work. Also, there has been a solid, transparent and deliberate effort by this company to work with and buy products from minority farmers in the Delta... I don't know your politics, etc. I don't know the details on your end, boss... I get so many requests each month wanting me to offer good words, etc. to you on behalf of some entity... most of the time it's all about the dollar signs I see in their eyes... I ignore them... but my discovery process of F & B Catering, their Katrina work, the confidence in their capacity, the use of post Katrina federally funded facilities and the commitment to minority farmers was all compelling... so I share! Thanks, ma'am.

Burns Strider

Founding Partner

The Eleison Group

Join Me on Facebook <http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1279552305&ref=name>

Follow Me on Twitter <http://twitter.com/BStrider>

Visit The Eleison Group Website <http://www.eleisongroup.com/>

Visit Pea Ridge Confidential, My Personal Blog <http://pearidgeconfidential.blogspot.com/>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 3:37 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: CVC

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 28 13:51:20 2010
Subject: FW: CVC

cdm

From: Jules A Martin [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, January 28, 2010 1:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: CVC

Cheryl,

Take care
Jules

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy <
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 9:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Emailing: Wedding-

That we are. And Huma and your other girls--Capricia, Maggie, Cheryl, Kelly--all proudly show your touch as well. As ugly and disturbed as the world can be and is these days, there are so many peaceful and beautiful people and places. You and WJC keep tidying up all the rough patches. We'll be in NY this weekend for the WJC event. Tom may burst upon seeing and hearing Eric Clapton. Love you, B

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 20, 2010 11:06 PM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Subject: Re: Emailing: Wedding

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; H
Sent: Tue Oct 19 13:15:22 2010
Subject: Emailing Wedding-

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, January 29, 2010 4:03 AM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Smith, James E <SmithJE@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 25, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: News

I will be in and out of the office this week, but will intermittently check my e-mail. Should you need assistance with urgent matters concerning FSI and NENA area studies,please contact Program Assistant John Manion, manionje@state.gov, 703-302-6862.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 8:58 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: CVC

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 03:13:29 2010
Subject: Fw: CVC

----- Original Message -----
From: Jules Martin
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Jan 30 01:50:06 2010
Subject: CVC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Campbell, Piper <CampbellP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 25, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: News

Piper Campbell is out of Washington until Wed., Dec 29. Please contact Maya Seiden or Nadia Shepherd.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:14 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NI

Welcome news. Pls keep me updated w what you hear. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 10:09:06 2010
Subject: NI

Here's the update, pieced together from various sources:

Starting at around 3 pm Friday, Adams and McGuinness returned to Hillsborogh to meet with Robinson and Arlene Foster. The four talked privately for several hours and then asked for the draft papers to review. The discussion continued until around 1 am when the parties left Hillsborough. (Foster's presence is apparently very helpful. Her relationship with the SF leaders is much more positive and direct, treating them as equal colleagues.)

Woodward and Irish FM Martin will meet with Adams and Robinson separately this afternoon to assess where the talks are. The talks last night/early morning ended more positively and if that is still the case there may be a decision to push on today to see if agreement can be reached. It is equally possible that the two ministers and DUP/SF will decide to wind up today and resume on Monday.

Brown and Cowen have spoken this morning and will speak again late this afternoon.

The issue is still parades. Robinson needs some certainity of change on parades. It is important for him politically within the DUP, but also externally since this has become a symbol of whether he has achieved something or compromised too much. Adams and SF have moved very far from their original positions on parades, adding that Robinson has also moved.

The DUP linkage of the timeframes for devolution and parades is not Robinson's goal but DUP deputy party leader Nigal Dodds. Logistically, such a linkage would be impossible without delaying devolution given that the parades framework requires consultation, legislation, and implementation.

The role of Justice Minister and his/her relationship to the Executive has been agreed. Other issues, such as Irish language act, N-S bodies, etc, while symbolic and emotive for SF and the nationalists community can be dealt with.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hyde, Dana <HydeD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 25, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: News

I will be out of the office until January 3rd. For immediate assistance please contact the D(L) staff assistants. Many thanks, Dana

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 26, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

Nice piece

Caitlin had made me talk to him last monday

**From:** Caitlin Klevorick [redacted] B6
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sun Dec 26 09:21:45 2010
**Subject:** Kristof on qddr/3 ds

December 25, 2010

# The Big (Military) Taboo

**By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF**

We face wrenching budget cutting in the years ahead, but there's one huge area of government spending that Democrats and Republicans alike have so far treated as sacrosanct.

It's the military/security world, and it's time to bust that taboo. A few facts:

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• The United States maintains troops at more than 560 bases and other sites abroad, many of them a legacy of a world war that ended 65 years ago. Do we fear that if we pull our bases from Germany, Russia might invade?

• The intelligence community is so vast that more people have "top secret" clearance than live in Washington, D.C.

• The U.S. will spend more on the war in Afghanistan this year, adjusting for inflation, than we spent on the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Civil War and the Spanish-American War combined.

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"Republicans think banging the war drums wins them votes, and Democrats think if they don't chime in, they'll lose votes," said Andrew Bacevich, an ex-military officer who now is a historian at Boston University. He is author of a thoughtful recent book, "Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War."

The costs of excessive reliance on military force are not just financial, of course, as Professor Bacevich knows well. His son, Andrew Jr., an Army first lieutenant, was killed in Iraq in 2007.

Let me be clear: I'm a believer in a robust military, which is essential for backing up diplomacy. But the implication is that we need a balanced tool chest of diplomatic and military tools alike. Instead, we have a billionaire military and a pauper diplomacy. The U.S. military now has more people in its marching bands than the State Department has in its foreign service — and that's preposterous.

What's more, if you're carrying an armload of hammers, every problem looks like a nail. The truth is that military power often isn't very effective at solving modern problems, like a nuclear North Korea or an Iran that is on the nuclear path. Indeed, in an age of nationalism, our military force is often counterproductive.

After the first gulf war, the United States retained bases in Saudi Arabia on the assumption that they would enhance American security. Instead, they appear to have provoked fundamentalists like Osama bin Laden into attacking the U.S. In other words, hugely expensive bases undermined American security (and we later closed them anyway). Wouldn't our money have been better spent helping American kids get a college education?

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 26, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

Will call you at house

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Dec 26 10:44:04 2010
Subject: Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 12:22 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** When do you want to talk today or tomorrow?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 26, 2010 11:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

No worries

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Dec 26 11:12:44 2010
Subject: Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

I'm running out to buy a few things so may be a little late. I'll email you when I get back.

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From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
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Sent: Sun Dec 26 10:48:44 2010
Subject: Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

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**Sent:** Sunday, December 26, 2010 12:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

Will shoot you time later - have fun

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Dec 26 12:00:48 2010
Subject: Re: Kristof on qddr/3 ds

Can we try for later--we got sidetracked out here in the so-called real world. I should be back at the house after 1 and will be there hunkered down from the storm the rest of the day.

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• The United States maintains troops at more than 560 bases and other sites abroad, many of them a legacy of a world war that ended 65 years ago. Do we fear that if we pull our bases from Germany, Russia might invade?

• The intelligence community is so vast that more people have "top secret" clearance than live in Washington, D.C.

• The U.S. will spend more on the war in Afghanistan this year <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/29/opinion/29kristof.html>, adjusting for inflation, than we spent on the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Civil War and the Spanish-American War combined.

This is the one area where elections scarcely matter. President Obama, a Democrat who symbolized new directions, requested about 6 percent <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/23/us/politics/23budget.html?_r=3> more for the military this year than at the peak of the Bush administration.

"Republicans think banging the war drums wins them votes, and Democrats think if they don't chime in, they'll lose votes," said Andrew Bacevich, an ex-military officer who now is a historian at Boston University. He is author of a thoughtful recent book, "Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War."

The costs of excessive reliance on military force are not just financial, of course, as Professor Bacevich knows well. His son, Andrew Jr., an Army first lieutenant, was killed in Iraq in 2007.

Let me be clear: I'm a believer in a robust military, which is essential for backing up diplomacy. But the implication is that we need a balanced tool chest of diplomatic and military tools alike. Instead, we have a billionaire military and a pauper diplomacy. The U.S. military now has more people in its marching bands than the State Department has in its foreign service — and that's preposterous.

What's more, if you're carrying an armload of hammers, every problem looks like a nail. The truth is that military power often isn't very effective at solving modern problems, like a nuclear North Korea or an Iran that is on the nuclear path. Indeed, in an age of nationalism, our military force is often counterproductive.

After the first gulf war, the United States retained bases in Saudi Arabia on the assumption that they would enhance American security. Instead, they appear to have provoked fundamentalists like Osama bin Laden into attacking the U.S. In other words, hugely expensive bases undermined American security (and we later closed them anyway). Wouldn't our money have been better spent helping American kids get a college education?

Paradoxically, it's often people with experience in the military who lead the way in warning against overinvestment in arms. It was President Dwight Eisenhower who gave the strongest warning: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." And in the Obama administration, it is Defense Secretary Robert Gates who has argued that military spending on things large and small can and should expect closer, harsher scrutiny; it is Secretary Gates who has argued most eloquently for more investment in diplomacy and development aid.

American troops in Afghanistan are among the strongest advocates of investing more in schools there because they see firsthand that education fights extremism far more effectively than bombs. And here's the trade-off: For the cost of one American soldier in Afghanistan for one year, you could build about 20 schools.

There are a few signs of hope in the air. The Simpson-Bowles deficit commission proposes cutting money for armaments, along with other spending. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton unveiled a signature project, the quadrennial diplomacy and development review, which calls for more emphasis on aid and diplomacy in foreign policy.

"Leading through civilian power saves lives and money," Mrs. Clinton noted, and she's exactly right. The review is a great document, but we'll see if it can be implemented — especially because House Republicans are proposing cuts in the State Department budget.

They should remind themselves that in the 21st century, our government can protect its citizens in many ways: financing research against disease, providing early childhood programs that reduce crime later, boosting support for community colleges, investing in diplomacy that prevents costly wars.

As we cut budgets, let's remember that these steps would, on balance, do far more for the security of Americans than a military base in Germany.

I invite you to comment on this column on my blog, On the Ground <http://www.nytimes.com/ontheground> . Please also join me on Facebook <http://www.facebook.com/kristof> , watch my YouTube videos <http://www.youtube.com/nicholaskristof> and follow me on Twitter <http://twitter.com/nickkristof> .

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Khodorkovsky verdict

Embassy Moscow and Bill recommend that we put out the below statement in your name. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

**STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON**

**Statement on the Verdict in the Khodorkovsky/Lebedev Case**

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Flying back this morning. Back this afternoon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:50:21 2010
Subject: Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Ok. Are you back in the office?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:45:48 2010
Subject: Khodorkovsky verdict

Embassy Moscow and Bill recommend that we put out the below statement in your name. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Statement on the Verdict in the Khodorkovsky/Lebedev Case

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Me too! On way to airport now - think DC is okay.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:55:36 2010
Subject: Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Hope you can get back all right.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:52:14 2010
Subject: Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Flying back this morning. Back this afternoon.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:50:21 2010
Subject: Re: Khodorkovsky verdict

Ok. Are you back in the office?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:45:48 2010
Subject: Khodorkovsky verdict

Embassy Moscow and Bill recommend that we put out the below statement in your name. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Statement on the Verdict in the Khodorkovsky/Lebedev Case

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 2:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thank you

-----Original Message-----
From: Howard Paster [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, October 21, 2010 8:12 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thank you

B6

Cheryl -

Please accept my thanks for your help and the help of your excellent staff,
especially Nora, when I became ill in Cairo earlier this week. We are home
now and I am doing better. I am grateful to Mary Grandfield and others at
the Embassy, with special thanks to Mark Perry who was very attentive and
extremely helpful. He called repeatedly to check up on me and, very importantly, arranged help at the Cairo airport.

It is a real comfort to be able to call on old friends and to get such a positive response.

With thanks and all good wishes,

Howard

Privileged/Confidential Information may be contained in this message. If you are not the addressee indicated in this message (or responsible for delivery of the message to such person), you may not copy or deliver this message to anyone. In such case, you should destroy this message and kindly notify the sender by reply email.
Please advise immediately if you or your employer does not consent to email for messages of this kind. Opinions, conclusions and other information in this message that do not relate to the official business of the WPP 2005 Ltd shall be understood as neither given nor endorsed by it.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 12:21 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update

I hope all the Clintons had a wonderful Xmas.

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

-----Original Message-----
From [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, December 25, 2010 8:48 PM
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: Update

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/26/2035

Dear Melanne:

[redacted]

[redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gallup Survey: Hillary Clinton Again "Most Admired" Woman

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Mon Dec 27 15:21:37 2010
**Subject:** Gallup Survey: Hillary Clinton Again "Most Admired" Woman

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton finished first for the ninth straight year on Gallup and USA Today's "most-admired" list. She was followed by Sarah Palin, Oprah Winfrey, Michelle Obama, Condoleezza Rice, and Queen Elizabeth. President Obama remains the nation's most-admired man for the third straight year, despite falling approval ratings.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Israeli PM: Interim Mideast peace deal 'possible' (AP)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Mon Dec 27 14:11:41 2010
**Subject:** Israeli PM: Interim Mideast peace deal 'possible' (AP)

JERUSALEM (AP) - Speaking to Israeli Channel 10 TV December 27, Benjamin Netanyahu said if negotiations stall over Jerusalem or Palestinian refugees, "it could be that the result will then be an interim agreement." On December 26 Israel's hard-line Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman floated the same proposal. Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat said the interim agreement idea is "a nonstarter and will not fly."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk??

Sorry

[redacted] - I can talk later - will that work?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:58:29 2010
Subject: Can you talk??

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Hof trip

Tom has expressed a different view on the Hof trip. From my perspective, it's obvious that this is your call. But it might be worth touching base with him.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gallup Survey: Hillary Clinton Again "Most Admired" Woman

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Mon Dec 27 15:21:37 2010
**Subject:** Gallup Survey: Hillary Clinton Again "Most Admired" Woman

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton finished first for the ninth straight year on Gallup and USA Today's "most-admired" list. She was followed by Sarah Palin, Oprah Winfrey, Michelle Obama, Condoleezza Rice, and Queen Elizabeth. President Obama remains the nation's most-admired man for the third straight year, despite falling approval ratings.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk??

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Dec 27 16:29:57 2010
Subject: Re: Can you talk??

I'll be on a plane. Let's try tomorrow. [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills[redacted]<cheryl.mills[redacted]>
Sent: Mon Dec 27 16:28:21 2010
Subject: Re: Can you talk??

Sorry

[redacted] - I can talk later - will that work?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills[redacted]<cheryl.mill[redacted]>
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:58:29 2010
Subject: Can you talk??

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 8:57 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw: US Chairing OECD Ministerial

----- Original Message -----
From: Kornbluh, Karen F
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Lew, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Thu Oct 21 17:57:49 2010
Subject: US Chairing OECD Ministerial

OECD Counsel chose US to Chair their 50th Anniversary Ministerial with Secretary Clinton heading the delegation. Germany bowed out of their desire to co-chair but agreed to Vice Chair and confirmed Chancellor Merkel will deliver a speech. We'll firm up schedule in coming days. Looking forward to it!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** R u up? He's done and wondering u r up.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:39 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 17:36:51 2010
Subject: Fw:

---

From: Jules A Martin
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Jan 30 16:09:46 2010

Jules

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 5:49 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]'; 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Have you received email from Bill w letter from Ban yet?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Cheryl Mills [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 10:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: FYI

see traffic – steinberg saying he's here to stay beyond the date al k was going to write (dec)

---

**From:** Steinberg, James B [mailto:SteinbergJB@state.gov]
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 12:07 PM
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Re: FYI

Excellent

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**To:** Steinberg, James B; 'Cheryl.mills[redacted] <Cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 11:58:15 2010
**Subject:** Re: FYI

I'm going to say just that

**From:** Steinberg, James B
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; 'Cheryl.mills[redacted] <Cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 11:57:25 2010
**Subject:** Re: FYI

Shut it down. I plan to celebrate my second anniversay as D on jan 28 2011 on the 7th floor and al k is invited to come

**From:** Reines, Philippe I
**To:** Steinberg, James B; 'Cheryl.mills[redacted] <Cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Crowley, Philip J
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 11:53:05 2010
**Subject:** FYI

This is his way of saying he's running an item - unless we shut it down

**From:** Al Kamen [redacted] B6
**To:** Reines, Philippe I
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 11:51:05 2010
**Subject:** increasing buzz that Steinberg's gone

in Dec.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 9:40 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo ni breakthrough 013010.docx; hrc memo ni breakthrough 013010.docx

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 6:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AFP) Bomb kills Afghan district governor

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Fri Oct 22 02:02:39 2010
**Subject:** (AFP) Bomb kills Afghan district governor

JALALABAD (AFP) – A Taliban-style bomb attack killed a district governor in eastern Afghanistan on October 22, police said. Khorsheed, the governor of Dur Baba in Nangarhar province, was driving to work when the improvised-explosive device often used in insurgent attacks blew up his vehicle, said police spokesman Colonel Abdul Ghafour. Like many Afghans, the official had only one name. "The district governor has been martyred. Three other people, his driver and guards have been injured," Ghafour told AFP. He could not say who was behind the attack, but the tactics were typical of the Taliban.

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

That is very welcome news. Let's hope it actually holds til Monday. Thx for helping keep me informed along the way.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 8:58 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Suicide attack kills 10 in NW Pakistan

Can you call me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 08:56:39 2010
Subject: Fw: Suicide attack kills 10 in NW Pakistan

---

From: Riggs, Susan J
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-SCA; NEWS-Pakistan
Sent: Wed Feb 10 07:49:05 2010
Subject: Suicide attack kills 10 in NW Pakistan

PESHAWAR (AP) - A local government official said a suicide car bomber attacked a tribal police patrol in northwestern Pakistan, killing 10 policemen. Rasheed Khan says the attacker rammed his car into a vehicle carrying the police on a main highway in the Khyber tribal area near the Afghan border. Another 15 people were injured in the attack. No group has claimed responsibility for the attack, but Taliban militants often target Pakistani security forces.

Regards,

Susan Riggs

Watch Officer

State Department Operations Center

202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 9:57 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan so we can arrange a time for Shaun's call tomorrow. Thx again.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Should I make a statement in briefing room on Monday? What about Sid's comment that Shaun would want to talk to me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:15:06 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary

From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:19 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

I did get it. Did you just get mine w questions about tomorrow and Monday?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:18:15 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Just tried emailing you but not sure it went through --

Missed Shaun, but talked to his COS a short while ago. She said there are still a few details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," though things are looking very good. Tomorrow will be a down day and they'll reconvene Monday to bang out last details and (hopefully) announce.

I'll be in touch with other people in the morning and give you there reports.

Will also check in with Declan!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:43 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

I will definitely talk to Shaun
anytime after noon. Just let me know what works.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:33:51 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:18:07 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Should I make a statement in briefing room on Monday? What about Sid's comment that Shaun would want to talk to me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:15:06 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, January 30, 2010 10:44 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Actually, I can also make it work before noon if he prefers by moving other calls around. Just let me know. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:33:51 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:18:07 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Should I make a statement in briefing room on Monday? What about Sid's comment that Shaun would want to talk to me tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 22:15:06 2010
Subject: Re: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Missed Shaun, but was just on the phone with his COS, who said there are still some details to be worked out Monday. She "wouldn't put a full stop on it," but things are looking very good.

Looks like tomorrow will be a down day and then they'll reconvene Monday to try to bang out the last details and announce.

----- Original Message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:40:05 2010
Subject: Fw: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

Sounds real--cross your fingers. Let me know what you hear.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat Jan 30 21:23:01 2010
Subject: H: BREAKTHROUGH IN NI TALKS! Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: NI breakthrough

Shaun has just called me—about 9 p.m. EST. He says it is very likely that an agreement will be announced on Monday. The parties have reached agreement tonight. Shaun will call you on Sunday to brief. Gordon will fly into Belfast on Monday for a ceremony if all goes according to plan now. He will mention your role. You should be prepared to speak to the parties before the event and issue a statement. Hope it doesn't come unraveled over the next 36 hours.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Insulza

It's a public statement! Just email it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 10 10:48:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Insulza

See below from Tom. We can put together a conference call at your convenience with Arturo, Craig, Carmen, CDM, me, and perhaps Jim.

On the Mitchell material, for reasons that elude me, the two versions of the Blair statement were done on the classified system. Ops will get the statement and the other document to you ASAP. I've also asked them to convert the statement so that it can be emailed to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Shannon, Thomas A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 09:33:26 2010
Subject: RE: Insulza

B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:49 AM
To: Shannon, Thomas A
Subject: Insulza

Tomorrow's wapo editorial makes a pretty good case about insulza and the oas. What are your thoughts on how to proceed?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 7:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Haiti president confirms cholera outbreak, 138 dead

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Fri Oct 22 07:47:09 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Haiti president confirms cholera outbreak, 138 dead

PORT-AU-PRINCE (Reuters) - Haitian President Preval said October 22 an outbreak of cholera killed at least 138 people in the quake-hit country's central region and his government was taking measures to try to stop the disease spreading.

"I can confirm it is cholera," Preval told Reuters, as Haitian and international health officials confronted the poor Caribbean nation's biggest medical crisis since the January 12 earthquake.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: looking good

Thx but did you see the photos of my shoe falling off as I reached the top step of the Elysee to be greeted by Sarkozy? Very funny--I'll bring them to show you!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Jan 29 10:53:51 2010
Subject: looking good

There is a very elegant picture of you on the front page of the IHT. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Director of Policy Planning

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 11:30 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Blair statement

Well, that is certainly worthy of being top secret. Fine to go w Mitchell version; Blair's seems written as an oral statement.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 11:26:11 2010
Subject: Blair statement

The first has Mitchell's edits, the second is original from Blair's guy to Mara:

Draft Statement by the Secretary as Revised by Senator Mitchell

This Administration has, from the beginning, worked to bring about comprehensive peace in the Middle East, including a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On that issue our approach has been three-fold: (1) to help build the economy and capacity to govern of a Palestinian state; (2) to renew political negotiations to enable the earliest possible establishment of that state; and (3) to achieve these in a manner that ensures the security of Israel and of the Palestinians.

Consistent with Prime Minister Fayyad's plan for a future Palestinian state, and to support the political negotiations, Tony Blair, as the Quartet representative, will intensify his partnership with Senator Mitchell to mobilize the efforts of the international community: (1) to build support for the institutional capacity and governance of a future Palestinian State; (2) to improve freedom of movement and access for Palestinians; (3) to encourage further private sector investment; and (4) to bring change in the living conditions of the people in Gaza.

Original Draft Statement by the Secretary Submitted by Tony Blair

The United States is determined to bring about a two-state solution. Believes there is a strong basis for doing so. Believes it can be done by combining a renewed political negotiation with change on the ground, bottom up, as set out in Prime Minister Fayyad's plan for a Palestinian state.

To this end, Tony Blair, as Quartet Representative, will work in partnership with Senator Mitchell to suppor t the political negotiation by mobilizing the efforts of the international community: (1) to build support for the institutional capacity and future governance of a future Palestinian state; (2) to improve freedom of movement and access for Palestinians; (3) to encourage further private sector investment; and (4) to bring change in the living conditions of the people in Gaza.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:23 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 7:53 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/22/10 Friday

7:15 am **CALL w/DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER URI ROSENTHAL**
7:30 am Private Residence

8:00 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:10 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:15 am **U.S.-PAKISTAN DIALOGUE PLENARY SESSION**
9:30 am Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

9:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
10:30 am Secretary's Office

10:45 am **VIDEOS (7)**
11:30 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

11:45 am **DROP-BY w/HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL SPRING EXERCISE STUDENTS**
11:55 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm **PHOTO OP w/ RICH VERMA'S MOTHER**
1:20 pm Secretary's Outer Office

1:30 pm **WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT TEAM MEETING**
2:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:30 pm **MEETING w/PAKISTANI F.M. MAKHDOOM SHAH MEHMOOD**
3:00 pm **QURESHI** Secy's Conf. Room *Official photo at top in East Hall.

3:00 pm **PRESS AVAILABILITY PREP**
3:05 pm Secretary's Office

3:05 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABLITY w/PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER**
3:20 pm **MAKHDOOM SHAH MEHMOOD QURESHI** Treaty Room

3:45 pm **DROP BY US-AFGHAN WOMEN'S COUNCIL MEETING**
4:15 pm Principals Conference Room 7516

4:25 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Washington Reagan National Airport

4:50 pm **ARRIVE** Washington Reagan National Airport (DCA)

5:00 pm **DEPART** Washington Reagan National Airport via US Air 2180
En route LaGuardia Airport

6:15 pm **ARRIVE** LaGuardia Airport (LGA)

6:25 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence

7:25 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**
12:45 pm U.S.-PAKISTAN DIALOGUE LUNCH
2:15 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:54 AM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

When will you be back so we can catch up? Also who is your right hand on all of these initiatives? I'm copying Lona so she can work w your office for a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 29 06:46:50 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Thx. Had a great conversation with Doug Hattaway. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will fill you in when I see you.

Also working with Amb Pascual on a new strategy for Mexicom

Finally working with Cheryl to help GoH with communication from g to p.

On my way to india and bangalesh.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Fri Jan 29 04:02:52 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:17 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: FLOTUS re XFLOTUS

That's so nice.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [redacted]
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:16:00 2010
Subject: FLOTUS re XFLOTUS

From Larry King last night:

LARRY KING: How is the -- it was so bitter -- well, rather bitter in the campaign with Hillary, when they were going at each other.

MICHELLE OBAMA: Yes, it seems so long ago.

KING: Yes. How are they doing now together?
OBAMA: They're great. Hillary Clinton is an amazing secretary of State. I mean she would have been an amazing president. She was an amazing attorney. She's a phenomenal professional. And she's proven to be a tremendous asset in -- in so many ways. So the relationship is -- is -- is strong. They share the same views in terms of international policy and approach. And we're seeing the outcome of that on the international stage. I think, you know, we can say pretty clearly that the United States -- the -- the view of this nation around the world has changed. People are enthusiastic about the potential. Things aren't perfect. We're still a nation fighting two wars. But when we travel around the country, the excitement and the possibility are palpable. And I think that's because of the president, but I think it's also because of our secretary of State.

http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1002/09/lkl.01.html

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** START

Any word on status in Geneva?

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Iran

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 07/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2025

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:57:13 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

I called Bill about that this morning when I saw the stories.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:22:32 2010
Subject: Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 2:36 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tftp

Agreed.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:59:50 2010
Subject: Fw: Tftp

Troubling news from Europe. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Jones, Stuart
To: Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:40:36 2010
Subject: Tftp

Jake, we just got off conf call re status of ep vote on tftp. The debate this aft was dramatic. The council + commission apologized for mishandling the issue + begged mep's not to take out their frustration on interim agreement which is saving lives. Both epp leader ver hofstadt + socialist leader schultz responded by openly advocating postponement.

After debate party leaders met but failed to achieve consensus on postponement. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

We are now working on contingency press guidance. [redacted]

[redacted]

Stu

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

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**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:00 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:37:23 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:35:07 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 07/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2025

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:57:13 2010
Subject: Re: Iran

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

I called Bill about that this morning when I saw the stories. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

In short, he thinks this is all playing out in Moscow, not in Geneva.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 10 13:22:32 2010
Subject: Iran

In stories today PJ suggests we're open to alternatives to our TRR proposal. The WSJ says it's a reversal of position. What gives?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:10 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

When can you talk? I'm free until 4 and after 7.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:06:45 2010
Subject: FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

sigh

---

From: Banks, Dana
To: SES_DutyDeputies
Cc: SES-O_SWO-Only
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:51:27 2010
Subject: FW: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

Dan,

Wanted to bring this to your attention. Gov. Bill Richardson called the taskforce today to inquiring about travel to Haiti. His specific concerns were:

- An update on the court proceedings of the missionaries, particularly whether or not a Haitian court decision is imminent;
- Information on whether or not he could travel to Haiti and how to set up a trip;
- Information on whether or not he could travel by private plane;
- A list of what supplies are needed in Haiti; and
- Direction on how to deliver those supplies.

He said he may not travel if he receives an indication that the case of the Amcit missionaries would be decided sometime in the next few days.

H has been informed. Please let us know if you would like us to forward to C or M.

Dana

From: Haiti TaskForce1D-DepCoordinator
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2010 1:41 PM
To: TaskForce-1; Cleveland, Charlena A; Elder, Christine A; 'elderc@ ; Christman, Kim N; 'ebdorn '; Psyhos, Nicholas A; Bulgrin, Julie K; Hall, Suzanne K; Tomlinson, Daniel W; Van Buskirk, Raymond M; Kim, Haelee (LAC/AA/CUBA); Finnegan, Joseph P; Youmans, Frances; Dubois, Kim F; Bradford, Qiana; SES-O_Shift-II
Cc: xHaiti File Mail
Subject: Governor Richardson's inquiries re missionaries, travel, and supplies

B6

New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson called the Haiti Task Force at 1300 EST on February 10 to inquire about

1) the status of the missionaries;

2) how to get to Haiti; and

3) how to deliver supplies needed on the ground.

The three missionaries in question - and - The are now The three all have relatives living in who have contacted Governor Richardson to intervene in the case.

Governor Richardson understood that a Haitian court would decide the missionaries' case on February 10 and said there was some speculation that the missionaries would be released. If they are not going to be released, then Governor Richardson is considering traveling to Haiti to inquire about the status of the missionaries, deliver needed supplies to Haitians, and meet with President Preval Governor Richardson emphasized that the trip plans could be eliminated if he received some indication that the case would be decided sometime in the next few days.

Governor Richardson specifically requested:

- An update on the court proceedings of the missionaries, particularly whether or not a Haitian court decision is imminent;
- Information on whether or not he could travel to Haiti and how to set up a trip;
- Information on whether or not he could travel by private plane;
- A list of what supplies are needed in Haiti; and

- Direction on how to deliver those supplies.

The answers to the questions above can be sent to:

Alarie Ray

Communications Director

New Mexico Governor's Office

Office: (505) 476-2248

Cell: [redacted] B6

Also, his secretary's contact information is:

Janis Hartley

[redacted]

Office: (505) 476-2245

Cell: [redacted]

Thank you,

Oni

Oni Blair

Haiti Task Force Deputy Coordinator

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:19 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 4pm oas call confirmed

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:16:08 2010
Subject: 4pm oas call confirmed

Jake Sullivan
Cheryl Mills
Mike Fuchs
Carmen Lomellin
Craig Kelly
Jim Steinberg (tentative)
Arturo Valenzuela
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Ops will connect to you.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:41 PM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Mother Teresa

I didn't know that--can we find out why. At least we had it open for 7 years but why does stuff like this stalk us?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR[redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:33:21 2010
Subject: Mother Teresa

Just FYI on the below, from one of those crazy right "magazines" - notes that the home you referenced in your Prayer Breakfast remarks has since closed.

I checked in with Lissa & Melanne, they didn't know it closed, which makes sense since it happened in 2002 after you left the White House.

I made it clear that your longtime commitment to this issue - throughout your public career - is well known, and you remain very proud of your work with Mother Teresa in opening this home in 1995. And that your partnership is a success story to be emulated.

Again, this is just FYI

http://www.worldmag.com/webextra/16398

ADOPTION | Hillary Clinton continues to hail an adoption home she helped open with Mother Teresa that has since closed its doors By Emily Belz

WASHINGTON—An adoption ministry Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed as a home she helped open with Mother Teresa no longer handles adoptions and its phone line has been disconnected, though at last week's National Prayer Breakfast Clinton spent five minutes of her 30-minute speech relating the story of its opening. Last Thursday Clinton described Mother Teresa "beaming about what this meant for children and their futures," seemingly oblivious that the Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children in northwest Washington, D.C., is now defunct. She said she worked tirelessly to "cut through all the red tape," although it appears that red tape prevented the work from continuing. According to a pastor at the church next door to the home's former location, the adoption ministry failed to take off because the Roman Catholic nuns who ran it weren't allowed to care for babies without medical personnel on site. "I'm not sure the legal thing that came down upon them, but they realized they needed to expend their energies in another way," said Maureen Freshour, who along with her husband, David, pastors Chevy Chase Baptist Church and lives nearby. Freshour has stayed in touch with the nuns from the Missionaries of Charity order who ran the home and said that the remaining three or four sisters have moved to another house in Washington, where they are ministering to the homeless."This has been a core issue—adoption—whether the home [Clinton] talked about survived or not," said Chuck Johnson, chief operating officer of the National Council for Adoption. "It's an issue she's been consistent on."During her speech on Thursday, Clinton reminisced about the 1994 National Prayer Breakfast when she attended as first lady and Mother Teresa was the speaker. The Roman Catholic nun delivered a blistering speech about abortion, saying, "Any country that accepts abortion is not teaching its people to love, but to use any violence to get what they want." Mother Teresa then

called on attendees to fight abortion through adoption: "Please don't kill the child. I want the child. Please give me the child."The audience that day gave her a standing ovation—but President and Mrs. Clinton, both pro-abortion, did not stand. Afterward, Mother Teresa asked to meet with Hillary Clinton and they went to talk behind a curtain on the stage, sitting on folding chairs, Mother Teresa in sandals even though it was winter."She told me that she knew that we had a shared conviction about adoption being vastly better as a choice for unplanned or unwanted babies," Clinton related last Thursday. "And she asked me—or more properly, she directed me—to work with her to create a home for such babies here in Washington."Clinton followed through and set up a home for unwanted babies in Washington in just over a year, no small feat in a city that was known then for its inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. The Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children opened in June 1995 in the district's affluent Chevy Chase neighborhood to house eight pregnant mothers and their babies—but it remains unclear whether it facilitated any adoptions.I called the Missionaries of Charity in Washington, a worldwide Roman Catholic order established by Mother Teresa. The nun who answered the phone said she couldn't give her name because they aren't allowed to talk to the press. She did say, however, that the sisters who are in the order now were not in the order when the adoption home opened, so she wasn't sure why it closed. She added that the order sold the Chevy Chase house in 2002. "We work with the poor and we didn't have any work there because it's a rich neighborhood," she said. The sisters, she added, are now working with the homeless and those with AIDS in a more transitional neighborhood in the northeast section of town on Otis Street.

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 3:42 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Mother Teresa

Also, I wrote about it in Living History and no one said a word. Was it still open in some form in 2004?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:33:21 2010
Subject: Mother Teresa

Just FYI on the below, from one of those crazy right "magazines" - notes that the home you referenced in your Prayer Breakfast remarks has since closed.

I checked in with Lissa & Melanne, they didn't know it closed, which makes sense since it happened in 2002 after you left the White House.

I made it clear that your longtime commitment to this issue - throughout your public career - is well known, and you remain very proud of your work with Mother Teresa in opening this home in 1995. And that your partnership is a success story to be emulated.

Again, this is just FYI

http://www.worldmag.com/webextra/16398

ADOPTION | Hillary Clinton continues to hail an adoption home she helped open with Mother Teresa that has since closed its doors By Emily Belz

WASHINGTON—An adoption ministry Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed as a home she helped open with Mother Teresa no longer handles adoptions and its phone line has been disconnected, though at last week's National Prayer Breakfast Clinton spent five minutes of her 30-minute speech relating the story of its opening. Last Thursday Clinton described Mother Teresa "beaming about what this meant for children and their futures," seemingly oblivious that the Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children in northwest Washington, D.C., is now defunct. She said she worked tirelessly to "cut through all the red tape," although it appears that red tape prevented the work from continuing. According to a pastor at the church next door to the home's former location, the adoption ministry failed to take off because the Roman Catholic nuns who ran it weren't allowed to care for babies without medical personnel on site. "I'm not sure the legal thing that came down upon them, but they realized they needed to expend their energies in another way," said Maureen Freshour, who along with her husband, David, pastors Chevy Chase Baptist Church and lives nearby. Freshour has stayed in touch with the nuns from the Missionaries of Charity order who ran the home and said that the remaining three or four sisters have moved to another house in Washington, where they are ministering to the homeless."This has been a core issue—adoption—whether the home [Clinton] talked about survived or not," said Chuck Johnson, chief operating officer of the National Council for Adoption. "It's an issue she's been consistent on."During her speech on Thursday, Clinton reminisced about the 1994 National Prayer Breakfast when she attended as first lady and Mother Teresa was the speaker. The Roman Catholic nun delivered a blistering speech about abortion, saying, "Any country that accepts abortion is not teaching its people to love, but to use any violence to get what they want." Mother Teresa then

called on attendees to fight abortion through adoption: "Please don't kill the child. I want the child. Please give me the child."The audience that day gave her a standing ovation—but President and Mrs. Clinton, both pro-abortion, did not stand. Afterward, Mother Teresa asked to meet with Hillary Clinton and they went to talk behind a curtain on the stage, sitting on folding chairs, Mother Teresa in sandals even though it was winter."She told me that she knew that we had a shared conviction about adoption being vastly better as a choice for unplanned or unwanted babies," Clinton related last Thursday. "And she asked me—or more properly, she directed me—to work with her to create a home for such babies here in Washington."Clinton followed through and set up a home for unwanted babies in Washington in just over a year, no small feat in a city that was known then for its inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy. The Mother Teresa Home for Infant Children opened in June 1995 in the district's affluent Chevy Chase neighborhood to house eight pregnant mothers and their babies—but it remains unclear whether it facilitated any adoptions.I called the Missionaries of Charity in Washington, a worldwide Roman Catholic order established by Mother Teresa. The nun who answered the phone said she couldn't give her name because they aren't allowed to talk to the press. She did say, however, that the sisters who are in the order now were not in the order when the adoption home opened, so she wasn't sure why it closed. She added that the order sold the Chevy Chase house in 2002. "We work with the poor and we didn't have any work there because it's a rich neighborhood," she said. The sisters, she added, are now working with the homeless and those with AIDS in a more transitional neighborhood in the northeast section of town on Otis Street.

###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 11:08 AM
**To:** 'tauschereo@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'gordonph@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NSS invites

[redacted]

[redacted] I'm very happy to discuss. Can we get a decision made? B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 4:42 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Calling u on 3rd floor phone with dennis ross as you requested

I know but can't get the STEA to work--didnt work this am for secure fax either so trying the white phone now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 10 16:40:15 2010
Subject: Calling u on 3rd floor phone with dennis ross as you requested

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Declan

Have you seen the memcon of my T/C w Shaun? Pls review so we can be prepared tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 11:56:43 2010
Subject: Declan

Interesting observations from Declan:

Foster was a critical component in the talks apparently. However there is already speculation that PR may use this moment to try to come back early and resume position of FM given that the other investigations have been delayed pending the outcome of the police investigation. He went to London with his family yesterday to visit his wife, who is in a clinic there apparently.

Empey still not on board apparently so the "community confidence" round may be used to put pressure on him to do so.

Our intervention on Thursday night/Friday morning was seen as a very important moment/catalyst. That, coupled with the jobs losses that day and the fact that the radio and tv phone-in lines and newspapers were full of commentary supporting what we said, seems to have made people realize, that they couldn't lose the moment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 9:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Former president Clinton on mission to rescue Democratic Party in fall elections

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Former president Clinton on mission to rescue Democratic Party in fall elections

The Washington Post

# Former president Clinton on mission to rescue Democratic Party in fall elections

By Philip Rucker
Washington Post Staff Writer
Friday, October 22, 2010; 12:01 AM

Bill Clinton is baffled. The former president's friends say he is in disbelief that in the closing weeks of the midterm campaigns Democrats have failed to articulate a coherent message on the economy and, worse, have allowed themselves to become "human pinatas."

So Clinton is deploying himself on a last-ditch, dawn-to-dusk sprint to rescue his beleaguered party. And as the only president in modern times who has balanced the federal budget, he is leveraging his credibility to become one of the most fierce defenders of President Obama's economic policies.

"To hear the Republicans tell it, from the second President Obama took his hand off the Bible taking the oath of office, everything that happened after that was his fault," Clinton said this week at a campaign rally for Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.). "I'd like to see any of you get behind a locomotive going straight downhill at 200 miles an hour and stop it in 10 seconds."

If there was any doubt that Clinton remains the Democratic Party's North Star, it has been erased over the past few weeks as he has packed legions of supporters into basketball arenas, college quads and airport hangars. He is the Democrats' most in-demand messenger and, unlike Obama, he is summoned everywhere - no matter how hostile the territory.

By Election Day, Clinton will have traveled to more than 100 events, including one Thursday in Maryland, where he appeared with Gov. Martin O'Malley.

Some Democrats are troubled that Clinton, who left office a decade ago, is a bigger draw than Obama and the party's current leaders. "Bill Clinton is not going to live forever, and it's time for the Democratic Party to develop other voices," said Bob Rucker, a journalism profressor, as he left a recent Clinton rally at San Jose State University.

But even with his party out of favor, polls show Clinton is among the most popular national political figures in the country. His newfound popularity among Republicans is a notable reversal from 16 years ago - when, two years into his presidency, a GOP resurgence cost Democrats both chambers of Congress.

"Look, folks, I've seen this movie before, in 1994," Clinton said at the rally in Everett, Wash. "I called the president the other day, and I said: 'Relax. They haven't said anything about you they didn't say about me. The only reason they're being nice to me right now is because I can't run for anything any more.' "

**'Keep on being mad'**

Clinton's pitch is rooted in empathy and delivered off the cuff. In Everett, he laid out what he said is the Republican argument: "I know you're angry. I know you're scared. . . . So let's make this a referendum on everything that's bothering you about life right now - take everything that's not working right now and put Patty Murray's face on it and make it a referendum."

"It is not a referendum. It. Is. A. Choice," he continued, pausing between each word for emphasis, "a choice between two different sets of ideas."

Clinton exhorted the crowd to "keep on being mad. But concentrate your anger so that it clarifies your judgment instead of clouding it. . . . The worst thing you can do right now is bring back the shovel brigade to start digging the hole again."

No other Democrat has so consistently given voice to the mood of this year's volatile, angsty electorate. Where other politicians speak of the housing crisis in staid terms - "Mortgages? I understand homes are underwater," Senate Majority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) said in a debate last week - Clinton talks about bad mortgages as if his family were shackled with one.

"More than 10 million of us are living in houses not worth as much as our mortgages, and we can't move like we used to do because our credit would be toast for a decade," Clinton said at a stop in Espanola, N.M., never betraying that he is a millionaire many times over and the owner of multiple properties.

Clinton connects with "how normal 'walking-around' folks are feeling," said Paul Begala, a confidant and former top strategist. "Both the right and the left have mocked that I-feel-your-pain empathy, but Americans have always liked it. It's the core of him, even more than the brain. It's real."

Over the past two weeks, Clinton has had one day off, Saturday, which he spent in Northern California with his close friend Terry McAuliffe. The two stayed up late, playing cards and drafting new talking points for Democrats to trot out on the trail.

"He literally sat down with a yellow legal pad," said McAuliffe, a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, adding that Clinton told him: "Make sure, Terry, you get these talking points out to every candidate."

It was then, McAuliffe said, that Clinton confided that he has been frustrated with the Democrats' message.

"He is just baffled and bewildered about why there has not been a more coherent message talking about what the party has done, why we allowed ourselves to become human pinatas," McAuliffe said. "I think he is agitated that Democrats haven't put their best foot forward in explaining to the American public what they've actually done."

**Student-loan policy**

Clinton reserves time near the end of his speeches to talk about student-loan policy change, an Obama accomplishment he says isn't getting its due on the campaign trail. Clinton bemoans that the United States has fallen from first to ninth in the world in the percentage of adults with a four-year college degree - because too many students drop out for fear that they can't repay their loans.

Democrats overhauled student-loan policy to cap monthly repayments at 10 percent of discretionary income - a law Clinton says Republicans want to repeal.

"Do you know how many working families there are where people go home at night now, men and women and the children they love better than life, and they're sick with worry, they think they'll never be able to send their kids to college?" Clinton said in Everett.

"Oh, yes, you will," Clinton continued. "Do not let this bill be repealed. If the young people of America show up, we will vote for the future and the bill will be secured. That's why you've got to vote for Patty Murray. These are real choices here - real, serious choices."

Clinton, taking time off from running his global charitable foundation, is in the midst of a two-week swing that has taken him from the Mississippi Delta to the Pacific Northwest and seemingly everywhere in between. It took him across California, where he put a rivalries aside to join hands with Jerry Brown, running to reclaim his old job as governor. Aides said Clinton might return to the road next week to visit the battlegrounds of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Kentucky.

Some assume Democratic leaders in Washington are orchestrating Clinton's campaign activities, but he is deployed by no one but himself.

Democratic candidates of all stripes are funneling requests and seeking advice through his top aide, Douglas Band. Clinton prioritizes politicians who helped his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, in her 2008 presidential campaign. (As secretary of state, she is banned from political activity.) He also has paid special care to loyal friends such as Rep. Kendrick B. Meek (D-Fla.), who, despite running a distant third in his Senate race, has drawn Clinton for more than a half-dozen visits, most recently this week.

The White House and congressional leaders do not coach him on what to say. Clinton does not read from a prompter and only rarely refers to his notes at the lectern. He gives no interviews with local or national reporters and on most days races in his motorcade from airport to rally to airport again.

Clinton speaks infrequently with the candidates - in some cases not at all before showing up for an event. Clinton always has been a voracious consumer of news, especially political news, and aides say he stays up to speed on their races.

This is evident in his speeches. He devotes a substantial portion to the local issues defining specific races. In Washington state, he mused repeatedly about a Boeing tanker deal. In New Mexico, he riffed at length about water use and encroachment from neighboring Texas.

At each stop, Clinton waxes nostalgic, as if he were revisiting an old haunt. At San Jose State: "In 1992, when I ran for president the first time, the best rally we had in all of California was here at San Jose State." In New Mexico: "When you voted for me twice, I got to know this state and know its people, and know the unique heart and soul and dreams, and know the way you accommodate all this diversity and build a common sense of humanity here. It means something to me. You're special to America."

After every speech, he flings off his suit jacket and works the crowd. He wraps his arms around folks and listens for cues about what ails America. Clinton's speeches are bookended by thumping tunes - a Motown classic in Everett, a Kanye West hit at San Jose State's arena, a mariachi folk song in Espanola.

"I keep thinking I'm too old for this," Clinton quipped to a crowd of 5,000 as the sun set behind him over the open-air Plaza de Espanola at a rally for New Mexico gubernatorial candidate Diane Denish.

"No! No! No!" the crowd cried out.

"Then I got out here and started stirring around and realized a lot of people were mad and even more confused, and I didn't want it on my conscience," Clinton said. "So I sort of loaded up and started strolling around."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 5:21 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

Does this mean Bill should not plan on going and we just wait for the public memorial service?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 10 17:10:48 2010
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

More details...

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From: Patrick Justin Alwine [redacted] B6
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Feb 10 15:17:50 2010
Subject: Fwd: Murtha Funeral Update

----- Original Message -----
From: Mazonkey, Matthew
Sent: Wed Feb 10 14:48:55 2010
Subject: Murtha Funeral Update

The Murtha Family has announced further details regarding funeral services for the late Congressman John P. Murtha -

A public viewing will take place at Duca Funeral Home from 3:00-7:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 14, 2010, and Monday, February 15, 2010. The funeral home is located at 1622 Menoher Boulevard in Johnstown, PA.

A private funeral service will be held at the Westmont Presbyterian Church at 11:00 a.m. on Tuesday, February 16, 2010. The church is located at 601 Luzerne Street in Johnstown, PA. A private internment will follow at Grandview Cemetery, also in Johnstown.

The family is also working with the Office of the Speaker of the House to hold a public memorial in the U.S. Capitol in the coming weeks. Details will be forthcoming. An official Congressional Delegation is also expected to be present for the private funeral service on Tuesday.

In lieu of flowers, the Murtha family suggests contributions be made to the UPMC John P. Murtha Cancer Pavilion (337 Somerset Street, Johnstown, PA 15901) or the Joyce Murtha Breast Care Center (600 Somerset Avenue, Windber, PA 15963).

Further details about media coverage will be forthcoming.

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 5:55 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Calls

I called and talked w INR DAS Jim Buchanan at John Dinger's request. Pls let John know.

I called Marty Edelman and LM.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 10, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Baptists

Just heard on TV they may be released tomorrow since judge found they had no criminal intent. Do you know if that's true?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** 'lmuscatine
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

B6

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lissa Muscatine
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback welcome, of course.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 2:35 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Northern Ireland

I also suggested an Ian Paisley call to Cameron.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:16:47 2010
Subject: Northern Ireland

Brown has asked to speak with you at 8 am tomorrow morning.

B5

Also, I just spoke with Declan about the conference. There are challenges with the idea of a conference that I'd like to discuss with you in the morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Can you call me thru ops?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 3:45 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Pfizer case (cvsg)

Ok

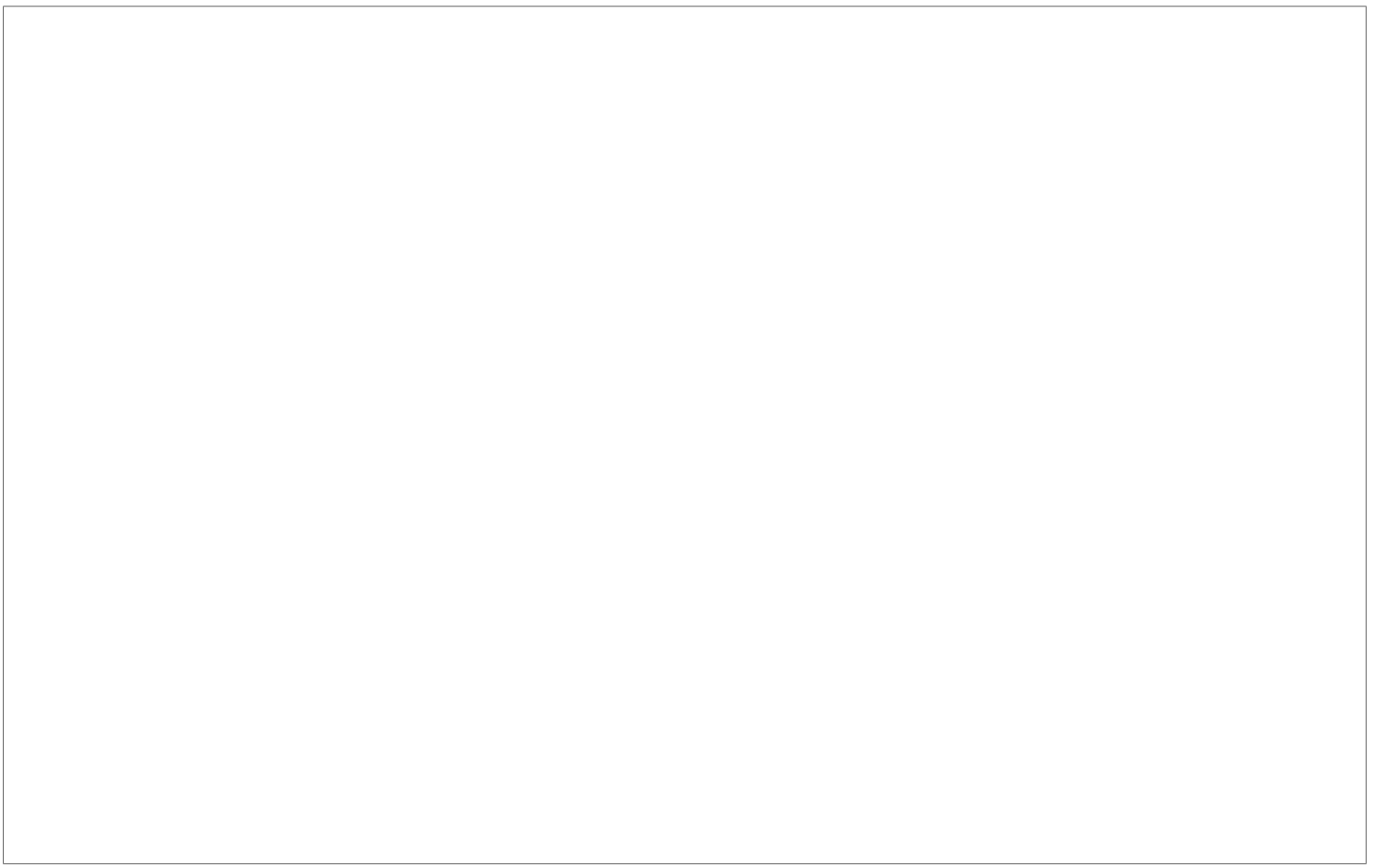
----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:48:00 2010
Subject: FW: Pfizer case (cvsg)

FYI below. Harold is proposing to send substantive views on the Pfizer case [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Jan 27 21:44:36 2010
Subject: Pfizer case (cvsg)

[redacted] B5



B5

Please let us know if we can provide any further information.

Best,

Harold
Harold Hongju Koh
The Legal Adviser
U.S. Department of State
Suite 6421
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520-6421
202 647 9598 office
[redacted]
202 647 7096 fax

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Schedule

The Lithuanian FM just told me the Community of Democracies is July 9-11 in Cracow, Poland. I have to go since I promised the Polish FM but had hoped they would schedule July 2-4. Can you check w EUR and DRL to see if dates can be moved? If not I can only go for the 9th since [redacted] Let's see if there is any give. I would also go to other places first during that week in Europe, including Warsaw for a bilateral meeting. B6

Also, am I doing a video to congratulate Lithuania on the 20th anniversary of their Independence on March 11?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I agree and will act accordingly.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Feb 11 09:41:35 2010
Subject: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I never heard the earlier part of this debate [redacted] B5

We shd not use our meeting w/ the DL to beat them up, but treat it like we would treat a meeting with a Coptic leader from Egypt or a Bahai leader from Iran, etc. We have nothing to hide. Let the Chinese make a big issue out of it if they want to; we will just do what we have always done.
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:34 PM
**To:** 'oterom2@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'
**Subject:** Water

Former Dep Secretary of State John Whitehead has a private sector group working on water. Pls be sure he is contacted as part of our planning.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:46 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

Indeed!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 11:45:08 2010
Subject: RE: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I see I'm not the only person who does email while on the phone! ;-)

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 11, 2010 11:44 AM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Subject: Re: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I agree and will act accordingly.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Feb 11 09:41:35 2010
Subject: A few more words on the Dalai Lama

I never heard the earlier part of this debate a [redacted] B5

We shd not use our meeting w/ the DL to beat them up, but treat it like we would treat a meeting with a Coptic leader from Egypt or a Bahai leader from Iran, etc. We have nothing to hide. Let the Chinese make a big issue out of it if they want to; we will just do what we have always done.
AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:37 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list

Pls add Billie Jean King and find out from Maura exactly what she is doing for ECA and wants to do. Tell Maura we should have an event for all of our cultural and sports envoys to acknowledge and thank them.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 1:23 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Amcits in Haiti

Agree that if they're released then get them out asap. Either we or DOJ can issue statement.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 12:49:41 2010
Subject: FW: Amcits in Haiti

fyi

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, February 11, 2010 12:49 PM
To: Koh, Harold Hongju; Merten, Kenneth H; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M
Subject: RE: Amcits in Haiti

Thank you.

B5

From: Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Thursday, February 11, 2010 12:09 PM
To: Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Torres, Susan; Johnson, Clifton M
Subject: Amcits in Haiti

Privileged/Attorney-Client Privilege/Attorney Work Product/Deliberative/SBU

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 11, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Blair statement

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 13:44:44 2010
Subject: Blair statement

Blair's guy said you ok'ed releasing today. If so, we'll pull the trigger. It is pasted below:

Statement by the Secretary

B5

This Administration has, from the beginning, worked to bring about comprehensive peace in the Middle East, including a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On that issue our approach has been three-fold: (1) to help build the economy and capacity to govern of a Palestinian state; (2) to renew political negotiations to enable the earliest possible establishment of that state; and (3) to achieve these in a manner that ensures the security of Israel and of the Palestinians.

Consistent with Prime Minister Fayyad's plan for a future Palestinian state, Tony Blair, as the Quartet representative, will intensify his partnership with Senator Mitchell in support of the political negotiations. In his role as Quartet Representative Tony Blair will continue, with full support by and coordination with Senator Mitchell, to mobilize the efforts of the international community: (1) to build support for the institutional capacity and governance of a future Palestinian State, including on the rule of law; (2) to improve freedom of movement and access for Palestinians; (3) to encourage further private sector investment; and (4) to bring change in the living conditions of the people in Gaza.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:43 PM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 31 08:29:39 2010
Subject: RE: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

I get back the morning of February 9 and will be in the office that afternoon. I'll email you and Lona a copy of my schedule. Walter Douglas and Dan Sreebney have been working with me on Haiti. Walter is in California for Victoria DeLongh's funeral and will be back in the office Tuesday. He has been working closely with Dan Smith on the Haiti initiative. Let me know if there is anything you need me to do from here.

jm
-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 7:54 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

When will you be back so we can catch up? Also who is your right hand on all of these initiatives? I'm copying Lona so she can work w your office for a time.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jan 29 06:46:50 2010
Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Thx. Had a great conversation with Doug Hattaway. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will fill you in when I see you.

Also working with Amb Pascual on a new strategy for Mexicom

Finally working with Cheryl to help GoH with communication from g to p.

On my way to india and bangalesh.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Fri Jan 29 04:02:52 2010

Subject: Re: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

That's the result of your leadership and a new model of engagement w our own people. Onward!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Smith, Daniel B <SmithD2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jan 28 05:06:38 2010
Subject: FW: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

Our Posts at work.

From: DiMartino, Kitty
Sent: Wednesday, January 27, 2010 11:07 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: a couple of powerful quotes from foreign media which we highlighted in our cable

-- VEJA MAGAZINE, BRAZIL (Jan. 25, headline of a two-page article showing U.S. servicemen walking in front of destroyed buildings in Port-au-Prince): "Better with them, impossible without."

--CHOSUN ILBO NEWSPAPER, KOREA (Jan. 25): U.S. involvement in overseas natural disasters is a 40-year-long humanitarian tradition. . . In a disaster-stricken area, the military is more systematic and effective in carrying out a relief operation than any other group."

-- EXPRESSO NEWSPAPER, PORTUGAL (Jan. 24): "In critical moments of the history of mankind, over the last 100 years, the United States is, in fact, the indispensable nation. Sometimes for bad reasons and, other times, as in Haiti, for good reasons."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Call list

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:49:07 2010
Subject: Re: Call list

Bjk has also been in very close touch with nina bishop, who does great work in the sports united office (under ECA). Ill make sure she and maura also connect.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:36:51 2010
Subject: Call list

B6

Pls add Billie Jean King and find out from Maura exactly what she is doing for ECA and wants to do. Tell Maura we should have an event for all of our cultural and sports envoys to acknowledge and thank them.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** 'lmuscatine[redacted]Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

B6

I was out but upon return, did not find a faxed speech. Can you track down?

----- Original Message -----
From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback welcome, of course.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 1:01 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Pinera-Insulza

Agree w strategy.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 12:59:04 2010
Subject: Pinera-Insulza

See the report below: Pinera has announced his support.

I had a long conversation with Craig a little while ago. He spoke with a number of people in Chile, including his close friend, [redacted] B6

According to Craig, Pinera had made the calculation that it would be politically untenable to dump Insulza. Apparently there is a coalition leadership in the lower house, and Insulza's party, Concertacion, controls the upper house. So he had no choice.

That said, Craig believes that his clear message had an impact on what Pinera told Insulza. He apparently gave his support with two conditions: (1) don't interfere in Chilean politics, and (2) take the democratization agenda seriously and don't carry the ALBA countries' water.

Craig also said that Arturo had been effective in making clear that the jury was out on Insulza in Washington -- that had an impact on the Pinera government and reinforced their second message to him.

Bottom line: Craig said we couldn't have talked Pinera off of this, but we helped drive a stronger set of conditions on Pinera's support.

[redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Kelly, Craig A
Sent: Friday, February 12, 2010 12:51 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Restrepo, Daniel A.; Lomellin, Carmen
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; Jacobson, Roberta S; Reynoso, Julissa; Gonzalez, Juan S
Subject: FW: Piñera anuncia apoyo a reelección de Insulza en la OEA | POLÍTICA | latercera.com

To All: La Tercera in Chile just reported that Piñera has announced his support for Insulza's re-election, after meeting with Insulza in Santiago. ck

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, February 12, 2010 12:42 PM

To: Kelly, Craig A
Subject: Piñera anuncia apoyo a reelección de Insulza en la OEA | POLÍTICA | latercera.com

http://www.latercera.com/contenido/674_225506_9.shtml
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** 'lmuscatine [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

I now have it. Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine Lissa [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 17:20:16 2010
Subject: Re: Draft of Prayer Breakfast

If Huma is with you, she has an electronic copy and apparently was going to print it for you rather than use a faxed version. FYI: It is not in speech font yet -- I just wanted you to see where this is going, but we can send one with bigger spacing and bigger type too in case you want to write your own thoughts on it.

On Jan 31, 2010, at 5:13 PM, H wrote:

> I was out but upon return, did not find a faxed speech. Can you track
> down?
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]
> To: H
> Cc: Huma Abedin <AbedinH@state.gov>
> Sent: Sun Jan 31 14:32:56 2010
> Subject: Draft of Prayer Breakfast
>
> I've just asked the Specials to fax the draft to you in Chappaqua. You
> should be getting it shortly. Hopefully this is a start. Feedback
> welcome, of course.
>
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 6:29 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: One word

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jan 31 18:25:35 2010
Subject: Fw: One word

Kris balderston urging you to call bloomberg. We will have time tomorrow if you want to do it.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Jan 31 18:19:10 2010
Subject: Re: One word

Thnx. We are still $10M short and have less than 90 days. We'll make it but we have to go full speed ahead.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Jan 31 17:34:30 2010
Subject: Re: One word

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sun Jan 31 16:07:50 2010
Subject: One word

Bloomberg if you can nudge.

I am in Shanghai.

Thnx.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, January 31, 2010 8:54 PM
**To:** 'gordonph@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NSS invites

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H <GordonPH@state.gov>
To: H; Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jan 31 19:22:28 2010
Subject: RE: NSS invites

Phil

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, January 31, 2010 11:08 AM
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: NSS invites

B5

I'm very happy to discuss. Can we get a decision made?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 9:16 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Calls

Pls add to List:

Bill Galston
Evan Bayh
Warren Buffet
Judith McHale

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 10:01 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: H: Just thinking about Bill and wishing all best. Sid

B6

Thankfully, all is well.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 17:13:40 2010
Subject: H: Just thinking about Bill and wishing all best. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 10:09 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: My thoughts and prayers are with you.

You're so right. Thankfully all is well.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 17:20:29 2010
Subject: My thoughts and prayers are with you.

The news about president clinton just came over the wire. Family always comes first. AM

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 10:47 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

[redacted] See you tomorrow. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 11 18:32:01 2010
Subject:

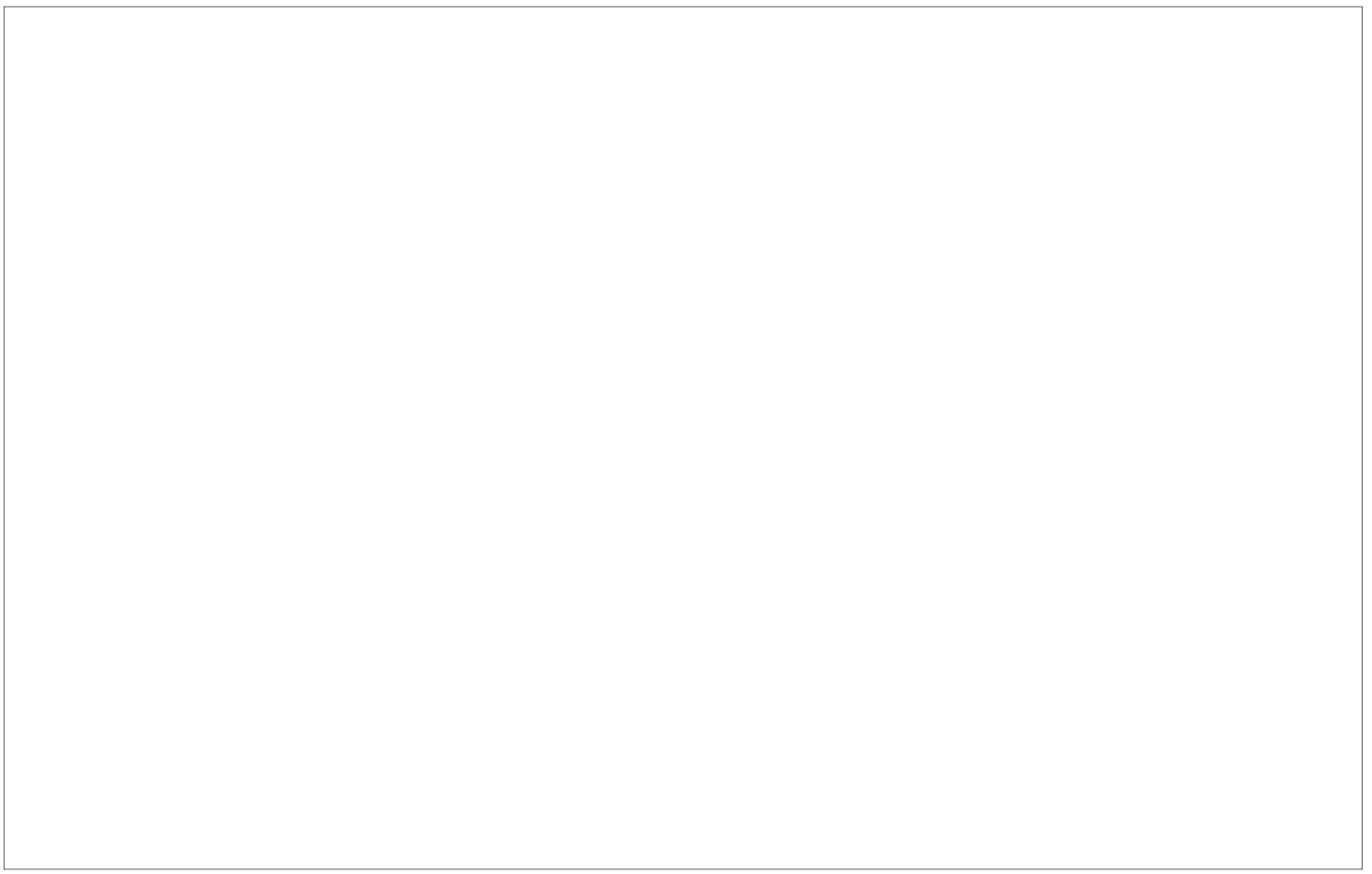
[redacted]

I spoke to Ellen tonight, who is preparing a memo and will have it Monday.

Pasted below is a draft letter that our Ambassador plus French and Russians will be working on tomorrow in Vienna, ideally to deliver to Amano, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 1, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mark Penn's latest Huffington Post blog: "Stopping the Republican Comeback (Déjà Vu All Over Again)"

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark J. Penn [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Jan 21 09:56:56 2010
Subject: FW: Mark Penn's latest Huffington Post blog: "Stopping the Republican Comeback (Déjà Vu All Over Again)"

Great internet speech based on excerpts I have seen – terrific. Here's piece I did yesterday.

The Huffington Post

January 20, 2010

Strategy Corner: Stopping the Republican Comeback (Déjà Vu All Over Again)

Once again an initially popular Democratic president tries to pass healthcare reform, raise taxes on the wealthy and expand domestic spending. And once again the voters send a sharp signal that they want him to chart a more centrist course. As Yogi Berra said "It's déjà vu all over again."

President Clinton's wakeup call came with the 1994 mid-term elections -- Obama's came a year earlier with yesterday's special election in Massachusetts.

In response to the similar situation, President Clinton fundamentally changed everything -- his team, his policies, and the overall direction and message of his administration. He moved to the center with a balanced budget, welfare reform, and policies that helped concerned moms raise their kids, leaving behind the divisive bitterness of his first two years. As a part of that new team then, I saw how President Clinton consciously took his presidency back to the centrist message of his presidential campaign and relentlessly pursued swing voters; he didn't go small, he went to the vital center -- 24 million jobs and a balanced budget were big accomplishments.

President Obama now has plenty of time to turn this around before facing the kind of losses President Clinton did. But stopping the Republican machine now will not be done on the basis of words alone -- it will take actions and results to calm this electorate.

It also won't be done on the basis of stepped up populist rhetoric. You can't make deals with Wall Street, Pharma, and other major interest groups and then turn around and make them the whipping boy with any credibility. No doubt there will be a fight over this in the White House with many inside wanting to go back to the equivalent of "people vs. the powerful." Only the voters see the White House as the powerful now and such a lurch would probably have the harshest electoral consequences next November.

But Obama can turn it around and keep the country moving on a steady path of change if he makes the kind of significant changes in his direction that President Clinton did. It's all about getting above the trappings of Washington and being who you said you were.

Here's five things the President could do now.

1) Agree to full transparency in health care hearings and other major reform areas -- Obama's original idea to put them on C-SPAN was the right one. Then go on a major transparency in government binge, seeking out new ways to bring people closer to what the administration is doing through social networking and other online means. Make transparency an action, not a theme.

2) Break health care up into its components and move them step by step. The problem with health care is no one agrees on the solution and this bill is not about the longer lives, greater access and greater efficiency people want. Break it down and start with the easy stuff like electronic medical records first and work up to the harder parts year after year.

3) Look for ways to be genuinely bi-partisan instead of seeking the 60th vote through deals and compromise. Genuine bi-partisanship would have given the Republicans malpractice reform in exchange for a public option -- if you don't invest the opposition in the outcome, then they have no reason to support it. Just looking for one vote is an exercise in deal making and compromise that does not live up to the post-partisan promise. Obama's got to call the Republican leaders and sit down with them, not push them away.

4) Put jobs front and center -- the failure to do this earlier is at the root of the discontent. The administration hit the 10 per cent tripwire of unemployment and the numbers in the center of the country are dismal -- far worse than Massachusetts. This means moving the country forward into the new economic world, not trying to take it backwards. Raising taxes is another flash point now as much of the administration's support came from upper income voters turned off by the right wing, anti-intellectual campaigns of the Republicans. People need to know there is a strategy for competing and winning in the emerging global, high tech economy.

5) Don't be afraid to do what some think of as the small stuff -- helping people in their daily lives. Helping people deal with the new stresses of modern life -- from texting on the road to many working well past 65 -- is not a small thing. People are again afraid of big, grandiose plans that they fear can bankrupt the country and need to see the government also relating to their daily lives in manageable, concrete ways. It's the kind of daily activism Democrats uniquely bring to the White House. This has got to be part of a strategy that returns us to lower unemployment, lower deficits, and restrained spending.

There will be plenty of time to push back on the Republicans when they get too heady. That day will come as it did when Newt Gingrich shut down the government and it backfired. But right now the Republicans are not the issue -- the issue is whether the administration has gone Washington and whether it can reclaim the centrist, people-oriented mantle that brought it to town. And this means taking the administration back to the vital center and fulfilling its core promises -- greater transparency, less political posturing, true bi-partisanship, extreme focus on jobs and the economy, and a government that demonstrates daily how really cares about the people.

Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates
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Washington, DC 20005
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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:27 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: memo on Saudi/Chas Freeman. Glad Bill is well. Sid

Thanks on both counts.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 13:58:15 2010
Subject: H: memo on Saudi/Chas Freeman. Glad Bill is well. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 12, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Saudi Arabia

I have been in contact with Chas Freeman, former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and he has sent me his most recent public speech on the subject. He says the policy part is toward the end, and that King Abdullah's new university (KAUST) is an important initiative. He also relates that the atmosphere is near toxic because of Obama's failure to follow up his Cairo speech and the rebuff from Netanyahu. Cynicism, at best, is pervasive among the Saudi elite.

Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change Remarks to the Sarasota Institute for Lifetime Learning

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.) Sarasota, Florida, February 11, 2010

I have been asked to speak to you about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is a topic I have never before addressed to an American audience. Why bother?

We Americans reserve the right to have strong opinions on the basis of little or no knowledge. There are few countries that better exemplify our assertive ignorance of foreign geography, history, and culture than Saudi Arabia. Most of us

are convinced that Saudis are Muslim zealots, control the world's oil prices, and are absurdly rich, anti-feminist, and undemocratic. They hate our values and want to destroy us. Talk radio confirms this. What more needs to be said?

On reflection, a lot does. Neither caricature nor a priori reasoning is a sound basis for policy. A distorted view of foreign realities precludes success at dealing with them. There is much at stake in our relationship with Saudi Arabia. We can ill afford to get it wrong.

That country is, of course, the heartland of Islam and the custodian of the world's largest oil reserves. It lies athwart transport routes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is at the center of a growing concentration of global capital. Under any circumstances, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia would be important. It is all the more so in an era when we Americans are at war with ever more peoples in the Islamic world, depend on ever greater amounts of imported energy, and need ever larger foreign loans to run our government and sustain our life style.

Yet Saudi Arabia is little known. It is the only society on the planet not to have been penetrated by Western colonialism. No European armies breached its borders; no missionaries; no merchants. Its capital, Riyadh, was long off limits to infidels; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina remain so today. When Westerners finally came to Saudi Arabia, we came not as the vindicators of our presumed cultural superiority, but as hired help. As a result, some say that Saudis secretly see the world's peoples as divided into two basic categories: (1) fellow Saudis; and (2) potential employees. Be that as it may, foreigners, Western, Asian, or Arab, who have lived in Saudi Arabia all see it as a very strange place – one that is not easy to understand and that remains at odds with many of the values non-Saudis profess.

The Kingdom has long stood apart from global norms. Its system of government draws on tribal and Islamic traditions rather than Western models. Its king presides rather than rules over the royal family and Saudi society. His responsibility is less to make decisions than to shape and proclaim consensus, while assuring a share of the national wealth to all, especially the least privileged. Saudi Arabia levies no taxes on its citizens, other than the religious tithe known as "zakat" – a two-and-a-half percent annual donation of private capital to charity and other public purposes. All Saudis enjoy free education and medical care from birth to death and can pursue these services at home or abroad, as they wish. The Kingdom has no parliament, though it does have elaborate informal mechanisms for consultation with its citizens on policy matters. Saudi Arabia reverses and thereby affirms a basic principle of American political philosophy. "No representation without taxation."

Unlike some other countries in the Arab Gulf, Saudi Arabia has invested its oil wealth at home, not abroad, though it has long been generous with foreign aid. (At one point it was donating six percent of GDP to other, mostly Muslim, nations.) The desperate poverty of the pre-oil period is now, at most, a dim memory. Over the lifetime of elderly Saudis, the Kingdom's per capita income has risen about one hundred fold. Sparsely populated mud-walled villages have grown into huge air-conditioned cities with 21st Century architecture. Today, Saudis are not just literate; many have university degrees. There are more U.S. Ph.D.'s in the Saudi Cabinet than in our Cabinet and Congress put together.

Despite rapid development, the strong family structure that characterized traditional Saudi society has remained largely intact. It is truly moving to see how lovingly children and grandchildren care for their elders in the Kingdom. Saudi Arabia's unique social stability is reflected in the fact that almost none of its citizens emigrate, though many have second homes abroad, and a few, like Osama Binladin, have been exiled for deviant behavior..

For a long time it was easier for journalists and academics to get a visa to Tibet than to Saudi Arabia. Perhaps this accounts for the near total lack of institutions and scholars that study the place. In the United States, 9/11 was followed by an avalanche of polemical tracts, but there are still very few books about the Kingdom that reflect its realities rather than the authors' biases or propagandistic agendas. Lack of personal familiarity with the Kingdom helps explain the repeated prediction by pundits that the Saudi monarchy is in jeopardy. Generations of such pundits have passed away. The Kingdom has not. When I was ambassador to Riyadh, I was so struck by the apparent social stasis that I briefly thought the national motto should be "progress without change." But in fact change is a constant in Saudi Arabia. Most of it comes from the top down.

Not all Saudis are happy with the status quo. Some are angry about the extent to which the Kingdom is opening up and reforming. Others are impatient to get on with reform. The ranks of the latter clearly include King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Sa`ud, the current ruler. Now in his late eighties and on the throne only since 2005, he has surprised everyone with the vigor of his efforts to modernize Saudi society and to reshape its relationships with the world beyond its borders. Saudi Arabia has plenty of problems to keep the king engaged.

A lot of issues derive from the peculiar religious heritage of the Saudi state. The current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (now over a century old) is the third political structure to ally the House of Sa`ud with the family of the eighteenth century religious reformer Shaykh al Islam Mohammed ibn `Abd al-Wahhab Al-Tamimi. Ibn `Abd al-Wahhab's writings form the doctrinal basis of so-called Wahhabism, a notoriously intolerant and socially conservative form of Islam that is often confused with other reactionary religious traditions like that of the Taliban. Saudi history has involved a sustained effort by the Kingdom's rulers to persuade its religious scholars and their puritanical followers to embrace change and to open up to the outside world. This struggle has mainly been peaceful and virtually invisible to outsiders. Sometimes, however, it has engendered violence. In 1975, for example, the late King Faisal paid with his life for instituting public education for girls and for introducing television to his nation.

Both as regent (from 1996 to 2005) and more recently as ruler, King Abdullah has been so careful to avoid drama in his promotion of change that it is truly startling to review the cumulative results of his leadership. Take women's issues, for example. In 2002, responsibility for girls' education was transferred from the religious authorities to the ministry of education. Women now make up 58 percent of the enrollment in Saudi universities. The new Princess Noura bint Abdulrahman University for Women, currently under construction in Riyadh, will enroll 40,000 students this fall.

Female participation in the labor force is rising rapidly. Twenty-nine percent of women now work outside the home. (That is a low figure compared to our own but represents a remarkable advance for the Kingdom.) One-third of civil service positions have been reserved for women. The first woman took her seat in the Council of Ministers last year. After a bit of a kerfuffle, the Kingdom's religious scholars finally endorsed coeducation at the new King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. That was big blow to the legitimacy of gender apartheid. A Saudi friend and I are betting that it will not be long before women in the Kingdom can drive. We plan to clean up by building the separate road system this may require. (That's a joke, I hope.)

A word about the vision embodied in the King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. Founded by the king last September with an initial endowment of ten billion dollars, KAUST is an international, graduate-level research university. It sits in a two-billion-dollar campus on the Red Sea about seventy-five miles northwest of Mecca. On one level, it is the leading element in an effort to prepare the Kingdom for a knowledge-based economy that can complement and eventually supercede the current reliance on energy exports. But on another level, it is a powerful answer to the religious zealotry that terrorist movements like al Qa`ida espouse. Let me explain.

There is a broad consensus among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims that the modern age is ethically corrupt and that religious faith needs reinvigoration and renewal. Much like early Christian Protestants, many believe that the way to achieve this is to rediscover and reaffirm the values of their religion's earliest times. When he inaugurated KAUST, King Abdullah explained that he envisaged it as a reborn Bayt al-Hikma or "House of Wisdom." The original "House of Wisdom" was founded in Baghdad around 760 C.E., in the second century of the Muslim era. It was where the Arabs incorporated Greek, Indian and other foreign knowledge into Islam and conceived much of modern mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, zoology, and geography. It made Islamic civilization the global leader in science and technology. The "House of Wisdom" prospered in an age of tolerance, when Jews and Christians served alongside Muslims as ministers of government. Though destroyed by the Mongols in 1258, the knowledge it preserved and developed eventually found its way to Europe, where it sparked the Renaissance.

Today, like mainstream Muslims, the extremists of al Qa`ida and related movements argue that Islam must return to its roots. But they portray early Islam as puritanical, xenophobic, intolerant, and oppressive of women. KAUST is a living rebuttal of this historical fallacy and the ideology of hatred derived from it. It was conceived as a new "House of Wisdom." It stands for the principle that Islam was founded as and can only be reborn as the religious guide to a society open to ideas from other traditions. It represents a call for return to an Islam tolerant of foreign ways, respectful of

women, dedicated to the scientific study of God's handiwork, and committed to the development of new technologies to better the human condition. KAUST is as much an instrument of religious renaissance and an answer to extremism as it is an academic institution.

This brings me to the issue of religious tolerance. In 2003, King Abdullah inaugurated what he called a "national forum for intellectual dialogue." This ongoing national dialogue is an unprecedented acceptance of religious diversity in the Kingdom. It marks an end to longstanding official discrimination against its Shiite minority. In 2007, King Abdullah made an historic call on the Pope in the Vatican, the first time a Muslim leader of his stature had done so. In 2008 he organized two unprecedented international interfaith conferences between Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and others at Madrid and New York. He intends this dialogue, too, to be a continuing process.

There are other major domestic reform initiatives in progress, like a complete revamping of the Saudi educational system and curriculum, experiments with elections at lower levels of government and civil society, efforts to shift the Kingdom toward reliance on alternative sources of energy, the development of a huge new petrochemical industry to complement the production of energy in its primary form. Time will not permit me to describe these developments. My point is simply that there is a great deal more going on in Saudi Arabia than our press and pundits seem to realize.

That said, everything is, of course, relative. Sadly, to many Saudis, the history of their nation suggests that the more religiously uptight they are, the more oil comes out of the ground. The Kingdom continues in many ways to belie God's admonition in the Holy Quran that "there can be no compulsion in religion." The open practice of religions other than Islam remains banned. The status and role of women in Saudi society is controversial and far from settled. Despite efforts at "Saudiization," foreign workers continue to dominate the employment market, while demanding a premium to compensate for the discomfort and stress that Saudi Arabia's religiously sanctioned mores impose on them. Methods of political consultation that worked in a more cohesive and less populous Saudi Arabia can no longer produce consensus. The fiscal basis of the state continues to be oil exports, and oil is a commodity whose price fluctuates unpredictably. There is, in other words, a very long list of problems for Saudis to work out in coming years.

Let me turn briefly to Saudi Arabia's foreign relations before reviewing the state of our country's interaction with it.

In foreign even more than domestic affairs, King Abdullah's impact has been little short of revolutionary. He has overseen the negotiated settlement of the Kingdom's long-disputed borders with all of its neighbors. He brought Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization, ensuring that its trade and investment activities for the first time follow internationally agreed rules. In 1982, at Beirut, he led the Arab League in an historic reversal of policy toward the Israel-Palestine issue. Saudi Arabia had long insisted that it would be the last state in the region to recognize and establish relations with Israel. At Beirut, King Abdullah committed to be the first to normalize relations with Israel upon its achievement of a mutually acceptable arrangement for coexistence with the Palestinians. He persuaded all other Arab countries to promise they would do the same. To his great frustration, Israel did not respond. Since then, hope for a two-state solution that could gain acceptance for Israel in the region has dimmed.

Many of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy challenges stem from recent American policies in the region. These policies have had the effect of liberating Israel from all constraints on its settlement activities and belligerent intervention in its Arab neighbors, installing Iran as the dominant political influence in both Iraq and Lebanon, consolidating rather than eroding the Syrian-Iranian alliance, pushing Hamas into the arms of the Iranians, and raising regional tensions over Tehran's nuclear program while doing nothing effective about it. Then there is Afghanistan, where the United States now seems to be engaged in a crusade against militant Islam – one that many in the region now fear may soon extend to Yemen. Saudi counter-terrorism specialists, who have a well-deserved international reputation for effectiveness, are convinced that the most efficient way to radicalize Muslim populations and encourage terrorism against the United States and its foreign policy partners is to invade, occupy, and humiliate them. They believe that the panicked militarism of the U.S. response to 9/11 was exactly what groups like al Qa'ida hoped for. They see no sign that the United States is about to abandon actions and policies that metastasize extremism and stimulate terrorist reprisal against Americans and our foreign friends.

No longer willing to be publicly associated with U.S. policies in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere that radicalize the region and menace the Kingdom's own security, Saudi Arabia is actively attempting to reduce its historic dependence on America. To this end, it is building new relationships with countries like China, India, and Russia, while strengthening cooperation with longstanding partners in Europe and Asia like Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and south Korea. It is not that the Kingdom has given up on the United States. As the king's scholarship program for Saudi students in this country evidences, Saudi Arabia continues to reach out and seek improved relations with America. But Saudis no longer trust us to take their interests into account or to protect them from their enemies.

In December 2002, as the U.S. prepared to invade Iraq against the forcefully expressed advice of then Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Aramco (the world's largest oil company) quietly abandoned a decades-old subsidy for the cost of shipping oil to the North American market. Within months, China replaced the United States as the Kingdom's biggest overseas market for oil. U.S. exports have remained relatively constant as the Saudi Arabian economy has boomed, dramatically reducing our market share in our largest Middle Eastern market. Ironically, the best element of the US-Saudi relationship is now cooperation against terrorists. This is a task in which the Saudis have perforce learned to excel. American policies ensure an endless supply of angry young Muslim men in the region, including in Saudi Arabia.

The United States is now said to have entered a "long war." The last time we did so, in 1947 with Soviet Communism, the enemy was obvious, George Kennan gave us a strategy, and skillful American diplomacy gave us the allies we needed to pursue it. Kennan's "long telegram" from Moscow outlined a comprehensive approach to the political, economic, cultural, and military containment of the threat to our survival and our values posed by the Soviet Union. We followed his outline. Forty years later, as Kennan forecast, without our having to go to war with the USSR, our Soviet enemy collapsed of its own infirmities.

This time, our "long war" is with various Islamic extremists, tribes, sects, and societies. We're not quite sure who our enemy is. No Kennan has emerged to give us a strategy for winning without fighting or, indeed, any "strategy" at all. Instead, we are flailing about with our superbly lethal military in response to events. Lacking a strategy, we have been unable to recruit foreign partners to support one. We are now alone in Iraq. We are isolated internationally on the Israel-Palestine issue. Our NATO allies are with us in Afghanistan out of consideration for NATO, not because they think we know what we are doing. Many of them have already announced their intention to withdraw. Pakistan is with us only because all its alternatives are worse.

Saudi Arabia and America head al Qa`ida's enemies list. The Kingdom has, however, been successfully vilified in the eyes of the American elite and public. To deal effectively with Islamic extremism, we need Muslim allies. There is none more potent that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Yet we have made no effort to seek its advice about how to address the challenges of Islamic extremism. We have not sought its help to legitimize an effective political, informational, cultural, and economic strategy for productive engagement with the Islamic world.

Meanwhile, however, many things now happening in the Kingdom – like the implicit message of the king's vision for KAUST – suggest that such a partnership with Saudi Arabia and Arab nations of like mind is possible. Such a partnership could be the basis for a strategy to bring victory in this latest "long war." The common interests on which to forge an alliance are clearly there. Last June in Cairo, President Obama brilliantly articulated a credible basis for sound relations with the Islamic world. His vision was persuasive, but it remains a mirage, not a reality. It is past time to implement it. An intensive effort to reset the relationship with Saudi Arabia and to craft a common antiterrorist strategy with its king would be a good place to start.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** 'cb
**Subject:** Re: Get well soon

B6

Thanks for your concern I'm on the way to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. I will see the Sheikha in Doha and learn more about her work. I hope to see you soon for a catchup visit. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: Clinton, Bill
Cc: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 15:34:07 2010
Subject: Get well soon

Cherie Blair

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 12:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Moratinos/Cuba

Cheryl and I [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Reassurance on QDDR

Thanks--see you next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 19:23:43 2010
Subject: Reassurance on QDDR

Jake just downloaded with me from your conversation w/ him yesterday re the Interim Report. I just want to reassure you that I get it completely; you saw a much earlier draft than I would have liked. I'll be working on it all weekend and we'll make you proud. Have a good trip -- I used to be on the board of thr US-Islamic World Forum and went a couple of times. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 1:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palestinians critical of U.S. settlement proposal

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sun Nov 14 01:15:53 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Palestinians critical of U.S. settlement proposal

JERUSALEM (AP) - Palestinians are expressing strong reservations about a U.S. proposal meant to entice Israel to reinstate limits on West Bank settlement construction and revive peace talks. Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat did not reject the proposal outright, but said a decision on whether to endorse it would be made after consultations with Palestinian and Arab leaders. Erekat says the Palestinians "have a major problem in not including east Jerusalem."

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] Mitchell's right B5

Read from bottom up.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Sep 23 12:51:29 2010
Subject: Fw: [redacted] Mitchell's right

This is what's going on:

----- Original Message -----
From: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
To: Hale, David M
Sent: Thu Sep 23 12:44:24 2010
Subject: Re: This is a waste of time; Mitchell's right

100 percent. [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Hale, David M
To: Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
Sent: Thu Sep 23 12:41:20 2010
Subject: [redacted] Mitchell's right

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: G8 FMs Lunch

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns, William J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G
Sent: Thu Sep 23 13:10:18 2010
Subject: G8 FMs Lunch

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Mostly uneventful. All other FM's there. Straightforward discussion on Af-Pak, CT, Global Partnership, Lat Am-West Af-Eur drug connection, etc. New Japanese FM

Pres UNGA speech well-received. S efforts on Pal-Isr much appreciated. Mins agreed to weigh in with both parties on need to continue.

B1
1.4(D)

Bill

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/22/2035

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 1:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: One more thing

fyi

---

**From:** Dan Glickman [mailto: ] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 9:51 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** One more thing

As you know, the US Global leadership Coalition is hosting Secretaries Clinton, Gates, Geithner etal on Tuesday afternoon for a formal discussion/announcement of new development initiatives. I am currently the chair of the education arm (501c3) of this organization, and will be opening the session with very brief and general welcoming remarks, then turning it over to Liz Schrayer who is the leader of the group. Just an fyi.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 6:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: postscript to last night/ preview of call

See below from Daniel.

What's so crazy is that they roundly rejected the first moratorium in large measure because it excluded Jerusalem and now they are saying the difference is that this one clearly excludes Jerusalem!

----- Original Message -----
From: Rubinstein, Daniel H
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Hale, David M; Walles, Jacob; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Nov 14 06:09:54 2010
Subject: postscript to last night/ preview of call

as can be expected, huge amount of media reports and speculation, some accurate, some not

explicit exclusion of JRSM reverberating very, very hard as it appears in all the reports and statements, and has been seized on by P's

i have gone over the same ground today as yesterday/last night, including emphasis on what our senior levels assess re: sufficiency to proceed

she will likely hear about the significant difficulty the "blunt" explicit exclusion (vice a fuzzier approach) presents to proceeding back to negotiations during her call. if she doesn't, DH and I are certain to hear it tomorrow

don't want to beat a dead horse, but don't want her to be surprised either

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: For [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Sep 23 13:25:03 2010
Subject: For [redacted] B5

Pls show S:

[redacted], stress [redacted] B5

Background from Bill: [redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/22/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 6:42 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli Cabinet to consider US settlement proposal

Looks very much like there will be a vote today.

---

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sun Nov 14 02:26:15 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Israeli Cabinet to consider US settlement proposal

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel's prime minister will ask his Cabinet to consider a package of security and diplomatic incentives the U.S. proposed to entice Israel to renew limits on settlement construction and revive peace talks with the Palestinians. However, the Palestinians are expressing strong reservations about the proposal. Although Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat did not reject it outright, he says a decision on whether to endorse it would be made after consultations with Palestinian and Arab leaders.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 11:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** for your mom.....

# Keith Richards Has Memories to Burn

By JANET MASLIN

It is 3 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time in the New York office of Keith Richards's manager, a place that might look ordinary if every wall and shelf were not crammed with some of the world's most glorious rock 'n' roll memorabilia. Mr. Richards has a 3 o'clock appointment. "Come on in, he'll be here in a minute," an assistant says — and here he comes *in a minute*, at 3:01. This from a man who once prided himself for operating on Keith Time, as in: the security staff ate the shepherd's pie that Keith wanted in his dressing room? Then everyone in this packed stadium can bloody well wait. The Rolling Stones don't play until another shepherd's pie shows up.

Chalk up the promptness to the man's new incarnation: he is now Keith Richards, distinguished author. True, he is far from the only rock star to turn memoirist, and far from the only Rolling Stone to write a book about himself — very much about himself. The raven-haired Ron Wood wrote "Ronnie," in which he described Brian Jones as "me in a blond wig." Bill Wyman, the band's retired bass player and bean counter, wrote "Stone Alone," in which not a 15-shilling demo disc went unmentioned. Now Mr. Richards has written the keeper: "Life," a big, fierce, game-changing account of the Stones' nearly half-century-long adventure.

"It's the most difficult thing I've ever done," he says about the book. "I'd rather make 10 records."

But he sounds anything but weary. And he seems refreshed, bearing surprisingly little resemblance to the battered, kohl-eyed pirate Keith Richards who looks like 50 miles of bad road. Today, in neutral street clothes and hot-green shoes, he is positively debonair. On his hands: the ubiquitous silver skull ring, swollen knuckles, the thin white scar from a hunk of steaming phosphorus that burned his finger to the bone while he played through a concert without stopping. On his head: both a headband and a raffish, straw-colored hat, gray tufts poking out in all directions. Not a single gewgaw hangs off it. "I've been through that phase," he says. "Don't know that the hair will take the pressure anymore."

He's been through quite a lot of phases. And they're all on the page in "Life": the Boy Scout (really); the tyro rocker; the lovestruck kid (mad for Ronnie Spector, unbeknownst to Phil Spector); the astonished new star; the heroin-addicted older one; the jaded veteran of countless world tours; and the longtime sparring partner of Mick Jagger. (Despite tabloid shock over the bickering in the book, these two have seriously been calling each other names at least since the early 1980s.) All of this is recounted with straight-up candor, and some of it is easily sensationalized. But the book's single biggest stunner is a hand-written note on its jacket flap: "Believe it or not, I haven't forgotten any of it."

How, he is asked, is this humanly possible from a man as well known for stupefaction as "Satisfaction?" "I think my main concern at the beginning was whether my memory was really reliable," he says. "Fox had to do a little sleuthing." Fox is James Fox, the journalist and author of "White Mischief," who has been Mr. Richards's friend over many years and was his collaborator in putting "Life" together. (It was sold to Little, Brown & Company for a reported advance of more than $7 million.)

Mr. Fox wound up researching Mr. Richards's past, conducting interviews with those who knew him long ago and drawing upon wonderfully candid old letters and journal entries. "Spent day practising," the 19-year-old Mr. Richards wrote in January 1963, when the Stones were just beginning to play in public. "Worthwhile, I hope!" Also exhumed: a 1962 letter from Mr. Richards to his Aunt Patty describing a boy he had known in primary school, Mick Jagger. He signs off "Luff/Keith xxxxx"

These artifacts turned out to be the Richards equivalent of Proust's madeleines, though Mr. Richards, whose reading taste runs to naval history and the novels of Patrick O'Brian and George MacDonald Fraser, would hardly put it that way. In any case they prompted recollections that he never expected to rediscover, and "Life" began to click. Once his stories were told and a draft was written, he and Mr. Fox wound up sitting together with separate copies of the manuscript as Mr. Fox read

the whole book aloud. "What I couldn't guess was that he'd be such a very good natural editor," Mr. Fox, reached by e-mail, says of Mr. Richards. "He cut, accordingly, for pace and rhythm — a real musical cut."

As for calling the book "Life," Mr. Richards did some editing there too. "My Life" was what the book was to be called. "I said 'I tell you what, just cut off the 'My,' and you've got a title," he says. He might just as appropriately have used another title he likes, "Keep It Dark." But, he says, "I'm saving it for a song."

The contents of "Life" are dark enough already. The book begins with a 1975 drug bust in Arkansas and a judge who was persuaded to free Mr. Richards after confiscating his hunting knife (which still hangs in the courtroom) and having a picture taken with him. How did Mr. Richards get so lucky? "I really can't explain it," he says, deadpan, about that now. "Maybe I've got an honest face."

It covers many other arrests too, as well as Mr. Richards's grueling efforts to kick his heroin addiction, which he claims to have done successfully 30 years ago. "Stories like this aren't told very much," he insists. "There aren't many people willing to tell them."

Then there are the other health hazards that the book describes. Like electrocution. "My most spectacular one was in Sacramento. ..." he now says with a smile, drifting off into a fond-sounding reverie that involves a guitar string touching an ungrounded microphone and clouds of smoke billowing out of his mouth. He has a good laugh at the memory of finding himself in a hospital and hearing a doctor say, "Well, they either wake up or they don't."

"Life" has already attracted undue attention for a schoolyard-sounding anatomical swipe at Mr. Jagger. But this is a book that pulls no punches, and most of its disses are more serious than that. "Cold-blooded" and "vicious" are only two of the more printable words he uses to describe Brian Jones. Allen Ginsberg was an "old gasbag." Mick Taylor, the former Rolling Stone, "didn't do anything" after he left the band, and Donald Cammell, the film director ("Performance," starring Mr. Jagger and Anita Pallenberg, Mr. Richards's longtime lover and partner in crime), couldn't commit suicide quickly enough to suit Mr. Richards. (He shot himself in 1996.) When Marlon Brando propositioned him and Ms. Pallenberg, Mr. Richards remembers replying with this: "Later, pal."

As for Mr. Jagger, the complaints are deep-seated. They involve credit hogging, social climbing, egomania, insecurity, unethical business behavior and — here comes a Freudian's holiday for anyone who's ever watched the bare-chested young Jagger and Richards vamp it up together — uncertain sexual identity. There's also a cool condescension about Mr. Jagger's contributions to the duo's songwriting. And a nasty nickname or two, like "Disco Boy."

In conversation about all this, Mr. Richards is emphatically blasé: "It's bound to be somewhat rough, but the point is I'm trying to tell the story from Day 1 to now," he says. And sure: "There's the odd conflict here and there. But if you weigh it all out, those things count for nothing." Mr. Richards did see to it that Mr. Jagger knew what was in the book ahead of time. "The important thing to me," he says, "was that Mick had been through it and seen it and knew what was what." And is there anything that one Stone can say about another Stone and really give offense at this point? "No."

But is there anything new that can be said about the Stones anyway? As "Life" emphatically demonstrates, the answer is yes. And some of its most surprisingly revelatory material appears in what Mr. Richards jokingly calls "Keef's Guitar Workshop." Here are the secrets of some of the world's most famous rock riffs and the almost toy-level equipment on which they were recorded, like the cassette recorder onto which Mr. Richards dubbed guitar layer after guitar layer for "Street Fighting Man," "Jumpin' Jack Flash" and part of "Gimme Shelter." Here's how the silent beats in Elvis Presley's "Heartbreak Hotel" worked their way into some of Mr. Richards's most inspired solos. Mr. Fox found that "Heartbreak Hotel" itself was the key to some of Mr. Richards's best musical memories.

Some of this is by now well known to music critics. But Mr. Richards makes it fascinating at the layman's level. And he is surprised to find that early readers haven't been skipping the musicology, even though the book cordially invites them to do so. What he finds most gratifying about having written "Life" is the chance for both him and his readers to grasp the breadth and range of this book's material. He is the rare memoirist who can say, without hyperbole, "that what I hoped was worth sharing with people turned out to be far more important than I could possibly imagine."

It's getting late. Time to leave this bright orange room where Mr. Richards's name is emblazoned on a director's chair; where assorted music awards and platinum records are everywhere; where there's a discreet little skull in the middle of the wall mirror; where his Louis Vuitton guitar case — he did an ad for Vuitton — is parked in a corner. But the items likeliest to catch his eye are the ones on the coffee table: loose cigarettes neatly arrayed in a holder, a lighter, more cigarettes in a pack.

"Do you mind if I smoke?" he had asked when he first appeared. Easy one: Who, aside from Keith Richards and certain legal authorities, has ever kept Keith Richards from doing anything? But an hour has gone by, and he hasn't touched the cigarettes. He hasn't even looked at them. He has done not one thing to make him resemble the sullen, haunted, diabolically beautiful creature on the cover of his book, the one with hellfire blazing up from his hand to meet the blurry white thing he's smoking.

"That?" he says innocently when asked about the picture. "Oh, that's just me lighting a cigarette. That's all I was doing."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 5:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Predictable Woodward outcome. Sid

Burned by Woodward's Fire
by Leslie H. Gelb
September 23, 2010 | 1:32pm

**The president and his team cooperated with the famed author's new book. Leslie H. Gelb on the fallout—and how *Obama's Wars* shows the U.S. is stuck in an open-ended conflict.**

Lots of White House officials observed Bob Woodward, Mr. First Draft of History, repeatedly and boldly slipping behind the closed doors of President Obama's most intimate advisers. They all knew what was happening. The president's men were helping The Washington Post's sleuth write "the inside story" of how the boss masterfully managed the most trying of Herculean labors—the war in Afghanistan. There's only one very big problem in dealing with Woodward in this manner: Once the boss opens the doors to spilling the secrets, many of his subordinates feel liberated to "tell their side of the story." By the time each has exhausted tales of his own heroism and the shortcomings of his fellow senior officials, well, no one looks terribly heroic.

Let's start with Obama, who emerges from the pages of *Obama's Wars* as he is—brilliant, emotionless, abstract, focused, and confused, a Chicago law-school professor in presidents' clothes. He obviously wanted Woodward to portray him as a brilliant intellectual leader of a government that was not giving him too much help in solving the Afghan mystery, but that he trudged on, doing the best anyone possibly could under these terrible circumstances.

The worst circumstance, as Team Obama alleged to Woodward, was that the Pentagon leadership and the U.S. generals did not give him the real choices he was asking for. He wanted options for troop increases below, even far below, what the generals were giving him. He didn't get them. He wanted a strategy for how U.S. forces would be drawn down after they reached their projected peak of about 100,000 (more than three times the number George W. Bush left him). The military didn't provide him with that, either.

As they say in Missouri, "Give me a break." If the commander in chief of the United States doesn't know how to get what he wants from the U.S. military, he might want to do something about that. And some of the many generals in the White House who he picked to guide him might have told him how to go about that task. To cut to the chase: Obama didn't understand what he had to do—tell Defense Secretary Bob Gates to tell the generals either they meet the president's wishes or they will be fired. Republican presidents do just that. And so, as Woodward describes, Obama had to write the strategy all by himself.

This was and still is an awful situation that springs from two sources. One is that the president has just not been clear enough about his thinking and objectives for Afghanistan, and the military and the rest of us must have real clarity to pursue wars. Woodward has this right. Here are a few Obama quotes that illustrate the problem. The president told Woodward that he didn't think about the Afghan war in the "classic" terms of the U.S. winning or losing. "I think about it more in terms of: Do you successfully prosecute a strategy that results in the country being stronger rather than weaker at the end?" What on earth does that mean? Or try this one, to Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) about whether the July 2011 deadline to begin withdrawal was firm: "I have to say that. I can't let this be a war without end, and I can't lose the whole Democratic Party." Does that mean Obama really believes in the war, but his party doesn't? Or to White House aides: "This needs to be a plan about how we're going to hand it off and get out of Afghanistan." So, if he wanted such a plan, he should have gotten such a plan. He is president after all.

Which leads to the second problem: When a president is not clear about a tough problem, the military smells vacillations. And they sure don't like vacillation when it comes to dispatching their men and women to war. Americans don't fathom well the military mentality. The military in most countries throughout history doesn't like to go to war; they like to build up their arms and overall strength. But once in war, they want only more troops, fewer restrictions on their use, and above all, victory, victory, victory. Since Vietnam, they smell only vacillation among Democrats, and they don't like it. For their part, Democrats see insubordination and worse among the military toward them, and they don't care for the suits either. It's not a happy circumstance. Woodward didn't explore this underlying reality, which is critical for Americans to understand.

_breakAd_

The White House clash with the military could get worse over the latest news about Gen. Stanley McChrystal's firing over naughty things said about the White House to a reporter. According to a preliminary Army investigation, the general—and

perhaps even his senior Army aides—were not the sources of those nasty quotes. It was some other guys—you know, the usual culprits, the Navy and civilians. There will be further formal inquiries on this, but nothing good will come of them.

There's another important thread running throughout the Woodward account that, I believe, he gets more wrong than right. That is, Woodward's repeated insistence of open and bitter policy brawls in the good old Situation Room (the inner sanctum for White House meetings) over Afghan policy. Mr. Instant Historian paints a picture of a war of all against all. My information has always been that there was relative agreement on major policy. Based on my sources, there is no doubt that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Defense Secretary Bob Gates, and Joint Chiefs Chairman Mike Mullen were almost always quite cordial and in full lock step. They, along with the NSC Adviser Jim Jones and field commanders like General McChrystal and General Petraeus, are the key players. Of course, Vice President Joe Biden and Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel were the only regular critics of where policy was heading. The generals did lobby for their positions in public—in advance of presidential decisions. And that's a big no-no. But by that standard, almost all Obama's top advisers did as much. The day after his West Point speech last December, where he set the firm date of July 2011 to begin unspecified U.S. troop withdrawals, almost all the advisers publicly stated that maybe one didn't have to take this date too seriously, that everything was "conditions based." That group of rebels included Gates and Clinton.

So, if anything, most of Obama's top counselors were more or less united—sometimes against where he seemed to be going. Here is what Petraeus had to say to Woodward on the subject of goals, and it's a stunner: "You have to recognize also that I don't think you win this war. I think you keep fighting. It's a little bit like Iraq, actually.... Yes, there has been enormous progress in Iraq. But there are still horrific attacks in Iraq, and you have to stay vigilant. You have to stay after it. This is the kind of fight we're in for the rest of our lives and probably our kids' lives." The brilliant general said as much to others over the last year. It's enough to knock your socks off.

So far, there are no heroes to this narrative, only self-described heroic skeptics of the war and warriors who would fight on forever.

Doubtless, President Obama does not want to fight an open-ended war. He's sworn to that time and again, and I believe him, despite his history of calling for "victory" and "defeat" of the Taliban and al Qaeda. But what the Woodward book demonstrates is that Obama and his team just don't know how to get from here to there. So far, there are no heroes to this narrative, only self-described heroic skeptics of the war and warriors who would fight on forever.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of* Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy *(HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

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<img src="http://b.scorecardresearch.com/b?c1=2&c2=6433482&c3=&c4=&c5=&c6=&c15=&cv=1.3&cj=1" style="display:none" width="0" height="0" alt="" />

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, September 23, 2010 10:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Blair

Copy

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivar[redacted]
Subject: Blair
Sent: Sep 23, 2010 10:52 PM

Be sure he knows I've been trading calls w Lynn de Rothschild and hope to connect late tonight.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** aclb
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 4:58 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

Thanks - that's really good of you. I will speak to Jake and let you know how I'm getting on. Best Tony.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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This email may relate to or be sent from other members of the Windrush group.

---

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 6:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli leaders condemn Clinton immigrant comments

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Fri Sep 24 05:22:11 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israeli leaders condemn Clinton immigrant comments

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israeli leaders are criticizing former President Clinton's comment that Russian immigrants in Israel an obstacle to peace. Clinton noted the most recent arrivals in Israel have the hardest time agreeing to share the land with the Palestinians. He also said residents who have been in Israel the longest and have more of a historical perspective and are most supportive of peace in Israel. Among the Israel leaders criticizing Clinton's comments is Foreign Minister Lieberman, whose political party relies heavily on immigrant support. He called the remarks "crude generalizations" and interference in Israel's internal affairs.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti

Will you be in next week? I hope we can catch up.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 03:03:22 2010
Subject: FW: Examples of successful global media engagement in Haiti

I'm sorry I was not able to join last week's meeting on Haiti but I have calls into Anne Marie and Arturo to get an update. Once I get a better understanding of how we plan to move forward on a regional basis we will work on putting together a comprehensive PD strategy to support our efforts. B5

If you like the idea I can begin to trial balloon it with media execs in US and LA that I know personally to gauge their reaction.

Of course we can't rely on a psa campaign alone to sustain the effort so we will develop other PD strategies for engagement throughout the region which I will forward as they evolve.

Let me know what you think. In the meantime I thought you might be interested in the report below (copy attached as well) which outlines the results to date of our global media outreach initiative.

Successfully Engaging Global Media

About the U.S. Role and International Cooperation in Haiti

Examples of Post Efforts to Date

EUROPE

· Reinforcing the Secretary's message, U.S. Ambassador to France Rivkin engaged directly with over 100 journalists in an event streamed live on-line by CNN, where he highlighted U.S. assistance to Haiti and the cooperation of the US with France, the UN and the international community. Embassy Paris also reached out to senior officials in the Elysee, MFA, French media and civil society at all levels to underscore the message of positive coordination with our French partners and to set the record straight on the work of the USG in Haiti. As a result, leading French officials dismissed rumors of rising diplomatic tensions between the two countries. Leading officials consistently praised the work of the Obama administration in Haiti and the need for a strong US role in the emergency response.

· Embassy London's media blitz featured Ambassador Susman, who underlined the U.S. commitment to Haiti at an Embassy Martin Luther King Jr. holiday event with actor James Earl Jones; the event was covered by BBC World News (audience 270 million worldwide) and various U.K. papers. The Ambassador and the IO also spoke about Haiti on January 20-22 on BBC TV 2's "Daily Politics Show," BBC Radio, the BBC TV Evening News, and other media and helped embed an ITV journalist on the USNS Comfort to help balance ITV's previously negative reporting and reached out personally to BBC producers to call attention to inaccurate reporting alleging that the U.S. military prevented Medicins Sans Frontiers from delivering aid and supplies to the airport in Port Au Prince.

· With media coverage growing more critical, U.S. Ambassador to Greece Speckhard gave an interview to Ta Nea newspaper and DCM Deborah McCarthy, who previously served in Haiti, was interviewed by Real Sunday newspaper, resulting in positive stories about U.S. assistance to Haiti. Meanwhile, the PAO spoke with the Director of Elefterotypia, whose paper has run some of the most misdirected coverage of Haiti, and received a commitment to run an Embassy-produced story to counteract the misinformation.

AFRICA

· Four African posts – Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania – organized highly successful outreach programs based on the diversion of the USS Gunston Hall to Haiti. The ship, with African officers aboard, was headed to western Africa under AFRICOM's African Partnership Station maritime security training program when it was diverted to provide relief to Haiti. With African officers working alongside U.S. military officers to deliver assistance to Haitians, PAOs at those posts connected local reporters with the ship to conduct live interviews of the Africans for their home media, resulting in excellent media placement in all four countries.

· On January 20 U.S. Ambassador to South Africa Gips gave a 10-minute live interview on Haiti with 5FM, a leading youth station with listenership of approx 800,000. The Ambassador highlighted the depth and breadth of US support and congratulated South Africa for sending emergency teams. The radio hosts told the Embassy afterward that e-mails and SMS messages were pouring into the station in support of U.S. efforts. Ambassador Gips reached out to additional audiences via broadcast media on January 21 and recorded a program via the Africa Regional Media Hub with SABC-International TV's "Rendezvous Africa" program (broadcast across the continent) and live interviews with drive-time radio programs on two national stations.

· As a result of a press conference hosted by the Embassy on January 22, all major Angolan media gave positive coverage to U.S. efforts in Haiti, including Radio Nacional de Angola and the Jornal de Angola newspaper, which ran an editorial January 23 that stated: "We need to believe and let those on the ground do their work because the old tactics of criticizing who is doing something for the Haitian People just for the sake of criticizing at a moment like this is not acceptable. . . Just see the numbers of daily flights that arrive in Haiti to have an idea and quickly come to the conclusion that the possible failures and omissions do not supersede the positive and timely work done by the entities undertaking the relief efforts in Haiti."

EAST ASIA-PACIFIC

· The U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia's January 21 byliner on Haiti ran as the lead item on the editorial page of Seputar Indonesia daily, and it was subsequently picked up by Antara, the Indonesian national news agency, and subsequently appeared in most Indonesian media.

· South Korea: Looking to help Korean audiences connect with the situation in Haiti, PA Seoul arranged a Digital Video Conference with the U.S. Consul in Nagoya, Japan, who had previously served as Information Officer in Port-au-Prince and was a fluent Korean speaker. CG Kwak underlined the long tradition of US humanitarian assistance to Haiti as well as the massive US response to the current crisis and noted Korea's own active involvement in the relief work. The U.S. Ambassador's blog on January 22, dedicated to the earthquake and those affected by it, received more than 1,500 hits in three days, with almost all comments supporting U.S. concerns.

The EAP Regional Media Hub in Tokyo hosted a journalists' roundtable with Gordon Duguid in Haiti on January 25 that included journalists from Hong Kong's Ming Pao newspaper, Malaysia's New Straits Times newspaper, BERNAMA (Malaysian National News Agency), and Australia's Canberra Times newspaper and Radio 6PR (Perth), and resulted in favorable stories appearing over the next few days in all participating media.

NEAR EAST

· Lebanon: Television station Al-Jadid is not Hezbollah-affiliated, with most of its funding coming from the Gulf and Libya. Their coverage is also routinely sensationalistic and mirrored Al-Manar's coverage. PAS Beirut clarified aspects of USG assistance in Haiti to Al-Jadid on January 20. On Saturday January 23, Al-Jadid hosted the PAO for 30 minutes on morning news talk-show al-Hadath to discuss American relief efforts in Haiti. The PAO was able to address many of the accusations carried in the Al-Manar report, including the myriad "weapons testing" myths being propagated by Russian and Venezuelan media outlets. [Post cannot engage directly with Hezbollah television station Al-Manar as it was designated as a Special Designated Global Terrorist organization in 2006 under E.O. 13224]

· Morocco: On 1/28/10 the nationalist French-language daily L'Opinion published an op-ed entitled, "Haiti: After terror, the dread..." The paper is generally considered to be fairly hostile to the USG, however, on 1/29/10, PAO Rabat and an FSN went to L'Opinion to discuss the op-ed. Post was amazed to find the staff, including the writer himself, accommodating and even apologetic during the meeting. The editor-in-chief immediately agreed that the piece had been unfair, and the writer somewhat sheepishly explained himself by saying that public opinion had not quite recovered from "the Bush years," but readily acknowledged as well that the article was not balanced. PAO gave the writer a dossier of Washington File articles and some information from Infocentral's regular updates, which he promised to use in writing a counterpoint article. On 2/1/10, L'Opinion published an article entitled, "The massive humanitarian action of the United States," based on the articles provided by Post. The excellent article underscored the scope of American assistance, both government and private sector, to aide Haiti's earthquake victims.

· Syria: Syrian state-run media coverage of the USG role in Haiti relief efforts has been largely negative and inaccurate, portraying the U.S. military as occupying Haiti. Examples include the Ba'ath party's Al-Baath newspaper publishing three critical articles (1/21/01) under the headlines: "US Crimes in Haiti," "US Military Forces Tighten Grip on Haiti," and "US

Forces Stop Humanitarian Planes from Landing." On 1/25/10, government-owned Tishreen published an op-ed claiming that the superpowers were rushing towards a military conquest of Haiti in order to profit from reconstruction operations, which is the new method of colonialism. On 1/28/10, DAS Maura Connelly met with Syrian Ambassador Mustafa, who promised to work to halt the negative coverage coming from some Syrian outlets. To encourage more balanced coverage, Embassy Damascus will host a roundtable 2/3/10 with journalists from government-owned and independent Syrian media. Post also extended a personal invitation to an advisor of the Minister of Information.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Requests

Will do
And have email printed for you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Fri Sep 24 07:37:45 2010
Subject: Requests

B6

Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:37 AM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Joseph Nye/The New Public Diplomacy

Sounds good. Let's discuss when we see each other--hopefully next week.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 03:22:40 2010
Subject: FW: Joseph Nye/The New Public Diplomacy

Thought you might be interested in this piece by Joe Nye which I believe validates the new approach we are trying to implement. We have begun to roll-out the new plan and so far the reaction has been reasonably positive. We have organized a set of working groups around key initiatives --- women's empowerment; cve; expanded English language training; cultural programming; youth; climate change; etc so that we can incorporate new proposals into FY2012 budget and re-direct FY 2010 and 2011 funds wherever possible and appropriate. The working groups are being chaired by senior level officers from the regional bureaus --- Bob Blake; Craig Kelly, etc. --- and are being asked to report back within 4 to 6 weeks. I'll continue to keep you posted as things move forward.

jm

The New Public Diplomacy

Joseph S. Nye <http://www.project-syndicate.org/contributor/422>

2010-02-10

CAMBRIDGE – The world of traditional power politics was typically about whose military or economy would win. In today's information age, politics is also about whose "story" wins.

National narratives are, indeed, a type of currency. Governments compete with each other and with other organizations to enhance their own credibility and weaken that of their opponents. Witness the contest between the government and

protesters after the Iranian elections in June 2009, in which the Internet and Twitter played crucial roles, or the recent controversy between Google and China.

Reputation has always mattered in world politics, but credibility has become crucial because of a "paradox of plenty." When information is plentiful, the scarce resource is attention. Under the new conditions, a soft sell may, more than ever, prove more effective than a hard sell.

For example, the relative independence of the BBC, sometimes a source of consternation to British governments, has paid rich dividends in credibility, as illustrated by this account of Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete's day: "he rises at dawn, listens to the BBC World Service, then scans the Tanzanian press."

Skeptics who treat the term "public diplomacy" as a mere euphemism for propaganda miss the point. Simple propaganda is counterproductive as public diplomacy. Nor is public diplomacy merely a public-relations campaign. Public diplomacy also involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies.

The contribution of direct government information to long-term cultural relationships varies with three dimensions or stages of public diplomacy, and all three are important. The first and most immediate dimension is daily communications, which involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign-policy decisions. This dimension also involves preparation for dealing with crises. If there is a vacuum in information after an event, others will rush in to fill it.

The second dimension is strategic communication, which develops a set of simple themes, much as a political or advertising campaign does. While the first dimension is measured in hours and days, the second occurs over weeks, months, and even years.

The third dimension of public diplomacy is the development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years or even decades, through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels. These programs develop what the American journalist Edward R. Murrow once called the crucial "last three feet" – face-to-face communications, with the enhanced credibility that reciprocity creates.

But even the best advertising cannot sell an unpopular product. A communications strategy cannot work if it cuts against the grain of policy. Actions speak louder than words. All too often, policymakers treat public diplomacy as a bandage that can be applied after damage is done by other instruments. For example, China tried to enhance its soft power by successfully staging the 2008 Olympics, but its domestic simultaneous crackdown in Tibet – and subsequent repression in Xinxiang and arrests of human rights lawyers – undercut its gains.

Great powers try to use culture and narrative to create soft power that promotes their advantage, but they do not always understand how to do it. Critics in the United States complain that the over-militarization of foreign policy undercuts its credibility. Instead, they advocate diplomacy "on steroids," staffed by diplomats trained in new media, cross-cultural communications, granular local knowledge, and networks of contacts with under-represented groups.

The centralized mass-media approach to public diplomacy still plays an important role. Governments need to correct daily misrepresentations of their policies, as well as to try to convey a longer-term strategic message. The main strength of the mass-media approach is its audience reach and ability to generate public awareness and set the agenda. But its weakness is its inability to influence how the message is perceived in different cultural settings. The sender knows what she says, but not always what the targets hear. Cultural barriers are apt to distort what is heard.

Networked communications, on the other hand, can take advantage of two-way communications and peer-to-peer relations to overcome cultural differences. This type of decentralization and flexibility is difficult for governments to accomplish, given their central accountability structures.

The greater flexibility of non-governmental organizations in using networks has given rise to what some call "the new public diplomacy," which is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental

contacts with foreign publics serving foreign-policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with civil-society actors in other countries and facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad.

In this approach to public diplomacy, government policy is aimed at promoting and participating in, rather than controlling, such cross-border networks. Indeed, too much government control, or even the appearance of it, can undercut the credibility that such networks are designed to engender. The evolution of public diplomacy from one-way communications to a two-way dialogue treats publics as co-creators of meaning and communication.

Power in a global information age, more than ever, will include a soft dimension of attraction as well as the hard dimensions of coercion and payment. Combining these dimensions effectively is called "smart power." For example, the current struggle against transnational terrorism is a struggle over winning hearts and minds, and over-reliance on hard power alone is not the path to success.

Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of credibility, self-criticism, and the role of civil society in generating soft power. If it degenerates into propaganda, public diplomacy not only fails to convince, but can undercut soft power. Instead, it must remain a two-way process, because soft power depends, first and foremost, upon understanding the minds of others.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Netanyahu presents U.S. settlement plan to cabinet

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Nov 14 08:51:01 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Netanyahu presents U.S. settlement plan to cabinet

JERUSALEM (Reuters) – Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu presented a U.S. plan to his cabinet November 14 that would extend a freeze on West Bank settlements for 90 days in return for diplomatic and security incentives.

Washington wants Israel to renew a freeze on settlement building in efforts to resume peace talks with Palestinians, who in September halted negotiations after just a few weeks when Israel refused to extend a 10-month settlement freeze.

Under the U.S. proposal, if Israel extended the freeze Washington would pledge not to seek further extensions and to veto any attempts at the United Nations to force a unilateral peace settlement.

U.S. security aid to Israel would also be upgraded.

"I will insist that in any proposal Israel's security needs will be addressed, both in the immediate term and regarding the threats facing us in the coming decade," Netanyahu said in public comments before the cabinet meeting.

The prime minister has previously said any settlement moratorium will not apply to areas around East Jerusalem that Israel captured during a 1967 war and the Palestinians want as the capital of a future state.

One official in Netanyahu's office said the proposal had "positive elements". Israeli political sources said a narrow majority in Netanyahu's security cabinet, which is ultimately responsible, would likely support accepting the U.S. proposal.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton shared the plan at a meeting in New York last week, Netanyahu said, adding that U.S. and Israeli teams were still negotiating a final formula.

A spokesman for Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas said there had been no official word regarding a renewed Israeli freeze on housing starts in the occupied West Bank.

"An official Palestinian commitment will come only after President Abbas hears officially from the American administration what is going on between them and the Israelis," Nabil Abu Rdainah told Reuters.

Palestinian officials in private have expressed anger over U.S. incentives to get Israel to prolong the partial freeze, saying they were effectively bribing Israel to fulfill basic international obligations.

Israeli officials said Netanyahu, who faces a tough political sell within his own coalition on the settlement issue, had pushed Clinton for the broad understandings.

Settler leaders, who said acceptance of the proposal would represent "a fundamental collapse" of the government's integrity, called an emergency meeting to discuss the issue.

Under the U.S. plan, Israel would declare a further, three month suspension of construction in the West Bank, land it captured in a 1967 war where Palestinians seek a state. Any building launched since the original moratorium ended late in September would be frozen, a diplomatic source said.

Among the pledges offered to Israel by Washington was a guarantee to veto any resolutions brought to the United Nations Security Council that seek "to impose a political settlement on Israel," the source said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The United States would also undertake to veto resolutions deemed anti-Israel in the United Nations and other international organisations, a move that could make Israel less vulnerable to threats made by some Palestinians to declare statehood unilaterally in the event that peace talks fail.

The Obama Administration would also ask Congress to approve the supply of three billion dollars worth of advanced

warplanes to the Jewish state "to maintain its qualitative edge" in the region, the source added.

The United States would further sign a more comprehensive deal to enhance its substantial security aid to Israel as part of any agreement concluded with the Palestinians.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Netanyahu presents U.S. settlement plan to cabinet

Trying to figure out what's actually happening here.

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Nov 14 08:51:01 2010
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RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'rooneym@state.gov'; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Doha speech

I will have more to say when I see you on the plane, but I wanted to share some thoughts from Judith McHale, that are not in reaction to the speech which I doubt she's seen, but which more generally address the question of communicating w Muslim audiences. B5

Judith mentions a recent piece by Joe Nye which is also worth reading that I will forward to you. Thx.

Muslim engagement

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'rooneym@state.gov'; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Joseph Nye/The New Public Diplomacy

Fyi.

----- Original Message -----
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To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 03:22:40 2010
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2010-02-10

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The greater flexibility of non-governmental organizations in using networks has given rise to what some call "the new public diplomacy," which is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental

contacts with foreign publics serving foreign-policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with civil-society actors in other countries and facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad.

In this approach to public diplomacy, government policy is aimed at promoting and participating in, rather than controlling, such cross-border networks. Indeed, too much government control, or even the appearance of it, can undercut the credibility that such networks are designed to engender. The evolution of public diplomacy from one-way communications to a two-way dialogue treats publics as co-creators of meaning and communication.

Power in a global information age, more than ever, will include a soft dimension of attraction as well as the hard dimensions of coercion and payment. Combining these dimensions effectively is called "smart power." For example, the current struggle against transnational terrorism is a struggle over winning hearts and minds, and over-reliance on hard power alone is not the path to success.

Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of credibility, self-criticism, and the role of civil society in generating soft power. If it degenerates into propaganda, public diplomacy not only fails to convince, but can undercut soft power. Instead, it must remain a two-way process, because soft power depends, first and foremost, upon understanding the minds of others.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 10:11 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

Fyi

**From:** Rita O'Hare <[redacted]> B6
**To:** US Email <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sun Nov 14 09:04:08 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

-----Forwarded Message-----
From: Sinn Féin Press Office
Sent: Nov 14, 2010 8:37 AM
To: sinnfeinpress@oireachtas.ie
Subject: Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

Sinn Féin Press Office
Kevin Barry Memorial Hall
44 Parnell Square
Dublin 1

Email: press.sinnfein@gmail.com
Contact Shaun Tracey on 0877735218

**For immediate release 14th November 2010:**

# Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has today announced his decision to put his name forward for the Sinn Féin nomination for the Louth constituency at the next General Election. Mr. Adams was speaking today at the Edentubber commemoration in County Louth. He said:

"Ireland is at a crossroads. This state is in the midst of a deep economic and social crisis. This Government is probably the most unpopular in the history of the state. It is now implementing bad, deeply damaging policies. It has no mandate whatsoever for this.

There is a better way. Together we can rebuild Ireland.

People need to make a stand against what is happening. We need a better way forward for our country and its people.

All this imposes a huge responsibility on those of us in positions of political leadership. In the past I have asked people to step forward and to show leadership.

I have asked people to make a stand. I believe that it is my duty at this critical time to step forward and do what I have asked of others.

As Leader of Sinn Féin, I want to be part of the necessary fight-back against bad economic policies in both parts of this island and for a fair, decent and united society for all the people of Ireland.

As a representative of west Belfast I should be able to do this in the Dáil, but the Irish government refuses to allow this, despite a commitment during the Good Friday Agreement negotiations and subsequently, by the then Taoiseach Bertie Ahern that he would introduce measures to allow speaking rights for MPs from the north.

So, as Leader of the only all Ireland party with an all-island mandate I have a choice to make whether to stay in west Belfast, a place that I love, or to seek a mandate in another constituency in the south. West Belfast is my home. It is where Colette and our family are and where I live.

But after thoughtful consideration, and with the support of colleagues, I have decided to put my name forward for Louth. If elected for this constituency I will work and stay here and travel home when possible.

This means that I will be stepping down as an MLA for west Belfast. My replacement will be chosen this week. I am proud and honoured to have represented the people of west Belfast in the Assembly. I will remain as MP until the next Leinster House election.

This is a significant initiative by the Sinn Fein leadership. It is a measure of our determination to provide a real alternative to the consensus for cuts being pushed by the other parties.

Ireland needs political change. We need change in the Dáil. We need more voices that will stand up against the consensus for cuts – more voices that will stand up for ordinary people. We need new politics. We need a political realignment.

A change of government without a change in policies will be worthless.

A Fine Gael led government, propped up by the Labour Party is not a real alternative.

Fine Gael and Labour offer nothing that is substantially different from the current government. They are part of the consensus for cuts.

Sinn Féin is the only effective opposition in the Dáil. We forced this government to hold the Donegal South West by-election. We have shifted the debate on the economy by rejecting the consensus for cuts, and producing a costed, viable economic programme that can protect the vulnerable and low and middle income earners, while stimulating the economy and creating jobs.

This is a small island. The problems faced by citizens throughout the country are the same.

We have a republic only in name.

Sinn Féin is a republican party. We believe that a republic must first and foremost be about the welfare of the community. This includes access to a decent public health service and the protection of vulnerable people such as the old, the sick and those with disabilities.

It also includes at this time of crisis those who are economically vulnerable — including low and middle income earners - a group that is growing in number by the day because of the bad policies pursued by this Government.

As the leader of Sinn Féin, in this time of crisis in our country, I am making a stand with this initiative — a stand for a better, fairer, united Ireland. I believe that things can be turned around. That there is a better way.

Look at the progress that has been made in the north. The peace process has shown what is possible. The North has been transformed for the better. Sinn Féin has led that transformation. We have demonstrated what is possible when people work together in the common good, in the national interest, and for the benefit of all.

Our focus at this time is on tackling the mistakes of this government and providing a real alternative to the Fianna Fáil lite policies of Fine Gael and Labour.

Whether it is charting a way out of conflict or striving to rebuild the economy, Sinn Féin is about improving the quality of people's lives.

This must be the guide for the reconstruction of Ireland in the years ahead.

I intend to lead from the front.

The people of Ireland face enormous challenges at this time. But we are no mean people and I am confident that with clear headed leadership and sound economic policies we can rebuild the economy and return prosperity.

I want to pay tribute to Arthur Morgan who, for the past 8 years has been a first class representative for the people of Louth and an outstanding member of Sinn Féin's Dáil team.

I first met Arthur in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh where he was incarcerated for his republican beliefs.

I want to pay tribute to Marian. Without her Arthur could not have played the role that he has done over the years.

He will continue to play an important role in Sinn Féin. His experience and talent will be available to this party in Louth and nationally in the time ahead.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

B6

Good for Paul! I look forward to reading it.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:19:18 2010
Subject: H: FYI, you might want to read this one. Sid

H: FYI. This story headlined the Huffington Post, has more hits and comments than any other piece, and is the number one story on blogs across the web right now. Paul is a researcher at the Sunlight Foundation. Politico, Wash Post and NYT have belatedly followed up on Paul's story but lack a lot of his reporting. Sid

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.htmlou <file:///C:/Users/Owner/AppData/Local/Temp/moz-screenshot.png> r request

Paul Blumenthal <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal>

Paul Blumenthal <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal>

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.html

Posted: February 12, 2010 01:28 PM
BIO <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/#blogger_bio>

The Legacy of Billy Tauzin: The White House-PhRMA Deal <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-blumenthal/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzi_b_460358.html>

For more research like this, visit the Sunlight Foundation's blog <http://blog.sunlightfoundation.com/> .

More than a million spectators gathered before the Capitol on a frosty January afternoon to witness the inauguration of Barack Obama, who promised in his campaign to change Washington's mercenary culture of lobbyists, special interest influence and backroom deals. But within a few months of being sworn in, the President and his top aides were sitting down with leaders from the pharmaceutical industry to hash out a deal that they thought would make health care reform possible.
Over the following months, pharmaceutical industry lobbyists and executives met with top White House aides dozens of times to hammer out a deal that would secure industry support for the administration's health care reform agenda in exchange for the White House abandoning key elements of the president's promises to reform the pharmaceutical industry. They flooded Congress with campaign contributions, and hired dozens of former Capitol Hill insiders to push

their case. How they did it--pieced together from news accounts, disclosure forms including lobbying reports and Federal Election Commission records, White House visitor logs and the schedule Sen. Max Baucus releases voluntarily <http://wiki.opencongress.org/wiki/Max_Baucus/Schedule> --is a testament to how ingrained the grip of special interests remains in Washington.

In the 2008 campaign, Obama declared his intention to include all stakeholders as he sought to reform the nation's health care system, but also supported key Democratic health reform policies <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/06/16/obarna_says_drug_plan_could_sav.php> . Among these were several that targeted the pharmaceutical industry: Allowing re-importation of drugs from first world countries with lower drug prices and providing Medicare with negotiating authority over prescription drug prices in the recently enacted Part D program. These weren't just promises, Obama had already voted for both of them as a senator in 2007. (Roll Call Vote 132 <http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00132> and Roll Call Vote 150 <http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00150> .)
Set to carry out this agenda were two Capitol Hill veterans, schooled in the monied Washington culture, chief of staff Rahm Emanuel <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/us/politics/16emanuel.html?_r=1> and deputy chief of staff Jim Messina <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/02/20/AR2009022003853.html> . Emanuel was a former fundraiser, Clinton administration official, investment banker and member of the Democratic leadership in Congress. Messina was the former campaign manager and chief of staff to the powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus. Both were known for their unparalleled legislative abilities.
Because of Obama's decision to develop a plan operating through the legislative process, members of Congress also played key roles. Early on, the pharmaceutical companies were told to deal directly with Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/health/policy/06insure.html> . Baucus would be the vehicle for the deal worked out behind the scenes by the White House and PhRMA.
Central to this effort was PhRMA president, CEO and top lobbyist Billy Tauzin, a longtime Democratic member of Congress who switched party affiliations after Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994. By switching parties Tauzin was able to maintain his influence and even rose to be Chairman of the House Committee on Energy & Commerce. Tauzin became the poster child of Washington's mercenary culture. He crafted a bill to provide prescription drug access to Medicare recipients, one that provided major concessions to the pharmaceutical industry. Medicare would not be able to negotiate for lower prescription drug costs and reimportation of drugs from first world countries would not be allowed. A few months after the bill passed, Tauzin announced that he was retiring from Congress and would be taking a job helming PhRMA for a salary of $2 million.
Tauzin's job change became fodder for a campaign ad that then presidential candidate Barack Obama ran in the spring of 2008 simply titled "Billy <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NCRO0g9CfAw> ." It featured the candidate, sleeves rolled up, talking to a salon of gasping Americans about the ways of Washington. "The pharmaceutical industry wrote into the prescription drug plan that Medicare could not negotiate with drug companies. And you know what, the chairman of the committee, who pushed the law through, went to work for the pharmaceutical industry making $2 million a year." The screen fades to black to inform the viewer that, "Barack Obama is the only candidate who refuses Washington lobbyist money," while the candidate continues his lecture, "Imagine that. That's an example of the same old game playing in Washington. You know, I don't want to learn how to play the game better, I want to put an end to the game playing."
Aiding PhRMA in their outreach to Congress would be a squadron of lobbyists to push their health care reform priorities. Over the course of 2009, the drug industry trade group spent over $28 million <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/clientsum.php?lname=Pharmaceutical+Rsrch+%26+Mfrs+of+America&year=2009> on in house and hired lobbyists. Aside from PhRMA's massive in-house lobbying operation, the trade group hired 48 outside lobbying firms. The total number of lobbyists working for PhRMA in 2009 reached 165. Some 137 of those 165 lobbyists representing PhRMA were former employees of either the legislative or executive branches. Of these dozens were former congressional staffers including two former chiefs of staff to Max Baucus.
According to data compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics, drug makers contributed huge sums to congressional campaign committees <http://www.opensecrets.org/industries/indus.php?ind=H04> during the same period--from January to the end of October (4th quarter numbers are still being totaled), industry political action committees, employees and their family members flooded lawmakers with over $8 million. Those contributions tilted heavily to Democrats over Republicans by a 57 to 42 percent margin--the first time in any election cycle going back to 1990, the

first year that the Center for Responsive Politics began tracking industry giving, that Democrats were so favored. Given their majorities on Capitol Hill, and the new President's intention to reform America's health care system, the new tilt was perhaps not surprising.

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On March 5, the White House held a meeting with major health care industry leaders <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/health/jan-june09/healthcare_03-05.html> to try to bring them to the table and see what could be done to gain their support. In attendance were Billy Tauzin, president, CEO and top lobbyist for PhRMA, Pfizer CEO Jeff Kindler, America's Health Care Plans (AHIP) Chairman Karen Ignani, Tom Donohue of the Chamber of Commerce and Robert Wood Johnson Foundations' Risa Lavizzomourey. A day before the White House meeting Tauzin appeared on CNBC <http://business.theatlantic.com/2009/03/big_pharmas_top_lobbyist_said_what.php> touting health care reform and promising to work closely with the Obama administration. In the interview he touted it as an "optimistic plan", acknowledging that the industry did have a few problems but was glad to have a chance to discuss these. Some were <http://business.theatlantic.com/2009/03/big_pharmas_top_lobbyist_said_what.php> caught dumb-founded <http://corner.nationalreview.com/post/?q=NjQxZjZhYTc0ZjM2MDAxMjQ1NDY4NzNhZWEzNjg3YmM=http://corner.nationalreview.com/post/?q=NjQxZjZhYTc0ZjM2MDAxMjQ1NDY4NzNhZWEzNjg3YmM=> by this apparent change of heart on behalf of an industry long adverse to health care reforms.

On April 15, Jim Messina and Jon Selib, chief of staff to Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus, convened a meeting at the headquarters of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) with leaders of organized labor and health care groups, including PhRMA. At the meeting, the groups decided to form two nonprofit entities to promote reform efforts, Healthy Economy Now and Americans for Stable Quality Care, that would be almost entirely funded by PhRMA <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/1009/28362.html> . The two groups spent $24 million on their advertising campaigns; the contract to produce and place ads went to White House Senior Advisor David Axelrod's former firm <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0809/26240.html> , AKPD, which owed Axelrod $2 million.

In the next month, CEO's from pharmaceutical companies would meet with Baucus and administration officials at least four times. These talks preceded a major public event at the White House, one critical to its strategy to promote health care reform. On May 11, PhRMA and other trade industry groups pledged cost cutting measures <http://cnnmoney.printthis.clickability.com/pt/cpt?action=cpt&title=Health+care+groups+propose+$2+trillion+in+cost+controls+-+May.+11,+2009&expire=-1&urlID=403007811&fb=Y&url=http://money.cnn.com/2009/05/11/news/economy/healthcare_reformproposals/index.htm&partnerID=2200> to the White House that would save, they claimed, upwards of $2 trillion over the next decade. President Obama announced the deal in the State Dining Room, flanked by leaders of the various trade groups; the administration followed up with a media blitz in the press and on the White House Web site <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/Coming-Together-Bringing-Down-Costs/> .

The next day, Healthy Economy Now's PhRMA funded ad campaign ran their first advertisement <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n0KuoAV6yt0> in support of the health care reform process calling for the government to finally "fix" the nation's health care cost problems. While many elements of the $2 trillion cost cutting pledge fell apart, the drug industry remained committed to the process in the hopes that they could ultimately win out and defeat the provisions they most feared in closed-door meetings with the White House.

The first occurred on June 2. White House visitor logs show PhRMA's top executives, including Tauzin, and industry CEOs met with Sarah Fenn from the White House Office of Health Care Reform. On the same day, the publicly available schedule of Senator Max Baucus shows Tauzin and the same industry CEOs met the Senate Finance Committee chairman. What ultimately resulted from these coordinated meetings would be revealed by Baucus on June 20.

In a press release <http://finance.senate.gov/press/Bpress/2009press/prb062009.pdf> featuring a statement by Tauzin, Baucus revealed that the pharmaceutical industry had accepted $80 billion in cost cutting measures to be included in the Senate Finance Committee version of the bill. According to news reports <http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=BD18F267-18FE-70B2-A8F5960026D227DF> , Baucus initially proposed $100 billion in cost cutting measures, but the executives and lobbyists meeting on June 2 were able to win the lower figure.

The terms of the initial cost-cutting deal included $30 billion go directly towards closing the "donut hole" in Medicare prescription drug coverage. The "donut hole" is a term for the gap in coverage that occurs within the Medicare prescription drug coverage. For those purchasing prescription drugs through the Medicare program coverage cuts off at

$2,700 spent and does not pick back up again until $6,154 is spent by the participant. The amount proposed in the deal, 50 percent coverage for drugs within the coverage gap, however, would not completely close the "donut hole."
In Baucus' press release, Tauzin is quoted as saying, "This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and, working together, we can make this hope for a better tomorrow a reality today." This "once-in-a-lifetime" opportunity also extended to the pharmaceutical industry's ability to blunt the long-term Democratic agenda of lowering prescription drug prices through Medicare negotiations, re-importation and quicker release of generics onto the market. After making such a grand statement of support through cost cutting proposals it was time for the pharmaceutical industry to finally force the White House and Democrats to take certain chips off the table.
Baucus proceeded with a plan to convene a bipartisan group <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/28/us/politics/28baucus.html> in an effort to craft the bill desired by the White House. These participants included Democrats Kent Conrad and Jeff Bingaman and Republicans Chuck Grassley, Mike Enzi and Olympia Snowe. Baucus' decision and the need to solidify deals with groups like the pharmaceutical industry - which were reliant on Baucus producing a bill - slowed down the legislative process making it impossible for Congress to meet the White House's announced August recess deadline <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/07/21/obama-defends-august-dead_n_241755.html> for passing health care reform.
Soon after, PhRMA's big guns and industry lobbyists paid the White House another visit on July 7 and this time met with Rahm Emanuel and Jim Messina (Baucus' chief of staff Jon Selib is also listed in White House visitor logs for this meeting). In August, The Huffington Post's <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/08/13/internal-memo-confirms-bi_n_258285.html> Ryan Grim reported on an internal memo that was drafted at that meeting that outlined the policies that would not be allowed into any final version of health care reform. These included Medicare prescription drug negotiations, drug re-importation, and the lowering of prices for drugs available through Medicare Part D and Part B. The deal would be $80 billion in cost cutting and absolutely no more.
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While the $80 billion deal was cut with Baucus' committee, other congressional committees continued to mark-up their own versions of health care reform without the knowledge that the White House was relying on Baucus to produce the final product. In the House of Representatives, the House Energy & Commerce Committee leveled a direct threat to the $80 billion deal. Energy & Commerce Chair Henry Waxman sought to include all of the provisions that PhRMA had gotten the White House and Baucus to cut out of the reform bill. These included drug reimportation, Medicare negotiating power and speedier release of generics to the market. According to previous analysis of the measures proposed by the committee, these measures would have totaled hundreds of billions in cost cuts, far exceeding the $80 billion cap agreed to by the White House, Baucus and PhRMA.
The cost cutting measures passed in the Energy & Commerce bill spooked the board of PhRMA, which included all of the CEOs involved in the deal-cutting meetings with the White House and Baucus. The board pressured Tauzin to go public with the deal to ensure that the White House would recognize it and not renege. On August 4, the Los Angeles Times <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/aug/04/nation/na-healthcare-pharma4> , in an exclusive report, featured quotes from Tauzin claiming that a deal between the White House and PhRMA existed and that, as Tauzin put it, "The White House blessed it." Tom Hamburger wrote in the article, "For his part, Tauzin said he had not only received the White House pledge to forswear Medicare drug price bargaining, but also a separate promise not to pursue another proposal Obama supported during the campaign: importing cheaper drugs from Canada or Europe."
The White House's Jim Messina later confirmed Tauzin's claim, stating, "The president encouraged this approach ... He wanted to bring all the parties to the table to discuss health insurance reform."
Democratic lawmakers were furious. Rep. Raul Grijalva, chairman of the Progressive Caucus, asked <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/health/policy/06insure.html> , "Are industry groups going to be the ones at the table who get the first big piece of the pie and we just fight over the crust?"
***
On September 7, Baucus' bill made a private circulation on the Hill; pharmaceutical industry cost-cutting did not exceed $80 billion. Five days later, the New York Times <http://prescriptions.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/12/drug-makers-plan-to-back-baucus-plan-with-ad-dollars/> reported that PhRMA planned to spend up to $150 million in an advertising blitz in support of Baucus' bill. The Times noted that the ad spending "...would be a follow-up to the deal that drug makers struck in June with Mr. Baucus and the White House." On September 16, Baucus released the full text of his legislation <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/09/16/health-care-bill-baucus-s_n_288218.html> to the public.
The White House, PhRMA and Baucus still had to fight a few battles to keep the deal intact. The key amendment targeting the PhRMA deal in committee mark-up came from Sen. Bill Nelson from Florida, which has one of the largest

Medicare participant populations in the nation. The pull of constituent needs clearly put Bill Nelson into a position to push for further cost cutting in Medicare prescription drug pricing. His target: closing the "donut hole" completely. Nelson claimed that his amendment would generate $106 billion in revenue <http://www.politico.com/livepulse/0909/Nelson_PhRMA_amendment_fails.html> , or from PhRMA's perspective increase their cost-cutting to $186 billion. That would be unacceptable to PhRMA, to Baucus, to the White House and to the pharmaceutical industry who had made the deal. Other Senate Democrats, Tom Carper and Robert Menendez voted with Republicans and Baucus on the committee to defeat the amendment <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/sep/24/panel-fails-overturn-white-house-deal-drugmakers/> . It is little surprise the Carper's Delaware is home to AstraZeneca and Menendez' New Jersey is home to Merck and Bristol-Myers-Squibb, all of which lobbied for the $80 billion cap.

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid introduced the final bill, with the cap in place, on November 19. Debate began on Dec. 3, and with it come one more attempt by members to change the terms of the deal. Senator Byron Dorgan introduced an amendment that would allow for drug re-importation, but as the date for voting drew near, the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) released a letter <http://thehill.com/homenews/senate/71307-fda-opposes-senate-drug-importation-amendmen> objecting to the proposal that echoed pharmaceutical industry talking points: "...as currently written, the resulting structure would be logistically challenging to implement and resource intensive. In addition, there are significant safety concerns." Dorgan's amendment was defeated <http://www.politico.com/livepulse/1209/BREAKING_Senate_rejects_Dorgan_amendment.html> with numerous Democrats previously in support of reimportation switching to "no" votes.

On Christmas Eve, the bill passed the Senate with the PhRMA deal fully intact.

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New Year's Eve passed with no further action on health care reform. Public opinion regarding the health care reform bill had been slipping throughout 2009. It reached a fulcrum in the special election to replace the deceased senator Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts on January 19, 2010. Newly minted senator Scott Brown campaigned that he would be the senator to provide Republicans with the votes to filibuster the final health care reform bill. Democrats ran for cover. Despite having the largest majorities of any party since the 1970s, Democrats put the brakes on their agenda, particularly health care reform.

In the end, the pharmaceutical industry's support for health care reform would be left up in the air . After spending $100 million in advertising in support of legislation that Tauzin and key executives hoped would be a windfall for the pharmaceutical industry, the legislative process had flat-lined. In February, the board of PhRMA, split over the deal cut by Tauzin, pushed Tauzin to resign his post <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/02/11/health-reform-in-limbo-top-drug-lobbyist-quits/?partner=rss&emc=rss> .

In an interview with Diane Sawyer <http://www.politico.com/livepulse/0110/Obama_concedes_talks_raised_legitimate_concerns.html> , President Obama owed up to failures in the process of passing health care reform, "[T]he health care debate as it unfolded legitimately raised concerns not just among my opponents, but also amongst supporters that we just don't know what's going on ... And it's an ugly process and it looks like there are a bunch of back room deals."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 10:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) US House panel approves China currency bill

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-China; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-H
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Sep 24 10:35:51 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) US House panel approves China currency bill

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - A U.S. congressional panel, in a move likely to increase trade tensions with China, approved a bill that allows the United States to slap duties on goods from countries with fundamentally undervalued currencies.

The House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee backed the legislation on a voice vote, clearing the way for the full House to take up the measure next week. It may never become law, however, as it faces an uncertain future in the Senate.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/28/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,B5,1.4(D), B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 28, 2010 2:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Meeting with the Finance Today

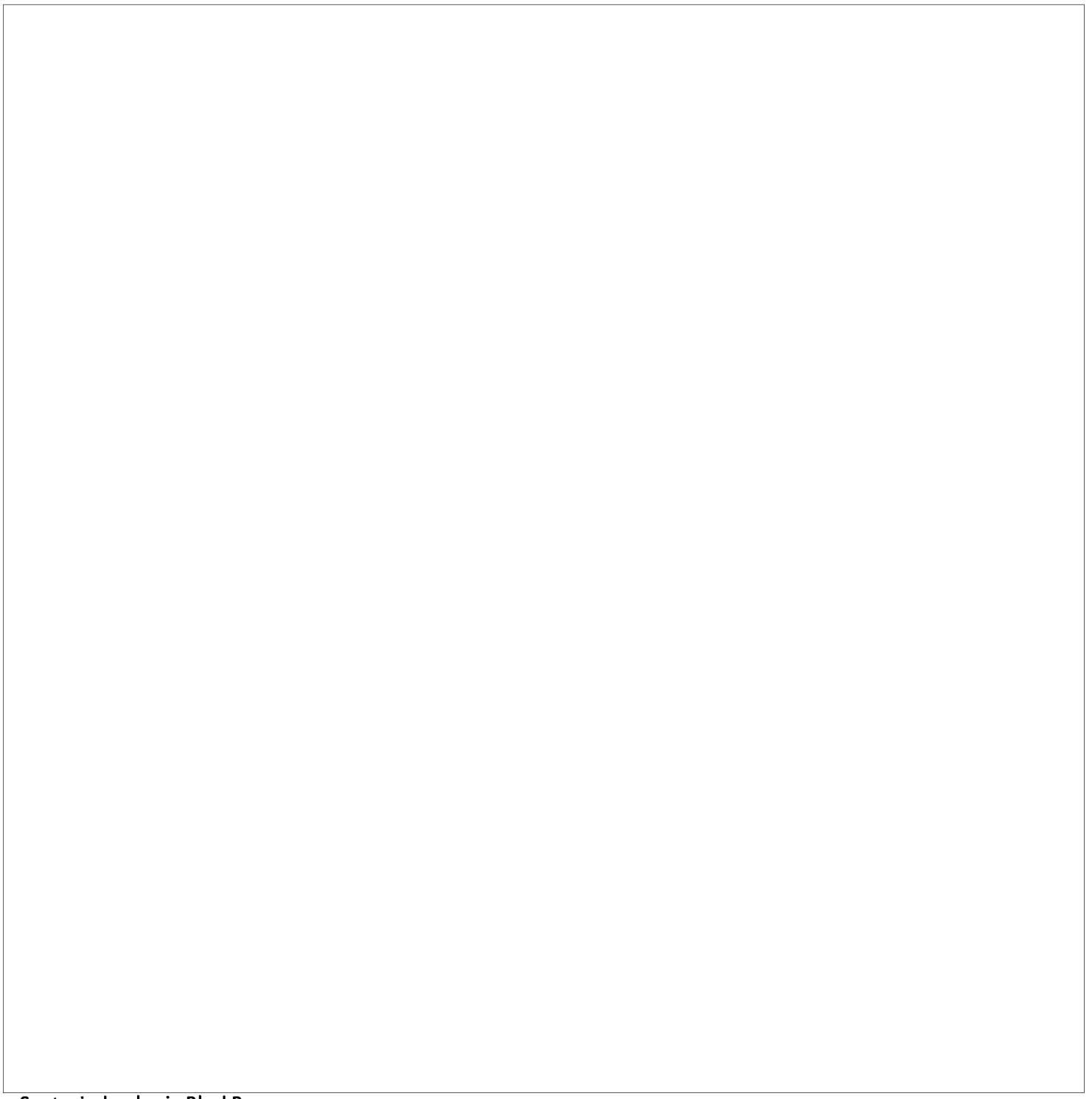
[redacted] he's meeting with Amb Moriarty tomw [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted] 1.4(D)
To: Verveer, Melanne S B1
Sent: Tue Dec 28 11:43:49 2010 B6
Subject: Meeting with the Finance Today

1.4(D)
B1

Dear Melanne

[redacted]



Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** aclb <
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 10:49 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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---

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 28, 2010 7:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: From Arturo

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Dec 28 17:11:58 2010
Subject: From Arturo

B5

Happy New Year!!!

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** 'cb[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Get well soon

Who is and doing what?

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:30:33 2010
Subject: RE: Get well soon

We are all in Oman!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 13 February 2010 14:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: Get well soon

Thanks for your concern. [redacted] I'm on the way to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. I will see the Sheikha in Doha and learn more about her work. I hope to see you soon for a catchup visit. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted]
To: Clinton, Bill [redacted]
Cc: H
Sent: Fri Feb 12 15:34:07 2010
Subject: Get well soon

[redacted]

Cherie Blair

[redacted]

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 12:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli official: Hamas rockets can reach Tel Aviv

---

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Nov 14 12:02:03 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israeli official: Hamas rockets can reach Tel Aviv

TEL AVIV (AP) – A senior Israeli intelligence official says Hamas has rockets with a range of 50 miles, putting the coastal metropolis of Tel Aviv within range of its launchers. The official blames Egypt, saying it is not doing enough to stem smuggling through a network of tunnels along the relatively short border between its Sinai desert and the Gaza Strip. The official said most of the tunnels were concentrated in an area no longer than 2.5 miles. "Egypt can stop all this smuggling of weapons within 24 hours if they want to do it," the official said November 14, speaking on condition of anonymity under Israeli security regulations. The official said, however, that intelligence cooperation with Egypt was otherwise effective.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 11:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Ynet: Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

**FYI – see below. Dennis is on a plane today but we will talk secure this evening.**

**From:** Hoyer, Kurt J
**To:** Cunningham, James B; Goldberger, Thomas H; Silverman, Robert J; Burnett, David R; Hale, David M; Olsin-Windecker, Hilary S; Levin, Jan; Cyril, Todd A; Harvey, Michael (WBGAZA/DIR); [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Otto, Jeffrey L; Baldwin, Virginia E; Brooks, Judith A; NEA-Press-DL
**Sent:** Wed Dec 29 07:59:18 2010
**Subject:** FW: Ynet: Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

# Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

## Chief negotiator says Palestinians will submit request as soon as Bosnia take over Security Council presidency. 'Israeli government is witnessing an international isolation that it hasn't witnessed before,' he says

The Palestinians will ask the United Nations Security Council to unilaterally recognize an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders early next month, chief negotiator Saeb Erekat was quoted as saying by the Maan News Agency Wednesday.

Speaking to reporters in the West Bank town of Jericho, Erekat said the Palestinians are waiting for Bosnia to take the presidency of the Security Council before submitting the proposal.

"The Israeli government is witnessing an international isolation that it hasn't witnessed before," Erekat added. "And this is due to the efforts exerted by the Palestinian leadership and by President Mahmoud Abbas."

According to the report, Erekat expressed hope that the US would not veto the proposal, and also called for South Korea, Japan, New Zealand and Australia to unilaterally recognize a Palestinian state.

Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia have all recognized a Palestinian stare over the past few weeks.

The Palestinians have recently announced their plan to introduce a draft resolution at the UN Security Council condemning Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

On Friday the London-based Arabic daily Al Hayat quoted Erekat as saying "the negotiations (with Israel) are over. Now is the time for decisions, not negotiations."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lauren Jiloty
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE:

MS,
The Argentina desk is working this issue on your behalf. They will be in touch with the sender of the letter (Mr. Ramer in California). The letter asks you to enter into a bilateral agreement with Argentina in order to rectify a Locally Employed Staffer's (in Argentina) personal tax predicament. I'm happy to call Brian too, if you like.

Lauren

From: HDR22@clintonemail.com
To: Laurenjiloty
Date: Tue, 21 Sep 2010 06:49:13 -0400
Subject: Fw: Fwd:

Pls check on status of this issue. I had you print for me and then asked that someone follow up. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Brian Greenspun
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 09 03:00:17 2010
Subject: Fwd:

Hi Hillary,
Once again I am imposing on our friendship to get to you a matter that is important to my brother-in-law Bruce Ramer and, therefore , important to me. I am enclosing his note to me just so you can read how he really talks! I know his relationship with his friend and can attest to the personal nature of his appeal. Thank you for whatever attention you give to this which, by my understanding, seems to be a simple matter of justice. Alas, nothing is simple. All the best, Brian

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Bruce M. Ramer
To: "Brian Greenspun"

Brian, I so appreciate your willingness to get my letter (attached, with attachments) into Hilary's hands.

This is purely an act of love for my friend As I say in the letter to her, I am N OT acting as an attorney (or for any organization--see end of my letter), but only for a friend who is getting screwed (not the terminology of the letter).

You are more than welcome to read all of the enclosures. Naturally.
The attachments to this email should be: Ramer letter to Secretary Clinton, with an attachment of the letter from tax lawyer (and three official attachments thereto--a letter from the IRS to the Argentine Embassy, a revenue ruling and a certification issued this year by the State Department.

My letter contains a brief summary of the situation and argument.

This is, as I said, very meaningful to me. Thank you for helping in an indispensible way.

Love to the Greenspun clan. Bruce

--Forwarded Message Attachment--

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 11:40 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re:

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:51:34 2010
Subject:

[redacted] had confided in Clemons his version of what happened to him. I'll tell you when you return from your trip.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 12:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Dennis R

Suggests that you offer the possibility of you signing the slightly modified offer.

The one thing we have to be careful of is the criticism that we are spending 1.7 billion for 3 months. We have good answers, but that's the criticism.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 11:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Erekat: PA has no plans to request UN recognition of state

Easy come, easy go. See below

**From:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
**To:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Hale, David M; Rudman, Mara; Hof, Frederic C; 'jmprince [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Walles, Jacob; [redacted] Djerassi, Alexander M; Jacoby, Julia I; Reed, Julia G B6
**Subject:** Erekat: PA has no plans to request UN recognition of state

# Jerusalem Post

## Erekat: PA has no plans to request UN recognition of state
## By JPOST.COM STAFF

Chief Palestinian negotiator denies reports that he said PA would request the UN Security Council unilaterally recognize Palestinian state along 1967 borders, says PA will instead demand criticism of settlements.

Chief Palestinian Negotiator Saeb Erekat on Wednesday denied saying that the Palestinian Authority plans to request that the United Nations Security Council unilaterally recognize a Palestinian state along 1967 borders, Israel Radio reported.

Erekat said that the Palestinians have no intention of presenting such a proposal in the near future and that the earlier report by Palestinian news agency Ma'an was erroneous.

He explained that the PA plans on demanding that the UN Security Council criticize settlement building in the West Bank.

According to the earlier report, Erekat had said that the PA plan to present a proposal to the UN Security Council on the unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state. He was also quoted as expressing hope that the US would not attempt to act against the PA's attempts and also called for South Korea, Japan, New Zealand and Australia to unilaterally recognize a Palestinian state.

The PA negotiator was speaking at a meeting of Palestinian security officials in the town of Jericho.

Erekat had added that PA President Mahmoud Abbas contacted international and Hamas officials in an effort to prevent an Israeli attack on the Gaza Strip.

After Erekat denied the report, a senior official told Israel Radio that the negotiator's remarks prove that the Palestinians are not interested in negotiations but are interested in forcing solutions.

The official said that the US will operate covertly to eliminate settlement criticism from the UN Security Council's agenda. If they do not succeed, it may be possible to veto the proposal or to present a counter-proposal, the official added.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Yigal Palmor said the Palestinian efforts do little to promote peace.

"By choosing unilateralism over direct talks, the Palestinians are declaring that they renounce peace altogether," he said. "The Palestinians are choosing not to renew negotiations and are doing all they can to score minor points. They are trying everything except to talk."

**From:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 9:08 AM
**To:** Hale, David M; Rudman, Mara; Hof, Frederic C; 'jmprince[redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Walles, Jacob; [redacted]; Djerassi, Alexander M; Jacoby, Julia I; Reed, Julia G B6
**Subject:** Fw: Ynet: Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

**From:** Hale, David M
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 08:42 AM
**To:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
**Subject:** Fw: Ynet: Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

Be sure people see this.

---

**From:** Hoyer, Kurt J
**To:** Cunningham, James B; Goldberger, Thomas H; Silverman, Robert J; Burnett, David R; Hale, David M; Olsin-Windecker, Hilary S; Levin, Jan; Cyril, Todd A; Harvey, Michael (WBGAZA/DIR); [redacted]
**Cc:** Otto, Jeffrey L; Baldwin, Virginia E; Brooks, Judith A; NEA-Press-DL
**Sent:** Wed Dec 29 07:59:18 2010
**Subject:** FW: Ynet: Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

# Erekat: PA to ask UN to recognize state soon

## Chief negotiator says Palestinians will submit request as soon as Bosnia take over Security Council presidency. 'Israeli government is witnessing an international isolation that it hasn't witnessed before,' he says

The Palestinians will ask the United Nations Security Council to unilaterally recognize an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders early next month, chief negotiator Saeb Erekat was quoted as saying by the Maan News Agency Wednesday.

Speaking to reporters in the West Bank town of Jericho, Erekat said the Palestinians are waiting for Bosnia to take the presidency of the Security Council before submitting the proposal.

"The Israeli government is witnessing an international isolation that it hasn't witnessed before," Erekat added. "And this is due to the efforts exerted by the Palestinian leadership and by President Mahmoud Abbas."

According to the report, Erekat expressed hope that the US would not veto the proposal, and also called for South Korea, Japan, New Zealand and Australia to unilaterally recognize a Palestinian state.

Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia have all recognized a Palestinian stare over the past few weeks.

The Palestinians have recently announced their plan to introduce a draft resolution at the UN Security Council condemning Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

On Friday the London-based Arabic daily Al Hayat quoted Erekat as saying "the negotiations (with Israel) are over. Now is the time for decisions, not negotiations."

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Language re arab peace initiative in doha speech

I agree.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Feb 13 12:57:49 2010
Subject: Language re arab peace initiative in doha speech

In keeping w/ email I sent you re my conversation w/ robert wexler and danny abraham, this speech is doing exactly what is needed on our side. To encourage KSA and others to respond, however, B5

AM

---

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Feb 13 12:38:59 2010
Subject: m e peace language

The 2002 Arab Peace Initiative was an encouraging[AMS1] step; it is time to renew that spirit today[AMS2] in support of negotiations.

Important and encouraging step; it is time to renew that spirit today and move to specifics.

---

[AMS1]I think we should say "an important and encouraging step" – we want to bolster these guys.

[AMS2]I would say "and move to specifics." I know these are policy calls – I will try to get them cleared higher up.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 1:17 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re:

Are you at home?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 13 10:51:34 2010
Subject:

[redacted] had confided in Clemons his version of what happened to him. I'll tell you when you return from your trip.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** jake.sullivar B6
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Moratinos/Cuba

Sorry - just seeing. Arturo will see him 1-1 privately at 4 today.
------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan B6
Subject: Re: Moratinos/Cuba
Sent: Sep 24, 2010 2:33 PM

What happened w this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 12:03:03 2010
Subject: Moratinos/Cuba

Cheryl and I B5

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 15, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** What happened?

Let me know what the outcome is---this is very unfortunate so hope we get it fixed.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** jake.sullivar[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Pls let me know when Dennis and Dan return.

I will - we haven't heard any word.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]
Subject: Pls let me know when Dennis and Dan return.
Sent: Sep 24, 2010 2:45 PM

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 12:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Can you send me the final copy of the document from Thursday asapby email?

I don't have it by email. Let me see if Dan does

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan
Subject: Can you send me the final copy of the document from Thursday asapby email?
Sent: Nov 14, 2010 12:41 PM

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: FYI: Les Gelb. S

Fyi.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Feb 16 08:39:31 2010
Subject: H: FYI: Les Gelb. S

<http://www.tdbimg.com//image/print_blogs_header.gif?v=7.22>
Replace Rahm
by Leslie H. Gelb
February 15, 2010 | 10:48pm
BS Top - Gelb Get Rid of Rahm <http://www.tdbimg.com/files/2010/02/15/img-bs-top---gelb-get-rid-of-rahm_135707996825.jpg> Kristoffer Tripplaar / SIPA President Obama desperately needs a sweeping staff shakeup to save his presidency. Leslie H. Gelb on why he must reassign Rahm, dump Larry Summers, and get rid of National Security adviser Jim Jones.
The negative, even dismissive, talk about the Obama White House has reached a critical point. The president must change key personnel now. Unless he speedily sets up a new team, he will be reduced to a speechmaker. It's mostly a matter of relocating the Chicago and campaign crowd who surround the Oval Office and inserting people with proven records of getting things done in Washington and the world.
To be fair, it's not clear whether the bad judgments on priorities, practicalities, and steadiness come from Mr. Obama or his White House team. Maybe he overpowers them in discussions, or maybe he gives them a role in policymaking far beyond their experience in that realm. Unless you're there, you don't know. But Mr. Obama is the president, and except for the right-wing crazies, most Americans still recognize his great talents and promise. It is he who's got to be helped. So it is they who've got to go.
It is he who's got to be helped. So it is they who've got to go.
One may quarrel with my sense of urgency here. But it's hard to have a conversation with opinion leaders anywhere—and especially in Washington—that doesn't descend into ripping Obama's White House team. The refrain of complaints is always the same:
• Obama is forever taking strong stances only to backfill and trim. Most recently, he said he did not "begrudge" Wall Streeters their big earnings because that was part of the market system. This, in the face of his saying only a couple of weeks ago that such big bonuses were "shameful."
• Obama doesn't know what's really going on. Regarding the Middle East, he recently said that "I think it is absolutely true that what we did this year didn't produce the kind of breakthrough that we wanted, and if we had anticipated some of these political problems on both sides earlier, we might not have raised expectations as high." He had to be totally out of it not to realize that the Palestinians and Israelis were nowhere close to sitting down with each other and dealing.
• Obama wants to get along with everyone so badly he doesn't recognize real opposition when he sees it—let alone know how to deal with it. He emerges from a meeting with congressional Republican leaders on health-care reform and says he is "an eternal optimist"—when those very same Republican leaders just told the press that they don't see any common ground and believe the administration has to "scrap the bill and start over."
• It's even hard to follow his latest Afghan policy. He calls Afghanistan a "war of necessity" and orders more than 30,000 new troops there, coupled with an announcement that he'll begin withdrawing some of them in a year plus, only to see some of his advisers say he will start withdrawals and some say he won't.

I've scribbled similar points in recent months in The Daily Beast. And last week in The Financial Times, Edward Luce provided <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b6b4700a-10fb-11df-9a9e-00144feab49a.html> a thunderclap on Washington's negative consensus about the incompetence of Obama's Chicago-laden team. Luce named names in the White House, and a number of journalists and bloggers strikingly failed to link to the Luce story. They were said to fear the wrath of the Chicagoans. Steve Clemons, author of The Washington Note, essentially endorsed <http://www.thewashingtonnote.com/archives/2010/02/core_chicago_te/> the Luce finding and slapped his fellow bloggers' wrists for hiding from this issue. The situation is as serious as it was during the Carter administration. There, two very capable political campaigners—Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell—moved into critical White House positions without knowing very much about doing business in Washington. And they were, quite naturally, too busy to learn. They also added to the "them" versus "us" (Washington insiders and bureaucrats versus the regular guys from Georgia) mentality that plagues most administrations.

The Chicagoans and others "guarding" the president create their own "us versus them" world. It's hard to imagine a policy conversation between the president and the Chicago crowd, since none of them, except Rahm Emanuel, has Washington or policy experience. And there isn't much evidence that they bring in strong-minded outsiders to challenge the president on a regular basis either. The result is an inexperienced president advised by an inexperienced team.

Here are the personnel changes being bruited about in political and policy circles: First, remove Rahm Emanuel as chief of staff and move him to a senior political adviser slot. No one I've talked to believes he has the management skills and discipline to run the White House. But he is a terrific political mind and a fighter and should be given the new job and the time to do his thing. Proven pros who could step right in include the following: Erskine Bowles, president of the University of North Carolina and former Clinton chief of staff; Leon Panetta, now CIA director and formerly White House chief as well under Clinton; Sylvia Mathews, a former deputy chief of staff also under Clinton; and John Podesta, another former Clinton chief who now heads the Center for American Progress. All four are tough and know how to manage.

Replace Lawrence Summers, director of the White House's National Economic Council, with Paul Volcker, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve. Summers is brilliant and highly controversial; he's been beaten up and is said to want out anyway. Volcker has unmatched stature, practical experience, and the courage of a lion. He is the only one now in a position to get down to step-by-step brass tacks on the economy and stop Mr. Obama's weekly gyrations. Others with proven track records who can help as inside or outside advisers are: Stephen Robert, formerly head of Oppenheimer, Vincent Mai, former leader of AEA Investors, and Tom Hill of Blackstone. There are also two economic stars in Washington who'd improve both policymaking and public combat: Sheila Bair, chairwoman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and Elizabeth Warren, chair of the Congressional Oversight Panel. One outside adviser above all would help the president see the economic hard choices ahead: Peter G. Peterson, accomplished businessman and policy head.

David Axelrod, the senior political adviser to the president, needs to concentrate on the next presidential campaign, wherein his expertise lies, and not on domestic and foreign policy, where he is just another smart unknowledgeable voice. Good replacements who do know the politics of Washington would be the aforementioned Podesta; and Tom Daschle, the former Democratic Senate Majority Leader. As for David Plouffe, another senior campaign aide, now in unofficial residence at the White House, he should be lodged in the nearby Executive Office Building. Senior adviser and Chicago buddy Valerie Jarrett is too much a part of the inner circle to move, but she should be given a more limited role in making policy.

Mr. Obama's crowd appears to think that getting things done means his giving another speech. It's nice, but not nearly enough.

Robert Gibbs needs a rest from being press secretary. Let's put it this way: He wasn't born for daily jousts with pithy Republicans. His job calls for memorable and pointed phrases and attacks, not circle-the-wagon circumlocutions. Possible successors? Try Doyle McManus of the L.A. Times, Jake Tapper of ABC News, or Helene Cooper of The New York Times.

Last but not least, James Jones, the National Security Adviser, has to move on. The career Marine was greatly admired and respected as Commandant of the Corps and as NATO's military chief. He handled those duties with great skill. But by wide acclamation inside and outside the White House, he has not emerged as a strategist—perhaps the key requirement of this key position. The person in that job has to pull everything together—laying out achievable objectives and precise plans to dispense carefully packaged carrots and sticks. One Democrat who could step in now, despite his age, is Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's national-security adviser. He has a first-rate strategic mind—a rare quality—and knows how to deliver results. Obama will need to iron out Zbig's lack of sympathy toward Israel and Russia.

Also available are a boatload of first-class retired diplomats with the judgment and background needed to perform the National Security Council job effectively. They would be greeted with applause both at home and abroad. Try former ambassadors Thomas Pickering, Morton Abramowitz, Frank Wisner, Reginald Bartholomew, and Winston Lord. They have it all. At a minimum, they and others like them should form the core of a group that meets regularly with Obama on strategy.

Yes, many of the pros suggested above have reached their golden years. But 70 and even 80 are the new 60. They all possess the necessary energy, experience and rare skill in delivering results. They are also shovel-ready. As a critical bonus, they could and would mentor the next generation down, a very talented one indeed, to succeed them in two or three years. To lead America and the world, Obama has to grow far beyond his present propensity to treat problems as intellectual puzzles—to collect facts and hear the arguments. The great tasks of governing demand proven intuition in sensing what's achievable, which buttons to push when, how to buy the time for power to take hold, how to make adjustments without flagrantly foolish rhetoric, how to avoid failures that only diminish power, and how to succeed in small as well as large ways. With a team versed in such arts and skills, President Obama and America would succeed.

Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0061714542/thedaibea-20> (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.

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<http://b.scorecardresearch.com/b?c1=2&c2=6433482&c3=&c4=&c5=&c6=&c15=&cv=1.3&cj=1>

RELEASE IN PART B6

---

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: General Petraeus

Pls schedule call when I can do this afternoon. I'm on my way back.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 17 12:29:14 2010
Subject: RE: General Petraeus

His office just called back again to offer another number that they prefer we use. I've made a note of it here.

[redacted] B6

From: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 2010 12:27 PM
To: 'H'
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: General Petraeus

MS,

General Petraeus just logged a call to you from his liaison office in the Pentagon. He will be there until 4:00 PM today. [redacted] I will add to your grid.

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 2:01 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: Iran. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo iran 021710.docx; hrc memo iran 021710.docx

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Feb 17 08:42:05 2010
Subject: H: Iran. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Iran, Saudi

Had dinner last night (Tuesday, February 16) with Joschka Fischer. We had an interesting conversation on Iran and Saudi Arabia, among other things. (As you know Fischer is now director of the Nabucco pipeline project.) On Iran, harsh, targeted sanctions are absolutely necessary, but are most effective diplomatically when always coupled with an offer to negotiate. The iron fist in the velvet glove approach achieves several objectives: According to Fischer's intelligence, Ahmanijehad wished some negotiated settlement but was blocked. The regime has splits at the top. Perhaps true, perhaps not. But constantly pushing negotiations alongside sanctions puts additional pressure on internal divisions, whatever they are. Extending an open hand while brandishing a stick closes diplomatic and political room to maneuver for Iran. Its refusal to accept the open hand justifies application of the stick. Even when sanctions are enforced it always remains useful to say another way is open. The damage done to Iran is therefore the result of its own choice. This approach also aids the opposition. A purely condign sanctions strategy can contribute to the regime's will to punish and tighten repression. Talking of regime change, of course, undermines the cause of regime change. It is a gift to the regime. The opposition is a new factor in the Iran equation that must be taken into account on the political and moral level. Pushed to the wall, the regime may feel compelled to repress, which might involve thousands or tens of thousands of political killings. On Saudi Arabia, Fischer points out that if Iran develops nuclear weaponry the Saudis already have their own bomb. The Saudis invested in Pakistan's nuclear weaponry partly for this eventuality; that's their bomb in reserve.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan (DOS); Cheryl Mills (State); Dan Feldman; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** following up.....

Thanks so much for the chance to talk. I've relayed all your answers/suggestions to George Stevens, and we'll proceed thus on all points. As for the reception, it'll be upstairs at the Kennedy Center, starting at 4:30.

Again, Happy New Year to you, Bill, Chelsea and Mark — and to your terrific team.

Strobe

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Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200

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RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Iran, Saudi

Had dinner last night (Tuesday, February 16) with Joschka Fischer. We had an interesting conversation on Iran and Saudi Arabia, among other things. (As you know Fischer is now director of the Nabucco pipeline project.) On Iran, harsh, targeted sanctions are absolutely necessary, but are most effective diplomatically when always coupled with an offer to negotiate. The iron fist in the velvet glove approach achieves several objectives: According to Fischer's intelligence, Ahmanijehad wished some negotiated settlement but was blocked. The regime has splits at the top. Perhaps true, perhaps not. But constantly pushing negotiations alongside sanctions puts additional pressure on internal divisions, whatever they are. Extending an open hand while brandishing a stick closes diplomatic and political room to maneuver for Iran. Its refusal to accept the open hand justifies application of the stick. Even when sanctions are enforced it always remains useful to say another way is open. The damage done to Iran is therefore the result of its own choice. This approach also aids the opposition. A purely condign sanctions strategy can contribute to the regime's will to punish and tighten repression. Talking of regime change, of course, undermines the cause of regime change. It is a gift to the regime. The opposition is a new factor in the Iran equation that must be taken into account on the political and moral level. Pushed to the wall, the regime may feel compelled to repress, which might involve thousands or tens of thousands of political killings. On Saudi Arabia, Fischer points out that if Iran develops nuclear weaponry the Saudis already have their own bomb. The Saudis invested in Pakistan's nuclear weaponry partly for this eventuality; that's their bomb in reserve.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 3:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Obama praises Netanyahu on Israel settlement freeze

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sun Nov 14 14:57:54 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Obama praises Netanyahu on Israel settlement freeze

WASHINGTON (Reuters) – U.S. President Barack Obama November 14 welcomed Israel's decision to temporarily freeze West Bank settlement building. "I think it is promising," Obama told reporters upon arriving in the United States after a trip to Asia. "I commend (Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin) Netanyahu," Obama said, adding, "It signals he is serious."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 17, 2010 8:18 PM
**To:** 'FuchsMH@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Financial Times interview with Podesta

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 17 20:16:35 2010
Subject: Financial Times interview with Podesta

Madam Secretary,

Jake mentioned that you would like to see a copy of John Podesta's recent interview with the Financial Times. A transcript of the interview has not been posted yet, but I have included here the Financial Times article about the interview. Please just let me know if you would like any further information on this.

Best,

Mike

Former aide urges Obama to regain 'political narrative'

By Edward Luce in Washington

Published: February 15 2010

Barack Obama, US president, has lost control of the political narrative and needs to make more use of his cabinet in order to regain it, says John Podesta, the man who headed the president's transition team.

"My friends in the White House would agree with this, that they lost the narrative," Mr Podesta said in an interview for View from DC, the Financial Times' video series from Washington. "Clearly that needs not one speech once in a while: it

needs, I think, to be constantly reinforced. And not just by the president, but by his entire team . . . He's got a terrific cabinet. Use it. Get out into the country and use it."

Mr Podesta, who was also a chief of staff to Bill Clinton, drew parallels with the former president's difficulties in his first two years, which culminated in the 1994 Republican takeover of Congress following the failure of healthcare reform.

When asked whether the failure of this latest attempt at healthcare reform would result in a similar electoral "massacre" for the Democratic party at the mid-term elections in November, he said: "I subscribe to that view."

Mr Podesta founded the Centre for American Progress, Washington's largest liberal think-tank, which was often described as a "government-in-exile" during the years George W. Bush was in the White House. He said Mr Obama had three options with healthcare reform. First, try to enact the whole thing by using the budget reconciliation process, which would enable it to pass with 51 votes. The Democrats lost their controlling 60-seat super-majority last month in a election defeat in Massachusetts.

The second would be to pass a watered down bill with Republican support. The third would be to abandon the attempt, as Mr Clinton did in 1993.

Mr Podesta, whom Mr Obama still regularly consults, said there was still a better than 50:50 chance of getting reform through. "The worst option among the three is doing nothing, and so they're going to have to figure out which track is viable," he said. "It may mean doing it with only Democratic votes. But if that is such, then so be it."

He painted a fairly bleak view of the overall health of US politics. "It sucks," he said. Pointing to a strategy of obstructionism by Republican lawmakers, he said: "I think the president is trying to re-engage with Republicans, but, quite frankly, he's not dealing with the party of [Abraham] Lincoln. He's dealing with the party of [Sarah] Palin."

The growth of partisanship and the increasing difficulty in getting any big reforms through the Senate were threatening to turn the US into, "in essence, a parliamentary system without majority rule", where the opposition automatically opposes any serious initiatives.

The political stasis in California provided the writing on the wall for the US as a whole, he said. Since the 1978 passage of Proposition 13 in the state, all budget changes had required a two-thirds majority. "And so nothing gets done."

Michael H. Fuchs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-1709

[redacted] (cell)

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Shuttle

Can I take the 8pm Friday and the 8pm Sunday?

I hope we can talk about the long term schedule today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 3:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke requesting to talk.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 7:51 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Followup

Don't forget the consolidated report of the Sarkozy mtg. One of the all-time best!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 3:54 PM
**To:** H

My sense is that all will be fine with working the changes. Tom was just blowing off steam.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2010 8:32 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Followup

Also, I hope you will soon be moving back to the center of the action!

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:58:03 2010
Subject: Re: Followup

I haven't forgotten. While we were in the Gulf I asked Phil and Liz and the DCM-note-taker to send everything they had. I will find time to compile today.

Will be a fun project!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 18 07:51:14 2010
Subject: Followup

Don't forget the consolidated report of the Sarkozy mtg. One of the all-time best!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 12:03 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Marty Torrey

What is status of his appt request for Simon Stringer?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 12:13 AM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Fw:

Can you check on this for us? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Diane Reynolds
To: H
Sent: Tue Feb 16 16:40:01 2010
Subject:

to my favorite secretary of state - i have a complaint about the website! i cant see video of your talks or q&a sessions - only the text! i think there should be links to the news' versions if there is not state-created footage. [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 3:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: 1st known case of a successful social media campaign in Syria

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**From:** Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 3:04 PM
**To:** Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** 1st known case of a successful social media campaign in Syria

When Jared and I went to Syria, it was because we knew that Syrian society was growing increasingly young (population will double in 17 years) and digital and that this was going to create disruptions in society that we could potential harness for our purposes.

In what is the 1st of what I predict will be many interesting cases in the future, this past week a campaign went viral on Facebook in Syria (even though Facebook is outlawed in Syria it is widely accessed through proxies) showing teachers in Syria abusing their pupils. Thousands of Syrians made public their support on Facebook (the fact that people made their identities known is notable) for the campaign to remove these teachers, and the Ministry of Education intervened and fired the teachers.

This is the first known case of a successful social media campaign in Syria.

More will come.
Alec

Alec Ross
Senior Advisor for Innovation
Office of the Secretary of State
(202) 647-6315
RossAJ@State.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 6:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Obama names ambassadors to Syria, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Czech Republic (Reuters)

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_SWO
**Sent**: Wed Dec 29 18:02:19 2010
**Subject**: Obama names ambassadors to Syria, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Czech Republic (Reuters)

HONOLULU (Reuters) - President Obama took the rare step on December 29 of temporarily appointing U.S. ambassadors to Syria, Turkey and Azerbaijan, restoring a top U.S. envoy to Damascus after an absence of nearly six years.

The White House announced Obama would make "recess appointments" of Robert Stephen Ford as ambassador to Syria, Francis "Frank" Ricciardone as ambassador to Turkey and Matthew Bryza as ambassador to Azerbaijan. Obama, who is on holiday in Hawaii, also named Norman Eisen to be ambassador to the Czech Republic. Eisen had worked as an assistant to Obama on ethics and government reform since the beginning of the president's term in January 2009.

A Senate source who spoke on condition of anonymity said the recess appointments for the three ambassadors were likely to last for a year.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 12:14 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 15 14:36:33 2010
Subject: Re: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

B6

I thought your designation of Iran as a near military government was very good. Gary Sick has been arguing that it is in fact a military government. Of course this is predicate for targeted sanctions. There is a consistent thread in the challenges we face from a host of authoritarian (and totalitarian) military governments, sometimes loosely allied on an ad hoc basis--Iran, China, Myanmar, Venezuela, Cuba. This is nothing like the Cold War, but it's an idea worth exploring, not publicly discussing, but thinking about.

On Justice Jim, a couple of thoughts: I wish his tragic end were as politically conclusive as that of Edmund Ruffin, the Southern fire-eater and secessionist who was given the honor of firing the first shot at Fort Sumter and upon hearing of Appomattox carefully sat himself down in his grand Charleston house and blew his brains out with a shotgun. Unfortunately, the evil Justice Jim did lives on--in the wild bigotry against Obama and even through the Supreme Court decision in the case of Citizens United, a group he helped galvanize to circulate the Whitewater hoax.

Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Mon, Feb 15, 2010 2:16 pm
Subject: Re: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

What a sad ending to the tale.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Sun Feb 14 15:20:07 2010

Subject: H: FYI. The end of Justice Jim. Sid

Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson, known both for his segregationist political activities in the 1950s and dabbling in the political campaign against Bill Clinton during his presidency, died yesterday.

A Faulkner County sheriff's office spokesman, Lt. Matt Rice, said Johnson was found dead in his home about 10 a.m. Saturday with an apparently self-inflicted chest wound from a .30-30 rifle. Johnson had been beset by medical problems, he said. Roller-McNutt Funeral Home in Conway will be handling arrangements.

He was 85. Here's a standard biographical history <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_D._Johnson> . This will end his prolific and pointed letters to the editor (unless some are still in the pipeline), delivered on stationery marked with his name for his Conway home, "White Haven."

Justice Jim was a courtly man and lively company, gracious in social interaction with friend and political foe. But Mark Anthony's words in Julius Caesar about men's deeds come, unavoidably, to mind. As recently as 1990, he worked in an effort to preserve state Amendment 44, the states rights amendment aimed at curbing integration that was his brainchild. It had long been declared unconstitutional by federal courts and was barely repealed by voters.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 6:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Freed US hiker meets with president of Iran

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Fri Sep 24 17:49:59 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Freed US hiker meets with president of Iran

NEW YORK (AP) - Sarah Shourd, one of three Americans arrested last year while hiking near the Iran-Iraq border, met with Iranian President Ahmadinejad. Family spokeswoman Samantha Topping said Shourd and her mother, Nora Shourd, met with the president September 24 while he was in New York to attend to the United Nations General Assembly.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 6:55 PM
**To:** H

I am really sorry I can't serve out the full term in H. I love my job, the people of the Department and working for you. Needless to say, I am grateful beyond words for the opportunity you offered me these last two years.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 7:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Op-ed on Huffington Post TO DO

FYI

----- Original Message -----
From: Wendy Sherman [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 24 13:58:53 2010
Subject: Op-ed on Huffington Post

Cheryl,
Hope you and your family are having a much deserved and blessed holiday. Thought you might find an oped I wrote, posted today on Huffington Post of interest. It is pasted below. Please pass it along to the Secretary if helpful. All the best and hope to see you in the New Year.
Wendy

December 24, 2010
Amb. Wendy Sherman
Vice Chair, Albright Stonebridge Group; Former Counselor, State Department
Posted: December 24, 2010 01:16 PM

S.O.S. -- Showing Our Strength

The United States Congress did more these past few weeks than simply pass a tax cut and rid the military of don't ask, don't tell. It showed the rest of the world that the United States can act decisively. In uncertain times, with multiple countries seemingly intent on testing Washington's resolve, that may prove to be the lame-duck Congress' most important contribution to America's future.

China is one case in point. In several recent meetings with Chinese officials and opinion leaders in Beijing and Washington, it has been apparent that many see China as on the rise and America in decline. The economic crisis, our recent raucous election culminating with the Democrats' loss of the House of Representatives, the emergence of the Tea Party and the American public's loss of faith in institutions, have convinced many Chinese that both our economic and political model have failed.

But passage of the tax bill; the reaffirmation of America's commitment to human rights with repeal of don't ask don't tell; and approval of the START Treaty, a crucial national security objective, resoundingly demonstrate that our political process works and that we are getting our own house in order.

The challenge for the incoming Congress in 2011 is to ensure that we stay on this 'can do' path, demonstrating that the U.S. political and economic system is alive and well. Combined with our enduring military strength, China and others will take notice, improving our ability to manage a range of international issues, from North Korea to Iran to climate change.

To ensure the world gets the message, President Obama and the Congress need to take swift action on:

Tax reform, deficit reduction and American competitiveness: The president is reviewing tax reform proposals and the work of the several deficit commissions and study groups. Early in the next Congress, he should send to Capitol Hill a comprehensive tax and deficit reduction package. Such reform is needed in its own right. But politically the president must also demonstrate leadership by placing a set of proposals on the table and letting the new Republican-led House grapple with it and take responsibility for walking their talk. This package should be part of a broader effort to promote American competitiveness in the global economy through a fair exchange rate, a cut in the corporate tax rate, and support for American manufacturing. A comprehensive initiative will also signal to those who doubt America's resolve that we are serious about deficit reduction and modernizing our economy.

Energy and innovation initiatives: With Cancún having taken but a small step toward a global climate agreement, the Congress should be challenged to do better. Even if 'cap and trade' has no immediate future, there are a host of incentives and programmatic ideas that will increase energy research and development, spur innovation and move us into a green, technologically sophisticated future. Our economic future depends on high-tech jobs, energy sufficiency and nanotechnology.

Trade agreements: Passage of key trade agreements, beginning with the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement and strengthened Colombia and Panama agreements, will signal that the U.S. is a robust import and export market and reassert our presence in the march of globalization. No other country is idly waiting while the U.S. sorts through our own politics. The European Union has finalized an agreement with Korea and is negotiating agreements with India and Canada. We should, of course, only affirm free trade agreements that are in our interest, but Americans understandable anxiety about loss of jobs cannot stall our progress when, in fact, some of the best jobs will be created by opening new markets for our products.

Arms Control and Non-Proliferation: President Obama has laid out a vision for a nuclear free world that sets a framework for American leadership. But dealing with Iran, North Korea and other would be nuclear weapons powers requires all members of the U.N. Security Council. Indeed, the president should consider an arms control and non-proliferation dialogue on a bilateral basis with all appropriate and key players, including China.

Immigration reform: Immigration reform, beginning with passage of the Dream Act, is critical for reaffirming America's global leadership. A steady influx of immigrants has always been a source of wealth creation in the United States. Although Americans understandably want to ensure security of our borders and a managed influx of immigrants, our immigration policies hobble rather than enhance our economic future.

Young people brought to the U.S. by their parents deserve a pathway to good citizenship if they are willing to serve in our military or get a college education that will serve America's objectives. How we treat immigrants says much about our values, our openness, and our commitment to doing what is right, a set of values that we should emphasize and celebrate.

Only by being all that America can be can we demonstrate to the rest of the world that America is not only not in decline, but rather resilient and strong. Of course we should keep pressing others on the issues of key concern to us including modernizing economies, resetting currencies, enforcing sanctions on Iran and North Korea, and doing their part on climate change among other high priority issues. But America has always led by example on the global stage. The Congress and the president took a lame duck session and showed that we weren't so lame after all. Now it's time for the incoming Congress to do the same and show the world America's strength.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 5:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Week ahead

I'm off to Seattle for a conf on development and women at Microsoft and mtgs with Gates, etc.
I wanted to tell you that for your trip to Russia, we have an announcement for you to Gov of St Petersburg who is the highest ranking female official in the Russian govt. When I saw her some months ago, she went on at length about her respect for you and her meeting with you when you were Senator (she also met you at the Rejkavik VV conf in '98) We are going to hold a US-Russia women leaders Summit in St P in april. It is in response to what I heard over and over during my trip earlier this year that there is a strong desire (and need) to engage with US. Women and the women's issues have been mostly off the agenda since the days we made it such a priority in the 90's and there is considerable recidivism. She should be happy about the proposed summit.

Secondly, when you meet with the Lithuanian FM this week, he will invite you to the community of Democ ministerial (end for Lith presidency) and as part of it a women and democ. Conf that will mark 10 years since the last one that was held in the continuum you started. There are so many different needs today.

Have a good trip.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 7:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Israel's ex-president Katsav guilty of rape (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Dec 30 07:13:19 2010
**Subject:** Israel's ex-president Katsav guilty of rape (Reuters)

TEL AVIV (Reuters) - An Israeli court found former President Moshe Katsav guilty of rape on December 30, media reports said, convictions of unprecedented gravity for a head of the Jewish state. Katsav, president from 2000 to 2007, had denied the charges of rape, molestation or harassment lodged by three ex-aides. He may now try to contest the Tel Aviv District Court's verdict, and what could be a lengthy jail sentence, in the Supreme Court.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Toms office says he has a secure fax to send u. We can send u tonite if u can receive it

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 7:21 PM
**To:** H; 'woodardEW@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Yes of course.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Nov 14 19:13:09 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

I'd like to add Tomicah to the Lithuania FM mtg.

And pls add Jake to the Eikenberry mtg.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 9:32 AM
**To:** H; Valmoro, Lona J
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Interview

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 2010 09:30 AM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Interview

Pls be sure we schedule the interview w Carol Evans for her magazine (Parenting? Working Mother? I can't remember the name). I run into her in Chappaqua all the time and have promised her I'd do it.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Russian tycoon Khodorkovsky gets 14-year sentence (AP)

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**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Dec 30 08:32:22 2010
**Subject:** Russian tycoon Khodorkovsky gets 14-year sentence (AP)

MOSCOW (AP) - A judge sentenced jailed Russian oil tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky to 14 years in prison following a trial seen as payback for his defiance of Vladimir Putin's power. Judge Viktor Danilkin handed down the sentence after convicting Khodorkovsky of stealing oil from his own company and laundering the proceeds. Khodorkovsky is in the final year of an eight-year prison sentence. His lawyers say the new sentence is counted from his 2003 arrest and includes his previous term in jail.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Blair

Blair just finished with BN. He wants to talk to both of you and is available from now on.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <[redacted]>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:03 PM
**To:** H; 'woodardEW@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Added jake to manifest
Just realized tomicah is on his way to astana to prep for osce.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H; 'woodardEW@state.gov' <woodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Nov 14 19:21:06 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Yes of course.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Nov 14 19:13:09 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

I'd like to add Tomicah to the Lithuania FM mtg.

And pls add Jake to the Eikenberry mtg.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 7:56 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H
**Subject:** Re: Blair

Just off with Doyle. Headline is no movement. they are heading to landline now

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Sep 25 07:52:04 2010
Subject: Blair

Blair just finished with BN. He wants to talk to both of you and is available from now on.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 10:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Russia calls on Koreas to stop "muscle flexing" (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Dec 30 06:28:06 2010
**Subject:** Russia calls on Koreas to stop "muscle flexing" (Reuters)

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Russia called on the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on December 30 to stop "muscle flexing" and begin dialogue, and backed China's call for an emergency meeting of the six powers seeking to resolve tensions on the peninsula. "It is imperative to stop military activity ... and move from muscle flexing to dialogue between the North and South," Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexei Borodavkin told journalists.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 7:59 AM
**To:** H; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Blair

Sent from other email. Blair news not positive. If you're free we can connect you with him now.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Blair
Sent: Sep 25, 2010 8:01 AM

Any report this am from him? Do I need to call him?

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: Question

Thank you for your message.

I am currently out of the office and will return on Monday, January 3, 2011. I will be checking my messages regularly.

Thanks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 9:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: From Dan

sigh

-----Original Message-----
From: Dan Glickman [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:18 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: From Dan

Greetings Cheryl.

On reflection, I think this whole situation has become much more complicated than we had first thought, for me as well as for the Secretary. I would really like to discuss it further with you, tomorrow if you are available. I will be in the BPC office all day, although I have a conference call I cannot re-schedule between 12:30 and 1:30.
Main number over there is 202/204-2400. Or on cell at [redacted] My B6
thanks. Dan

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 8:03 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Blair

Ok ops will get both of you when ready.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Abedin, Huma; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Sep 25 07:55:58 2010
Subject: Re: Blair

Just off with Doyle. Headline is no movement. they are heading to landline now

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Sep 25 07:52:04 2010
Subject: Blair

Blair just finished with BN. He wants to talk to both of you and is available from now on.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/30/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D),B5, B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 10:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** 1.4(D) B1 RE: Meeting with the Finance Today

Moriarty met with officials and [redacted] yesterday separately. They are all having dinner together tonight. [redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 2010 9:14 AM
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: Re: Meeting with the Finance Today

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 28 14:06:22 2010
Subject: Fw: Meeting with the Finance Today

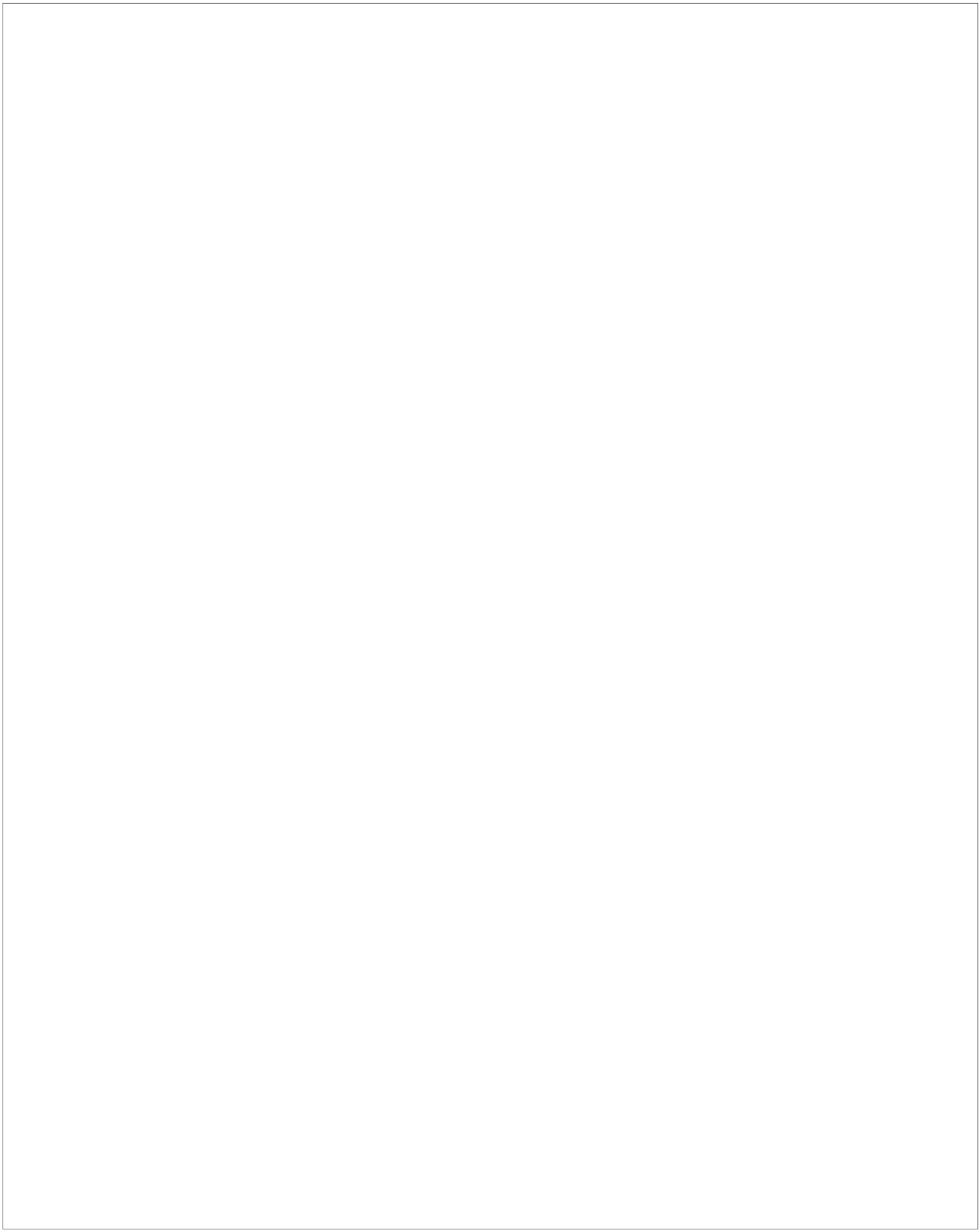
[redacted] he's meeting with Amb Moriarty tomw. [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 B6
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tue Dec 28 11:43:49 2010
Subject: Meeting with the Finance Today

Dear Melanne

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

1.4(D)
B1





Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 8:16 AM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Blair

When you are ready, pls call into ops and they will connect u to blair.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Abedin, Huma; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Sep 25 07:55:58 2010
Subject: Re: Blair

Just off with Doyle. Headline is no movement. they are heading to landline now

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Sep 25 07:52:04 2010
Subject: Blair

Blair just finished with BN. He wants to talk to both of you and is available from now on.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 11:23 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Question

You voted against raising the debt limit on the following occasions:

June 11, 2002
May 23, 2003
March 16, 2006

Additionally, on March 11, 2004, you voted for a Lautenberg amendment that would have struck a provision in the CR raising the debt limit.

Increases to the debt limit were also debated and considered by the Senate on March 17, 2004 and September 27, 2007. You did not cast a vote either time.

----- Original Message -----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 2010 10:48 AM
To: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Subject: Question

Can you pls tell me how many times I voted against raising the debt limit?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 8:45 AM
**To:** H

Toms office has called a few times about secure fax they need you to see before the call. We are going to send it shortly.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 12:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Xmas gift

B6

AM

RELEASE IN PART B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 8:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Saeb

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Hale, David M; Djerassi, Alexander M; Sullivan, Jacob J; Walles, Jacob
Sent: Sat Sep 25 08:42:50 2010
Subject: Saeb

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Saeb called me twice this morning. [redacted]

I'm off to see Yasser now. Will check in after.

-- Jeff
Jeffrey Feltman

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/24/2035

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 9:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Confirming

10:30 call on cisco. They will call u at 10:25am to add u.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 10:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Pledge for Palestine

Just fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Sep 25 10:37:27 2010
Subject: Re: Pledge for Palestine

[redacted] of course. [redacted] B5

[redacted]
AM

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Fri Sep 24 20:55:30 2010
Subject: Re: Pledge for Palestine

[redacted] this may be needed [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Sep 24 19:32:14 2010
Subject: Pledge for Palestine

Any traction? I don't think it's crazy. We need [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 19, 2010 6:42 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Oscar

What # did you use to reach him today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 11:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Nasser judeh saying he urgently needs to talk to u.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 11:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israel: Settlers brace for end of building freeze

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Sep 25 10:51:41 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israel: Settlers brace for end of building freeze

JERUSALEM (AP) - An Israeli lawmaker says Jewish settlers have hauled construction equipment into a settlement deep inside the West Bank in preparation for the end of a construction moratorium. The end of the settlement slowdown presents the first major crisis in Mideast peace talks launched early this month in Washington. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, who imposed the slowdown 10 months ago as a peace gesture, says he will not extend the restrictions. But the Palestinians say they will not continue negotiations if building resumes. The U.S. is trying to broker a compromise. Pro-settler lawmaker Danny Danon said on September 25 that activists plan to lay the cornerstone of a new neighborhood in the Revava settlement September 26, the last day of the slowdown. He said further construction is planned September 27.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 5:38 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Robert Wexler logged a call

Into you – as a follow-up to your meeting with Danny Abraham yesterday. [redacted] B6
###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NATO

Is the speech now being reviewed? I think the basics are there, altho I am aware that every word will be parsed. Also, I think we should endorse institutional reform to support that agenda.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 20, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: request

I'd like to send letter for memorial service and call family.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 20 15:00:40 2010
Subject: Fw: request

Fyi

---

From: Fuchs, Michael H
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 20 13:12:58 2010
Subject: Fw: request

Huma - pls see the note below from Mort Halperin. David Ramage, former President of the New World Foundation who worked with the Secretary when she was on the Board of the Foundation, passed away, and his family wanted the Secretary to be informed. Would it be possible for you to notify the Secretary?

---

From: Morton H. Halperin [redacted] B6
To: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Sat Feb 20 12:24:03 2010
Subject: request

Mike, I write to ask a personal favor. An old friend of mine named David Ramage died earlier this week [redacted] David was for many years the president of the New World Foundation. During that period the Secretary served on the board of the foundation and worked with David. His family would like the Secretary to be informed of David's death. Incidentally when I worked at the NSC I walked David over to the White House for a private meeting with the First Lady which was just the two of them. I can provide additional details on the memorial service if she were interested but the family's concern was only that she be informed. Mort

Morton H. Halperin
Senior Advisor
Open Society Institute
Open Society Policy Center
1120 19th ST NW
Washington DC 20036

phone 202.721.5602
mobile [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** Kendall, David; H
**Subject:** RE: Attorney-client privileged/confidential

B6

Happy New Year to you both and to the Kendall extended family.

Xo
cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Kendall, David [mailto
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 2010 3:05 PM
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Attorney-client privileged/confidential

If this email is legit, it is something I never, ever thought I would see! I am in awe.

I don't know what motivated the robber here, but we are safely far behind in the masked robbery department. By my quick research, former President Nixon masks lead the way (perhaps not surprisingly) with 11 reported instances, followed by masks of the second President Bush (5 reported instances), and those of President Reagan (3). We appear to be the first Democrat, however.

One other rational response to the Burton elevation occurs to me: strong alcoholic drink!

Have a wonderful new year!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 2010 8:19 AM
To: 'millscd@state.gov'; Kendall, David
Subject: Re: Masked 'Hillary Clinton' robs Va. bank

Should I be flattered? Even a little bit? And, as for my alibi, well, let's just say it depends on the snow and the secret service. So, subject to cross for sure. Do you think there could be copycats? Do you think the guy chose that mask or just picked up the nearest one? Please keep me informed as the case unfolds--

On another matter, can you believe Dan Burton will be the chair of one of the House subcommittees we'll have to deal w? Irony and satire are the only sane responses.

Happy New Year--and here's hoping for many more stories that make us laugh!

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 29 16:14:16 2010
Subject: FW: Masked 'Hillary Clinton' robs Va. bank

FYI

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wednesday, December 29, 2010 4:14 PM
To: 'Kendall, David'
Subject: RE: Masked 'Hillary Clinton' robs Va. bank

One never knows . . . .

cdm

From: Kendall, David [mailto B6
Sent: Wednesday, December 29, 2010 4:08 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Masked 'Hillary Clinton' robs Va. bank

She does, uh, have an alibi, I presume?

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: Kendall, David
Sent: Wed Dec 29 15:36:40 2010
Subject: FW:

Masked 'Hillary Clinton' robs Va. bank

By Elizabeth Flock

A gun-toting man in a Halloween-style mask robbed a Sterling bank on Dec. 27, authorities said.

It appeared that the man wore a Hillary Clinton mask, <http://www.loudountimes.com/index.php/news/article/man_posing_as_u.s._secretary_of_state_robs_sterling_bank_at_gunpoint/> according to Kraig Troxell, spokesman for the Loudoun County Sheriff's Office.

Shortly after 9 a.m., the man walked into the Wachovia bank in Community Plaza, approached a teller, brandished a firearm, and demanded cash, according to Loudoun County sheriff's office reports.

The robber, who authorities described as a black male around 6 feet tall, then fled in an unknown direction with an undisclosed amount of cash. He was seen wearing a black jacket with a red shirt underneath.

No injuries were reported, says Kraig Troxell, spokesman for the Loudoun County Sheriff's Office, which distributed a surveillance image from the robbery.

This robbery is not the first for the Wachovia bank in Sterling's Community Plaza this year. On Nov. 20, authorities said the bank was robbed at gunpoint by Benjamin L. Sebastian <http://www.loudountimes.com/index.php/news/article/police_name_west_virginia_man_as_suspect_in_regional_bank_robberies480/> , 32, of Inwood, W.Va.

Sebastian was arrested Dec. 11 and charged with six regional bank robberies <http://www.loudountimes.com/index.php/news/article/police_name_west_virginia_man_as_suspect_in_regional_bank_robberies480/> , including the Sterling Wachovia bank and an Oct. 6 armed robbery <http://sterling.wusa9.com/content/west-virginia-man-charged-connection-two-sterling-bank-robberies> of the Bank of America in Sterling's Regal Plaza.

He remains in police custody.

Authorities are asking anyone with information about the incident to contact Investigator K. Poland of the Loudoun County Sheriff's Office at 703-777-0475.

---

NOTICE:

This message is intended for the use of the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient or the employee or agent responsible for delivering this message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by reply or by telephone (call us collect at (202) 434-5000) and immediately delete this message and all its attachments.

==========

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 11:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** You should [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 6:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Iran hikers info. Sid

Just now the NYT is reporting what I assume you already know, that the US hikers held prisoner in Iran were grabbed in Iraq. I also assume that you saw the report last June that they were seized by a Revolutionary Guard officer now held for drug running and murder.
It seems that the hikers were too close to a drug trail. I will send you memos on latest political intel and policy ideas for Europe in next few days. Sid

# US Hikers Were Seized in Iraq

**By Babak Sarfaraz**
**Posted on June 24, 2010, Printed on October 22, 2010**
**http://www.theinvestigativefund.org/investigations/international/1338/**

KURDISTAN PROVINCE, IRAN—
Since their arrest last July by Iranian forces near the Iraq border, three Americans — Shane Bauer, Josh Fattal and Sarah Shourd — have been at the center of a high-stakes diplomatic struggle between Tehran and Washington. Iranian authorities have repeatedly accused the three of entering Iran to conduct espionage. Meanwhile, friends and family of the three, along with the State Department, the Committee to Protect Journalists, *The Nation* and The Investigative Fund [Bauer has written Investigative Fund stories that appeared in *The Nation* and *Mother Jones*], have rejected the spying charge and suggested that the Americans accidentally crossed the border while on a recreational hike. Despite a well-publicized visit by the detainees' mothers in May, Iran has released little information about the circumstances of their arrest or the status of their case.
*The Nation* and The Investigative Fund have located two witnesses to the arrest who claim that Bauer, Fattal and Shourd were on Iraqi territory when they were arrested — not in Iran, as Iranian officials have asserted. Two additional sources report that the Revolutionary Guards officer who likely ordered their detention has since been arrested on charges of smuggling, kidnapping and murder.
The witnesses are residents of a Kurdish village in Iraq called Zalem, which lies a few miles from the Iran border; they declined to be identified, fearing retaliation from Iranian forces, who have been known to conduct missions across the border. The witnesses separately reported noticing the three Americans as they hiked up a mountain in the scenic Khormal

region, which straddles the border. Part of the mountain lies in Iraq and part in Iran, but except for a few watchtowers and occasional signposts, the border here is largely unmarked, although local residents are familiar with its boundaries.

The witnesses, who followed the Western-looking hikers out of curiosity, say that around 2 pm on July 31, as the hikers descended the mountain, uniformed guards from NAJA, Iran's national police force, waved the hikers toward the Iranian side using "threatening" and "menacing" gestures. When their calls were ignored, one officer fired a round into the air. As the hikers continued to hesitate, the guards walked a few yards into Iraqi territory, where they lack jurisdiction, and apprehended them.

These witness accounts corroborate a statement Bauer made on May 20 during a tele-vised reunion at a Tehran hotel between the hikers and their mothers. As the *New York Times* reported, Bauer "denied that they had walked into Iran, as they were accused of doing, before stopping himself and saying, 'We can't really talk about that.'"

Farhad Lohoni, a local tribal leader, had previously claimed that the American hikers had been snatched from Iraq in a cross-border raid by Iranian agents, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph* in August 2009. Lohoni said that his relatives had seen a group of men cross the border into Iraq, and he told the *Telegraph* that the hikers "were targeted and captured by a group that came over from Iran, ignoring Iraq's sovereignty. We know this and it means that Iran must have wanted to take Americans hostage at this sensitive time."

A State Department spokesman said that he had been unaware of evidence that the three were arrested in Iraqi territory but would not comment further.

Once captured, Bauer, Fattal and Shourd were sped by car to the local headquarters of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Marivan, a town close to the border in the province of Kurdistan. When they arrived, according to two sources, the Americans were remanded into the custody of Lt. Col. Heyva Taab, then head of the Revolutionary Guards' intelligence unit in the region. According to these sources — a former member of the Revolutionary Guards and an official who serves in the provincial government at Sanandaj — only Taab would have had the authority to order the Americans' detention and eventual transfer to Tehran. A branch of the Iranian military with at least 125,000 personnel, the Revolutionary Guards are responsible for maintaining national security throughout the Islamic Republic.

"When I heard the news that they had arrested American hikers, I immediately thought, This is the work of the intelligence arm of the Revolutionary Guards, because they have people in this region," says Idris Ahmedi, an Iranian Kurdish exile and a regional expert who is a visiting scholar at Georgetown University. "I thought they were most likely

lured into Iranian Kurdistan, where they could arrest them. It is consistent with Iran's past actions."

Less than a month later, in late August 2009, Taab himself was arrested and charged with the July 6 murder of the son of Mostafa Shirzadi, the Imam Joma (Friday prayer leader) of Marivan, an influential cleric in the region. Shirzadi's nephew was also allegedly killed by Taab. Since his arrest Taab has been implicated in a vast criminal enterprise encompassing a profitable smuggling operation and dozens of murders, rapes and kidnappings. According to the Sanandaj official, numerous lawsuits, perhaps hundreds, have been filed against Taab in Kurdistan, alleging libel, theft, rape, kidnapping and murder. Taab's case has twice been before a judge, and he awaits execution in a Tehran prison.

Although the state-run Iranian press has not reported on Taab's crimes, they were made public in a series of articles in January and February by a Kurdish news site, Kurdistan Va Kurdnews, run by the Kurdistan Democratic Party. A February 17 article describes Taab as the head of a "criminal band" and reports that Taab and seven accomplices were under arrest by the Revolutionary Guards for their role in a vast number of illegal killings.

Several sources describe Taab as the central power in Kurdistan province. According to locals and experts, control of the border lies in the hands of the Revolutionary Guards, in particular their intelligence unit, *Etelaat Sepah*, whose local division had been commanded by Taab for about five years. "At this point it's really the *Sepah*, the Revolutionary Guards, that are in charge, especially in the western provinces, especially because the Americans are on the other side, in Iraq," says Kaveh Ehsani, an assistant professor of international studies at DePaul University and an Iran expert who serves as a contributing editor to the journal Middle East Report. "On the surface the security force [NAJA] is in charge, but it really is the Revolutionary Guards that control the borders."

It is a region where, according to several Iran experts, smuggling and cross-border traffic are routine. The Iraq-Iran border is "relatively porous because it's mountainous," says Faraz Sanei, an Iran researcher at Human Rights Watch, which issued a report last year on political freedom in Iranian Kurdistan. Sanei describes the border as a common escape route for dissidents — journalists, human rights advocates and Iranian Kurds—as well as a commonly used trade route for goods. "Smuggling is something that has taken place and continues to take place there, whether it be of goods or of humans across the border. It's something that happens quite often."

Soon after Taab took charge of the *Sepah* in the northwestern quadrant of Kurdistan, he began to enrich himself off the black-market border economy. According to the Sanandaj

official and the former Revolutionary Guards officer, who had firsthand knowledge of Taab's activities, Taab's first scheme involved selling merchandise confiscated from petty smugglers, known as *koolbars*, who traffic consumer goods across the border (a trade depicted in the Iranian film *A Time for Drunken Horses*, which won the Caméra d'Or at Cannes in 2000).

The region is also home to a variety of Kurdish nationalist groups that have been demanding autonomy from the central Tehran government. One of these, the Party for Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK), is affiliated with the Kurdistan Workers' Party, a Kurdish separatist organization that engages in armed conflict within Turkey and has been labeled a terrorist organization by the United States and other governments. Since 2005 PJAK, based in the mountains in Kurdish Iraq, has been in open conflict with Tehran and has claimed responsibility for killing dozens of Revolutionary Guards soldiers in cross-border raids on Iranian military bases, as well as for the February 2007 downing of an Iranian military helicopter by a shoulder-launched missile in Khoy, in Western Azerbaijan province, which killed thirteen Iranian soldiers.

It has been speculated that some of these Kurdish militants enjoy US support. In April 2006, Representative Dennis Kucinich wrote a letter to President Bush questioning whether the US government was "fomenting opposition and supporting military operations in Iran among insurgent groups and Iranian ethnic minority groups, some of whom are operating from Iraq." Kucinich named two groups, including PJAK. In November of that year, Seymour Hersh reported in *The New Yorker* that "Israel and the United States have also been working together in support of a Kurdish resistance group known as the Party for Free Life in Kurdistan," and that a government consultant told him that the Israeli government had provided "equipment and training" to PJAK.

The United States and Israel have denied any involvement with PJAK. Still, these allegations of support have gained substantial traction inside Iran and may have undergirded Taab's decision to detain Bauer, Fattal and Shourd as well as the repeated public charges of espionage against the three. In early April, for instance, Iranian Intelligence Minister Heydar Moslehi told Iran's Press TV that "it is quite obvious to us that the three Americans arrested in Iran last year had links with Western and Israeli intelligence services."

The Iranian government has retaliated against rising Kurdish militancy by launching a counteroffensive on PJAK, inside Iran and across the border in Iraq. In August 2007, for example, Iranian soldiers crossed into Iraq and attacked several villages, McClatchy reported. Most recently, on June 4, officials in Iraq's semiautonomous Kurdish region alleged that "a small unit of Iranian soldiers," including a tank and

several other vehicles, had penetrated more than a mile into Iraqi Kurdistan's Arbil province in search of Kurdish rebels. Until his arrest, Taab was a key player in Iran's counter-offensive. The former Revolutionary Guards officer says that several current members of the Guards told him that Taab's stated goal was to "completely wipe out PJAK" in his jurisdiction. According to Ahmedi, the scholar at Georgetown, Taab was involved in recent cross-border assassinations of Iranian Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Kurdish weekly *Awena* reported that Taab and his unit assassinated two Kurds on December 15, 2008.

According to the former officer and the Sanandaj official, Taab's criminal enterprise grew beyond smuggling in 2007, when he made his first forays into murder. *Koolbars*, the petty border smugglers, are often killed by land mines or fatally shot by border police. So Taab concocted a scheme to kidnap *koolbars* as well as ordinary unemployed Iranian Kurdish civilians, dress them in the uniforms of PJAK insurgents and then kill them—claiming they'd died in a military clash—in order to collect a bounty, as high as $40,000 a head, from his superiors in the Revolutionary Guards. He was assisted in this plot by at least nine others, seven of whom have been apprehended. The article in Kurdistan Va Kurdnews named all seven, including Haji Majid Muqimiyan of Kermansha, identified as a ringleader.

PJAK has officially denied involvement in these border clashes, including in a May 3, 2009, post to the Iranian website Tabnak, which is published by Mohsen Rezai, a former head of the Revolutionary Guards. Many of the PJAK clashes may, in fact, have been "bogus," said the Sanandaj official. "More or less no clashes with PJAK have been reported in the area since Heyva Taab and his gang were busted."

A mother of one *koolbar* tearfully described her son's disappearance. She said he went missing the same day in early 2009 that the government later claimed a clash with PJAK had taken place. The woman, a resident of a border town in Iranian Kurdistan, is a plaintiff in one of the lawsuits against Taab; she asked that her name and location not be mentioned, for fear that it would harm her case in court.

Taab's scheme was wildly successful, according to the Sanandaj official, who said one bank account under Taab's name has had nearly $6 million deposited in it since 2008. This macabre scheme ended only in the spring of 2009, when Taab killed a local official's brother who was seeking work in the area and, more decisively, last July when he killed the cleric's son.

On June 11 Mohammad Javad Larijani, secretary general of Iran's High Council for Human Rights, said that the government's investigation was nearly complete and a trial for Bauer, Fattal and Shourd "should not be very far from

now." In a statement issued on June 17, the mothers of the hikers called on Iran either to prosecute or release their children. "Iran has no legitimate reason at this stage not to release them or move forward with a fair trial in which our children can openly answer any allegations against them."
"These new revelations, if indeed true, show the hikers have been victims of political machinations and manipulation," said Hadi Ghaemi, executive director of the International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran. "The fact that they have been held for so long without prosecution strongly supports this trend. Under Iranian laws, they have committed no crime and should be released immediately. Their Iranian lawyer, who has studied the judicial files against them, has consistently maintained the only charge against them is illegal entry, which is subject to a fine and not arbitrary detention for so long. With this new information, even that charge appears fabricated, and there is no basis for holding them."
As of the press date, Shane Bauer, Josh Fattal and Sarah Shourd have been detained by Iran for ten months and twenty-three days.
*This article was reported in collaboration with the Investigative Fund at The Nation Institute. Naseh Afrani, a pseudonym, contributed reporting from Kurdistan province, and Nicholas Jahr contributed reporting from New York.*

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**View this story online at:**
**http://www.theinvestigativefund.org/investigations/international/1338/**

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/23/world/middleeast/23hikers.html?_r=1&pagewanted=print

October 22, 2010

# Iran Seized U.S. Hikers in Iraq, U.S. Report Asserts

**By MICHAEL R. GORDON and ANDREW W. LEHREN**

Iran has accused three American hikers of illegally crossing into Iranian territory in July 2009 and is still holding two of them in prison. But a classified American military report made public by WikiLeaks, which describes the chaotic day when the hikers were detained, asserts that the hikers were on the Iraqi side of the border when they were seized.
The initial reports of any incident are not always correct. But one American government official who served in Iraq said that the field report was generally consistent with what he had been told by Iraqi officials — namely, that the hikers were close to the border but on the Iraqi side.
The episode began when four Americans traveled from Syria to northern Iraq, planning to hike up the Ahmed Awa, a mountainous area with a dramatic waterfall. One American, Shon Meckfessel, became ill and stayed behind when his friends — Shane M. Bauer, Joshua F. Fattal and Sarah E. Shourd — set out on July 31.
A July 31 field report states that Mr. Meckfessel learned of the arrests when a "female called him saying they were being surrounded by armed men."

At first, the American military did not know who was holding the Americans. An intelligence officer at the American Army division based in northern Iraq, the report notes, initially described the event as a "kidnapping" and said the three American tourists "were being taken to the Iranian border."

The report lists a number of military grids where the Americans were believed to have been hiking or had been detained — all on the Iraqi side of the border.

As documented in the report, the frenetic effort to locate the American hikers and to interview Mr. Meckfessel appeared to support the claim that they were tourists and not American intelligence operatives, as Iran has alleged. A drone aircraft was sent to look for the missing Americans, and two F-16s jet fighters were alerted. American Special Operations forces were sent to pick up Mr. Meckfessel, so he could be taken to Baghdad for questioning.

As the day wore on, the Americans received a report from an officer with the pesh merga, the Kurdish military force in northern Iraq, that the Iranians had detained three American citizens "for being too close to the border." The July report reflects some frustration with the hikers for their "lack of coordination" in venturing to northern Iraq and offers some thoughts on the episode's broader implications.

"The leadership in Iran benefits as it focuses the Iranian population on a perceived external threat rather than internal dissension," it notes. Read the Document »

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Labour Party leadership vote... Sid

David Miliband lost by less than 2 percent to his brother Ed. Ed is the new leader. David was marginally hurt by Tony's book but more by Mandelson's endorsement coupled with his harsh statements about the left. This is something of a regression.

Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 9:40 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

Bill wants to go to church at 10:15 so can we do btw 12 and 7 ?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 09:37:35 2010
Subject: We got an earlier start so I can talk now or call as planned at 10am

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 3:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Sudan withdraws from Darfur peace talks (AP)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Dec 30 14:07:44 2010
**Subject:** Sudan withdraws from Darfur peace talks (AP)

DOHA (AP) - A Sudanese official said his government has withdrawn from peace talks with Darfur rebel groups, but it is still committed to making peace. Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir threatened to call off the talks in Qatar and return negotiations to Sudan if agreement was not reached by December 30, and he carried out his threat. Chief government negotiator Ghazi Salaheddine said the Sudanese delegation will leave for Khartoum December 31. Ahmed Hussain Adam, a rebel spokesman, described the move as "a declaration of war" in remarks to Al-Jazeera TV.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Ed Miliband...

Ed beat Davis by 1.3 percent. Ed's acceptance speech to Labour conference says that the party was betrayed on Iraq and that trust was lost as a result. "I get it," he said. He sets his goal to the party: "Win back your trust." Very clear repudiation of Tony. He ends: "Turns the page...the work of the new generation begins." Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** more...

Ed Miliband's victory was carried by an anti-Blair undercurrent. In the first round voting, David was ahead. But when the votes of Ed Balls was distributed to the second choice of voters, they put Ed over. Balls represents Gordon, but even more a distancing from New Labour. Ed's use of Iraq as an issue is symbolic of the repudiation of New Labour. Ed had more labor union votes for leader, which accounted for one-third of total. Ed's "new generation" rhetoric covers that regression and continuing reactive impulse. Now the shadow cabinet, due to a new decision, will be elected by the party. Ed is the former environment minister and good on green issues, of course, but has no foreign policy perspective yet instinctively to the left, which means anti-Afghanistan mission as currently conceived, it should go without saying. David lost precisely because he held responsible positions.
Sid

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 12:13 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6
[redacted] Asked me to call back with details. Any direction?

We don't know about this and have no plans to do so, but Bill will call him later to return his call [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 10:51:08 2010
Subject: [redacted]
Asked me to call back with details. Any direction?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 12:15 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: call at 3:15pm? will that work?

Yes--and Bill wanted to talk w you too. Can he do that after we finish?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 11:53:12 2010
Subject: call at 3:15pm? will that work?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) - Ed Miliband is new UK Labour Party leader

Wow

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Sep 25 12:08:12 2010
**Subject:** (AP) - Ed Miliband is new UK Labour Party leader

LONDON (AP) - Britain's opposition Labour Party elected Ed Miliband as its new leader on September 25 after a brother-versus-brother battle to replace ex-prime minister Gordon Brown. Miliband, the 40-year-old ex-climate change secretary, narrowly defeated his elder brother David Miliband, the 45-year-old former foreign secretary, in a ballot of legislators, party activists and about 3.5 million labor union members. Three other candidates also competed in the contest to replace Brown, who stepped down in May after Labour came in second in a national election and was removed from office after 13 years by the Conservative Party-led coalition government.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/31/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B5

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 31, 2010 12:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Dinner with MY and GR

Readout from the dinner tonight.

---

**From:** Moriarty, James F
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 11:57 PM
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Cc:** Blake, Robert O
**Subject:** Dinner with MY and GR

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted]

Aloha,
Jim

---

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent:** Thu 12/30/2010 9:49 PM
**To:** Moriarty, James F
**Subject:** RE: Things looking better

[redacted] This email is encouraging. I hope cooler heads will prevail. I do remember my conversation with MFA vividly and reading the cable brought it back. B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Moriarty, James F
Sent: Wednesday, December 29, 2010 9:27 AM
To: Verveer, Melanne S; Blake, Robert O
Subject: Things looking better

[redacted]

The three of us will have dinner tomorrow night, along with the finance advisor
I will let you know how that goes
Aloha
Jim
Sent from Blackberry

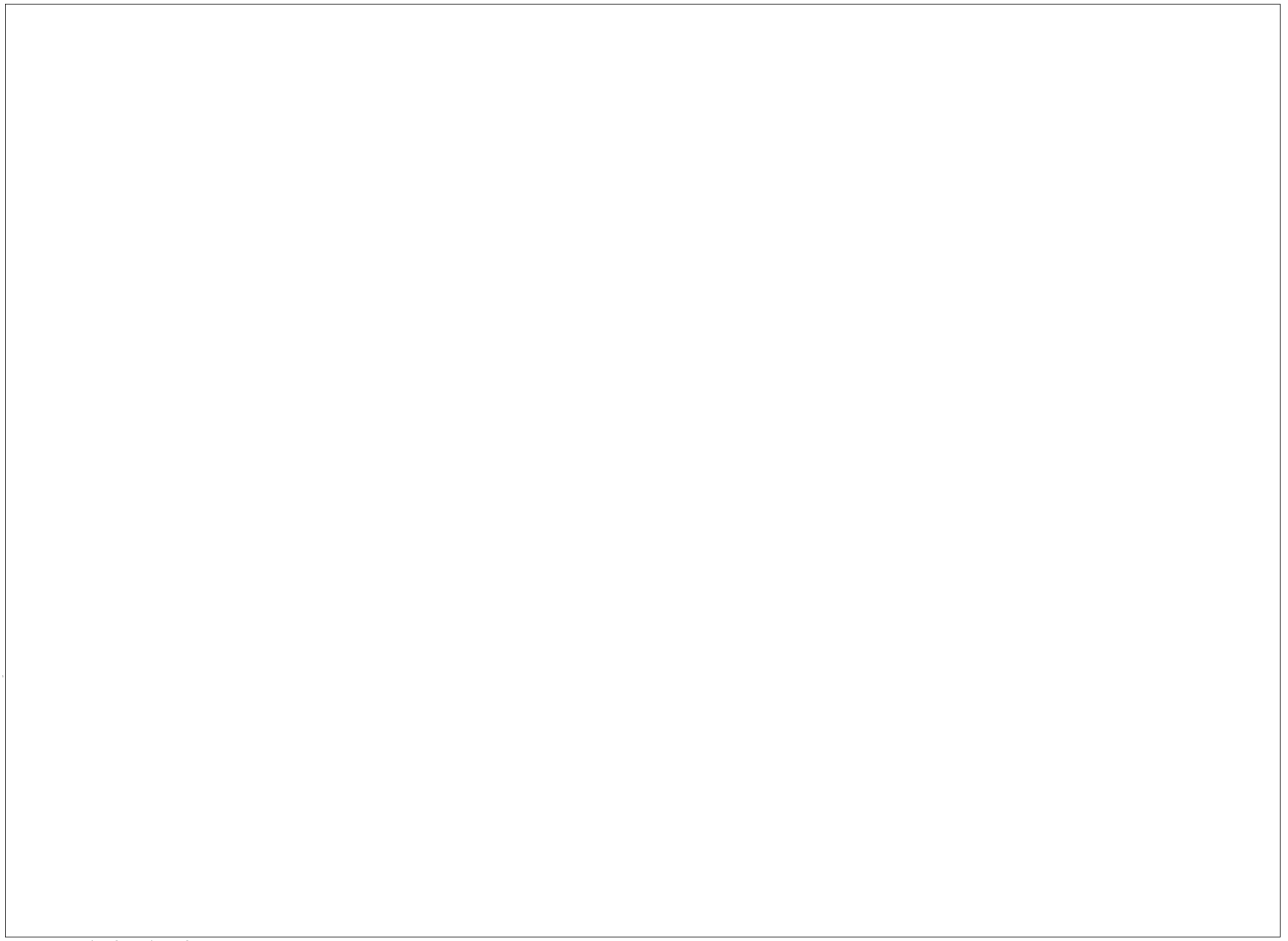
----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
To: Blake, Robert O; Moriarty, James F
Sent: Wed Dec 29 01:03:52 2010
Subject: Fw: Meeting with the Finance Today

[redacted] I'm glad he's seeing you tomw, Jim. B5

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted] 1.4(D) B1 B6
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tue Dec 28 11:43:49 2010
Subject: Meeting with the Finance Today

Dear Melanne

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1



1.4(D)
B1

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:36 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Schedule

When I'm in NY at UN I'd like to have mtg w Margot Wallstrom, the new Special Rep on sexual violence. Melanne knows her.

I'd like to do a mtg early in week about message for Latin Am trip

I need to see Andrew this week w Jack Lew.

Am I scheduled to re-launch the NetFreedom Taskforce per a memo I rec'd from Hormats and Otero?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 31, 2010 2:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Murkowski

After nearly two months of legal wrangling, Senator Murkowski was finally certified as the winner of the Alaska Senate race on Thursday. The Governor and Lt. Governor signed the paperwork certifying the result, in time for the Senator to be sworn in next Wednesday with the rest of her colleagues.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:40 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NATO speech

How does the collapse of the Dutch govt. affect our speech?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 6:47 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** FW: Stanford University Speech
**Attachments:** 101020 Stanford Speech.docx; 101020 Stanford Speech.docx

FYI. Two people emailed me to say this speech was great. I haven't read it yet.

---

**From:** Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 6:38 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Stanford University Speech

Attached is a copy of the speech that I gave earlier this week at Stanford University. The focus of the speech was on reviewing where we are and where we are heading with Mexico. It involves new analysis of the nature of the drug trade and its impact on violence. Could you pass to the Secretary in case she has a moment to read it?

Carlos

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 3:44 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NATO speech redux

Foe example, the statement that the debate about out-of-area operations being over doesn't look so clear post Dutch decision.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 9:55 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Draft of PPT
**Attachments:** 2010-11-14 Condensed QDDR 945pm-images.pptx

HRC

Attached is the ppt that AMS will give tomorrow at the A/S meeting. It likely will take most of the time to go thorough.

We are not handing out copies until others who are editing it have had the chance to go through it carefully.

If you have the chance, take a look through and make sure nothing is too problematic for flashing on the screen, recognizing the goal is by the end of the day, to have a version that can be handed out on Weds to the Hill and internally.

cdm <<2010-11-14 Condensed QDDR 945pm-images.pptx>>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 4:52 PM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 18, 2010

This new effort is very encouraging but will require boatloads of patience.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Feb 19 05:15:55 2010
Subject: FW: TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 18, 2010

I get these reports every morning. They are somewhat painful to read since, as you know, in Pakistan, the media can be particularly outrageous. However, we can't ignore the fact that these talk shows are the most watched programming in prime time.. The report below is fairly typical. The host sets up the discussion in fairly provocative way and the guests, who come from across the political spectrum, respond. As you can see, the first commentator is strongly anti US. However, what I have observed since our media offensive began last Fall is that there is usually a more moderate guest as well, who will argue along the lines that it is only natural for the US to protect its interests and GOP should do a better job of protecting Pakistan. Believe it or not there have even been instances where we get credit for some of the things we do. Also on occasion where there have been particularly egregious attacks on US policy, the host will read a statement from our Embassy in the following programming. We try to get airtime on these programs whenever possible but it is hard. It 's a hard slog getting this right but we are making progress.

jm

---

From: Baber, Suhail On Behalf Of Islamabad, Information Section
Sent: Friday, February 19, 2010 4:37 AM
To: Snelsire, Richard W
Cc: Schwartz, Larry; Gill, Muazzam; Wade, Joseph W (Peshawar)
Subject: TV Talk Shows' Summary - February 18, 2010

TV Talk Shows' Summary

February 18, 2010

Program: "Center Stage" Express TV (02/18)

Host: Fahad Hussain

Participants: Munawwar Hassan (Ameer Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan); Shahid Amin (Analyst)

Topic: U.S. Agenda In The Region

Host: Pakistan has rendered countless sacrifices in the war against terrorism but it seems that the United States is not ready to trust us. Washington's policy towards Islamabad is ambiguous. On the one hand, the U.S. has assigned Pakistan

the role of a frontline state in the war against terrorism while, on the other, it has signed nuclear deal with our worst enemy, India. What, in your opinion, is the real U.S. agenda in our region?

Munawwar Hassan: The U.S. wants to make India the mini-superpower in this region. This American policy prompted the Indian army chief to boast that his country can fight against China and Pakistan simultaneously. The U.S. needs our cooperation against Iran and China. It also wants our help to occupy the resources of the Central Asian states. The current wave of extremism in the region is the reaction of imperialistic policies of Washington. Despite our recognition of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Pakistan treated their ambassador in Islamabad in a very humiliating manner. In fact, our rulers have becomes the slaves of the United States. But Pakistan will get nothing by befriending the U.S. and helping Americans in their conspiracies against our neighbors. The history tells us that Washington's enmity is dangerous, and its friendship is fatal.

Shahid Amin: Every country devises its policies to safeguard its national interests and same is true for the United States. However, it is the responsibility of our governments to protect Pakistan's interests while dealing with Americans. Today, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda constitute the biggest threat to the U.S. security. But these terrorist organizations also pose a potential threat to the security and integrity of Pakistan. Hence, like America, their elimination is also in our own national interest.

---

The following programs were monitored, but as they dealt with domestic issues, therefore, were not summarized:

Program: "Kal Tak" Express TV (02/18)

Host: Javed Chaudhry

Participants: Abid Sher Ali (PML-N); Asma Arbab Alamgir (PPP); Kashmala Tariq (PML-Q)

Topic: Government-Opposition Relationship

---

Program: "Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath" Geo TV (02/18)

Host: Kamran Khan

Participants: Dr. Ejaz Shafi (Chairman Gallop Pakistan); Muhammad Sohail (Economist); Rahimullah Yousufzai (Resident Editor The News)

Topic: Performance of PPP Government

---

Program: "Capital Talk" Geo TV (02/18)

Host: Hamid Mir

Participants: Hameedullah Jan Afridi (Minister for Environment); Dr Muhammad Omer (Health Expert); Senator Tariq Azeem

Topic: Lack Of Clean Drinking Water

---

Program: "Islamabad Tonight" Aaj TV (02/18)

Host: Nadeem Malik

Participants: Shazia Marri (PPP); Pervaiz Rasheed (PML-N); Aasia Riaz (PILDAT)

Topic: Democracy In Pakistan and Failure Of Political Leadership

---

Program: "Off The Record" ARY TV (02/18)

Host: Kashif Abbasi

Participants: Farzana Raja (PPP); Raza Hayat (PML-Q); Khawaja Saad Rafique (PML-N)

Topic: What Is Good Governance?

---

Program: "Late Edition" ARY TV (02/18)

Host: Asma Sherazi

Participants: Marvi Memon (PML-Q); Khurram Dastgir (PML-N); Asma Arbab Alamgir (PPP); Zahid Hussain (Analyst)

Topic: Two Years Of Democratic Setup

---

Program: "Dunya Today" Dunya TV (02/18)

Host: Moeed Pirzada

Participants: Fauzia Wahab (PPP); Ali Ahmed Kurd (Senior Lawyer); Abid Sher Ali (PML-N)

Topic: Consequences of Government's U-Turn On Judges Issue

---

Program: "Live With Talat" (02/18)

Host: Talat Hussain

Participants: Fauzia Wahab (PPP); Haroon Rasheed (Analyst); Ayaz Amir (PML-N)

Topic: Government's Failure To Honor Its Promises

---

Monitored by Info Office

Public Affairs Section

U.S. Embassy Islamabad

Pakistan

http://islamabad.usembassy.gov <http://islamabad.usembassy.gov/>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 7:45 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

I'd like to do and probably better on Tuesday. I'll confirm tomorrow. Where do you want to go? I prefer quiet and private around 6:30-7 if that's ok for you both.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:41:39 2010
Subject: Shaun

H: Just talked to Shaun. He wants to know if, given your schedule, and in addition to your meeting with him, you can have dinner with the two of us either Tuesday or Wednesday. Sid

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 7:58 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop B6
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

That sounds good. Will you make reservations for us?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:54:37 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

Tues good. Fahrenheit restaurant at Ritz in Georgetown very quiet and fine. People don't know about it. so just let me know.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:45 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

I'd like to do and probably better on Tuesday. I'll confirm tomorrow. Where do you want to go? I prefer quiet and private around 6:30-7 if that's ok for you both.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:41:39 2010
Subject: Shaun

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 9:14 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: Shaun

B6

Ok w 7.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 20:05:34 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

Yes 7 pm ok or do you want another time?
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Feb 21, 2010 7:57 PM
Subject: Re: Shaun

That sounds good. Will you make reservations for us?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:54:37 2010
Subject: Re: Shaun

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Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Palestinian leader vows peace, urges settlement end

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Sat Sep 25 13:03:26 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Palestinian leader vows peace, urges settlement end

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - Palestinian President Abbas vowed on September 25 to do everything possible to make peace negotiations with Israel succeed and avoided any direct threats to break off the talks over settlements. In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in New York, Abbas said the Palestinians would expend "every sincere effort" to reach a peace agreement with Israel within a year. He did not refer to the Sunday expiration of an Israeli freeze on new settlement construction in the West Bank. However, he made clear that Israel would have to cease all settlement activities if the direct negotiations with Israel are to succeed. "Israel must choose between peace and the continuation of settlements," he said. Abbas has repeatedly threatened to break off the fragile negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu over the settlements.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 10:10 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** START

Any updates?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 21, 2010 10:12 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Anything to discuss?

I just got back and will be up for awhile.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 31, 2010 9:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: New Start foreign media

B6

Thanks. Hope you are having a good break.

Happy New Year!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Thu Dec 30 10:06:50 2010
Subject: Re: New Start foreign media

The McHale system is working thx to you! Hope your Christmas was the best and that you and your family will have the happiest of new years and that together we will knock down a few more bureaucratic walls in 2011!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 23 11:24:04 2010
Subject: FW: New Start foreign media

Thought you'd like to see this. Rose did a great job, especially with Russian media, and the new system seems to be working.

Sorry I didn't get to see you before you left. Hope you have a happy and peaceful holiday and actually manage to get a bit of down time --- is that even possible???

Cheers,

jm

-----Original Message-----
From: Smith, Dana S
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 7:39 PM
To: McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR
Subject: Fw: New Start foreign media

Since I send you guys the complaints when principals don't come through, thought it would be nice to send a positive message when things go as they should. Rose is a champ and IME did great today.

----- Original Message -----

From: Korman, Samuel I. (Shai)
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 07:34 PM
To: Ratney, Michael A; Smith, Dana S
Subject: RE: New Start foreign media

I'll also add that when the dust settles this might warrant some kind of email to A/S Gottemoeller who was herself a driving force behind getting this done, getting out on the Russian media tonight to get into Russian media cycle to help advance policy. Sets a great example for her senior colleagues. Will send around the final round-up in a few.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ratney, Michael A
Sent: Wednesday, December 22, 2010 7:21 PM
To: Smith, Dana S
Cc: Korman, Samuel I. (Shai)
Subject: New Start foreign media

Dana -

IME staff kicked ass tonight on New START. We arranged a press call for Gottemoeller with five Russian journos at 6:00 pm - and it went perfectly. Then two TV interviews with Russian television from the mezzanine. BBC Russian radio to top it. Thursday we're setting up a conference call for DC-based press (foreign and domestic) supplemented by reporters from key countries in Europe such as Poland. (We're getting an assist on that from EUR and the Brussels Hub.)

We'll get Gottemoeller into the studio here tomorrow as well to do some clips that we'll push out on NewsMarket and America.gov.

All told, a very nice foreign media package on very short notice - and on a very big ticket issue. My hat is off to Shai, David, and Holly, and also to great collaboration from OBS and FPC.

Michael

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:

Pls print.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: Hillary Clinton
Subject:
Sent: Feb 18, 2010 7:53 AM

Rooster red--Deruta

Flora Danica--Royal Copenhagen

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 31, 2010 10:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Brazil's Lula decides against extraditing Italian (Reuters)

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>
**To:** SES-O_OS; NEWS-Mahogany; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Dec 31 10:11:31 2010
**Subject:** Brazil's Lula decides against extraditing Italian (Reuters)

BRASILIA (Reuters) - Brazilian President Lula da Silva said he would not extradite former Italian guerrilla Cesare Battisti, a move that could damage relations with Italy. Brazil's Supreme Court had ruled last year that Battisti should be extradited on murder convictions from the 1970s in Italy, but it left the final decision to Lula. The move, announced in a statement released by the Brazilian government, was widely expected and comes a day after Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi warned that such a decision would be "incomprehensible and unacceptable." Brazilian media reported any decision still had to be verified by the Supreme Court but it was not immediately clear whether this was just a formality.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 9:29 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

Did anyone claim responsibility?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 19:35:37 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

FYI. Seeking info.

---

From: Johnson, Andrew Kim
To: NEWS-EUR; NEWS-Mahogany
Sent: Mon Feb 22 19:28:48 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Car bomb explodes outside Northern Irish court

BELFAST (Reuters) - A car bomb exploded outside a courthouse in the Northern Ireland border town of Newry on Monday, police said, in the latest of increasingly frequent attacks in the province. Police were in the process of evacuating people from the area when there was a large explosion in a car which left the vehicle ablaze close to the courthouse gates, a spokeswoman for the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) said.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:17 PM
**To:** 'markjpenn [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shanghai Expo

Mark--thanks for the offer of help. I'd appreciate anything you can to do assist w the completion of the American Pavilion. I am copying Kris Balderston, who is working on the Expo project for me, and asking him to contact you to follow up. All the best.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mark J. Penn [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 17:21:09 2010
Subject: Shanghai Expo

Wondering why no one called me since I have probably 20 clients from Ford, Microsoft, Intel, HP, Dell all very interested in Shanghai Expo as well as 100 people in China.

Kind of late but happy to help if someone still needs anything.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 31, 2010 12:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Dinner with Gowher

[redacted] Maybe more than you want to know. Obviously, TBD. 1.4(D)
Happy New Year to all the Clintons! B1

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Fri Dec 31 11:14:19 2010
Subject: Dinner with Gowher

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/31/2025

Dear Melanne:

Here is the latest update:

[redacted]

HAPPY NEW YEAR!!!

[redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

End
Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:02 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Codified Haiti takeaways and thoughts
**Attachments:** 2010-02-22 Haiti memo.docx; 2010-02-22 Haiti memo.docx

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Diane Reynolds
To: Doug Band; H
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted] Justin Cooper B6
Sent: Mon Feb 22 21:44:23 2010
Subject: Codified Haiti takeaways and thoughts

Please see attached.
Thanks,
Chelsea

RELEASE IN FULL

To: Dad, Mom
Cc: Cheryl, Doug, Justin

There is a context section at the bottom, which is longer than I would like, but I think it is important to articulate what I saw and whom I spoke with (and what I didn't see and whom I didn't meet) so that you understand my data set and its clear limitations. To say I was profoundly disturbed by what I saw – and didn't see – would be an understatement. The incompetence is mind numbing. Not incidentally, it rained twice while I was there. If we do not quickly change the organization, management, accountability and delivery paradigm on the ground, we could quite conceivably confront tens of thousands of children's deaths by diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid and other water-related diseases in the near future. Below are my major takeaways and a few nascent/early thoughts on what we (however we define we) could to do drive significant and incremental improvements on the ground in the near and longer term. As is often said, if I had more time – and less emotion – I would have written a shorter letter. I hope this mini-behemoth is not rife with grammatical errors or inadvertent gaps; I am sorry if either true.
Please do not forward this in whole or in part attributed to me without asking me first – happy to be an invisible soldier. Mainly hope this is even marginally helpful.

Thanks,
Chelsea

**Takeaways** are below, with illustrative examples, in a logical flow, not order of importance. **Bolded** what I think most important.:

- **Haitians want to help themselves** and want the international community to help them help themselves – this sounds obvious but wasn't to some of the UN and International NGO (INGO) folks I ran across. The UN people I encountered were frequently out of touch (e.g., would not have been off Logbase in days – or ever), anachronistic at best and arrogant and incompetent at worst (e.g., one woman from the UN – UNDP I think - told me she was waiting for the Haitians to "demand their political rights" – when they're asking for tents, latrines, soap, food and not getting that....)
- In fact, **Haitians in the settlements** are very much **organizing themselves, in part to help define their needs and then articulate them to the UN/ INGO community. Fairly nuanced settlement governance structures have already developed.** The largest settlement I visited in Parc Jean Marie Vincent (40k and counting) had an overall governing committee with a head of the governing committee (voted on by the governing committee); a women's committee; a security committee; a sanitation committee (with a soap subcommittee), etc. Women comprised 50% of each committee. **One of the most illuminating anecdotes** from my trip was talking with the head of the security committee and a few other settlement residents, including 2 women from the governing committee. The security committee wanted 100 tshirts – at least though I think they'll need at least 2-3x that – so that the security volunteers could wear them when patrolling so that people,

particularly women, would feel safe when they saw them approach in groups of 2 or 3. They also ideally wanted flashlights to also use on night patrol. Finally, they wanted to be able to pay the security team (though this was less important than the first two 'asks'). IF that option were not feasible, their second choice was for the US Army to come into the settlement and patrol at night. Not the Haitian police (unreliable) and not the UN (dismissed). They wanted to help themselves, and they wanted reliability and accountability.

- The **settlements' governing bodies – as they shared with me - are beginning to experience UN/ INGO fatigue** given how often they articulate their needs, willingness to work – and how little is coming their way. **Tents and latrines / sanitation remain the largest urgent needs – obvious to anyone with a minimum knowledge of public health and the settlement residents** themselves
- The **Haitian government appears to have an emergent, albeit still largely lacking in specifics, plan of action** (detailed below), **for both the near** (to get through the next 6-12 months) **and longer term** (while rebuilding over next ~5 years)
- The **Haitian government's inability to articulate its plan** quickly enough or in sufficient terms to the UN/ INGO community has **lead to a proliferation of ad hoc efforts by the UN and INGOs to 'help,' some of which have helped** (e.g., we met no one who was worried about water supplies in camps even though it's a motley crue of French Red Cross, Oxfam, IMO/IOM, etc that have achieved that), **some of which have hurt** (e.g., the largest settlement we visited had 1 latrine to every 1,000 people or 40 for ~40k though given the settlements' growth rate its probably 40 for ~45k today; there should be 1 for every 50 people or 800+ latrines) and **some which have not happened at all** (e.g., the only settlements with lights at night are those in areas that had lights before that continue to work; settlement at the Petionville Golf Club, for instance, has some lights at night while most sit in darkness)
- This **disorganization across the UN/ INGOs has had a variety of effects on the Haitian government, including that it it has now visibly distanced itself from the UN Cluster process** (e.g., instead of going to a meeting a day the Haitian Minister of Health is now going once a week – because it was "such a waste of time" and he said that is representative of the government's current modus operandi); though we heard the cluster process was improving – when I asked for a concrete example of how, I was told meetings were "more efficient." This lack of efficiency – not to mention lack of visible consistent progress - has also **lead to a further distrust of the UN/ INGOs by the Haitian government and Haitian people in the settlements. The former feels like it shows up to no effect – and the latter feels like very few actor(s) reliably show up**
- Again, the UN seemed at best chaotic and at worst absent as I travelled around in an action-oriented sense – I saw few IOM/IMO tents in settlements or workers or evidence of work; no evidence of WHO; no evidence of OSHA; no evidence of... You get the picture. I did see lots of UN peacekeepers riding

around however in their vans, humvees, etc. Though on the point of trucks, **I asked how many trucks were in the country – including the non-Port Au Prince UN 'bases' – and no one could tell me. There appears to be NO accessible and usable UN inventory system or logistics operation.** WFP, for instance, is largely piggy backing on the US Army/ SOUTHCOM but the "UN" / OSHA could not tell me how many trucks WFP had, much less how many the UN itself had. I counted – I kid you not – hundreds of trucks and cars at the UN logbase and other UN bases we drove by

- **UNICEF was the only UN agency that seemed to be universally acknowledged to be doing a good job by settlements' residents, by Haitian doctors and by INGO partners,** perhaps in part because of its narrowly defined agenda currently in Haiti (vaccinations) and that its reliable – i.e., it shows up when it says it will in the settlements and other central locations
- There is **NO accountability in the UN system or international humanitarian system (including for/ among INGOs)**, this is not new news but it is one area that the Cluster approach had aimed to remedy – e.g., there is no feedback mechanism for when the British Red Cross dug the 34 of the 40 above latrines only 3 feet deep and didn't tell the residents when they would come and extract the latrines or properly train people to take care of the latrines, etc. – that malpractice continuum is appalling and the British Red Cross should know better—at the least, the British Red Cross subsequently should not be allowed to dig elsewhere/ 'do' latrines
- The **cash-for-work program the UN heralds is not working optimally, to put it mildly.** It currently focuses – perhaps solely - on debris cleaning – important no doubt – but **it has not extended its work into the settlements or helped set standardized, and differentiated wages, for settlement work.** For instance, the UN cash for work program should have already started to pay people in the more organized camps – to clean latrines; 'guard' latrines, including insuring kids use soap; be teachers; be on security patrol; be on evacuation duty; work with the WFP during the XYZ drop times, etc.... NONE of this is happening as far as I can tell. When we were there the cash for work program head was still focused only – it appeared – on rubble cleaning.
- **Re: education in the settlements and beyond:** This is theoretically the responsibility of UNICEF and Save the Children – I heard they're starting to work on this but that is all I know. Ad hoc schools have begun in some of the camps. We met a woman – our host in fact – who working with the Israeli Agency for International Development Cooperation – had started schools in 4 settlements for at least the next month.
- The **World Food Program continues to NOT buy locally** – which is probably now a moot point as it appears that the dairy, fruit, vegetable and grain stores have all spoiled. The WFP also seems to have been rather erratic in the early days but most people I spoke to **said WFP is now more systematic and reliable in its food delivery.** However, it had not yet

started to deliver cooking and eating utensils though these are promised for next week.

- In contrast to the UN, **there appears to be respect for the US Military on the ground** – for the Army particularly as that is the branch people see guarding the hospital – and it is a negative comment on the UN forces given their effective absence. I saw no anti-US graffiti though the walls now are covered in parts of downtown with anti 'ONG' (NGO) and anti-UN graffiti. (Also, not only graffiti writers with the above sentiments; one of the Haitian doctors I met said, "We must be so poor we can't tell them [UN and INGOs] what to do – or kick them out and use the money ourselves."). **There is also great fear – at least from the Haitian and ex-pat medical community– that the Army is leaving soon largely because of the security and total organization vacuum that would then be left around the hospital.** The UN community, in contrast, did not seem to be perturbed by this prospect.
- On an unrelated note, **the absence of the Catholic Church's efforts is notable**, particularly given the high death toll among priests, nuns and seminarians. Catholic Relief Services is present.

**Thoughts on what is needed** – and what we could do below. (I know much of this is familiar.):

- **The Office of Special Envoy** – i.e., you Dad – **needs authority over the UN and all its myriad parts** – which I do believe would give you effective authority over much of then INGO sphere given how persistently the collective humanitarian community holding onto cluster approach. I know you know this and are working on it. OSHA clearly is failing on the ground, otherwise it could be "empowered" to do this but it ostensibly already is.
- However, regardless of the attachment to clusters, **there needs to be a single point of authority either over UN / INGO efforts on the ground organized in one of two principle ways: either expertise areas** (e.g., latrines, lights) or **by settlements/ Port Au Prince regions** with constituent settlements, with full structures – e.g., finance, procurement, project management etc., understanding certain functional areas would be cross-cutting (e.g., pay for work)
- There needs to be a **coordinated logistics effort which should follow from the above with an urgency on procurement and deployment of latrines, tents and lights** – and what is needed to support installment, servicing, maintenance, etc of each. In parallel, **a new logistics center/ warehouse** coordinating facility should be built; every non-UN logistics-focused person I talked to said a need exists for a new logistic center near the major seaport.
- **A plan must be developed for the rainy season, which is already on us, particularly for the settlements** and it should include answers to questions like where can people evacuate to when it rains? How will they access food and water and latrines, at a minimum, from those spaces? Also, **could those places be multipurpose**, e.g., also schools and clinic tents/semi permanent structures (one engineer talked to me about fiberglass?)?

- On **pay for work, UN needs to expand its mandate and coordinate with relevant INGO partners to** start employing people, at differential wages, in the settlements and coordinate with the groups above to ensure consistent wages until a 'market' could develop
- The UN – IMO/IOM – or someone needs to take a **monthly census of the settlements at the minimum**
- Speaking of censuses, the UN also **needs a census of itself and its materials** in country – **including of the peacekeeper bases outside Port Au Prince.** For example, we drove by 2 bases on the way to Cange and there were collectively, I would estimate, more than a hundred trucks and buses just sitting between the two, as well as at least 800 Napali soldiers (according to locals) laying effectively fallow – and I don't think anyone expects an outbreak of violence on the Central Plateau in the near future so even if they and their colleagues are deployed under UN Charter Chapter 6, surely preserving the peace could be interpreted to work with the settlements? At the least, their hardware could be used more effectively in Port Au Prince
- **Special/ extraordinary management needed around areas that have received significant attention and offers of assistance, e.g., the general hospital in Port Au Prince** which multiple actors, including Sarkozy, have now offered to rebuild
- Holistically, **all of the above should support the Haitian government both actually and ostensibly to not undermine its authority and also to help augment and build local capacity and capabilities, where feasible**
- **The UN/ INGO should look to source locally or work with local partners whenever possible, post emergency phase at the least.** For example, work with local solar light producers, buy from local t-shirt factories (if any survived outside Port Au Prince), mandate WFP first look to local producers, etc. Now bias I think has to be on quickest production but in medium term that should accommodate a local dimension
- **Re: USNS Comfort:** for as long as it is there, at a minimum, **its mission should be expanded such that its military and civilian staff could work on the physical therapy of earthquake related victims** and ideally care for non-earthquake related cases.
- **Re: US Army:** If its mission is largely coming to an end, I hope there is a succession plan for its current tasks, e.g., the hospital security, that the Haitian government is comfortable with; currently Haitian government/ at least Haitian government people on the proverbial ground have no idea what the transfer plan is
- **Re: medical evacuations:** think this will be improved given our collectively-experienced chaos on Sunday
- **Re: mental health in settlements and beyond:** clear people are thinking about this now – largely because Dad asked about it and made it prominent – but still unclear what the action plan is
- **Re: Haitian plan:** I am not sure it's the best plan, but it is a plan and we should work with the government to flush out the details so it is robust and actionable – not sure who the we is here probably most of all

- **Re: Catholic church:** Could we reach out to the Vatican – or even Catholic groups/ prominent Catholics domestically to raise money and the necessary expertise **to rebuild the central cathedral and main seminary**? It would be a powerful symbolic statement – and put lots of people to work
- **Re: status, including mental health of workers there, both Haitian and ex-pat:** I am consciously leaving this off as I just can't process right now

**FYI: Emergent Haitian government plan of action**, as I understand it:

- Near term/ for the next year
  - **Buttress the settlements that currently exist that are not in the lowest lying flood plans**, i.e., get tents and latrines in place, ensure sufficient amounts of clean water flowing in or being brought, ensure food supplies sufficient, ensure security and safety (though this seems to be people-focused only); ensure medical care accessible; start schools at least for the youngest children.
  - **Move people who are in the settlements in the worst geographies for flooding or practical reasons**/ other reasons (e.g., the one currently with 4000 people on the prime minister's lawn) **to pre-constructed tent settlements** elsewhere – they have built the first of these already with INGO Shelter Box though apparently the tents were put up too close to one another
  - **Areas lacking in mention when I heard the above discussed**: a solution to ensure people have somewhere to go when the heavy rains come; ensure continuity of key services once the rains come; a solution to ensure people are paid how to ensure sufficient light in the camps, clearly critical to security (rapes are skyrocketing and I know there were at least 2 murders in one camp on Saturday night); what the right spec of tent is for any of the above – housing, clinic, evacuation, school and what could be multipurpose; plan for older children/young adults who may be too old for initial school plan; how to best support / help create where needed settlement governance; how to census, on a semi-regular basis, who is in the settlements
  - **Over next 6-12 months:**
    - **Assess which homes are sufficiently safe for families to return to and subsequently encourage them to do so**; government estimates this will be ~30% of all homes/families (though this seems to be a guess, i.e., no evidence base)
    - **Build semi-permanent settlements or augment pre-existing villages around Port Au Prince where feasible to enable the government to move people**

**out of settlements to those sites.** End goal is to move 400-1000 families to each of these as needed

- **Longer-term:**
  - Rebuilt Port Au Prince though it is unclear how/if/why people would move back or what the government's post-rebuild vision looks like
  - Build more robust health, education etc systems than existed before the earthquake
  - *Clearly this is the less well-defined part of the "plan"

Context

I spent the last four days in Haiti. I was with Paul Farmer (Paul) and Partners in Health (PIH) the entire time – in Port Au Prince Thursday, Friday and Sunday afternoon and at PIH sites in Laconville and Cange, in the Central Plateau region Saturday and Sunday morning. I sat in on Paul's formal meetings in Port Au Prince with: the Haitian Minister of Health Alex Larsen and his team; the Haitian government official ostensibly overseeing the reconstruction efforts/ UN liaison Leslie Voltaire; a x-UN group preparing for the PDNA (post disaster needs assessment) conference in New York at the end of March working on giving 'voice to the voiceless,' i.e., the designated 15minutes at the conference to highlight the voices of those most affected (the 15 minutes I gather are happening at all only because of Cheryl and Paul), UNDP, UNHCR and others were represented; a group interested in building a logistics center for the reconstruction efforts, i.e., outside the UN ambit, including people from Royal Caribbean, McKinsey and the people we were traveling with, including Wes Edens, CEO of Fortress and a supporter of PIH – and the person who donated, and continues to donate the space at the Miami airport that PIH, Clinton Foundation, University of Miami Medical Center and others are using to move goods by air and sea, via transfer, to Haiti. Informally, I talked with: people in settlements and settlement committee heads, through a translator; local Haitian doctors; ex-pat PIH and other doctors in mobile clinics in settlements; doctors, nurses and US police officers I ran into on the street, at dinner, at their ad hoc residence in the abandoned Aristide Foundation; Maryse Kedar who hosted us our nights in Port Au Prince, a member of the local elite, and her ad hoc Israel volunteers (from the Israeli Agency for International Development Cooperation, ie their USAID, as mentioned above); a broad swath of people serving on the USNS Comfort, both on and off the ship; US Army enlisted and officers whenever I saw them; Louise Ivers, head of PIH in Haiti, and others we met or ran into along the way.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:18 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

Have I written the family a condolence letter?

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Feb 22 17:12:32 2010
Subject: Barbara Haig - Alexander Haig's daughter

Barbara haig – Alexander Haig's daughter / Called to say thank you for the statement that you made. Her father really respected you . He would been so happy and humbled about what you said. Barbara works for the Nat'l Endowment for Democracy and says she is grateful for what a help you have been to them, too.

###

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, February 22, 2010 10:57 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Rio Group-Haiti

Nope.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/22/2020

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 22:25:22 2010
Subject: FW: Rio Group-Haiti

Assume you know about this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Sent: Monday, February 22, 2010 9:33 PM
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Julissa/Cheryl -- Per Foreign Minister Fernandez,

----- Original Message -----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben; Shannon, Thomas A; Simons, Paul E (Santiago)
Cc: McMullen, Christopher J; De Pirro, Velia M
Sent: Mon Feb 22 23:03:06 2010
Subject: Re: Rio Group-Haiti

Including Tom Shannon and Paul Simons who know more.

The position is not clearly defined.

B1
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Reynoso, Julissa; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Sent: Mon Feb 22 20:40:54 2010

Subject: RE: Rio Group-Haiti

What is the position? To whom does it report? What is the function?

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Reynoso, Julissa
Sent: Monday, February 22, 2010 7:57 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Curtis, Meghann A; Kelly, Craig A; Brigety, Reuben
Subject: Rio Group-Haiti

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Julissa

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 7:26 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Today

Is the UAE FM is meeting w Bill Burns before my lunch w him? If so when and where?

What happened to the idea of my going by dinner at WH? Any other way I could see the CEOs who will be here?

RELEASE IN PART B6

---

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 6:39 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:
**Attachments:** 2010-02-22v2 Haiti memo.docx; 2010-02-22v2 Haiti memo.docx

Print this, not the first version.

----- Original Message -----
From: Diane Reynolds
To: H
Sent: Mon Feb 22 23:10:14 2010
Subject:

caught a few errors - was sending to dad in haste. here's a slightly edited version

[redacted]chelsea B6

RELEASE IN FULL

To: Dad, Mom
Cc: Cheryl, Doug, Justin

There is a context section at the bottom, which is longer than I would like, but I think it is important to articulate what I saw and whom I spoke with (and what I didn't see and whom I didn't meet) so that you understand my data set and its clear limitations. To say I was profoundly disturbed by what I saw – and didn't see – would be an understatement. The incompetence is mind numbing. Not incidentally, it rained twice while I was there. If we do not quickly change the organization, management, accountability and delivery paradigm on the ground, we could quite conceivably confront tens of thousands of children's deaths by diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid and other water-related diseases in the near future. Below are my major takeaways and a few nascent/early thoughts on what we (however we define we) could do to drive significant and incremental improvements on the ground in the near and longer term. As is often said, if I had more time – and less emotion – I would have written a shorter letter. I hope this mini-behemoth is not rife with grammatical errors or inadvertent gaps; I am sorry if either true.
Please do not forward this in whole or in part attributed to me without asking me first – happy to be an invisible soldier. Mainly hope this is even marginally helpful.

Thanks,
Chelsea

**Takeaways** are below, with illustrative examples, in a logical flow, not order of importance. **Bolded** what I think most important.:

- **Haitians want to help themselves** and want the international community to help them help themselves – this sounds obvious but wasn't to some of the UN and International NGO (INGO) folks I ran across. The UN people I encountered were frequently out of touch (e.g., would not have been off Logbase in days – or ever), anachronistic in their thinking at best and arrogant and incompetent at worst (e.g., one woman from the UN – UNDP I think - told me she was waiting for the Haitians to "demand their political rights" – when they're asking for tents, latrines, soap, food and not getting that....)
- In fact, **Haitians in the settlements** are very much **organizing themselves, in part to help define their needs and then articulate them to the UN/ INGO community. Fairly nuanced settlement governance structures have already developed.** The largest settlement I visited in Parc Jean Marie Vincent (40k and counting) had an overall governing committee with a head of the governing committee (voted on by the governing committee); a women's committee; a security committee; a sanitation committee (with a soap subcommittee), etc. Women comprised 50% of each committee. **One of the most illuminating anecdotes** from my trip was talking with the head of the security committee and a few other settlement residents, including 2 women from the governing committee. The security committee wanted 100 tshirts –though I think they'll need at least 2-3x that – so that the security

volunteers could wear them when patrolling so that people, particularly women, would feel safe when they saw them approach in groups of 2 or 3. They also ideally wanted flashlights to also use on night patrol. Finally, they wanted to be able to pay the security team (though this was less important than the first two 'asks'). IF that option were not feasible, their second choice was for the US Army to come into the settlement and patrol at night. Not the Haitian police (unreliable) and not the UN (dismissed). They wanted to help themselves, and they wanted reliability and accountability from their partners.

- The **settlements' governing bodies – as they shared with me - are beginning to experience UN/ INGO fatigue** given how often they articulate their needs, willingness to work – and how little is coming their way. **Tents and latrines / sanitation remain the largest urgent needs – obvious to anyone with a minimum knowledge of public health and the settlement residents** themselves
- The **Haitian government appears to have an emergent, albeit still largely lacking in specifics, plan of action** (detailed below), **for both the near** (to get through the next 6-12 months) **and longer term** (while rebuilding over next ~5 years)
- The **Haitian government's inability to articulate its plan** quickly enough or in sufficient terms to the UN/ INGO community has **lead to a proliferation of ad hoc efforts by the UN and INGOs to 'help,' some of which have helped** (e.g., we met no one who was worried about water supplies in camps even though it's a motley crue of French Red Cross, Oxfam, IMO/IOM, etc that have achieved that), **some of which have hurt** (e.g., the largest settlement we visited had 1 latrine to every 1,000 people or 40 for ~40k though given the settlements' growth rate its probably 40 for ~45k today; there should be 1 for every 50 people or 800+ latrines) and **some which have not happened at all** (e.g., the only settlements with lights at night are those in areas that had lights before that continue to work; settlement at the Petionville Golf Club, for instance, has some lights at night while most sit in darkness)
- This **disorganization across the UN/ INGOs has had a variety of effects on the Haitian government, including that it has now visibly distanced itself from the UN Cluster process** (e.g., instead of going to a meeting a day the Haitian Minister of Health is now going once a week – because it was "such a waste of time" and he said that is representative of the government's current modus operandi); though we heard the cluster process was improving – when I asked for a concrete example of how, I was told meetings were "more efficient." This lack of efficiency – not to mention lack of visible consistent progress - has also **lead to a further distrust of the UN/ INGOs by the Haitian government and Haitian people in the settlements. The former feels like it shows up to no effect – and the latter feels like very few actor(s) reliably show up**
- Again, the UN seemed at best chaotic and at worst absent as I travelled around in an action-oriented sense – I saw few IOM/IMO tents in settlements

or workers or evidence of work; no evidence of WHO; no evidence of OSHA; no evidence of... You get the picture. I did see lots of UN peacekeepers riding around however in their vans, humvees, etc. Though on the point of trucks, **I asked how many trucks were in the country – including the non-Port Au Prince UN 'bases' – and no one could tell me. There appears to be NO accessible and usable UN inventory system or logistics operation.** WFP, for instance, is largely piggy backing on the US Army/ SOUTHCOM but the "UN" / OSHA could not tell me how many trucks WFP had, much less how many the UN itself had. I counted – I kid you not – hundreds of trucks and cars at the UN logbase and other UN bases we drove by

- **UNICEF was the only UN agency that seemed to be universally acknowledged to be doing a good job by settlements' residents, by Haitian doctors and by INGO partners,** perhaps in part because of its narrowly defined agenda currently in Haiti (vaccinations) and that its reliable – i.e., it shows up when it says it will in the settlements and other central locations
- There is **NO accountability in the UN system or international humanitarian system (including for/ among INGOs)**, this is not new news but it is one area that the Cluster approach had aimed to remedy – e.g., there is no feedback mechanism for when the British Red Cross dug the 34 of the 40 above latrines only 3 feet deep and didn't tell the residents when they would come and extract the latrines or properly train people to take care of the latrines, etc. – that malpractice continuum is appalling and the British Red Cross should know better—at the least, the British Red Cross subsequently should not be allowed to dig elsewhere/ 'do' latrines
- The **cash-for-work program the UN heralds is not working optimally, to put it mildly.** It currently focuses – perhaps solely - on debris cleaning – important no doubt – but **it has not extended its work into the settlements or helped set standardized, and differentiated wages, for settlement work**. For instance, the UN cash for work program should have already started to pay people in the more organized camps – to clean latrines; 'guard' latrines, including insuring kids use soap; be teachers; be on security patrol; be on evacuation duty; work with the WFP during the XYZ drop times, etc.... NONE of this is happening as far as I can tell. When we were there the cash for work program head was still focused only – it appeared – on rubble cleaning.
- **Re: education in the settlements and beyond:** This is theoretically the responsibility of UNICEF and Save the Children – I heard they're starting to work on this but that is all I know. Ad hoc schools have begun in some of the camps. We met a woman – our host in fact – who working with the Israeli Agency for International Development Cooperation – had started schools in 4 settlements for at least the next month.
- The **World Food Program continues to NOT buy locally** – which is probably now a moot point as it appears that the dairy, fruit, vegetable and grain stores have all spoiled. The WFP also seems to have been rather erratic in the early days but most people I spoke to **said WFP is now more**

**systematic and reliable in its food delivery.** However, it had not yet started to deliver cooking and eating utensils though these are promised for next week.

- In contrast to the UN, **there appears to be respect for the US Military on the ground** – for the Army particularly as that is the branch people see guarding the hospital – and it is a negative comment on the UN forces given their effective absence. I saw no anti-US graffiti though the walls now are covered in parts of downtown with anti 'ONG' (NGO) and anti-UN graffiti. (Also, not only graffiti writers with the above sentiments; one of the Haitian doctors I met said, "We must be so poor we can't tell them [UN and INGOs] what to do – or kick them out and use the money ourselves."). **There is also great fear – at least from the Haitian and ex-pat medical community– that the Army is leaving soon largely because of the security and total organization vacuum that would then be left around the hospital.** The UN community, in contrast, did not seem to be perturbed by this prospect.
- On an unrelated note, **the absence of the Catholic Church's efforts is notable**, particularly given the high death toll among priests, nuns and seminarians. Catholic Relief Services is present.

**Thoughts on what is needed** – and what we could do below. (I know much of this is familiar.):

- **The Office of Special Envoy** – i.e., you Dad – **needs authority over the UN and all its myriad parts** – which I do believe would give you effective authority over much of then INGO sphere given how persistently the collective humanitarian community holding onto cluster approach. I know you know this and are working on it. OSHA clearly is failing on the ground, otherwise it could be "empowered" to do this but it ostensibly already is.
- However, regardless of the attachment to clusters, **there needs to be a single point of authority either over UN / INGO efforts on the ground organized in one of two principle ways: either expertise areas** (e.g., latrines, lights) or **by settlements/ Port Au Prince regions** with constituent settlements, with full structures – e.g., finance, procurement, project management etc., understanding certain functional areas would be cross-cutting (e.g., pay for work)
- There needs to be a **coordinated logistics effort which should follow from the above with an urgency on procurement and deployment of latrines, tents and lights** – and what is needed to support installment, servicing, maintenance, etc of each. In parallel, **a new logistics center/ warehouse** coordinating facility should be built; every non-UN logistics-focused person I talked to said a need exists for a new logistic center near the major seaport.
- **A plan must be developed for the rainy season, which is already on us, particularly for the settlements** and it should include answers to questions like where can people evacuate to when it rains? How will they access food and water and latrines, at a minimum, from those spaces? Also, **could those places be multipurpose**, e.g., also schools and clinic tents/semi permanent structures (one engineer talked to me about fiberglass?)?

- On **pay for work, UN needs to expand its mandate and coordinate with relevant INGO partners to** start employing people, at differential wages, in the settlements and coordinate with the groups above to ensure consistent wages until a 'market' could develop
- The UN – IMO/IOM – or someone needs to take a **monthly census of the settlements at the minimum**
- Speaking of censuses, the UN also **needs a census of itself and its materials** in country – **including of the peacekeeper bases outside Port Au Prince.** For example, we drove by 2 bases on the way to Cange and there were collectively, I would estimate, more than a hundred trucks and buses just sitting between the two, as well as at least 800 Napali soldiers (according to locals) laying effectively fallow – and I don't think anyone expects an outbreak of violence on the Central Plateau in the near future so even if they and their colleagues are deployed under UN Charter Chapter 6, surely preserving the peace could be interpreted to work with the settlements? At the least, their hardware could be used more effectively in Port Au Prince
- **Special/ extraordinary management needed around areas that have received significant attention and offers of assistance, e.g., the general hospital in Port Au Prince** which multiple actors, including Sarkozy, have now offered to rebuild
- Holistically, **all of the above should support the Haitian government both actually and ostensibly to not undermine its authority and also to help augment and build local capacity and capabilities, where feasible**
- **The UN/ INGO should look to source locally or work with local partners whenever possible, post emergency phase at the least.** For example, work with local solar light producers, buy from local t-shirt factories (if any survived outside Port Au Prince), mandate WFP first look to local producers, etc. Now bias I think has to be on quickest production but in medium term that should accommodate a local dimension
- **Re: USNS Comfort:** for as long as it is there, at a minimum, **its mission should be expanded such that its military and civilian staff could work on the physical therapy of earthquake related victims** and ideally care for non-earthquake related cases.
- **Re: US Army:** If its mission is largely coming to an end, I hope there is a succession plan for its current tasks, e.g., the hospital security, that the Haitian government is comfortable with; currently Haitian government/ at least Haitian government people on the proverbial ground have no idea what the transfer plan is
- **Re: medical evacuations:** think this will be improved given our collectively-experienced chaos on Sunday
- **Re: mental health in settlements and beyond:** clear people are thinking about this now – largely because Dad asked about it and made it prominent – but still unclear what the action plan is
- **Re: Haitian plan:** I am not sure it's the best plan, but it is a plan and we should work with the government to flush out the details so it is robust and actionable – not sure who the we is here probably most of all

- **Re: Catholic church:** Could we reach out to the Vatican – or even Catholic groups/ prominent Catholics domestically to raise money and the necessary expertise **to rebuild the central cathedral and main seminary**? It would be a powerful symbolic statement – and put lots of people to work
- **Re: status, including mental health of workers there, both Haitian and ex-pat:** I am consciously leaving this off as I just can't process right now

**FYI: Emergent Haitian government plan of action**, as I understand it:

- Near term/ for the next year
  - **Buttress the settlements that currently exist that are not in the lowest lying flood plans**, i.e., get tents and latrines in place, ensure sufficient amounts of clean water flowing in or being brought, ensure food supplies sufficient, ensure security and safety (though this seems to be people-focused only); ensure medical care accessible; start schools at least for the youngest children.
  - **Move people who are in the settlements in the worst geographies for flooding or practical reasons/** other reasons (e.g., the one currently with 4000 people on the prime minister's lawn) **to pre-constructed tent settlements** elsewhere – they have built the first of these already with INGO Shelter Box though apparently the tents were put up too close to one another
  - **Areas lacking in mention when I heard the above discussed:** a solution to ensure people have somewhere to go when the heavy rains come; ensure continuity of key services once the rains come; a solution to ensure people are paid how to ensure sufficient light in the camps, clearly critical to security (rapes are skyrocketing and I know there were at least 2 murders in one camp on Saturday night); what the right spec of tent is for any of the above – housing, clinic, evacuation, school and what could be multipurpose; plan for older children/young adults who may be too old for initial school plan; how to best support / help create where needed settlement governance; how to census, on a semi-regular basis, who is in the settlements
  - **Over next 6-12 months:**
    - **Assess which homes are sufficiently safe for families to return to and subsequently encourage them to do so**; government estimates this will be ~30% of all homes/families (though this seems to be a guess, i.e., no evidence base)
    - **Build semi-permanent settlements or augment pre-existing villages around Port Au Prince where feasible to enable the government to move people**

**out of settlements to those sites.** End goal is to move 400-1000 families to each of these as needed

- **Longer-term:**
  - Rebuilt Port Au Prince though it is unclear how/if/why people would move back or what the government's post-rebuild vision looks like
  - Build more robust health, education etc systems than existed before the earthquake
  - *Clearly this is the less well-defined part of the "plan"

Context

I spent the last four days in Haiti. I was with Paul Farmer (Paul) and Partners in Health (PIH) the entire time – in Port Au Prince Thursday, Friday and Sunday afternoon and at PIH sites in Laconville and Cange, in the Central Plateau region Saturday and Sunday morning. I sat in on Paul's formal meetings in Port Au Prince with: the Haitian Minister of Health Alex Larsen and his team; the Haitian government official ostensibly overseeing the reconstruction efforts/ UN liaison Leslie Voltaire; a x-UN group preparing for the PDNA (post disaster needs assessment) conference in New York at the end of March working on giving 'voice to the voiceless,' i.e., the designated 15minutes at the conference to highlight the voices of those most affected (the 15 minutes I gather are happening at all only because of Cheryl and Paul), UNDP, UNHCR and others were represented; a group interested in building a logistics center for the reconstruction efforts, i.e., outside the UN ambit, including people from Royal Caribbean, McKinsey and the people we were traveling with, including Wes Edens, CEO of Fortress and a supporter of PIH – and the person who donated, and continues to donate the space at the Miami airport that PIH, Clinton Foundation, University of Miami Medical Center and others are using to move goods by air and sea, via transfer, to Haiti. Informally, I talked with: people in settlements and settlement committee heads, through a translator; local Haitian doctors; ex-pat PIH and other doctors in mobile clinics in settlements; doctors, nurses and US police officers I ran into on the street, at dinner, at their ad hoc residence in the abandoned Aristide Foundation; Maryse Kedar who hosted us our nights in Port Au Prince, a member of the local elite, and her ad hoc Israel volunteers (from the Israeli Agency for International Development Cooperation, ie their USAID, as mentioned above); a broad swath of people serving on the USNS Comfort, both on and off the ship; US Army enlisted and officers whenever I saw them; Louise Ivers, head of PIH in Haiti, and others we met or ran into along the way.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 8:34 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

I spoke w Bildt about internet freedom and thanked him for the op-ed. He wants to have a "brainstorming" seesion 0

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:07:02 2010
Subject: call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

w/o presuming on the content of the call, you might want to remember that Bildt wrote a very good op-ed after your internet freedom speech suggesting U.S.-EU cooperation in that area; the Swedish ambassador came to see me last week to follow up and to say that the Bildt would like to host a meeting in Stockholm on the subject that Alec would presumably go to. If you need a sweetener of any kind, emphasizing our enthusiasm for following up on this would be good. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 23, 2010 8:37 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

(I didn't finish!) And so would you pls contact the Swedes to discuss such a mtg? Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'slaughtera@state.gov' <slaughtera@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Feb 23 20:34:24 2010
Subject: Re: call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

I spoke w Bildt about internet freedom and thanked him for the op-ed. He wants to have a "brainstorming" seesion 0

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Feb 21 19:07:02 2010
Subject: call w/ Carl Bildt tomorrow

w/o presuming on the content of the call, you might want to remember that Bildt wrote a very good op-ed after your internet freedom speech suggesting U.S.-EU cooperation in that area; the Swedish ambassador came to see me last week to follow up and to say that the Bildt would like to host a meeting in Stockholm on the subject that Alec would presumably go to. If you need a sweetener of any kind, emphasizing our enthusiasm for following up on this would be good. AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 6:37 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'lewjj@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Testimony

Could we do conf call at 7am to go over some questions?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 24, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'lewjj@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Testimony

I will call all--around 7:10.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Feb 24 06:47:55 2010
Subject: Re: Testimony

Sure. I am available.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Feb 24 06:36:35 2010
Subject: Testimony

Could we do conf call at 7am to go over some questions?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 7:41 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:

I assume he's avoiding the call. I hope Ellen is going anyway and that she will chase Antonov to Moscow if necessary. What more can we do?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 25 07:23:13 2010
Subject:

Lavrov cannot do call this morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 9:01 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

I talked w Ellen so up to date.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 25 08:20:08 2010
Subject: Re:

Sorry -- just seeing. Ryabkov called for Ellen this morning and they are set to talk at 1030. Plan is for her to deliver same message and go to Geneva this evening.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Feb 25 07:40:47 2010
Subject: Fw:

I assume he's avoiding the call. I hope Ellen is going anyway and that she will chase Antonov to Moscow if necessary. What more can we do?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 25 07:23:13 2010
Subject:

Lavrov cannot do call this morning.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** 'reinesp@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Greetings

----- Original Message -----
From: Barnett, Robert [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Feb 25 10:00:33 2010
Subject: Greetings

A favor.

David Montgomery, a reporter for the WP, is (God help me) doing a profile of me.

Would you be willing to speak with him for 5 minutes? His numbers are [redacted] Campaigns, books, friendship, etc.

I would be very grateful.

P.S. Remind me when we next speak to tell you about some Palin comments about you.

P.P.S. Also, about [redacted] social life.

Miss you. Thank you.

---

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This message is intended for the use of the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient or the employee or agent responsible for delivering this message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by reply or by telephone (call us collect at (202) 434-5000) and immediately delete this message and all its attachments.

==========

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, February 25, 2010 11:20 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Any update since yesterday?

Have we made progress on the Expo?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]' 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Have you left yet?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, February 26, 2010 8:04 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Have you left yet?

Mike.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 07:55:22 2010
Subject: Re: Have you left yet?

What is mullen's first name?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D B6
Sent: Fri Feb 26 07:30:39 2010
Subject: Have you left yet?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 6:13 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: E-mail test

Do you know what this is?

----- Original Message -----
From: Butzgy, Christopher H <ButzgyCH2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 17:59:37 2010
Subject: E-mail test

Good Afternoon,

I work as a Help Desk Analyst and it has come to my attention that one of our customers has been receiving permanent fatal errors from this address, can you please confirm if you receive this message.

Thank you for your assistance,

Christopher

Christopher Butzgy

S/ES-IRM (POEMS)

202-647-8700

This e-mail is Unclassified based on the criteria of E.O. 12958

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 6:31 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: E-mail test

I've gotten some messages from yesterday--how about you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:29:50 2010
Subject: Re: E-mail test

Ur email must be back up!!
What happened is judith sent you an email. It bounced back. She called the email help desk at state (I guess assuming u had state email) and told them that. They had no idea it was YOU, just some random address so they emailed. Sorry about that. But regardless, means ur email must be back! R u getting other messages?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Feb 27 18:13:28 2010
Subject: Fw: E-mail test

Do you know what this is?

----- Original Message -----
From: Butzgy, Christopher H <ButzgyCH2@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Feb 27 17:59:37 2010
Subject: E-mail test

Good Afternoon,

I work as a Help Desk Analyst and it has come to my attention that one of our customers has been receiving permanent fatal errors from this address, can you please confirm if you receive this message.

Thank you for your assistance,

Christopher

Christopher Butzgy

S/ES-IRM (POEMS)

202-647-8700

This e-mail is Unclassified based on the criteria of E.O. 12958

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 7:55 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Dallas

It is such a sad situation.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [redacted]
To: H
Cc: CDM [redacted]; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Feb 27 08:20:01 2010
Subject: Dallas

Today's Dallas Morning News editorial page condemns attorney David Schiller for including you in the wrongful death suit that he filed on behalf of the Lozado family. It ends with ". . . citing Clinton is enough to give even ambulance-chasing lawyers a bad name."

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 7:58 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Can you talk--

Either now (Bill wants to catch up w you too) or early tomorrow am?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 12:14 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk--

Ok. Pls call me then.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H; cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Feb 28 00:13:19 2010
Subject: Re: Can you talk--

I can at 8am

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'cheryl.mills [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Feb 27 19:58:13 2010
Subject: Can you talk--

Either now [redacted] (Bill wants to catch up w you too) or early tomorrow am?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** What time can we offer karzai for tomorrow?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:03 PM
**To:** 'stalbott [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Our mutual friend

Could you talk now or tomorrow early morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 18:20:13 2010
Subject: Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 12:21 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2010 10:07 PM
**To:** H

Thank you so much for meeting with my parents today. [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 15, 2010 2:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: [START and CTBT Lobbying] Graham: Two START 'stumblingblocks'stand in way of his vote - The Hill

done

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, November 15, 2010 2:23 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Fw: [START and CTBT Lobbying] Graham: Two START 'stumblingblocks'stand in way of his vote - The Hill

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Nov 15 14:20:34 2010
Subject: Fw: [START and CTBT Lobbying] Graham: Two START 'stumblingblocks'stand in way of his vote - The Hill

I attended the Foreign Policy Initiative meeting this morning with Senator McCain as a speaker and he reiterated these two stumbling blocks for New STARR 1. Modernization and 2. Missile defense. Sounded very much like talking points.

With missile defense he stated that "he was very disturbed by the signing agreement with Russia" that linked New START with missile defense. He said he wanted to see a very strong statement that makes a clear distinction between New START and missile defense. In terms of modernization he's taking his cues from Sen. Kyl who he thinks is making good strides in agreements with the Administration. He said that he thinks both these issues can be resolved and the Senate can vote on New START – he said that he thinks some Republicans are going to push that the senate only consider and CR and the extension of the tax cuts.

He also said that he thinks it's a good idea to reduce nuclear weapons, but anyone who says that it will affect other nation's (i.e. Iran and North Korea) nuclear ambitions are ridiculous. Someone asked if he supports President Obama's vision of a nuclear weapons free world – he stated "I hope that we have a world without nuclear weapons one day, but I also hope pigs fly – and I think neither will happen very soon."

He did mention that he is worried about the rise of the isolationist wing of the Republicans Party and the decline of the internationalist wing. He stated that "he was worried about the erosion of support within the Republican Party for the Afghanistan War."

Anu Joshi

Manager of Outreach and Membership

Citizens for Global Solutions (www.globalsolutions.org)

202.546.3950 X102

202.546.3749 (Fax)

B6

P.S. The 2011 Annual Meeting will be March 17th and 18th in Washington, D.C. Registration is only $5 for members and $40 for non members. Click here to register NOW!
<https://org2.democracyinaction.org/o/5550/p/salsa/event/common/public/?event_KEY=25296>

From: ctbt-bounces@lists101.his.com [mailto:ctbt-bounces@lists101.his.com] On Behalf Of David Culp
Sent: Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:07 PM
To: START and CTBT Lobbying
Subject: [START and CTBT Lobbying] Graham: Two START 'stumbling blocks'stand in way of his vote - The Hill

<http://thehill.com/>

<http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room>

Graham: Two START 'stumbling blocks' stand in way of his vote

By Bridget Johnson - 11/14/10 12:19 PM ET

Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) said if Jon Kyl takes care of those issues, he would vote for the arms treaty.

Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) said Sunday that he didn't know if the START treaty would come up for a vote in the lame-duck session, but said two "stumbling blocks" had to be removed in order to get his vote.

Appearing on ABC's "This Week," Graham said he was "very open-minded about the treaty," which needs 67 votes for ratification in the Senate and would face an even greater hurdle with six fewer Democrats in the new Congress.

"You've got two impediments," Graham said. "Modernization. Not only do we need a START Treaty; we need to modernize our nuclear force, the weapons that are left, to make sure they continue to be a deterrent. And we need to make sure that we can employ -- deploy missile defense systems that are apart from START.

"So you've got two stumbling blocks," he said.

Graham said those two issues would have to be dealt with, and in its current state he would not vote for the U.S.-Russia arms reduction treaty.

"(Sen.) Jon Kyl is working with the administration to get better modernization to make sure that missile defense is not connected to START," he said. "If you could get those two things together, I would vote for the treaty."

On CNN's "State of the Union" Sunday, Sen. John Cornyn said that he didn't think there would even be time to address the treaty in the lame-duck session because the continuing resolution to keep the government operating and the extension of the Bush-era tax cuts were more pressing.

"I don't think there's a lot of time," Cornyn said when asked whether there would be time for a "Don't ask, don't tell" vote. "And I don't think there's a lot of appetite to try to jam stuff through. The president said he wants to pass a new START treaty in a lame duck session. I just don't see that happening."

President Obama assured Russian President Dmitry Medvedev on Sunday that the lame-duck session will be used to ratify the START nuclear-arms treaty.

"I reiterated my commitment to getting the START treaty done during the lame-duck session," Obama said at a photo op, calling passage of the treaty a "top priority" of his administration.

Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who served under President Clinton, said on "This Week" that it was "very important" that the treaty be ratified.

"First of all, it's a good treaty," Albright said. "But part of the problem is we remember President Reagan said trust, but verify. And what has happened is that the verification procedures have now not been in place for almost a year, so we need that treaty for that."

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry (D-Mass.) said last week that he expects START to come up for a vote in December.

Source:
http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/129077-graham-two-start-stumbling-blocks-stand-in-way-of-his-vote

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Travel records

Were you able to correct the record on our travel?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 2, 2010 9:09 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** AfPak weekly

Ok to go.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 3, 2010 5:23 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** WSJ Per Diem article

Pls read the article so we can discuss whether we need to take any action.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, November 15, 2010 9:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Qddr/thanks

----- Original Message -----
From: Goldwyn, David L
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Mon Nov 15 20:45:03 2010
Subject: Qddr/thanks

Cheryl/anne-marie:

Thanks for including my ideas about balancing energy and environment, and an energy bureau, in the qddr.

Bold move to move oes to the E tier, and no doubt a controversial one, but a great move.

Look forward to the chapter.
Best,

David

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 1:11 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Human rights reports

I have not looked at it (if I have it which I'm not sure about). So want Mike's advice. We should talk about it this afternoon--pls set a time w Huma to do so.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Mar 04 13:07:48 2010
Subject: Human rights reports

I understand from Joe that you are reviewing the key material for the human rights reports. You might talk to Mike Fuchs, who I asked to go thru the key reports with a fine-toothed comb.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 4, 2010 1:21 PM
**To:** 'tauschereo@state.gov'; 'Burnswj@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Lavrov call

Lavrov thanked me for sending Ellen to Geneva and was delighted to hear she would be back on the 9th and would stay until we reached agreement. You can read the memcon for more details.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 6:26 AM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Expo Update

Good work. Let me know if I need to do anything else.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Mar 04 19:08:52 2010
Subject: Expo Update

Just a quick note to tell you that we are moving forward on the Expo funding. ATT came in at $500k, McGraw Hill at $200k, Intel at $250k more, Delos Living (a Mantz client) $250k, and CITI at a minimum of $2M brings us down to $3.7M.

The following are on deck and likely to come in soon - Boeing (more), Carlyle, Blackstone, Alcoa, and AECOM. EB and I chatting with many others.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 6:25 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mack called back

How did you like the man you, Doug and Justin met w last night? Are you coming out here today?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 21:58:12 2010
Subject: Mack called back

He landed and is home [redacted] He will also be in the office for the entire day tomorrow. [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 11:29 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Helsinki

I would stop on way to Tallin but have to get back after. Would that work?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 01 10:35:55 2010
Subject: Fw: Helsinki

I'm going to call today to get more info and only way to make this work is to do on front end of talinn so u get back for engagement party. But do u have any immediate reaction to the suggestion?

---

From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 30 20:20:47 2010
Subject: Helsinki

What do you guys think of stopping in Helsinki after Tallinn ministerial and having S give a speech on 35th anniversary of Helsinki Final Act – emphasizing the human dimension of security that complements what she will just have done at NATO? [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 7:11 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** DR Haiti conference on June 2

The Dominican minister here in Costa Rica said the DR would host a "World Conf on Haiti" on June 2 in the DR (of course). First I'd heard of it, and, I assume, first for you too. Are you or someone in our world or Bill's in contact w them? Pres Fernandez is a force to be reckoned w since he spans the Latin Am political spectrum fro Chavez to us. I will see him later in Guatemala. We are handicapped by our lack of an Ambassador there--what is latest on Raul? Will he ever be nominated?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 3:20 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Time 100: Pelosi

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Apr 01 15:19:20 2010
Subject: Time 100: Pelosi

Time Magazine is including Nancy Pelosi in their 100 Issue, and as you know from writing for others and being written about, they ask other notables to write the accompanying text. They are inviting you to write the text that accompanies Pelosi's

We all think you should do, the timing allows you to write a bit about the importance of health care.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 08:19:09 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48

BRIDGETOWN (AP) - The Barbados government announced the death of Prime Minister David Thompson at the age of 48.

It says Thompson died early October 23. It was announced last month that he was being treated for pancreatic cancer.

Thompson, who has been prime minister of Barbados since January 2008, first became ill in March and took a leave of absence from his post in July. Deputy Prime Minister Freundel Stuart has been running the government in Thompson's absence.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 3:43 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: THANKS to Team Pledge Data

This is so way cool. How can we give and get public credit? Let's be sure we get team Haiti upstairs next week for a big Thank you!

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 01 15:37:05 2010
Subject: Fw: THANKS to Team Pledge Data

See bottom of message re the firsts.

These were innovations we pushed (particularly use of web for real time display of pledges and what initially was described by those who did not like my idea as pay to play (or in this instance as I argued - it was pay to have a priority speaking slot as those who did not have a pledge would get to speak, just not until the end).

Nice addition to our innovation and tech storyline.

Cdm

---

From: DeMarcellus, Roland F
To: 'Danila Boneva' Katherine Gilbert ; Siemer, Marguerite E; Bruno Lemarquis < >; Elizabeth Fong < >; Gianluca Rampolla < >; Dasa Silovic < >; Jehane Sedky < >; Elisabeth Diaz < >; Eric Overvest < >; Nick Rene Hartmann < >; Annie Demirjian Arshak.hovanesian_synisys.com ; Leatham, Rachel M;
Cc: 'Garry Conille' Jordan Ryan Mills, Cheryl D; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Curtis, Meghann A
Sent: Thu Apr 01 14:35:11 2010
Subject: THANKS to Team Pledge Data

B6

Dear members of Team Pledge Data,

I wanted to thank all of you for your excellent work leading up and at the Conference in establishing the system for gathering, scrubbing, presenting, projecting, and posting the pledge data from all the donors. And to thank you for

accommodating so quickly my inchoate and sleep-deprived requests yesterday morning for the changes to the format of what was projected.

But I wanted to make sure you realized that you accomplished something rather historic yesterday. You have massively raised the bar for future donors' conference on how pledge data should be tracked and shared.

Here are some of the "firsts" that you should be proud of (based at least on my experience in 8 major donors' conferences so far):

- First to gather written pledges from all donors
- First to project individual pledges in real time at the conference
- First to release individual pledges to the world public and media on the same day as the conference

In addition to these, the work that you put into scrubbing the pledges – with the rigor and integrity of development professionals – ensured that the pledge figures were more meaningful and accurate than for most other pledging conferences (another possible first).

All of these achievements are great in themselves, but they will be most important in their impact on ensuring that the pledged assistance actually makes in to the people of Haiti. This is really just the beginning of that important effort, and you will be playing a critical role in it – but you have set us off with the best possible starting point for that effort.

Thank you again. It has been and will remain for me a pleasure for me to work with you. Best regards, Roland

Please pass this on to others on the team that I have missed in this email.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 5, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Gefilte fish

Where are we on this?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 5:51 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Jim

Pls call me at home thru Ops.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 01 17:50:14 2010
Subject: Jim

Jim is very agitated by some maneuverings related to the NPR. I should bring you up to speed on it when you have a moment.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 7:45 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Thx, Rich, but I don't think H should prepare a paper since it's not part of your official job. I'm seeing her this week so if you can give me info to use, I will share w her. Appreciate the help.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 06:12:24 2010
Subject:

Did some research on Saving Americas Treasures. Looks like it is funded thru interior approps. Feinstein is Senate chair and Norm Dicks is house chair. Moran will likely take over for Dicks, as he moves to take over defense subcommittee. Happy to weigh in with both staffs, but you are also seeing Senator Feinstein this week for dinner. We can prepare a short paper for her staff.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 8:36 AM
**To:** 'bealeca@state.gov'
**Subject:** Email address

Courtney--Please share this w Zia and use for scheduling matters. Thanks so much, HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 8:52 AM
**To:** 'bealeca@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Email address

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 08:42:23 2010
Subject: Re: Email address

Yes, we will. Thank you, Courtney

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
Sent: Sat Mar 06 08:36:07 2010
Subject: Email address

Courtney--Please share this w Zia and use for scheduling matters. Thanks so much, HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Afghans say two students killed by NATO troops

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Afghanistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 08:26:57 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Afghans say two students killed by NATO troops

KABUL (Reuters) - Afghan officials accused NATO-led troops of killing two school boys in central Afghanistan on October 23 after a patrol came under fire by Taliban insurgents, but foreign troops said the circumstances were unclear.

A statement released by the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) said two civilians had possibly been killed in the Maidan Shahr district of Wardak province, west of Kabul, when insurgents attacked the patrol.

"During the attack, three Afghan citizens on a motorcycle entered the engagement area. Two of them fell off the vehicle and were taken away by local villagers," ISAF said.

It said their condition could not be determined before they were taken away. The incident was under investigation, ISAF said.

However, a spokesman for the Wardak governor said ISAF troops had fired indiscriminately and killed two students about 30 miles west of Kabul when a rocket was fired at their convoy. He said the rocket was apparently fired by the Taliban.

Wardak police chief Nawas Haqyar said ISAF troops were returning fire and mistakenly killed the students. The attack prompted a brief demonstration by angry villagers, demanding an explanation from NATO forces over the killing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 9:45 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Latest call list for today

I'd prefer to get all calls done by 2 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:43:14 2010
Subject: Latest call list for today

German FM Westerwelle 930am
Sir Reg Empey 1030 am
Peter Robinson 1230pm
Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Latest call list for today

When can she talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:57:39 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

Ok we may miss ashton which wouldn't be end of world. Her staff has been emailing saying she's anxious to talk but they haven't locked a time. I did tell her staff we weren't going to push russians to cancel quartet dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:45:27 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

I'd prefer to get all calls done by 2 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:43:14 2010
Subject: Latest call list for today

German FM Westerwelle 930am
Sir Reg Empey 1030 am
Peter Robinson 1230pm
Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 10:11 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Latest call list for today

Let me know what time she offers.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 10:00:43 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

No windows at all yet from her team.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:57:58 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

When can she talk?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:57:39 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

Ok we may miss ashton which wouldn't be end of world. Her staff has been emailing saying she's anxious to talk but they haven't locked a time. I did tell her staff we weren't going to push russians to cancel quartet dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:45:27 2010
Subject: Re: Latest call list for today

I'd prefer to get all calls done by 2 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 06 09:43:14 2010
Subject: Latest call list for today

German FM Westerwelle 930am
Sir Reg Empey 1030 am

Peter Robinson 1230pm
Martin McGuinness after 1230. His staff says he wants to talk today.
Catherine Ashton potentially today.
Condi Rice pushed to next week

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** 'bealeca@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; H
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Mar 06 10:15:25 2010
Subject: FW: UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST

Madam Secretary,

In addition to moving back Sir Reg Empey's call to 10:30, Ops has confirmed your call with UK First Minister Robinson at 12:30.

Regards,

Courtney

From: McNeil, Matthew C
Sent: Saturday, March 06, 2010 9:16 AM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST

Colleagues,

UK First Minister Robinson has confirmed his availability for 1230 EST.

Also Sir Reg Empey's call has been moved back to 1030.

Regards,

Matthew McNeil

Watch Officer

State Department Operations Center

202.647.1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 1, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Israel meeting

Do they know Ellen Tauscher has been working on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 01 18:24:00 2010
Subject: Israel meeting

There was a garble on the middle east meeting. It's not chiefly on Mitchell travel or related issues. It's chiefly on how to deal with the nuclear issue in the context of the upcoming summit. Though with the players at the table...

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Yo-Yo Ma

----- Original Message -----
From: Stock, Ann
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Sat Oct 23 08:31:31 2010
Subject: Yo-Yo Ma

FYI only--I saw Yo Yo Ma this week and we spoke about his Silk Road Project. Three members of his company are Iranian and he is very interested in touring in and furthering cultural engagement with Iran once the country opens up. He asked that I pass on this message to the Secretary, explaining that if and when this kind of engagement becomes possible, he and the Silk Road Project are ready to embrace the opportunity. Ann

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Algerian PM call

Prefer 9.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 07:36:43 2010
Subject: Algerian PM call

He is willing to take your call anytime between 9am and 4pm. What time would u like to do? Points below

The Secretary's Call Sheet for
Algerian Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia (AH-med ooh-YA-hee-ah)

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 1:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Anything to add to this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Apr 02 12:56:32 2010
Subject:

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 11:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Breakfast list

Howard Berman: yes
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen: yes
Nita Lowey: yes
Ike Skelton: yes
John Spratt: yes
Richard Durbin: yes
John Kerry: yes
Richard Lugar: yes
Thad Cochran: yes
Judd Gregg: no
Nancy Pelosi: no
Steny Hoyer: no
John Boehner: no
Eric Cantor: no
Kay Granger: no
Howard McKeon: no
Paul Ryan: no
Harry Reid: no
Mitch McConnell: no
Jon Kyl: tbd
David Obey: tbd
Jerry Lewis: tbd
Daniel K. Inouye: tbd
Patrick Leahy: tbd
Carl Levin: tbd
John McCain: tbd
Kent Conrad: tbd

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] Guidance on today's call B1 1.4(D)

Fyi - spoke with RCH a little bit ago. He wanted you to have the below.

---

**From:** Holbrooke, Richard
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 09:56:16 2010
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] Guidance on today's call

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 10/22/2025

Jake--just talked to H about the call. Rina's email then arrived. Think it might helpful to her for her call. Pls forward.

---

**From:** Rina Amiri [redacted] B6
**To:** Holbrooke, Richard; Ruggiero, Frank J; Feldman, Daniel F; Singh, Vikram J
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 08:56:44 2010
**Subject** [redacted] Guidance on today's call 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1 1.4(D)

[redacted]

Best,

Rina

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 11:00 AM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Was that ok? Can you give transcript to Bob?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Mar 06 10:50:03 2010
Subject: Reminder: WaPo Call re Bob Barnett

Gentle reminder about the Bob Barnett profile he emailed you about. Story is being written by David Montgomery of the Washington Post, and is slated to run tomorrow - so we need to do this today, the earlier the better.

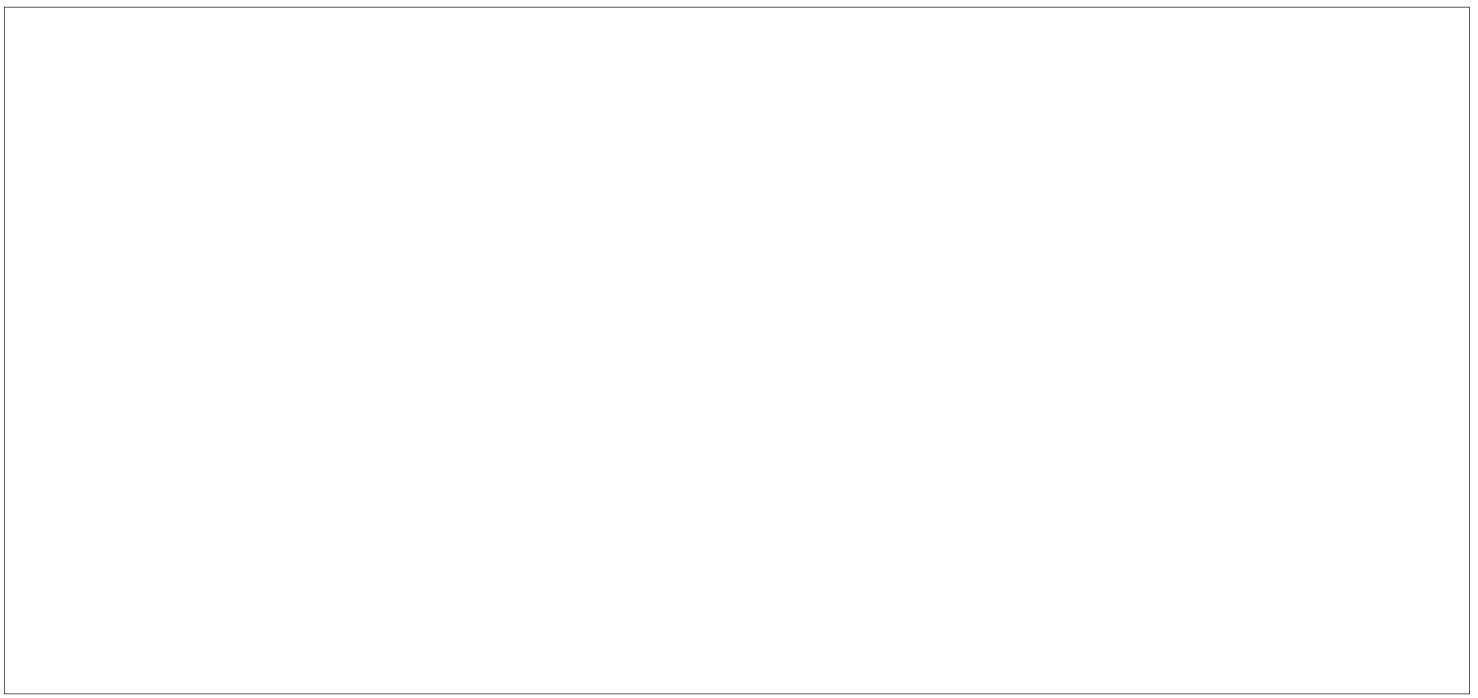
All you have to do is call into Ops when you're ready, they will connect you to the reporter (and add me in)

Here's the reporters description on the piece: "...a large profile of Bob Barnett for the Style section. I know Barnett has been a friend and counselor and campaign supporter over the years. I would like to ask Secretary Clinton her estimation of what makes Barnett good at what he does, what he has meant to her in the various ways he has worked for her over the years. And I would like to ask what she makes of how such a committed Democrat as Barnett is able to work so well in his professional life for noted Republicans on book projects and other work. (A theme of the piece is how some say Barnett harkens to a mythic time in Washington when players supposedly could more readily have relationships with other side, even while sticking to principles in their political work)"

You have talked about Bob many times, but general points:

[redacted] B5

B5



RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Our proposed readout

Ok w me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 13:45:02 2010
Subject: Our proposed readout

Here is what I'm proposing:

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 6, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NI vote

I've just talked w Empey, Robinson and McG and, as of today, the vote will be fine on the 9th and it's up to the UUP to decide if they want to remain relevant or not. Both Peter and Martin were positive so, unless a crisis erupts, all is well.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Shapiro, Andrew J <ShapiroA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you

Madam Secretary,

Thank you so much for making the time to address the reception celebrating the passage of the Defense Trade Cooperation Treaties with the UK and Australia. Everyone in the room put forward tremendous effort towards achieving the treaties passage and they appreciated the recognition of their efforts that you provided.

I'm working on a memo to you that will summarize PM's achievements during the first 18 months of my tenure as well as the Bureau's priorities going forward. Once I send it up to you, I'll work with Eric, Jake, Cheryl, etc. on setting up a time with you to discuss to ensure that we are capturing your priorities.

Thanks again.

Best, Andrew

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 2, 2010 6:31 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Anything to report?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 12:28 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Anything to report?

Have you talked w Mitchell and Feltmann yet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 19:00:52 2010
Subject: Re: Anything to report?

One thing I missed:

Currency deferral decision likely tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Apr 02 18:30:59 2010
Subject: Anything to report?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 10:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Iraqi PM on the defense in WikiLeaks release

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 09:49:31 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Iraqi PM on the defense in WikiLeaks release

BAGHDAD (AP) - Iraq's prime minister is accusing WikiLeaks of releasing documents that detail prisoner abuse by Iraqi security forces to sabotage his re-election hopes.

A statement released October 23 by Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's office said the timing of the documents' release raises questions about whether it was motivated by politics.

The statement said the documents show no proof of any improper treatment of detainees while al-Maliki has been at the helm of the Iraqi government.

It said he has taken a tough stance against terrorists but offered no details.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 4:50 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)
**Attachments:** Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-22-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-23-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips March 24, 2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-25-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-26-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-27-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-28-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-29-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-30-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-31-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-22-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-23-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips March 24, 2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-25-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-26-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-27-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-28-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-29-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-30-2010.doc; Strategic Dialogue Press Clips 03-31-2010.doc

Pls print for me and HAPPY EASTER!

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Apr 03 08:17:36 2010
Subject: FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

FYI, generally positive coverage. B5

jm

From: Schwartz, Larry
Sent: Saturday, April 03, 2010 5:37 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: FW: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

Judith,

Can't remember whether I forwarded this stuff to you.

As you can see, our staff feel that the Dialogue went pretty well in the press – and it continues to do well. The Foreign Minister -- now claiming credit for changing our TSA airport screening policy -- is promising to "take Parliament into

confidence" on the dialogue in the near future. I'm going to be out talking at a think tank on Weds; Holbrooke will be here next week.

L

From: Howard, Ariel
Sent: Wednesday, March 31, 2010 4:11 PM
To: Schwartz, Larry
Subject: Strategic Dialogue Press Coverage (3/22 - 3/31)

U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue Media Summary

The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue dominated Pakistani media on March 24 and March 25. All major English and Urdu language networks carried live the Secretary and Foreign Minister Qureshi's remarks at the opening session. On Thursday morning, nearly all television networks led with coverage of the joint press availability. All major English and Urdu language dailies featured the talks on their front pages, highlighting the Secretary's announcement of $125 million in aid to Pakistan's energy sector. Reporting was straight-forward with favorable headlines: Dawn—"U.S, Pakistan pledge to boost and broaden ties" and "U.S. to provide $125m for energy, power plants"; The News—"US vows to boost energy, defence, trade ties"; Nawa-i-Waqt—"U.S. will neither abandon nor dictate to Pakistan"; The Nation—"'New day' for US, Pakistan: Hillary." Media highlighted the positive shift in U.S.-Pakistan relations, echoing Secretary Clinton's statement that the talks are the beginning of a new chapter. Reports also focused on the question of nuclear cooperation and U.S. engagement in the Kashmir dispute; however the U.S. position on these issues had been widely reported by the media prior to the Dialogue. The Nation published an editorial, entitled "Negative starting note," criticizing the talks before they began. The daily stated that "promises will be made on some issues, including on nuclear cooperation, which will not see fruition." Other editorials stressed the need for a sustained commitment on both sides, beyond March 24, to produce results: Dawn – "Prospects for Pak-US ties," and Daily Times—"Pak-US Strategic Dialogue." End Summary.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 3:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** can you call me now? eureka idea for midterms!! want to run by you, think it can work.
Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 4:52 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:

Pls add to my call list. He's in New York City working for the Methodist Church.

----- Original Message -----
From: Diane Reynolds
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 20:55:10 2010
Subject:

Bill Shillady
United Methodist City Society

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 8:09 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Am catching train

Anytime before 11.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 07 07:59:59 2010
Subject: Am catching train

To dc from ny at 9am so will call later - what works?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Human Rights Report

Pls call me when you can to discuss w me.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 2:27 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Iraq

That's fine. I did not hear about the arrest yet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 07 14:20:13 2010
Subject: Iraq

Below is a proposed statement to go out in an hour or so. Also, did you see the Pakistanis arrested Adam Gadhan, the American al Qaeda spokesman?

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

IRAQI NATIONAL ELECTIONS

I congratulate all the people of Iraq who participated in national elections today and over the past three days. There is no better rebuke to the violent extremists who seek to derail Iraq's progress. Our thoughts and prayers are with the families who lost friends and loved ones, and we salute the determination of the Iraqi people to reaffirm their commitment to democracy and to charting their own future free of fear and intimidation.

Thanks to the efforts of the Iraq High Electoral Commission and the Iraqi Security Forces, which organized the voting and ensured security at thousands of polling sites throughout the country, Iraqi men and women from all parts of the country were able to go to the polls and choose their leaders freely.

I also would like to commend Ambassador Hill, General Odierno and all the U.S. civilian and military personnel who supported this historic effort.

Iraqis have chosen a new government to lead their country at a critical time. In the coming months, we will work together with Iraqi leaders as our partnership continues its transition to a primarily civilian focus, with the goal of building a long-term, multidimensional relationship between our two nations - a relationship that will contribute to stability in the Middle East and growing peace and prosperity in Iraq.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Any chance I can take the 2pm shuttle today?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

I thought she wasn't available but that Alex was coming--or is that old berry info?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 28 01:12:59 2010
Subject: Re: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

I did email her yesterday to see availability. Will confirm her

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Feb 28 00:21:05 2010
Subject: Isabelle tomorrow--ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 3:13 PM
**To:** 'stalbott [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: The matter I raised on my end of the converation last night.....

Message received--thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Feb 28 14:27:47 2010
Subject: The matter I raised on my end of the converation last night.....

Just reached Tom about it. Alerted him to the version as it came to me, including potential of its breaking. He seemed a) aware of the basis for what I'd heard, b) to share my assessment/concern (though asked me to elaborate, which I did vividly), and c) prepared to make sure that whatever ready to be is said publicly - and whatever happens diplomatically - put the kibosh on the version as it came to me.

Incidentally, unbidden by me on both points-i.e., volunteering-he went out of his way to says upbeat things about you and downbeat things about OMF. Said he wanted to discuss that with me in person. I said nothing of substance, except always glad to talk.

Over and out, tho would appreciate you're confirming receipt, since I'm not cc'ing anyone on this.

Cha-cha-cha (even though you're not going to Argentina-and rightly so).

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 27, 2010 8:03 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Re: Our mutual friend

Could you talk now or tomorrow early morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Feb 26 18:20:13 2010
Subject: Our mutual friend

Have had 2 sessions since u & I talked, having another Sat afternoon. No particular need for further guidance from u, but glad to connect at any time. Tks for terrific event in the 4-letter-word fishinf village.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 6:17 PM
**To:** H; PIR
**Subject:** Re: (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48

Yes

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: PIR
Subject: Fw: (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48
Sent: Oct 23, 2010 6:16 PM

Did we put out a statement?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Oct 23 08:55:52 2010
Subject: Fw: (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48

---

From: Simmons, Krista M
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Cc: SES-O_OS
Sent: Sat Oct 23 08:19:09 2010
Subject: (AP) Barbados prime minister dies at 48

BRIDGETOWN (AP) - The Barbados government announced the death of Prime Minister David Thompson at the age of 48.

It says Thompson died early October 23. It was announced last month that he was being treated for pancreatic cancer.

Thompson, who has been prime minister of Barbados since January 2008, first became ill in March and took a leave of absence from his post in July. Deputy Prime Minister Freundel Stuart has been running the government in Thompson's absence.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 7, 2010 9:38 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: touching base

I just landed from NY. The ppt looks good to me. I have a few questions I will discuss w you tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 07 21:30:43 2010
Subject: touching base

I am likely going to go to bed early and be up early.

Hope you had a chance to go through ppt.

B6

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:55 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Schedule

March 9--I may need to host a small dinner for Pres. Preval, maybe at my house.
Zach Iscol's movie was accepted for the Tribeca Film Festival and will be shown btw dates in late April and early May. Can we find out when?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** 'pverveer [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Marjorie MM

FYI--MMM told me she will lead a delegation to Malawi for the marriage on May 1of one of the leading women activists and the President and asked if we knew anyone who'd like to go. Pls let he know. Thx. April 24 engagement party in Philly

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:59 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Thx. Also pls put as option: [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 28 16:56:41 2010
Subject: RE: Schedule

Will follow up on both. Safe travels!

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 28, 2010 4:55 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin
Subject: Schedule

March 9--I may need to host a small dinner for Pres. Preval, maybe at my house.
Zach Iscol's movie was accepted for the Tribeca Film Festival and will be shown btw dates in late April and early May. Can we find out when?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 8, 2010 10:28 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg; image004.jpg; image005.jpg; image006.jpg; image007.jpg; image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg; image004.jpg; image005.jpg; image006.jpg; image007.jpg

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 08 10:05:39 2010
Subject: FW: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

FYI

From: Jones, Paul W
Sent: Monday, March 08, 2010 6:11 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

Jake
Very worthwhile article from a couple of days ago. If S hasn't already seen, she might appreciate it. Karl and folks in Kabul are quite pleased with it. Paul

---

From: Simon, Jessica L
To: SSRAP_Expanded; Philadelphia, Carlton A; Campbell, Piper; Crowley, Philip J; Chitre, Nanda S; (U) Toner, Mark C; Duguid, Gordon K; USAID Press Officers
Sent: Sun Mar 07 21:55:50 2010
Subject: FW: From the FT: U.S. civilians battle to help Afghanistan

From Emb Kabul:

Hey, guys! Just wanted to flag this story that includes some good work by our civilians in the Arghandab. Thanks! -CH

---

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/894535f4-272c-11df-b84e-00144feabdc0.html

US civilians battle to help Afghanistan

By Matthew Green

Published: March 5 2010 22:43 | Last updated: March 5 2010 22:43

US State Department representative Christopher Harich (top left) and Kevin Melton flank Haji Abdul Jabar as they discuss the restoration of a religious monument

Each morning this winter, Haji Abdul Jabar has packed a flask of home-brewed green tea for work. It's not frugality; he's trying to avoid being poisoned. You can't be too careful: before leaving the house, he also straps a Smith & Wesson 9mm handgun into a holster secreted in the depths of his robes. Seized with occasional fits of passion, Jabar has been known to whip out the gun during meetings. He may be jumpy, but tactics like this are not entirely out of place in his line of work: as district governor, the 65-year-old has an unenviable task – of wresting the Arghandab River Valley, one of the most dangerous places in Afghanistan <http://www.ft.com/world/asiapacific/afghanistan> , from the Taliban.

Viewed from the roof of Jabar's district headquarters, the sweep of the valley is at once beautiful – bleakly majestic – and charged with menace. A distant range of low, dun-coloured hills defines the valley's opposite flank. Orchards of pomegranate trees, their branches stripped bare by the cold, line the banks of a river meandering across the valley floor, dividing the east side of Arghandab from the west.

The district governor's office

The east is where Jabar's office is perched, and where US troops feel safer – it's the west side they call "bad juju land". Insurgents use a strip of desert there to infiltrate Kandahar, the birthplace of the Taliban in the mid-1990s, and the pivot on which previous Afghan wars have turned. Roadside bombs hidden in the lush vineyards last year turned Arghandab into a killing field. A battalion of the 82nd Airborne Division deployed here in mid-December is hoping for better luck, but a new showdown is coming. Stanley McChrystal <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/30b0c4d8-091f-11df-ba88-00144feabdc0.html> , the Nato commander in Afghanistan, has vowed to secure Kandahar. The Taliban want it back.

One night, one of the insurgents called the governor's mobile. "He said, 'I'm going to kill you, you're working for the Americans,'" says Jabar, sitting on the carpet in his office. "I said, 'Do whatever you can do.' Then I abused him and hung up." Jabar normally cuts a rather solemn figure. At this recollection, he laughed.

Jabar is not alone in his mission. Aside from the 2-508 battalion of the 82nd Airborne, two Americans have arrived <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/6f824828-183b-11df-9256-00144feab49a.html> in Arghandab to help out: 27-year-old Kevin Melton and 35-year-old Christopher Harich. They're part of the Obama administration's "civilian surge <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ee3ee108-d60f-11de-b80f-00144feabdc0.html> ", announced alongside a fresh build-up of US troops.

Working out of the whitewashed, two-storey district office, this unlikely trio aims to turn the tide of opinion in the district. They must do it before spring, when the valley will come into leaf and the Taliban fighters return from Pakistan in time for the fighting season.

"Arghandab is the gate to Kandahar city," Jabar says. "If Arghandab is lost, Kandahar is also lost. It's the most important valley in Afghanistan."

Haji Abdul Jabar and Kevin Melton of US Aid above the Arghandab Valley

Jabar, Harich and Melton have little in common but their beards. Melton, who grew up in the suburbs of Washington, is working for USAid, the US government's development agency <http://www.usaid.gov/> . Hard-driving and -anxious to get results, Melton juggles a raft of plans for projects from solar-powered lamps for villages, to schemes for hydroelectricity and renovating a shrine clinging to a nearby mountainside. His past experience includes work in Sudan, but the challenge in Arghandab trumps anything he has previously attempted. "It feels like there's no end to the day," he said. "It's physically, mentally, emotionally and intellectually exhausting."

Harich is a lawyer and a former marine from Louisiana who until recently worked as a policy adviser to the governor of West Virginia. He now represents the US State Department in Arghandab. "I've no doubt in my mind that we're going to have a fight this summer," he says. "When the Taliban come back in May, are they welcomed with open arms?"

Strapping on their khaki-coloured helmets and flak jackets and donning wraparound protective sunglasses whenever they leave the base, Melton and Harich bear a distinct resemblance to the US soldiers who protect them.

Jabar, meanwhile, sports neck and wrist pouches containing Koranic charms to ward off the health risks caused by his high blood pressure. (He takes advantage of the medic in the US military base adjacent to his office for regular check-ups.)

Both the Americans were lured by the challenge of participating in the US adventure in Afghanistan for a year. Sleeping in vacant rooms in the district office and equipped with a V-Sat internet link to keep in touch with superiors in Kandahar city – but no shower – they must figure out how to work with Jabar to build local government more or less from scratch. Harich aims to act as a "mentor", helping Jabar as he works with the -provincial government in Kandahar to assemble an administrative team to govern the district of more than 55,000 people.

There are few tougher places than Arghandab, a valley where a procession of armies have been bloodied. First came the British in the 19th -century, then the Russians in the 1980s, and then last year, the 1-17 -battalion of the 5th Stryker Brigade lost 21 soldiers in five months of -fighting – one of the highest casualty rates any US unit has suffered in Afghanistan since 2001.

Conscious of the rapid approach of the fighting season, Melton is drawing up plans for projects – such as rehabilitating schools and clinics – that could quickly demonstrate to the locals the benefits of siding with the government of Hamid

Karzai, Afghanistan's president. He works closely with army officers to ensure the military's own plans to implement projects fit in with the wider, albeit still embryonic, attempts to bolster Jabar.

The trio's schemes can seem like pin-pricks set against the implacable valley below. So far, progress has been largely confined to Jabar's office. Since arriving late last year, Melton and Harris have renovated the district centre, installing air conditioners, curtains and carpets.

Jabar, who rarely ventured to his office from his home in Kandahar before these changes, now turns up almost every day, driving the 30-minute commute in his battered white Toyota Corolla saloon with three police bodyguards, -constantly wary of the risk of ambush. "Getting the building is easy," says Harich. "Getting a governor to come in and do some work is a little harder."

A trickle of men with beards and turbans arrive each morning and sit along the wall of the building waiting for Jabar to arrive, shielding their eyes from the sun as it crests the crags. They come to apply for government identity cards or attend a weekly council – or shura – to discuss projects planned by Melton. "The fact that they're even discussing this stuff is mind-boggling," he says. "They're saying, 'I can come to somebody to do something. This is what government is about: I can air my grievances to somebody other than the Taliban.'"

And yet Jabar is the first to admit that his writ does not run much -further than the building. "I don't trust the people, so I don't go out much," he says. "They may try to shoot me."

Vehicles out on night patrol

It can be tempting to measure progress in the west's war in Afghanistan in terms of damage to the Taliban – whether in capturing the movement's leaders or driving back their fighters on the battlefield. Last month, headlines were dominated by the arrest of Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f4f14de4-1b09-11df-88fa-00144feab49a.html> , the Taliban's second-in-command, and by the big Nato offensive in the town of Marjah <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c8d82998-1411-11df-8847-00144feab49a.html> . But even if more Mullah Baradars are arrested, more military pushes launched, the Taliban may simply bide their time before once more exploiting alienation from the corrupt or absent government. The only way to stop that is to undertake the painstaking work of stitching together a government capable of providing more security and services than the "shadow governments" set up by the insurgents.

Western countries have been talking for years, of course, about building governance in Afghanistan, but men such as Melton and Harich represent a renewed commitment. US officials say more than 900 US civilian officers are active in Afghanistan, compared with just 300 at the start of 2009, with more than 50 destined for Kandahar province. The hope is that this team can deliver a one-two punch that long seemed elusive by exploiting military victories to nurture functioning local government. "We have to fix governance in some nominal way or this victory won't stick," says a senior US official. But the sheer scale of the task in Arghandab alone reveals the enormity of the challenge.

One afternoon, Harich sat with the governor on the office carpet for a lunch of stone-baked bread and spinach. As they talked, Jabar raised repeated requests: for bars of Dove soap, for boots for his bodyguards. The demands seemed reasonable enough but Harich did not immediately acquiesce. Part of his job is using the Americans' ability to open and close the aid taps to get Jabar to live up to their vision of an impartial, honest governor. But Jabar, like Afghan leaders at all levels of government, relies on a patronage system in which his friends expect to be rewarded and where the barrier between public and private money is porous.

Like much of Afghanistan's political class, Jabar's "legitimacy" comes from his role as a Mujahideen fighter in the 1980s, battling Soviet -invaders. (Arghandab witnessed heavy fighting: the Russians mounted a month-long siege but never took the valley.) Although governors in Afghanistan's 34 provinces have the power – in theory – to nominate district governors, US intelligence officers say Jabar owes his pre-eminence to the backing of Karimullah, the young leader of the Alakozai, an ethnic Pashtun sub-tribe dominant in the valley.

Said Amir Mohammad Agha, whose refusal to recognise Jabar's authority keeps the valley divided

Divisions between clans mean that Jabar is by no means a consensus candidate. In particular, Said Amir Mohammad Agha <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/54cf9eca-10e5-11df-9a9e-00144feab49a.html> , the single-most influential man on the west side of the river, resents him. US officers say Agha was once detained in Guantánamo Bay as a suspected Taliban commander. As long as Agha refuses to recognise Jabar's authority, the valley will remain divided.

Even on the east side, to the frustration of Melton and Harich, Jabar has yet to prove he can garner much legitimacy. Locals milling around his office mutter accusations that he skims off salaries for the few district officials who turn up to work and steers US reconstruction contracts towards his friends. "He's not a good man, he wants money and bribes," said one, reflecting comments from several visitors.

Jabar vigorously denies such allegations – indeed, they were linked to one pistol-waving incident in a meeting with the Americans. Yet such behaviour would not be unusual in Afghanistan, where bribery lubricates the patronage-based system that Karzai and past leaders have used to hold the ethnically diverse country together. The dilemma runs through the entire project in Afghanistan. Western officials want to impose a template of efficient administration, but to do this they have little choice but to work with leaders who rely on the traditional system to survive.

In Kandahar, the dilemma is acute. Afghanistan's centralised system means that Jabar is dependent on the provincial government based in the city to send officers to fill his largely empty building, but only a few have materialised. Indeed, Alakozai elders believe rivals from Karzai's Popalzai tribe are exploiting official positions in Kandahar to accumulate political and economic influence at their expense.

There is a deeper tension. US officials often speak of putting an "Afghan face" on their work. They want to make it seem as if local leaders are behind improvements to bolster their standing in the eyes of their people. Yet the talk of appearances is a tacit recognition that the enterprise is, to some extent, founded on creating an illusion of an Afghan government at work, in the hope that a real administration will rapidly follow. Can such an approach succeed? Assessing this is hard when even venturing into the valley is a potentially life-threatening undertaking.

. . .

The risk of attack in Arghandab is so high that during a recent week in January, Melton and Harich barely ventured from the base – apart from a brief trip in an armoured convoy to catch up with superiors in Kandahar city. Soldiers of the 82nd Airborne tend to get closer to the locals. Even a short trip out into the east side of the valley shows how close at hand the Taliban are, and how hard it will be to persuade people that they are safe enough to side with Jabar.

The soldiers leave the base in high-wheeled armoured vehicles called Cougar M-Raps – designed to resist roadside bombs. Lieutenant Ryan Christmas, a reassuringly experienced veteran of the 82nd, gives a briefing on where the convoy should go if it gets hit by an IED. "Call out what you see, gunners stay vigilant in what you're doing," he yells at his men, -clustered around him before departure. "If it looks wrong and smells wrong, it -probably is wrong."

From the bullet-proof window, a procession of mud homes that seem to grow organically from the valley floor rolled past. A few weeks before, a man had pulled out a pistol and shot and wounded two Afghan policemen near the road. These days, insurgents are targeting foot patrols to make it more dangerous to try to build up a rapport with locals.

Sgt Donny Kuehner takes tea with Haji Jhapour

At a US outpost at a village called Sakari Bagh, Sergeant Donny -Kuehner, a 23-year-old from southern California, led a patrol through a bazaar of ramshackle stalls selling blotchy bunches of bananas dangling from strings and stacked cans of Power Stag – "World's Finest Quality Motor Oil". Removing his helmet, Kuehner entered a petrol station owned by Haji Jhapour – the unofficial king of the bazaar – whose assistant served green tea. An Afghan policeman wearing mascara and a yellow bandana round his neck joined the circle as the two men talked, via an interpreter.

"How do people in the bazaar feel about us being here?" Kuehner asked.

"The people in the bazaar are good people, they're busy doing business," Jhapour replied.

"You heard anything lately about any kind of Taliban anywhere, or anything?" Kuehner asked.

"I'm so busy with my business, I don't have time to follow the Taliban – this is the job of the police," Jhapour said, gesturing to the man with the mascara. "When people come here and buy petrol I sometimes hear news. If I hear anything, I'll let you know."

As he walked back into the base, Kuehner confessed it was hard to know where local loyalties lay. Some of the labourers busy filling barriers with earth to build up the outpost's defences had been beaten by Taliban fighters. "The locals are the key to all this," Kuehner said. "Getting them on our side – if we could do that – it would be leaps and bounds from where we are now."

Such ambiguous encounters are the stuff of the daily grind of counter-insurgency, where building relationships is critical. After gradually -adopting such an approach to fight the insurgency in Iraq, the US military is honing its skills in Afghanistan. But it is clear that soldiers can only do so much: unless a viable government emerges, their presence will have scant lasting impact. As the US faces the risk of increasingly messy conflicts in parts of Asia, Africa and the Middle East, building governance just after the fighting will be increasingly decisive.

Critics of the approach believe the US is being sucked into an open-ended "nation-building" exercise in Afghanistan. Barack Obama has been careful to downplay such suggestions <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5f6ce026-df6d-11de-98ca-00144feab49a.html> , though in Arghandab, the -distinction is blurry.

Locals at work on a US combat outpost

On the mountainside near the governor's office, women climb winding steps to a shrine set high above the valley. They whisper wishes into stones, wrap them in shimmering cloth and hang them from a pole planted in the tomb of the saint.

The site feels forlorn. Fountains cascading down the rocks have run dry. A restaurant with a panoramic view, film-set staircases and ornamental trees lies abandoned. Turquoise tiles on the mausoleum dome are cracked.

Clad in their body armour, Melton and Harich take a tour with the -governor one afternoon. Melton wants to see the restaurant reopen – if a new owner can be found. There is talk of installing a pump to make the fountains flow. In the valley, a pair of US helicopters pirouette, scanning for insurgents. As the trio ambles about, an explosion sounds far off on the valley floor. It sends up a puff of grey smoke. Talk of renovation jars with the reality that the fighting season will soon resume – and the window to get anything done is closing fast.

There is one surprise. One morning, Agha, the retired Taliban commander from the west side, decided to pay a visit. An enigmatic figure, he clutched prayer beads and produced a certificate from US forces saying he had been imprisoned for four months in 2004 but no longer posed a threat. He seemed to want Jabar and his crowd to know this. Should he decide to work with them, US officers hope for an easier year.

Perhaps the influx of troops and resources committed by Washington may encourage men like Agha to reconsider their loyalties. But after 30 years of war, building institutions will be harder. Both the US civilians and military in Arghandab were doing their best to help Jabar establish a -government. But all participants seemed conscious that even their best efforts might not be enough. When Melton and Harich leave, there are no guarantees that Jabar will prosper.

In his waistcoat pocket, the governor keeps a tin of green chewing tobacco, a medallion for "excellence" given to him by the soldiers of the ill-fated 1-17, and a hand-written letter from Afghanistan's intelligence service warning of a Taliban death threat. "Every day they are killing someone," he said. Then he climbed once more into his Toyota to brave the road back to -Kandahar once more, taking his empty tea flask and his gun.

Matthew Green covers Afghanistan and Pakistan for the FT. His last story for the magazine was about the governor of Lagos State. Read it at ft.com/lagos <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/3d3209aa-8225-11de-9c5e-00144feabdc0.html>

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 5:12 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Congrats!

Pls add Kris to may call list and draft note to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 26 17:13:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats!

---

From: kris.durmer [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 16:54:53 2010
Subject: Congrats!

Dear Cheryl - -

My name is Kris Durmer, and I am the recently appointed (9/21/09) General Counsel of GSA. I am also from NH and a long-time supporter and acquaintance of Secretary Clinton and the former President. Please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the Secretary for the recent US-Russia nuclear agreement and her work generally over the last year. She has been terrific!

My best,

Kris

Kris E. Durmer
General Counsel
U.S. General Services Administration
1800 F Street NW, Suite 4140
Washington, DC 20405
Tel: 202-501-2200
Fax: 202-501-2509
[redacted]

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 5:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S-Ashton Update

I did not mention this because not sure how I felt about it, but if all agree it would help, I will call her.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 30 12:53:19 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Ashton Update

Fyi

---

From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Montgomery, Molly C; Baxter, Shawn; Lang, Alan; Waller, Robert P; P-NEA Duty; Waser, Tamir G
Sent: Tue Mar 30 12:45:10 2010
Subject: S-Ashton Update

Hi Jake,

You'll see that the Secretary's points for Ashton mention the idea of our sending an inter-agency expert team to Brussels for the next few months to improve US-EU coordination on Iran sanctions prep. EU officials had been receptive, but now the bureaucrats are saying this would be "counter-productive", and instead prefer more regular videoconferences. Which is probably OK. Anyway, I just wanted you to know the background, in case it comes up in the Ashton meeting.

Steve

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 1, 2010 6:23 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: START

We also need to brief Rice.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 01 18:00:12 2010
Subject: START

We've got a plan [redacted] Ellen will pass on details early next week. B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 3, 2010 6:32 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Congrats!

Same to you--Happy Easter!

----- Original Message -----
From: Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 03 17:22:58 2010
Subject: Re: Congrats!

I will prepare for Tuesday. Happy Easter!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sat Apr 03 17:12:15 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats!

Pls add Kris to may call list and draft note to him.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 26 17:13:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Congrats!

---

From: kris.durmer [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 16:54:53 2010
Subject: Congrats!

Dear Cheryl - -

My name is Kris Durmer, and I am the recently appointed (9/21/09) General Counsel of GSA. I am also from NH and a long-time supporter and acquaintance of Secretary Clinton and the former President. Please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the Secretary for the recent US-Russia nuclear agreement and her work generally over the last year. She has been terrific!

My best,

Kris

Kris E. Durmer
General Counsel
U.S. General Services Administration
1800 F Street NW, Suite 4140
Washington, DC 20405
Tel: 202-501-2200
Fax: 202-501-2509

B6

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Am up if you are

Can you call now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 07:27:30 2010
Subject: Re: Am up if you are

Going running at 8am

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun May 02 07:11:54 2010
Subject: Am up if you are

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Call list

Pls add:

Alan Bersin over at DHS.
John Kerry and note subjects--Asad, Karzai,

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Scheduling

Here are a few odds and ends:

Since I'm going to the Bahrain Manama Conf in December, I want to decide where else I might go. The. climate conf in Mexico will be held Nov 29-Dec 10. There is also a Dec 10 conf on trafficking in Luxor sponsored by Mrs. Mubarak that Melanne hopes I could attend.

Add to list of meetings the following--

Ron Kirk
Hilda Solis
Walter Isaacson--high priority
Sandy Levin
Loretta Sanchez
Max Baucus
Eliot Engel

Ben Cardin wants me to come give a speech about the 35th anniversary of the Helsinki Accords on the Hill so I thought If I'm going back to Helsinki for a speech about the Helinski Accords in July maybe I should do the Hill speech around that time.

Also, Cheryl wants a staff retreat/meeting so what about May 14 or 28?

Did you get info about the Vietnam symposium the State historian, Carland, invited me to open on 9/29?

I want to plan to go to the Arctic Council in Greenland next April.

Did you find out when Cong Reyes's conf on border security was in August?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 5:16 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Expo Update

Yeah!! Can we get some good statistics and anecdotes to share w our sponsors, the press and the administration to tell the story?

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 13:55:52 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

I have asked Jose to get you a more detailed report but I must tell you the opening of the USA Pavilion has been a great success so far - at least among the expo-goers. A few vignettes.

- while we don't want to brag to our Chinese hosts, our Pavilion has become the most popular. During the trial runs last week, the Chinese expo-goers rushed directly from the gates to the USAP (and even broke some of our turn-styles). Needless to say, the Chinese have improved security. On EACH of the first two days, 30,000 pple visited. Lines are long and pple are loving the show. We are also getting many foreign officials to visit.

- the 100 US college student ambassadors (who act as guides and speak Mandarin) are the biggest hits of the pavilion. Fair-goers stand in line to have their photo's taken w them. They explain the show and send a great message.

- the story line that we thght was simplistic is quite popular (the overture where Americans try to say hello in mandarin is met w howls of laughter and Act II called the Garden is doing well). During the thunderstorm scene a mist comes from the ceiling and some pple put up their umbrellas. Act I is a bit too commercial but the audience claps and take photo's when you and President come on the screen.

- we are selling tons of USA merchandise - the two most popular items - mini-basketballs with the USAP seal on it and the bison stuffed animals - who knew?

Anyway, thght u'd enjoy the quick report. I cannot imagine us not being here! We will keep you posted.

Smart power works!

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Apr 25 18:14:14 2010
Subject: Re: Followup

Thnx on GPF. A lot of ideas out there.

Kurt and Hormats were looking into it. Will bug them in the am.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Sun Apr 25 17:07:54 2010
Subject: Followup

I heard you did a great job at the Global Philanthropy Forum. Thx.

Also, where are we w Corning? Can you consult w EAP and E to find out what we can do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 5:17 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Expo Update

Pls print. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 13:55:52 2010
Subject: Re: Expo Update

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Sent: Sun Apr 25 18:14:14 2010
Subject: Re: Followup

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Also, where are we w Corning? Can you consult w EAP and E to find out what we can do?

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 10:26 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: AU/Iran

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Also, I just saw on the schedule I was expected to speak for only 12 minutes. I think the speech as written is longer but I haven't seen the final draft. Is there a teleprompter?

I also don't yet have any briefing materials. Will I get them tonight or tomorrow morning?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 21:21:08 2010
Subject: AU/Iran

From Johnnie, [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

[redacted]

[redacted] Regards, Johnnie

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/02/2020

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 2, 2010 10:42 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: AU/Iran

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 22:33:46 2010
Subject: Re: AU/Iran

[redacted] B5

On the speech, it might be 15 but not much more. Dan K-P has taken over drafting [redacted] B6
[redacted] He has been incorporating fine-tuning edits today. I will email you a draft shortly, which will be tweaked
in the am. [redacted] Unfortunately, there is no teleprompter at the UN. B5

On your book, I understand that Huma will bring it out in the morning.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 05/02/2020

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun May 02 22:26:00 2010
Subject: Re: AU/Iran

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

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----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 02 21:21:08 2010
Subject: AU/Iran

From Johnnie [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

[redacted]

[redacted]

Regards, Johnnie

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 3, 2010 5:47 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** 6:00 PSD call

Will you be on it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 6:51 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Libya

Explain again why we shouldn't have PJ apologize?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S stop in Ecuador

I would like to discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue May 04 10:38:04 2010
Subject: Fw: S stop in Ecuador

Fyi - Arturo making a renewed pitch for ecuador. We haven't discussed further yet [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Valenzuela, Arturo A
To: Kelly, Craig A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Reynoso, Julissa; Drucker, Milton K; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Fuchs, Michael H; Bennett, Virginia L
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S
Sent: Mon May 03 10:36:36 2010
Subject: S stop in Ecuador

Would like to make a renewed pitch for stop in Ecuador. [redacted]

[redacted]

Best, Arturo

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 10:50 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Fw:

I thought you would like to see this. AM

---

**From:** Odeh Aburdene [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 21:16:05 2010
**Subject:**

Anne-Marie

Hillary Clinton gave a speech at the American Task Force on Palestine on October 20th. Her speech was the best speech that any US Secretary of State has given on the Palestine question. What made her speech different was her emphasis on two concepts that resonate with Arabs and Moslems mirroring justice and dignity. Her speech was well received and several Arab commentators wrote positively about what she said.

Regards, Odeh

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 12:12 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** May Esquire

Can you pick up a few copies of the magazine for me?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 4, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: E3+Ashton

Ok w me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tue May 04 14:42:36 2010
Subject: E3+Ashton

Steve Mull is proposing that you do a conference call with the E3 FMs and Ashton sometime this week. Here is the rationale and background:

The European Union Foreign Affairs Council, comprised of all 27 EU Foreign Ministers, will next meet on May 10. In a conversation April 26, Bill Burns persuaded the E3 and European Commission to support adding to the agenda of that meeting a discussion of preparations for the sanctions the EU will impose following passage of a UNSCR.

The European Council, comprised of the EU's heads of government, will meet on June 16-17 – a meeting which could direct the imposition of such sanctions if we succeed in passing an UNSCR by then.

The purpose of your teleconference would be to hear from the E3 and Ashton a status report on the EU's preparations to impose such sanctions, and to discuss how the U.S. could best support the EU's forward progress. It would supplement experts' level consultations we have been conducting for several weeks, including meetings on May 3 and May 6.

The measures the Europeans are considering include bans on new Iranian bank branches in the EU, correspondent banking relationships, new investment in the Iranian energy sector, and on access for Iranian ships to European ports.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 9, 2010 7:56 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Libya

Talk w PJ and Jeff before staff mtg and work out appropriate language. B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 09 07:40:06 2010
Subject: Re: Libya

I was thinking the same thing after Jeff's latest missive last night.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Mar 09 06:50:48 2010
Subject: Libya

Explain again why we shouldn't have PJ apologize?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 10, 2010 12:11 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Schedule

Can you send my mini?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 10:40 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Note from Dick Gephardt

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 22:20:16 2010
Subject: FW: Note from Dick Gephardt

See below – you fine with this?

cdm

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Wednesday, May 05, 2010 10:00 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Note from Dick Gephardt

Recommend she do it. In fact we had arranged for a meeting in March but Ms. Boyner's trip was cancelled. We can send up a new meeting request.

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Wed May 05 21:18:07 2010
Subject: FW: Note from Dick Gephardt

Thoughts on this?

From: Dick Gephardt [mailto:[redacted]] B6
Sent: Wednesday, May 05, 2010 4:05 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Note from Dick Gephardt

Dear Cheryl:

I have been asked by the Turkish Embassy, who I represent, to request a meeting with Secretary Clinton for Mrs. Umit Boyner, a prominent Turkish business woman. Such a meeting could be whenever and wherever you determine most convenient for the Secretary -- either in Washington, DC or Turkey.

As you will see from the biographical information below, Mrs. Boyner has had a distinguished career as a businesswoman, and she has also devoted time to philanthropy as well. Mrs. Boyner was recently selected to be the chair person of the board of one of the most prominent Turkish business organizations, the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) – an organization comparable to the Business Roundtable. I have also attached a document providing additional background information on TUSIAD.

Mrs. Umit is a great admirer of Secretary Clinton's and would be extremely honored to be able to meet with her. I know the Secretary is extremely busy, but I hope she can find a window to meet with Mrs. Umit. Thanks for all you help and my personal regards to Secretary Clinton.

Best,

Dick

---

Brief Biography of Umit Boyner

Mrs. Umit Boyner, is currently the chair of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) Board of Directors and head of the Country Communication Fund. Mrs. Boyner was selected to chair TUSIAD's Board at the 40th General Assembly meeting held in Istanbul on January 21, 2010.

Born in 1963, Mrs. Boyner received a BA degree in Economics from the University of Rochester in the US. She began her professional career in 1985 at Chemical Mitsui Bank, followed by senior positions at the finance departments of several companies. In 1996 she became the Vice-President in charge of Finance at Boyner Group. In 2002 she became a board member overseeing the finances and investments of the group.

Mrs. Boyner has been serving on the Board of TUSIAD since 2005, initially as a board member in charge of the External Communication Commission, later as a vice-chair. Mrs. Boyner also devotes her time to various NGOs such as the Education Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), Turkish Institute of Nautical Archaeology (TINA), and Tohum Autism Foundation. She was also the President of the Corporate Volunteer Association for two years, and a founding member and vice-president for four years of the Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGIDER). Since 2008 she has been serving on the Middle East Advisory Board of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Mrs. Boyner is married and has two children.

TUSIAD's new Board of Directors consists of the following individuals:

Umit Boyner: Chairperson

Haluk Dincer: Vice-Chair

Tayfun Bayazit: Vice-Chair

Cansen Basaran Symes: Member

Lucien Arkas: Member

Mehmet Ali Aydinlar: Member

Erman Ilicak: Member

Ali Kibar: Member

Volkan Vural: Member

Muharrem Yilmaz: Member

Zafer Ali Yavan: Member, Secretary General

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 5:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (AP) Fate of Mideast talks in hands of polarizing rabbi

Worth reading. B5

**From:** Larkins, Neal B
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 5:12 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Subject:** (AP) Fate of Mideast talks in hands of polarizing rabbi

JERUSALEM (AP) - The future of the Mideast peace process could rest in the hands of one very undiplomatic man: an outspoken 90-year-old rabbi who recently sparked an uproar by saying the Palestinian president should "perish from the world." The ultra-Orthodox Shas Party is expected to hold the swing vote when Cabinet ministers decide on a U.S. proposal to resume Mideast peace talks. The two Shas ministers participating in the decision are waiting for instructions from the party's spiritual leader, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. "All decisions go through the rabbi," said Roi Lachmanovitch, a spokesman for the Shas interior minister. The drama has once again turned the enigmatic rabbi, who has managed to offend Arabs, secular Jews, Holocaust survivors, women and gays with fiery comments over the years, into the familiar role of kingmaker. Politicians from outside his party, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, are now lobbying for his support. Officials in Netanyahu's office said his 15-member Security Cabinet - a group of senior government ministers - remains closely divided, with the outcome of the vote hinging on the two Shas members. Amid the uncertainty, Israeli officials said a planned vote for November 17 had been put on hold.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 10:58 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NY meeting

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 05 22:53:34 2010
Subject: NY meeting

Erica flagged for me, and Bill Burns just called to confirm, that Mottaki has asked the perm reps of the Security Council to have dinner tomorrow night.

Susan can't attend because she's here in DC, but proposes Alex Wolff attend in her place. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

You can discuss with Bill and Jim in the am, but wanted to flag.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 5, 2010 11:02 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NY meeting

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 22:59:57 2010
Subject: Re: NY meeting

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed May 05 22:57:33 2010
Subject: Re: NY meeting

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 05 22:53:34 2010
Subject: NY meeting

Erica flagged for me, and Bill Burns just called to confirm, that Mottaki has asked the perm reps of the Security Council to have dinner tomorrow night.

Susan can't attend because she's here in DC, but proposes Alex Wolff attend in her place.

You can discuss with Bill and Jim in the am, but wanted to flag.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 7:38 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Maggie

I'd like to see her next week. Does Thursday night work?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Let's discuss today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 10 21:05:36 2010
Subject: FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

FYI

From: Curtis, Meghann A
Sent: Wednesday, March 10, 2010 6:34 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Warnholz, Jean-Louis
Subject: FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Not good. The Hills is trying to tie our hands all over the place.

From: Bulgrin, Julie K
Sent: Wednesday, March 10, 2010 6:30 PM
To: Curtis, Meghann A; Reynoso, Julissa; Brigety, Reuben; De Pirro, Velia M; Chartrand, Jennifer; Rademacher, Paul R; Stout, Jennifer P
Cc: Rayburn, Dorothy J; Gonzalez, Juan S; Pressfield, Justin C
Subject: FW: Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Dick Lugar

U.S. Senator for Indiana

Date: 3/10/2010 • http://lugar.senate.gov <http://lugar.senate.gov/>

Andy Fisher • 202-224-2079 • andy_fisher@lugar.senate.gov

Administration should include education assistance in supplemental funding request for Haiti, Lugar says

Getting Haitian children back in classrooms should be a priority in U.S. assistance to Haiti, U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar said today after attending the White House Rose Garden ceremony with President Barack Obama hosting Haitian President René Préval. Earlier in the day, former President Bill Clinton also told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that this should be a priority.

"As the Administration prepares to present its supplemental appropriations request for Haiti, a top priority for recovery and long term reconstruction efforts in Haiti should include significant assistance to get Haitian children quickly back into the classroom," Lugar said. "Assistance for infrastructure, technical assistance for instruction and curriculum development especially should be included. Only with a strong education initiative will Haiti have a chance at a better future."

Lugar directed two staff members to accompany a Congressional Delegation to Haiti on Friday, March 5. During the visit, staff saw firsthand the devastation experienced by Haitians and reported to Lugar that thousands of schools in and around Port au Prince could remain closed for months or never reopen. As a result, Haitian children could be left languishing in refugee camps. Before the January 12 earthquake approximately one-half of Haiti <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/haiti/index.html?inline=nyt-geo> 's school-age children were enrolled in classes. Children make up about 45 percent of Haiti's population.

"The relationship between the United States and the Haitian government should be a consensual, cooperative arrangement that preserves Haitian participation in decisions, while ensuring that the resources and expertise of the United States Government and international community are brought to bear on the daily problems of Haiti. Education of the Haiti's youth is an appropriate starting point," Lugar said.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 4, 2010 8:40 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Will call you at 10pm

Can we talk at 7:30 am?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 04 18:16:04 2010
Subject: Will call you at 10pm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 6, 2010 6:07 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Subject:** Re: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

Thx. What's happening?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed May 05 13:51:30 2010
Subject: H: IMPORTANT. Memo on UK election, am in London, Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

May 5, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: British election

First and most important: Do NOT, repeat, NOT, call any prospective winner on either Election Night, May 6, or on the next day, Friday, May 7. The result will be unclear. It will not be clear, even perhaps by Friday afternoon. Today, the combined polls show Cameron and the Conservatives ahead but not winning an outright majority. The latest Guardian poll, out tomorrow, shown me by Alan Rusbridger today, has the Tories falling short of a majority of seats. Even if Cameron were to win an outright majority, Brown and Labour will attempt to make a deal with Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. Brown remains as Prime Minister unless the Tories win outright, which take a long time to determine. Labour and the Lib-Dems will almost certainly gain about 60 percent of the vote, more or less. Brown will reach out to Clegg to stay in power. The deal will be that Brown will approve a referendum on proportional representation giving the LDs much greater representationin future elections. That will spell the end forever of the Tories ever coming to power. The Tories see the election in apocalyptic terms—and they are not wrong. Brown's weakness heralds the sort of grand progressive coalition/alliance that Tony imagined but was never able to attempt between Labour and the LDs. Brown offering the referendum would be the first step toward that. In the case of the Tories falling short of an outright majority in seats, they will respond as though Brown is acting illegitimately, which he would not be by remaining as PM and dealing with Clegg. Informed people are already talking of what might begin to unfold on Friday as "Florida." The Tories, backed by the Murdoch press, will attempt to push Labour aside by force majeure—something that will not succeed under those circumstances. The Murdochs are almost literally going crazy. James Murdoch and hiw wife stormed into the offices of The Independent, not a Murdoch paper, when the paper endorsed the LDs and confronted the publisher, screaming in the middle of the newsroom. Murdoch would be a big, big loser if Cameron loses. Another possibile

outcome is that the Conservatives come up just short and attempt their own deal with the DUP to cover the gap in seats. Shaun is on to this potential, has been talking to Peter Robinson.

No matter what, keep your powder dry until the result is crystal clear. Wait.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 8:19 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: DPRK

I thought prox talks started.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 08:11:18 2010
Subject: DPRK

Wanted to make sure you saw this item:

Traces of gunpowder found in the wreckage of a sunken Republic of Korea naval ship have been identified as those generated by the explosion of a torpedo, an anonymous ROK government official said. (yonhapnews.co.kr)

Also, we're still in a bit of a holding pattern on prox talks, though looking very good.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 4:25 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S video on Mother's Day

This is sooo sweet. Thank you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 15:36:56 2010
Subject: FW: S video on Mother's Day

MS -- A wonderful note!

From: Kane, Kristin M
Sent: Friday, May 07, 2010 3:34 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: S video on Mother's Day

Hi Lona, I just saw the S video for Mother's Day: After nearly 10 years of working for the Department, this ranks as one of my proudest, most fulfilling moments of serving as a Foreign Service Officer.

B6

Clearly I'm not the only one who has made these sacrifices or who has these frustrations; Secretary Clinton has heard our struggles (indeed has gone through her own struggles as a professional mom!), and she truly gets it.

I just wanted to tell somebody, and I remembered your name from the women's conference in December. Forgive this long message. Happy Mother's Day, and congratulations on working with such an incredible person.

Regards,

Kristin

Kristin M. Kane

Office of Public Affairs and Outreach

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

U.S. Department of State

Washington, DC

Tel: (202) 647-7994

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:25 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

I can't remember but don't I have some Karzai event? If not, what is he doing then?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:06:01 2010
Subject: Maggie

MS -- I just spoke to Maggie and she can meet with you/do dinner on Tuesday night around 7pm. That works well on your schedule but of course wanted to double check before locking in with her.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 7, 2010 5:44 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Maggie

Ok--lets do Maggie. Maybe I could take her out to dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:39:40 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

On Tuesday night, after our reception, he has nothing planned, "rest" time at the hotel. The VP dinner is Wednesday night.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted]

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Fri May 07 17:24:58 2010
Subject: Re: Maggie

I can't remember but don't I have some Karzai event? If not, what is he doing then?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 07 17:06:01 2010
Subject: Maggie

MS -- I just spoke to Maggie and she can meet with you/do dinner on Tuesday night around 7pm. That works well on your schedule but of course wanted to double check before locking in with her.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 6:57 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

Pls share w me whatever S/P prepares. B5
Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 06 19:18:12 2010
Subject: The political ramifications of the Greek/European debt crisis

As you know, the EU-IMF-USG consensus hope motivating the Greek bailout is that it will buy time for Spain, Portugal, etc. From widening credit spreads to falling stock prices, most relevant market indicators are responding with doubt. Former IMF Chief Economist and NYT Columnist (and influential blogger for bond traders) Simon Johnson has an important rejoinder to this consensus hope in today's NYT, full text pasted below.

As the EU has no playbook for most of the pressing questions it faces, my staff is working to brainstorm as to the least bad of what are only sobering options.

This is long but worth it.

May 6, 2010, 6:11 amIt's Not About Greece AnymoreBy PETER BOONE AND SIMON JOHNSONLouisa Gouliamaki/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images Protesters waved flags from the Acropolis archaeological site behind banners in English and Greek hung in front of the Parthenon temple in Athens.Peter Boone is chairman of the charity Effective Intervention and a research associate at the Center for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics. He is also a principal in Salute Capital Management Ltd. Simon Johnson, the former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund, is the co-author of "13 Bankers."The Greek "rescue" package announced last weekend is dramatic, unprecedented and far from enough to stabilize the euro zone.The Greek government and the European Union leadership, prodded by the International Monetary Fund, are finally becoming realistic about the dire economic situation in Greece. They have abandoned previous rounds of optimistic forecasts and have now admitted to a profoundly worse situation. This new program calls for "fiscal adjustments" — cuts to the fiscal deficit, mostly through spending cuts — totaling 11 percent of gross domestic product in 2010, 4.3 percent in 2011, and 2 percent in 2012 and 2013. The total debt-to-G.D.P. ratio peaks at 149 percent in 2012-13 before starting a gentle glide path back down to sanity.This new program is honest enough to show why it is unlikely to succeed.Daniel Gros, an eminent economist on euro zone issues based in Brussels, has argued that for each 1 percent of G.D.P. decline in Greek government spending, total demand in the country falls by 2.5 percent of G.D.P. If the government reduces spending by 15 percent of G.D.P. — the initial shock to demand could be well over 30 percent of G.D.P.Obviously this simple rule does not work with such large numbers, but it illustrates that Greece is likely to experience a very sharp recession — and there is substantial uncertainty around how bad the economy will get. The program announced last weekend assumes Greek G.D.P. falls by 4 percent this year, then by another 2.6 percent in 2011, before recovering to positive growth in 2012 and beyond.Such figures seem extremely optimistic, particularly in the face of the civil unrest now sweeping Greece and the deep hostility expressed toward

Greece in some northern European policy circles.The pattern of growth is critical because, under this program, Greece needs to grow out of its debt problem soon. Greece's debt-to-G.D.P. ratio will be a debilitating 145 percent at the end of 2011.Now consider putting more realistic growth figures into the I.M.F. forecast for Greece's economy — e.g., with G.D.P. declining 12 percent in 2011, then the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio may reach 155 percent. At these levels, with a 5 percent real interest rate and no growth, the country needs a primary surplus at 8 percent of G.D.P. to keep the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio stable. It will be nowhere near that level. The I.M.F. program has Greece running a primary budget deficit of around 1 percent of G.D.P. in that year, and that assumes a path for Greek growth that can be regarded only as an "upside scenario."The politics of these implied budget surpluses remains brutal. Since most Greek debt is held abroad, roughly 80 percent of the budget savings the Greek government makes go straight to Germans, French and other foreign debt holders (mostly banks). If growth turns out poorly, will the Greeks be prepared for ever-tougher austerity to pay the Germans? Even if everything goes well, Greek citizens seem unlikely to welcome this version of their "new normal."

Last week the European leadership panicked — very late in the day — when it realized that the euro zone itself was at risk of a meltdown. If the euro zone proves unwilling to protect a member like Greece from default, then bond investors will run from Portugal and Spain also — if you doubt this, study carefully the interlocking debt picture published recently in The New York Times. Higher yields on government debt would have caused concerns about potential bank runs in these nations, and then spread to more nations in Europe.When there is such a "run," it is not clear where it stops. In the hazy distance, Belgium, France, Austria and many others were potentially at risk.

Even the Germans cannot afford to bail out those nations.Slapped in the face by this ugly scenario, the Europeans decided to throw everything they and the I.M.F. had at bailing out Greece. The program as announced has only a small chance of preventing eventual Greek bankruptcy, but it may still slow or avert a dangerous spiral downward — and enormous collateral damage — in the rest of Europe.The I.M.F. floated in some fashion an alternative scenario with a debt restructuring, but this was rejected by both the European Union and the Greek authorities. This is not a surprise; leading European policy makers are completely unprepared for broader problems that would follow a Greek "restructuring," because markets would immediately mark down the debt (i.e., increase the yields) for Portugal, Spain, Ireland and even Italy.The fear and panic in the face of this would be unparalleled in modern times: When the Greeks pay only 50 percent on the face value of their debt, what should investors expect from the Portuguese and Spanish? It all becomes arbitrary, including which countries are dragged down.Someone has to decide who should be defended and at what cost, and the European structures are completely unsuited to this kind of tough decision-making under pressure.In the extreme downside scenario, Germany is the only obvious safe haven within the euro zone, so its government bond yields would collapse while other governments face sharply rising yields. The euro zone would likely not hold together.There is still a narrow escape path, without immediate debt default and the chaos that that would produce:·

Talk down the euro — moving toward parity with the American dollar would help lift growth across the euroz one.·

As the euro falls, bond yields will rise on the euro zone periphery. This will create episodes of panic. Enough short-term financing must be in place to support the rollover of government debt.·

Once the euro has fallen a great deal, announce the European Central Bank will support the euro at those levels (i.e., prevent appreciation, with G-20 tacit agreement), and also support the peripheral euro zone nations viewed as solvent by buying their bonds whenever markets are chaotic.·

At that stage, but not before, the euro zone leadership needs to push weaker governments to restructure. That will include Greece and perhaps also Portugal. Hopefully, in this scenario Spain can muddle through.·

European banks should be recapitalized as necessary and have most of their management replaced. This is a massive failure of euro groupthink — including most notably at the political level — but there is no question that bank executives have not behaved responsibly in a long while and should be replaced en masse.To the extent possible, some of the ensuing losses should be shared with bank creditors. But be careful what you wish for. The bankers are powerful for a reason; they have built vital yet fragile structures at the heart of our economies. Dismantle with care.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: MEPP

Sounds right to me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 08 16:09:19 2010
Subject: MEPP

Sen Mitchell proposes putting out the following statement tomorrow. We would respond on specific commitments on Ramat Shlomo if asked.

Special Envoy Mitchell left the Middle East on Sunday, where he completed the first round of proximity talks with Israeli and Palestinian leaders. The talks were serious and wide-ranging.

Special Envoy Mitchell emphasized the importance of making progress in the proximity talks and of moving to direct negotiations as soon as possible. We have received commitments from both sides, and we have made assurances to both sides, that are enabling us to move forward. The full scope of these discussions will remain private.

As both parties know, if either side takes significant actions during the proximity talks that we judge would seriously undermine trust, we will respond to hold them accountable and ensure that negotiations continue.

Special Envoy Mitchell will return to the region next week to continue indirect negotiations with the parties.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 5:54 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mitchell statement

Good.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 08 17:52:28 2010
Subject: Mitchell statement

After further back and forth, we've come up with a way to mention Ramat Shlomo and incitement to violence that should be acceptable to both sides. The additional paragraph would read:

We have urged the parties to help create an atmosphere that is conducive to successful talks, and they are responding, including President Abbas' statement that he will work against incitement of any sort and Prime Minister Netanyahu's statement that there will be no construction at the Ramat Shlomo project for two years. They are both trying to move forward in difficult circumstances and we commend them for that.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 8, 2010 9:43 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Shuttle

I need to take the 8 since Bill is not going to DC tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 6:47 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Tomorrow

Can I see Mitchell at 12 instead of 12:30? Also, what happened to McCrystal mtg?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 9:10 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Fw: RADM Dave Stone

Pls add as option.

----- Original Message -----
From: Steve Abbot <[redacted]>
To: Steve Abbot <[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Apr 06 10:26:14 2010
Subject: RADM Dave Stone

B6

There will be an interment service at Arlington National Cemetery for RADM Dave Stone at 12:45 pm, July 14, 2010. This is a change from the originally planned date of May 26. Details to follow

ADM Charles S. Abbot, USN (Ret)

President, Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 7:22 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid

I shared your emails w Bill who thought they were "brilliant"! Keep 'em coming when you can.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sun May 09 03:08:22 2010
Subject: H: Sunday am report UK. I return later today to DC. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Sunday, State of Play

Clegg is still in talks with Cameron. About 1,500 Liberal Democrats spontaneously protested at Lib-Dem headquarters against a deal with the Tories given their policies, especially on Europe. But Clegg remains in negotiations. He seems quite intent on working it out with Cameron, it appears. His inner Tory magnetically draws him to his heritage. Clegg has also misplayed almost every turn, presented with big chances and blowing them through a combination of inexperience (derived partly from heading a party out of power for nearly 100 years) and inbred arrogance (from no less a privileged background than Cameron, though seeming less snobbish because he went to Westminster instead of Eton and has a less pronounced upper-class accent, more neutral, because of his more cosmopolitan roots through his family).

What about Labour? Shaun and a couple of others have rounded up about 29 votes from other parties (Scottish National Party, NI parties, Welsh party) that could be part of a grand progressive once-in-a-lifetime coalition that required the LDs. Gordon has said he will allow Clegg-Cameron discussions to play out and a general offer to Clegg is on the table, its terms giving far more on a referendum and policy than the Tories. Behind the scenes, Labour is putting whatever harsh pressure it can on LD leaders. Peter is playing a cynical double game. He is a sectarian in a sect of one. Yet Gordon for strange psychological reasons rooted in his triangle with Tony and Peter relies on Peter. Peter, according to Shaun, has wrung a pledge from Borwn that if Brown emerges from this crisis he, Peter, will replace David as Foreign Secretary. Meanwhile, Peter has advised David to sideline himself. David has done so instead of being forward as a strong party man behind Brown in dire straits. Standing back only makes David look ambitious, waiting for Brown to lose and aiming to a leadership contest afterward, when Peter, as he has promised, would guide David to the prize. The plot thickens: Ed

Miliband, David's younger brother, the environment secretary, will run for leader against his brother if Brown loses. Ed has more of a common touch. The outcome of that contest would be more than uncertain. But before that eventuality Gordon's team reaches out to the LDs in private. Yet Shaun's attitude, as I read it, leans toward pessmism. A London Times polls just out says 62 percent want Gordon out. Where were the fickle voters in the election? The poll shows more than discontent with Gordon, but also how people are being whipped by the Murdoch media.

What about the Tories? A secret memo from William Hague to Cameron written before the election was leaked this morning to The Observer (the Sunday paper of The Guardian), proposes an anti-Europe line of the new government. (I've enclosed the article below.) The atmosphere inside the Conservatives is acrid and anxious. But Lord Ashcroft, the Tory moneyman, who spent five million pounds alone in marginal districts, is furious that Cameron failed to win outright, failed in his campaign, made a foolish decision to include Clegg in the debates, etc. Many agree with the evil Ashcroft. But the finger pointing won't matter if a deal works with Clegg. The Conservative strategy would be to coopt Clegg now, do whatever deal can be done, maintain a more or less center-right but moderated government for about a year, call a new election, win outright on the momentum of the recovery engineered by Brown but claimed by Tories as proof that the change was responsible, jettison Clegg and the LDs, and govern from the radical right as the children of Thatcher for five years. The Tories would then move on their electoral reforms: cutting the number of seats in Parliament, redistricting in Conservative favor, and trying to outlaw union contributions to the Labour Party.

What about the LDs? Clegg's deal with the Tories would of course thwart any Lib-Lab coalition, probably the only chance for a grand progressive alliance that would keep the Tories out of power forever. Clegg's personal instincts obviously lean toward the Tories, having little to do with policy. The party's leaders may be opposed, but they are also likely to be feckless and weak as they always have been.

So, whatever the case, I would doubt you'll see David again as Foreign Secretary. Prepare for hauge, who is deeply anti-European and will be disingenuous with you. Tory budget cuts in NI, already announced, would cause havoc with peace and economic recovery. I'd send a private message asap on that score the second a new government is announced, if it is. Tilt publicly to Merkel on Europe for this reason among others.

Article below:
Tory-Lib Dem coalition threatened by secret hardline memo on Europe • Draft letter by William Hague sets out tough stance on EU • Leak follows leaders' 'constructive, amicable' meeting Toby Helm
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/tobyhelm> and Anushka Asthana
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/anushkaasthana>

* The Observer <http://observer.guardian.co.uk> , Sunday 9 May 2010

David Cameron <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/davidcameron> 's hopes of forming a coalition with the Liberal Democrats <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/liberaldemocrats> were dramatically undermined last night by the leaking of a top-secret letter outlining the hardline Eurosceptic stance he and William Hague <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/williamhague> planned to adopt in government.
The document, obtained by the Observer, is headed "draft letter from Foreign Secretary to Prime Minister" and was written last week. It assumed an outright Tory victory and spelt out how Hague intended to adopt a tough approach to Europe at a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Brussels tomorrow.
In the letter, compiled by civil servants but written in the first person, Hague tells Cameron how his message would be that "the British relationship with the EU has changed with our election" to one firmly against any further integration. Exposing the massive gulf between Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/nickclegg> and the Conservative leadership on Europe, Hague says he would demand the right to repatriate powers over criminal justice as well as social and employment policy during the first term of a Tory government – demands many EU leaders say they would resist.
Hague planned to tell his EU counterparts: "Rest assured that we seek engagement, not confrontation. But our aim is to achieve these commitments during this parliament." He would also tell his first foreign ministers' meeting "we will never join the euro" and conclude: "You will find us firm but fair, playing a leading role, fighting our corner, practical and straight-talking."

Last night the Tories said they had no knowledge of the letter. But the Observer understands it was drawn up on the basis of detailed briefings between senior civil servants and Hague. The document came to light as Clegg, a strong pro-European, yesterday met his MPs and senior party figures to discuss a possible coalition with the Tories, who emerged from Thursday's general election with the largest number of seats but short of an overall majority.

Cameron and Clegg held face-to-face talks late yesterday as they continued their attempts to thrash out a power-sharing deal. A senior Conservative party spokeswoman said the talks were "constructive and amicable". The 70-minute meeting took place at Admiralty House in Whitehall. A Lib Dem spokesman also described the discussions as "constructive and amicable".

Tory and Lib Dem sources said last night that discussions would not conclude until the beginning of the coming week at the earliest. An emergency meeting of the 1922 committee of Tory backbenchers will be held tomorrow to discuss the possible coalition. Today, Hague, Oliver Letwin <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/oliverletwin> and George Osborne <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/georgeosborne> will resume talks with the Lib Dems' Vince Cable, Chris Huhne and David Laws.

But the stark language used in the letter is bound to alarm Clegg, who has been savage in his criticism of the Conservatives <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/conservatives> ' attitude to Europe which he believes is rooted in the past and will limit Britain's ability to fight cross-border crime and meet the environmental challenges of the 21st century.

The document will also be seen by Lib Dem MPs and the party's rank and file as evidence that their pro-Europeanism would be compromised by linking up with the Tories. A Lib Dem spokesman said the party was strongly pro-European, but would not be drawn on the document.

Yesterday Cameron came under pressure from senior figures in his own party not to give in to Clegg's demands by watering down Conservative manifesto commitments. Shadow defence secretary Liam Fox warned that a Tory government could not be "held to ransom" by Lib Dems demanding proportional representation.

Clegg may also face opposition from within his party to any attempt to form a coalition with the Tories, particularly on economic issues.

Yesterday the Social Liberal Forum, which represents left-leaning Lib Dems and includes a third of the party's MPs, issued a set of "red lines" which it said the party must not cross, including any measure that would increase the gap between the rich and poor – ruling out supporting the Tory pledge to cut inheritance tax. Three other red lines were any suggestion of cuts to frontline services in the current financial year, any worsening treatment of asylum seekers and any watering-down of the human rights act.

Meanwhile, Gordon Brown and his closest advisers were working on how to expand their counter-offer to the Lib Dems, including a referendum on changes to the voting system. Senior officials said Labour was planning to draw up a formal "coalition contract" – as happens in Germany – that would bind the Lib Dems and other smaller parties into a deal if the Tory discussions with the Lib Dems were to fail.

Most Labour ministers now believe Brown would have to step down before Clegg would consider a pact, though senior government insiders insisted this was not being discussed as an option.

One re-elected Labour MP, John Mann, of Bassetlaw, called on Brown to step down as Labour leader, claiming that the party would have influence on the outcome of the current negotiations only if Brown agreed to give up the leadership. "Brown should not lead Labour into any future election and he should stand down before the next Labour party conference," he said. "Gordon Brown's continuation as leader rules out the credibility of a Lib-Lab pact that has to prioritise the modernisation and reform of the antiquated UK political systems."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 9:12 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Call list

Pls add Henry Kissinger

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 6, 2010 9:15 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Economist: The limits of freedom and faith

Pls print. T

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 02 12:34:19 2010
Subject: FW: Economist: The limits of freedom and faith

See the piece below on defamation of religion. Not bad.

http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15833005

Religion and human rights

The limits of freedom and faith

Mar 31st 2010
From The Economist print edition

Opponents of a bid by Muslim states to "protect religion" claim a small success

How dare you call us blasphemers?

IT DOES not happen often: Christian lobbyists, the sort who favour prayer in American classrooms and crucifixes in Italian ones, lining up on the same side as secularists who battle to curb religion's role in the public square. But in both those camps there has been some quiet satisfaction after a recent vote at the United Nations. Not over the outcome, but over the slim margin of defeat.

On March 25th the Human Rights Council (HRC), a Geneva-based UN agency which often exasperates its Western members, voted by 20 votes to 17, with eight abstentions, for a text that lists the "defamation of religion" as an infringement of liberty. Nothing amazing there: the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which groups 56 mainly Muslim states (plus Palestine), has been working to push resolutions of that kind through the General Assembly and other UN bodies since 2005. But the margin was the smallest ever, and opponents think there could be a good chance of defeating a "defamation" motion next time one comes around.

The OIC's idea is to establish the principle that faiths need protection, just as individuals do. It denies any sinister intention (see article <http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15833035> ). And to some ears, the OIC's effort sounds like harmless UN-speak, but nothing more. (The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, a congressionally mandated body, has noted a logical flaw: defamation means harming the reputation of a living person or entity: that implies that one can't defame an idea or a religious founder who is no longer, at least physically, alive on earth.)

But critics of the OIC campaign, who include atheists, Christians and indeed some Muslims, say the "defamation" idea is worse than hot air: far from protecting human rights, it emboldens countries that use blasphemy laws to criminalise dissent. What encourages these critics is that more countries seem to be coming around to their view. Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Zambia and South Korea voted against the latest resolution. Brazil criticised the text but abstained.

Deeper still inside the UN's bureaucracy, another battle over religion rages—and the stakes could be even higher. An "ad hoc committee" is mulling ways to amend or extend the UN convention on racial discrimination. Certain states want language that would fuse the categories of race and faith; some want a new convention, or a protocol to the existing one.

For secularists (in the broad sense of people, including believers, who oppose the idea of faith having privileged access to power), all this is alarming. Non-binding resolutions against defamation are bad enough; a UN treaty on race-plus-religion would have legal force, at least for its signatories, and give heart to theocrats.

At the HRC's latest discussion of this effort in March, the Algerian who oversees the project was keen to plough ahead. But countries like Switzerland, Japan, Mexico, Argentina and France retorted that it would be better to enforce the existing UN norms than dream up new ones. Efforts to widen the racism accord will resume, with a new chairman, late this year—but critics are relieved to have stalled it. Still, would-be theocrats may now focus harder on adding to the racism charter, because they face a real risk of being defeated over defamation, in the view of Roy Brown, Geneva spokesman for the International Humanist and Ethical Union.

Meanwhile a Christian-inspired NGO, the European Centre for Law and Justice, has been denouncing the abuse of blasphemy laws in many OIC member states. How fair is their point? It is an easy case to make, for example, over Pakistan.

Some 41 complaints of blasphemy were registered by police in Pakistan last year, says that country's independent Human Rights Commission. In theory, blasphemy is punishable by death—a penalty that has been handed down but never carried out. Worst-hit by the law are minorities like Christians and Ahmadis, a group whose claim to be Muslim is rejected by the Pakistani state. Although abuse of the law is less rife now than in the 1980s, when an Islamist general tightened up the rules, the law is still invoked in disputes (over property, say) that have nothing to do with faith.

"The most vulnerable people, that is religious minorities, continue to be charged with blasphemy," said Ali Dayan Hasan, a researcher at Human Rights Watch, a campaign group. "But are people convicted? No. Rarely. It is used as an instrument of political and social coercion."

When convictions occur, they lead to long jail terms; and pre-trial detention can last for years. Pakistan's parliament is revising the constitution but it has left intact the religious bits, despite a vow by the ruling party to review the blasphemy laws. (Indonesia too has stepped back from a move to liberalise its blasphemy regime.)

On Pakistani streets, the law has dire effects. In January 2009, in a village in Punjab province, five Ahmadis, a labourer and four children, were charged with blasphemy. They had supposedly written "Prophet Muhammad" on the wall of a mosque toilet. The children were behind bars for nearly six months till the charge was quashed.

And last September a young Pakistani Christian was accused of throwing part of the Koran down a drain. It seems that his real crime, however, was affection for a Muslim woman. A mob torched a church, and many Christians had to flee.

He was taken to jail, where he died a few days later. His family alleged torture; the authorities claimed suicide. There was mayhem at the funeral and the country's Christians (see picture) were appalled. In some places, it is not the "defamation" of faith that threatens rights but measures that supposedly defend it.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 9:14 PM
**To:** H; Steinberg, James B; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Korea FTA

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 9:41 PM
**To:** H

For the breakfast tomorrow, we provided two options for your remarks. The first is longer and gives an around the world + qddr update. Might take 12 to 15 minutes. The second is short (less than 2 pages) and makes a qddr and start pitch, but leaves the around the world part for q and a. Either approach would work, but wanted to ensure you had both options in your book so you could decide.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 7, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ignatius

Ok. Can you pls call me thru ops?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Apr 07 07:49:13 2010
Subject: Ignatius

You should definitely read Ignatius this morning.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 6:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** No further word yet

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 8, 2010 9:57 PM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

I agree this needs to be addressed. Just let me know how you decide to do so. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
Cc: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; DiMartino, Kitty <DiMartinoK@state.gov>; Douglas, Walter T <DouglasWT@state.gov>; Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 08 16:23:19 2010
Subject: recognition of USG assistance/contributions.

We all agree that there is a need to dramatically increase the awareness level of USG assistance efforts around the world. Following up on conversations with Melanne and others, I would like to suggest that we begin the effort by bringing together a small group of people from inside and outside government to help us think this through. USAID participation will be crucial. I'd be happy to organize this and/or co-host the event with you . Let me know what you think.

jm

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 7:28 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: More on Lieberman's bill

Pls give me hard copy of his memo tomorrow. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 16:30:14 2010
Subject: FW: More on Lieberman's bill

See the highlighted specifically.

cdm

From: Koh, Harold Hongju
Sent: Friday, May 07, 2010 7:42 AM
To: Crowley, Philip J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Jake Sullivan; Mills, Cheryl D; Verma, Richard R
Cc: Koh, Harold Hongju
Subject: More on Lieberman's bill

Senator Lieberman's bill would strip American citizenship from anyone who has "provid[ed] material support or resources to a foreign terrorist organization" or "engaged in, or purposefully and materially support[ed], hostilities against the United States" or any of its allies. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

A. Constitutional Rules:

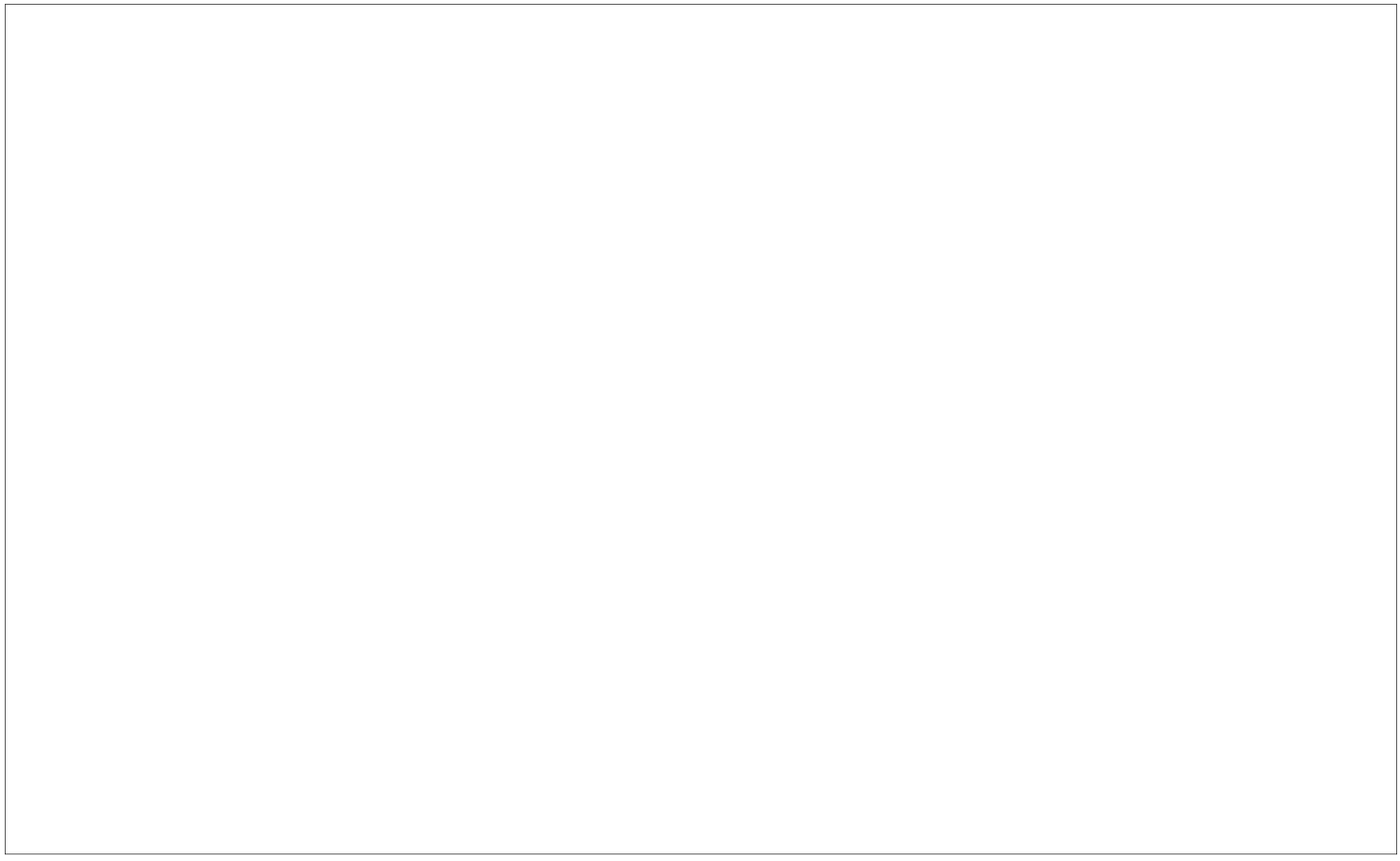
[redacted]

B. Statute

B5

C. Administrative Policy:

D. Lieberman bill



B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 7:30 PM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: doctrine of no surprises

Love the "doctrine" and I agree we need a health speech. I'd like to look for a venue before UNGA. And Happy Mother's Day!

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 15:51:43 2010
Subject: doctrine of no surprises

I just wanted to make sure you know that the CARE speech is now going to focus on nutrition/health/early childhood, rather than being a major health speech. I still feel that you need to do a health speech as a bookend to food and water – perhaps before UNGA. You could focus on health in the context of the larger Millennium Dev Goals. You have not given a speech yet about maternal and child health. We have a great story to tell with our investment in GHI, and there will be an opportunity to tell it with the ramp-up to UNGA (with the Summit focusing on MDGs). There is a tremendous amount of activity going on elsewhere in the world. And this is a legacy issue for you. (I have already relayed this idea to CDM and Jake).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 9, 2010 7:34 PM
**To:** 'shapiroa@state.gov'
**Subject:** Nathan Diament

Andrew--how was your conversation? Any ideas I should follow up on?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills [redacted] 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Lois Romano

Did right by you today---as well she or anyone should.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 10:38 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Tomorrow

Pls be sure I say something about women in my remarks as a set up to Karzai's comments about opportunities for women.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 10:42 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: S video on Mother's Day
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image001.jpg

Pls do note to Kristin Kane and give me back copy of her email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 15:36:56 2010
Subject: FW: S video on Mother's Day

MS -- A wonderful note!

From: Kane, Kristin M
Sent: Friday, May 07, 2010 3:34 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: S video on Mother's Day

Hi Lona, I just saw the S video for Mother's Day: After nearly 10 years of working for the Department, this ranks as one of my proudest, most fulfilling moments of serving as a Foreign Service Officer.

B6

Clearly I'm not the only one who has made these sacrifices or who has these frustrations; Secretary Clinton has heard our struggles (indeed has gone through her own struggles as a professional mom!), and she truly gets it.

I just wanted to tell somebody, and I remembered your name from the women's conference in December. Forgive this long message. Happy Mother's Day, and congratulations on working with such an incredible person.

Regards,

Kristin

Kristin M. Kane

Office of Public Affairs and Outreach

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

U.S. Department of State

Washington, DC

Tel: (202) 647-7994

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 10, 2010 10:43 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Also the briefing is unclear about the order of speakers so pls be sure that is set in script.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 10 22:40:14 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Roger - it's in there.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 10 22:38:25 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

Pls be sure I say something about women in my remarks as a set up to Karzai's comments about opportunities for women.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 6:47 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Remarks

Will I get them before I deliver them?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list

Pls add Barbara Walters, she's having heart surgery.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 7:14 AM
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: nutrition speech

Thx for the changes you made. A few questions:

Is the Vitamin A research on p. 8 accurate given recent research that raised doubts about it efficacy?

Will you print out a copy of the MDGs for me to have for speech?

Is there a teleprompter?

Didn't Jim Grant also pioneer the widespread use of oral rehydration therapy? If so, we should include too.

It is so much better--thank you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 10 12:24:43 2010
Subject: nutrition speech

To more fully answer your question, the CARE speech is important because it focuses on a chronically overlooked issue (nutrition) that sits at the intersection of two of your signature issues. It gives us an opportunity to sharpen our development message. It also tees up the health care speech you might give before UNGA. This is a speech that only you could give and a number of constituencies will be delighted by it.

Hope this helps. I'm going through it now to make sure it more clearly answers your question.

Thank you!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 12:22 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

In a minority govt or coalition?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Tue May 11 12:20:15 2010
Subject: H: Hours, if not sooner, Cameron will be PM. Sid

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 8:43 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Steinberg on Dai

I agree w him and am on the call now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue May 11 20:12:20 2010
Subject: Steinberg on Dai

Jim just called to weigh in on the Dai call sheet. [redacted] B5

More generally, he thinks it should be an upbeat call – [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** 'bstrider 'mmoore B6
**Cc:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: http://www.myfoxdc.com/dpp/news/local/from-foster-care-to-law-school-graduate,-howard-university-student-beats-the-odds-050710

Burns, what were you doing watching Titanic again?

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider <
To: 'Minyon Moore' <>
Cc: H; 'Abedin, Huma' <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 10 13:03:29 2010
Subject: RE: http://www.myfoxdc.com/dpp/news/local/from-foster-care-to-law-school-graduate,-howard-university-student-beats-the-odds-050710

So cool... and I agree, Minnie... while I was watching Titanic last night (you can't hear Celine Dion enough, you know) several emailed me to say they were watching the Bosslady on 60 Minutes and how they were so glad and thankful she was one of our leaders during this time... amen to that!! And hello Sister Abedin!

Burns Strider

Founding Partner

The Eleison Group

Join Me on Facebook <http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1279552305&ref=name>

Follow Me on Twitter <http://twitter.com/BStrider>

Visit The Eleison Group Website <http://www.eleisongroup.com/>

Visit Pea Ridge Confidential, My Personal Blog <http://pearidgeconfidential.blogspot.com/>

From: Minyon Moore [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Monday, May 10, 2010 12:33 PM
To: Burns Strider
Cc: H; Abedin, Huma
Subject: http://www.myfoxdc.com/dpp/news/local/from-foster-care-to-law-school-graduate,-howard-university-student-beats-the-odds-050710
Importance: High

This is why we love Madam Secretary...to start your week off! Nice interview as well.

From Foster Care To Law School Graduate, Howard University Student Beats The Odds

Jelani Freeman lived in 6 foster homes in 10 years

Updated: Friday, 07 May 2010, 8:25 PM EDT Published : Friday, 07 May 2010, 7:55 PM EDT

By BETH PARKER/myfoxdc

WASHINGTON - Jelani Freeman has gone through a lot to wear this robe. This weekend, he will graduate from Howard University Law School.

He remembers the shaky foundation of his young life. A mother who could not take care of him. He lived in six foster homes in ten years.

"Moving to these different homes. The kids were like 'you weren't here yesterday.' Where's your mom at?" said Freeman.

At 18 years old, he left the system and went to college in search of room and board. He knew what people expected of kids in the foster care system - not much.

"All I would hear is that they were in jail or homeless or weren't doing too well," said Freeman.

He beat the odds and graduated, but he felt ... alone.

"I can distinctly remember walking across the stage in undergrad. You know at graduation everyone has their cheer section that yells as you walk across the stage and there was almost silence as I walked across," said Freeman.

It will be different this time. When Freeman gets his diploma Saturday at the convention center, there will be 26 people - friends and supporters from as far away as California - in D.C. to show their support.

Freeman also got a boost from an internship program for kids who have spent time in foster care. He was placed in the office of then Senator Hillary Clinton. Clinton even mentions him in the updated version of her book "It Takes A Village."

Now, he may use his law degree to work on public policy - especially children's issues. He wants all kids to know: "There's a bright future out there for you if you stay focused and work hard."

And to the adults who hear his story, Freeman said help a child. He is living proof of the difference it can make.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 11:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: (Reuters) White House believes START treaty will pass Senate

---

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 11:35 AM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS
**Subject:** (Reuters) White House believes START treaty will pass Senate

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - White House spokesman Robert Gibbs said on November 17 he believes a new START treaty with Russia will gain enough votes in the U.S. Senate to pass before the end of the year.

Gibbs said he believes an end-of-year session of the Senate will take up the arms control treaty and will be voted on and "we'll have the votes to pass it."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:28 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 60 minutes

Pls thank your mother for me!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 09 22:07:35 2010
Subject: 60 minutes

My mom just wrote me an email about the interview that captured exactly what I thought watching the interview - you have been through so much and would have been perfectly entitled just to pack it in after the election but instead, in my mom's words, "instead of feeling sorry for herself she takes the ball and runs with all the energy that she can summon in the service of her country to the limit of her body ....and she dishes it out frankly without pussy footing around whether to heads of State or media or major international conferences." I felt VERY proud to be on your team. AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:31 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Happy Mother's Day on Sunday

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: dphelf [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun May 09 19:32:25 2010
Subject: Re: Happy Mother's Day on Sunday

Thank you so much. Have a safe flight back - I'm on the train. We had fun with [redacted]

See you soon,
D
------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'dphelf [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Happy Mother's Day on Sunday
Sent: May 9, 2010 7:27 PM

Thanks for thinking of me and pls tell your Mom I'm sending best wishes her way too.

----- Original Message -----
From: David Helfenbein [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri May 07 17:04:21 2010
Subject: Happy Mother's Day on Sunday

Madam Secretary,

I know I saw you today but didn't get to say hello. I just want to wish you a Happy Mother's Day on Sunday - to someone who I know behind the scenes is a great mom.

Wishing you the best, always.

D

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 11, 2010 9:33 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** For our records

Here is the best spelling I've seen of our Qatari friend's name:

Sheikha Mozah Bint Nasser al-Missned

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 12:34 PM
**To:** H; Abedin, Huma

# Senate Republicans Filibuster Fair Pay For Women

Matt Finkelstein

The first bill President Obama signed after taking office was the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, which made it easier for women to seek justice for pay discrimination. At the time, Sens. Susan Collins (R-ME), Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) and Olympia Snowe (R-ME) joined with Democrats to overcome strong Republican opposition to the bill.

But today, all three Republican senators voted against a motion to proceed on the Paycheck Fairness Act, a bill that "would further strengthen current laws against gender-based wage discrimination." The motion was defeated by a vote of 58-41, falling two votes short of the 60 needed for the bill to be considered on the Senate floor.

This is not the first time the Paycheck Fairness Act has stalled in the Senate. In 2008, the upper chamber failed to vote on the bill after it was approved by the House, which passed the legislation again in 2009 with the support of 10 Republicans.

Women earn barely three-quarters of what their male counterparts make for the same work, but conservatives have invented a number of ludicrous reasons for opposing equal pay legislation. For example, the Heritage Foundation has suggested that equal pay laws actually hurt women because businesses simply won't hire them if they are required to pay them fair wages. And Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) has claimed that women would receive better compensation if they just had more "education and training."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:27 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Ok. But I saw in briefing that I was supposed to take questions at this Council of Americas--where did that come from? And am I committed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>; H
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 12 07:21:34 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Hrc, sorry but this is back on.
Time was offered yesterday and they didn't confirm.

---

From: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Wed May 12 07:13:55 2010
Subject: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Madam Secretary,

Ops has confirmed your call with Hungarian Prime Minister Bajnai at 7:30 a.m. this morning.

Regards,

Courtney

From: Wykle, Chadwick J
Sent: Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:00 AM
To: Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

The Secretary's call with Prime Minister Bajnai call is confirmed for today at 0730 EDT / 1330 Budapest. We will put the call through to the Secretary at her residence.

Chadwick J. Wykle

Watch Officer

State Operations Center, S/ES-O

202-647-1512

From: Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:00 PM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai
Importance: High

Colleagues,

The Secretary is available to do the call tomorrow morning – Wednesday, May 12 at 0730 EDT. Please reach out to the Hungarian MFA.

The Secretary will be at her residence tomorrow morning for the call.

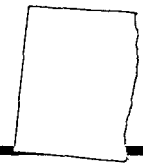
Claire L. Coleman

Office Manager to the Secretary of State

U.S. Department of State

Tel: 202-647-7098

E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov



RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: 2 good articles on the effects of sleep and women's health

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Carper Margo < [redacted] > B6
To: H
Sent: Wed May 12 07:25:39 2010
Subject: 2 good articles on the effects of sleep and women's health

Sleep and Weight Loss-Sleep and Losing Weight <http://thyroid.about.com/od/loseweightsuccessfully/a/sleepdiet.htm>

This is the largest study to track the effects of sleep habits on weight gain over time; it included nearly 70000 middle-aged women. ...
thyroid.about.com/od/loseweightsuccessfully/a/sleepdiet.htm - Cached
<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:Ulimdhhah_UJ:thyroid.about.com/od/loseweightsuccessfully/a/sleepdiet.htm+sleep+deprivation+weight+gain+in+women&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a> - Similar
<http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&client=firefox-a&hs=0sp&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&channel=s&q=related:thyroid.about.com/od/loseweightsuccessfully/a/sleepdiet.htm+sleep+deprivation+weight+gain+in+women&tbo=p&sa=X&ei=LY7qS_yLKoT78Aa4oYzjDg&ved=0CBgQHzAB>

Importance of Sleep : Six Reasons Not to Scrimp on Sleep - Harvard ...
<http://www.health.harvard.edu/press_releases/importance_of_sleep_and_health>

The Harvard Women's Health Watch suggests six reasons to get enough sleep: ... Metabolism and weight: Chronic sleep deprivation may cause weight gain by ...
www.health.harvard.edu/.../importance_of_sleep_and_health - Cached
<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:fbv8MU1hbCoJ:www.health.harvard.edu/press_releases/importance_of_sleep_and_health+sleep+deprivation+weight+gain+in+women&cd=4&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a> - Similar <http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&client=firefox-a&hs=0sp&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&channel=s&q=related:www.health.harvard.edu/press_releases/importance_of_sleep_and_health+sleep+deprivation+weight+gain+in+women&tbo=p&sa=X&ei=LY7qS_yLKoT78Aa4oYzjDg&ved=0CCIQHzAD>

Margo Carper

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 7:35 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Why does this keep happening?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 12 07:31:18 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

No u r not. That's old and wrong.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed May 12 07:27:09 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Ok. But I saw in briefing that I was supposed to take questions at this Council of Americas--where did that come from? And am I committed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Beale, Courtney A Kramer <BealeCA@state.gov>; H
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 12 07:21:34 2010
Subject: Re: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

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---

From: Beale, Courtney A Kramer
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Wed May 12 07:13:55 2010
Subject: The Secretary's call with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai confirmed for 7:30 am today

Madam Secretary,

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Regards,

Courtney

From: Wykle, Chadwick J
Sent: Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:00 AM
To: Coleman, Claire L; SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: RE: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai

Claire:

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Chadwick J. Wykle

Watch Officer

State Operations Center, S/ES-O

202-647-1512

From: Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Tuesday, May 11, 2010 3:00 PM
To: SES-O_S-Calls
Subject: The Secretary requests to speak with Hungarian Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai
Importance: High

Colleagues,

The Secretary is available to do the call tomorrow morning – Wednesday, May 12 at 0730 EDT. Please reach out to the Hungarian MFA.

The Secretary will be at her residence tomorrow morning for the call.

Claire L. Coleman

Office Manager to the Secretary of State

U.S. Department of State

Tel: 202-647-7098

E-Mail: ColemanCL@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case-- [redacted] B6

Who was it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 08 08:13:02 2010
Subject: FW: Assuming this crossed ur radar but just in case-- [redacted]

FYI

---

From: Barnum, Forrest SL. <BarnumFSL@state.gov>
To: PA PRS Group
Sent: Thu Apr 08 07:58:02 2010
Subject: Sad News and a Question

Hello,

I'm in the Historian's Office, [redacted] We were wondering what we should do if we receive media inquiries, we need to direct them elsewhere, as we don't want to speak for the department. Thanks for your assistance.

Regards,

Forrest Barnum

Student Historian

U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of the Historian
Phone: (202) 663-1123

barnumfsl@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 9:54 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Foreign Policy Magazine-Betrayed: They said we were there to save Afghan women. How Come we havent?
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image002.gif; image003.jpg; image001.jpg; image002.gif; image003.jpg

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 12 09:23:52 2010
Subject: FW: Foreign Policy Magazine-Betrayed: They said we were there to save Afghan women. How Come we havent?

This is what we are up against.

Betrayed

They said we were there to save Afghanistan's women. So how come we haven't?

BY VALERIE M. HUDSON, PATRICIA LEIDL | MAY 10, 2010

One day in November 2009, in Helmand province's capital of Lashkar Gah, a group of Afghan widows and divorcees met with Patricia, who had been commissioned to write a series of success stories for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). All the women were in their 20s, 30s, and 40s but looked to be in their 60s. Until very recently, none of them could work because they possessed no marketable skills, could neither read nor write, and were at risk of being killed if they left their homes. A number of women said that, before the program -- which focused on tailoring and basic literacy -- their children used to weep at night from hunger.

COMMENTS (22) SHARE:

Twitter <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?pub=fpstaff&v=250&source=tbx-250&tt=0&s=twitter&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.foreignpolicy.com%2Farticles%2F2010%2F05%2F07%2Fthe_us_is_abandoning_afghanistan_s_women%3Fprint%3Dyes%26hidecomments%3Dyes%26page%3Dfull&title=The%20U.S.%20Is%20Abandoning%20Afghanistan%E2%80%99s%20Women%20%E2%80%93%20By%20Valerie%20M.%20Hudson%20and%20Patricia%20Leidl%20%7C%20Foreign%20Policy&content=&sms_ss=1&lng=en>

Reddit <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?pub=fpstaff&v=250&source=tbx-250&tt=0&s=reddit&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.foreignpolicy.com%2Farticles%2F2010%2F05%2F07%2Fthe_us_is_abandoning_afghanistan_s_women%3Fprint%3Dyes%26hidecomments%3Dyes%26page%3Dfull&title=The%20U.S.%20Is%20Abandoning%20Afghanistan%E2%80%99s%20Women%20%E2%80%93%20By%20Valerie%20M.%20Hudson%20and%20Patricia%20Leidl%20%7C%20Foreign%20Policy&content=&sms_ss=1&lng=en>

Buzz <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?pub=fpstaff&v=250&source=tbx-250&tt=0&s=googlebuzz&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.foreignpolicy.com%2Farticles%2F2010%2F05%2F07%2Fthe_us_is_abandoning_afghanistan_s_women%3Fprint%3Dyes%26hidecomments%3Dyes%26page%3Dfull&title=The%20U.S.%20Is%20Abandoning%20Afghanistan%E2%80%99s%20Women%20%E2%80%93%20By%20Valerie%20M.%20Hudson%20and%20Patricia%20Leidl%20%7C%20Foreign%20Policy&content=&sms_ss=1&lng=en>

More... <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?v=20>

As Patricia prepared to leave, the women fluttered around her like moths, touching her sleeves and speaking all at once. "What are they saying?" Pat asked the young Pashto-speaking interpreter. "They are telling you to go back to your country and to ask your people not to abandon them. The women of Afghanistan don't want you to leave. They will quite literally die if the Taliban return," she said.

In a recent question-and-answer period at one of our universities, Brigham Young, a student asked Gen. David Petraeus whether anyone thought to ask the women of Afghanistan how they felt about U.S. hopes to incorporate "reformed" Taliban into governance structures as the Americans leave.

Carefully avoiding the word "women," the general assured the questioning student that only "moderate" Taliban would be eligible for such rehabilitation. Left unaddressed was the definition of "moderate," which clearly depends on where you sit: If you sit in a burqa, there is no such thing as a "moderate" Taliban.

Petraeus might find it easy now to sidestep the question of what will happen to Afghanistan's women once the "moderate" Taliban come back, but it's likely to haunt him for a long time. Without the security of women there is no security -- and until we've done more to protect it, we have a moral and practical obligation to stay in Afghanistan.

In 2001, George W. Bush's administration interpreted the first post-invasion photos of Afghan girls heading to school and of Afghan women unveiling their faces as tangible evidence that conditions were improving in that benighted land. A few months after the invasion, in his 2002 State of the Union address, Bush announced <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29/bush.speech.txt/>, "The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free and are part of Afghanistan's new government."

The Americans strong-armed a handful of women into the loya jirga that then drafted the Afghan Constitution. They strong-armed a quota for women in the Afghan national legislature -- something that even American women are not treated to. U.S. troops built schools for girls and pushed for women to be included in the local shuras, and USAID ripped a page from Greg Mortenson's Three Cups of Tea <http://www.amazon.com/gp/product/0143038257?ie=UTF8&tag=fopo-20&linkCode=as2&camp=1789&creative=390957&creativeASIN=0143038257> and facilitated new training and educational opportunities for women.

But the current administration, despite its female secretary of State and its new Office of Global Women's Issues, appears to be ditching the women of Afghanistan like a blind date gone bad. You have to go back 10 months to find any sustained rhetoric from President Barack Obama about the importance of assuring the security of women in

Afghanistan. Since then, and especially since last year's Afghan election, those fine words from a sitting president have all but disappeared. Many of the fine actions are gone, too. Push local shuras into including women in 2002? Yes. Push local shuras into including women in 2010? Forget it.

It's not difficult to understand why. Afghanistan is in crisis. The cynical policies that characterized the early to mid-stages of the occupation have come home to roost. President Hamid Karzai and his rogue's gallery of kleptocrats, human rights abusers, and drug lords are hanging onto power even as Karzai declares open season on the United Nations by accusing senior bureaucrats of organizing the widespread voter fraud that consolidated his own hold on power.

In the meantime, women have taken a back seat to realpolitik and the exigencies of a coalition exit strategy. But their suffering is real, as Afghanistan's poverty and chaos affect women possibly most of all. Maternal mortality in Afghanistan still makes the world's top three list, nine years after the U.S. invasion, resulting in a life expectancy for women of 46. In the countryside, Taliban zealots spray acid into girls' faces for going to school -- and only 27 percent of them do so in the first place. According to a recent survey by the U.N. Development Fund for Women, 87 percent of Afghan women report being beaten on a regular basis.

In July of last year, the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) issued a report <http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/vaw-english.pdf> that represents the most stinging official condemnation of the Karzai administration's abysmal track record on women to date. The report concluded, "The current reality is that ... women are denied their most fundamental human rights and risk further violence in the course of seeking justice for crimes perpetrated against them." Last year Karzai pardoned well-connected political thugs who -- before witnesses -- gang-raped a woman with a bayonet. Her husband, who had battled for redress, was assassinated soon thereafter. Women who dare to speak out against the widespread trampling of their rights face almost certain death <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/12/03/we-have-promises-world-0> while their murderers face 100 percent impunity.

For the warlords and mujahideen that make up the upper echelons of the Karzai government, the issue of gender equality was always an unwanted appendage to U.S. involvement -- but one that could easily be dispensed with through the deployment of flowery speeches and the token appointment of a lone female minister to the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Indeed, just before his recent "election," Karzai felt secure enough to sign into law a series of repressive measures designed to repeal what minimal gains women have made since the Taliban ouster.

Although eventually forced to back down over legislation that allows Shiite husbands to rape their wives, Karzai successfully signed into law other legislation that denies or severely limits women's rights to inherit, divorce, or have guardianship of their own children. The Shiite Personal Status Law <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/04/14/afghanistan-new-law-threatens-women-s-freedom> also legalizes forced marriage and the rape of minors. It allows men to exert almost total control over female relatives and offers them the power to prohibit women's access to work, education, and health care by denying them the right to leave their homes except for "legitimate" purposes. Even Karzai's own wife -- a doctor whose skills are desperately needed -- is strictly sequestered. And if this sounds bad, just wait until the Americans leave.

This is not just about women. Gender inequality not only affects girls and women, but boys and men. In Afghanistan, because women are rarely able to leave the house, very young boys are often forced to carry an unwarranted amount of financial responsibility, something that limits their prospects as well.

Nor is it even just about Afghanistan. As Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/03/138320.htm> in March, "The subjugation of women is a threat to the national security of the United States." On a geopolitical level, Valerie's research has found that states with higher levels of violence against women are also less peaceful internationally. Indeed, violence against women is a better predictor of bellicosity than level of democracy, level of wealth, or presence of Islamic civilization. In a 2010 study, Valerie, along with Brad Thayer, also found high levels of gender inequality to be a strong aggravating factor in the development of Islamic suicide terrorism.

So, given the desperate need of Afghanistan's women and the serious consequences worldwide, why aren't we doing more to help? One reason is the fallacious notion, common among coalition members, that Afghan "culture" does not allow for gender equality and that forcing the issue will undermine Western interests. Pat heard this openly from one coalition representative, who prefers to remain anonymous: "There is no point in pushing gender equality. It will only alienate them [Afghans]." Of course, "them" here refers only to men.

But decision-makers forget that culture is not fixed, but is highly mutable and dynamic. More than 30 years ago, Afghan women were attending universities, teaching, working as doctors, nurses, and professors. Far from being a black hole of gender apartheid, Afghanistan, though impoverished, was more progressive than many of its Muslim neighbors. Furthermore, many young Afghans are open to new ways of doing things. In 2009, hundreds of Afghan men and women bravely stood together in Kabul to protest Karzai's support for a new and oppressive Shiite family law. If Americans assume that all Afghan men are Neanderthals incapable of sympathizing with the plight of their sisters, they are wrong.

Another, more unmentionable reason may be the chauvinism that permeates Western military culture. U.S. military life, despite increasing female recruitment and even "female engagement teams," remains a bastion of masculinity, with little sensitivity toward questions of female rights. For military leadership and recruits alike, immured as they are in an almost exclusively male world, the complete absence of women from Afghanistan's streets and villages elicited no comment from the Marines who surrounded Pat, though she as a woman noticed it immediately.

And the ready availability of pornography on U.S. bases, coupled with seamier depictions of life in the West, not only damages prospects for gender equality but by extension, Western interests. As one young, well-educated 24-year-old Afghan male pointed out, "Your culture has no respect for women at all. Look at your pornography and the way you exploit women in ways that we can't even imagine. Do you call that progress?" Added another Afghan USAID programmer working in Gardez, a man in his 50s who is the father of three girls, "It would be better for the coalition if they could figure out a way to limit this kind of material."

We can do better -- much better.

The Obama administration must instill in all military personnel and senior diplomats the necessity of fully protecting women's rights. Key to that is educating them about how gender equality furthers Western interests and security.

The military should spend less time courting "moderate" Taliban and more time showing Afghan community leaders how gender equality -- including female access to family planning methods -- will result in healthier families, lower maternal and child death rates, poverty alleviation, and greater self-determination. Gender should be included as a component in all governance training and should be placed front and center in the upcoming "peace jirga" that will include the Taliban. Indeed, let half of the negotiating team representing the government and the coalition be female: yes, a full 50 percent.

Women must also be represented in the government. As Melanne Verveer, U.S. ambassador at large for global women's issues, noted <http://www.state.gov/s/gwi/rls/rem/2009/125512.htm> last summer, speaking of female politicians in Afghanistan, "There is only one minister in the cabinet, and she is powerless. There is a low percentage of women in the civil service. There is only one female governor, in Bamiyan." Obama must insist on important changes for women before we leave and make subsequent aid contingent upon maintenance of a strong presence for women in the Afghan government.

Better yet, the coalition needs to support "regime change" through the building of democratic institutions that will groom a moderate, educated middle class of young women and men to eventually take over. Over two-thirds of the Afghan population is under the age of 25, which is either a real opportunity for social change -- if they are educated and given a chance to shape their society in a progressive way -- or a major obstacle, if they find themselves without jobs, unable to marry, and burdened with retrograde attitudes of what it means to be male and female.

We must hold Afghanistan responsible for its treaty obligations under the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security.

Afghanistan signed CEDAW without reservations (the United States interestingly, has not), and that means that it has committed to passing whatever legislation is necessary to implement the wide-ranging principles of gender equality enshrined in that treaty. This includes taking measures to ensure that women enjoy the same basic human rights and fundamental freedoms as men, having in place legal and judicial procedures to protect the rights of women, taking measures to eliminate sexist discrimination, and lastly, submitting national reports every four years to a U.N. advisory group of international experts, the CEDAW Committee, to ensure transparency on what measures the country has taken to implement the treaty's provisions.

Unanimously adopted in 2000, UNSC 1325 marked the first time the Security Council recognized the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and stressed the importance of their equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

Needless to say, women do not currently enjoy the same fundamental freedoms as men, and indeed, with the passing of the Shiite family law, many are worse off than they were before.

To change this, the coalition needs to stay in Afghanistan. Withdrawing at this critical juncture would doom Afghanistan and the entire region to instability and effectively consign one half of the population to premature death and an existence not fit for animals.

We are creating a shameful American tradition of leaving women no better off (Afghanistan) -- or even much worse off (Iraq) -- than before U.S. troops intervened. On the basis of America's track record, women around the world should have no faith that U.S. soldiers will improve their security. Despite Clinton's remarks on the link between gender equality and security, on the ground Americans act as if women's well-being, in the end, is not more than peripherally related to the issue of peace. As we have seen, this view could not be more wrong. Verveer's benchmarks <http://www.state.gov/s/gwi/rls/rem/2009/125512.htm> concerning Afghanistan are the right ones: "Progress in Afghanistan must be measured not just in military terms, but also in terms of social, political, and economic participation of women in rebuilding Afghanistan and in the safeguarding of their human rights."

American women are right to ask why we are sending their sons and daughters to fight and die so that Afghan women can continue to be treated like an inferior subspecies of humanity. When you break faith with Afghan women, you break faith with American women. You also break faith with your reasons for being there in the first place.

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Majid Saeedi/Getty Image

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** SRAP

I want to see and thank the entire SRAP team on Friday on the 8th floor.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 3:20 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: The house where paint flows

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rosemarie Howe [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun May 09 08:35:14 2010
Subject: The house where paint flows

This is the link to the paint article. I know you had plenty on your mind.

[redacted] B6

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/04/AR2010050404599.html

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Sandy Weill

Pls add to call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Caputo, Lisa <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Apr 07 12:35:01 2010
Subject: Sandy Weill

Hillary,

Sandy Weill called me Monday. He is eager to speak with you and asked that you give him a call.

He has spent time in recent weeks in the Middle East and has feedback for you on how people there feel, where they want to go and how that affects the relationship between the US and countries in the Middle East. Sandy is not a newcomer to the region and very much wants to share with you what he's hearing. He's a fan and wants to be helpful.

I promised him I would pass the message. His number is [redacted]

Xo,
Lisa

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 12, 2010 8:16 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Spanta

Good idea.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 12 19:59:22 2010
Subject: Spanta

I remember what I was going to say earlier – you might check in with Steve Bosworth on the Spanta thing. Fletcher might work, or else he might have thoughts about other policy schools.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:55 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** John Kerry

Am I scheduled to talk w him? If not, could you get a call/visit scheduled?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Hi Sis. My name is Roy Spence and I love you and

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence < > B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 06 20:25:39 2010
Subject: Hi Sis. My name is Roy Spence and I love you and

...I miss you a lot. And I have no idea how you keep on keeping on doing whatever it takes to lift people-everywhere up-championing your Core Purpose of Fighting and digging deep for the opportunity for each person to be able to live up to their God Given Potential. Here and Around the world.

The struggle for an Iran that is more concerned about its people than false power. The relentless quest to stabilize the un-stable. The never give up journey to inspire and empower women and young girls to have a seat at the table of full opportunity. The pursuit for opening doors of happiness for those who struggle with the unimaginable. The steady. The Steadfast. The unwavering commitment to the dream-not the hope-but the dream of a better USA and world for all. The tough and uncompromising "pretend leaders" whom you have negotiate with. The opinion rich and caring poor arrogance of the mean spirited. The stuff that is on the news but is not really the real news.

The love and respect you give freely to all whom love life and liberty and opportunity for all.

The raw respect that you have earned in the trenches of real fears, real love and real longing for a village that is

Dedicated to raising a village and its children.

So I say to a beloved and dear love one-that be you-I love you. I respect you. I miss you. I cherish every moment of our remarkable journey together.

God Speed. Dear Sis. We shall cross paths soon. And until then. Onward in all things.

Love

RS

Ride at Dawn.

---

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----------ideacity.legal.disclaimer.01112008

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:10 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: John Kerry

A call may be more realistic but see what we can do.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 07:02:39 2010
Subject: Re: John Kerry

Yes, I will work on a visit if you don't have a call set up.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu May 13 06:54:34 2010
Subject: John Kerry

Am I scheduled to talk w him? If not, could you get a call/visit scheduled?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:35 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 5/13/10 Thursday

Pls put Dean Ornish on my call list and call to ask him if I can call him tonight. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 07:27:24 2010
Subject: Mini Schedule 5/13/10 Thursday

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES

10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am PHONE CALL w/TURKISH FM DAVUTOGLU

10:20am Secretary's Office

10:30am SCHEDULING w/HUMA AND LONA

10:45am Secretary's Office

10:45 am OFFICE TIME

11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am ANNUAL S/ES GROUP PHOTOS

11:45 am Treaty Room/East Hall/West Hall

11:50 am VIDEOS (8)

12:10 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

12:10 pm GROUP PHOTO w/DELEGATION OF YEMENI DIPLOMATIC

12:15 pm AND MILITARY OFFICIALS Treaty Room

12:15 pm PRIVATE MEETING w/ LYNN DeROTHSCHILD

1:00 pm (t) Secretary's Office

1:15 pm MEETING w/AFGHAN WOMEN MINISTERS

1:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

1:30 pm PRE-BRIEF FOR USIP EVENT

1:45 pm Secretary's Office

2:05 pm DEPART State Department *En route USIP

2:20 pm ARRIVE USIP

2:30 pm MODERATED "CONVERSATION" w/AFGHAN PRESIDENT KARZAI

3:30 pm Main Auditorium, U.S. Institute of Peace *Approx. 200 ppl expected.

3:35 pm DEPART USIP *En route OTR

3:50 pm ARRIVE OTR

4:00 pm PRIVATE MEETING

Tbd Location: Tbd

Tbd DEPART Tbd

En route State Department

Tbd ARRIVE State Department

Tbd OFFICE TIME *Secretary's Office

Tbd DEPART State Department *En route Private Residence

Tbd ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:16 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Eikenberry

I'd like to set up a secure call sometime over the weekend or before I leave on Thursday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 17:05:02 2010
Subject: Eikenberry

He is going to Ft Campbell tomorrow and then heading back with the Afghan delegation straight from there. So it does not look like there will be an opportunity to see him with Jack tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Kristy isn't here yet--is she coming?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Eikenberry

Not at first. I need to talk to him one on one and I can make Jack's points and mine. So please get Jack's concerns for me before the call.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 13 18:17:14 2010
Subject: RE: Eikenberry

Makes sense. We'll get it done. Presume you want Jack on.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 13, 2010 6:16 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Eikenberry

I'd like to set up a secure call sometime over the weekend or before I leave on Thursday.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu May 13 17:05:02 2010
Subject: Eikenberry

He is going to Ft Campbell tomorrow and then heading back with the Afghan delegation straight from there. So it does not look like there will be an opportunity to see him with Jack tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Poland Sitrep

I'm trying to call the FM now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 10 07:00:33 2010
Subject: Fw: Poland Sitrep

From Lee b/l

---

From: Rodriguez, Hugo F
To: SES_DutyDeputies; S; D(L); D(S); P_Officers; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_SWO-Only
Sent: Sat Apr 10 06:57:48 2010
Subject: FW: Poland Sitrep

Colleagues, the latest from Amb. Feinstein of Embassy Warsaw. In short, the crash took the lives of many of Poland's senior civilian and military leadership; succession/transition will be the first major test of Poland's constitution. The speaker of the lower house of parliament, Bronislaw Komorowski, will temporarily assume the presidency. The constitution requires he call for presidential elections within 14 days and that elections take place within 60 days. An unofficial manifest is included. Rgds, H.

From: Feinstein, Lee
Sent: Saturday, April 10, 2010 6:44 AM
To: Gordon, Philip H; 'Sherwood-Randall, Elizabeth D.'; Quanrud, Pamela G; 'Hovenier, Jeffrey M.'; Karagiannis, Alexander; Heidt, William A; Glantz, Mary E; Sainz, Francisco D; SES-O
Subject: Poland Sitrep

All,

This is going out as a cable momentarily. The main point is that the crash killed not only the President and his wife but a broad swath of Poland's top national security leadership. In this sense it is an unprecedented governmental tragedy, and a test of Poland's constitution. The sitrep follows.

Shortly before 1000 Warsaw time, a Polish government Tu-154 plane carrying a delegation headed by Polish President Lech Kaczynski crashed in heavy fog at the airport in Smolensk, Russia. Russian officials have told the press that there were no survivors; the foreign ministry spokesman said there were 88 passengers on board. The delegation was en route to ceremonies hosted by the Russian government to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Katyn massacres. There is as yet not government confirmation of the deaths, but there is no expectation of survivors.

Speaker of the Polish Sejm (the lower house of parliament) Bronislaw Komorowski is en route to Warsaw to take over the powers of the presidency and those of the Commander in Chief, according to press reports. According to the Polish constitution, if the president dies in office, the Speaker temporarily assumes the presidency, and has 14 days to announce the date of special presidential elections. The elections must be held within 60 days of his announcement. This is the first major test of the Polish constitution, and the government is itself sorting out the details of the procedure in this unprecedented circumstance.

Prime Minister Tusk is returning from Gdansk to Warsaw, and will chair a meeting of the Council of Ministers at 1P local time. Tusk has received condolence telephone calls from Russian Prime Minister Putin, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and other world leaders.

The magnitude of the loss is difficult to overstate including, in addition to the President and the First Lady, the top national security leadership of the Presidential Chancellery, the head of Poland's armed forces, all or nearly all of Poland's military chiefs, a deputy minister of defense, a deputy foreign minister, a presidential candidate, and members of Parliament. Crowds of people with candles and flowers have started to assemble in front of the presidential palace in downtown Warsaw. A mass in honor of those who died will be held later this afternoon. Poland is in shock and entering a period of deep national mourning.

Below is an unofficial and incomplete manifest of those who are on the plane. Among them are:

President Lech Kaczynski

First Lady Maria Kaczynska

Former President Ryszard Kaczorowski

Wladislaw Stasiak, Chief of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland

Aleksander Szczyglo, State Secretary, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Chief of the Office of National Security

GEN Franciszek Gagor, Chief of National Defense

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Vice Speaker of the Sejm and Democratic Left Alliance Presidential Candidate

Andrzej Kremer, Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Stanislaw Komorwoski, Under Secretary of Defense, Ministry of Defense

Mariusz Handzlik, Under Secretary of State, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland

Slawomir Skrzypek, Chairman of the National Bank of Poland

Lista osób na pokładzie Tupolewa

Tragiczne informacje napływają ze Smoleńska, gdzie rozbił się rządowy samolot z prezydentem Lechem Kaczyńskim na pokładzie.

Wraz z prezydentem na pokładzie samolotu było wiele najważniejszych osób w państwie polskim, między innymi: prezes NBP, wiceszef MSZ, wicemarszałek Sejmu Jerzy Szmajdziński <http://www.napisali.pl/osoba,jerzy_szmajdzinski,1278,5.html> , szef IPN, posłowie, biskupi, szef światowego związku AK.

Według programu Rady Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa, na liście pasażerów prezydenckiego samolotu TU-154 powinni znajdować się:

Lech Kaczyński <http://www.napisali.pl/osoba,lech_kaczynski,1516,5.html>

Maria Kaczyńska <http://www.napisali.pl/osoba,maria_kaczynska,396,5.html>

DELEGACJA OFICJALNA

1. Pan Ryszard KACZOROWSKI b. Prezydent RP na Uchodźctwie

2. Pan Krzysztof PUTRA Wicemarszałek Sejmu RP

3. Pan Jerzy SZMAJDZIŃSKI Wicemarszałek Sejmu RP

4. Pani Krystyna BOCHENEK Wicemarszałek Senatu RP

5. Pan Jerzy BAHR Ambasador RP w Federacji Rosyjskiej 6. Pan Władysław STASIAK Szef Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

7. Pan Aleksander SZCZYGŁO Szef Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego

8. Pan Jacek SASIN Sekretarz Stanu, Zastępca Szefa Kancelarii Prezydenta RP 9. Pan Paweł WYPYCH Sekretarz Stanu w Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

10. Pan Mariusz HANDZLIK Podsekretarz Stanu w Kancelarii Prezydenta RP

11. Pan Andrzej KREMER Podsekretarz Stanu w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych

12. Pan Stanisław KOMOROWSKI Podsekretarz Stanu w MON

13. Pan Tomasz MERTA Podsekretarz Stanu w MKiDN

14. Gen. Franciszek GĄGOR Szef Sztabu Generalnego Wojska Polskiego

15. Pan Andrzej PRZEWOŹNIK Sekretarz ROPWiM

16. Pan Maciej PŁAŻYŃSKI Prezes Stowarzyszenia „Wspólnota Polska"

17. Pan Mariusz KAZANA Dyrektor Protokołu Dyplomatycznego MSZ

PRZEDSTAWICIELE PARLAMENTU RP

1. Pan Leszek DEPTUŁA Poseł na Sejm RP

2. Pan Grzegorz DOLNIAK Poseł na Sejm RP 3. Pani Grażyna GĘSICKA Poseł na Sejm RP

4. Pan Przemysław GOSIEWSKI Poseł na Sejm RP

5. Pan Sebastian KARPINIUK Poseł na Sejm RP

6. Pani Izabela JARUGA – NOWACKA Poseł na Sejm RP

7. Pan Zbigniew WASSERMANN Poseł na Sejm RP

8. Pani Aleksandra NATALLI – ŚWIAT Poseł na Sejm RP

10. Pan Arkadiusz RYBICKI Poseł na Sejm RP

11. Pani Jolanta SZYMANEK – DERESZ Poseł na Sejm RP

12. Pan Wiesław WODA Poseł na Sejm RP

13. Pan Edward WOJTAS Poseł na Sejm RP

14. Pani Janina FETLIŃSKA Senator RP

15. Pan Stanisław ZAJĄC Senator RP

OSOBY TOWARZYSZĄCE

1. Pan Janusz KOCHANOWSKI Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich

2. Pan Sławomir SKRZYPEK Prezes Narodowego Banku Polskiego

3. Pan Janusz KURTYKA Prezes Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej

4. Pan Janusz KRUPSKI Kierownik Urzędu do Spraw Kombatantów i Osób Represjonowanych

PRZEDSTAWICIELE KOŚCIOŁÓW I WYZNAŃ RELIGIJNYCH

1. Ks. Bp. gen. dyw. Tadeusz PŁOSKI Ordynariusz Polowy Wojska Polskiego

2. Abp gen. bryg. Miron CHODAKOWSKI Prawosławny Ordynariusz Wojska Polskiego

3. Ks. płk Adam PILCH Ewangelickie Duszpasterstwo Polowe

4. Ks. ppłk Jan OSIŃSKI Ordynariat Polowy Wojska Polskiego

PRZEDSTAWICIELE RODZIN KATYŃSKICH I INNYCH STOWARZYSZEŃ

1. Pan Edward DUCHNOWSKI Sekretarz Generalny Związku Sybiraków

2. Ks. prałat Bronisław GOSTOMSKI

3. Ks. Józef JONIEC Prezes Stowarzyszenia Parafiada

4. Ks. Zdzisław KRÓL Kapelan Warszawskiej Rodziny Katyńskiej 1987-2007

5. Ks. Andrzej KWAŚNIK Kapelan Federacji Rodzin Katyńskich

6. Pan Tadeusz LUTOBORSKI

7. Pani Bożena ŁOJEK Prezes Polskiej Fundacji Katyńskiej

8. Pan Stefan MELAK Prezes Komitetu Katyńskiego

9. Pan Stanisław MIKKE Wiceprzewodniczący ROPWiM

10. Pani Bronisława ORAWIEC - LOFFLER

11. Pani Katarzyna PISKORSKA

12. Pan Andrzej SARIUSZ – SKĄPSKI Prezes Federacji Rodzin Katyńskich

13. Pan Wojciech SEWERYN

14. Pan Leszek SOLSKI

15. Pani Teresa WALEWSKA – PRZYJAŁKOWSKA Fundacja „Golgota Wschodu"

16. Pani Gabriela ZYCH

17. Pani Ewa BĄKOWSKA wnuczka Gen. bryg. Mieczysława Smorawińskiego

18. Pani Maria BOROWSKA

19. Pan Bartosz BOROWSKI

20. Pan Dariusz MALINOWSKI

PRZEDSTAWICIELE SIŁ ZBROJNYCH RP

1. Gen. broni Bronisław KWIATKOWSKI Dowódca Operacyjny Sił Zbrojnych RP

2. Gen. broni pil. Andrzej BŁASIK Dowódca Sił Powietrznych RP

3. Gen. dyw. Tadeusz BUK Dowódca Wojsk Lądowych RP

4. Gen. dyw. Włodzimierz POTASIŃSKI Dowódca Wojsk Specjalnych RP

5. Wiceadmirał Andrzej KARWETA Dowódca Marynarki Wojennej RP

6. Gen. bryg. Kazimierz GILARSKI Dowódca Garnizonu Warszawa

lee feinstein

ambassador to poland

+48 22 504-2900

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 7:08 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Elena Kagan

The cell # for her belongs to someone else according to the vm. Can you get the right cell #?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 8:49 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills [redacted] 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Call time?

I can talk today before 10:45 and tomorrow early am, btw 7-9 or from noon to 1 or after 6. What works for you?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Tomorrow

Can we set up a photo for the SRAP team when I see them?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:05 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

Are you meeting me at shuttle?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 05:01:58 2010
Subject: Fyi

SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE RECENT INCIDENT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The Security Council deeply regrets the loss of life and injuries resulting from the use of force during the Israeli military operation in international waters against the convoy sailing to Gaza. The Council, in this context, condemns those acts which resulted in the loss of at least ten civilians and many wounded, and expresses its condolences to their families. The Security Council requests the immediate release of the ships as well as the civilians held by Israel. The Council urges Israel to permit full consular access, to allow the countries concerned to retrieve their deceased and wounded immediately, and to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance from the convoy to its destination. The Security Council takes note of the statement of the UN Secretary–General on the need to have a full investigation into the matter and it calls for a prompt, impartial, credible and transparent investigation conforming to international standards. The Security Council stresses that the situation in Gaza is not sustainable. The Council re-emphasizes the importance of the full implementation of Resolutions 1850 and 1860. In that context, it reiterates its grave concern at the humanitarian situation in Gaza and stresses the need for sustained and regular flow of goods and people to Gaza as well as unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian assistance throughout Gaza. The Security Council underscores that the only viable solution to Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an agreement negotiated between the parties and re-emphasizes that only a two-State solution, with an independent and viable Palestinian State living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours, could bring peace to the region. The Security Council expresses support for the proximity talks and voices concern that this incident took place while the proximity talks are underway and urges the parties to act with restraint, avoiding any unilateral and provocative actions, and all international partners to promote an atmosphere of cooperation between the parties and throughout the region.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 13, 2010 10:36 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Jelani Freeman

I'd like to give him a law school graduation gift. Let's discuss tomorrow.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 10:09 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Sign off

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 10 09:50:59 2010
Subject: Sign off

U ok with statement?

Statement by the Secretary

The Death of Polish President Kaczynski and His Delegation

I join President Obama in offering my deepest condolences to the people of Poland, to the Kaczynski family, and to the families of all those killed in this tragedy. Lost alongside President Kaczynski and his wife were Polish leaders from across the political spectrum, men and women who shaped and sped Poland's post-1989 democratic transformation and were leading Poland into its promising future. The tragedy of these lives cut short will be felt deeply across the world, but their legacy will live on in a free and flourishing Poland.

The United States stands with the Polish people in this difficult hour. Like the country he led, President Kaczynski was one of America's most valued and trusted allies. He was well known in the United States as a champion for democracy against an oppressive regime, a man whose journey took him from the Gdańsk Shipyards to the presidency of a free people. President Kaczynski was an unstinting advocate for freedom and human rights not just in Poland, but around the world. He will be long remembered and sorely missed.

The Polish people have endured more than their share of sorrow, but they have always shown resilience and resolve in the face of adversity -- and I know they will pull together in solidarity to grieve this loss.

My thoughts and prayers are with all the people of Poland today.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 14, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: IMPORTANT. Memo for Hague meeting. Sid
**Attachments:** hrc memo hague meeting 102009.docx; hrc memo hague meeting 102009.docx

Pls print

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu May 13 23:37:21 2010
Subject: H: IMPORTANT. Memo for Hague meeting. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 13, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Hague meeting

On your meeting on Friday, May 14, with new British Foreign Secretary William Hague you might explore a number of issues below. (I've discussed with Shaun.)

1. Northern Ireland. Cameron has pledged to reduce public sector spending in NI. But the impact of public sector spending there is not the same as in other parts of the UK because of 40 years of troubles. Political stability depends upon economic stability. Removing funding specifically threatens community policing, creating a vacuum that the Real IRA and other men of violence would rush into. Cutting the public sector would make it difficult to increase private sector investment. Does the new government understand the US interest in NI and appreciate the fragility of the situation?
2. Defense and Foreign Policy Cuts. The new government program is to slash the deficit, cutting deeply into government programs. This really cannot be done without defense and foreign policy reductions. Seek clafication on exactly whether and where these cuts be made. Will they affect Afghanistan policy and over what schedule? How will cuts in the foreign service affect British influence in other areas?
3. Trident and Nuclear Deterrent. The coalition agreement between the Conservative and Liberal Democrats allows the LDs to abstain in parliamentary votes on four issues that will apparently let the Tories have their way: marriage tax allowances; nuclear power; college tuition fees; and Trident and the nuclear deterrent. During the campaign, the LDs ran on eliminating the Trident and erasing the UK nuclear deterrent. How will this actually work in practice?

4. Political Changes. The new government, because the coalition is fundamentally at odds with itself, has proposed to pass a parliamentary bill that establishes a five year term for a government and furthermore establishes that a vote of no confidence can only be passed on a 55 percent vote. You might just seek Hague's view on how this will work.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by [redacted] B6

Did RCH share this w Gen P?
I will be reachable on my berry for the next few hours.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 10 13:31:15 2010
Subject: Fw: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by [redacted]

See below. Meeting with embassy folks now -- will report on that and dinner later.

---

From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Singh, Vikram J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Apr 10 08:59:21 2010
Subject: Fw: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by [redacted]

---

From: [redacted]
To: Eikenberry, Karl W; Ricciardone, Francis J; Holbrooke, Richard
Sent: Fri Apr 09 09:02:14 2010
Subject: IN CONFIDENCE: Afghanistan: Analysis by [redacted]

Karl, Frank, Richard,

I hope in the next few days we can focus on some of the themes in the following:

1. On 9 April, I had lunch in Kabul with [redacted] expert on Afghanistan now based at [redacted] was on his way back to Washington via a meeting in Paris with the French Political Director. He had just spend three weeks in Kandahar and Gardez, his first visit since August last year. He came across as patriotic, but deeply worried, speaking in a monologue, mostly in French.

OVERALL SITUATION

2. [redacted] said that his assessment was that the overall situation had deteriorated sharply since his last visit. The Taliban were stronger, and more confident, than ever. ISAF was inflicting heavy losses on them, but the scale was as nothing compared with what the mujahideen had endured at the hands of the Russians. Moreover, the change in rules of engagement – to prevent civilian casualties, and fewer night raids – had been interpreted by the Taliban as signalling weakness on NATO's part. In [redacted] view, most of the East, and Kunduz, was effectively lost to the Taliban and their fellow travellers. US forces in the East controlled the ground they occupied or passed over, but little more: they were in a similar position to the Soviet Army. Moreover, the population did not want to back them, and was resisting US attempts to set up tribal militias or implant US Special Forces in the villages. [redacted] did, however, acknowledge that he had heard that the US Marines in Helmand were behaving much more sensitively towards the population than had been expected. But the situation in Marjah was not good. Of course, the Marines held the ground, but violence would continue for months or years. This did not offer the positive signal of momentum for which the Coalition had been hoping. B6

KANDAHAR

3. [redacted] said repeatedly that he did not understand the strategy in Kandahar. The Taliban had effectively penetrated, and largely controlled, a city of one million people. The ANP there were largely Barakzai, and working for either or both of the Taliban or Ahmed Wali Karzai's network. AWK was at the centre of a vast criminal enterprise: his brother-in-law was one of the largest drug traffickers in the south. When I said that surely ISAF could gradually occupy the city, squeezing the Taliban back and out, [redacted] said he was not certain of that: he thought that there might well be quite violent resistance from the Taliban. He was also dismissive of the ISAF strategy of "managing" AWK: if the latter really did abandon his criminal ways, he would be dead. He would lose the protection of his militias. In such situations, one could only move forward, or go into prison or exile: there was no going back. AWK had just too many enemies to survive in Kandahar without the protection of his own criminal networks. [redacted] guess was that AWK would promise to be good, but in reality stick to his old habits, and hope to profit from the action taken by ISAF against the Taliban. [redacted] was dismissive of efforts to empower Governor Weesa, who would not survive five minutes in Kandahar without Western support and protection. Although Weesa came from the area, he had no power base, and, with his Canadian nationality, was regarded by the Kandaharis as a foreigner.

4. [redacted] was also sceptical as to whether ISAF could "shura" its way to success in Kandahar. On the military side, he thought ISAF just couldn't generate the force densities necessary to control the city: for example, he thought the Argandab would require getting on for 15,000 troops to control it properly. The city of Kandahar would require some 10,000 fresh police, who were just not available.

NEXT STEPS

5. [redacted] said he was worried about where the coalition was heading. The best that could be expected was a messy stalemate in Kandahar, but the probability was, by the early autumn, an outcome that would not look at all like success.

[redacted] wondered whether ISAF really did need to go ahead with its plan to take Kandahar: in [redacted] view, he was riding for a fall. I said that I did not see how we could pull back now. The planners were well aware of the risks, but wanted to generate positive momentum to enable a political process to take hold.

MAKING PEACE

6. [redacted] said that, in his view, the only way out now was a negotiated peace with the Taliban and all the other parties to the conflict. He thought that Pakistan would need to help Karzai and the Americans open such a dialogue with the Taliban, but, sooner or later, both Pakistan and Karzai would need to be moved to one side, and there would need to be direct talks between the Americans and the Taliban. The Taliban would not make a final peace with Karzai, who had little credibility left. Similarly, the senior Taliban leaders would need to be brought across the border into Afghanistan, to get them out from under the control of the ISI. All this would need deception and trickery: for the first time in his career, [redacted] could see that diplomats were needed, in this case to finesse a delicate process, involving multiple negotiations. Karzai would have to eased out, but gently and with plenty of public respect. B6

7. [redacted] said that there would need to be a cease-fire, and wondered why ISAF couldn't occupy the high ground by being the first to offer such a move. There would also have to be frank discussions about the withdrawal of foreign forces.

8. [redacted] said that his main worry was that the Obama Administration would waste another year ploughing on with a military campaign which could deliver stalemate at best, and a serious reverse at worst. Then, with the 2011-12 Presidential election campaign getting going, the White House would panic, handing the problem to Pakistan, and pull US troops out more quickly than the situation merited. It was vital to get ahead of the curve, and start making preparations now for a messy political process that could last months or years.

9. [redacted] said that he had known from 2001 that the Western intervention in Afghanistan had been fraught with danger. He had suspected then, and knew even more strongly now, that the Taliban could not be defeated or even properly contained by military means. Once again, he was sick with worry at the way things were going. He had thought that the Obama Administration had understood that the solutions in Afghanistan were political, not military. He was trying to think how he and other concerned experts could shock the Administration in getting a political grip on the situation: he was considering a joint op-ed by a group of experts. The seriousness of the situation meant that such an article would have to concentrate on essentials: much of the talk about counter-insurgency (in what was an Afghan civil war) and development and governance was no more than "poetry".

10. I pointed out to [redacted] the political difficulties for the US and other Western governments in negotiating direct with the Taliban. Although the principle of a negotiated peace was accepted, more or less, in Washington and London, there was a long way to go before politicians fully addressed what that might involve. Hence the argument that we needed first to get on the front foot militarily. It would help if the Taliban could be pinned down on politically neuralgic issues, such as women's rights and social restrictions. [redacted] said that, in a serious negotiation, he thought such undertakings could be extracted from the Taliban: again, however, the sooner work started on that, the more chance of a satisfactory result.

11. I told [redacted] that much of this thinking coincided with the views expressed by the Foreign Secretary in his article in The New York Review of Books of 29 April 2010 ([redacted] had missed the MIT speech, as he had been in Kandahar). The UK election campaign meant that there was little that could be done over the next few weeks, apart from making sure that incoming or returning Ministers had the best possible advice. After the election, there was clearly a case for a good strategic discussion between the British Prime Minister and the American President: we all needed to raise our eyes from the urgent tactical preoccupations in the south to the really important strategic issues, of harvesting political success from military progress. B6

[redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 1:56 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Do you have mail address

For Asst. Sec. Bob Blake?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 10, 2010 2:03 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Do you have mail address

Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 10 14:02:30 2010
Subject: Re: Do you have mail address

BlakeR2@State.gov

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Sat Apr 10 13:56:21 2010
Subject: Do you have mail address

For Asst. Sec. Bob Blake?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 9, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Human Trafficking Effort - Hope You'll Take A Moment

Pls print two copies for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marty Torrey
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 08 09:36:00 2010
Subject: Human Trafficking Effort - Hope You'll Take A Moment

B6

HRC,
Researched a lot since Tuesday. After Rochester water security meeting Simon came to my house last evening to discuss subject issue, etc. Heck, greater good sometimes served in such small patio fashion. Re human trafficking, his software can apply and previously uninvolved resources / relationships available. You know all this, but we didn't: Seems 'acta non verba' needed. Despite increased pre-victimization education & awareness growing - and not-for-profits, TVP Act of 2008, your G/TIP office helping, appears same apps as tracking terror cells, interdiction of pirating and drug trafficking, removal of financial lure not fully brought to bear. Forgive oversimplification, but akin to cessation of 400 years of African / transatlantic slave trade. In addition to crushing backers' / sponsors' greed ( I guess so-called 'law' of economics )..... blocking trader access, interdicting in progress, punishing / eliminating traders (sponsors & backers) would appear to get it done. In addition to 21st century tech & resources, moral outrage should help eliminate / vastly reduce this scourge. No doubt many good & smart people already involved, but perhaps the more the merrier. Simon ( and Dave's former partner Jim Blom ) can bring nourishment to this table. Simon will get / remain in touch with Phil Goldberg - and both of us with Kris. Thinking same apps could apply to Mexico. Talk about a destabilizing scourge too close for comfort ! We want to help. Great to see you & thanks again.
Marty

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 13, 2010 9:14 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu. Sid

Just had drinks w Miliband who is still very worried. I have crossed fingers!

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 13 18:35:15 2010
Subject: H: If this poll holds, Labour has a majority. 1st debate thu. Sid

Times Online Logo 222 x 25 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/img/global/tol-logo-222x25.gif>

* Print this page
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7096632.ece?print=yes&randnum=1271197986619#>

From Times Online
April 14, 2010

Tory lead narrows amid huge voter disenchantment, Times poll finds

Conservative party leader David Cameron launches his party's manifesto in Battersea Power Station, in London, England
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00707/cameron-_707420a.jpg>
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/xxx> Image :1 of 2
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/xxx>
Peter Riddell
The general election race is tightening, according to a Populus poll for The Times that reveals deep public disenchantment with the campaign so far.
The poll, undertaken yesterday and this morning, says that more voters are now hoping for a hung parliament than either a Tory or a Labour outright victory.
Conservative support has slipped by three points over the past week to 36 per cent, while Labour is a point up at 33 per cent. The Liberal Democrats are unchanged on 21 per cent.
The polls tend to fluctuate by a couple of points either way, and these shifts are within the margin of error of the average.
With other new polls pointing to a firming in Labour support, the party may have enjoyed a small boost from its manifesto launch. Tory strategists will hope to have achieved a boost from its manifesto launch today.
If the Populus figures were repeated in the general election in three weeks' time, and there is a uniform switch in votes, Labour would be the largest single party, with about 300 MPs, ahead of the Tories on 264 and the Lib Dems on 54. This would point to a Lab/Lib Dem coalition. But many analysts do not expect a uniform national swing.
The latest poll shows that 32 per cent of the public now hope for a hung parliament (as opposed to expecting one), against 28 per cent wanting a Tory majority and 22 per cent a Labour one. Lib Dem voters prefer a deal with Labour than the Tories in a hung parliament, by 44 to 31 per cent. The public is evenly split 40 to 42 per cent about whether they want Labour or the Tories in either a majority or a minority government.
The poll shows that the number expecting a Tory overall majority has risen by three points to 34 per cent over the past week. This only just exceeds the number expecting a hung parliament, at 33 per cent, down six points compared with a week ago. Overall, 57 per cent expect the Tories to be the largest party, against 29 per cent expecting Labour to be.

The public is deeply sceptical about the honesty of the parties. Only 4 per cent think that they are being completely honest about their tax plans, 61 per cent partly honest. Only 6 per cent say they are being completely honest about cutting the deficit and 61 per cent partly honest. Some 7 per cent say that they are being completely honest about the extent to which they can fund their policies by cutting waste and 58 per cent partly honest.

Voters were asked to say which party had proposed eight key manifesto pledges. They wrongly identified four: reducing the increase in national insurance contributions (naming Labour not the Tories); allowing unsuccessful schools, hospitals and the police (the Tories, not Labour); tightening up takeover rules (the Tories not Labour); and requiring foreign workers employed in public services to speak fluent English (the Tories not Labour).

In only one case, the £150-a-year tax break, did more than half of voters (60 per cent) correctly identify the party making the proposal.

In most cases, the pledge will make little difference to people's votes, apart from three made by Labour: the foreign workers language pledge, doubling paid paternity leave and allowing the takover of unsuccessful schools, hospitals etc.

More than two fifths (43 per cent), including 50 per cent of women, say "none of the parties", or "don't know", when asked which party is putting across a convincing cases to voters. This compares with 25 per cent naming the Tories and 18 per cent Labour.

Just over half the public (54 per cent) plan to watch the first televised leaders' debate on Thursday evening. Men and middle class professionals are more likely to say that they will view. More than two fifths (42 per cent) expect David Cameron to win the debate, against 22 per cent for Gordon Brown. More Tories (70 per cent) than Labour voters ( 57 per cent) expect their leader to win.

Two fifths of the public (42 per cent, up one point on a week ago) say it seems like a change from Labour, but are not sure that it is time for a change to the Conservatives. Some 33 per cent, down one point, think it is time for a change to the Tories.

Populus interviewed a random sample of 1,525 adult voters on April 12 to 13. Interviews were conducted across the country and have been weighted to be representative of all adults. For more details go to www.populus.co.uk.

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<http://the-acap.org/acap-enabled.php>

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 15, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** 'Burnswj@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Lavrov

B5

I assume you'll review the memcon.

As to Medvedev's Silicon Valley visit on June 23, we need to discuss and start planning asap. If you think it helpful, I will go out to meet him.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 11, 2010 12:33 PM
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** UN speech

I like the draft. I have a few comments and ideas for the end. Pls talk to Lona about coming to see me later.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 15, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** 'mtorrey [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'

Marty--I'm copying Kris and asking that he connect you w Lou C de Baca whose in charge of the office responsible for trafficking in State so you can explore ways of helping. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marty Torrey [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 15 07:44:25 2010
Subject: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'

HRC,
As of April 21st Dave Stone's former business partner ( James F. Blom ), and I will establish 'Stone Harbour,LLC' (named for Dave) in Delaware. This will be a nice merger of Dave's and my contacts. Apart from the ongoing vetting of Simon Stringer's multi purpose software, at several levels, I am keen to help in the human trafficking effort. I have been in touch with Sharyn Magarian (keeping Kris B informed) in seeking the status of that effort, as I am quite sure the combo of Dave's former contacts and mine can help. Jim Blom has already spoken to several (Oracle Corp and his friends in Silicon Valley) and they too are motivated. Work is work, but the human trafficking issue seems like the right thing to do.
All the best, Marty

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 3:27 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Sure--I'll call him now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:03:50 2010
Subject: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 05/31/2035**

**RELEASE IN PART**
**1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6**

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:21 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

I've worked on this non-stop since yesterday am. Let's discuss at meeting today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 19:43:04 2010
Subject: Ashton Teleconference w/ Israeli FM

See below for a summary of Cathy Ashton's conversation w/ Lieberman from her policy planner. [redacted] B5
[redacted] AM

---

From: Schmid Helga [redacted] B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Mon May 31 07:19:32 2010
Subject: Teleconference HR Ashton/Israeli FM

Dear Anne Marie,
I am currently travelling with Cathy Ashton. She just spoke to Liberman [redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Helga

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Ok. How about 7? Does that work for him? Can I call on my white phone which is now working?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:59:39 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

He's asking us to schedule it. He's on his way home now and said he can do in the next few hours.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:26:57 2010
Subject: Re: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

Sure--I'll call him now.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:03:50 2010
Subject: Jim steinberg asking to talk secure today. Are you able to?

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 4:28 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Haiti

We have such a strong case. Can we try to get Sibelius and Vilsack on board?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 15:48:25 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti

See his last point.

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/17/2025**

cdm

From: Goosby, Eric
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:48 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: RE: Haiti

Cheryl: B5 B6

The National MSPP is just the Ministry of Health for Haiti at the National level (Minister Larsen's office). We spent a long time with him and

We plan to discuss the USG contributions next week and in the April 26th meeting with the MSPP. B5

In our TA strategy that ( attached in the original email), we

outline the areas we can specifically support them in developing the capabilities needed to be a strong oversight National office of Health that can lead and support the Department ministries in carrying out the work.

Right now we have committed to talking further with the Cubans about reconstruction efforts and in further clarifying the role they would play with HUEH. There are many areas we could work together with the Cubans that would be beneficial to the Haitian medical system. You will still have the opportunity to call final package. We will make sure we are clear where our proposal overlaps with the final vision of the Haitians and other donors.

Whole of Government Approach:

B5

Eric

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 2:10 PM
To: Goosby, Eric
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: RE: Haiti

1.4(D)
B1

Eric

Thank you for this and for coming – I am very grateful.

I have always understood that while GOH appreciated Cuban doctors and training, I understand that frame, and assuming they have physicians and managers, it makes complete sense.

What I still feel like is a bit of a mystery to me, though I know once Dalberg has the proposed final strategy, they will do a careful implementation plan at the direction of you and Judith, is what exactly this means for USG specific activities.

For example:

[redacted] B5

Thanks.

cdm

From: Goosby, Eric
Sent: Saturday, April 17, 2010 12:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Curtis, Meghann A
Subject: Haiti

Cheryl:

I hope you completed your trip and returned safely. I got back yesterday. I just wanted to close the loop on the discussions I completed with the Ministry of Health Haiti (MSPP) and a brief update on the discussion with the Cubans.

Cuban Delegation:

1. We agreed to talk further about the specifics of the collaboration with the Cuban-Haitian Government, to meet on April 22-23rd to discuss specifics and then again after the April 26th meeting.

2. Agreed to develop a National MSPP focused Technical Assistance Strategy

B5

After the Cuban discussion ended, we toured the HUEH hospital with Drs. Henry and Thimothe followed by a long dinner with Minister Larsen agreed to do the following:

1.4(D)
B1

2. Meet with the Cuban Delegation as discussed April 22-23 and post Donor Meeting

1.4(D)
B1

I hope to catch up with you soon, see you Monday. I am in the office most of the weekend if you want to talk.

Eric

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 6:59 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Ukraine

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer [redacted] <PVervee [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun May 30 22:47:57 2010
Subject: Ukraine

This is from Fr. Borys Gudziak, the wonderful priest you met in Lviv. He gave you a tour of the Cathedral and you had a wonderful chat with him at the time. Since then, much progress has been made there. He became head of the new Ukrainian Catholic University and has really come in to his own as a respected leader and scholar.
Unfortunately, his situation and that of the Catholic community and academic freedom has come under siege since Yanokovich became president. I have a series of emails from the US Ukrainian community, in addition to this email directly from Gudziak, They are alarmed about developments. I've been in touch with John Tefft and sent him everything. He is aware of recent events.
I will make a folder of the correspondence for you since the community here and in Ukraine sees you as their champion. This is not a good turn of events.

---

From: gudziak [redacted]
To: pverveer [redacted]
Sent: 5/29/2010 3:09:23 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: difficulties for UCU

B6

Dear Melanne,

It has been awhile since we have been in touch. As you now we are under special pressure at the Ukrainian Catholic University. It is a question of our welfare and future. But not only. Almost no educational institutions have taken a stand in defense of democracy and even western Ukrainian politicians are capitulating under pressure. So is business. The approach of the new authorities is quick and systematic. Top and middle positions in all spheres of government, administration, state security, police have been rapidly changed and are effectively moving in on the freedom of the press and discourse.

Our students are scared.

Some are active, but some fear for the university, that it may loose accreditation. A father and his daughter-student came to my office in a state of anxiety.

Some students are afraid to blog and post comments because they fear that they will be traced and that their parents will loose their jobs.

There is clear evidence from one of our banks that the authorities are beginning to dig into the question of our finances. Provocations, moral defamation, planting of drugs and weapons in student residences as happened in 2004 before the election could be next.

The most effective defense is speaking out.

I am grateful for your solicitude and wanted to ask for two things.

1 To ask the Secretary of State to bring this to the attention of the president and vice president and to do what she can in our defense.

2. to help us get the story to some of the main media outlets: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, CNN, etc. One story by any of these for us and for the people in Ukraine that have the courage to speak the truth is invaluable.

We have had some great support already. But I have a sense that this adventure is only beginning and we have to be ready for everything.

Please pass on my respect to Secretary Clinton.

May God bless you!

Fr. Borys

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 6:59 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop
**Subject:** Re: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

Are you up? Can I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop B6
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 12:49:21 2010
Subject: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

Netanyahu pleased: I didn't capitulate
Ben Caspit, Maariv, May 27 2010 [page 2 with front page lead; Hebrew original here <http://www.scribd.com/doc/32038200/Maariv-May27-10-Netanyahu-Says-He-Beat-Obama> and at bottom of post] In the course of intimate conversations over the past few weeks with top political officials and civil servants, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has said, according to his interlocutors, that he managed to defeat the US administration. Netanyahu is pleased by the fact that the Americans failed, so he said, to twist his arm and that ultimately, in the duel between him and the Obama administration, he was the one who emerged with the upper hand. We did not make concessions on our red lines and they failed to make us fold and to drag us to places we didn't want to go, said Netanyahu, according to people who heard him speak.
Netanyahu is convinced that he is not going to be forced to extend the settlement construction freeze, which is due to expire in September. According to senior officials in Jerusalem, an agreement has already been reached with the administration that the Israeli government will not announce an extension of the construction freeze in the territories, and the Americans will "make sure" that the Palestinians do not withdraw from the talks. Israel, however, will not take "aggressive" action and construction will be resumed only in areas that are clearly within the consensus inside the settlement blocs.
The Prime Minister's Bureau vigorously denied the above report. "The statements attributed to the prime minister are incorrect," said a spokesman in the Prime Minister's Bureau. "They were not said by Netanyahu in any forum. The reason is simple: the prime minister does not think that, Prime Minister Netanyahu holds in great esteem the commitment by President Obama and the administration to Israel's security and their efforts to renew the peace process in our region."
Eli Bardenstein adds: The formal invitation that Netanyahu received yesterday to meet with President Obama next week might attest to a radical change in the White House's attitude towards him. Political sources in Israel described the planned meeting as "the peak of the campaign for Israel and the Jews that has been pursued by the Obama administration in the past number of weeks." The sources said that the meeting was geared to put an end to the grave crisis that erupted some two months ago between the Obama administration and Netanyahu over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and particularly over the continued construction in East Jerusalem, and to mend the mistaken impression that was received as if Israel was "no longer an absolute ally of the United States."
That crisis, which was initiated by the Americans, elicited fierce criticism in the United States, and sparked a desire among members of the Obama administration to rectify the situation. Another reason for the administration's desire to end the crisis is the fear of failure in the upcoming Congressional elections in November. "The Democratic Party's coffers are empty. Many Democrat members of Congress and Senators have complained that if the hazing of Israel were to continue, they would be unable to obtain donations from Jews and were liable to lose the elections," said one source in Washington.

The prevalent assessment is that Netanyahu will be received far more warmly in Washington next week than he was two months ago. This time the meeting will be covered by the media and the two leaders are expected to have their picture taken together and to give statements to the media.

That said, sources in Washington noted that "Netanyahu is leery of the meeting with Obama and of walking into a trap once again. He knows that the smiles notwithstanding, behind closed doors he is going to have to give answers to very difficult questions, like 'how do you envision the end of the negotiations with the Palestinians.'"

Netanyahu is to begin his political travels today in Paris, where he is to attend the ceremony in honor of Israel's acceptance into the OECD. The prime minister will be arriving in a city that is on strike, which is liable to impede his movement through the city streets to the center of Paris for his meetings.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 17, 2010 6:09 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Jim

Yes. [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 18:07:12 2010
Subject: Jim

He cannot do 7.
Asking if you can do 8pm?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 10:51 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Gates/Iran

I'm free and at home in DC if you want to call about the article, the Middle East and Bosnia.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 21:06:53 2010
Subject: Gates/Iran

Have you seen this story? I look forward to discussing.

Gates Says U.S. Lacks Strategy to Curb Iran's Nuclear Drive

By DAVID E. SANGER and THOM SHANKER
Published: April 18, 2010

WASHINGTON - Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates has warned in a secret three-page memorandum to top White House officials that the United States does not have an effective long-range policy for dealing with Iran's steady progress toward nuclear capability, according to government officials familiar with the document.

Several officials said the highly classified analysis, written in January to President Obama's national security adviser, Gen. James L. Jones, touched off an intense effort inside the Pentagon, the White House and the intelligence agencies to develop new options for Mr. Obama. They include a revised set of military alternatives, still under development, to be considered should diplomacy and sanctions fail to force Iran to change course.

Officials familiar with the memo's contents would describe only portions dealing with strategy and policy, and not sections that apparently dealt with secret operations against Iran, or how to deal with Persian Gulf allies.

One senior official, who like others spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the memo, described the document as "a wake-up call." But White House officials dispute that view, insisting that for 15 months they had been conducting detailed planning for many possible outcomes regarding Iran's nuclear program.

In an interview on Friday, General Jones declined to speak about the memorandum. But he said: "On Iran, we are doing what we said we were going to do. The fact that we don't announce publicly our entire strategy for the world to see doesn't mean we don't have a strategy that anticipates the full range of contingencies - we do."

But in his memo, Mr. Gates wrote of a variety of concerns, including the absence of an effective strategy should Iran choose the course that many government and outside analysts consider likely: Iran could assemble all the major parts it needs for a nuclear weapon - fuel, designs and detonators - but stop just short of assembling a fully operational weapon.

In that case, Iran could remain a signatory of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty while becoming what strategists call a "virtual" nuclear weapons state.

According to several officials, the memorandum also calls for new thinking about how the United States might contain Iran's power if it decided to produce a weapon, and how to deal with the possibility that fuel or weapons could be

obtained by one of the terrorist groups Iran has supported, which officials said they considered to be a less-likely possibility.

Mr. Gates has never mentioned the memo in public. His spokesman, Geoff Morrell, declined comment on specifics in the document, but issued a statement on Saturday saying, "The secretary believes the president and his national security team have spent an extraordinary amount of time and effort considering and preparing for the full range of contingencies with respect to Iran."

Pressed on the administration's ambiguous phrases until now about how close the United States was willing to allow Iran's program to proceed, a senior administration official described last week in somewhat clearer terms that there was a line Iran would not be permitted to cross.

The official said that the United States would ensure that Iran would not "acquire a nuclear capability," a step Tehran could get to well before it developed a sophisticated weapon. "That includes the ability to have a breakout," he said, using the term nuclear specialists apply to a country that suddenly renounces the nonproliferation treaty and uses its technology to build a small arsenal.

Nearly two weeks ago, Mr. Obama, in an interview with The New York Times, was asked about whether he saw a difference between a nuclear-capable Iran and one that had a fully developed weapon. "I'm not going to parse that right now," he said. But he noted that North Korea was considered a nuclear-capable state until it threw out inspectors and, as he said, "became a self-professed nuclear state."

Mr. Gates has alluded to his concern that intelligence agencies might miss signals that Iran was taking the final steps toward producing a weapon. Last Sunday on the NBC News program "Meet the Press," he said: "If their policy is to go to the threshold but not assemble a nuclear weapon, how do you tell that they have not assembled? I don't actually know how you would verify that." But he cautioned that Iran had run into production difficulties, and he said, "It's going slow - slower than they anticipated, but they are moving in that direction."

Mr. Gates has taken a crucial role in formulating the administration's strategy, and he has been known over his career to issue stark warnings against the possibility of strategic surprise.

Some officials said his memo should be viewed in that light: as a warning to a relatively new president that the United States was not adequately prepared.

He wrote the memo after Iran had let pass a 2009 deadline set by Mr. Obama to respond to his offers of diplomatic engagement.

Both that process and efforts to bring new sanctions against Iran have struggled. Administration officials had hoped that the revelation by Mr. Obama in September that Iran was building a new uranium enrichment plant inside a mountain near Qum would galvanize other nations against Iran, but the reaction was muted. The next three months were spent in what proved to be fruitless diplomatic talks with Iran over a plan to swap much of its low-enriched uranium for fuel for a medical reactor in Tehran. By the time Mr. Gates wrote his memo, those negotiations had collapsed.

Mr. Gates's memo appears to reflect concerns in the upper echelons of the Pentagon and the military that the White House did not have a well-prepared series of alternatives in place in case all the diplomatic steps finally failed. In fact, just before Mr. Gates issued his warning, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, wrote an official "chairman's guidance" to his staff saying that while any military option would have "limited results" against Iran's nuclear facilities, preparations needed to be stepped up.

"Should the president call for military options, we must have them ready," the admiral wrote.

Administration officials testifying before a Senate committee last week made it clear that those preparations were under way. So did General Jones. "The president has made it clear from the beginning of this administration that we need to be

prepared for every possible contingency," he said in the interview. "That is what we have done from day one, while successfully building a coalition of nations to isolate Iran and pressure it to live up to its obligations."

At the same hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Lt. Gen. Ronald L. Burgess Jr., director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, and Gen. James E. Cartwright, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the military's most experienced officers on nuclear matters, said that Iran could produce bomb-grade fuel for at least one nuclear weapon within a year, but that it would probably need two to five years to manufacture a workable atomic bomb.

The administration has been stepping up efforts to contain the influence of Iran and counter its missiles, including placing Patriot anti-missile batteries, mostly

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 7:00 AM
**To:** 'pverveer[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Ukraine

Very distressing report. If I go to Ukraine in early July, are you going w me? What could I do to address? Let's raise w Phil Gordon today.

----- Original Message -----
From: PVerveer[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun May 30 22:47:57 2010
Subject: Ukraine

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RELEASE IN FULL

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**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Gates/Iran

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From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 17 21:06:53 2010
Subject: Gates/Iran

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Pls add to call list and prepare a letter to Father B.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 21:56:26 2010
Subject: Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

---

From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Abedin, Huma; Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu May 27 19:28:46 2010
Subject: Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Huma/Lauren

I am headed back from China and I do not have S' email but I wanted to pass on this info regarding Father Charlie Beirne, a friend to both of us and frmr Prez of LeMoyne College who is now at a hospice at Fordham University in the Bronx. He greatly admires S and they always had a special relationship. We had planned for him to come down and have lunch w us (incldg Mark Landler of the NYT who I have informed).

Charlie called me last night and he is stoic and brave but I think he would appreciate a call from S - who is simply admires

This is a Jesuit that showed his bravery by calling the Secy General of the Jesuits to ask to replace his Jesuit friend who had been massacred (along w others) by the military at a University in Central America.

---

From: abe [redacted] B6
To: Balderston, Kris M
Sent: Thu May 27 16:09:26 2010
Subject: Fw: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Kris

Hope all is well on your end. Just wanted to pass this sad update along. I know you and the Senator would want to know.

Abe

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

From: "Office Of The President" [redacted] B6
Date: Thu, 27 May 2010 10:13:39 -0400
To: Anne Endries< [redacted]; Mary Cotter< [redacted]; Daniel Crough< [redacted]
Donald LaCasse< [redacted] Jack Collins< [redacted] Jack Boorman< [redacted] Margaret
Dwyer< [redacted] Robert Turner< [redacted] Vincent Spina< [redacted] Thomas
Wynne< [redacted] James Gaspo< [redacted] G. Edward Grant,
Jr. [redacted]; Michael Holland< [redacted]; Carol
Fletcher< [redacted] Susan Stratton [redacted] William
Barrett [redacted] Jeffrey von Arx, S.J.< [redacted] Dena Feeney< [redacted]
Henry Fust [redacted] Joseph O'Hare, S.J.< [redacted]; Pidge James< [redacted]
William Flynn< [redacted]; Bob Yeazel< [redacted]; Joseph
Marina< [redacted]; Elizabeth Hicks< [redacted] William Dolan,
S.J. [redacted] Fred Pestello< [redacted] Robert Errico< [redacted]
Francis Hilton, S.J.< [redacted] Walter Benson, Jr. [redacted] Stephen
Helmer< [redacted]; Michael Falcone< [redacted]; Noreen Falcone< [redacted] Paul
Drescher< [redacted] Abraham Lackman< [redacted] James
Malvaso [redacted] Richard Salmi, S.J. [redacted]; Darlene
Kerr< [redacted] Clifford Auth [redacted] Thomas Costello,
D.D [redacted] James Carrick [redacted] William
Edwards [redacted] Jerry Brown< [redacted]; John Vensel< [redacted] James
Rybicki< [redacted]; Debbie DiFino [redacted] Sharon
Kinsman< [redacted]
Cc: Maria Lee< [redacted] Judy Owen< [redacted] Denise
Chartrand< [redacted]
Subject: Update on Fr. Beirne, S.J.

Dear Trustees and Trustee Associates,

I am writing to share an update on Fr. Beirne's health. Fr. Beirne called this morning to let me know that his cancer has reached a stage where he has made the decision not to have any further clinical intervention. He prefers to live out the time he has remaining, six months by the doctors' projections, without the sapping of his energy and other side effects posed by his recent treatments. I have his permission to share this sad news with you. You may write to Fr. Beirne at Murray-Weigel Hall where he is now living (see address below) or phone him on his cell phone at [redacted]

Murray-Weigel Hall

515 E. Fordham Road

Bronx, NY 10458-5029

I am sure that you join me in offering prayers for Fr. Beirne as he faces the challenges his illness presents in his final months with us.

Sincerely,

Fred P. Pestello, Ph.D.

President
Le Moyne College
1419 Salt Springs Road
Syracuse, NY 13214-1301
Phone: 315.445.4120
FAX: 315.445.4691

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 1, 2010 5:16 PM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 09:11:33 2010
Subject: RE:

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 01, 2010 6:04 AM
To: Ebeling, Betsy
Cc: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Re:

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 16:33:25 2010
Subject:

FISA director leaves legacy of collaboration

Breaking down barriers

Wednesday, May 26, 2010

By Tina Calabro, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Pam Panchak/Post-Gazette

FISA Foundation retiring executive director Dee Delaney, left, with the new executive director, Kristy Trautmann.

To people in the local disability community, Dee Delaney is a household name.

When news came this spring of her intention to retire as executive director of FISA Foundation in August, one could almost hear a collective gasp. With 14 years at the helm of the small but influential foundation, Ms. Delaney has had a pronounced and lasting influence on quality of life in our region.

On behalf of FISA, Ms. Delaney has changed the local landscape not only by funding projects with far-reaching results, but by bringing people together to craft solutions to longstanding problems and by becoming personally involved in many of the projects the foundation funds.

She became the first executive director of FISA Foundation when it began in 1996 with proceeds from the sale of Harmarville Rehabilitation Center, a nonprofit, to HealthSouth, a for-profit organization.

The new foundation would continue the mission of the Federation of Independent School Alumnae, an organization that opened a convalescent home for women in 1911 and the Harmarville Rehabilitation Center in 1954. That mission was to improve the lives of women, girls and people with disabilities in Western Pennsylvania.

Ms. Delaney, who had been involved with Harmarville since 1980 -- starting as a volunteer and ending as development director of its foundation -- sought the job of leading FISA. "I realized the impact the foundation could have. FISA is not a large foundation, but it's a very focused foundation," she said.

Over the past 14 years, FISA's endowment has grown to more than $38 million. Over $17 million has been granted to 726 projects in 298 organizations.

A roll call of projects funded by FISA reflects progressive thinking about including of people with disabilities in all aspects of life, especially access to health care. Programs have become national models.

Women with disabilities, for example, often encounter barriers in typical healthcare settings. Standard exam tables and diagnostic equipment were designed for the able-bodied, and medical staff often struggle to accommodate individuals with special needs. FISA provided the seed money for the Center for Women with Disabilities at Magee-Womens Hospital of UPMC, one of the first such clinics in the nation. FISA is involved in the overall issue of improving access to healthcare for people with disabilities.

Likewise, people with disabilities have difficulty obtaining dental care. A FISA-funded project at Achieva is creating statewide, systemic solutions. FISA also provided support for the Center for Patients with Special Needs at Pitt's School of Dental Medicine.

FISA has also taken the lead on training arts and cultural venues how to make events more accessible and helping places of worship more welcoming.

"Dee is a national leader in the field. If there were more people like her, we wouldn't have the issues we have," said Kim Hutchinson, executive director of the Disability Funders Network, based in Virginia. Ms. Delaney has been a board officer for the group since 2004.

Nancy Murray, president of the ARC of Greater Pittsburgh, said the issues Ms. Delaney has helped solve are ones that people have been working on for years.

"People talk about strategies, but never move forward to solutions. Dee brings all the stakeholders together to get to the solutions," said Ms. Murray.

"I think Dee has greatly influenced the next generation of nonprofit and philanthropic leaders, leading by example on the value of true collaboration," said Susie Chase, a board member of FISA and former executive director of Working Order, a FISA grantee.

"With Dee, it is never about her own role, or FISA's role, it is always about unmet needs in the community and the work that needs to be done. That seems to bring out the best in every partner, and in everyone who has the privilege of working with her."

Ms. Chase added that advice and technical assistance Ms. Delaney provided to Working Order "were of equal or greater value to the organization than the grant funds."

"I still, after many years, never come away from a meeting with Dee that I haven't learned something, been inspired to work harder, and understood more clearly the value of someone else's ideas and efforts."

In her retirement, Ms. Delaney plans to "give back to the community in new ways," she said. A new frontier is helping young people with disabilities prepare for employment and leadership. "We have to keep the fire burning."

On May 19, FISA announced that Kristy Trautmann, who has served as the foundation's program director for six years, was promoted to executive director.

"We sought a person who would follow Ms. Delaney's visionary leadership and guide the foundation into the next decade," said Jane Burger, who chaired the search committee. "We know that we have found such a person in Kristy Trautmann. She understands the challenges facing the populations the foundation supports and has the trust of the board and the community."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'; 'pverveer[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Speech

Is there a reason I don't mention the need for the UN to have more women at higher levels?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

I can talk w him at 1 or 3.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 11:18:10 2010
Subject: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 18, 2010 7:07 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Did you ever ask [redacted] what else I can take? Should I call him directly? B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:21:10 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

latest is that nato will make decision tomorrow morning, they don't want to cancel unless they have to and unless we have other dates to offer. We talked about around poland in july for the alternative.
Phil and I are connecting early tomorrow.
My guess is it will be moved.

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:13:15 2010
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

[redacted] What's the latest for our trip to Finland?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 18:10:32 2010
Subject: Tomorrow

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 12, 2010 11:08 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Can you talk tomorrow before 10:30 am?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 12 21:41:39 2010
Subject: FW: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Remind me to discuss when we talk

From: Dubose, Mary L
Sent: Friday, March 12, 2010 5:37 PM
To: D(L)_LewDailySchedule
Subject: Deputy Secretary Lew's Schedule, Monday, March 15, 2010

Deputy Secretary Lew will be out of the office on Monday, March 15. He will return to the office on Tuesday, March 16.

---

Mary L. Dubose • Personal Assistant to Deputy Secretary Lew • Office of the Deputy Secretary of State • U.S. Department of State - 2201 C St, NW Rm 7240, Washington, DC 20520 '(202.647.5073-w: 7 202.647.5108-Fax)* DuboseML@state.gov <mailto:DuboseML@state.gov>

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 8:24 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: BBC poll on global attitutudes-favorable views of USA
**Attachments:** plugin-BBC_2010 Country Influence Poll_Long Version.pdf; plugin-BBC_2010 Country Influence Poll_Long Version.pdf

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Apr 19 07:07:33 2010
Subject: FW: BBC poll on global attitutudes-favorable views of USA

FYI. Mostly good news. I am already focusing on Turkey. Met with my Turkish counter-part last week and have a trip planned for early June.

1.4(D)
B1

I'll keep you posted as things move forward. Will also send you an email on the high side about my SSCI hearing last week.

jm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/19/2020

RELEASE IN PART B4,B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Corning

B4
B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 10:31 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: reception invitation
**Attachments:** Reception Invitation.pdf; Reception Invitation.pdf

Pls regret.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 12 21:08:27 2010
Subject: FW: reception invitation

fyi

From: Lomellin, Carmen
Sent: Friday, March 12, 2010 7:02 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: reception invitation

Hi Cheryl – hope you're holding up ok with all of the Haiti work.

I'm having a little reception on 3/22 6pm over at the OAS to celebrate my swearing-in. I'd love it if you could come by for a glass of champagne and a little jazz music!

I'd love to invite the Secretary. Is that even proper protocol? Although she probably couldn't attend, I'd like to share it with her. Your thoughts?

Ambassador Carmen Lomellin

U.S. Permanent Representative to the OAS

2201 C. St, NW #5914

Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 13, 2010 5:47 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Question

Can you have S/P prepare a comparison of India, Pakistan and Banghladesh over the last 20-30 years on as many factors reflecting their respective economic and social development as you can muster? I suspect it will prove useful in my meetings w Pak leaders in ten days.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 5:19 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Secretary's Video Speech

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 19 10:18:03 2010
Subject: FW: Secretary's Video Speech

FYI

---

From: John, Eric G
Sent: Monday, April 19, 2010 4:29 AM
To: Campbell, Kurt M; Marciel, Scot A; Smith, Demian
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Secretary's Video Speech

Kurt:

You'll be happy to know that the Secretary's video message was the subject of a great op-ed in today's Thai Rath, the leading newspaper in Thailand. They took exactly the line that we hoped they would – seeing her message not as the U.S. intervening in politics, but, rather, as a very personal message from someone who cares deeply about Thailand. The writer even referred to the Secretary's autobiography.

Thai Rath (leading Thai language daily), a commentary on Thai politics, April 16, referenced Secretary Clinton's video statement calling for a peaceful solution to Thailand's political crisis: "I would like to thank U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for making a request herself and on behalf of President Obama for the two opposing parties to return to the negotiating table so as to end their conflict. The short video message in which she mentioned Thailand was full of sincerity. She started by saying that she was making this request as "a long-standing friend of the Thai people" She referred to the Songkran festival which is the Thai New Year and said the opposing parties should consider this an opportunity for a new round of talks. She emphasized that violence cannot bring happiness and peace and that the opposing parties should talk in order to solve the problem. I believe Mrs. Clinton said this with sincerity. I have read a book in which she wrote about her brief visit to Thailand as First Lady several years ago and showed her goodwill toward the Thai people and Thailand in the book. During her most recent visit to Thailand last year, Mrs. Clinton gave an interview and expressed her opinion about Thai politics in the most amicable way. Normally, I do not quite approve of the U.S. because I think it often meddles with other countries' affairs. But I wholeheartedly agree with Secretary Clinton's request and would like to sincerely thank her for it." (To see the video, click here. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPGYKvoDma8> To read the original article in Thai, click here. <http://www.thairath.co.th/column/pol/hehapatee/76917>)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 8:52 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Question

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Mar 13 19:47:58 2010
Subject: Re: Question

Absolutely. That's what you have a think tank for! On a related note, while it may not be useful for Pakistan, I think we shd find ways to work qddr briefings/discussions into our strategic dialogues w/ india and china, to talk about how we are rethinking both diplomacy and development -- maybe also w/ South Africa. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Mar 13 17:47:24 2010
Subject: Question

Can you have S/P prepare a comparison of India, Pakistan and Banghladesh over the last 20-30 years on as many factors reflecting their respective economic and social development as you can muster? I suspect it will prove useful in my meetings w Pak leaders in ten days.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 5:22 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: From the road

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 04:55:23 2010
Subject: From the road

I wanted to give you some brief observations from my trip to Lithuania. First of all, their friendship with the US and respect for you was much in evidence on all levels. Most of the cabinet turned out for the reception that the amb hosted for me. The FM went out his way to tell me what it meant to get a call from you when he assumed his position (he's hoping to have a few mins with you in Tallin). As far as Lith has to go, it has achieved some remarkable achievements for Eastern Eur. They have a female president, Speaker, Finance minister and def. minister. I had a good meeting with the President and thanked her for Lith commitment to our collective efforts in afghanistan. They run the smallest PRT and, despite a tough economy, have done everything we've asked in terms of additional support since the surge. The meeting with the Speaker and top women members of the parl'nt was yet another reminder of your inspiration over many years. One of the women was at the Vienna VV conf and said she's in politics today because of you. Another read about safe birthing kits in your book and was inspired to send several thousand to Afghanistan. They are eager for more opportunities to work together.

I came primarily to launch the new working group on gender that we and Lith are co-chairing. There was much gratitude for our leadership with them in the Community of Democracies.
The meaning of democracy is so strong for people who had to stuggle for it more recently. They really feel this is an important time to renew the understanding of democ, particularly after the bruising it underwent over the last several years.
We had terrific turnout from other countries, many comments about you and references to Beijing and Iceland VV conf. (So many people told me the impact Vienna and Iceland had on them). We left our meeting with many commitments for future concrete projects that will be undertaken. There is great hope that you will be in Krakow in July for the CD ministerial. The Lith CD coordinator headed to Belgium the next day for an EU meeting. He told me he got a very positive response for our gender initiative and that Ashton was particularly excited about it. The EU is locating their new gender institute in Lithuania and they are ager for our help.
The Dutch minister who came
said the outcome of their election in June will say much about the nature of their ongoing commitment in Afg.
Lastly, I arrived shortly after the Polish tragedy. There is a very close relationship between the 2 countries and their grief was palpable. Jolenta Kwasniewska and several other Poles came to the CD meeting. She told me that they lost so many of their top leaders across all sectors of society, incl several top women leaders. Jolenta' foundation has been very active in advancing women's progress in Poland as well as working in other countries.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 8:57 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** AIPAC speech

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 6:03 PM
**To:** 'CampbellKM@state.gov'
**Subject:** Yeah!

Pls tell Lael how pleased--and relieved--I am for her--and you! Now, take her away for a night or weekend, maybe the Inn at Little Washington or Greenbriar or anywhere sans kids. H

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 19, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** 'rodriguezme@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Brainard Vote

Yeah! Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 19 17:59:23 2010
Subject: Brainard Vote

Cloture was invoked on Lael Brainard's nomination this afternoon, 84-10.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 1:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Judeh

He called again saying he needs to talk before 2pm.
Do you want jeff to return?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 9:25 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

So, what's the latest? It sounds contradictory and when does AF have to decide? Shall we take the 1 or 2 shuttle?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 08:31:55 2010
Subject: Fw: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

Update on airport openings. Looks like estonia is partially open. They think most ministers will fly private so they seem to want to try and move forward.

---

From: OpsAlert
Sent: Tue Apr 20 06:37:21 2010
Subject: Volcanic Ash Travel Disruption Spot Report No. 1

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SPOT REPORT No. 1

VOLCANIC ASH TRAVEL DISRUPTION

Tuesday, April 20, 2010

0630 EDT

SOME EUROPEAN AIRLINES RESUME OPERATIONS

(SBU) The European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation (EuroControl) expects close to 60 percent of the scheduled 27,500 flights in European airspace to fly April 20. There were approximately 8700 flights on April 19, roughly 30 percent of regularly scheduled flights. (www.eurocontrol.int <http://www.eurocontrol.int/> )

· (SBU) EU transportation ministers agreed on a phased opening of larger airports, subject to changing conditions. Per www.eurocontrol.int <http://www.eurocontrol.int/> , current European airport operations include:

o Normal Operations: Austria, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine

o Partial Operations (includes airports fully operational for limited hours): Belgium, Britain, Estonia, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden

o Closed (in some cases the airspace remains open for transit flights): Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia

· (SBU) For additional information, please go to the New York Times airport cancellation tracker: www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/04/15/world/europe/airport-closings-graphic.html?src=me&ref=world <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/04/15/world/europe/airport-closings-graphic.html?src=me&ref=world>

STATE DEPARTMENT RESPONSE

· (SBU) The United States is not evacuating American citizens at this time. Commercial travel is expected to resume before U.S. Government-facilitated arrangements could be made. (travel.state.gov <http://www.travel.state.gov/> )

· (SBU) Consular Affairs (CA) updated the travel.state.gov <http://www.state.gov/> website, as well as websites for U.S. Embassies throughout Europe, in order to provide additional details, including low-cost hotels, medical services, and the process to refill U.S. prescriptions. CA urges travelers to monitor local news and check in with airlines frequently. As applicable, the websites also detail procedures for those who have exceeded the duration of their visas due to the delays. (travel.state.gov <http://www.travel.state.gov/> )

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov <http://ses.state.sgov.gov/> .

Drafted: KMZurcher

Approved: HCThompson

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 9:59 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Cell Number for AL Ag Comm Ron Sparks, Dem Nominee for Gov Beating Rep Artur Davis w over 60 Percent

Pls add to call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider <[redacted] B6
To: H; Huma Abedin <abedinh@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Jun 01 23:36:17 2010
Subject: Cell Number for AL Ag Comm Ron Sparks, Dem Nominee for Gov Beating Rep Artur Davis w over 60 Percent

Ag Comm Ron Sparks Cell
[redacted].. Sparks was vocal, active HRC supporter. He traveled to some other states, participated in nearly all Rural Americans for Hillary conference and strategy calls, offered ideas and encouragement and was always ready to speak on your behalf. He's a smart, energetic politician.

Burns Strider

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 1:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: more...

The marginal vote undoubtedly was driven by reactive and residual feelings about Tony. David paid the price.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop
Sent: Sat, Sep 25, 2010 1:40 pm
Subject: Re: more...

Clearly more about Tony that David or Ed.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Sat Sep 25 12:14:37 2010
Subject: more...

Ed Miliband's victory was carried by an anti-Blair undercurrent. In the first round voting, David was ahead. But when the votes of Ed Balls was distributed to the second choice of voters, they put Ed over. Balls represents Gordon, but even more a distancing from New Labour. Ed's use of Iraq as an issue is symbolic of the repudiation of New Labour. Ed had more labor union votes for leader, which accounted for one-third of total. Ed's "new generation" rhetoric covers that regression and continuing reactive impulse. Now the shadow cabinet, due to a new decision, will be elected by the party. Ed is the former environment minister and good on green issues, of course, but has no foreign policy perspective

yet instinctively to the left, which means anti-Afghanistan mission as currently conceived, it should go without saying. David lost precisely because he held responsible positions.
Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 9:26 AM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Dorothy Height

Have we prepared a statement--w Bill or solo?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Statement for sign off

Ok to go.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 09:40:12 2010
Subject: Statement for sign off

Joint Statement by Former President Clinton and Secretary of State Clinton on the Passing of Dr. Dorothy Height We are deeply saddened to learn of the passing of Dr. Dorothy Height, an icon of America's long march toward equality and a personal inspiration to us both. As the only woman among the "Big Six" civil rights leaders, Dr. Height helped galvanize a movement that changed our country forever. She organized the "Wednesdays in Mississippi" meetings that brought black and white women together to find common ground and break down barriers. She never stopped fighting for what she knew was right. And through it all, she was always the best dressed woman in the room. We were blessed to know Dr. Height, to benefit from her grace, passion and wisdom, and to call her our friend. For decades, starting with the early days at the Children's Defense Fund, we worked with her, learned from her, and drew inspiration from her example. From the Presidential Medal of Freedom, to the Congressional Gold Medal, to the unveiling of a long-sought-after bust of Sojourner Truth in the United States Capitol, we had the privilege of helping honor Dr. Height and her accomplishments. Born before women had the right to vote, denied access to the college of her choice because of the color of her skin, and witness to nation divided, Dr. Height dedicated her life to the proposition that all Americans should have the opportunity to live up to their full God-given potential. Our nation is poorer for her loss but infinitely richer for the life she led, the progress she achieved, and the people she touched. Our thoughts and prayers are with Dr. Height's family today, and with her many loving friends and colleagues. She would be the first to tell us that the best way to honor her memory is to carry forward the work she started and the causes she championed, to open wide the freedom gates. May we all find the strength and the wisdom to live up to her legacy.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 2:18 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list

Take off:

Miliband
Carson
Netanyahu
Mubarak
Powell
Rice
Lautenberg--but ask Rob to do note
Pascual

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Burns Strider
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 1:54 PM
**To:** H; Huma Abedin; Justin Cooper; Jon Davidson
**Subject:** Lots of copy on Clintons... Photo of Chelsea
**Attachments:** LexmarkAIOScan11.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan12.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan13.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan9.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan11.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan12.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan13.jpg; LexmarkAIOScan9.jpg

I agreed to this feature because the mag covers most of Travis' district... Hoping to add some narrative and values to things down there... A good bit of copy on the Clinton family... It doesn't seem to be online (not yet anyway). took shots of hardcopy (attachments) and sent to us:

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Burns Strider"
Date: Fri, 24 Sep 2010 21:46:09
To: <burns.strider
Subject: Fw:

-----Original Message-----
From: Cindy Akins
To: Burns Strider
Sent: Fri Sep 24 20:09:26 2010

Ok I have no idea what all I have sent you. It is no telling.
hopefully you
got the article. Talk to you soon

Note: These attachments will expire in 30 days.

1 file(s) attached (25.61 MB): View All
lexmarkaioscan1-tif
25.61 MBView
powered by
-- simple, private, sharing and collaboration Learn more.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 2:46 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Feltman

In mtg with **Egyptians**. Will call in when done.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** 'balderstonkm@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking.....Jim Blom, Etc

Pls keep me updated on this project. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Marty Torrey [redacted] B6
To: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>; H
Sent: Thu Apr 15 14:27:42 2010
Subject: Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking.....Jim Blom, Etc

Kris,
Background.....All this separate from Simon's broader system(s) potential. Jim (James F.)Blom is Dave's former business partner in Alacrity Homeland Group. Lives in San Francisco w/ wife and 2 kids. American, but well healed due to long family history in Norwegian shipping companies. Grandfather was pals with Onassis. You get the picture. Has tight linkage in supply chain & IT space(s). Deals in countries like you and I dealt with counties / states. Brilliant, resourceful. Not prone to hyperbole, says he can bring the 'best in the world' to this effort. Based on track record , I believe him. For example, CdeBaca recently met with social networking folks in Silicon Valley. Not sure how that went, but Jim is close friends with the guy who handles 'Facebook's' finances and said he can get his attention 'in one phone call'. Social networking piece helpful, but probably a more aggressive 'identify, track, snag, deal with' traffickers required. Method(s) & prioritization necessary. Let's look into. Spoke w/ Jim about CdeBaca connect. We're in. Best, Marty
---- "Balderston wrote:
> Thnx. I am happy to do the introduction.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
> Sent: Thursday, April 15, 2010 12:54 PM
> To: 'mtorrey [redacted]
> Cc: Balderston, Kris M
> Subject: Re: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'
>
> Marty--I'm copying Kris and asking that he connect you w Lou C de Baca whose in charge of the office responsible for trafficking in State so you can explore ways of helping. Thx.
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Marty Torrey [redacted]
> To: H
> Sent: Thu Apr 15 07:44:25 2010
> Subject: 'Stone Harbour,LLC'
>
> HRC,
> As of April 21st Dave Stone's former business partner ( James F. Blom
> ), and I will establish 'Stone Harbour,LLC' (named for Dave) in Delaware. This will be a nice merger of Dave's and my contacts. Apart from the ongoing vetting of Simon Stringer's multi purpose software, at several levels, I am keen to help in the human trafficking effort. I have been in touch with Sharyn Magarian (keeping Kris B informed) in seeking the status of that effort, as I am quite sure the combo of Dave's former contacts and mine can help. Jim Blom has already

spoken to several (Oracle Corp and his friends in Silicon Valley) and they too are motivated. Work is work, but the human trafficking issue seems like the right thing to do. All the best, Marty

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B6

**From:** aclb [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 2:56 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

[redacted]

[redacted] Best Tony B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/24/2035**

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 3:36 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Any new developments on Israel or anything else?

Call if there is info to report. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 5:22 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 14 17:11:28 2010
Subject: Statement

Does this work for you?

Statement by the Secretary

Murders in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico

Today the men and women of the Department of State are mourning the murder of three people connected to the United States Consulate General in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. One American consulate employee was killed along with her husband, and the husband of a Mexican employee was also killed. I offer my deepest sympathies to the family, loved ones and colleagues of these victims. The safety and security of our personnel and their families in Mexico and at posts around the world is always our highest priority. I have spoken with our Ambassador in Mexico and we are working with the Government of Mexico to do everything necessary to protect our people and to ensure that the perpetrators of these horrendous acts are brought to justice.

These appalling assaults on members of our own State Department family are, sadly, part of a growing tragedy besetting many communities in Mexico. They underscore the imperative of our continued commitment to work closely with the Government of President Calderón to cripple the influence of trafficking organizations at work in Mexico. This is a responsibility we must shoulder together, particularly in border communities where strong bonds of history, culture, and common interest bind the Mexican and the American people closely together.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 14, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'
**Subject:** UN speech

Thx for all you did to make it work. I thought it went very well and I was so pleased you could be there. Now, onto the Irish!

RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B6

**From:** jake.sullivan B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 3:19 PM
**To:** aclb; H
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

We have pitched this B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

-----Original Message-----
From: aclb B6
Date: Sat, 25 Sep 2010 19:56:19
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'<HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan
Subject: Re: Info for you

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/24/2035

B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan ' <jake.sullivan B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild B6

To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

Pls schedule so I can get this done.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 11:18:10 2010
Subject: Tony blair says he's free to talk anytime today. He's in middle east so is 8 hours ahead.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** jake.sullivan[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: What's happening now?

We're going to send you letter in a few.

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]
Subject: What's happening now?
Sent: Sep 25, 2010 6:23 PM

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** aclb [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 6:12 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan[redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/24/2035

[redacted] I'm here til tomorrow night. Call if you need. Best Tony

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 19:56:19 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted] Best Tony

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]> B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]<jake.sullivan[redacted]> B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted] B6
To: H

Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 11:42 AM
**To:** 'lynn [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Miss You

Lynn--

I would love to see you but your days overlap w Karzai's visit so I will have to get that settled before I can confirm a time but let's make it happen. So I'm copying Lona and Huma so we can start planning. Much love, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 18 16:01:01 2010
Subject: Miss You

Hi Hillary,

I am back from the unpredictable and exciting elections in Britain.

Congratulations on all the good things you are doing at State.

You have so many fans from Manmohan Singh, who smiled broadly when we talked about you, to those women who never stop dreaming.

I would love to catch up. I have to be in DC from the 12th-15th May, in case you have any time to sneak away for a few minutes.

I understand it may not be possible, but thought I would check.

In any event, I remain your loyal adoring pal.

Xoxox

Lynn

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 7:25 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Language

B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 15, 2010 10:43 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Aipac speech

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Mar 15 10:07:22 2010
Subject: Aipac speech

We are working with Jake on some very good ideas that Bruce Jentleson has put forward, but I want to plant one idea for you to mull. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:03 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Just emailed Ms Cheryl to help co-ordinate a time -love you and thanks for keeping the world together-"Fourth Turning"...might want to re-read the ending chapters of Neil Howe and Bill Strauss book-love you so

Pls get me a copy of this book from the library. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence < [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 01 18:42:24 2010
Subject: Just emailed Ms Cheryl to help co-ordinate a time -love you and thanks for keeping the world together-"Fourth Turning"...might want to re-read the ending chapters of Neil Howe and Bill Strauss book-love you so

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, May 30, 2010 6:28 PM
To: Roy Spence
Subject: Re: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office

Well. [redacted] When B6
will come in so we can catch up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 09:40:01 2010
Subject: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office

Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office
<http://www.openleft.com/diary/18891/hillary-clinton-is-now-the-most-popular-politician-in-america-who-has-held-elected-office>

by: Chris Bowers <http://www.openleft.com/user/Chris%20Bowers>

Fri May 28, 2010 at 14:00

Here is a weekend factoid for you: among all living politicians in the United States who have ever held elected office, Hillary Clinton the most popular.

That's right. Ever since she became Secretary of State, her favorables have soared into the mid-60's <http://www.pollingreport.com/C2.htm#Hillary> , putting her well clear of any other statewide officeholder in the country. The only national figures who are viewed as favorably as Clinton are Michelle Obama <http://www.pollingreport.com/o.htm#Michelle> , Colin Powell <http://www.pollingreport.com/p.htm#Powell> , and David Patraeus <http://www.pollingreport.com/p.htm#Petraeus> . However, they have never run for office, which invariably lowers your favorables.

Hillary Clinton will turn 69 in in the final week of the 2016 campaign, which makes her slightly younger than Ronald Reagan when he first was elected in 1980. Also, as Secretary of State, a major presidential candidate, a U.S. Senator, and First Lady, she is also probably more credentialed than any other potential Presidential candidate, too. There is even talk she may become the next Secretary of Defense <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0510/37672.html> , further adding to her credentials.

Some have said that, in choosing Joe Biden as Vice-President, Barack Obama did not pick a successor to lead the Democratic Party. However, that needs rethinking. Because Barack Obama made her Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton remains remarkably well-positioned to run for President in 2016, even more so than she was in 2008.

Anyway, have a good holiday weekend.

Chris Bowers <http://www.openleft.com/userDiary.do?personId=9> :: Hillary Clinton is now the most popular politician in America who has held elected office <http://www.openleft.com/showDiary.do?diaryId=18891>

Ride at Dawn

---

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:41 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Finally! Thx for helping out.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 12:36:20 2010
Subject:

Lael was confirmed....79 to 19.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 6:19 AM
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: ireland

Can you send me a draft this morning? And, what is the Lamplighter story?

----- Original Message -----
From: Rooney, Megan <RooneyM@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 20:21:33 2010
Subject: ireland

Ma'am -- Jake tells me that you are tired of the Lamplighter story. I'm sorry, I didn't know. But the Belfast people have come up with a FANTASTIC story -- apparently, as per your request, they have tracked down the two kids who won the peace essay contest in the 90s, and they are doing great things -- one is a teacher, one is a police officer. They are now reaching out to get permission for you to tell their stories tomorrow night; assuming they will grant it, I am writing up their stories now and will fax a revised draft to you shortly.

Sorry for the Lamplighter redux; I'll let Lissa know it's off-limits for at least a few years.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 14, 2010 6:30 PM
To: Rooney, Megan
Subject: UN speech

Thx for all you did to make it work. I thought it went very well and I was so pleased you could be there. Now, onto the Irish!

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:42 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: ISAB

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 12:39:39 2010
Subject: FW: ISAB

fyi

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:35 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Diminuco, Steven L
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne; Gelber, Ethan M; Balenger, De'Ara N
Subject: RE: ISAB

FYI on [redacted]. B5 B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:10 PM
To: Diminuco, Steven L
Cc: Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne; Gelber, Ethan M; Balenger, De'Ara N
Subject: RE: ISAB

The secretary had two other names she wanted looked at: [redacted]; she is fine with considering [redacted] B6

Can we update with those candidates if they pass an initial vet?

cmd

From: Diminuco, Steven L
Sent: Monday, April 19, 2010 3:30 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: ISAB

B5
B6

Cheryl-Here is the memo that was sent in August and then in November.

Thanks. Steve

From: Diminuco, Steven L
Sent: Friday, December 04, 2009 5:56 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: ISAB

Cheryl-I wanted to give you an update where we are on ISAB. The memo enclosed is the Nov 1 revision.

B5
B6

I want to know how you want to proceed on this. Thanks. Steve

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:22 AM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** The Steinberg Project

How's it going? I'm happy to go on the record anytime anywhere on his behalf. Just let me know.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 20, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** 'rodriguezme@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Brainard Confirmed

Thx. And finally.

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 12:43:38 2010
Subject: Brainard Confirmed

Lael Brainard was confirmed 78-19 this afternoon.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

So, what do we do now? [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:51:08 2010
Subject: Fw: Human Rights report on Haiti

See original email b/l

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:50:15 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

I have not seen nor reviewed that report and it was not flagged for me.

Adding Jake and mike posner to advise - esp re process of vetting w/ embassy given the profile of the work we are doing w/ them.

Cdm

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
Subject: Human Rights report on Haiti

Cheryl,

Local media drew attention this weekend to the line in the introduction of our annual human rights report that refers to the GOH by saying that there is severe corruption in all branches of government. [redacted] called this morning asking for a copy of the report (which we sent him), saying that the President was upset and wanted to read it. The Embassy human rights officer sent the Department a first draft of this report late last year. It normally would have gone through two or three more versions with input from DRL and ultimately clearance by the Embassy Front Office. B6

Because our Human Rights officer (Kathey-Lee Galvin) was seriously injured in the quake, DRL took it upon themselves to finish the report. The final draft was never sent to us for clearance/comments and I don't know who all in the Department cleared off on it. You may already be familiar with the report, but in the event you are not, I wanted you to have a copy in advance of meetings in Santo Domingo where you may hear about it from [redacted] Cheers, David B6

http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/wha/136116.htm

David E. Lindwall

Deputy Chief of Mission

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:35 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Not if they say there have been problems which they were addressing before the quake and w outside help will continue and achieve their reform agenda.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:30:17 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Trying - they are a bit mad on two proper grounds - will make other donors less likel to give and our congress less likely to give

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:24:03 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

So, what do we do now? [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:51:08 2010
Subject: Fw: Human Rights report on Haiti

See original email b/l

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Mon Mar 15 16:50:15 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

I have not seen nor reviewed that report and it was not flagged for me.

Adding Jake and mike posner to advise - esp re process of vetting w/ embassy given the profile of the work we are doing w/ them.

Cdm

---

From: Lindwall, David E
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H
Sent: Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
Subject: Human Rights report on Haiti

Cheryl,

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David E. Lindwall

Deputy Chief of Mission

U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

(509) 2229-8132

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 2, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Any news to report?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 11:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: the revenge of old Labour. Sid

[redacted]

September 26, 2010

# John Rentoul: The party voted for David Miliband but got the Panda instead

## New Labour leader won't stand a chance against David Cameron

The result is the worst possible for the Labour Party. A decisive victory for Ed Miliband would have been one thing. The party would have made the wrong decision, but it would have done so with its eyes open and with the leader's legitimacy unchallenged.

Instead, Ed Miliband lost the election in two parts of Labour's electoral college, among MPs and among Labour Party members, but won thanks to a 60-40 margin the other way among trade union members on a very low turnout.

If he had won by a clear margin I would have said that Labour had chosen the Panda as its leader. He is soft, cuddly and panders to every oppositional instinct in the party. There has been no position taken by the Labour government of which he was a member that he was not prepared to trash if he thought Labour members would like it. Tuition fees, Iraq, the third runway for Heathrow: you name it, he disowned it. Even, in the case of the third runway, a policy for which he had direct ministerial responsibility. There has been no part of the manifesto, which he wrote, that he has not been prepared to ditch.

But that is not what the party did. Labour Party members chose David Miliband. Labour MPs chose David. The party itself voted for what Ed Miliband tried to dismiss as the "New Labour Establishment", in other words, the supposedly hated Blairites. The party read the signals from the voters correctly. It knows that, although it didn't do as badly as it feared in the general election, a lurch to the left was not the answer. Party members and MPs took on board Tony Blair's warning that Labour lost because Gordon Brown "moved a millimetre" to the left of New Labour. They did not fall for the argument that Labour did better than expected by moving a millimetre to the left and, therefore, to do better still they needed to move a couple of centimetres further to the left.

They did not think that, because Labour has pulled level in the opinion polls, the next election is in the bag. They know that the opposition party often moves ahead of the government in the opinion polls within months of an election. They also know that Labour's poll rating is artificially inflated by the absence from the fray of the Liberal Democrats as a protest party, and they know that this protest vote cannot be relied upon in a general election.

The Labour Party and Labour MPs got it right, and the election was won by an operation run by the trade union machines. That means that Ed Miliband, who would have struggled against David Cameron in the House of Commons in any event, is going to be roasted every week.

Every week, the Prime Minister is going to point out that the Leader of the Opposition does not have the support of the members on the benches behind him. Not only that, he does not have the support of the members of his party in the country. Every week, Cameron is going to portray Miliband as the place person of the trade union bosses and the beneficiary of a boss-politics stitch-up.

If Ed Miliband had won the party members but lost among MPs, which is what I expected, the Conservatives would have teased him in the Commons, but he would have had as much legitimacy as Iain Duncan Smith - the choice of the party activists against the wishes of his MPs. No wonder Ed was the "cork-popper" candidate in Conservative HQ. The way

things have turned out, that's not just a phrase; it would be worth lifting the austerity ban on bubbly for. David Cameron, lucky general, faces an opponent with less of a mandate than IDS.

Even if Ed Miliband had won comfortably in all three sections of Labour's electoral college, I feel he would have struggled against Cameron. This way, I fear that he fights with both hands tied behind his back.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 16, 2010 7:51 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Not yet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:42:09 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Agree - did you reach FM cannon

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Mar 16 07:34:54 2010
Subject: Re: Human Rights report on Haiti

Not if they say there have been problems which they were addressing before the quake and w outside help will continue and achieve their reform agenda.

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To: Lindwall, David E; Curtis, Meghann A
Cc: Merten, Kenneth H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H; Mills, Cheryl D
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Sent: Mon Mar 15 14:24:23 2010
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B6

B6

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David E. Lindwall

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U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:23 AM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'; 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Good work. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Apr 21 08:18:44 2010
Subject: FW: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Example of our hitting back in action ---- it works.

jm

From: Schwartz, Larry
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 8:15 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Already running as a crawl on Express, one of the offending networks, within an hour of sending our correction.

From: McHale, Judith A
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 4:47 PM
To: Schwartz, Larry
Subject: RE: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Thanks. Need to be sure this gets picked up by print and/or broadcast outlets as well as some major online enterprise in ALL critical languages (URDU, PASHTO. Etc) so that it pops up when this topic is googled. Have Richard send me his plan for getting this picked up. Do you have a copy of the release in Urdu that I can forward to WH and Hill ?

jm

From: Schwartz, Larry
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 7:32 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: Mission Corrections: Bhutto Assassination

Under Secretary McHale:

This week we have seen the most extraordinary series of public attacks on the United States by Lt Gen (ret) Hamid Gul, a noted anti-American crackpot who derives his role as an "expert analyst" by being the only former Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Chief who ever appears on TV. Gul was briefly ISI chief during PM Bhutto's first term in office almost 20 years ago. Appearing on several TV stations this week, Gul has repeated allegations that the U.S. is implicated in the Bhutto Assassination – the subject is current this week because of the release of the U.N. report on the assassination, which is itself a remarkable document.

One ironic element of the UN report on the assassination is the report that on October 16, 2007 former PM Bhutto wrote to General Musharraf that the very same Hamid Gul was one of three people she considered a threat to her security. (see excerpt below) This fact came up in none of the programs.

Our view is that the television journalists and executives now must begin taking responsibility for putting inciting and unsubstantiated claims on the air. We have released the attached "Correction," which will be seen by news editors across the country.

Larry

Excerpt from the UN report on the Bhutto assassination:

179. On 16 October 2007, Ms Bhutto writing from Dubai to General Musharraf, identified three people she considered a threat to her security: (i) Brigadier (ret) Ejaz Shah, Director General of the IB at the time of the assassination, (ii) General (ret) Hamid Gul, a former Director General of the ISI, and (iii) Mr Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi, Chief Minister of Punjab until 22 November 2007.

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Larry Schwartz

Minister Counselor for Public Affairs

Embassy of the United States of America

Islamabad - PAKISTAN

Tel: (92)(51) 208-2040

Mobile: [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Call

Did you want to do another call before the 1115?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 19, 2010 8:04 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

Makes a good case. Should we include policy?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Mar 18 15:51:49 2010
Subject: Conversation w/ Dan Kurtzer

I had breakfast w/ Dan this morning, who weighed in strongly and to my mind compellingly for [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: speech theme idea

I agree that this is a great idea and want to pursue. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>; H
Sent: Thu Apr 22 09:11:17 2010
Subject: RE: speech theme idea

I like this idea.

I like even better that we have a nutrition speech coming up which bridges GHI and GHFSI and we could use it as a venue not only to check the box re: FS, but health.

cdm

From: Muscatine, Lissa
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 2010 8:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'H'
Subject: speech theme idea

Hillary and Cheryl,

I'm feeling very good about our recent efforts to connect our speeches thematically. We've done it with development, human rights, and Internet freedom; and most recently with AIPAC, Ctr for Middle East Peace, and next the AJC. Here's what I want to suggest: The three most basic elements of human existence are food, water, and health. We have now done major speeches on food and water. I'd like us to consider a major speech on global health – the third in a trilogy. Linking these three issues thematically, we can explain how and why foreign policy challenges and solutions must be seen through a prism of human survival and why the conditions of people's lives influence everything from economic development to political stability and more. This trilogy of speeches (with the right PR) could further underscore our elevation of development AND our comprehensive, smart power approach to foreign policy. After all, food, water, and health are the sine qua non of human progress. And this is a Hillary Clinton signature idea, at least to me. Thoughts?

LM

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:27 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Not until I have a report from Mitchell. No one asked mer to call and I don't know what I'd say.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:25:37 2010
Subject: Abu Mazen

I understand you are ok making the abu mazen call. Everyone agrees you should make it and they want you to do it today. Can you do after marianne?

Below are points.

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Where are points? Jake did mention it, but I didn't know there was a decision.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:31:31 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

Oh I apologize. Jake said he spoke with you about it and that you'd agreed to do it if mitchell recommended it. He does recommend it, these are points from him about what to say. And they asked if you would do today.
Ill follow up.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:26:34 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

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RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Ok to schedule after Marianne sometime.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:34:47 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

They are in the original email I sent and pasting again below. Oscar should have printed.

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
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B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 12:25 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

Pls do after 1 if possible.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:34:47 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

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B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 7:31 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Warning story

According to WPost and PJ, US govt warned Israel about handling the flotilla. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 20, 2010 12:25 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Abu Mazen

I meant after 1:30. Thx

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:34:47 2010
Subject: Re: Abu Mazen

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Sent: Sat Mar 20 11:32:21 2010
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B5

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:20 AM
**To:** 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: betsey griffith

[redacted] Any chance the date could be changed? B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 22 09:01:37 2010
Subject: betsey griffith

Sheepishly inquired as to whether you might be willing to speak at Madeira's commencement on June 4th in the morning. It's her last time officiating as head of the school. It's a couple of days before the Lat Am trip. Thoughts?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 9:21 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: speech theme idea

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H
Sent: Thu Apr 22 08:39:03 2010
Subject: speech theme idea

Hillary and Cheryl,

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LM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Pls print 2 copies.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 03 08:32:53 2010
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Fyi – cir to team for addressing as appropriate

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

In my last email (Friday, 5/28), I attached the letter from the bipartisan Co-Chairs and Executive Committee members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission sent to Assistant Secretary Mike Posner expressing grave concern about the recent rise in death threats, attacks and murders of Colombian human rights defenders, religious, community and other NGO leaders. Congressman McGovern also strongly encouraged the Secretary to meet with representatives of those organizations and individuals being threatened, with a particularly effort to reach out to and invite the Bishops of Tumaco (Nariño), Barrancabermeja/Medio Magdalena (Santander), and we would now add Putumayo, since the Colombian Catholic Church just advised us yesterday of increased death threats against religious workers there. In addition, we recommended inviting Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao, director of Pastoral Social, at the Archdiocese in Bogotá, who represents all the pastoral work of the Church throughout the country, as well as representatives from the Mennonite and Lutheran churches, in particular.

While in Colombia, the most important thing the Secretary can do is avoid effusive praise for President Álvaro Uribe, who leaves office in August. Inside Colombia, the visit by the Secretary is being described as focusing solely on the free trade agreement and continuing support of the counterdrug strategy/Plan Colombia. Without changes in the human rights situation and the culture of impunity, it is unlikely that anything the Secretary might say or do will alter the equation on Capitol Hill regarding the trade agreement. It should be noted that the October 2008 GAO report on the counter-drug operations in Colombia concluded that U.S. assistance was successful in increasing security in parts of the country, but a failure in the areas of counter-narcotics (GAO-09-71) , and a subsequent April 2009 USAID evaluation on U.S. aid for Plan Colombia for illegal crop reduction and Colombian counternarcotics policies actually contribute to increased coca production.

The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=58754> and failed even to mention any concerns.

These concerns are of critical importance, and while the Secretary need not list them all, at least some deserve public acknowledgement – some recognition that it is important to the United States that Colombia, including the current government and its successor, show the necessary political will to deal with them:

· A sharp rise in alleged military killings of civilians. In many cases, these are so-called "false positives": non-combatants murdered and later presented as members of armed groups killed in combat. These, notes <http://www.extrajudicialexecutions.org/colombia> UN Special Rapporter for Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston, "began occurring with a disturbing frequency across Colombia from 2004." Citing prosecutors' and NGOs' reports, Alston indicates that Colombia's security forces may have killed 1,486 civilians during the first six years of Álvaro Uribe's presidency. Alston notes that the Defense Ministry only began to address the situation after the media broke the story of the false-positives and the subsequent negative publicity and horrified public outcry.

The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=49968> , pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

· Mounting allegations that the President's intelligence service, the DAS, was put at the service <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1123> of paramilitary leaders and narcotraffickers; used to spy on and intimidate <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=752> Supreme Court justices, opposition politicians, journalists and human rights defenders; and employed in a campaign of sabotage and smears <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1467> against political opponents.

Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency <http://www.caracoltv.com/noticias/justicia/articulo168592-tres-asesores-de-uribe-son-investigados-chuzadas-ilegales> , though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

· President Uribe's political coalition has also been hit by a scandal known in Colombia as "para-politics." This coalition has included dozens of political bosses from regions beyond the capital. Many are large landholders with ties to narcotrafficking, the same local leaders who created and fostered the brutal pro-government paramilitary groups that killed tens of thousands of non-combatants in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Evidence, much of it from former paramilitary leaders, has brought about 300 criminal investigations against legislators, governors, mayors and other local officials, nearly all of them Álvaro Uribe's political supporters, who made common cause with the far-right warlords. To date, of the 278 congresspeople and senators elected in 2006, 68 <http://www.nuevoarcoiris.org.co/sac/?q=node/64> are under official investigation, on trial, or convicted for paramilitary ties. Those embroiled in parapolitics include the President's cousin, Mario Uribe; the brother of his former foreign minister; and individuals whom the President had named to be Colombia's ambassadors to Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Canada.

The Colombian prosecutors, investigators, witnesses and non-governmental organizations trying to uncover the truth about these abuses are working under conditions of great personal risk. They, too, are heroes and would benefit greatly

from a public expression of concern about the cases they are investigating, and a reminder that their work is legitimate and important to U.S. interests in Colombia.

At the same time, it is important to avoid appearing to endorse any candidate in the June 20 runoff elections. Between the first and second rounds of a country's presidential election is a politically awkward time for a high-level official visit. Though President Uribe's former defense minister, Juan Manuel Santos, is the overwhelming favorite given his margin of success in the May 30th first round of balloting over former Bogotá mayor Antanas Mockus, it is necessary at this stage to convey a sense of balance and a willingness to work closely with whoever wins. As a result, any kind words for one candidate should be balanced by praise for the other.

Finally, it would be helpful to remind the Colombian people that the United States supports a peaceful resolution of Bogotá's worsening differences with Venezuela. While President Chávez's behavior is a significant concern, it would be most unhelpful to be perceived on this trip as fanning the flames of conflict with Colombia – or playing into the Chavez rhetoric that the U.S. and Colombia have military aspirations in the region.

Hope this memo, along with last week's copy of the TLHRC letter to Assistant Secretary Posner, are helpful and useful materials for the Secretary as she plans her trip.

Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov <mailto:cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov> )

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 12:10 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Obama Backs Down on Sudan

So, what was the reaction?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 22 10:18:23 2010
Subject: FW: Obama Backs Down on Sudan

FYI

Kristof's OpEd From Today's NY Times.
---

April 22, 2010
Op-Ed Columnist
Obama Backs Down on Sudan
By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF
JUBA, Sudan

Until he reached the White House, Barack Obama repeatedly insisted that the United States apply more pressure on Sudan so as to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe in Darfur and elsewhere.

Yet, as president, Mr. Obama and his aides have caved, leaving Sudan gloating at American weakness. Western monitors, Sudanese journalists and local civil society groups have all found this month's Sudanese elections to be deeply flawed - yet Mr. Obama's special envoy for Sudan, Maj. Gen. Scott Gration, pre-emptively defended the elections, saying they would be "as free and as fair as possible." The White House showed only a hint more backbone with a hurried reference this week to "an essential step" with "serious irregularities."

President Omar Hassan al-Bashir of Sudan - the man wanted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity in Darfur - has been celebrating. His regime calls itself the National Congress Party, or N.C.P., and he was quoted in Sudan as telling a rally in the Blue Nile region: "Even America is becoming an N.C.P. member. No one is against our will."

Memo to Mr. Obama: When a man who has been charged with crimes against humanity tells the world that America is in his pocket, it's time to review your policy.

Perhaps the Obama administration caved because it considers a flawed election better than no election. That's a reasonable view, one I share. It's conceivable that Mr. Bashir could have won a quasi-fair election - oil revenues have manifestly raised the standard of living in parts of Sudan - and the campaigning did create space for sharp criticism of the government.

It's also true that Sudan has been behaving better in some respects.

The death toll in Darfur is hugely reduced, and the government is negotiating with rebel groups there. The Sudanese government gave me a visa and travel permits to Darfur, allowing me to travel legally and freely.

The real game isn't, in fact, Darfur or the elections but the maneuvering for a possible new civil war. The last north-south civil war in Sudan ended with a fragile peace in 2005, after some two million deaths. The peace agreement provided for a referendum, scheduled to take place in January, in which southern Sudanese will decide whether to secede. They are expected to vote overwhelmingly to form a separate country.

Then the question becomes: will the north allow South Sudan to separate? The south holds the great majority of the country's oil, and it's difficult to see President Bashir allowing oil fields to walk away.

"If the result of the referendum is independence, there is going to be war - complete war," predicts Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, one of Sudan's most outspoken human rights advocates. He cautions that America's willingness to turn a blind eye to election-rigging here increases the risk that Mr. Bashir will feel that he can get away with war.

"They're very naïve in Washington," Mr. Mudawi said. "They don't understand what is going on."

On the other hand, a senior Sudanese government official, Ghazi Salahuddin, told me unequivocally in Khartoum, the nation's capital, that Sudan will honor the referendum results. And it's certainly plausible that north and south will muddle through and avoid war, for both sides are exhausted by years of fighting.

Here in Juba, the South Sudan capital, I met Winnie Wol, 26, who fled the civil war in 1994 after a militia from the north attacked her village to kill, loot, rape and burn. Her father and many relatives were killed, but she escaped and made her way to Kenya - and eventually resettled as a refugee in California. She now lives in Olathe, Kan., and she had returned for the first time to Sudan to visit a mother and sisters she had last seen when she was a little girl.

Ms. Wol, every bit the well-dressed American, let me tag along for her journey back to her village of Nyamlell, 400 miles northwest of Juba.
The trip ended by a thatch-roof hut that belonged to her mother, who didn't know she was coming - so no one was home. Ms. Wol was crushed.

Then there was a scream and a woman came running. It was Ms. Wol's mother, somehow recognizing her, and they flew into each other's arms.
To me, it felt like a peace dividend.

Yet that peace is fragile, and Ms. Wol knows that the northern forces may come back to pillage again. "I don't want war," she said, "but I don't think they will allow us to separate."

My own hunch is that the north hasn't entirely decided what to do, and that strong international pressure can reduce the risk of another savage war. If President Obama is ever going to find his voice on Sudan, it had better be soon.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 3, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 03 13:48:20 2010
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

fyi

From: Brownfield, William R
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 10:41 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Cheryl

B5

Feel free to share if you wish.

WRB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 7:33 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Kelly, Craig A; Brownfield, William R; Fuchs, Michael H; Baer, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

See b/l re travel to columbia

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

In my last email (Friday, 5/28), I attached the letter from the bipartisan Co-Chairs and Executive Committee members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission sent to Assistant Secretary Mike Posner expressing grave concern about the recent rise in death threats, attacks and murders of Colombian human rights defenders, religious, community and other NGO leaders. Congressman McGovern also strongly encouraged the Secretary to meet with representatives of those organizations and individuals being threatened, with a particularly effort to reach out to and invite the Bishops of Tumaco (Nariño), Barrancabermeja/Medio Magdalena (Santander), and we would now add Putumayo, since the Colombian Catholic Church just advised us yesterday of increased death threats against religious workers there. In addition, we recommended inviting Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao, director of Pastoral Social, at the Archdiocese in Bogotá, who represents all the pastoral work of the Church throughout the country, as well as representatives from the Mennonite and Lutheran churches, in particular.

While in Colombia, the most important thing the Secretary can do is avoid effusive praise for President Álvaro Uribe, who leaves office in August. Inside Colombia, the visit by the Secretary is being described as focusing solely on the free trade agreement and continuing support of the counterdrug strategy/Plan Colombia. Without changes in the human rights situation and the culture of impunity, it is unlikely that anything the Secretary might say or do will alter the equation on Capitol Hill regarding the trade agreement. It should be noted that the October 2008 GAO report on the counter-drug operations in Colombia concluded that U.S. assistance was successful in increasing security in parts of the country, but a failure in the areas of counter-narcotics (GAO-09-71) , and a subsequent April 2009 USAID evaluation on U.S. aid for Plan Colombia for illegal crop reduction and Colombian counternarcotics policies actually contribute to increased coca production.

The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=58754> and failed even to mention any concerns.

These concerns are of critical importance, and while the Secretary need not list them all, at least some deserve public acknowledgement – some recognition that it is important to the United States that Colombia, including the current government and its successor, show the necessary political will to deal with them:

· A sharp rise in alleged military killings of civilians. In many cases, these are so-called "false positives": non-combatants murdered and later presented as members of armed groups killed in combat. These, notes <http://www.extrajudicialexecutions.org/colombia> UN Special Rapporter for Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston, "began occurring with a disturbing frequency across Colombia from 2004." Citing prosecutors' and NGOs' reports, Alston indicates that Colombia's security forces may have killed 1,486 civilians during the first six years of Álvaro Uribe's presidency. Alston notes that the Defense Ministry only began to address the situation after the media broke the story of the false-positives and the subsequent negative publicity and horrified public outcry.

The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=49968> , pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

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Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency <http://www.caracoltv.com/noticias/justicia/articulo168592-tres-asesores-de-uribe-son-investigados-chuzadas-ilegales> , though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

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Hope this memo, along with last week's copy of the TLHRC letter to Assistant Secretary Posner, are helpful and useful materials for the Secretary as she plans her trip.

Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov <mailto:cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov> )

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

What does Bill Burns think? I'd rather do it later so I can get ready to go.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 04 07:21:24 2010
Subject: Fyi

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 04 07:21:24 2010
Subject: Fyi

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Bill recommends that u talk to yang. I can see if he can do right after greek call? Give u a little more time.

I know the Greek call will last a long time and I can't predict how long Yang will take so this is not a good idea. But if I can finish the P call by 8:20, then I can do as long as I'm done by 8:45.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 04 07:53:41 2010
Subject: Bill recommends that u talk to yang. I can see if he can do right after greek call? Give u a little more time.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 5:56 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Apr 21 15:59:02 2010
Subject: FW: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

fyi

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 2010 2:42 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

It's our understanding that the review of the terrorist list undertaken at the beginning of the year is reaching completion, imminently. Jim asked me to shoot you a note that this continues to be a very important issue for him and Bill Delahunt. The list needs to be purged of political manipulation – and quite frankly, the current status quo with Cuba needs to be broken, not further reinforced – for the sake of Alan Gross, those on the island needing space to voice their views, and indeed, all of us outside who know change is coming.

It's time to do something bold and constructive – and in our very best interests –

Let us know if there's anything we can do to help –

Cindy

From: Buhl, Cindy
Sent: Thursday, January 07, 2010 1:15 PM
To: 'Mills, Cheryl D'
Cc: Buhl, Cindy

Subject: To Cheryl Mills: Rep. McGovern Letter to President Obama, DHS Secretary Napolitano and Secretary of State Clinton

Dear Cheryl --

Attached please find a letter regarding the review of terrorist lists currently taking place within the Obama Administration. The letter cites Cuba as a nation that should be purged from such lists, including the State Sponsors of Terrorism list, as an example for the need of a thorough, robust and judicious review and updating of these lists.

Can you please ensure that the Secretary and other relevant State Department officials are made aware of this letter?

Very best regards --

Cindy

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 4, 2010 8:07 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Gaza

B5

Pls see the memcon for details.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 22, 2010 6:06 PM
**To:** 'verveerms@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mrs Mubarak

What is the date of her event in December?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Apr 20 14:36:21 2010
Subject: Mrs Mubarak

I had a good visit with her. She very much wants you to come to Egypt for the major anti-trafficking event she is doing in December and sends you her regards.
Egypt is making good progress on women's issues: prosecuting child marriage cases, combating FGM and they're close to passing a tough anti-trafficking law. Mrs M is the guiding force.
She and the President appreciated your call after his surgery. The most difficult part of our conversation was [redacted] B6

[redacted]

We also announced our partnership with egypt for the training of. Afghan midwives at the suzanne mubarek health center in Alexandria.

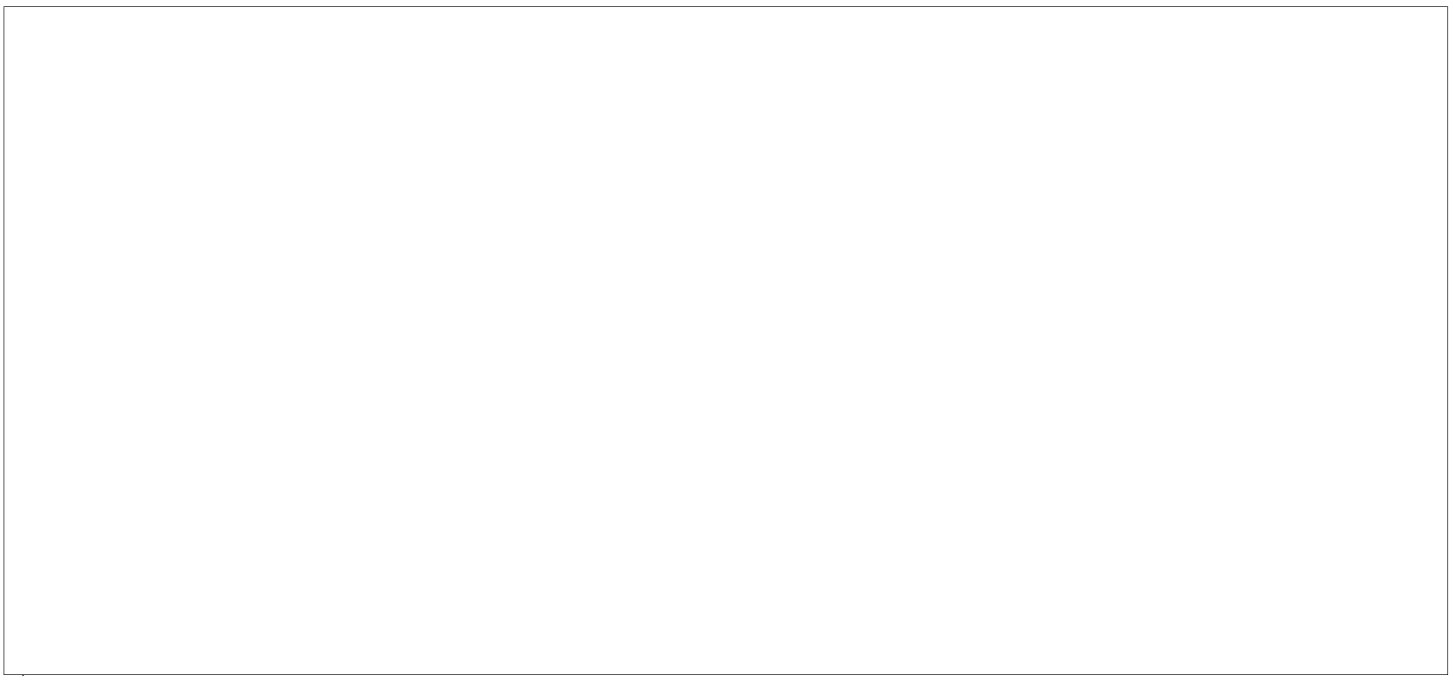
RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 12:56 PM
**To:** H

Points for Call to

B5

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 1:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Israeli settlement slowdown to end at midnight

**From:** Deyo, Justin A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** DeBaere, Judes E
**Sent:** Sun Sep 26 13:05:29 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Israeli settlement slowdown to end at midnight

REVAVA (AP) - Dozens of Jewish settlers broke ground on a new daycare center deep inside the West Bank to celebrate the end of the government's 10-month-old construction slowdown at midnight- symbolically renewing settlement activity that threatens to derail peace talks with the Palestinians. Some 2000 people headed to another nearby settlement for a larger rally, where activists released 2000 blue and white balloons- the colors of the Israeli flag- into the air at sundown. The balloons were meant to symbolize the 2000 apartments that settlers say they are ready to be built immediately. The festivities went ahead despite Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's call for the settlers to show "restraint" as the curbs are lifted.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 23, 2010 8:46 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Hikers

I thought we did already.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 23 17:12:47 2010
Subject: Hikers

Can we put out the below?

Draft S Statement on the Hikers

I was pleased to learn of the consular visit yesterday by the Swiss Ambassador in Iran to the three detained American hikers, Shane Bauer, Josh Fattal, and Sarah Shourd. But we are disturbed by the families' reports of their children's physical and emotional health. These three Americans -- innocent tourists in Iraq's Kurdistan region when they were detained on July 31, 2009 -- have been unjustly held for almost nine months without formal charges or access to legal representation. We ask the Islamic Republic of Iran to release these three Americans and allow them to go home and be reunited with their families.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 1:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Any reactions?

I think[redacted] B5
-----Original Message-----
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Subject: Any reactions?
Sent: Sep 26, 2010 1:48 PM

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:07 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Speech

When can we do conf call on speech?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** jake.sullivan B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 1:42 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Any reactions?

All the rest of this is B5

------Original Message------
From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan B6
Subject: Re: Any reactions?
Sent: Sep 26, 2010 1:56 PM

That's what I've thought for weeks.

----- Original Message -----
From: jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan B6
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 26 13:39:43 2010
Subject: Re: Any reactions?

I think ------Original Message------ B5
From: H
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
To: 'jake.sullivan B6
Subject: Any reactions?
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Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

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RELEASE IN PART
B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B6

**From:** aclb [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 2:29 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan[redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/25/2035

I'm due to leave at 5pm your time to go back to US for various obligations.(Airport may shut at 6) I'm ready to stay however if you need since I'm anxious about this situation.

[redacted]

If you wished I would stay to try to arrange. But totally understand if not! Best Tony

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 23:11:39 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted]

[redacted] I'm here til tomorrow night. Call if you need. Best Tony

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 19:56:19 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted]

[redacted] Best Tony

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6

Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 1:27 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Small dinner

Can we reschedule the dinner if I can't do the 24th?

RELEASE IN PART B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D), B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H; jake.sullivan B6
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

I think B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'jake.sullivar ' <jake.sullivar >; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:59:17 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/25/2035

What's your opinion on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb < B6
To: H
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:29:12 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

I'm due to leave at 5pm your time to go back to US for various obligations.(Airport may shut at 6) I'm ready to stay however if you need since I'm anxious about this situation.

If you wished I would stay to try to arrange. But totally understand if not! Best Tony

B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan ' <jake.sullivan > B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 23:11:39 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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B1 1.4(D) 1.4(B)

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From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan ' <jake.sullivan B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 19:56:19 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

[redacted]

[redacted] Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
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Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

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To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
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Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 1:38 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Washington Post "Outlook" Article
**Attachments:** 2010.06.06.WashPost.Israeli Narrative.doc; 2010.06.06.WashPost.Israeli Narrative.doc

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 06 11:45:56 2010
Subject: Fw: Washington Post "Outlook" Article

You'll want to make sure you see this. AM

---

From: Daniel C. Kurtzer [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Jun 06 11:25:33 2010
Subject: Washington Post "Outlook" Article

I have attached, for your information, an article I wrote in today's Washington Post "Outlook" section. All the best. Dan

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 2:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/25/2035

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 26 15:03:28 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:45:29 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

I think [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]<jake.sullivan[redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:59:17 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

What's your opinion on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]<jake.sullivan[redacted]> B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:29:12 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

I'm due to leave at 5pm your time to go back to US for various obligations.(Airport may shut at 6) I'm ready to stay however if you need since I'm anxious about this situation.

[redacted]

If you wished I would stay to try to arrange. But totally understand if not! Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivar' <jake.sullivan> B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 23:11:39 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

I'm here til tomorrow night. Call if you need. Best Tony 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivar' <jake.sullivan> B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 19:56:19 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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----- Original Message -----
From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan> B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivar' <jake.sullivan> B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

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----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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Lynn

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From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
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Subject: Info for you

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 2:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5, B6

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 09/25/2035

Yep

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 26 15:07:22 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:49:55 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 26 15:03:28 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:45:29 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

I think [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
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To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J B6
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Subject: Fw: Info for you

What's your opinion on this?

----- Original Message -----
From: aclb [redacted] B6
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[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

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From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]> B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 23:11:39 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat Sep 25 19:56:19 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
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Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

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**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 3:39 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Info for you

**RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5, B6**

He's staying

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/26/2035**

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Sep 26 15:52:14 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Sep 26 14:55:06 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Yep

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Sent: Sun Sep 26 15:07:22 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B5

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To: H
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B6

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B5

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B6

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Subject: Re: Info for you

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

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Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted] <jake.sullivan[redacted]> B6
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

----- Original Message -----
From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775117 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

The Washington Post

# After the flotilla attack, it's time for a new, kinder Israeli narrative

By Daniel Kurtzer
Sunday, June 6, 2010

Of the many confounding aspects of Monday's flotilla fiasco, one of the most curious is the monotone quality of Israel's response. Within hours of the Israeli assault on an aid ship bound for Gaza, while the dead and wounded were still being evacuated from the scene, Israel's deputy foreign minister delivered a verbal broadside that became his nation's public line: The flotilla organizers are terrorist sympathizers, they ambushed Israeli forces, and they are responsible for what followed.

Even so adept a communicator as Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, in a prepared statement Wednesday that attacked Israel's critics as much as it defended Israel's actions, could manage only one sentence of regret for civilian casualties.

Why, even to its friends, has Israel sounded so shrill, even tone deaf? Where are the grief and sadness that Israelis ought to feel about a military operation gone awry? The French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy expressed anger with the tendency of some Israeli leaders to believe that "they are alone in the world and will always be blamed, and to act accordingly."

Israel's friends know that the country has a case to make. But by hunkering down in self-justification, Israel has confused that case. And now the jury of world public opinion, comprising at least as many friends as foes, has stopped listening. At the United Nations, speaker after speaker condemned Israel's action, and even the United States joined in a harsh statement of condemnation. Normally pro-Israel editorial writers added to the chorus of ostracism.

Israel has long seen itself as the Alamo, a fortress under siege. Decades ago, a song titled "The Entire World is Against Us" hit the Israeli pop charts. At the time, there was some truth to the words: Arab states rejected Israel's existence. An Arab economic boycott persuaded major companies in Europe and Asia to decline to do business in Israel. Trade with many countries had to be conducted through third parties.

Indeed, Israel has faced recurring threats to its security and existence, a reality reflected in a maxim I heard often during my time as U.S. ambassador there early this decade: Israel goes to sleep with memories of the Holocaust and wakes up to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, the nation's military power was seen as a necessary response. And in turn, Israel's narrative portrayed the country as a David facing an Arab Goliath.

Although the 1967 war changed this reality, Israel's narrative never really caught up. Newly demonstrated military superiority and deepening ties with the United States provided a measure of security the country had not enjoyed before. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat was the first Arab leader to recognize this new strategic reality, and in 1979, he made peace with Israel.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775117 Date: 08/31/2015

But even as the outdated David vs. Goliath theme lingered in the minds of many Israelis, among other segments of the population a new, religious-national narrative that centered on settling and holding all of Eretz Israel was taking hold. Even though settlements complicated Israel's relations with the Palestinians, and even though Israel had evacuated the Sinai settlements to make peace with Egypt -- a move that vitiated the argument that settlements were required for security -- activists such as Ariel Sharon continued to argue that they enhanced security.

For a while, conditions allowed this new narrative to take root: The Palestine Liberation Organization was busy attacking Israel from Jordan, Lebanon and the United Nations and pursuing a tactical moderation designed to lull Israel into complacency.

But soon this reality, too, began to change. The PLO decided in 1988 to officially support a two-state solution to the conflict and entered into dialogue with the United States. In 1991, Arab states participated in multilateral negotiations with Israel on water, the environment, economic development and regional security. Arab and Israeli business leaders met at international conferences. Israel's diplomatic isolation eased as China, India and others established formal ties, and Israeli liaison offices opened in Morocco and Arab states in the Persian Gulf. In 1994, Jordan made peace, removing the security justification for Israeli settlements in the West Bank. And in 2002, Arab states announced an "Arab peace initiative" offering peace and security in return for Israel's withdrawal from lands taken in the 1967 war.

But the Palestinian intifada put a brake on these developments, ushering in a decade of violence. As Palestinian terrorists attacked not only soldiers and settlers in the occupied territories, but also civilians in Israeli cities, the Israeli storyline of the 1950s -- David vs. Goliath -- revived.

I arrived in Israel as the U.S. ambassador in 2001, right after the first Palestinian suicide bombing, and discussed these issues often with then-Prime Minister Sharon, usually in the context of the choices Israel made in dealing with terrorism. Sharon believed that a strong and unyielding military response was all that was needed to persuade Palestinians to stop the intifada. A terrorist attack in Tel Aviv would often lead him to impose a closure on Gaza, preventing the movement of people and goods.

A typical conversation with Sharon on this subject went something as follows: I would suggest that the closure on Gaza would be seen by the media and even friendly governments as collective punishment, would shift the media's story line from Palestinian violence to Israel's reaction and could even drive Palestinians hurt by the closure into the terrorist camp. Sharon would reply that his responsibility was to protect Israelis, that the Gaza closure was designed to prevent further attacks and that the media were to blame for distorting reality.

His underlying point was clear: Any impact on Israel's image and on the long-term possibility of a widened conflict was outweighed by the need to prevent the next suicide bombing. Whatever the consequences of its actions, Israel would not apologize for defending itself.

Netanyahu would echo this refrain almost a decade later, after years marked not only by the intifada but by an Israeli decision to build a security barrier. The decade saw a brutal war in Lebanon in 2006, sparked by Hezbollah's kidnapping and killing of Israeli soldiers and ended by Israel's destruction of Lebanese civilian infrastructure and significant civilian casualties. The decade saw Hamas's election victory in 2006, its violent takeover of Gaza in 2007, its unrelenting rocket attacks against Israel in 2008 and Israel's massive response, again involving great numbers of civilian casualties and the destruction of infrastructure. By decade's end, a frustrated Israel had sealed off and blockaded Gaza to try to stem the flow of arms to Hamas, but because of the worsening humanitarian situation there, it was losing the battle for international legitimacy.

Narratives, as self-justifications, do little to explain the complexities, ironies and paradoxes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the early 1980s, while I was assigned to the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, I met a Palestinian nationalist figure in Gaza who was unrelentingly opposed to the Israeli occupation. He shocked me one day when he said he also admired Israel. After a near-fatal car accident in Gaza, his son had been evacuated to one of Israel's leading hospitals, where doctors saved his life. My Palestinian contact hated the Israel of the occupation, but he admired the Israel that was blind to the nationality of a boy in need of care.

When an Israeli military plan goes awry and civilians are killed -- as happened last week off the shores of Gaza -- should Israel's narrative take in the human dimension? Should it express empathy for those affected by the conflict and by Israeli military actions? Marla Braverman, an editor of Azure, an Israeli neoconservative journal, thinks not. In the current issue, she writes that despite a longtime tendency toward self-effacement, "Israel must learn to adopt a clear, unapologetic stance befitting a sovereign state."

The fact is, however, that sovereign states make mistakes, and they apologize. Sovereign states rely not only on military might and insistent rhetoric to defend their people, but also on diplomacy and values of empathy and understanding. Sovereign states can be strong while fostering a narrative of caring about the consequences of their policies.

In the aftermath of the flotilla fiasco, it is not just Israel's military tactics and its blockade of Gaza that need a thorough reexamination. Its narrative does, too. A dose of empathy might be a place to start. Israel will not break by military force and tough rhetoric alone the political and moral double standards by which the world judges its actions. But it can make its case better by tempering force with diplomacy, by caring as much about the humanitarian distress among Palestinians as it does about humanitarian causes elsewhere in the world, and by developing a storyline infused with the moral and ethical standards by which Israelis judge their own behavior.

*Daniel Kurtzer*, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt, is a visiting professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 4:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Sunday

Should at least be Sunday. One less day of bldng

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 5:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Jerusalem Post) E. Jerusalem: Policeman injured, molotov thrown

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Sep 26 17:04:08 2010
**Subject:** (Jerusalem Post) E. Jerusalem: Policeman injured, molotov thrown

(Jerusalem Post) - One policeman was injured in an altercation in Sheikh Jarrah, when police arrived on the scene of a street fight and arrested four Arab residents.

After the arrest, other residents started throwing rocks at the police forces. One policeman was hit in the head with a rock and was injured. He was treated on the scene. The police fired two warning shots into the air and the crowd dispersed.

In a separate incident also on September 26, a molotov cocktail was thrown at police and border patrol forces on patrol in the Givati parking lot near the entrance to Silwan and the City of David. The molotov cocktail exploded but there were no injuries.

A sweep of the area by border patrol found three other molotov cocktails and three suspects were arrested.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 5:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) US says keeps pushing for Mideast talks to continue

---

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent**: Sun Sep 26 17:39:49 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) US says keeps pushing for Mideast talks to continue

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The United States continues to press for Israeli-Palestinian direct peace talks to advance despite Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's decision to allow a temporary freeze on settlement construction to expire, the U.S. State Department said September 26.

"We keep pushing for the talks to continue," said State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley in a brief statement, adding that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had spoken to Netanyahu twice on September 26.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: tying up a couple of loose ends from this week

Thx for following up on both.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 05 19:08:44 2010
Subject: tying up a couple of loose ends from this week

You mentioned at Thursday's 8:45 meeting that you had talked to Qureshi and that he thought he was not going to get any trade access to the EU. My EU contact writes that the Member States in the EU have been slowing up progress on trade concessions to Pakistan, although the draft language negotiated w/ Pakistan still leaves room for the Commission (which is pro-trade) to keep working on enhanced trade benefits for Pakistan. Still, the original timetable of 2011 will not be kept. Even more ominous, any agreement will have to go to the European Parliament, which is down on Pakistan for human rights reasons. B5

B5

I have also read Esther's note to you on UN Security Council Reform. You are right that overall our best position for the moment is B5

B5

Have a good trip!

AM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 5:59 PM
**To:** H; Oscar Flores
**Subject:** Monday schedule

I've left message for roy for 9am.
10:00am UNSC Session on Counter-Terrorism (UN)
-- S+4; Amb. Rice, A/S Brimmer, Amb. Benjamin, Amb. DiCarlo (Deputy PermRep)
-- Intervention by the Secretary
-- S is 3rd speaker (can then depart)

12:45pm Bilat with UK FS Hague (Waldorf-Astoria) (30 mins.)

-- S, A/S Gordon, S/CT Benjamin, PA, Sullivan, EUR notetake r➢ Press: Pooled camera spray ➢ Public Remarks: N/a

1:30pm Bilat with Canadian FM Cannon (Waldorf-Astoria) (30 mins.)
-- S, A/S Valenzuela, S/CT Benjamin, PA, Sullivan, WHAnotetaker

➢ Press: Pooled camera spray➢

2:00pm Meeting with Pacific Island Nation Leaders (Waldorf-Astoria) (45 mins.; informal opening/25 mins. meeting)

-- S, A/S Campbell, A/S Brimmer, Admin. Shah, PA, Sullivan, EAP notetaker

-- Opening remarks by the Secretary

-- Response by President of Nauru, Marcus Stephen

-- Discussion

➢ Press: Pooled camera spray

3:00pm Bilat with Indian FM Krishna (Waldorf-Astoria) (30 mins.)

-- S, P, Amb. Rice, A/S Blake, A/S Brimmer, S/CT Benjamin, PA, Sullivan, SCA notetaker

➢ Press: Pooled camera spray➢

3:45pm Bilat with Syrian FM Muallim (Waldorf-Astoria) (30 mins.)

-- S, P, A/S Feltman, SEMEP Mitchell, PA, Sullivan, NEA notetaker

➢ Press: Pooled camera spray➢

4:30pm Bilat with French FM Kouchner (Waldorf-Astoria) (30 mins.)

-- S, A/S Gordon, PA, Sullivan, EUR notetaker

➢ Press: Pooled camera spray➢

6:00pm Depart NYC for Washington

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 7:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** U r confirmed with roy at 9am tomorrow morning. Agents have info

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (WSJ) Prosecutors Focus on Mahmood Karzai, Posing Diplomatic Risks for Washington

**From:** Abdalla, Alyce N
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Mon Sep 27 05:15:44 2010
**Subject:** (WSJ) Prosecutors Focus on Mahmood Karzai, Posing Diplomatic Risks for Washington

Federal prosecutors in New York said one of Afghan President Hamid Karzai's brothers, Mahmood Karzai, has become a focus in a corruption probe. The Southern District of New York has a history of charging, extraditing and trying suspects in far-flung parts of the world, including Afghanistan. Prosecutors are trying to determine whether they have enough evidence to bring charges of tax evasion, racketeering or extortion, said U.S. officials.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Sarkozy calls for October MidEast talks in Paris

**From:** Goldberg, Joshua W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Mon Sep 27 08:49:16 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Sarkozy calls for October MidEast talks in Paris

PARIS (Reuters) - French President Sarkozy said he would ask Palestinian President Abbas, Israeli PM Netanyahu, and Egyptian President Mubarak to peace talks in Paris before the end of October. Abbas said the construction of Jewish settlements, subject of a moratorium that expired on September 26, should be frozen for another 3-4 months, a position Sarkozy backed as crucial. "The settlements must stop," the French president said.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:53 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'; 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:55 PM
**To:** 'valenzuelaaa@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** [redacted] letter B5

[redacted]

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Update on the Trilateral Talks

**RELEASE IN PART B1, 1.4(B),1.4(D), B5, B6**

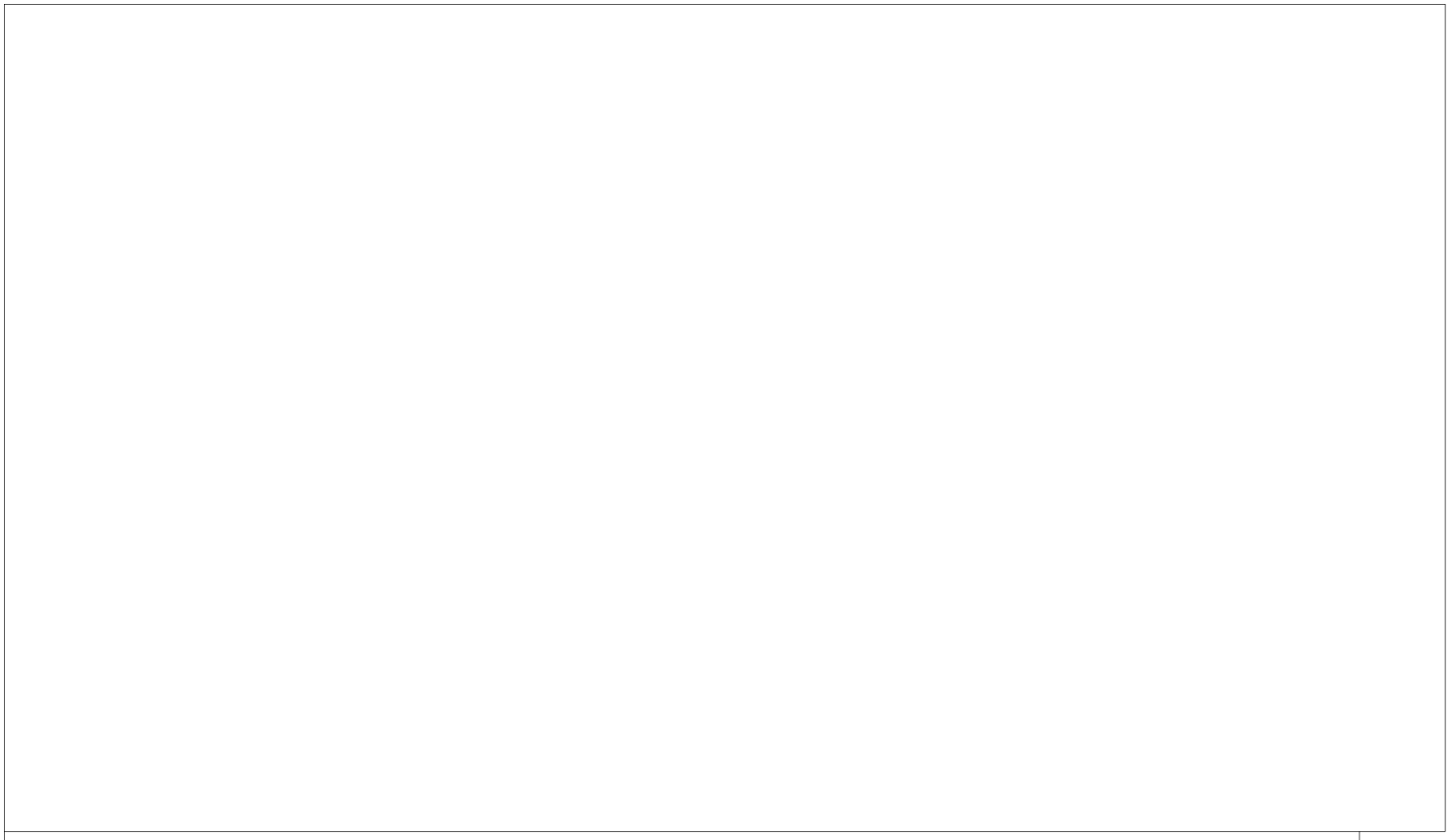
**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/27/2025**

**From**: Scott Gration [redacted] B6
**To**: S_SpecialAssistants
**Cc**: Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H; Carson, Johnnie; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Shortley, Timothy R
**Sent**: Mon Sep 27 10:10:59 2010 1.4(B)
**Subject**: Update on the Trilateral Talks 1.4(D)
B1

Madame Secretary, at the request of Sudanese Foreign Minister Karti and with the agreement of Vice Presidents Taha and Kiir, we brought together senior leaders from the NCP and SPLM to the Greentree Foundation's estate on Long Island this weekend for Trilateral talks to discuss the current impasse on the Abyei referendum. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted]



I'll keep you informed as things develop, Scott

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

--

Jonathan S. Gration, Maj Gen (Ret)
President's Special Envoy to Sudan
O: (202) 647-5855
M:
H:

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'; 'muscatinel@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Water speech

Thanks so much. As to visuals, will we have handouts or power point on screen?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:54:45 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Yes -- I'm finalizing the visuals now and should have it for you in the next half hour.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:52:40 2010
Subject: Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:56 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Netanyahu

I'd like one-on-one time w him.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 10:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Call today

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Hale, David M
Sent: Mon Sep 27 09:41:01 2010
Subject: Call today

My unsolicited advice would be for GJM to pull a call together today to figure out a strategy

B5

We seem to have a semblance of an opening here to do something.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:57 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Espinosa

Am I supposed to call her tomorrow?

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 10:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Update on the Trilateral Talks

RELEASE IN PART
B1, 1.4(B),1.4(D), B5, B6

Roger - we'll work em.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/27/2025

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Sep 27 10:40:01 2010
Subject: Re: Update on the Trilateral Talks

I'm willing to make the calls he requested.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Sep 27 10:18:23 2010
Subject: Fw: Update on the Trilateral Talks

---

From: Scott Gration [redacted] B6
To: S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H; Carson, Johnnie; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Shortley, Timothy R
Sent: Mon Sep 27 10:10:59 2010
Subject: Update on the Trilateral Talks

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

Madame Secretary, at the request of Sudanese Foreign Minister Karti and with the agreement of Vice Presidents Taha and Kiir, we brought together senior leaders from the NCP and SPLM to the Greentree Foundation's estate on Long Island this weekend for Trilateral talks to discuss the current impasse on the Abyei referendum. [redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

Page Denied

[redacted] I'll keep you informed as things develop, Scott

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1
B5

--

**Jonathan S. Gration, Maj Gen (Ret)**
**President's Special Envoy to Sudan**
**O: (202) 647-5855**
**M:** [redacted]
**H:** [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 10:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: LATimes op ed
**Attachments:** LATimes - Why H. Clinton was right - 10-09-20.doc; LATimes - Why H. Clinton was right - 10-09-20.doc

A positive message from Les on Mexico!

----- Original Message -----
From: Leslie Gelb [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Sep 27 10:12:20 2010
Subject: Fw: LATimes op ed

hrc might be interested in this pc saying she was right about the mex/colum comparison. les
----- Original Message -----
From: "Ted McNamara" [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, September 22, 2010 1:04 AM
Subject: LATimes op ed

>I thought this might be of interst to you.
>
> Ted McNamara
>
> --
> Amb. Thomas E. McNamara (Ret.)
> Adjunct Professor
> The Elliott School of International Affairs The George Washington
> University
> 1957 E Street NW Suite 603
> Washington, DC 20052
>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:09 PM
**To:** 'TillemannTS@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Water speech

Sounds great.

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:00:53 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

The plan is to have a large screen off to your side so that it won't get in the way of a tight shot. We've worked with National Geographic on the photos -- some of which are quite stunning -- and they'll pace the presentation slowly with long transitions so it's not distracting. I've folded the images into the text I'm sending you, but you'll have a teleprompter on stage tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:55:50 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Thanks so much. As to visuals, will we have handouts or power point on screen?

----- Original Message -----
From: Tillemann, Tomicah S <TillemannTS@state.gov>
To: H; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:54:45 2010
Subject: Re: Water speech

Yes -- I'm finalizing the visuals now and should have it for you in the next half hour.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tillemann, Tomicah S; Muscatine, Lissa
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:52:40 2010
Subject: Water speech

Will I get a draft later today?

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775157 Date: 08/31/2015

latimes.com

RELEASE IN FULL

# Why Hillary Clinton was right about Colombia and Mexico

## By recognizing the parallels between the two conflicts, the U.S. and Mexico can learn valuable lessons from Colombia's battle with narco-insurgents.

By Thomas E. McNamara

7:27 AM PDT, September 20, 2010

Washington and Mexico City are unsure whether Mexico today resembles Colombia's insurgency of 20 years ago. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton thinks it does; some Mexicans and, maybe, President Obama think not ("The wrong solution in Mexico," Opinion, Sept. 10). As the American ambassador in Colombia when the notorious drug lord Pablo Escobar was at riding high, and later when he was defeated, I side with Clinton in seeing many parallels.

The parallels begin with the Colombia of the Escobar days being a large, progressive democracy with a vibrant economy. Colombia had a determined president and political leaders who understood the terrible consequences of failing to take control of their own country. This parallels Mexico today.

Colombia suppressed the cartel insurgencies with armed force and a political program. This approach was, and is, largely supported by the Colombian people (witness the election victory of President Juan Manuel Santos, who served as defense minister under predecessor Alvaro Uribe). Cartel insurgencies no longer plague Colombia; only a reduced guerrilla insurgency continues. New drug mafias still operate, but Colombian trafficking has been greatly reduced.

In both countries cartels demanded that they, not the government, determine the rules, settle disputes and control police power. This is clearly insurgency: usurpation of sovereign power, control of territory and the use of force to maintain control. What is unusual — and what causes confusion — is that drug lords have a very limited political agenda.

Thus, in matters they don't care about, they don't interfere. The government can run the hospitals and schools, set taxes, pay benefits, have elections, collect the garbage, put out fires and so on. When the cartels' interests are involved, however, they insist that government must be subservient to them on their territory — or deadly violence will result. This is quite different from organized crime by American drug mafias. Our mafias do not attempt to usurp sovereign power.

In one respect, Colombia is different. Besides mafias, there are narco-insurgents with full political agendas — the guerrillas. These are the usual, easily recognized types who proclaim their agenda in revolutionary political statements, military structures and, above all, in their insistence on sovereign control of all territory, not just territory needed for criminal activity.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775157 Date: 08/31/2015

What is surprising is Mexican denial of the obviously correct comparison with Colombia by Clinton, which is why Obama tried to quiet this contretemps in Los Angeles last week. Rather than object, Mexicans should acknowledge parallels, study the many mistakes and successes of Colombia over the last 20 years and learn from them. Mexicans, Colombians and Americans are partners in the struggle against narco-insurgency, whether of the unusual or the usual kind.

As Colombia learned, so Mexico and Central America will also: Retaking lost sovereign control is violent. Americans must understand that these battles are to regain government control. Reducing trafficking comes later. Mexico's mafias will not disappear, but they can be forced to abandon insurgency.

The U.S. properly supports our neighbors by giving them political, military and law enforcement assistance, as our drug consumption is one cause of the insurgencies — as is drug production south of our border. We cannot just move out of our neighborhood, so we have an interest in cleaning it up. These insurgencies corrupt us, just as they corrupt others.

While we have been a good partner overall, we have failed to control arms smuggling south across the border. Make no mistake: We armed Escobar and the Colombian drug insurgents 20 years ago; we still arm the guerrillas. We also arm the Villarreal Barragan and Beltran Leyva cartels in Mexico. Our pitiful border controls are a national disgrace and a major cause of the blood spilled in Mexico and Colombia.

What we need today is not for Mexico to claim its situation is far different from the Colombians', or Americans thinking this is only a Mexican or a Colombian drug problem. We need all three to recognize that we are partners in a common struggle for legitimate governments to fully control their territories and borders and suppress insurgency by all legitimate means. The three partners are getting there, but none is there yet.

*Thomas E. McNamara was ambassador to Colombia from 1989 to 1991. He served as a State Department official in the Clinton administration and both Bush administrations.*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:11 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu

At beginning. Will there be a camera spray?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: Huma Abedin; H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:09:16 2010
Subject: RE: Netanyahu

Any preference to front or back end? He is set for 2:45pm.

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:58 PM
To: H; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Re: Netanyahu

Yes we figured that?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Mar 21 15:56:19 2010
Subject: Netanyahu

I'd like one-on-one time w him.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] letter B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:11:23 2010
Subject: RE [redacted] letter

There is a proposed letter that should be in your weekend reading materials. Adding Huma to see if she's seen it. [redacted] I will make sure it gets to you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 21, 2010 3:55 PM
To: Valenzuela, Arturo A
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: [redacted] letter

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 4:39 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: China currency memo

I don't have memo.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 16:32:02 2010
Subject: China currency memo

You should have Bob's memo on China currency, which he worked through with Bill. See below his further elaboration:

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Speech

On next draft, and I hope last, which incorporates all these changes, I will make line edits.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:51 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Dan...

I just went over edits w Dan. Let me know if there are any serious changes from reviewers.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:31:51 2010
Subject: Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 2:48 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Bn

Their secure lines are still down
But ops now has a non-secure line they can connect you to if u want to make the call in between bilats.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 21, 2010 8:51 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Dan...

For the meeting?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:32:47 2010
Subject: Re: Dan...

Also, you'll get Bibi points tonight, fresh from the road.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sun Mar 21 20:31:51 2010
Subject: Dan...

...Is ready to come pick up the speech when you have it done. Just shoot him and email. I think it's really close. It's gone out to the team again for any serious flags or omissions, but they've been warned you're line editing.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: AIPAC

Ok w me [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:10:55 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

See below. [redacted] How would you like to proceed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:07:38 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Knopf, Payton L
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Prince, Jonathan M; Djerassi, Alexander M
Cc: Rudman, Mara; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
Sent: Mon Mar 22 06:57:39 2010
Subject: AIPAC

[redacted]

We are boarding a plane from Amman to DC shortly but can be reached via the Operations Center if there are questions.

Thanks.

Payton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 4:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

Not sure why, but ds took your luggage out of van to go ahead to airport. Very odd and they just told me they did it. I told them to return the oscar gowns to van and all little bags are still in van too.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 4:58 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hanley, Monica R

Just heard from israelis
They said he's not feeling great and wants to turn in Wants to do call in next 5 min or not do today. Can u guys do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 5:00 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re:

Jake is checking w the Secretary.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Mon Sep 27 16:58:13 2010

Just heard from israelis
They said he's not feeling great and wants to turn in Wants to do call in next 5 min or not do today. Can u guys do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 5:02 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H; Hanley, Monica R
**Subject:** Re:

Trying now

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Mon Sep 27 16:58:13 2010

Just heard from israelis
They said he's not feeling great and wants to turn in Wants to do call in next 5 min or not do today. Can u guys do?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 6:12 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Camp david

Confirmed its a 4 hour drive there.
We could also get a plane from white plains. Would be an hour and 15 from andrews. Let me know what u prefer.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 6:31 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Embracing the PPD

In your book tonight, as Tab 4 of the materials for the USGLC event, is a list I put together of all the key things you said in your CGD speech and the parallel language in the PPD. It is really worth skimming; it shows at a glance how you set the agenda and won the day. As the Secretary who came in determined to elevate development, you have a great deal to take credit for in launching the first national development policy. And as my PPD staff briefings with Gayle on the Hill today demonstrated, the PPD sets the table beautifully for the QDDR.
AM

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

Sounds good.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:33:34 2010
Subject: FW: Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

fyi

From: Nora Toiv [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Monday, March 22, 2010 7:29 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

The Miami Herald <http://media.miamiherald.com/images/redesign/mh_logo_print.gif>

Posted on Sun, Mar. 21, 2010

Haiti recovery blueprint includes foreign donors

BY JACQUELINE CHARLES
jcharles@MiamiHerald.com

Call it the $100 million club.

That's the amount each donor nation will have to ante up for a say in Haiti's early recovery under a plan Haitian President René Préval plans to present at an international donors conference in New York at month's end.

While Haitian and foreign disaster experts were tallying the cost to rebuild after the Jan. 12, 7.0-magnitude earthquake -- $11.5 billion -- Préval and his advisors have been quietly negotiating the blueprint of the development plan that will shape Haiti's reconstruction over the next decade.

``It moves it in the right direction,'' Mark Schneider, senior vice president of the Washington D.C.-based International Crisis Group, said of the plan, which he has seen. ``I've said, the first phase of reconstruction is a decade. The real test is a generation and hopefully with partnerships both inside and outside of Haiti, it will continue for that time period.''

The plan includes creation of an Interim Haitian Recovery Commission that will -- for the first time -- seek to guide how and where aid is spent by giving both Haitians and foreigners a vote in reconstruction priorities and projects over the next 18 months. Haiti's president will retain veto power and there's a starring role for former U.S. President Bill Clinton if he wants it.

The blueprint is certain to come under plenty of scrutiny in Haiti, a country plagued and in-fighting among donors. Over the years, billions of dollars in aid -- often delivered after hurricanes or political coups -- has failed to produce any signs of lasting progress in a country that remains the poorest in the Western Hemisphere.

Clinton, who is to visit Haiti Monday along with former President George W. Bush, will be asked to help lead Haiti's reconstruction planning over the short-term as co-chair -- along with the Haitian prime minister -- of the commission, several sources confirmed to The Miami Herald.

Clinton, who is already in charge of the international relief effort for the United Nations, has not said whether he'll accept the job as Haiti's reconstruction czar but he has championed the strategy, saying the goal is to provide to Haitians the success that has long eluded them.He and Bush are visiting Haiti, where more than 200,000 people were killed in the quake, in their roles as co-chairs of the Clinton Bush Haiti Fund. The private U.S. fundraising effort, initiated by President Obama, has raised more than $36 million.

The commission's goal will be to plan and coordinate reconstruction priorities and projects over the next 18 months with recommendations from a 20-member board made up of Haitians and foreign donors. Eventually, the commission would morph into the Haiti Development Authority (HDA), a central planning agency tasked with approving all reconstruction projects in Haiti regardless of which country or aid agency is funding it.

The authority's executive director, like that of the commission, likely would be a well-respected Haitian.

``Haitians must have the chance to lead the rebuilding of Haiti,'' said U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's chief of staff Cheryl Mills, a key person in talks. ``Development authorities have helped other countries that have large donor communities to accomplish their visions -- we want no less for Haiti and its citizens.''

The original plan, first reported by The Herald last month, was modeled on the successful reconstruction authority created in Indonesia after the 2004 tsunami and presented by Mills to Préval and top Haitian officials last month. Other countries and multilateral institutions also presented plans to the Haitian government.

The U.S. plan has since undergone several revisions at Préval's urging.

Among them: offering a voting seat on the commission's board to each donor pledging $100 million or more over the next two years and donors who provide $200 million in debt cancellation. As a result, Venezuela is among the likely donors to help review and approve projects. Initially 16 members, the board was expanded to give a say-so to Haiti's private sector and labor unions and the 15-nation sub-regional Caribbean Community (CARCIOM). The plan also establishes a Multi-donor Trust Fund, administered by the World Bank, to possibly pool donors' dollars for reconstruction projects.

For decades, Haiti has been plagued by a lack of planning and coordination among donor nations and aid groups as they battled among each other in the poverty-stricken country.

Using the Indonesian model employed in Indonesia after the Asian tsunami, plan supporters say the reconstruction commission offers Haiti the best chance to lead its own redevelopment and to change the way donors do business, ending an era where aid groups spend budgets larger than Haitian ministries without any accountability to the Haitian people. But that can only be achieved in Haiti, say supporters, if donors and their projects are coordinated, and in line with Haiti's vision and post-disaster reconstruction needs, which will be presented at the March 31 New York conference

and remains a work in progress while the government seeks input from various Haitian groups, including the Diaspora. Also Haiti's parliament must vote on the creation of the Interim Haitian Recovery Commission.

Still, the idea of putting Haiti's reconstruction into the hands of one central authority -- or having some donors channel their money into a trust fund -- is not without detractors. Some argue that the authority could render government ministries obsolete because projects would now bypass them, while others point out that a similar World Bank fund in the Sudan has been troubled by rules leaving schools and healthcare facilities undone as hundreds of millions of dollars remain unspent.

Meanwhile, Haitian government officials worry that donors may not want to change the way they do business with Haiti, rendering the reconstruction a failure before it gets started.

``The creation of the [trust fund] or the [Haiti Development Authority] are improvements to changing the paradigm if and only if everybody plays the game -- putting most of their money in the fund -- and access to the funds is more flexible than the usual process of disbursing from the international donors,'' Haitian Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive told The Herald.

In the past, donors have pledged hundreds of millions of dollars to assist Haiti but have fallen short in disbursing those dollars -- or at times spent the money on projects without consulting the Haitian government about whether the projects were needed.

Last week, as representatives of the Haitian government and others met to prepare for the New York conference, Bellerive warned that ``New York could be a failure if we don't reach an agreement on the structure for the coordination and the organization of the trust fund...(and) don't manage to establish together the priorities for immediate investments,'' to begin reconstructing the country.

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http://www.miamiherald.com

<http://mcclatchy.112.2O7.net/b/ss/nmmiami/1/H.10--NS/0?pageName=Story:%201540944%7CHaiti%20recovery%20blueprint%20includes%20foreign%20donors&server=www.miamiherald.com&channel=Haiti&c1=http%26%2358;%26%2347;%26%2347;www.miamiherald.com%26%2347;2010%26%2347;03%26%2347;21%26%2347;v-print%26%2347;1540944_haiti-recovery-blueprint-includes.html&c3=Story&c4=miamiherald%7CSIIsend%7C%3Ca%20href=%22mailto:jcharles@MiamiHerald.com%22%3Ejcharles@MiamiHerald.com%3C/a%3E%7CBY%20JACQUELINE%20CHARLES&c6=MIA%7CMA&c28=&h1=MIA%7CMIAMIHERALD%7CNews%7CWorld%7C%7C%7C%7CHaiti>

Read more: http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/03/21/v-print/1540944/haiti-recovery-blueprint-includes.html#ixzz0iu6nDynD

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 8:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Israel kills three Palestinian militants

---

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Mon Sep 27 18:49:00 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Israel kills three Palestinian militants

GAZA (Reuters) - An Israeli air strike in the central Gaza Strip September 27 killed three gunmen belonging to the Islamic Jihad group, Palestinian medics said. An Israeli military spokeswoman said a group of militants preparing to fire a rocket at Israel had been targeted, and that the air strike caused an explosion and a secondary blast. Ambulance workers and medical officials said they had recovered three bodies from the site of an explosion that occurred after darkness fell outside Bureij refugee camp, near the Israel-Gaza frontier. Hamas television reports said the blast had been caused either by an Israeli air strike or cross-border tank fire.

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 10:16 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** sullivanjj@state.gov
**Subject:** Re: Are you there yet?

**RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B6**

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/29/2025**

As usual, your emails aren't showing up in my State account. Still working on that problem.

We met with Bibi for 2.5 hours today. Happy to talk secure at your convenience. The highlights are as follows:

[redacted]

On Wed, Sep 29, 2010 at 1:16 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Anything happening?

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 9:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

What do u think?

---

**From**: Verma, Richard R
**To**: Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Wed Sep 29 20:18:16 2010
**Subject**:

Kerry struck out with Brownback. Kerry thought another call from her to Brownback might be helpful, but I am skeptical. Can you tell her or do you want me to call or save for the morning?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, September 27, 2010 9:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Schumer is free now if u want to call.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) U.S. sends Mideast envoy to try to save peace talks

**From**: Goldberg, Joshua W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Tue Sep 28 07:22:49 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) U.S. sends Mideast envoy to try to save peace talks

RAMALLAH (Reuters) - Palestinians held fast on to their threat to quit peace talks with Israel if settlement building does not cease, giving a U.S. Middle East envoy a final chance to try to save the negotiations. "Of course we don't want to end negotiations, we want to continue. But if colonization continues we will be forced to end them," Palestinian President Abbas said. He added, "We will wait until after a meeting between Palestinians, and an Arab forum meeting on October 4 ... So Netanyahu has a week to decide."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** Toiv, Nora F
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** RE: Ops desperate

I don't even have an email from them - on a call with Korea

-----Original Message-----
From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Tuesday, September 28, 2010 7:56 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Ops desperate

To reach you. S has called in twice for you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** aclb
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 11:05 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan
**Subject:** re
**Attachments:** MEPP note 27_09_10.docx; MEPP note 27_09_10.docx

B6

Here is the paper I am sending GM after my visit. I remain firmly of the view that we can get this agreed. I am now back in London. Happy to talk at any time. Spent long time with both BB and Barak before leaving. Have also spoken to some of Arabs. Best Tony

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RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**Note 27/09/10**

There continue to be two options to get through this and I believe either could work.

A) Extend the existing moratorium by Security Cabinet decree.

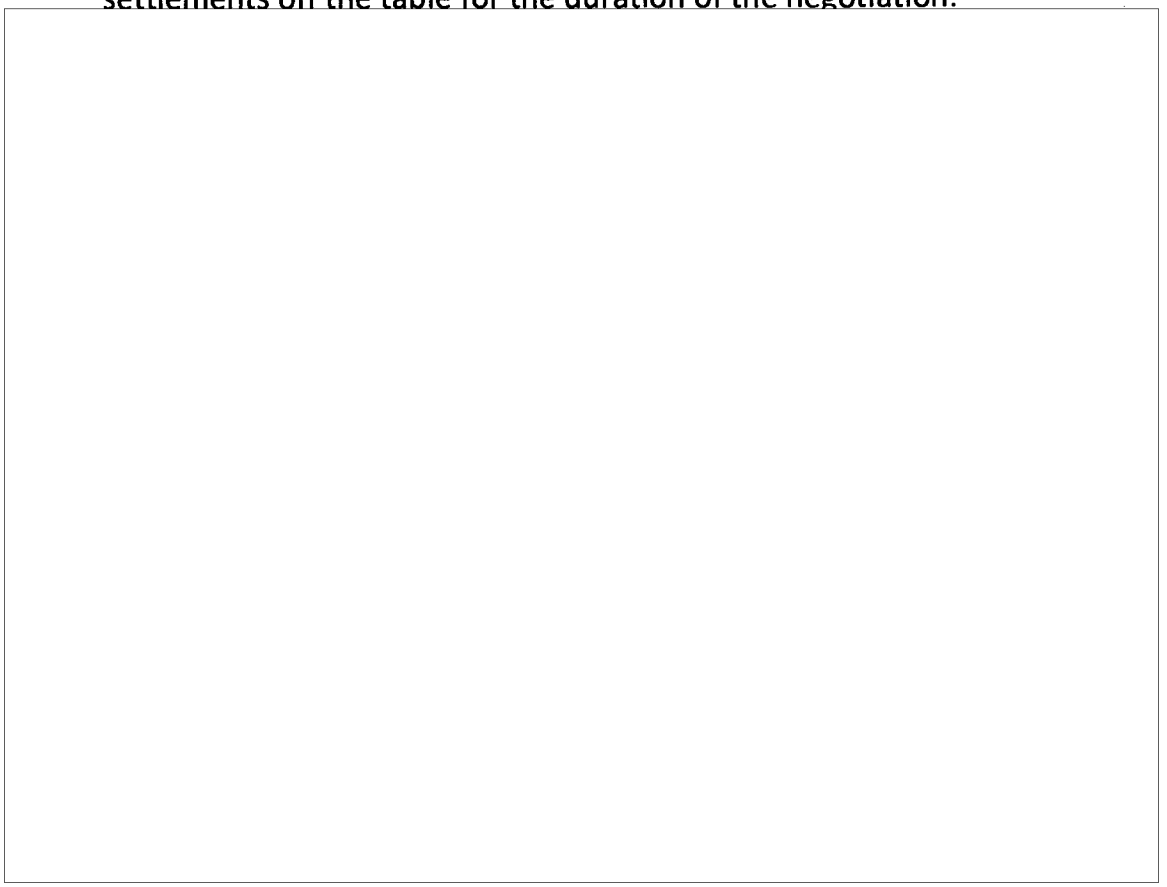
[redacted]

[redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

B) If the moratorium as passed by decree cannot be renewed, then there are two alternative ways in which we could try to give the Palestinians

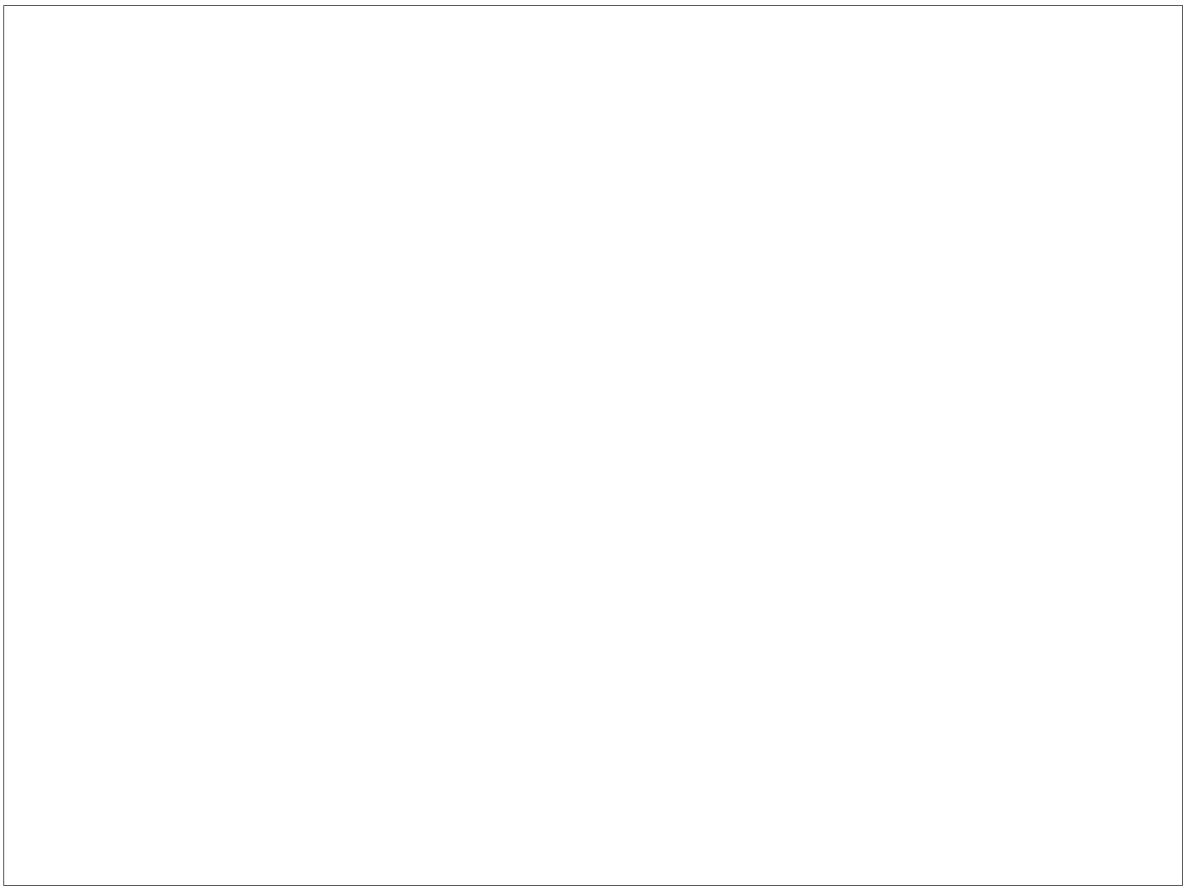
confidence to stay in the talks; and at the same time take the issue of settlements off the table for the duration of the negotiation.



1.4(D)
B1



**HOW TO GET IT DONE**



1.4(D)
B1

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 2:42 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Marc Grossman Article you requested
**Attachments:** Prism_3-14_Grossman.pdf; Prism_3-14_Grossman.pdf

## Diplomacy Before and After Conflict

*By Marc Grossman*

Conflict is a universal condition,[1] older than diplomacy. While conflict is a constant in human history, the nature of armed conflict, and especially the nature of 21st-century warfare, has been transformed. General Rupert Smith identified these changes in his book *The Utility of Force:* "The ends for which we fight are changing; we fight amongst the people; our conflicts tend to be timeless; we fight so as not to lose the force; on each occasion new uses are found for old weapons; the sides are mostly non-state."[2]

The nature of 21st-century diplomacy is also changing. To be successful, diplomats must simultaneously shape, act upon, and react to global challenges. As Hans Binnendijk and Richard Kugler of the National Defense University argue, no single problem, danger, or threat holds the key to the world's future. What matters is their interaction and the simultaneity of our responses.[3]

The definition of victory, too, is different today. Twenty-first-century national security success will encompass a comprehensive definition of security, and will be achieved by the broadest simultaneous application of all elements of national power. This is the key to understanding Philip Bobbitt's concept of "preclusive victory," which he describes as "anticipatory, precautionary attention to possible futures,"[4] requiring an expansive and integrated approach to modern diplomacy, defense, and development. A diplomatic strategy designed to produce preclusive victory will include conflict prevention, successful negotiation, deterrence, the preparation for conflict should all else fail, and efforts to establish order, ensure stability, and promote political and economic pluralism after conflict.

Diplomats have always been participants in both the prevention and management of conflict and its aftermath. The conflict prevention side of diplomacy occupied much of my time at the State Department from 1993 to 1997 as the Department's Executive Secretary and U.S. Ambassador to Turkey. Postconflict diplomacy was a defining issue of the last third of my career at State as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs and as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 2001 to 2005. I have tried to draw upon my experiences and observations to discuss here the scope and complexity of modern diplomacy, the methods and goals needed to

prevent conflict, diplomacy's role when conflict is or seems to be unavoidable, and the contribution diplomacy can make to restoring stability following conflict.

**Diplomacy and Conflict Prevention**

Thanks to the efforts of scholars and practitioners, we can now make better use of the methods and theory of conflict prevention. The United States Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars are two among many institutions that have taken a leadership role in these efforts. Michael Lund, a practitionerscholar, notes that the present uncoordinated and patchy nature of preventive diplomacy reflects the absence of any accepted international conflict prevention regime or system of governance—that is, of agreed upon arrangements through which geographic jurisdictions are allocated, functional responsibilities are assigned, norms and procedures are formulated, and actors are held accountable for their responsibilities.[5] He asks the crucial question to all those who seek to "coordinate and rationalize" a system of preventive diplomacy: where should responsibility for the tasks of preventive action be located—early warning, the decision to act, the formulation of a response, or the provision of bureaucratic and political support? Should it be horizontal, across different organizations or actors, or should it be vertical, up or down their chains of command?[6]

An example of conflict prevention that meets Lund's tests was the effort undertaken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in close collaboration with the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and supported by the United States, to avoid civil war in Macedonia in 2001. It is difficult now to recall that, until September 11, 2001, the possibility of civil war in Macedonia was a leading international headline. This successful campaign of conflict prevention was defined by the remarkable personal and institutional cooperation between the NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson and the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (and a former NATO Secretary General) Javier Solana. I spoke often during this period to Lord Robertson, Solana, and Ambassador James Pardew, whom President George W. Bush and Secretary Colin Powell appointed as the U.S. representative to the effort and who, along with Francois Leotard, the EU Special Envoy, played a crucial role in negotiating and implementing the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

As a direct participant, senior NATO official Mark Laity stated that there are insights about modern diplomacy and conflict prevention to be drawn from this effort, including the need for personal and institutional teamwork, the importance of early engagement in trying to head off violence, the need to choose the right people for tasks of this kind (including 21st-century diplomats who can act "unconventionally"), and the necessity of being able to apply appropriate force quickly.[7]

**Diplomacy When Conflict Is or Seems to Be Unavoidable**

When diplomacy fails to prevent conflict, the role of the diplomat changes. The new requirement may be to justify the use of force when all efforts to avoid conflict fail or to seek to

address the underlying source of conflict when force is or seems to be inevitable and imperative.

The February 1999 diplomatic negotiations in Rambouillet, France, were designed to show the world that NATO and the Contact Group were willing to make one last effort to avoid using military force to stop Slobodan Milosevic's attacks in Kosovo. I was in Rambouillet as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs to support Secretary Madeleine Albright. After the first day or so of the meeting, there was so much chaos that I urged Secretary Albright to depart Rambouillet and leave the "negotiating" to those of us more junior. My strategy was that by not being present, the Secretary of State— and the administration—could keep a distance from an outcome that might be unacceptable to the United States. The Secretary had a different vision. Albright hoped Rambouillet would end the brutality against the Kosovars, but she was also prepared for the meeting to fail, and thereby all options for avoiding military conflict would be exhausted. Her idea was that we had to be seen to be doing everything we could diplomatically, including her continued presence, so that if Rambouillet was a failure, there could be no further excuses against taking military action.

Secretary of State James Baker had pursued a similar strategy before the first Gulf War in 1991. Baker relates in his memoirs, The Politics of Diplomacy, that President George H.W. Bush had concluded the United States should offer a meeting in Washington for Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz followed by a Baker trip to Baghdad to show America's commitment to avoiding war if possible. Baker writes that he thought this proposal had three merits: it would give the administration one last diplomatic opening to avoid war; it would shore up domestic support for conflict; and it would show that, as the deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait neared, the administration was doing something other than just preparing for war. The President's offer turned into the famous meeting between Baker and Aziz on January 9, 1991. As Baker recounts, "I was under no illusions. I assumed the talks would be unsuccessful and that within a matter of days, we would be at war."[8]

In 2001–2003, the State Department leadership generally saw Iraq as a diversion from Afghanistan and not central to the war on terror. Saddam Hussein was a dictator and a menace— but "in a box," posing no immediate, direct threat to the United States; focus should be kept on defeating al Qaeda in Afghanistan and supporting the new Afghan government.[9] Iraq had been a source of tension and disagreement inside the State Department since the beginning of the administration, and there were some who sought to move the policy from support for "smart" United Nations (UN) sanctions toward an aggressive posture against Saddam.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote in Years of Upheaval about the second term of the Nixon administration that State Department culture emphasizes negotiability, which is a consciousness of what the other side will accept.[10] Kissinger did not consider this trait a particular positive at the time, and the department's culture of negotiability did not serve as a good guide to institutional behavior for most of the senior State officials who participated in the interagency debate leading to the invasion of Iraq. If that was so during the period surrounding 1970s détente with Russia, diplomatic efforts with the Shah of Iran, and the crisis in the Middle East and the resulting 1973 war, this culture of negotiability no longer served as a good guide to

institutional behavior for most of the senior State officials who participated in the interagency debate leading to the invasion of Iraq. We took part in planning for the conflict and its aftermath assuming—or hoping—that events either at home or abroad would turn preparations for conflict into successful coercive diplomacy rather than the military action that was ordered in the spring of 2003.

The State Department's Director of Policy Planning, Richard Haass, observed that while he was "60:40 against going to war . . . no organization could function if people left every time they lost out on a 60:40 decision."[11] Haass was operating under the belief that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction; if he had known they did not, he says he would have been 90:10 against the war.

And no senior Department of State officer resigned in protest. The department sought instead to try to recreate the successful Gulf War coalition of President George H.W. Bush and argued that the United States and its allies might compel Saddam to submit through a deployment of force in the region in early 2003. If this failed, there should be a sustained diplomatic effort to create a broad coalition to move militarily later in 2003. This possibility of a broad international coalition lost all relevance on January 20, 2003, when the French government announced that it would never support a second UN Security Council resolution to authorize the use of force in Iraq.

**Diplomacy in Preparation for Conflict**

Once conflict is inevitable or is initiated, one job of diplomats is to support military commanders in getting what they need to make conflict as short as possible, with the fewest casualties for Americans, allies, and civilians. This was the objective that the United States pursued in Turkey before the first Gulf War, which resulted in President Turgut Özal's support of American efforts. The diplomatic effort to prepare for conflict in Kosovo also involved the whole of the U.S. Government and the governments of the NATO Allies. To pursue a successful bombing campaign, diplomats in many NATO countries arranged for overflight and support for Allied forces. A similar effort by U.S. diplomats took place before the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. American and allied diplomats worked closely with nations surrounding Afghanistan, including forging contacts with Central Asian states on security issues for the first time in order to achieve transit, overflight, and bed-down rights for American and coalition forces before the October 7, 2001, beginning of action in Afghanistan.

Before the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, and especially after January 20, 2003, a similar effort began in earnest. Diplomats supported U.S. Central Command commander General Tommy Franks in order to make the war as short and successful as possible and to limit American, allied, and Iraqi civilian casualties. American diplomats worked with military commanders to seek access to facilities for U.S. forces and to participate in the public diplomacy effort to gain as much support as possible for the armed liberation of Iraq. American diplomats and Pentagon officials again paid particular attention to Turkey in an effort to convince the Turks to allow the 4th Infantry Division to transit that country to create a northern front in the battle against Saddam's forces. Although the State Department worried about the

size of the Department of Defense (DOD) request to Ankara, it worked closely with both civilian and military authorities at the Pentagon to try to meet the need that had been identified by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Joint DOD–State diplomacy, however, could not overcome a negative vote in the Turkish parliament, which reflected strong public opposition to the war.

The way the debate about using force is carried out inside the government influences attitudes and actions during and after conflict as well as future decisions on whether or not to use force. Military force may restore security, but it cannot resolve political or cultural sources of conflict. As Rupert Smith writes, "We are engaging in conflict for objectives that do not lead to a resolution of the matter directly by force of arms, since at all but the most basic tactical level our objectives tend to concern the intentions of the people and their leaders rather than their territory or forces."[12] Smith argues that the civil-military structure designed to make political-military decisions is "deeply problematic" and distorts decisionmaking in many ways.[13] In his book, Smith imagines a debate between British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Ministry of Defense (MOD) officials about how to address the genocide taking place over a number of weeks in Rwanda during the summer of 1994.

**FCO:** *What can we do in the face of events in Rwanda?*

**MOD:** *What do you want us to do?*

**FCO:** *We ought to act. Something must be done. We can't have people being massacred. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council we cannot be seen to be doing nothing.*

**MOD:** *So you want us to use military force?*

**FCO:** *Yes.*

**MOD:** *To do what? To stop the killing?*

**FCO:** *Yes. Exactly.*

**MOD:** *Who do you want us to fight? We are not clear who is doing the killing: is it tribe on tribe, or is it a force found from a tribe? And Rwanda is a big country. Where do we start? Kigali, presumably, it's the capital and we would want an airhead.*

**FCO:** *Well, there must be an international force, of course.*

**MOD:** *And what would be the British aim in joining the force?*

**FCO:** *To play our part as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.*

**MOD:** *Is Britain to lead the force?*

**FCO:** *No, it should be led by the UN—a proper UN mission.*

**MOD:** *That will take some time to assemble, so it will probably be too late to stop the killing.*

**FCO:** *Then the mission should be aimed at bringing postconflict order.*

**MOD:** *OK. But we need to be clear how many British troops are currently available. Given our deployments in Ireland, Bosnia and a few other places, not many.*

**FCO:** *What do you suggest?*

**MOD:** *What are our government's priorities? Is contributing to this force a higher priority than these other tasks we are already undertaking?*

**FCO:** *Probably not.*

**MOD:** *In that case, these UN forces always lack expeditionary logistic support. And if we want to speed up the deployment of this force, offering a logistic unit would probably be the most valuable contribution.*

**FCO:** *Will that put our soldiers at risk?*

**MOD:** *Hardly any.*[14]

Many American diplomats will recognize this imaginary conversation, having participated in something like it dozens of times since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the American debate, the issue also quickly focuses on who pays the bills. It is worth stating, at least in the American case, that officials at the Pentagon and DOD often were legitimately frustrated by the State Department's inclination to promote military missions for the Pentagon and the Armed Forces in an increasing number of situations that were important, but not vital, to U.S. national interests. While this readiness to volunteer U.S. military forces to solve problems around the world was a direct result of the lack of civilian capacity to do the jobs required, it leads to understandable consternation among those in uniform.

## Diplomacy and Restoring Stability Following Conflict

There are many issues—defeating extremism, promoting pluralism, bringing the benefits of globalization to those who have not yet benefited, living sustainably on the planet, nonproliferation— that will be part of any definition of successful 21st-century diplomacy. But getting postconflict diplomacy right—creating the conditions for a preclusive victory—may be the most crucial of all. This is not an easy assignment. The concept of success can be redefined after the fact, further complicating the assessment. Successful democratic governance and economic development cannot be delivered on a certain date, and therefore the need for time and patience is a necessity on the ground. However, patience is limited in home countries, and "fatigue" often sets in. Thus, the potential for failure is high. Industrial war produced winners and losers; today's lines are not so clearly drawn, and the timeline may be longer.

Rupert Smith again brings clarity to this assessment:

*We intervene in or even decide to escalate to, a conflict in order to establish a condition in which the political objective can be achieved by other means and in other ways. We seek to create a conceptual space for diplomacy, economic incentives, political pressure and other measures to create a desired political outcome of stability, and if possible democracy. . . . if a decisive strategic victory was the hallmark of interstate industrial war, establishing a condition may be deemed a hallmark of the new paradigm of war amongst the people.*[15]

Smith's point can be pressed even further by recognizing the additional distinction between a military operation carried out following Smith's rules and the ambiguity inherent in trying to create the conditions Smith identifies as objectives. Christopher Schnaubelt has noted that a typical military operation will have unambiguous geographic boundaries (areas of responsibility) and will assign specific units to be responsible for every inch of ground or cubic foot of airspace. There is an obvious chain of responsibilities and expected actions between each individual Soldier or Marine on the ground and the commanding general. Nothing comparable exists for economic development in governance tasks, which tend to be assigned by function rather than local geography or rigid hierarchy of authority.[16]

Postconflict diplomacy was among the defining diplomatic issues of the last third of my career at the State Department.

In the aftermath of the first Gulf War in 1991, almost 500,000 Kurds fled to the mountains between Iraq and Turkey. Stranded in harsh conditions, they began to starve by the thousands each day. I was then the Deputy Chief of Mission in Turkey. Inspired by the leadership of Ambassador Morton Abramowitz, American diplomats, followed by American military forces and then an international coalition of governments and nongovernmental organizations, initiated Operation *Provide Comfort* (which became Operation *Northern Watch*). This was not just a "whole-of-government" but a "whole-of-theinternational- community" campaign to provide humanitarian assistance and then return the Kurds to their homes in Northern Iraq. Once home, they needed to be protected, and for 11 years, the United Sates and some of its allies, including Turkey, worked on the ground there to recreate a functioning society and then protected this area from Saddam by enforcing a no-fly zone.

These years were also punctuated by activity in the Balkans. As Richard Holbrooke recounts, some of the pre-Dayton negotiations with Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovi took place in my residence while I was Ambassador to Turkey.[17] As one of Holbrooke's successors as Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, I watched the effort made by Ambassadors Robert Gelbard and James Dobbins to implement the Dayton Accords by applying whole-of-government efforts in postconflict post- Yugoslavia. I picked up the diplomatic thread again as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs promoting reconciliation, development, political progress, and nationbuilding in Kosovo.

Other postconflict diplomacy efforts in Haiti, East Timor, and Liberia called upon the resources of the United States and other governments to try to create the conceptual space for development and sustained peace. The U.S. effort in Colombia, too, highlighted the need to focus on an integrated and cross-sectoral approach, which included disarmament,

demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants and promoted justice in postconflict society. But the main events in modern diplomacy's postconflict paradigm are Afghanistan and Iraq.

The key to understanding U.S. diplomacy in postconflict Afghanistan and Iraq is to recall the profound disagreement inside the U.S. Government, especially between DOD and State, about whether the United States should engage in "nationbuilding," a policy President Bush had campaigned against in 2000. State Department professionals were generally proud of the effort the United States had made in nationbuilding and in peacekeeping, supporting the deployment of U.S. military forces to participate, for example, in the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai and in peacekeeping and nationbuilding activities in East Timor, Haiti, and the Balkans. Most believed that nationbuilding, properly funded and executed, was an effective long-term tool of integrated modern diplomacy for the United States.

The effort to create a new Afghan government after the overthrow of the Taliban was a piece of classical diplomacy carried out in the 21st-century context.[18] Secretary Powell directed Ambassador Dobbins to support the regional negotiation hosted by the Germans in Bonn in 2001 to create a new Afghan government. To succeed, Dobbins worked with all the key players, including representatives from Iran, to support a major role for the United Nations and put Hamid Karzai in position to lead a new Afghanistan.[19] But, as Dobbins has written, the "Bush Administration, having overthrown the Taliban and installed a new government in Kabul, determined that American troops would do no peacekeeping and that peacekeepers from other countries would not be allowed to venture beyond the Kabul city limits. Public security throughout the rest of the country would be left entirely to Afghans, despite the fact that Afghanistan had no army and no police force."[20]

The struggle over nationbuilding also hampered American attempts to get sufficient amounts of U.S. or international assistance to Afghanistan. Washington accepted the diffusion of responsibility there, with the British taking charge of counternarcotics, the Italians reforming the justice sector, and the Germans training police. This satisfied the need for burden-sharing but did not lead to success. In addition, postconflict resources focused by the United States on Afghanistan were small compared to other recent postconflict situations, even including Kosovo.[21] American diplomats who followed Dobbins to the Embassy in Kabul over the years faced the legacy of this lack of attention and underinvestment.[22]

The State Department participated at many levels in the National Security Council–led planning for postconflict Iraq. Much of the planning was detailed, but focused on lessons learned from the first Gulf War. The department's Future of Iraq Project, while important, would not have solved Iraq's postwar problems. State did not have the capacity to take responsibility for the immediate postconflict administration of Iraq, and its leadership agreed to the Executive order creating a postconflict Iraq structure that reported to the Secretary of Defense.

There is no need here to recount the lost lives and lost opportunities so well chronicled by others in the immediate postconflict period in Iraq, although Dobbins's argument that, looking back, the Coalition Provisional Authority accomplished a great deal under trying circumstances

is worth noting.[23] On July 1, 2004, the State Department did officially open (on time and on budget) an Embassy in Baghdad, which allowed an expansion of diplomacy and led to more comprehensive senior civilian-military cooperation.

There is another important lesson to draw from recent postconflict efforts: the need to have adequate civilian capacity to respond, including a role for a revitalized U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). As this journal chronicled in an article[24] by Ambassador John Herbst, the Secretary of State's Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), his office was mandated to develop a whole-ofgovernment civilian response to stability operations and to ensure civilian-military coordination.

The Civilian Response Corps (CRC) is in an early stage, and ultimately will be made up of a reserve component, in addition to the existing active and standby components. The personnel are anticipated to represent the full range of sector experts: engineers, lawyers, judges, corrections officials, diplomats, development experts, public administrators, public health officials, city planners, border control officials, economists, and others. Currently, the active and standby components that are being stepped up are drawn from State, USAID, and a core group of domestic U.S. Agencies.

Once congressionally funded, the reserves would be drawn from state and local governments and the private sector. Between January 2008 and May 2009, 56 CRC members deployed to 11 countries, including Afghanistan for planning purposes, and there are realistic plans to have 250 active members and 1,000 standby members ready to deploy by the end of 2010. There are now at least 14 other countries with whom the United States allies that have a civilian peacebuilding capacity—some including stability or civilian police, and employing wholeof- government or "comprehensive" approaches similar to that created by Washington. Several, in fact, have higher budgets proportionate to their gross national products than America's.[25]

One way for State to further support the S/CRS effort would be to consider creating a new personnel specialty: the "expeditionary diplomat." Washington's diplomatic personnel have, of course, always been in one sense expeditionary; the majority of the Foreign Service is deployed abroad the majority of the time. But the post-9/11 diplomatic experience, and especially the effort in Iraq and Afghanistan, means that State needs to be more explicit about the expeditionary nature of some of its future diplomatic work and should prepare a small but significant number of people to serve successfully in the hardest places at a moment's notice.

Experience with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan, the lessons learned with S/CRS, and the example of diplomats who have pursued careers in the toughest posts should lead State leadership to conclude that this is a step worth taking. The first requirement would be advanced training, some of it provided by DOD and some by the Central Intelligence Agency, for those entering diplomats who believe they want to pursue this special career path. These entering officers would make an explicit choice and understand that an investment in their extra training would require their service in hard places, just as we now ask diplomats who take the hardest languages— Chinese or Arabic, for example—to serve more than one tour using their skills. Since these expeditionary diplomats will not need to meet the

same age and physical requirements as special operations in the military, the State Department could allow people to opt in and out of this "special force" during their careers as long as they have the proper training. This would allow flexibility across the institution and encourage those who desire or whose family circumstances might change over time to participate as well. The department would also need to make sure those taking this career path are recognized for a career beyond the norm for Foreign Service and are promoted and rewarded.

The creation of S/CRS is a symbol of the comprehensive, simultaneous diplomacy needed for the future, and this expeditionary diplomat could form the backbone of the State and USAID commitment to the civilian response capacity. There are still key questions to be answered about civilian capacity. In the face of a real world situation, will DOD really support a State Department–led operation? Will Congress adequately fund S/CRS, including a reasonable contingency fund? How will S/CRS and a resurgent USAID work together? Where will the lines be drawn between immediate postconflict needs and nationbuilding? There seems to be no question that the path is the right one, consistent with the administration's focus on diplomacy, development, and defense. Success will come with clear direction and active implementation.

If we combine the observations made by several authors,[26] we arrive at this question: What national policies, supported by adequate human and financial resources, will create the conditions during and after war to bring about a preclusive victory? Nation building, post-conflict reconstruction and stability operations, and counterinsurgency strategy (call it what we will) will be part of modern diplomacy for years to come. Accomplishing this task does not have to be an exclusively American responsibility, and, indeed, one of the goals of modern American diplomats will be to make these efforts more international. But for the foreseeable future, the United States will need to learn the lessons of its role in nation building from Germany to Iraq.[27] These lessons include support for new institutions that bring all of the elements of power and influence together in the same theater, at the same time, and in close coordination so the United States and its allies and friends have a chance to succeed.[28] As Philip Bobbitt has written, "The problem is the picture of warfare to which we cling. This picture unfolds in this way: peace making by diplomats; war making by the Armed Forces; peace building by [US]AID and reconstruction personnel. The reality of 21st century warfare, however, is that all of these tasks must be performed simultaneously."[29]

While the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century can be observed and analyzed individually, none of them can be solved without reference to the others. Diplomacy is not the answer to every question, but it has utility both before and after conflict. As General Smith writes at the end of his volume:

*For the general purpose of all interventions is clear: we seek to establish in the minds of the people and their leaders that the ever present option of conflict is not the preferable course of action when in confrontation over some matter or another. This applies as much to the state possessing nuclear weapons or seeking to obtain them, rogue or otherwise, as it does to the terrorist or the machete-wielding rebel; each is posing an armed threat to people to establish a condition in which to achieve its political goal. To do this, military force is a valid option, a lever of intervention and influence, as much as economic, political and diplomatic levers, but to*

*be effective it must be applied as a part of a greater scheme focusing all measures on the one goal.*[30]

The connection to the utility of a modern diplomacy is clear. Twenty-first-century diplomacy, working to prevent conflict, trying to get ready for it if it is inevitable, or dealing with the consequences, can be an effective tool of national security if it is adequately funded, carried out by well-trained, dedicated people, focused on clear goals set by national leaders, and backed by effective military force. This is the diplomacy of the future.

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U.S. Army (De'Yonte Mosley)

...ng postconflict relationships support ...going work of diplomacy and defense

# Diplomacy
## Before and After Conflict

Conflict is a universal condition,[1] older than diplomacy. While conflict is a constant in human history, the nature of armed conflict, and especially the nature of 21st-century warfare, has been transformed. General Rupert Smith identified these changes in his book *The Utility of Force*: "The ends for which we fight are changing; we fight amongst the people; our conflicts tend to be timeless; we fight so as not to lose the force; on each occasion new uses are found for old weapons; the sides are mostly non-state."[2]

The nature of 21st-century diplomacy is also changing. To be successful, diplomats must simultaneously shape, act upon, and react to global challenges. As Hans Binnendijk and Richard Kugler of the National Defense University argue, no single problem, danger, or threat holds the key to the world's future. What matters is their interaction and the simultaneity of our responses.[3]

The definition of victory, too, is different today. Twenty-first-century national security success will encompass a comprehensive definition of security, and will be achieved by the broadest



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simultaneous application of all elements of national power. This is the key to understanding Philip Bobbitt's concept of "preclusive victory," which he describes as "anticipatory, precautionary attention to possible futures,"[4] requiring an expansive and integrated approach to modern diplomacy, defense, and development. A diplomatic strategy designed to produce preclusive victory will include conflict prevention, successful negotiation, deterrence, the preparation for conflict should all else fail, and efforts to establish order, ensure stability, and promote political and economic pluralism after conflict.

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## Diplomacy and Conflict Prevention

Thanks to the efforts of scholars and practitioners, we can now make better use of the methods and theory of conflict prevention. The United States Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars are two among many institutions that have taken a leadership role in these efforts. Michael Lund, a practitioner-scholar, notes that the present uncoordinated and patchy nature of preventive diplomacy reflects the absence of any accepted international conflict prevention regime or system of governance—that is, of agreed upon arrangements through which geographic jurisdictions are allocated, functional responsibilities are assigned, norms and procedures are formulated, and actors are held accountable for their responsibilities.[5] He asks the crucial question to all those who seek to "coordinate and rationalize" a system of preventive diplomacy: where should responsibility for the tasks of preventive action be located—early warning, the decision to act, the formulation of a response, or the provision of bureaucratic and political support? Should it be horizontal, across different organizations or actors, or should it be vertical, up or down their chains of command?[6]

An example of conflict prevention that meets Lund's tests was the effort undertaken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in close collaboration with the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and supported by the United States, to avoid civil war in Macedonia in 2001. It is difficult now to recall that, until September 11, 2001, the possibility of civil war in Macedonia was a leading international headline. This successful campaign of conflict prevention was defined by the remarkable personal and institutional cooperation between the NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson and the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (and a former NATO Secretary General) Javier Solana. I spoke often during this period to Lord Robertson, Solana, and Ambassador James Pardew, whom President George W. Bush and Secretary Colin Powell appointed as the U.S. representative to the effort and who, along with Francois Leotard, the EU Special Envoy, played a crucial role in negotiating and implementing the Ohrid Framework Agreement.



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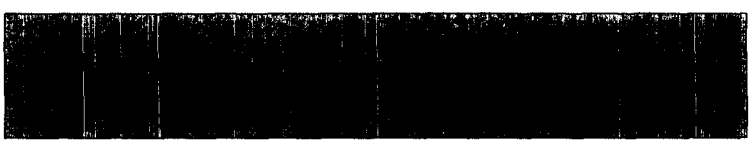
As a direct participant, senior NATO official Mark Laity stated that there are insights about modern diplomacy and conflict prevention to be drawn from this effort, including the need for personal and institutional teamwork, the importance of early engagement in trying to head off violence, the need to choose the right people for tasks of this kind (including 21st-century diplomats who can act "unconventionally"), and the necessity of being able to apply appropriate force quickly.[7]

## Diplomacy When Conflict Is or Seems to Be Unavoidable

When diplomacy fails to prevent conflict, the role of the diplomat changes. The new requirement may be to justify the use of force when all efforts to avoid conflict fail or to seek to address the underlying source of conflict when force is or seems to be inevitable and imperative.

The February 1999 diplomatic negotiations in Rambouillet, France, were designed to show the world that NATO and the Contact Group were willing to make one last effort to avoid using military force to stop Slobodan Milosevic's attacks in Kosovo. I was in Rambouillet as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs to support Secretary Madeleine Albright. After the first day or so of the meeting, there was so much chaos that I urged Secretary Albright to depart Rambouillet and leave the "negotiating" to those of us more junior. My strategy was that by not being present, the Secretary of State—and the administration—could keep a distance from an outcome that might be unacceptable to the United States. The Secretary had a different vision. Albright hoped Rambouillet would end the brutality against the Kosovars, but she was also prepared for the meeting to fail, and thereby all options for avoiding military conflict would be exhausted. Her idea was that we had to be seen to be doing everything we could diplomatically, including her continued presence, so that if Rambouillet was a failure, there could be no further excuses against taking military action.

Secretary of State James Baker had pursued a similar strategy before the first Gulf War in 1991. Baker relates in his memoirs, *The Politics of Diplomacy*, that President George H.W. Bush had concluded the United States should offer a meeting in Washington for Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz followed by a Baker trip to Baghdad to show America's commitment to avoiding war if possible. Baker writes that he thought this proposal had three merits: it would give the administration one last diplomatic opening to avoid war; it would shore up domestic support for conflict; and it would show that, as the deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait neared, the administration was doing something other than just preparing for



war. The President's offer turned into the famous meeting between Baker and Aziz on January 9, 1991. As Baker recounts, "I was under no illusions. I assumed the talks would be unsuccessful and that within a matter of days, we would be at war."[8]

In 2001–2003, the State Department leadership generally saw Iraq as a diversion from Afghanistan and not central to the war on terror. Saddam Hussein was a dictator and a menace—but "in a box," posing no immediate, direct threat to the United States; focus should be kept on defeating al Qaeda in Afghanistan and supporting the new Afghan government.[9] Iraq had been a source of tension and disagreement inside the State Department since the beginning of the administration, and there were some who sought to move the policy from support for



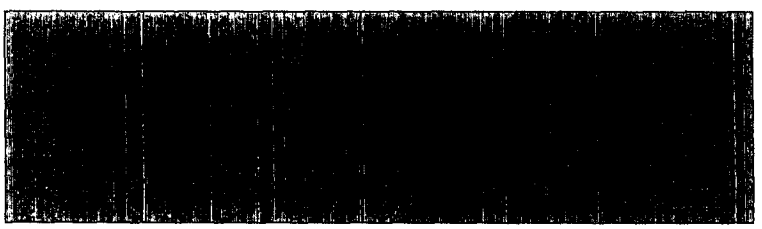
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"smart" United Nations (UN) sanctions toward an aggressive posture against Saddam.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote in *Years of Upheaval* about the second term of the Nixon administration that State Department culture emphasizes negotiability, which is a consciousness of what the other side will accept.[10] Kissinger did not consider this trait a particular positive at the time, and the department's culture of negotiability did not serve as a good guide to institutional behavior for most of the senior State officials who participated in the interagency debate leading to the invasion of Iraq. If that was so during the period surrounding 1970s détente with Russia, diplomatic efforts with the Shah of Iran, and the crisis in the Middle East and the resulting 1973 war, this culture of negotiability no longer served as a good guide to institutional behavior for most of the senior State officials who participated in the interagency debate leading to the invasion of Iraq. We took part in planning for the conflict and its aftermath assuming—or hoping—that events either at home or abroad would turn preparations for conflict into successful coercive diplomacy rather than the military action that was ordered in the spring of 2003.

The State Department's Director of Policy Planning, Richard Haass, observed that while he was "60:40 against going to war . . . no organization could function if people left every time they lost out on a 60:40 decision."[11] Haass was operating under the belief that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction; if he had known they did not, he says he would have been 90:10 against the war.



And no senior Department of State officer resigned in protest. The department sought instead to try to recreate the successful Gulf War coalition of President George H.W. Bush and argued that the United States and its allies might compel Saddam to submit through a deployment of force in the region in early 2003. If this failed, there should be a sustained diplomatic effort to create a broad coalition to move militarily later in 2003. This possibility of a broad international coalition lost all relevance on January 20, 2003, when the French government announced that it would never support a second UN Security Council resolution to authorize the use of force in Iraq.

## Diplomacy in Preparation for Conflict

Once conflict is inevitable or is initiated, one job of diplomats is to support military commanders in getting what they need to make conflict as short as possible, with the fewest casualties for Americans, allies, and civilians. This was the objective that the United States pursued in Turkey before the first Gulf War, which resulted in President Turgut Özal's support of American efforts. The diplomatic effort to prepare for conflict in Kosovo also involved the whole of the U.S. Government and the governments of the NATO Allies. To pursue a successful bombing campaign, diplomats in many NATO countries arranged for overflight and support for Allied forces. A similar effort by U.S. diplomats took place before the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. American and allied diplomats worked closely with nations surrounding Afghanistan, including forging contacts with Central Asian states on security issues for the first time in order to achieve transit, overflight, and bed-down rights for American and coalition forces before the October 7, 2001, beginning of action in Afghanistan.



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Before the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, and especially after January 20, 2003, a similar effort began in earnest. Diplomats supported U.S. Central Command commander General Tommy Franks in order to make the war as short and successful as possible and to limit American, allied, and Iraqi civilian casualties. American diplomats worked with military commanders to seek access to facilities for U.S. forces and to participate in the public diplomacy effort to gain as much support as possible for the armed liberation of Iraq. American diplomats and Pentagon officials again paid particular attention to Turkey in an effort to convince the Turks to allow the 4th Infantry Division to transit that country to create a northern front in the battle against Saddam's forces. Although the State Department worried about the size of the Department of Defense (DOD) request to Ankara, it worked closely with both civilian and military authorities at the Pentagon to try to meet the need that had been identified by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Joint DOD–State diplomacy, however, could not overcome a negative vote in the Turkish parliament, which reflected strong public opposition to the war.

The way the debate about using force is carried out inside the government influences attitudes and actions during and after conflict as well as future decisions on whether or not to use force. Military force may restore security, but it cannot resolve political or cultural sources of conflict. As Rupert Smith writes, "We are engaging in conflict for objectives that do not lead to a resolution of the matter directly by force of arms, since at all but the most basic tactical level our objectives tend to concern the intentions of the people and their leaders rather than their territory or forces."[12] Smith argues that the civil-military structure designed to make political-military decisions is "deeply problematic" and distorts decisionmaking in many ways.[13] In his book, Smith imagines a debate between British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Ministry of Defense (MOD) officials about how to address the genocide taking place over a number of weeks in Rwanda during the summer of 1994.



**FCO:** *What can we do in the face of events in Rwanda?*

**MOD:** *What do you want us to do?*

**FCO:** *We ought to act. Something must be done. We can't have people being massacred. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council we cannot be seen to be doing nothing.*

**MOD:** *So you want us to use military force?*

**FCO:** *Yes.*

**MOD:** *To do what? To stop the killing?*

**FCO:** *Yes. Exactly.*

**MOD:** *Who do you want us to fight? We are not clear who is doing the killing: is it tribe on tribe, or is it a force found from a tribe? And Rwanda is a big country. Where do we start? Kigali, presumably, it's the capital and we would want an airhead.*



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**FCO:** *Well, there must be an international force, of course.*

**MOD:** *And what would be the British aim in joining the force?*

**FCO:** *To play our part as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.*

**MOD:** *Is Britain to lead the force?*

**FCO:** *No, it should be led by the UN—a proper UN mission.*

**MOD:** *That will take some time to assemble, so it will probably be too late to stop the killing.*

**FCO:** *Then the mission should be aimed at bringing postconflict order.*

**MOD:** *OK. But we need to be clear how many British troops are currently available. Given our deployments in Ireland, Bosnia and a few other places, not many.*

**FCO:** *What do you suggest?*

**MOD:** *What are our government's priorities? Is contributing to this force a higher priority than these other tasks we are already undertaking?*

**FCO:** *Probably not.*

**MOD:** *In that case, these UN forces always lack expeditionary logistic support. And if we want to speed up the deployment of this force, offering a logistic unit would probably be the most valuable contribution.*

**FCO:** *Will that put our soldiers at risk?*

**MOD:** *Hardly any.*[14]

Many American diplomats will recognize this imaginary conversation, having participated in something like it dozens of times since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the American debate, the issue also quickly focuses on who pays the bills. It is worth stating, at least in the American case, that officials at the Pentagon and DOD often were legitimately frustrated by the State Department's inclination to promote military missions for the Pentagon and the Armed Forces in an increasing number of situations that were important, but not vital, to U.S. national interests. While this readiness to volunteer U.S. military forces to solve problems around the world was a direct result of the lack of civilian capacity to do the jobs required, it leads to understandable consternation among those in uniform.


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U.S. Air Force (Dayton Mitchell)

## Diplomacy and Restoring Stability Following Conflict

There are many issues—defeating extremism, promoting pluralism, bringing the benefits of globalization to those who have not yet benefited, living sustainably on the planet, nonproliferation—that will be part of any definition of successful 21st-century diplomacy. But getting postconflict diplomacy right—creating the conditions for a preclusive victory—may be the most crucial of all. This is not an easy assignment. The concept of success can be redefined after the fact, further complicating the assessment. Successful democratic governance and economic development cannot be delivered on a certain date, and therefore the need for time and patience is a necessity on the ground. However, patience is limited in home countries, and "fatigue" often sets in. Thus, the potential for failure is high. Industrial war produced winners and losers; today's lines are not so clearly drawn, and the timeline may be longer.

Rupert Smith again brings clarity to this assessment:

> *We intervene in or even decide to escalate to, a conflict in order to establish a condition in which the political objective can be achieved by other means and in other ways. We seek to create a conceptual space for diplomacy, economic incentives, political pressure and other measures to create a desired political outcome of stability, and if possible democracy. . . . if a decisive strategic victory was the hallmark of interstate industrial war, establishing a condition may be deemed a hallmark of the new paradigm of war amongst the people.*[15]



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Smith's point can be pressed even further by recognizing the additional distinction between a military operation carried out following Smith's rules and the ambiguity inherent in trying to create the conditions Smith identifies as objectives. Christopher Schnaubelt has noted that a typical military operation will have unambiguous geographic boundaries (areas of responsibility) and will assign specific units to be responsible for every inch of ground or cubic foot of airspace. There is an obvious chain of responsibilities and expected actions between each individual Soldier or Marine on the ground and the commanding general. Nothing comparable exists for economic development in governance tasks, which tend to be assigned by function rather than local geography or rigid hierarchy of authority.[16]



Postconflict diplomacy was among the defining diplomatic issues of the last third of my career at the State Department.

In the aftermath of the first Gulf War in 1991, almost 500,000 Kurds fled to the mountains between Iraq and Turkey. Stranded in harsh conditions, they began to starve by the thousands each day. I was then the Deputy Chief of Mission in Turkey. Inspired by the leadership of Ambassador Morton Abramowitz, American diplomats, followed by American military forces and then an international coalition of governments and nongovernmental organizations, initiated Operation *Provide Comfort* (which became Operation *Northern Watch*). This was not just a "whole-of-government" but a "whole-of-the-international-community" campaign to provide humanitarian assistance and then return the Kurds to their homes in Northern Iraq. Once home, they needed to be protected, and for 11 years, the United Sates and some of its allies, including Turkey, worked on the ground there to recreate a functioning society and then protected this area from Saddam by enforcing a no-fly zone.

These years were also punctuated by activity in the Balkans. As Richard Holbrooke recounts, some of the pre-Dayton negotiations with Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovi took place in my residence while I was Ambassador to Turkey.[17] As one of Holbrooke's successors as Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, I watched the effort made by Ambassadors Robert Gelbard and James Dobbins to implement the Dayton Accords by applying whole-of-government efforts in postconflict post-Yugoslavia. I picked up the diplomatic thread again as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs promoting reconciliation, development, political progress, and nationbuilding in Kosovo.

Other postconflict diplomacy efforts in Haiti, East Timor, and Liberia called upon the resources of the United States and other governments to try to create the conceptual space for development and sustained peace. The U.S. effort in Colombia, too, highlighted the need to focus on an integrated and cross-sectoral approach, which included disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants and promoted justice in postconflict society. But the main events in modern diplomacy's postconflict paradigm are Afghanistan and Iraq.

The key to understanding U.S. diplomacy in postconflict Afghanistan and Iraq is to recall the profound disagreement inside the U.S. Government, especially between DOD and State, about whether the United States should engage in "nationbuilding," a policy President Bush had campaigned against in 2000. State Department professionals were generally proud



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of the effort the United States had made in nationbuilding and in peacekeeping, supporting the deployment of U.S. military forces to participate, for example, in the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai and in peacekeeping and nationbuilding activities in East Timor, Haiti, and the Balkans. Most believed that nationbuilding, properly funded and executed, was an effective long-term tool of integrated modern diplomacy for the United States.

The effort to create a new Afghan government after the overthrow of the Taliban was a piece of classical diplomacy carried out in the 21st-century context.[18] Secretary Powell directed Ambassador Dobbins to support the regional negotiation hosted by the Germans in Bonn in 2001 to create a new Afghan government. To succeed, Dobbins worked with all the key players, including representatives from Iran, to support a major role for the United Nations and put Hamid Karzai in position to lead a new Afghanistan.[19] But, as Dobbins has written, the "Bush Administration, having overthrown the Taliban and installed a new government in Kabul, determined that American troops would do no peacekeeping and that peacekeepers from other countries would not be allowed to venture beyond the Kabul city limits. Public security throughout the rest of the country would be left entirely to Afghans, despite the fact that Afghanistan had no army and no police force."[20]

The struggle over nationbuilding also hampered American attempts to get sufficient amounts of U.S. or international assistance to Afghanistan. Washington accepted the diffusion of responsibility there, with the British taking charge of counternarcotics, the Italians reforming the justice sector, and the Germans training police. This satisfied the need for burden-sharing but did not lead to success. In addition, postconflict resources focused by the United States on Afghanistan were small compared to other recent postconflict situations, even including Kosovo.[21] American diplomats who followed Dobbins to the Embassy in Kabul over the years faced the legacy of this lack of attention and underinvestment.[22]

The State Department participated at many levels in the National Security Council–led planning for postconflict Iraq. Much of the planning was detailed, but focused on lessons learned from the first Gulf War. The department's Future of Iraq Project, while important, would not have solved Iraq's postwar problems. State did not have the capacity to take responsibility for the immediate postconflict administration of Iraq, and its leadership agreed to the Executive order creating a postconflict Iraq structure that reported to the Secretary of Defense.

There is no need here to recount the lost lives and lost opportunities so well chronicled by others in the immediate postconflict period in Iraq, although Dobbins's argument that, looking back, the Coalition Provisional Authority accomplished a great deal under trying circumstances is worth noting.[23] On July 1, 2004, the State Department did officially open (on time and on budget) an Embassy in Baghdad, which allowed an expansion of diplomacy and led to more comprehensive senior civilian-military cooperation.

There is another important lesson to draw from recent postconflict efforts: the need to have adequate civilian capacity to respond, including a role for a revitalized U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). As this journal chronicled in an article[24] by Ambassador John Herbst, the Secretary of State's Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), his office was mandated to develop a whole-of-government civilian response to stability operations and to ensure civilian-military coordination.

The Civilian Response Corps (CRC) is in an early stage, and ultimately will be made up of a reserve component, in addition to the existing


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active and standby components. The personnel are anticipated to represent the full range of sector experts: engineers, lawyers, judges, corrections officials, diplomats, development experts, public administrators, public health officials, city planners, border control officials, economists, and others. Currently, the active and standby components that are being stepped up are drawn from State, USAID, and a core group of domestic U.S. agencies.

Once congressionally funded, the reserves would be drawn from state and local governments and the private sector. Between January 2008 and May 2009, 56 CRC members deployed to 11 countries, including Afghanistan for planning purposes, and there are realistic plans to have 250 active members and 1,000 standby members ready to deploy by the end of 2010. There are now at least 14 other countries with whom the United States allies that have a civilian peacebuilding capacity—some including stability or civilian police, and employing whole-of-government or "comprehensive" approaches similar to that created by Washington. Several, in fact, have higher budgets proportionate to their gross national products than America's.[25]

One way for State to further support the S/CRS effort would be to consider creating a new personnel specialty: the "expeditionary diplomat." Washington's diplomatic personnel have, of course, always been in one sense expeditionary; the majority of the Foreign Service is deployed abroad the majority of the time. But the post-9/11 diplomatic experience, and especially the effort in Iraq and Afghanistan, means that State needs to be more explicit about the expeditionary nature of some of its future diplomatic work and should prepare a small but significant number of people to serve successfully in the hardest places at a moment's notice.

Experience with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan, the lessons learned with S/CRS, and the example of diplomats who have pursued careers in the toughest posts should lead State leadership to conclude that this is a step worth taking. The first requirement would be advanced training, some of it provided by DOD and some by the Central Intelligence Agency, for those entering diplomats who believe they want to pursue this special career path. These entering officers would make an explicit choice and understand that an investment in their extra training would require their service in hard places, just as we now ask diplomats who take the hardest languages—Chinese or Arabic, for example—to serve more than one tour using their skills. Since these expeditionary diplomats will not need to meet the same age and physical requirements as special operations in the military, the State Department could allow people to opt in and out of this "special force" during their careers as long as they have the proper training. This would allow flexibility across the institution and encourage those who desire or whose family circumstances might change over time to participate as well. The department would also need to make sure those taking this career path are recognized for a career beyond the norm for Foreign Service and are promoted and rewarded.

The creation of S/CRS is a symbol of the comprehensive, simultaneous diplomacy needed for the future, and this expeditionary diplomat could form the backbone of the State and USAID commitment to the civilian response capacity. There are still key questions to be answered about civilian capacity. In the face of a real world situation, will DOD really support a State Department–led operation? Will Congress adequately fund S/CRS, including a reasonable contingency fund? How will S/CRS and a resurgent USAID work together? Where will the lines be drawn between immediate postconflict needs and nationbuilding? There seems to be no question that the path is the right one, consistent


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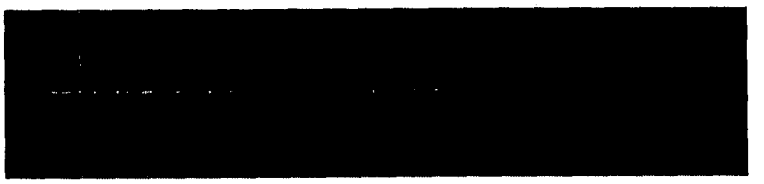
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with the administration's focus on diplomacy, development, and defense. Success will come with clear direction and active implementation.

If we combine the observations made by several authors,[26] we arrive at this question: What national policies, supported by adequate human and financial resources, will create the conditions during and after war to bring about a preclusive victory? Nationbuilding, postconflict reconstruction and stability operations, and counterinsurgency strategy (call it what we will) will be part of modern diplomacy for years to come. Accomplishing this task does not have to be an exclusively American responsibility, and, indeed, one of the goals of modern American diplomats will be to make these efforts more international. But for the foreseeable future, the United States will need to learn the lessons of its role in nationbuilding from Germany to Iraq.[27] These lessons include support for new institutions that bring all of the elements of power and influence together in the same theater, at the same time, and in close coordination so the United States and its allies and friends have a chance to succeed.[28] As Philip Bobbitt has written, "The problem is the picture of warfare to which we cling. This picture unfolds in this way: peace making by diplomats; war making by the Armed Forces; peace building by [US]AID and reconstruction personnel. The reality of 21st century warfare, however, is that all of these tasks must be performed simultaneously."[29]

While the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century can be observed and analyzed individually, none of them can be solved without reference to the others. Diplomacy is not the answer to every question, but it has utility both before and after conflict. As General Smith writes at the end of his volume:

> *For the general purpose of all interventions is clear: we seek to establish in the minds of the people and their leaders that the ever present option of conflict is not the preferable course of action when in confrontation over some matter or another. This applies as much to the state possessing nuclear weapons or seeking to obtain them, rogue or otherwise, as it does to the terrorist or the machete-wielding rebel; each is posing an armed threat to people to establish a condition in which to achieve its political goal. To do this, military force is a valid option, a lever of intervention and influence, as much as economic, political and diplomatic levers, but to be effective it must be applied as a part of a greater scheme focusing all measures on the one goal.*[30]



The connection to the utility of a modern diplomacy is clear. Twenty-first-century diplomacy, working to prevent conflict, trying to get ready for it if it is inevitable, or dealing with the consequences, can be an effective tool of national security if it is adequately funded, carried out by well-trained, dedicated people, focused on clear goals set by national leaders, and backed by effective military force. This is the diplomacy of the future. PRISM

**The author expresses appreciation to The Cohen Group for allowing him time to consider these issues and to the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Harvard John F. Kennedy School Project on Diplomacy for supporting the effort. The author also gratefully acknowledges the important contributions of Toni Getze, Jill O'Donnell, and Daniel Bliss in making this article a reality.**



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[22] Ronald E. Neumann, *The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2009).

[23] Dobbins, "Organizing," 61.

[24] John E. Herbst, "Addressing the Problem of Failed States: A New Instrument," *PRISM* 1, no. 1 (December 2009), 21–26.

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[27] Dobbins et al.

[28] Robert Hunter et al., *Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2008), 11.

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[30] Smith, 409.



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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 6:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: What did you think of the road show?

You hit it out of the park! Really, you touched on every point and set the stage perfectly for the QDDR. Now we just have to deliver, and we will.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Tue Sep 28 18:33:47 2010
Subject: What did you think of the road show?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 28, 2010 6:52 PM
**To:** H

Margo 6am
Isabelle 730
Enjoy time with [redacted]! Glad she came. B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 6:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tomorrow

I talked to isabelle and explained the issue, she agreed and will speak with kristal.
Kristal is confirmed for 6:30am
Isabelle confirmed for 7:30am
We will figure out kristy tomorrow.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775207 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# "The Giving Pledge" At-A-Glance

**WHAT:** Launched by Warren Buffett during the Summer of 2010, the Giving Pledge is an effort to invite the wealthiest individuals and families in America to commit to giving the majority of their wealth to the philanthropic causes and charitable organizations of their choice either during their lifetime or after their death. Each person who chooses to pledge will make this statement publicly, along with a letter explaining their decision to pledge. At an annual event, those who take the pledge will come together to share ideas and learn from each other.

The Pledge is a moral commitment to give, not a legal contract. It does not involve pooling money or supporting a particular set of causes or organizations. While the Giving Pledge is specifically focused on billionaires, the idea takes its inspiration from efforts in the past and at present that encourage and recognize givers of all financial means and backgrounds. We are inspired by the example set by millions of Americans who give generously (and often at great personal sacrifice) to make the world a better place.

**WHO:** The Pledge currently has forty participants, listed below in alphabetical order. To date, all are American, although a dinner is scheduled in Beijing for September 29, 2010, in hopes of generating interest for the Pledge among wealthy Chinese.

Paul G. Allen
Laura and John Arnold
Michael R. Bloomberg
Eli and Edythe Broad
Warren Buffett
Michele Chan and Patrick Soon-Shiong
Barry Diller and Diane von Furstenberg
Ann and John Doerr
Larry Ellison
Larry Ellison
Bill and Melinda Gates
Bill and Melinda Gates
Barron Hilton
Jon and Karen Huntsman
Joan and Irwin Jacobs
George B. Kaiser
Elaine and Ken Langone
Ken Langone
Gerry and Marguerite Lenfest
Lorry I. Lokey
George Lucas
George Lucas
Alfred E. Mann
Bernie and Billi Marcus
Bernie Marcus
Thomas S. Monaghan
Tashia and John Morgridge
Pierre and Pam Omidyar
Bernard and Barbro Osher
Ronald O. Perelman
Peter G. Peterson
T. Boone Pickens
Julian H. Robertson, Jr.
David Rockefeller
David M. Rubenstein
Herb and Marion Sandler
Vicki and Roger Sant
Walter Scott, Jr.
Jim and Marilyn Simons
Jeff Skoll
Tom Steyer and Kat Taylor
Jim and Virginia Stowers
Ted Turner
Sanford and Joan Weill
Shelby White

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775207 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: AIPAC

Pls add to the acknowledgements: Howard Friedman, Ester Kurz and Richard Fishman.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:10:55 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

See below. [redacted] How would you like to proceed? B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Mar 22 07:07:38 2010
Subject: Fw: AIPAC

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Knopf, Payton L
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Prince, Jonathan M; Djerassi, Alexander M
Cc: Rudman, Mara; Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)
Sent: Mon Mar 22 06:57:39 2010
Subject: AIPAC

[redacted]

We are boarding a plane from Amman to DC shortly but can be reached via the Operations Center if there are questions.

Thanks.

Payton

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 22, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Health care topper

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** At physical therapy - need me to call?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 8:06 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/29/10 Wednesday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY MEETING w/SENIOR STAFF**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
9:40 am Secretary's Office

9:45 am **REMARKS TO THE HISTORIC CONFERENCE ON THE AMERICAN**
10:00 am **EXPERIENCE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA** Marshall Conference Center

10:30 am **BILAT. MTG. w/EUROPEAN UNION HIGH REP. CATHERINE ASHTON**
11:30 am Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:35 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABLITY w/LADY CATHERINE ASHTON**
11:45 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:45 am **PRIVATE MEETING w/ LOIS QUAM**
12:00 pm Secretary's Office

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
12:25 pm Secretary's Office

12:25 pm **PRE-BRIEF w/TREASURY SECRETARY TIM GEITHNER**
12:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:35 pm **PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT ON IRAN HUMAN RIGHTS DESIGNATIONS**
12:50 pm **w/TREASURY SECRETARY TIM GEITHNER** State Department Press Briefing Room

1:00 pm **WORKING LUNCH w/GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GUIDO WESTERWELLE**
2:00 pm James Monroe Room, 8th Floor *Official photo preceding.

2:05 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER**
2:15 pm **GUIDO WESTERWELLE** Treaty Room, 7th Floor

2:30 pm **BILATERAL MEETING w/EL SALVADOR PRESIDENT MAURICIO FUNES**
3:15 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo preceding.

3:15 pm **JOINT PRESS STATEMENT w/ EL SALVADOR PRESIDENT MAURICIO FUNES**
3:25 pm Treaty Room, 7th Floor

3:40 pm **DROP-BY NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE**
3:50 pm **FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST GROUP** D Conference Room

4:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
5:00 pm Secretary's Office

Tbd pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

Tbd pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

B6

**From:** d.gunners
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 3:24 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From David Miliband

**RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B6**

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B1 ~ Declassify on: 09/29/2025**

Hillary -

Thanks a lot for all the good wishes you have sent via Lois. It has been one of the pleasures of the last few months to see you going from strength to strength. And the wedding looked fantastic!

Your message on Saturday was poignant. Losing is tough. When you win the party members and MPs doubly so. (When it's your brother...). But I am so proud of the campaign we ran, the issues we raised etc. We got people to believe in a New Labour platform - and modernised the platform.

I have announced today that I will stay in Parliament but not in shadow cabinet.

Thanks for all your encouragement over the last couple of years. I will let you know when I am in DC.

All best,

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

David
Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Nita Lowey and AJC

I think we should reconsider this invite.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 21:44:02 2010
Subject: FW: Nita Lowey and AJC

fyi

From: Lew, Jacob J
Sent: Monday, March 22, 2010 5:08 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Nita Lowey and AJC

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 29, 2010 8:02 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** noms

B5

Still unclear if they will go out tonight or tomorrow mid-morning. They have one vote left on the CR.

And, you probably saw Tom Nides was officially nominated today.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 23, 2010 4:14 PM
**To:** 'williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Hi from Maggie

Am sending to Lona to work out time.

----- Original Message -----
From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Tue Mar 23 15:50:51 2010
Subject: Hi from Maggie

I want to speak to you about Shanghai--- I am coming to DC tomorrow and will be at the State Department for a meeting on Friday. Any hope of seeing you? M

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 1:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rich

See b/l for sr team

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Rodriguez, Miguel E
Sent: Thu Sep 30 01:33:10 2010
Subject: Re: Rich

Got it and agree - will have it noted by S at tomorrow's sr staff meeting

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Sep 29 23:21:52 2010
Subject: Rich

This is just for you because I wouldn't want anyone to think this is motivated by a desire to curry favor with my boss.

I know you're already fully aware, but with the shortened congressional work session coming to an end this evening, I thought it was worth repeating -- we're really lucky to have Rich. He seemingly willed the latest set of legislative accomplishments. In particular, the two defense treaties and the child support treaty never would have gotten across the finish line without his leadership.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:47 AM
**To:** 'bam@mikulski.senate.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Nuns. Health. Care

Let's hear it for the nuns--I knew when they came out, the die was cast and Bart would get his knuckles rapped. Now, let's wrap this up in the Senate and go drink something unhealthy! All your AIPAC friends told me you're doing well so take care and keep going--w the wind at you back and my fervent cheers--Hillary

----- Original Message -----
From: Mikulski, BAM (Mikulski) <BAM@Mikulski.senate.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 20:00:34 2010
Subject: Nuns. Health. Care

Whew once again u are in the thick of thing--- but didn't it make your heart feel good about the passage of. Health. Care----and. The. Nuns pushed it over the finish line----as usual in the fcore front of. Social. Justice and a daring willingness. To break with the. Boys------ if you need a tonic. Go to the. Nuns exhibit @ the. Smithsonian--- Ripley. Center. Gives the 250 year history of. Nuns in. Usa. And their role in shaping. Our country and producing 1000s of women leaders with names like. Pelosi. Mikulski. Ferrar0. Sebilius. ------- takes less than a hour. You are doing great

---

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

Fyi

---

**From:** Steinberg, James B
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Burns, William J; [redacted]
Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Thu Sep 30 06:35:18 2010
**Subject:** Re:

B6

Awesome!

---

**From:** Verma, Richard R
**To:** Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; Donilon, Thomas E. [redacted]
**Sent:** Wed Sep 29 23:06:37 2010
**Subject:**

UK/Australia defense trade treaties made it through the Senate tonight. We are all done!

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Abbas

We just finished [redacted] More on secure line when you are available. B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Are you up yet?

I need to discuss Pakistan agenda--pls call me thru Ops.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 9/30/10 Thursday

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am **DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING**
8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY MEETING w/SENIOR STAFF**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:00 am **VIDEOS (4)**
10:30 am George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

10:40 am **DEPART** State Department *En route U.S. Capitol

10:55 am **ARRIVE** U.S. Capitol (Senate Carriage Entrance)

11:00 am **MEETING w/US SENATOR JOHN KERRY**
11:55 am S-116 (Sen. Kerry Hideaway)

12:00 pm **PULL-ASIDE w/SENATOR CHUCK SCHUMER**
12:10 pm Outside H-122

12:15 pm **REFUGEE CONSULTATIONS w/HOUSE COMMITTEE MEMBERS**
1:00 pm H-122 (Speaker's Dining Room)

1:00 pm **DEPART** U.S. Capitol (House Carriage Entrance) *En route State Department

1:15 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

1:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
2:15 pm Secretary's Office

2:15 pm **CALL w/SENATOR JOHN CORNYN**
2:25 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3:00 pm Secretary's Office

3:00 pm **BILAT. MTG w/PANAMANIAN VICE PRESIDENT & FOREIGN MINISTER**
3:30 pm **JUAN CARLOS VARELA** Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray at top.

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:00 pm Secretary's Office

4:00 pm **PHOTOS (3)**
4:15 pm Treaty Room, 7th Floor

4:15 pm **BILATERAL MEETING w/INDIAN NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR**
4:45 pm **SHIV SHANKAR MENON** Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo at top.

5:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:30 pm Secretary's Office

6:45 pm **DROP-BY MERIDIAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER RECEPTION**
7:00 pm **HONORING AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH BAGLEY**
Monroe Room, Franklin Room, 8th Floor

7:05 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Jockey Club

7:15 pm **ARRIVE** Jockey Club

7:15 pm **DINNER w/TAMERA***
8:30 pm (t) Jockey Club, Fairfax Hotel

8:30 pm (t) **DEPART** Jockey Club *En route Private Residence

8:35 pm (t) **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 6:53 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Pak-India-Bangl

Remember the comparison I asked for? Is that ready--I'd like it today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 24, 2010 7:03 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I haven't seen it yet and it's not in my materials for today.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Chollet, Derek H <CholletDH@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:56:05 2010
Subject: Re: Pak-India-Bangl

I checked last friday and was told it went up to you -- am checking again now. AM

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Mar 24 06:53:05 2010
Subject: Pak-India-Bangl

Remember the comparison I asked for? Is that ready--I'd like it today.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Excellent news on one of the defense advocacy cases the Secretary raised with Antony

Your time with Antony was well-spent.

---

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Holmes, David A; Duncan, John D
**Cc:** Blake, Robert O; SCA-INDIA-ONLY-DL; Keegan, David J; Nawab, Ahmed E; Amend, Kurt E
**Sent:** Thu Sep 30 07:35:11 2010
**Subject:** Excellent news on one of the defense advocacy cases the Secretary raised with Antony

THE ECONOMIC TIMES
Thu, Sep 30, 2010 | Updated 04.20PM IST
30 SEP, 2010, 04.03PM IST,PTI

# US major GE wins engine bid for Indian LCAs

NEW DELHI: US aircraft engine manufacturer (GE) Aviation today won the bid for supplying engines for the Indian programme and the deal is estimated to be worth over $600 million.

GE pipped its European competitor Eurojet for the deal after DRDO, which is developing the LCA's mark II version, formally announced that the American major's was the lowest bid in the tenders that saw a long-drawn battle for over two years.

"GE was declared as the lowest bidder" by the Price Negotiating Committee headed by Chief Controller for Aerospace systems Dr Prahlada.

"The Prime Negotiating Committee for the alternate engine for LCA Mk 2 has finalised the comparative statement of tenders...After evaluation and acceptance of the technical offer provided by both Eurojet and GE Aviation, the commercial quotes were compared in detail and GE Aviation was declared as the lowest bidder," an official statement from DRDO said in New Delhi.

The committee also had representatives from Defence Ministry, Defence Finance, Aeronautical Development Agency, DRDO, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Indian Air Force and Indian Navy.

"Further price negotiations and contract finalisation will follow," the release added.

Though the order could be for 99 engines initially, will have the option of order for another 100 engines in the future.

GE had offered its GE F-414 engine as an alternative to its GE F-404 engines that are fitted in the first batch of LCAs that IAF would receive in a couple of years from now.

Eurojet had offered its EJ-200 engines for the LCA Mk II aircraft that is under development now.

The DRDO announcement comes a day after Defence Minister AK Antony returned here after a two-day visit to the US and met American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Defence Secretary Robert Gates among others. Get a Quote

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:59 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Fwd:

Yes,
The Argentina desk is working this issue on your behalf. They are in touch with the sender of the letter (Mr. Ramer in California). The letter asks you to enter into a bilateral agreement with Argentina in order to rectify a Locally Employed Staffer's (in Argentina) personal tax predicament. I will also let Brian know that the department is in touch with his brother-in-law (the sender of the letter), in case he doesn't know already. - Lauren

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:42 AM
To: 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: Fwd:

Did you follow up w Brian about this matter? I think you told me what you did, but I can't remember!

----- Original Message -----
From: Brian Greenspun [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 09 03:00:17 2010
Subject: Fwd:

Hi Hillary,
Once again I am imposing on our friendship to get to you a matter that is important to my brother-in-law Bruce Ramer and, therefore , important to me. I am enclosing his note to me just so you can read how he really talks! I know his relationship with his friend [redacted] and can attest to the personal nature of his appeal. Thank you for whatever attention you give to this which, by my understanding, seems to be a simple matter of justice. Alas, nothing is simple. All the best, Brian

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Bruce M. Ramer" [redacted]
To: "Brian Greenspun" <[redacted]

Brian, I so appreciate your willingness to get my letter (attached, with attachments) into Hilary's hands.

This is purely an act of love for my friend [redacted] As I say in the letter to her, I am N OT acting as an attorney (or for any organization--see end of my letter), but only for a friend who is getting screwed (not the terminology of the letter).

You are more than welcome to read all of the enclosures. Naturally.

The attachments to this email should be: Ramer letter to Secretary Clinton, with an attachment of the letter from [redacted] tax lawyer (and three official attachments thereto--a letter from the IRS to the Argentine Embassy, a revenue ruling and a certification issued this year by the State Department. B6

My letter contains a brief summary of the situation and argument.

This is, as I said, very meaningful to me. Thank you for helping in an indispensible way.

Love to the Greenspun clan. Bruce

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 8:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: FYI-ZARDARI CALLS FOR FLOOD TAX

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Sep 30 07:53:06 2010
Subject: Fw: FYI-ZARDARI CALLS FOR FLOOD TAX

Jake--Given H's public comments on this issue, she should see this.

----- Original Message -----
From: Bommer, Ashley F
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Sep 30 04:54:51 2010
Subject: Fw: FYI-ZARDARI CALLS FOR FLOOD TAX

----- Original Message -----
From: Husain Haqqani [redacted] B6
To: Bommer, Ashley F
Sent: Thu Sep 30 01:16:01 2010
Subject: FYI-ZARDARI CALLS FOR FLOOD TAX

ZARDARI CALLS FOR FLOOD TAX

By Syed Irfan Raza

DAWN Thursday, 30 Sep, 2010

ISLAMABAD: President Asif Ali Zardari asked the government on Wednesday to levy a one-time flood tax on wealthy people.

"A one-time flood tax will have to be imposed on the well-off and people of means to help shore up relief and rehabilitation efforts," he said at a meeting of women ministers, parliamentarians and representatives of non-governmental organisations.

"Unless we are prepared to share bread with our grief- and disaster-stricken brethren, we should not expect others to help us.

"I have already advised the government to tap into indigenous resources wherever there is room," he said.

The president said that funds would be disbursed transparently and every citizen would have access to information relating to the aid received and distributed.

http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/the-newspaper/front-page/president-calls-for-flood-tax-090
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Haaretz) Palestinians expected to leave direct talks

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Sep 30 06:07:26 2010
**Subject:** (Haaretz) Palestinians expected to leave direct talks

(Haaretz) - The Palestinian leadership plans to meet October 2 and is expected to officially decide to end negotiations with Israel if the renewed West Bank settlement construction is not halted. Those expected to attend the meeting include representatives of the PLO workers committee, the Fatah central committee, and the heads of other political parties. After making a decision, the Palestinian leadership is expected to announce that the final decision of whether to leave the talks will be made by the Arab League, who are planning to discuss the issue October 4. The head of the Palestinian negotiation team, Saeb Erekat, said "there are no half-way solutions on the settlements issue." In a statement released to the press after meeting with U.S. Consul General Daniel Rubinstein, Erekat called on the American government and the European Union to force Israel to stop all construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, in order to give peace a chance. Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit said the Palestinians would not be able to remain in the peace talks after Israel's decision not to extend the moratorium. Gheit added that "despite the international efforts, I am not optimistic [about peace talks]".

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 11:07 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

-----Original Message-----
From: williamsbarrett [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 10:10 AM
To: Minyon Moore; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re:

nice that the country he loves so much loves him back.
------Original Message------
From: Minyon Moore
To: Maggie Williams
To: Cheryl D Mills
Subject:
Sent: Sep 30, 2010 6:45 AM

Newsweek's Ben Adler: "Why is Bill Clinton So Much More Popular Than Barack Obama?" Here's a fun fact from the latest NBC/Wall Street Journal
poll: Bill Clinton is the most popular political figure in the country.
The former president, who never won an outright majority of the popular vote and was impeached by Congress, enjoys a 55-23 favorable/unfavorable rating. Clinton left office with an approval rating of 68 percent according to the CBS poll at the time, so his continuing popularity is not surprising. LINK

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 10:43 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Dealing with Netanyahu

----- Original Message ----- B5
From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Walles, Jacob; Hale, David M; Cunningham, James B; Schlicher, Ronald L
Sent: Thu Sep 30 09:02:27 2010
Subject: FW: Dealing with Netanyahu

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

-----Original Message-----
From: Martin Indyk [mailto: B6
Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 8:59 AM
To: George Mitchell; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Dealing with Netanyahu

The principle conclusion from a quick visit to Israel and Ramallah over the weekend is that Netanyahu is in a strong position politically, with an unusually stable ruling coalition. Nobody I spoke with believed that the government would have fallen if he had decided to extend the settlement freeze before its expiry, as a gesture to U.S. peacemaking efforts. In their view, he could have easily garnered the support of a large majority of the people, for whom the settlers are a marginal concern. And this would have given him leverage over his ministers to ensure their support or abstention in the cabinet. As Dan Meridor noted, Likud voters are to the left of their Knesset members when it comes to peacemaking (70 percent support the two-state solution, vs only 50 percent of the leadership).

Lieberman, not the Likud, is Bibi's chief concern. He wants to keep him in the government for as long as possible for fear that when he leaves he will garner the support of those on the right, including from the Likud, who oppose peacemaking. For the time being, Bibi uses the threat of an alternative coalition with Kadima to keep Lieberman in the tent. But the clock is ticking. According to Tzipi Livni, she can bring her party into the government now, and is willing to do so without any demand for "rotation," provided Bibi is serious about negotiating peace. But as the elections grow closer, more and more of her party members are turning against the idea of joining the government. They are strengthened in their views by recent internal polling which shows Kadima with 32 seats (up from 28 now), Likud slightly down at 25, and Labor at only 5.

Therefore, if Bibi intends to make a deal with Abu Mazen, he will need to do so sooner rather than later. The longer he waits, the less leverage he has on Lieberman and the more likely Lieberman will break away to oppose him in the next elections.

In this context, Bibi's negotiating tactics become self-defeating. Believing that he is a great negotiator, and that he is operating in the Middle East bazaar, he inflates his requirements well beyond anything reasonable in the belief that this is the best way to secure the highest price. The process of bringing him down to a reasonable price uses up a lot of energy, uses up a lot of goodwill, humiliates his Palestinian negotiating partner, and raises doubts about his seriousness. In the end, under great pressure from all quarters, he will make the final concession, but only after wasting a lot of time, making everybody furious with him, and thereby securing no credit either with his supporters or negotiating partners. At heart, he seems to lack a generosity of spirit. This combines with his legendary fear of being seen as a "freier" (sucker) in front of his people to create a real problem in the negotiations, especially because he holds most of the cards.

This is further complicated by his introduction of the notion of "creative ideas." Thinking out of the box, as he likes to do, will only further delay the negotiations because the box is already well-defined. To attempt to broaden the parameters will generate mistrust of his intentions on the Palestinian side just when direct negotiations provide the opportunity to build trust.

The reason for dwelling on Bibi's psychology rather than his politics is that the latter all point in the direction of making a deal: the Israeli public is ready to get on with it; if Israel doesn't make a serious move, it will further delegitimize its standing internationally (something Bibi is deeply concerned about); Bibi needs President Obama in his corner to deal with the threat from Iran and to avoid punishment by the voters for mishandling relations with the U.S.; and if he doesn't make the deal with Abu Mazen now, he will have helped to advance the future he is most concerned about - a Hamas takeover of the Palestinian leadership.

Yuval Diskin was quite clear about this latter point. After praising the Palestinian security services to the sky (unusual for him) he told me that he had warned Bibi that at the moment they have a high motivation to prevent terror because they believe they are building their state. If that proves to be an illusion, the motivation will disappear and then he cannot guarantee security in the West Bank. He considers it quite possible that if Bibi doesn't quickly demonstrate his seriousness to Abu Mazen, he will resign because his honor has now been seriously damaged. He told Bibi that he cannot predict who will lead the Palestinians if Abu Mazen resigns, but that Salam Fayyad will likely have to go too.

What is to be done? I have no magic solution for what must be a deeply frustrating exercise for you. And please forgive me if what I recommend here is just repeating what you already know.

1. Put your arm around Bibi: he still thinks we are out to bring him down. There is no substitute for working with him, even though he makes it such a frustrating process. But the purpose of embracing him is to nudge him forward, not to buy into his exaggerated political fears or accept his inflated demands.

2. Try to find a way to make him understand that his negotiating tactics are counterproductive to his own purposes. The Obama Administration has done a great deal lately to underscore its concern for Israel's security, from the vote at the IAEA, to the sanctions on Iran, to the letter that Obama was willing to sign that accepted Bibi's security requirements. That should buy you credibility with him.

3. As his friend, paint a realistic picture of the strategic consequences of his negotiating tactics, particularly in terms of what is likely to happen to the PA leadership if he worries only about his politics and not at all about Abu Mazen's politics.

4. If all else fails, avoid recriminations in favor of a "clarifying moment." The world will of course blame Bibi. But you should avoid any kind of finger-pointing in favor of a repeated commitment to a negotiated solution and a willingness to engage with both sides in trying to make that happen, when they're ready. The Israeli public and the American Jewish Community should know how far the President was prepared to go and they should be allowed to draw their own conclusions. Bibi, Abu Mazen, and the Arab states need negotiations and time is not on the side of any of them. They will come back to the table sooner rather than later as long as we keep the door open.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, March 25, 2010 12:24 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Mack McLarty

Pls put him on my call list and call to ask how late tonight or early tomorrow I can call him.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 5:45 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re:

I have extended my congrats to all.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 00:11:45 2010
Subject:

I just want to drop you a note congratulating you on the vote tonight on health care, that whatever its imperfections the establishment of the principle is a vindication. You might take a moment of personal privilege tomorrow to express gratitude to Nancy Pelosi, the House, and the President for finally achieving the work of years. Sid

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 5:46 AM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Brava!

What a week!

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 22 10:14:46 2010
Subject: Brava!

The way you did the ending was pitch perfect. The headlines may about the Iran language, but you laid a powerful predicate for moving forward. AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 5:47 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Call with Secretary Clinton

Pls be sure that this # is on call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Mar 25 22:46:22 2010
Subject: FW: Call with Secretary Clinton

From: Thomas F. McLarty [mailto: B6
Sent: Thursday, March 25, 2010 10:24 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl,

Thanks for your trademark prompt, clear and courteous response. As always, it and you are appreciated knowing the demands of your responsibilities.

I fully realize that the Secretary is engaged (understatement of the year), so I will wait on and anticipate her call as soon as she has a convenient window to do so. The matters I would like to discuss with Hillary are very timely and important but not urgent.

. I will be available on my cell phone or through my assistant who will be traveling with me. Coordinates in London are as follows.

Mack:

[redacted]

B6

Claridge's: 020-7629-8860

Thank you.

Mack

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:40 PM
To: Thomas F. McLarty
Subject: RE: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Mack:

Thank you for following up on this matter. I know she appreciated your conversation and has been concerned about this matter.

I will flag for Lona – this week is relatively hectic so it may be a weekend or next week call but will flag now as this issue is ripe.

Best.

cdm

From: Thomas F. McLarty [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 24, 2010 10:24 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Call with Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl,

Good morning on a consequential and indeed historic week in the life of our country given the passage of health care reform. President Obama was courageous, persevering and skilled in his leadership and efforts. Having said that, in my humble opinion, he would not have been successful had it not been for President Clinton's, Hillary's and our efforts in 1994. That's my story and I'm sticking to it, and I believe it's true.

I know this has been a particularly demanding week in the life of the Secretary and in your life as well. Having Netanyahu, AIPAC and a major trip to Mexico to fight the narco-traffickers is a formidable task even for Hillary Clinton.

Cheryl, I would like to respectfully request a brief meeting or phone call with Secretary Clinton following up on the conversation she initiated with me at the Vital Voices event regarding the IDB. It's my sense and belief that this matter needs to be carefully handled for a number of reasons including the longstanding friendship that both the Secretary and President Clinton have with Luis Alberto Moreno. I also have another important and timely matter (personal not business) that I would like to discuss with Hillary in our time together.

As I think you know, I try to be very judicious about these types of requests. I think 15 minutes either in person or by phone will be adequate to cover both of these subjects. As always, I appreciate your consideration relating to my request. Thank you and I'll await your guidance and direction.

Personally,

Mack

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 5:50 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Tonight

Is it too late to get a plane for tonight? (I have too much stuff!) If it is, I may prefer to shuttle back Sunday and fly to Ottawa straight from DC on Monday in order to get better organized for next week.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Kabul IG report

Were you able to get a copy of it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:40 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Kabul IG report

I will call later.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Mar 26 07:33:15 2010
Subject: Re: Kabul IG report

Yes. I will be finished going through it this morning before your meeting. Happy to discuss/report when you come in.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Mar 26 07:23:02 2010
Subject: Kabul IG report

Were you able to get a copy of it?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 8:39 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Pan Arab Press Cartoons for Friday, March 26, 2010 from the London-based Media Outreach Center
**Attachments:** image005.jpg; Al-Quds, March 26, 2010.jpg; image005.jpg; Al-Quds, March 26, 2010.jpg

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>; Waxman, Sharon L <WaxmanSL@state.gov>; DiMartino, Kitty <DiMartinoK@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Mar 26 08:10:33 2010
Subject: FW: Pan Arab Press Cartoons for Friday, March 26, 2010 from the London-based Media Outreach Center

From Al Quds should be the front piece of all our presentations !

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, March 26, 2010 7:27 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Mar 26 18:33:24 2010
Subject: Fw: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

---

From: Balderston, Kris M
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Mar 26 17:25:30 2010
Subject: FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

CM

Thghts

Kris

From: Haynie, Robert R
Sent: Friday, March 26, 2010 3:51 PM
To: Balderston, Kris M
Subject: FW: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

What do you think?

From: TJ Woodley [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Friday, March 26, 2010 3:02 PM
To: Haynie, Robert R
Subject: Wynn Resorts as Sponsor

Robert,

Are you sure that the USA Pavilion would not be in a sponsorship by Wynn Resorts (specifically Wynn Macau)? There CFO, Matt Maddox, has expressed strong interest.

The Wynn Macau well known brand in China and Steve Wynn is an extremely popular figure in China. In addition, he is well respected and well though of by the Chinese leadership and business leaders. A sponsorship by Wynn would be well received.

I should be able to get an answer by early next week, but don't want to look foolish if they would be rejected.

TJ

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: CHICAGO (AP) - AP Sources: Emanuel to resign as White House chief of staff Friday, to begin Chicago mayor bid

---

**From**: Moore, Anna W
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Thu Sep 30 11:58:32 2010
**Subject**: CHICAGO (AP) - AP Sources: Emanuel to resign as White House chief of staff Friday, to begin Chicago mayor bid

(Headline only.)

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 2:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

FYI

---

**From:** Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 2:05 PM
**To:** Klevorick, Caitlin B; Bulgrin, Julie K; Chartrand, Jennifer; Mcdonald, Kara C
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

B5

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** Bulgrin, Julie K; Chartrand, Jennifer; Curtis, Meghann A
**Subject:** Re: here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

---

**From:** Bulgrin, Julie K
**To:** Klevorick, Caitlin B; Chartrand, Jennifer; Curtis, Meghann A
**Sent:** Thu Sep 30 13:51:51 2010
**Subject:** RE: here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

There's an indirect quote of Merten through Coburn's office.

---

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 1:51 PM
**To:** Chartrand, Jennifer; Curtis, Meghann A
**Cc:** Bulgrin, Julie K

**Subject:** Re: here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

There is no quote from merten in this article.

---

**From:** Sumilas, Michele [mailto:Michele.Sumilas@mail.house.gov]
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 1:38 PM
**To:** Chartrand, Jennifer
**Subject:** here is the article i mentioned where Merten's quote seems to substantiate the need for authorization language and that money has not moved

# Haiti Still Waiting For Pledged U.S. Aid

JONATHAN M. KATZ and MARTHA MENDOZA | 09/29/10 02:54 AM | AP



Members of NGO Goal work in the Port-au-Prince streets on September 11, 2010. An United Nations report on the impoverished Caribbean state, where a magnitude 7.0 earthquake on January 12 killed 250,000 people, said criminal gangs are increasing their grip on many of the 1,300 camps where most of the estimated 1.3 million homeless are still based. It painted a desolate picture of Haiti's infrastructure, estimating that almost a quarter of the 230,000 buildings damaged, including about 150,000 hou

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Nearly nine months after the earthquake, more than a million Haitians still live on the streets between piles of rubble. One reason: Not a cent of the $1.15 billion the U.S. promised for rebuilding has arrived.

The money was pledged by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton in March for use this year in rebuilding. The U.S. has already spent more than $1.1 billion on post-quake relief, but without long-term funds, the reconstruction of the wrecked capital cannot begin.

With just a week to go before fiscal 2010 ends, the money is still tied up in Washington. At fault: bureaucracy, disorganization and a lack of urgency, The Associated Press learned in interviews with officials in the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the White House and the U.N. Office of the Special Envoy. One senator has held up a key authorization bill because of a $5 million provision he says will be wasteful.

Meanwhile, deaths in Port-au-Prince are mounting, as quake survivors scramble to live without shelter or food.

"There are truly lives at stake, and the idea that folks are spending more time finger-pointing than getting this solved is almost unbelievable," said John Simon, a former U.S. ambassador to the African Union who is now with the Center for Global Development, a Washington think tank.

Nor is Haiti getting much from other donors. Some 50 other nations and organizations pledged a total of $8.75 billion for reconstruction, but just $686 million of that has reached Haiti so far – less than 15 percent of the total promised for 2010-11.

The lack of funds has all but halted reconstruction work by CHF International, the primary U.S.-funded group assigned to remove rubble and build temporary shelters. Just 2 percent of rubble has been cleared and 13,000 temporary shelters have been built – less than 10 percent of the number planned.

The Maryland-based agency is asking the U.S. government for $16.5 million to remove more than 21 million cubic feet (600,000 cubic meters) of additional rubble and build 4,000 more temporary houses out of wood and metal.

"It's just a matter of one phone call and the trucks are out again. We have contractors ready to continue removing rubble. ... We have local suppliers and international suppliers ready to ship the amount of wood and construction materials we need," said CHF country director Alberto Wilde. "It's just a matter of money."

Story continues below
ADVERTISEMENT

Last week the inaction bore tragic results. On Friday an isolated storm destroyed an estimated 8,000 tarps, tents and shacks in the capital and killed at least six people, including two children. And the threat of violence looms as landowners threaten entire camps with forced eviction.

In Washington there is confusion about the money. At a July hearing, Ravij Shah, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, thanked members of Congress for approving the funds, saying, "The resources are flowing and are being spent in country."

It wasn't true then, and still hasn't happened.

When the earthquake hit, U.S. agencies sent troops, rescuers, aid workers and supplies to the devastated capital, Port-au-Prince. On March 24, President Barack Obama asked Congress for $2.8 billion in emergency aid to Haiti – about half to pay back money already spent by USAID, the Defense Department and others. An additional $212 million was to write off debt.

The heart of the request was $1.15 billion in new reconstruction funds.

A week later, Clinton touted that figure in front of representatives of 50 nations at the U.N. secretariat, the president of Haiti at her side.

"If the effort to rebuild is slow or insufficient, if it is marked by conflict, lack of coordination or lack of transparency, then the challenges that have plagued Haiti for years could erupt with regional and global consequences," Clinton said.

That was nearly six months ago. It took until May for the Senate to pass a supplemental request for the Haiti funds and until July for the House to do the same. The votes made $917 million available but did not dictate how or when to spend it. Without that final step, the money remains in the U.S. Treasury.

Then came summer recess, emergencies in Pakistan and elsewhere, and the distractions of election politics.

Now the authorization bill that would direct how the aid is delivered remains sidelined by a senator who anonymously pulled it for further study. Through calls to dozens of senators' offices, the AP learned it was Sen. Tom Coburn, a Republican from Oklahoma.

"He is holding the bill because it includes an unnecessary senior Haiti coordinator when we already have one" in U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Merten, Coburn spokeswoman Becky Bernhardt said.

The bill proposes a new coordinator in Washington who would not oversee U.S. aid but would work with the USAID administrator in Washington to develop a rebuilding strategy. The position would cost $1 million a year for five years, including salaries and expenses for a staff of up to seven people.

With the bill on hold, the State Department is trying to move the money along by avoiding Congress as much as possible. It sent lawmakers a "spending plan" on Sept. 20 and gave legislators 15 days to review it. If they fail to act on the plan, the money could be released as soon as specific projects get the OK.

"We need to make sure that the needs of the Haitian people are not sacrificed to procedural and bureaucratic impediments," Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman John Kerry told the AP by e-mail. "As we approach nine months since the earthquake, further delays on any side are unacceptable."

Asked when the money will actually come, State Department spokesman Charles Luoma-Overstreet said the department expects to start spending in the coming weeks and months. He added that $275 million in "bridge" funds were released in March and have gone toward agriculture, work, health and shelter programs – not long-term reconstruction.

Haitian advocates say that is not enough.

Jean-Claude Bajeux of the Ecumenical Center for Human Rights in Port-au-Prince said this phase was supposed to be about building semi-permanent houses.

"Where are they? We haven't seen them," he said. "There is not much money that is being used. There is not much work that has actually been done."

Of course there is no guarantee that the money would lead to the successful rebuilding of Haiti. Many past U.S. aid efforts have fallen short.

"I don't think (the money) will make any difference," said Haitian human rights advocate Pierre Esperance. "Haitian people are not really involved in this process."

But officials agree the funds could pay for new approaches to make Haiti more sustainable, and rebuilding projects could improve millions of lives.

The AP found that $874 million of the funds pledged by other countries at the donors conference was money already promised to Haiti for work or aid before the quake. An additional $1.13 million wasn't ever going to be sent; it was debt relief. And $184 million was in loans to Haiti's government, not aid.

The Office of the Special Envoy has been tracking the money delivered so far but does not know who got it. The envoy himself, former President Bill Clinton, told the AP in July and again in August that he was putting pressure on donors to meet their pledges.

On the streets of Haiti, many simply feel abandoned. Mishna Gregoire, 22, said she was happy when she heard about the donors conference. But six months later she is still in a tarp city with 5,000 other people, on a foul-smelling plaza in the Port-au-Prince suburb of Petionville.

"I thought it was something serious they were really going to do," Gregoire said, standing amid tarps torn apart by the sudden storm. "But nothing has been done. And I don't think anything will be done."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 8:25 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills[redacted]' 'millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Can you talk this am?

I'm free until 10:30 and after 1. Sorry I couldn't get back to you last night.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:33 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Madame Secretary -- a very sophisticated and supportive voice from Singapore. Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: Heng Chee CHAN [redacted] B6
To: Campbell, Kurt M
Sent: Thu Sep 30 19:04:40 2010
Subject: Lee Kuan Yew on SCS

Message Classification: Unclassified

Kurt,

Minister Mentor spoke in a Singapore-russia dialogue held in Singapore. I think Secretary Clinton would like his comments.

Heng Chee

Headline: The way to solve border disputes: MM
Byline: JEREMY AU YONG
Publication: ST^ST
Date: Wednesday, 29 September 2010
Page: A4
(C) Singapore Press Holdings Limited

It's fair for smaller countries to turn to international conventions

MINISTER Mentor Lee Kuan Yew supports the use of international conventions to solve border disputes, especially when the countries involved are not of equal standing.

By way of illustration, he said it was "fair" for smaller countries like Vietnam to resolve disputes with China using conventions like Unclos – the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

He made the point at a dialogue of the Russia-Singapore Business Forum yesterday, when he was asked by former Japanese senator Kotaro Tamura to comment on the ongoing China-Japan dispute.

Mr Tamura, in his question, made his feelings clear, describing China as a "teenager" in its handling of the situation.

Adding that China was also pushing around other countries like those in South-east Asia, he asked if it was a good idea for countries with potential border problems to team up and take China into a multilateral negotiation.

Mr Lee, in his response, noted that multiparty negotiations had been proposed by United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in a visit to Vietnam this July.

But Mrs Clinton's statement had upset China, he added.

Mr Lee said: "It was a really quiet statement but I think it also drew a line, a red line which will not make the Chinese very happy.

"As you can see its foreign minister says it's none of America's business, it is a bilateral matter with the Philippines, with Brunei, with Vietnam."

The three South-east Asian countries, China and some others have all laid claim – either in whole or in part – to the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

But any bilateral negotiation with China is unlikely to be a fair fight, he said.

"So if you deal with China, and Vietnam with 100 million (people) and they've got 1,300 million, where is your punching power?" he asked.

He cited a 2008 dispute over a deal Vietnam made with US oil giant ExxonMobil to do oil exploration in contested waters.

"The Chinese told ExxonMobil: 'Move on or you'll get no business from China.' So ExxonMobil moved on," he said. That is why, he said, a multilateral, Unclos- based solution was just.

He stressed that negotiations needed to be based on internationally accepted rules.

Mrs Clinton, he said, probably did not act independently when making the statement in Hanoi and would have consulted her country's national security lobby and even the President.

He said the US policy made it clear that territorial claims were more complex than producing a map with dotted lines and saying: "All this is mine".

"I mean who produces this map? What is the authenticity of this map? Who kept it? And even if you can prove its antiquity, what does it show?

"It shows that at that time these countries were not independent and (were) under French, American or British or other rule and so they could not object.

"But now they're independent and they're entitled to protest. It's within their EEZ (exclusive economic zone); it's within their territorial waters,"
he said.

Mr Lee said the points made by the US in Hanoi draw an "important line against bilateral dealings which are unequal".

He also spoke on Japan's current spat with China, the worst between the two countries in years, which was sparked earlier this month when Japan detained a Chinese ship captain following a sea collision near the disputed Senkaku islands.

Japan, however, released the captain on Saturday.

Mr Lee felt that moving to settle the dispute was probably the right thing to do.

He said: "Supposing he (Japanese PM Naoto Kan) decided to do otherwise, then what? Then the Senkaku islands will become a dispute. Then they will send their navy there. Then you will send your navy there.

"And normally (you) have better ships than they have. But they will build an aircraft carrier. So in 10 years they have a bigger fleet than you have, so you have to factor that into your calculation.

"These are the realities of power."

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** My status

Mitchell and team leave at 5 tomorrow for Qatar. My inclination is that my value add to the team declines in making these Arab rounds, so I was thinking of flying back overnight tomorrow night. But if you believe I can be of use out here, I'm certainly prepared to stay.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 8:55 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Gas air ballon race

One of missing balloonist is [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Toiv, Nora F; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Sep 30 17:46:51 2010
Subject: Re: Gas air ballon race

I cannot Thank you enough. I was just with [redacted] August

As I read the e mail It is hard to believe this is happening

[redacted] brother is also on his way. He is a pilot [redacted]

B6

[redacted]
Sent from my iP

On Sep 30, 2010, at 5:05 PM, "Toiv, Nora F" <ToivNF@state.gov> wrote:

> See below. I'll send you updates as I get them.
>
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Mull, Stephen D
> Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 2:40 PM
> To: Toiv, Nora F
> Subject: RE: Gas air ballon race
>
> Absolutely!
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Toiv, Nora F
> Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 13:30 PM
> To: Mull, Stephen D
> Subject: RE: Gas air ballon race
>
> Thank you Steve!
>
> Is it okay if I pass this info on [redacted]
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Mull, Stephen D
> Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 1:23 PM
> To: Toiv, Nora F

> Subject: RE: Gas air ballon race
>
> Nora, here's the latest:
>
> --Balloonists remain missing. Italian authorities continued the
> search this morning at first light, but have encountered poor weather
> and poor visibility.
>
> --The Sixth Fleet has reached out to the Italians and offered to
> provide airplane support for the search using resources based in
> Sicily. The Italian government has agreed to accept the assistance.
> The U.S. Navy is sending two planes to assist in the search (one from
> Naples and one from Sigonella). The plane from Naples is a C-26 (a
> passenger aircraft) and it should be lifting off this hour. Later
> tonight, a P-3 (a maritime patrol plane) from Sigonella will be sent to the search area.
>
> --CA/OCS has been in contact with Governor Richardson's office.
> However, due to privacy act issues, CA/OCS told the Governor's office
> that it cannot release certain information. However, CA/OCS stressed
> that DOS is actively involved and knew about the incident immediately
> after it occurred from race operators.
>
> --Consulate Naples reports they notified next of kin. [redacted]
> [redacted] is in England at race headquarters and [redacted]
> [redacted] is going to Rome today. [redacted] is
> traveling with an Italian friend and will be met at the airport by the
> balloon chase team and will proceed directly to Bari, where the
> operations center overseeing the search is located. ConGen Naples has
> been in touch with her directly and is working now with the GOI to
> secure a permit for her to visit the operations center there. Consul
> General Don Moore (whom Cheryl may remember from Haiti) is remaining
> personally engaged [redacted] and the Italian authorities to
> facilitate contacts and otherwise support.
>
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Toiv, Nora F
> Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 11:07 AM
> To: Mull, Stephen D
> Subject: FW: Gas air ballon race
>
> Saw your email. Is somebody here at State staying in touch [redacted]
> Thanks.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: [redacted]
> Sent: Thursday, September 30, 2010 10:24 AM
> To: Toiv, Nora F
> Subject: Gas air ballon race
>
>
> [redacted]
> .please if you can give her call at [redacted] and her e mail is

B6

>
>
> I only have the information that she sent me and you have
>
>
> Sent from my iPad

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, March 27, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Anything to report?

Call me at home thru Ops.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 9:04 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Martin Indyk sent this to Jeff Feltman -- very interesting analysis

Jake probably passed this on to you, but just in case, I think it's definitely worth reading – [redacted] A few comments from one of my staff members who has long experience with the Middle East follow. B5

From Martin: The principle conclusion from a quick visit to Israel and Ramallah over the weekend is that Netanyahu is in a strong position politically, with an unusually stable ruling coalition. Nobody I spoke with believed that the government would have fallen if he had decided to extend the settlement freeze before its expiry, as a gesture to U.S. peacemaking efforts. In their view, he could have easily garnered the support of a large majority of the people, for whom the settlers are a marginal concern. And this would have given him leverage over his ministers to ensure their support or abstention in the cabinet. As Dan Meridor noted, Likud voters are to the left of their Knesset members when it comes to peacemaking (70 percent support the two-state solution, vs only 50 percent of the leadership).

Lieberman, not the Likud, is Bibi's chief concern. He wants to keep him in the government for as long as possible for fear that when he leaves he will garner the support of those on the right, including from the Likud, who oppose peacemaking. For the time being, Bibi uses the threat of an alternative coalition with Kadima to keep Lieberman in the tent. But the clock is ticking. According to Tzipi Livni, she can bring her party into the government now, and is willing to do so without any demand for "rotation," provided Bibi is serious about negotiating peace. But as the elections grow closer, more and more of her party members are turning against the idea of joining the government. They are strengthened in their views by recent internal polling which shows Kadima with 32 seats (up from 28 now), Likud slightly down at 25, and Labor at only 5.

Therefore, if Bibi intends to make a deal with Abu Mazen, he will need to do so sooner rather than later. The longer he waits, the less leverage he has on Lieberman and the more likely Lieberman will break away to oppose him in the next elections.

In this context, Bibi's negotiating tactics become self-defeating. Believing that he is a great negotiator, and that he is operating in the Middle East bazaar, he inflates his requirements well beyond anything reasonable in the belief that this is the best way to secure the highest price. The process of bringing him down to a reasonable price uses up a lot of energy, uses up a lot of goodwill, humiliates his Palestinian negotiating partner, and raises doubts about his seriousness. In the end, under great pressure from all quarters, he will make the final concession, but only after wasting a lot of time, making everybody furious with him, and thereby securing no credit either with his supporters or negotiating partners. At heart, he seems to lack a generosity of spirit. This combines with his legendary fear of being seen as a "freier" (sucker) in front of his people to create a real problem in the negotiations, especially because he holds most of the cards.

This is further complicated by his introduction of the notion of "creative ideas." Thinking out of the box, as he likes to do, will only further delay the negotiations because the box is already well-defined. To attempt to broaden the parameters will generate mistrust of his intentions on the Palestinian side just when direct negotiations provide the opportunity to build trust.

The reason for dwelling on Bibi's psychology rather than his politics is that the latter all point in the direction of making a deal: the Israeli public is ready to get on with it; if Israel doesn't make a serious move, it will further delegitimize its standing internationally (something Bibi is deeply concerned about); Bibi needs President Obama in his corner to deal with the threat from Iran and to avoid punishment by the voters for mishandling relations with the U.S.; and if he doesn't make the deal with Abu Mazen now, he will have helped to advance the future he is most concerned about - a Hamas takeover of the Palestinian leadership.

Yuval Diskin was quite clear about this latter point. After praising the Palestinian security services to the sky (unusual for him) he told me that he had warned Bibi that at the moment they have a high motivation to prevent terror because they believe they are building their state. If that proves to be an illusion, the motivation will disappear and then he cannot guarantee security in the West Bank. He considers it quite possible that if Bibi doesn't quickly demonstrate his seriousness to Abu Mazen, he will resign because his honor has now been seriously damaged. He told Bibi that he cannot predict who will lead the Palestinians if Abu Mazen resigns, but that Salam Fayyad will likely have to go too.

What is to be done? I have no magic solution for what must be a deeply frustrating exercise for you. And please forgive me if what I recommend here is just repeating what you already know.

1. Put your arm around Bibi: he still thinks we are out to bring him down. There is no substitute for working with him, even though he makes it such a frustrating process. But the purpose of embracing him is to nudge him forward, not to buy into his exaggerated political fears or accept his inflated demands.

2. Try to find a way to make him understand that his negotiating tactics are counterproductive to his own purposes. The Obama Administration has done a great deal lately to underscore its concern for Israel's security, from the vote at the IAEA, to the sanctions on Iran, to the letter that Obama was willing to sign that accepted Bibi's security requirements. That should buy you credibility with him.

3. As his friend, paint a realistic picture of the strategic consequences of his negotiating tactics, particularly in terms of what is likely to happen to the PA leadership if he worries only about his politics and not at all about Abu Mazen's politics.

4. If all else fails, avoid recriminations in favor of a "clarifying moment." The world will of course blame Bibi. But you should avoid any kind of finger-pointing in favor of a repeated commitment to a negotiated solution and a willingness to engage with both sides in trying to make that happen, when they're ready. The Israeli public and the American Jewish Community should know how far the President was prepared to go and they should be allowed to draw their own conclusions. Bibi, Abu Mazen, and the Arab states need negotiations and time is not on the side of any of them. They will come back to the table sooner rather than later as long as we keep the door open.

From my staffer:

B5

B5

AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:19 PM
**To:** 'Burnswj@state.gov'; 'wburns66 [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Putin trip

Bill--My husband cannot go w PM Putin in mid-April because of his schedule, but he would be very interested in doing such events w the PM in the future. Will you pls pass on to the Russians? Thx. HRC

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, March 28, 2010 9:27 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** NPR

I've reviewed the memo from Bob and Derek and can agree w its comments but would like to know what Jim thinks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:31 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NPR

Ok. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Mar 29 08:30:17 2010
Subject: Re: NPR

Jim concurs in the memo recommendations.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Mar 28 21:26:42 2010
Subject: NPR

I've reviewed the memo from Bob and Derek and can agree w its comments but would like to know what Jim thinks.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:47 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Schedule

I have to meet w Baucus after the recess on trade issues

April 28--I want to meet w the Belgian FM

Did we ever get a date for Mort Zuckerman dinner for the Wiesels?

I'd like to meet w:

Phil Goldberg
Jackie Novogartz

I'd like to see Missy Kincaid when she and her family are here June 27-July 8.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, March 29, 2010 8:48 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Call list

Pls put the following on the list:

Walter Pincus (move him up from 12/9/08) Derek Harvey (move him up) Mona Ackerman (move from 9/24/08)

And take off the following:

Belgian FM
Height
Turkish FM
Lowey
Cannon
Rosen
Goldberg
McLarty (the 1/4 entry
Frist
Foxman
Stern
Rhodeen
Osteen
Straley
Jacobs
Magee

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 7:00 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Canada

A friend just emailed me telling me she was so sorry I had such a tough day in Canada. What's the news that suggests that back here?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 30, 2010 7:09 PM
**To:** 'jake.sullivar ; 'preines B6
**Subject:** Re: Canada

Here's what she said:

Sounds like a tuff day in Canada. Sorry you have such a incredibly hard job but we do appreciate all you do.

Beats me.

----- Original Message -----
From: jake.sullivan <jake.sullivan
To: preines <preines ; H
Sent: Tue Mar 30 19:06:25 2010
Subject: Re: Canada

I haven't seen anything real in our press.

------Original Message------
From: PIR
To: Evergreen
Cc: Jake Sullivan
ReplyTo: preines
Subject: Re: Canada
Sent: Mar 30, 2010 7:01 PM

Just the stuff from yesterday. Maybe one of the cable nets or talking heads made a to do about it.

But I'm surprised because it didn't seem anyone here cared, was all Canada

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: Jake Sullivan
To: PIR
Subject: Canada
Sent: Mar 30, 2010 6:59 PM

A friend just emailed me telling me she was so sorry I had such a tough day in Canada. What's the news that suggests that back here?

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:20 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:09:09 2010
Subject: Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
Subject: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Not much of a surprise. Later this morning KBH will announce that she will NOT resign her Senate seat.

You'll recall that she had had promised during her gubernatorial campaign that, win or lose, she'd give up her seat.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:44 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

No.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:23:59 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:20:18 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:09:09 2010
Subject: Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
Subject: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Not much of a surprise. Later this morning KBH will announce that she will NOT resign her Senate seat.

You'll recall that she had had promised during her gubernatorial campaign that, win or lose, she'd give up her seat.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Troika on Sudan

Ok. Did you see the latest FT article?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:49:10 2010
Subject: Troika on Sudan

Team would like to release following statement. Okay by you?

MEDIA NOTE
Joint Statement on the Upcoming Sudan National Elections

Following is the text of a joint statement by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Støre, and United Kingdom Foreign Secretary David Miliband on the upcoming national elections in Sudan.

Begin Text:

National elections in Sudan this month will represent a major milestone in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended Sudan's twenty-two year civil war, and are an important opportunity for the people of Sudan to participate in the political process.

We urge all parties in Sudan to work urgently to ensure that elections can proceed peacefully and credibly in April. We are deeply concerned by reports of continued administrative and logistical challenges, as well as restrictions on political freedoms. We call on the Government of Sudan, the National Elections Commission, and all political parties to engage in further dialogue to resolve practical obstacles, procedural impediments, and address allegations of intimidation, harassment, and safety concerns, and other legitimate concerns raised by various political parties. We continue to urge the parties to improve conditions on the ground in Darfur and create a secure environment conducive to Darfuri participation.

Irrespective of the outcome of elections, it is essential that work continues and is accelerated to meet remaining CPA deadlines. Progress is needed urgently to complete border demarcation, to establish the commissions that will supervise the referenda for the South and Abyei, to conduct popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, and to negotiate sustainable post-CPA arrangements in areas such as wealth-sharing, citizenship and assets, and liabilities.

We reiterate our commitment to ensure that the referenda must happen on schedule and that their outcomes need to be respected. It is time to redouble efforts to achieve these ends. We urge all parties in Sudan and all regional and international partners to work together to achieve the peaceful future that the people of Sudan deserve.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:23:59 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

[redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:20:18 2010
Subject: Re: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 10:09:09 2010
Subject: Fw: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Fyi

---

From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Wed Mar 31 09:55:03 2010
Subject: Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison

Not much of a surprise. Later this morning KBH will announce that she will NOT resign her Senate seat.

You'll recall that she had had promised during her gubernatorial campaign that, win or lose, she'd give up her seat.

Miguel E. Rodríguez

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Senate Affairs

Bureau of Legislative Affairs

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2645

rodriguezme@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 11:47 AM
**To:** 'cheryl.mills millscd@state.gov' B6
**Subject:** Fw: FT re NSC

------Original Message------
From: PIR
To: Evergreen
Subject: FT re NSC
Sent: Mar 31, 2010 11:02 AM

Sorry - the middle part most relevant to you was omitted from what I sent - here's the full article:

US Foreign Policy: Waiting on a Sun King By Edward Luce and Daniel Dombey Financial Times
Published: March 30 2010

For better or for worse, Washington has grown used to the fact that Barack Obama runs the most centralised – or "White House-centric" – administration since Richard Nixon. When Nixon wanted foreign policy advice, everyone knew where he got it from: Henry Kissinger, variously his national security adviser and secretary of state.

In contrast, Mr Obama has no big foreign policy strategist. Even insiders give different answers when asked to whom he turns for advice on the big international questions. But almost all agree with the following observation. "The truth is that President Obama is his own Henry Kissinger – no one else plays that role," says a senior official. "Every administration reflects the personality of the president. This president wants all the trains routed through the Oval Office."

Fifteen months after he took office, the character and structure of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is still evolving. But from interviews with dozens of insiders and outsiders, including senior officials both authorised and unauthorised to speak, and three former national security advisers, it is clear the buck not only stops with, but often floats for quite a long time around, Mr Obama himself.

Foreigners have complained about the tendency of his domestic agenda to crowd out the international one – the passage last week of healthcare reform was greeted with an audible sigh of relief among US allies. But within foreign policy itself, his centralised structure can also result in many issues being left on the back burner awaiting presidential attention, say critics.

"On the positive side, we have a very conscientious president who takes advice widely," says the official. "On the debit side, for all the president's intelligence, Barack Obama came to office with very little experience. He just doesn't have much depth on some issues."

The core of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is in the White House-based National Security Council, which advises the president and co-ordinates activities across an increasingly complex alphabet soup of Washington departments, military commands and intelligence agencies. The most widely questioned link in the chain is Jim Jones, whom, to many people's surprise, Mr Obama brought in as his national security adviser.

Only briefly acquainted with Mr Obama beforehand, General Jones, a retired four-star marine corps general, shows little interest in running the "inter-agency" process – a key part of the job. Somewhat unconventionally, Gen Jones travels

frequently and is thus often out of town. Unusually, it is Mr Obama himself who usually chairs the weekly National Security Council, known as the "principals meeting", not Gen Jones.

Rahm Emanuel, Mr Obama's chief of staff, is also a key part of it. "If you were to ask me who the real national security adviser is, I would say there were three or four, of whom Rahm is one and of which Gen Jones is probably the least important," says another official.

Anyone who has dealt with Gen Jones speaks highly of his matter-of-factness, his geniality and the respect many foreign governments have for him – Pakistan and Israel among them. But as he himself admitted rather disarmingly last year, he does not have a taste for bureaucracy. Speaking at the Atlantic Council, a think-tank where he previously worked, Gen Jones provoked laughter when he said: "I fondly remember [the Atlantic Council] as a place where people actually did what you asked them to do. In my new role I'm finding out that an order is a basis for negotiation."

STATE AND DEFENCE DEPARTMENTS

An 'alliance of the unsackables' finds it can confront the inner circle

If there is a caveat to the depiction of the Obama administration as White House-centric, it is in the alliance between Hillary Clinton and Robert Gates, the president's secretaries of state and defence.

Mrs Clinton has proved one of the surprises of Barack Obama's tenure, forging a strong working relationship with her former rival and establishing herself as his chief foreign policy spokesperson internationally – if not at home, where Mr Obama's inner circle often seems to monopolise the explaining.

Mr Gates, who recently decided to stay for at least another year, is seen as unsackable, not least for the credibility he lends on issues ranging from missile defence to Guantánamo Bay and Afghanistan. As a holdover from the Bush administration, his national security bona fides are hard to dispute. It is no coincidence that Mrs Clinton is probably the only other unsackable cabinet member.

The combination has made itself felt in some of the administration's most significant debates, notably on Afghanistan, where both successfully urged the deployment of more troops."

Gates and Clinton happen to like each other, which no one really predicted," says one official, who notes that while the traditional role of the NSC is to "play referee" between the state and defence departments, it is as often nowadays a combination of the two against the White House. This is very different from how it worked when Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell held those positions."We work together well," Mr Gates said at an appearance with Mrs Clinton on CNN last year. "I think it starts with, frankly, based on my experience, the secretary of defence being willing to acknowledge that the secretary of state is the principal spokesperson for United States foreign policy."

Their outlooks often overlap. From the Pentagon, Mr Gates has long called for more US spending on diplomacy. As chief diplomat, Mrs Clinton has adopted a muscular approach. On Iran, both favour tough sanctions; on Russia, both have sought to reassure Moscow's neighbours even while improving relations with the Kremlin.

But for all their workmanlike co-operation, there is no escaping the fact that Mrs Clinton is not part of the Obama inner circle – a traditionally helpful feature in that job. There is also a constant "residue of friction" between Mr Obama's and Mrs Clinton's teams, according to insiders. For example, Cheryl Mills, Mrs Clinton's chief of staff, has had several run-ins with others in the administration.

One official describes Mrs Clinton as "totally loyal" to Mr Obama. He adds: "She and the president are not the best of friends – how could they be? But she totally respects the presidency – she was married to a president and she wanted to be one. . . She still might be."

The lack of a strong national security adviser has created recurring difficulties. Perhaps the best example is the Arab-Israeli peace process, which Mr Obama launched on his second day in office when he appointed George Mitchell as his envoy. Three months later, Mr Obama insisted Benjamin Netanyahu freeze all settlements activity in order to boost Arab confidence in the talks.

In a heated showdown in the Oval Office last May, in which Mr Netanyahu refused to accede to Mr Obama's demand, the only officials present were Mr Emanuel and David Axelrod, senior adviser to Mr Obama in office and during the campaign. Gen Jones was not there. The fallout put the talks in abeyance and damped high Arab hopes for Mr Obama.

"The question is, which bright spark advised the president to demand a settlements freeze without working out what the next step should be when Netanyahu inevitably said 'No'?" says Leslie Gelb, an official in the Carter administration and former head of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Why wasn't George Mitchell in the room? Where was Jones?"Mr Obama's character is also stamped on the inter-agency process, set up and managed by Tom Donilon, deputy national security adviser. The nitty-gritty of foreign policy-making is done at these frequent "deputies' meetings", which can sometimes consume four to six hours a day.

Described by one insider as "the most powerful man in the White House whose name isn't widely known", Mr Donilon, who was an official in the Clinton administration, is the man who keeps Mr Obama's trains running on time. And there are a lot of trains. Last year, Mr Donilon held 270 deputies meetings – a workload described as "clinically insane" by a former senior diplomat under Bill Clinton.

But as time goes on, it is becoming streamlined – now taking up roughly two to three hours a day, say officials. "People forget that we inherited two wars, terrorism threats, and perhaps the biggest single eight-year decline [George W. Bush's two terms] in America's power and reputation in our history," says a senior official. "It took time to put in place a process that could deal with the very complex decisions we had to take."

Also the organiser of Mr Obama's 9.30am national security briefing, Mr Donilon reinstated the paper trails needed to prevent intra-governmental anarchy, using the model de-vised by Brent Scowcroft, national se-curity adviser to George Bush senior and Gerald Ford. Vice-president Joe Biden's team was also incorporated to prevent the kind of "parallel process" Dick Cheney used to circumvent the bureaucracy under George W. Bush.

"If you look for the 2002 or 2003 meeting where the decision to go to war in Iraq was taken, you cannot find it," says the senior official. "By getting the process right, we are improving the quality of decisions."

The deputies' ties go back years. For example, the families of Mr Donilon and Jim Steinberg, deputy secretary of state, often go on holiday together. Mr Donilon's wife, Cathy Russell, is chief of staff to Jill Biden, the vice-president's wife. Mr Steinberg's wife, Sherburne Abbott, is deputy to John Holdren, Mr Obama's chief scientific adviser.

All those who regularly attend, including Michèle Flournoy, a senior Pentagon official, and Susan Rice, the US ambassador to the United Nations, have known each other since at least 1993, when they started off in the Clinton administration. This is just as well, since they spend half their lives together:

"A lot of work gets done in that group," says Ms Flournoy. "Sometimes it feels like shovelling coal to keep the fires going."

The refurbished machinery was perhaps most in evidence during the build-up to Mr Obama's decision in December to send another 30,000 US troops to Afghanistan – a journey that took four months and involved him in 40 hours of Oval Office meetings.

But the very diligence of the process crowded out Mr Obama's time to focus on other crises – of which there are many. "Time is the most precious commodity a president has," says a for-mer national security ad-viser.

"On average he is only going to have 45 minutes a day for foreign policy, so you want to make sure it is well spent."

The widely expected departure of Gen Jones before the end of the year has also created rivalries within the engine room. Those who are thought to have ambitions to replace him include Mr Steinberg, Ms Rice, Mr Donilon and Denis McDonough, NSC chief of staff and the foreign policy official who is personally closest to Mr Obama. Although all are widely respected, none is considered a big strategic thinker in the Kissinger or Scowcroft mould.

Described by Mr Gelb as Mr Obama's "Lord High Executioner", Mr McDonough "has appended himself to the Chicago crowd", says another official. Mr McDonough's widely feared role highlights some of the contradictions of Mr Obama's foreign policy apparatus.

Once an adviser to former Senate majority leader Tom Daschle, Mr McDonough was frequently at Mr Obama's side during the campaign. Insiders describe him as the "en-forcer" and as the keeper of "message discipline", a key element of any campaign but something that can drastically slow the wheels of government.

"McDonough is the guy from the campaign and the one who plays basketball with the president – they're very close," says an official. "Instead of Jim Jones telling McDonough what the president thinks, it is the other way round."

Indeed, if Mr Obama's highly centralised foreign policy machine had a face, it would be Mr McDonough's. "Donilon has been perceived to make the process inclusive and give everyone a seat at the table," says David Rothkopf, a former Clinton official and scholar on the NSC. "Fairly or not, McDonough has been perceived as representing a process that was taking place in another room, among the inner circle, at a table to which most weren't invited."Mr Obama has built a machine in which all roads lead to and from him. On the minus side, that means a lot of lower-level meetings without decisions. It also means neglecting issues that cannot be squeezed into his diary, such as trade policy, which continues to drift; or relations with India, which are unnecessarily tense.

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When Mr Obama makes a decision, that is.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 4:36 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: In case you haven't seen this in today's FT. Sid

Saw it. What do you make of it?

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Wed Mar 31 16:28:04 2010
Subject: H: In case you haven't seen this in today's FT. Sid

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/df53a396-3c2a-11df-b40c-00144feabdc0.html

* Skip to main content, accesskey 's' <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/df53a396-3c2a-11df-b40c-00144feabdc0,dwp_uuid=03d100e8-2fff-11da-ba9f-00000e2511c8,print=yes.html#access-content>
* Homepage, accesskey '1' <http://www.ft.com>

Financial Times FT.com

FT.com logo <http://media.ft.com/FTCOM/Images/ftlogo2.gif>
<http://media.ft.com/t.gif> COMMENT

<http://media.ft.com/t.gif> Analysis

* Close <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/df53a396-3c2a-11df-b40c-00144feabdc0,dwp_uuid=03d100e8-2fff-11da-ba9f-00000e2511c8,print=yes.html#>

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/df53a396-3c2a-11df-b40c-00144feabdc0,dwp_uuid=03d100e8-2fff-11da-ba9f-00000e2511c8,print=yes.html#>

US foreign policy: Waiting on a sun king

By Edward Luce and Daniel Dombey
Published: March 30 2010 22:22 | Last updated: March 30 2010 22:22 barack obama on the great wall of china <http://media.ft.com/cms/37d96f42-3c0c-11df-9412-00144feabdc0.jpg>
Barack Obama at the Great Wall of China last year. Unlike his predecessor Richard Nixon, who turned to Henry Kissinger for advice, the US president has no big foreign policy strategist

For better or for worse, Washington has grown used to the fact that Barack Obama <http://www.ft.com/indepth/obama-presidency> runs the most centralised – or "White House-centric" –

administration since Richard Nixon. When Nixon wanted foreign policy advice, everyone knew where he got it from: Henry Kissinger, variously his national security adviser and secretary of state.

In contrast, Mr Obama has no big foreign policy strategist. Even insiders give different answers when asked to whom he turns for advice on the big international questions. But almost all agree with the following observation. "The truth is that President Obama is his own Henry Kissinger – no one else plays that role," says a senior official. "Every administration reflects the personality of the president. This president wants all the trains routed through the Oval Office."

Fifteen months after he took office, the character and structure of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is still evolving. But from interviews with dozens of insiders and outsiders, including senior officials both authorised and unauthorised to speak, and three former national security advisers, it is clear the buck not only stops with, but often floats for quite a long time around, Mr Obama himself.

Foreigners have complained about the tendency of his domestic agenda to crowd out the international one – the passage last week of healthcare reform <http://www.ft.com/indepth/us-healthcare-reform> was greeted with an audible sigh of relief among US allies. But within foreign policy itself, his centralised structure can also result in many issues being left on the back burner awaiting presidential attention, say critics.

"On the positive side, we have a very conscientious president who takes advice widely," says the official. "On the debit side, for all the president's intelligence, Barack Obama came to office with very little experience. He just doesn't have much depth on some issues."

The core of Mr Obama's foreign policy machinery is in the White House-based National Security Council, which advises the president and co-ordinates activities across an increasingly complex alphabet soup of Washington departments, military commands and intelligence agencies. The most widely questioned link in the chain is Jim Jones <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0c0c8c5a-c002-11dd-9222-0000779fd18c.html> , whom, to many people's surprise, Mr Obama brought in as his national security adviser.

Only briefly acquainted with Mr Obama beforehand, General Jones, a retired four-star marine corps general, shows little interest in running the "inter-agency" process – a key part of the job. Somewhat unconventionally, Gen Jones travels frequently and is thus often out of town. Unusually, it is Mr Obama himself who usually chairs the weekly National Security Council, known as the "principals meeting", not Gen Jones.

Rahm Emanuel, Mr Obama's chief of staff, is also a key part of it. "If you were to ask me who the real national security adviser is, I would say there were three or four, of whom Rahm is one and of which Gen Jones is probably the least important," says another official.

Anyone who has dealt with Gen Jones speaks highly of his matter-of-factness, his geniality and the respect many foreign governments have for him – Pakistan and Israel among them. But as he himself admitted rather disarmingly last year, he does not have a taste for bureaucracy. Speaking at the Atlantic Council, a think-tank where he previously worked, Gen Jones provoked laughter when he said: "I fondly remember [the Atlantic Council] as a place where people actually did what you asked them to do. In my new role I'm finding out that an order is a basis for negotiation."

The lack of a strong national security adviser has created recurring difficulties. Perhaps the best example is the Arab-Israeli peace process, which Mr Obama launched on his second day in office when he appointed George Mitchell <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b904d928-29ef-11df-b940-00144feabdc0.html> as his envoy. Three months later, Mr Obama insisted Benjamin Netanyahu freeze all settlements activity in order to boost Arab confidence in the talks.

In a heated showdown in the Oval Office <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/159f9c90-43e1-11de-a9be-00144feabdc0.html> last May, in which Mr Netanyahu refused to accede to Mr Obama's demand, the only officials present were Mr Emanuel and David Axelrod, senior adviser to Mr Obama in office and during the campaign. Gen Jones was not there. The fallout put the talks in abeyance and damped high Arab hopes for Mr Obama.

"The question is, which bright spark advised the president to demand a settlements freeze without working out what the next step should be when Netanyahu inevitably said 'No'?" says Leslie Gelb, an official in the Carter administration and former head of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Why wasn't George Mitchell in the room? Where was Jones?"

Mr Obama's character is also stamped on the inter-agency process, set up and managed by Tom Donilon, deputy national security adviser. The nitty-gritty of foreign policy-making is done at these frequent "deputies' meetings", which can sometimes consume four to six hours a day.

Described by one insider as "the most powerful man in the White House whose name isn't widely known", Mr Donilon, who was an official in the Clinton administration, is the man who keeps Mr Obama's trains running on time. And there are a lot of trains. Last year, Mr Donilon held 270 deputies meetings – a workload described as "clinically insane" by a former senior diplomat under Bill Clinton.

But as time goes on, it is becoming streamlined – now taking up roughly two to three hours a day, say officials. "People forget that we inherited two wars, terrorism threats, and perhaps the biggest single eight-year decline [George W. Bush's two terms] in America's power and reputation in our history," says a senior official. "It took time to put in place a process that could deal with the very complex decisions we had to take."

Also the organiser of Mr Obama's 9.30am national security briefing, Mr Donilon reinstated the paper trails needed to prevent intra-governmental anarchy, using the model de-vised by Brent Scowcroft, national se-curity adviser to George Bush senior and Gerald Ford. Vice-president Joe Biden's team was also incorporated to prevent the kind of "parallel process" Dick Cheney used to circumvent the bureaucracy under George W. Bush.

"If you look for the 2002 or 2003 meeting where the decision to go to war in Iraq was taken, you cannot find it," says the senior official. "By getting the process right, we are improving the quality of decisions."

The deputies' ties go back years. For example, the families of Mr Donilon and Jim Steinberg, deputy secretary of state, often go on holiday together. Mr Donilon's wife, Cathy Russell, is chief of staff to Jill Biden, the vice-president's wife. Mr Steinberg's wife, Sherburne Abbott, is deputy to John Holdren, Mr Obama's chief scientific adviser.

All those who regularly attend, including Michèle Flournoy, a senior Pentagon official, and Susan Rice, the US ambassador to the United Nations, have known each other since at least 1993, when they started off in the Clinton administration. This is just as well, since they spend half their lives together: "A lot of work gets done in that group," says Ms Flournoy. "Sometimes it feels like shovelling coal to keep the fires going."

The refurbished machinery was perhaps most in evidence during the build-up to Mr Obama's decision in December to send another 30,000 US troops to Afghanistan – a journey that took four months and involved him in 40 hours of Oval Office meetings.

But the very diligence of the process crowded out Mr Obama's time to focus on other crises – of which there are many. "Time is the most precious commodity a president has," says a for-mer national security ad-viser. "On average he is only going to have 45 minutes a day for foreign policy, so you want to make sure it is well spent."

The widely expected departure of Gen Jones before the end of the year has also created rivalries within the engine room. Those who are thought to have ambitions to replace him include Mr Steinberg, Ms Rice, Mr Donilon and Denis McDonough, NSC chief of staff and the foreign policy official who is personally closest to Mr Obama. Although all are widely respected, none is considered a big strategic thinker in the Kissinger or Scowcroft mould.

Described by Mr Gelb as Mr Obama's "Lord High Executioner", Mr McDonough "has appended himself to the Chicago crowd", says another official. Mr McDonough's widely feared role highlights some of the contradictions of Mr Obama's foreign policy apparatus.

Once an adviser to former Senate majority leader Tom Daschle, Mr McDonough was frequently at Mr Obama's side during the campaign. Insiders describe him as the "en-forcer" and as the keeper of "message discipline", a key element of any campaign but something that can drastically slow the wheels of government.

"McDonough is the guy from the campaign and the one who plays basketball with the president – they're very close," says an official. "Instead of Jim Jones telling McDonough what the president thinks, it is the other way round."

Indeed, if Mr Obama's highly centralised foreign policy machine had a face, it would be Mr McDonough's. "Donilon has been perceived to make the process inclusive and give everyone a seat at the table," says David Rothkopf, a former Clinton official and scholar on the NSC. "Fairly or not, McDonough has been perceived as representing a process that was taking place in another room, among the inner circle, at a table to which most weren't invited."

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And it means that the fingerprints of Mr Obama's political inner circle are detected by the rumour mill even when they are absent, such as on the president's decision to begin the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/c4efd1d6-df74-11de-98ca-00144feab49a.html> in July 2011 – a recommendation that came from Robert Gates, secretary of defence.

On the plus side, Mr Obama has a sharp learning curve, which means his administration continues to evolve. On the plus side also, if it has to be White House-centric, it is perhaps better with him as the Sun King than, say, Nixon or George W. Bush.

"At the end of each meeting, the president summarises what everyone has said and the arguments each has made with a real lawyer's clarity," says a participant to the NSC principals meeting, which includes Mr Gates and Mrs Clinton. "When the president finally makes a decision, it is with the full facts and usually shows a high calibre of judgment."

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STATE AND DEFENCE DEPARTMENTS

An 'alliance of the unsackables' finds it can confront the inner circle

If there is a caveat to the depiction of the Obama administration as White House-centric, it is in the alliance between Hillary Clinton and Robert Gates, the president's secretaries of state and defence.

Mrs Clinton has proved one of the surprises of Barack Obama's tenure, forging a strong working relationship with her former rival and establishing herself as his chief foreign policy spokesperson internationally – if not at home, where Mr Obama's inner circle often seems to monopolise the explaining.

Mr Gates, who recently decided to stay for at least another year, is seen as unsackable, not least for the credibility he lends on issues ranging from missile defence to Guantánamo Bay and Afghanistan. As a holdover from the Bush administration, his national security bona fides are hard to dispute. It is no coincidence that Mrs Clinton is probably the only other unsackable cabinet member.

The combination has made itself felt in some of the administration's most significant debates, notably on Afghanistan, where both successfully urged the deployment of more troops.

"Gates and Clinton happen to like each other, which no one really predicted," says one official, who notes that while the traditional role of the NSC is to "play referee" between the state and defence departments, it is as often nowadays a combination of the two against the White House. This is very different from how it worked when Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell held those positions.

"We work together well," Mr Gates said at an appearance with Mrs Clinton on CNN last year. "I think it starts with, frankly, based on my experience, the secretary of defence being willing to acknowledge that the secretary of state is the principal spokesperson for United States foreign policy."

Their outlooks often overlap. From the Pentagon, Mr Gates has long called for more US spending on diplomacy. As chief diplomat, Mrs Clinton has adopted a muscular approach. On Iran, both favour tough sanctions; on Russia, both have sought to reassure Moscow's neighbours even while improving relations with the Kremlin.

But for all their workmanlike co-operation, there is no escaping the fact that Mrs Clinton is not part of the Obama inner circle – a traditionally helpful feature in that job. There is also a constant "residue of friction" between Mr Obama's and Mrs Clinton's teams, according to insiders. For example, Cheryl Mills, Mrs Clinton's chief of staff, has had several run-ins with others in the administration.

One official describes Mrs Clinton as "totally loyal" to Mr Obama. He adds: "She and the president are not the best of friends – how could they be? But she totally respects the presidency – she was married to a president and she wanted to be one ... She still might be."

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 31, 2010 7:29 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted] B6
**Subject:** KUDOS!

You did a fabulous job and everybody knew this would not have succeeded w/out your leadership. Onward.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 07/01/2025

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 5:56 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Preval rejects US Advice on Presidential election and respond to Lugar's report

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jul 01 05:44:51 2010
Subject: Fw: Preval rejects US Advice on Presidential election and respond to Lugar's report

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From: Guy Noel [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Jun 30 22:44:31 2010
Subject: Preval rejects US Advice on Presidential election and respond to Lugar's report

A PALI PAPA..PONYET PREVAL GONFLE
==========

Preval rejects US advice on presidential election

By JONATHAN M. KATZ (AP) – 2 hours ago

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Haiti's president on Wednesday rejected U.S. Senate recommendations on holding an election for his successor, brushing off criticism that the current process will leave the shattered country without a credible leader.

A report issued this month by Sen. Richard Lugar, the ranking Republican on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "strongly encourages" Haiti to let its international partners help restructure the eight-member Provisional Electoral Council, which has been accused of corruption.

The report also recommends ensuring the participation of the key opposition party of ousted former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, which was blocked from participating in 2009 legislative contests because of a dispute over rival candidate lists.

On Tuesday, President Rene Preval fulfilled one recommendation of the report by issuing a signed decree setting election day for Nov. 28.

But speaking at a news conference in an open-air gazebo alongside the broken remains of the national palace a day later, Preval told reporters he had no intention of complying with the rest, including changing the election body, known as the CEP.

"I'm not doing the CEP with international partners. I'm doing the CEP with national partners," Preval said. "The senator's proposition is inadmissible."

Seeking to show the council was not "hand-picked," as he said in English, Preval handed out copies of nomination letters for the panel's members submitted by various national and religious organizations, including the National Council of Political Parties, Roman Catholic Church and National Confederation of Haitian Vodou.

He also defended the prohibition on the exiled Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party in last year's elections, a ban that came after rival factions of the party submitted competing lists of candidates.

"International donors need to look for an accord with the CEP and the political parties and the factions of Fanmi Lavalas," Preval said. "We are giving (the parties) the support that they need, and the factions need to figure it out (for themselves)."

Preval did not discuss the forced resignation of an electoral council member accused of stealing a staffer's pay or opponents' allegations that the council gave special privileges to the president's newly formed Unity Party ahead of planned Feb. 28 legislative elections, which were postponed because of the Jan. 12 earthquake that devastated the capital.

He also declined to answer questions about another U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee report that criticizes Haiti's earthquake recovery, saying he would address that issue at a news conference on reconstruction next week.

Elections have never been easy in Haiti, a country whose founding president crowned himself emperor. It took 186 years to hold what the international community considered a democratic election in 1990, which was then closely followed by a coup d'etat.

Preval, in fact, is the only Haitian ever to be elected president, serve a full term and hand off power to an elected successor. Unable to run for re-election in the November contest, he pledged to relinquish power again as he did in the 1990s — after protesters alleged earlier this year that he was dragging his feet on holding presidential the election.

Doing so will require significant help. The electoral council's headquarters were destroyed and its records lost in the quake, while millions of voters were either killed, made homeless or displaced. Its new headquarters is a former Gold's Gym seized by drug agents.

The election will also be a cost burden for this grindingly poor Caribbean nation: $29 million according to electoral officials at the news conference with Preval, $38 million according to the U.S. Senate report.

The Organization of American States and United Nations have pledged support. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon issued a statement Wednesday praising the decree setting the election date and pledged the help of U.N. peacekeepers and advisers in preparing and supporting the ballot. Ban urged member states to quickly provide the money needed to run the vote.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 11:09 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: fyi

Let's discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Cc: cheryl.mills <cheryl.mills B6
Sent: Thu Jul 01 11:06:04 2010
Subject: fyi

<http://coteret.com/author/didiremez/>
Maariv: Netanyahu won't meet Clinton; 'sources' say she "isn't relevant" <http://coteret.com/2010/07/01/maariv-netanyahu-wont-meet-clinton-sources-say-she-isnt-relevant/>

Didi Remez <http://coteret.com/author/didiremez/> | July 1, 2010 at 15:25 | Categories: Diplomacy <http://coteret.com/category/diplomacy/> | URL: http://wp.me/pHlQV-Ep

Do they honestly think that publicizing a quote like this, on record or off, works to their advantage?

Israeli diplomatic [euphemism for Prime Minister's Office -- DR] sources said: "Clinton isn't relevant and is out of the circle of influence. Mitchell has taken over the peace process to a great extent and Obama, in any event, is the important person in this story because he is the one who decides."

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<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif>
<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif>
<http://didiremez.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/maariv.gif> Netanyahu to meet Obama, but not Clinton
Eli Bardenstein, Maariv, July 1 2010 [page 7; Hebrew original here and at bottom of post]
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton>
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton>
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/33775924/Maariv-Jul01-10-Netanyahu-Will-Not-Meet-Clinton> Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is to leave next week for Washington, where he will meet with US President Barack Obama. Rather curiously, he is not scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the course of his visit to Washington.

Contrary to his previous visit in March, this time the US administration intends to create the impression, outwardly at least, that the severe crisis in the relationship has passed and that the relations between the two countries are as strong as ever. In order to bolster that impression, the two leaders will meet the media together and will be photographed. As opposed to the previous time, Netanyahu will also be put up at Blair House, the official White House guesthouse, and not at a hotel.

That said, officials in Washington are waiting apprehensively for the answers that Netanyahu will provide in the course of the meeting, which is expected to address the transition from the proximity talks that are at an impasse to direct negotiations. Obama, apparently, will demand that Netanyahu agree to extend the construction freeze in Judea and Samaria beyond the September 26 expiration date in hope of securing PA Chairman Abu Mazen's consent to begin direct talks with Israel. For the time being, the forum of seven is divided over this issue.

Read more of this post <http://coteret.com/2010/07/01/maariv-netanyahu-wont-meet-clinton-sources-say-she-isnt-relevant/#more-2505>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 6:25 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Can you get me more info about the shrine?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:24:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:07:11 2010
Subject: Fw: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Jake please pass to hillary. I will call. She may want to, especially given forthcoming trip. R PS--tell her I had a good (I think)u talk with Misha S today. Hope it helps trip.

----- Original Message -----
From: Nasr, S Vali R
To: 'HolbrookeR@state.gov' <HolbrookeR@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jul 01 17:32:48 2010
Subject: Bomb at Sufi shrine

Richard

3 bombs devastated the shrine of Data Ganjbakhsh (the most sacred Muslim place in all of South Asia, and the shrine S was supposed to go to). Aside from loss of life, this is a major blow to Pakistan. I recommend that you call Qureshi, Nawaz and Pasha (who will be here tomorrow). This will either break Pakistanis or will get them into the fight. This shrine is deeply tied to the foundation of Islam in Pakistan.
Vali Nasr

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 6:53 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Test

Received.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted]
To: H
Cc: Lona J Valmoro <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Jul 01 18:52:18 2010
Subject: Test

Testing in-flight communication

Sent from my iPad

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, July 1, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 8:10pm

Yes--I'll come out and eat w you all.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jul 01 20:08:44 2010
Subject: 8:10pm

MS, the crew is asking if you would like dinner soon – I wanted to check with you before they interrupted you in the cabin.

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

[redacted] (direct) B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, July 2, 2010 12:38 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Pakistan bombing

Ok to go.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jul 02 12:33:08 2010
Subject: Pakistan bombing

FYI we are putting out the following statement.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Bombing of the Shrine of Syed Ali Hujviri in Lahore

I was shocked and saddened by yesterday's attack on one of Pakistan's most popular places of worship, the Shrine of Syed Ali Hujviri (Data Ganjbakhsh) in Lahore, which claimed the lives of many innocent Pakistanis.

The extremists have shown that they respect neither human dignity nor the fundamental religious values of Pakistani society. Violating the sanctity of this revered shrine is a particularly sinister attempt to destabilize Pakistan and to intimidate its people. The attackers will not succeed, as the Pakistani public refuses to be cowed by such violence.

We condemn this brutal crime and reaffirm our commitment to support the Pakistani people in their efforts to defend their democracy from the violent extremists who seek to destroy it. Our thoughts and prayers are with the families of the victims and with all the people of Pakistan.

###

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 11:29 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Looks bad

FYI -- see chain on PSC issue.

-----Original Message-----
From: DeHart, James P
Sent: Sunday, October 24, 2010 11:02 AM
To: Singh, Vikram J; Feldman, Daniel F; Ruggiero, Frank J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Looks bad

Yep.

----- Original Message -----
From: Singh, Vikram J
To: DeHart, James P; Feldman, Daniel F; Ruggiero, Frank J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 24 10:54:09 2010
Subject: Re: Looks bad

Looks like we will be leaving it to them. I spoke to someone who was there, and he said the whole int community was offended. HK said people would rather be with TB than have the pscs. HK has a press avail at 1030 tomorrow...

----- Original Message -----
From: DeHart, James P
To: Singh, Vikram J; Feldman, Daniel F; Ruggiero, Frank J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 24 10:13:53 2010
Subject: Re: Looks bad

Yes very bad. No movement and some ugly words. Rch is with ghani and eikenberry now. Next steps a bit unclear.

----- Original Message -----
From: Singh, Vikram J
To: DeHart, James P; Feldman, Daniel F
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 24 09:43:28 2010
Subject: Looks bad

B5

Here's Panjwok's article:

Karzai firm on deadline for security firms

by Javed Hamim Kakar on 24 October, 2010 - 16:54 KABUL (PAN): President Hamid Karzai has firmly rejected a joint request from US, British and German ambassadors to extend the deadline for disbanding private security firms in the country, his office said on Sunday.

At a special meeting, President Karzai told the foreign officials that the private security companies had established a parallel government in the war-torn country, something he would not allow.

Ambassadors Karl Eikenberry (US), William Patey (UK), Ambassador Rüdiger König (Germany),ISAF Commander Gen. David Petraeus and NATO's special civilian representative, Mark Sidwell, were among the foreign officials who attended the meeting.

Karzai issued a four-month deadline for dissolving all foreign and Afghan security companies, a move he believes will help stabilise Afghanistan."I addressed the problem five years ago but our international friends warned of halting development projects," Karzai was quoted in a statement from his office.

"I again raised the issue three years ago and international community representatives asked for an additional two years. But now the Afghan government is determined to dissolve the companies," Karzai told the foreign envoys.

Japan's deputy ambassador also took part in the meeting. The president told the ambassadors to convey their security concerns about the implementation of projects to the government. Karzai would continue to meet foreign officials who expressed serious concerns over the presidential decree banning the security firms, the statement added.

In/mud

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 12:27 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Brock memo here, have many more ideas on this. S
**Attachments:** Memo on Clarence Thomas.docx; Memo on Clarence Thomas.docx

CONFIDENTIAL

October 24, 2010

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NYT: Ms. McEwen said that pornography for Justice Thomas was "just a part of his personality structure." She said he kept a stack of pornographic magazines, "frequented a store on Dupont Circle that catered to his needs" and *allowed his interest in pornography to bleed into his professional relationships.*

Dowd (10/24): In her interviews McEwen confirmed Thomas's obsession with women with "huge, huge breasts," with scouting the women he worked with as possible partners *and with talking about porn at work* – while he was the head of the federal agency that polices sexual harassment.

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Leahy: Or with anyone for that matter?

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WP: According to McEwen, Thomas would also tell her about women he encountered at work. He was partial to women with large breasts, she said. In an instance at work, Thomas was so impressed that he asked one woman her bra size, McEwen recalled him telling her.

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"And let's face it, the Supreme Court these are life-time appointments. We are sitting here with a Supreme Court that elected this president by a five to four decision, but a Supreme Court that could reverse Roe v Wade and many many serious things affecting women...

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775406 Date: 08/31/2015

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Leahy: I'm not asking –

Thomas: I will categorically say that I have not had any such discussions with Professor Hill.

Leahy: Please don't misunderstand my question judge. I am confining it to the workplace. I have no interest in what may be your personal life in this. That's yours. What I'm asking is within – she alleges within the workplace. Make sure I fully understand—I'm asking you this question so that you can give the answer. Am I correct in understanding your answer, within the workplace with Professor Hill, you never had such a discussion?

Thomas: Right.

Leahy: You never had such discussions within the workplace with any other women?

Thomas: That's right.

Leahy: Or with anyone for that matter?

Thomas: Right.

WORKPLACE BEHAVIOR

WP: To McEwen, Hill's allegations that Thomas had pressed her for dates and made lurid sexual references rang familiar. "He was always actively watching the women he worked with to see if they could be potential partners. It was a hobby of his."

WP: According to McEwen, Thomas would also tell her about women he encountered at work. He was partial to women with large breasts, she said. In an instance at work, Thomas was so impressed that he asked one woman her bra size, McEwen recalled him telling her.

McEwen told ABC News (10-22): "He was constantly evaluating women in terms of whether they would be a good sex partner or not."

Thomas testimony:

"Senator [Biden] my attitude at work was in my work environment my staffs were almost invariably predominantly women. The senior person on my staff was a woman. I could not tolerate individuals making that environment uncomfortable or hostile. I could tolerate individuals who had to segregate their language or conduct in order to get along. The conduct had to be purged of offensive attitudes and I made a constant effort, and that was something that I was proud of and it was something I am sure the people who worked for me felt comfortable with and understood."

WP: In her Senate testimony, Hill, who worked with Thomas at two federal agencies, said that Thomas would make sexual comments to her at work, including references to scenes in hard-core pornographic films.

Thomas testimony:

"If I used that kind of grotesque language with one person it would seem to me that there would be traces of it throughout the employees who worked closely with me; there would be other individuals who heard it, or bits and pieces of it, or various levels of it."

SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE

There were five other individuals, including now McEwen, who had first-hand knowledge of Thomas's behavior as Hill described it, but none testified in the hearing.

NYT: Ms. McEwen has generally kept a low profile all these years, largely, she explains, out of respect for the wishes of Justice Thomas, who asked her to "take the same position toward him as his first wife had take" and not speak publicly about their relationship. A former prosecutor and judge, she is now retired.

WP: McEwen recalls writing Thomas a short note before the confirmation hearings, curious about what she should say if she were quizzed about their relationship. She said Thomas preferred that she would take "the same attitude of his first wife" who never talked publicly about their relationship.

WP: Angela Wright, who in 1984 worked as a public affairs director at the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission – which polices sexual harassment claims – during Thomas's long tenure as chairman, shared similar accounts with Senate investigators. Once when walking into an EEOC seminar with Thomas, he asked her "What size are your breasts?" according to the transcript of her Senate interview.

WP: Her (Wright's) story was corroborated by a former EEOC speechwriter, Rose Jourdain, who told Senate investigators that Wright had become increasingly uneasy around Thomas because of his comments about her appearance.

WP: Another woman, Sukari Hardnett, who worked as a special assistant to Thomas in 1985 and 1986, wrote in a letter to the Judiciary Committee: "If you were young, black, female and reasonably attractive, you knew full well you were being inspected and auditioned as a female" by Thomas.

Neither Wright, nor Rose Jourdain (her corroborator), nor Sukari Hardnett testified at the hearing. As he drew the hearing to a close, Biden lifted a subpoena for Wright to testify and instead transcripts of the interviews with Wright and her corroborator were simply entered into the record then the hearing was concluded, and Thomas was confirmed the next day.

Dowd: "For the written record Biden allowed negative accounts only from women who had worked for Thomas. He also ruled out testimony from women who simply had personal relationships with Thomas, and he did not respond to a note from McEwen – as a former US attorney who had once worked as a counsel for Biden's committee – reminding him of her long relationship with Thomas."

INTIMIDATING A WITNESS

A fourth woman with knowledge of Thomas's behavior, Kaye Savage, was first named in a 1994 book Strange Justice by Jill Abramson and Jane Mayer. Savage was a close colleague of Thomas's and Hill's in the Reagan Administration. Savage was interviewed by Judiciary Committee staff after she contacted the committee, and a staffer made notes, but she was never called to testify. Her story did not become public until Abramson and Mayer obtained the staff notes and interviewed Savage, who told the authors of visiting Thomas's apartment during the time Hill was working for Thomas and observing stacks of pornographic magazines and all of the walls of the apartment papered with centerfolds of large-breasted nude women.

From Blinded by the Right:

"The biggest problem raised by the Strange Justice authors for the Thomas camp was the testimony of yet another woman, Kaye Savage, who had not been heard from during the first round of hearings."

"I called Mark Paoletta (a close Thomas friend and former associate White House counsel under Bush) at his Washington law office and discussed the Savage matter with him. Mark had been helping me on all other aspects of (my) review (of Strange Justice for The American Spectator) and we developed a plan for dealing with Savage. I needed to find out quickly who she was and what negative information might exist about her before confronting her and trying to force her into backing off the story she had told the Strange Justice authors. I was intent on doing to Savage what had been done to Anita Hill and Angela Wright during the Thomas hearings. Mark said he would call Clarence Thomas (then a sitting Justice) and see what he could find out."

"Within an hour or so that morning Mark phoned me back. He said he had posed my question about how to discredit Savage to Thomas, who knew I was at work on a review of the Mayer and Abramson book. (Personal note: I had personally told Thomas this when I met him at a Paoletta family event only days prior). Mark told me that Thomas had, in fact, some derogatory information on his former friend Savage; he passed it along to Mark so that Mark could give it to me. Quoting Thomas directly, Mark told me of unverified embarrassing personal information about Savage that Thomas claimed had been raised against her in a sealed court record of a divorce and child custody battle more than a decade ago. Thomas also told Mark where Savage worked after Mark related that I was eager to hunt her down as soon as possible. Surely skirting the bounds of judicial propriety to intimidate and smear yet another witness against him, Thomas was playing dirty and so was I."

After an excerpt of Blinded featuring the Savage story was published in TALK magazine in 2001, The NYT reported (6-27-01): "Reached at home in Washington last night, Ms. Savage said that Mr. Brock had tried to intimidate her but that he had not told her the source of the negative information. 'I didn't think to ask,' she said. But she said that she had shared the information about her divorce with few people and that Justice Thomas and Ms. Hill were 'primarily' those to whom she had confided. 'He either got it from Clarence or he got it from Anita, Ms. Savage said. 'and Anita's my friend.'"

(Personal note: Though I confronted Savage with the information in an effort to get her to recant, she never did, although I made it appear otherwise by journalistic sleight-of-hand involving a written statement Savage had given me under duress about her interviews with Mayer and Abramson in my Spectator review).

Frank Rich, NYT (12-29-94): "This time Mr. Brock's partisan desperation has led him to a tactic that is beyond the pale of even tabloid journalism and that would make any citizen think twice before speaking freely to any journalist: He tried to bully a source in Strange Justice, a one-time Hill and Thomas associate named Kaye Savage, to get her to sign a statement denying her own contribution to the book."

Jamin Raskin, a law professor and associate dean at American University in Washington, received a call seeking advice from Ms. Savage after her encounter with

Mr. Brock a few weeks ago: "She was distraught and said Brock was threatening to reveal damaging information about her from a divorce situation unless she agreed to retract everything she had said to the authors of Strange Justice, he said in an interview. 'I told her this is a clear violation of journalistic ethics and might be blackmail and that she shouldn't give in to it. She was beside herself because she had told the truth.'"

MORE CONFIRMATION ON PORNOGRAPHY

Blinded by the Right:

"I next set out to blow away the Mayer and Abramson story that Thomas had been a frequent customer of an X-rated video store near Dupont Circle, called Graffiti, where in the early 1980s he was alleged to have rented X-rated videos of the type that Hill claimed he had discussed with her in graphic terms. In the hearings Thomas had pointedly refused to answer questions about his personal use of pornography, other than to categorically deny that he had ever talked about porn with Hill (or with anyone in the workplace). The Graffiti story was another theretofore unknown piece of evidence for Hill's case..."

"Now that Mark had opened up a channel directly to Thomas, I asked him to find out for me whether Thomas had owned the video equipment needed to view movies at home in the early 1980s...Mark came back with a straightforward answer: Thomas not only had the video equipment in his apartment, but he also habitually rented pornographic movies from Graffiti during the years Anita Hill worked for him. Here was the proof that Senate investigators and reporters had been searching for during the hearings.

NYT: (Lillian McEwen) said he kept a stack of pornographic magazines, "frequented a store on Dupont Circle that catered to his needs."

CALLS FOR INVESTIGATION

Partial Transcript of CNN's Crossfire, 6-28-2001, after TALK published the excerpt from Blinded on Kaye Savage:

Eleanor Smeal, President of Feminist Majority Foundation: "I think there should be a hearing. Not only do I think there should be a hearing, I think that we can get to the bottom of it. There's other people now involved. There's Kaye Savage, who was, in fact, discredited by Brock. There are other authors who have written and were discredited by Brock. There is – essentially what Brock is saying they're very serious charges, they're not light charges. They are charges that he was fed information, and being fed this information, they discredited people wrongfully and knowingly. And this is serious.

"And let's face it, the Supreme Court these are life-time appointments. We are sitting here with a Supreme Court that elected this president by a five to four decision, but a Supreme Court that could reverse Roe v Wade and many many serious things affecting women...

"Let's get right to – let's just get right to this, the problem with Clarence Thomas. There was a book that came out by two reputable reporters, Jill Abramson and Jane Mayer. And it collaborated – it confirmed a lot of what Anita Hill said. And we now know – of course we don't know this – it's alleged by Brock that he knew when he attacked that book and attacked it systematically that he was saying a lie. And so basically that is a reputable account that substantiates what she said...

"Why don't you just bring it before a Senate judiciary committee and have Paoletta there, and not only that, why don't you investigate? I mean in fact there were – it's not just one person's word against another. He said that he was a regular participator in buying videos from a certain store. I mean why can't..."

Robert Novak: "Who said that? Who said that?"

Smeal: "Paoletta. Paoletta said it to Brock but what I'm saying is you can check it. I mean you don't have to..."

Novak: "He (Paoletta) denies it."

Smeal: 'But that's a person's word. Is there no such thing as investigations? Is there no such thing as a hearing? I mean and why can't it be bipartisan? If in fact it's true that this man is just a liar, then you clear the name. But if it isn't we get at something also very serious. So – it's a serious allegation."

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** point on tone w karl and petraeus

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 2:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update

FYI.

---

**From:** Eikenberry, Karl W
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Update

Karzai has called for an Afghan leaders' meeting at 8:30AM to discuss the Decree. I made the rounds over the past few days and discussed the issue with many of the jihadis (including Fahim Khan); they will urge restraint and sobriety.

PERSONAL
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Lew, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** 4 QDDR Draft Chapters
**Attachments:** DiplomacyChapter10 24 10 final 3 pm.doc; Development_Chapter_10_22_10 CLEAN.doc; QDDR_Chapter 3_Crisis_Conflict_and_Instability_102210_final clean.doc; Working smarter 10 24 10 final.doc; DiplomacyChapter10 24 10 final 3 pm.doc; Development_Chapter_10_22_10 CLEAN.doc; QDDR_Chapter 3 _Crisis_Conflict_and_Instability_102210_final clean.doc; Working smarter 10 24 10 final.doc

With prodigious efforts by your entire team (Jeanne, Dana, and Ed Meier worked very hard with Pat and his people over the past week on the last chapter in addition to Bill, Karen, both Jim and Don Steinberg and others at both State and USAID), greatly aided by spectacular thinking and all-night editing from Jake, here are a much improved four chapters. Among other things, the 4th chapter now showcases much of the great work jack and his team have already done.

In the final report we will have

1. An introductory 1-2 page letter from you
2. An exec summary (10-15 pp that can be read in lieu of entire doc)
3. An introduction framing the chapters in terms of leading thru civilian power;
4. A chapter on the global trends and policies driving our assessment of the capabilities we need (written but not yet edited):
5. the attached 4 chapters;
6. a final chapter on the National Security Budget;
7. A conclusion.

With the edits/cuts this week we are on track to come in some 5,000-10,000 words shorter than the QDR.

We're working this week on roll-out strategies of every kind, as well as further revisions to fill holes and respond to your and other comments.

Happy reading!
AM

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**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Sun Oct 24 15:40:03 2010
**Subject:** 4 QDDR Draft Chapters

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott [redacted]
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 5:11 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Phil Goldberg (State); Jake Sullivan (DOS)
**Subject:** a possible approach....
**Attachments:** Georgia-Russia scope paper Oct 24-1.doc; Georgia-Russia scope paper Oct 24-1.doc

Attached are some thoughts of an outsider.

==========

Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200
stalbott[redacted]

==========

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775424 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

# A POSSIBLE US DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE

## TO UNFREEZE AND DEFUSE GEORGIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS

*Sunday, October 24, 2010*

Georgia-Russia relations are not just frozen—they're volatile in ways that could exacerbate current and prospective dangers regionally and globally. The deadlock over Russia occupation and virtual annexation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia already ....

— constitutes an on-going violation of international law;

— highlights the worst, most atavistic, geopolitically assertive trends in Russian domestic and foreign policy;

— complicates Russia's relations with the U.S, EU countries, and Russia's neighbors

— hinders Presidents Obama and Medvedev's joint aspiration for Russia to join the WTO, post-NST progress on arms control in general and CFE in particular and the prospects for strengthening U.S. and allied security interests in general.

— undercuts Russia's credibility as a European democracy in good standing and worthy of further integration into Euroatlantic and global institutions.

The aftermath of the Georgia-Russia conflict of August 2008 also has the potential to blow up into another conflict between Georgia and Russia and—even short of another outright war—spread instability and political violence in the Caucasus (North and South).

Moreover, the situation, if it remains frozen and dangerous, poses a domestic political challenge as well. The Administration's ability to influence Russia's behavior in Georgia has become a litmus test of the "reset." For many in Congress and elsewhere, the President's efforts to get Russia into the WTO, strengthen the OSCE and European security, and move onto next stage of conventional arms control will be judged on whether the U.S. is, simultaneously, able to advance the economic and security interests of Georgia as democratic NATO aspirant. Conversely, any appearance of U.S. pressure on Georgia to accept Moscow's dismemberment of the country will erode support for the "reset" in U.S.-Russia relations, including potentially imperiling ratification of the New Start Treaty and the 123 agreement.

In this adversity there is an opportunity for the US to broker improved communication between Moscow and Tbilisi, perhaps enabling them to reduce current tensions over the territories and make progress on practical economic, humanitarian and security concerns, potentially improving the prospects for a longer term process of normalization and viable negotiations regarding the restoration of Georgian sovereignty.

The inter-state conflict is rooted in deep personal animosities at the leadership level in Moscow and Tbilisi, a factor that is further complicated by the dynamics within the Russian leadership (Putin's close association with the August 2008 invasion). Because the two leaderships are not talking to each other—or, when they do, the situation tends to get worse—the essence of the US initiative would have to be a shuttle between Tbilisi and Moscow.



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775424 Date: 08/31/2015

The near-term goal of the initiative would be to persuade the two principal and legitimate parties, Georgia and Russia, that they have an interest in the taking the following steps in three areas:

1. Humanitarian: alleviation of the displacement that was a consequence of occupation/annexation, opening of borders for family visitation and people to people exchanges.
2. Economic: loosening of economic/commercial relations between and among the two countries and the occupied territories (including by establishing a consensual customs regime on Georgia's Abkhaz and South Ossetia borders with Russia).
3. Security: resumption of confidence-building and crisis-management measures (including CFE style transparency and CSBMs regarding Russian forces, Open Skies flights, international/OSCE monitoring in the territories), reinvigoration of negotiating channels on consensual security arrangements for the longer term (Geneva talks or another forum) and transparency/CSBMs regarding U.S.-Georgian military-military relations.

Under the rubric of security, it would be crucial that the US (and the international community) explicitly reaffirm and adhere to nonrecognition of the two entities and to insistence on the principle of Georgia's territorial integrity, recognizing that Russia will adhere to its own position.

Modernizing CFE and getting the Russians back into conventional arms control compliance are vital to stability, predictability and confidence in Europe and to fulfilling the vision of a post-Cold War Euro-Atlantic Community which includes Russia and its neighbors into a sustainable, increasingly integrated and cooperative zone of peace. The CFE principle of host-nation consent to the stationing of foreign forces would remain nonnegotiable even as the U.S. sets aside for later our disagreement about the ultimate legal status of the territories. Our longer term goal in CFE is to reestablish consensual security arrangements in the territories, not to settle non-arms control questions like legal status.

Indeed, the measures agreed in all three areas above would be taken *without prejudice* to the final settlement on the territorial and legal issues. "Without prejudice" leaves the issue of end state open but maintains the opening and continuing US, Georgian, NATO and EU positions intact with regard to what the legal end state should be if Russia is to have truly "normal" relations with its neighbors and with the international community.

If there can be movement in these three areas, it might be possible to unlock other issues as well, including WTO for Russia and the beginning of movement on CFE along the lines of the NATO proposal.

Both as a matter of principle and US domestic politics—and as a matter of the logic of the situation—it is essential that the security dimension be integral to the strategy and execution. Security is at the core of the whole problem: Russian troops have, for the first time in the post-Soviet period, invaded, occupied, and brought under the control of Moscow the territory of a foreign country. While reversing that situation will probably take years, the goal of doing so must be part of whatever diplomacy occurs now. And

that diplomacy is simply beyond the capability and attitudes of the Georgian and Russian leaderships.

It will be critical to keep key allies—especially France, Germany, Britain (and Turkey?)—closely consulted throughout, as well as the EU/Ashton and NATO. But the initiative should be US only, and not get bogged down with all the other interested parties appointing their own co-mediators.

Now that the Administration is on record—via the Summers public statements in Moscow last week—advocating and predicting that Russia will be in the WTO "well before" the passage of 12 months, the initiative should be planned as soon as possible. The President might propose it, first, to Medvedev face-to-face in Yokohama on [November 14?] and then to Saakashvili on [November 20?] in Lisbon. The initiative would be have the status and support of a presidential mission, with the special representative reporting to the President through Secretary of State, with the diplomacy to begin in January with the goal of determining by the summer the prospects for success.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775425 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

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*Sunday, October 24, 2010*

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It will be critical to keep key allies—especially France, Germany, Britain (and Turkey?)—closely consulted throughout, as well as the EU/Ashton and NATO. But the initiative should be US only, and not get bogged down with all the other interested parties appointing their own co-mediators.

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 8:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: a possible approach....

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'Laurenjiloty <Laurenjiloty B6
Sent: Sun Oct 24 19:59:38 2010
Subject: Fw: a possible approach....

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott <STALBOTT B6
To: H
Cc: Phil Goldberg (State) <GoldbergPS@State.Gov>; Jake Sullivan (DOS) <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Oct 24 17:11:04 2010
Subject: a possible approach....

Attached are some thoughts of an outsider.

==========
Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.797.6200
========== B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 8:45 PM
**To:** H; cheryl.mills[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: Can you talk tonight?

Calling you at 9pm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D; 'cheryl.mills[redacted] <cheryl.mills[redacted]
Sent: Sun Oct 24 20:00:28 2010
Subject: Can you talk tonight?

Pls let me know. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine <lmuscatine[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 12:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** checking in

Just wanted to see if everything is going okay from your vantage point with the speech team. I hear from each of them now and then but want to make sure things are working out the way you want them to.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 7:21 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** need to discuss

1. Israel
2. strobe

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 10:32 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Thanks to Secretary Clinton for Participating in the Conference on the American Experience in Southeast Asia [John Carland]

below

---

**From:** Carland, John M [mailto:CarlandJM@state.gov]
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 10:27 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Thanks to Secretary Clinton for Participating in the Conference on the American Experience in Southeast Asia

Dear Ms. Mills—

Since the chain of events that led to the Secretary's speaking at the Vietnam conference started with my 15 March 2010 email to you about Brownie Ledbetter's illness, I thought I would close the circle with another email to you asking if you would pass this letter of appreciation to the Secretary. I wanted to go on record saying how much we in the Historian's Office, and how very much I personally, appreciated both her presence and her remarks at the conference.

Best,

John

---

Dear Secretary Clinton:

Thanks so much for delivering the opening speech at the Historian's Office's Conference on the American Experience in Southeast Asia. It was eloquent and affecting. Your speech welcoming the audience struck the perfect note for (1) celebrating the achievement of the Historian's Office documentary histories on Indochina/Vietnam and (2) using that event to explore the history of United States policy in Southeast Asia, 1946-1975. It also placed in context what we were about to do at the conference. We couldn't have found a better way to kick off our two days of historical exploration than your speech. You gave us marching orders to study the conflict in Vietnam and the American role in it but not to let that past blind us to the common ground our two countries now occupy. And that's what we tried to do.

The conference itself was very successful. We have had good feedback from attendees and from participants. The speeches of Dr. Kissinger, Deputy Secretary Negroponte, and Ambassador Holbrooke, sent out ripples of stimulating and provocative discussion, while the scholarly papers presented by American and international scholars not only placed their comments in historical context but also, and more generally, increased our

knowledge and understanding of conflict in Indochina. The official historians from Vietnam fulfilled one of my first requirements—that we provide our former enemy's perspective during the conference. And the media panel—with old Vietnam hands such as William Beecher, Edith Lederer, Marvin Kalb, Morley Safer, and Barry Zorthian on it—added zip to the proceedings as well as substance to our understanding of the media role in this conflict. (We put the media panel video on our website Friday, accompanied by a transcript.)

In addition to the preceding I also wanted to tell you how pleased I was to have had the opportunity to briefly chat with you immediately before your speech, and last March, too, after I gave you the sad news about Brownie Ledbetter. Throughout that March conversation I was also having an intense debate with myself over whether I should or should not ask you about opening the conference. I glad I did and glad that you said yes.

I also wish to tell you (no surprise here, I'm sure) how well you are served by the likes of Lona Valmoro and Lauren Jiloty. Over the spring and summer Lona gave advice and reassurance in a number of emails when I was structuring what I hoped you would do for and at the conference. She went out of her way to be helpful and positive. And Lauren, as the conference drew near, gave me the sort of precise guidance, and in an always friendly and efficient manner, about your speech and the surrounding scenario that lowered my anxiety level considerably. I am grateful to both of them.

Finally, as I head toward retirement in February, I wanted to tell you that we in the Historian's Office--and none more than I--see you as a first-rate Secretary of State doing an outstanding job in, to say the least, challenging circumstances. I am personally proud to have been in the Department and served while you were Secretary. Again, the speech was great. Thanks for doing it.

Sincerely,

John M. Carland
Senior Historian
Conference Coordinator and Program Committee Chair
Conference on the American Experience in Southeast Asia, 1946-1975
Office of the Historian

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Trip reading -- Bangladesh is following the lead of the QDDR
**Attachments:** Daily Sun-Evolving Diplomatic Eco.docx- 25Nov2010.doc; Daily Sun-Evolving Diplomatic Eco.docx- 25Nov2010.doc

This is a very thoughtful piece that identifies many of the same factors we are in our diplomatic chapter (and that is not just because the author – the former Bangladesh ambassador to the US—cites me). What is most striking is that it affirms that our analysis in the QDDR offers a set of questions that foreign ministries all over the world are grappling with. I had hoped to have time to do some traveling to broadcast the QDDR to key allies and partners around the world after the QDDR is in, but even if that can't happen, we will devise an outreach strategy re sending the report out to foreign ministers around the world and to our ambassadors that will greatly amplify its impact. AM

---

**From:** humayun Kabir [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 8:21 AM
**Subject:** Article in the Daily Sun

Dear Colleague,
Here is a piece which has been published in the Daily Sun of today. It is entitled "Evolving Diplomatic Eco system and Bangladesh Foreign Policy: An Agenda for Action." Please enjoy!
Regards,
M.Humayun Kabir
Dhaka

If you want to respond to this e-mail, DO NOT press REPLY button. Please TYPE my address:
[redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775436 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

TRUE & IMPARTIAL
daily Sun



# Evolving Diplomatic Eco-system and Bangladesh Foreign Policy: An Agenda for Action

Mr. Humayun Kabir

The foreign policy of a nation is conducted through the institution of diplomacy. Obviously, any evolution in the diplomatic concepts, norms and practices affect the conduct of foreign policy of nations. Bangladesh is no exception to this process. Rather, as a nation which is increasingly coming into global interface, understanding and appreciation of the dynamics of diplomacy is all the more relevant and urgent. Let us have a look at how the changing global environment is impacting on the evolution of diplomacy in general, and how the formulation and implementation of our foreign policy is affected by this process.

New diplomatic topography

During the last few decades, the topography of the institution of diplomacy has experienced significant transformation. Several factors contributed to this process. Recent intensity of thick globalism has pushed deeper the flow of information, capital, manpower, data, images, goods and services. Such a process has produced a kind of paradigm shift in international relations with corresponding change not only in content but also in the context of international politics and perception. With the emergence of "competition state," as articulated by Philip J. Cerny, where transnational powers are achieving salience through the exercise of power by many non-state actors, such a process has gained further momentum. Intense competition has grown to sell one's story to the international community. Those who can successfully tell their stories in a credible fashion win the hearts and minds of people, who in turn can become their friends, consumers, investors, tourists and promoters. In the same vein, the concept of national interest is being redefined in the larger context of collaborative framework, as against the traditional setting of conflict and war alone. Continuous process of empowerment of people around the world has added another new complexity to such a process of transformation.

Some scholars argue that as a consequence sovereign States' monolithic identity has given way to multiple identities of sovereign people. A nation is now evaluated constantly; government policies are being instantly and constantly reviewed and scrutinized by national and global society with clear impact on its ability to influence the perception. Indeed, the network-based world is not only changing topography of sovereignty but also flattened the capacity of hierarchy based bureaucracy practically in all states.

Proliferation of many new actors in international politics and diplomatic arena has reshaped the global list of "Who is Who," and now the list includes NGOs, academics, business leaders, international journalists, social entrepreneurs, foundations, philanthropists, and even celebrities, among others. Internet is extensively used to disseminate messages, initiate dialogue, recruit new allies and friends, build network, and advocate a particular cause or issue. The development of complex international actors and network has affected the international hierarchy of power in a significant way with the spread of huge horizontal contacts all over the world. In a globalised world, public opinion matters more than ever. Being skeptical of the government, people are now demanding greater transparency and are ready to participate in policymaking process, which makes it difficult for the governments to put 'spin' to overcome communication challenges. In January 2007, Klaus Schwab, Executive Chairman and founder President of the World Economic Forum observed, "We are witnessing everywhere a changing power equation. Power is moving from center to the periphery. Vertical command and control structures are eroding and are being replaced by horizontal networks of social communities and collaborative platforms."

New issues and challenges are also crowding the international agenda. They include issues, such as terrorism, climate change, nuclear proliferation, food security, disaster management, peace- making and peace building, public health, and migration, among others. These emerging challenges have practically dwarfed the capacity of any single state to handle them. Cooperation among nations has thus become necessary.

Several consequences flow from this process of transformation. First, as the global system is becoming more fluid and flexible in nature, and moving from multi-polarity to multi partnership, as articulated recently by the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the urgency to reach out to all components of wider global society, including the traditional state centric power structure in a foreign nation, is being acutely felt. Thus, diplomacy has become a multi layered and multi partner exercise, characterized by the active involvement of multiple actors, namely government, civil society organizations, think tanks, business associations, media, advocacy groups, church and mosques, celebrities, and even private persons with global outreach. Second, with multiplicity of actors participating in the policy process, including various Ministries and Departments of a nation alone, the relations between nations have thus willy nilly evolved from the phase of formal foreign policy interactions to a deeper phase of domestic interconnectedness, as evidenced in the European Union in recent years. Third, everyday concerns of citizens have moved way up the ladder and become priority issues for the foreign policy makers. The role of diplomacy has thus significantly transformed from a distant actor to an active social player and catalyst. The growing role of Diaspora communities has accelerated this trend. Fourth, the process of diplomacy has also become more inclusive. In terms of focus, economic diplomacy or management of resources has occupied the centre stage in diplomatic interactions among practically all nations, including the most developed and powerful ones. Advocacy and activism has given way to diplomatic protocol and formalism. With the threat of extremism and terrorism growing and the possibility of failure of state institutions intensifying in some states, diplomacy has moved from a role of passive observer to an active partner in promoting basic values of justice, democracy, human rights and inclusive development, among others.

The New Hubs

As for Bangladesh, several regional and global developments are noteworthy. The rise of China and India, which is often called "Chindia," offers both opportunities and challenges for us. Already, they are our top import sources and could be major export destinations a few years down the line. ASEAN nations are yet another growth hub almost matching Indian growth rate. They could be a good source of future energy, employment and technology for Bangladesh. East Asian nations, including Japan and South Korea are already valuable partners in our economic growth; they could be potential sources of investment, technology and knowledge transfer to Bangladesh. Likewise, the Middle Eastern countries have become the new center of Sovereign Funds and Bangladesh could capitalize on it. Of course, for the foreseeable future they are likely to remain as destinations for our export of manpower. The United States and EU member states are major destinations for our ready-made garment and shrimp products; they could be markets for our potential high value items in the future as well. Russia and other CIS nations could be source of technology and energy, and new export destinations for Bangladeshi products. Latin

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America and Africa are still not high on our agenda, but both of these continents offer immense opportunities for Bangladesh; we urgently need to build our diplomatic bridges with them without any further delay. It is important to understand that in a globalized world physical distance matters less than psychological distance. Clearly, in the coming years economic diplomacy will occupy the centre stage in exploring new opportunities around the globe. Now the big question is how do these openings fit into our national priorities?

Bangladesh Priorities and Challenges

As Bangladesh strives to elevate itself to a middle income country, she will have to address several developmental challenges, which are closely interlinked. Let us now have a look at some of the important issues, which will demand constant attention from the policy makers in Bangladesh in the coming years.

- Strengthen Democracy- One of major priorities of Bangladesh in the coming years would be to strengthen democratic norms and practices. Being a socially driven nation, a careful nurturing of democracy would be required in Bangladesh to meet the ever growing expectations of the people for good governance, justice, fairness, decency and accountability in public life on a sustained manner. Indeed, the people of Bangladesh overwhelmingly conveyed several messages during the 2008 elections, including their forceful rejection of any kind of extremism, in addition to restoring democracy and returning the ◆Mahajot◆ to power. Reading those messages in right context and responding to them with appropriate care, creativity and dignity would perhaps determine the future course of democracy in Bangladesh. In addition, Bangladesh could also project the verdict of 2008 elections and subsequent forceful stand of the present government against religious extremism as a test case of how a Muslim majority nation could embrace democracy and build up a society based on moderation. In any case, a sustained and creative effort would be required to deal with this insidious phenomenon.

- Alleviation of Poverty and Creation of Jobs- Currently about 40% of people in Bangladesh live under the poverty line and lifting this huge group out of poverty will pose the largest development challenges in the coming years. The present government has also repeatedly expressed their commitment to fight this menace through variety of programmes. Another related issue involves the creation of jobs for the people. In Bangladesh, about 2.5 million job seekers are joining the work force every year and roughly 1 million jobs are created both domestically and externally. A big gap always exists between the demand and supply of jobs. Needless to say, accelerated creation of jobs could also serve to sanitize the society from all extremist ideas, which often threaten the basic fabric of our society.

- Infrastructure- This is a daunting area for Bangladesh to address. Several components could be put in this mix. First, the issue of physical infrastructure, which includes the building of network of physical connectivity, such as road, railways, waterways, airports, seaports, and telecommunications, and IT, among others, deserves attention. In order to accelerate economic growth Bangladesh has not only to significantly upgrade such infrastructure within the country but she must also align them suitably to connect with the larger regional network. Second, Bangladesh will have to build up an energy infrastructure with a view to meeting the growing demand for energy as her economy grows. Government anticipates that Bangladesh economy will grow by 8% by 2013 and by 10% by 2017. We must also not ignore the fact that the demand for energy in both China and India is also growing at an annual rate of 10%, and Bangladesh has to be creative in exploring its domestic sources as well as taping into the regional matrix, which could perhaps meet the regional demand for energy for many years to come. Third, building up a good managerial infrastructure through upgrading the quality of her human resources infrastructure is also a top priority for Bangladesh. According to many experts Bangladesh cannot aspire to be on a higher growth trajectory without the quality human resources, both at the government and private sector level to back it up. In order to achieve this objective, there is an urgent need to align the education system, particularly the higher education, with global standard, including enabling students to learn several foreign languages and building an IT enabled generation as well as reorienting bureaucracy to serve private sector driven economic growth with adequate knowledge and expertise. Ambassador Farooq Sobhan has rightly called them ◆private sector minded bureaucracy.◆ Perhaps what we also need is a globally minded bureaucracy, which would be able to effectively facilitate mobilization of private capital, technology, knowledge and knowhow from global sources. Needless to say that Bangladesh cannot overcome the existing challenge on infrastructure without huge infusion of foreign capital, technology and expertise, among other things.

- Managing shared Resources and Environment- Like many other countries, Bangladesh shares vital resources with other neighbouring countries. Take the case of our river systems. Out of 200 plus rivers in Bangladesh, 54 rivers flow from India and at least one of them from China. Nepal is also linked in this riverine network. While adequate quantity of water is critical for sustenance and economic growth in Bangladesh, keeping a watch on the quality of water that flows into Bangladesh is also important. Flora and fauna of Bangladesh, and indeed the larger ecosystem in Bangladesh is dependent of maintaining the quantity and quality of water system in Bangladesh. As the demand for water increases with economic progress, Bangladesh has to ensure its due share over this critical source of live and livelihood. Creative options have also to be explored to share this vital resource keeping in view the growing needs of all riparian nations, including Bangladesh. Again, all South Asian nations are more of less affected by the issue of climate change. Their leaders have agreed during the last Thimphu Summit to forge a common position for dealing with this common challenge. Yet, the contribution of each country to carbon emission and the impact which they suffer are different, and as such each nation will have to pursue a nuanced strategy to protect her interests within the larger context of ongoing global negotiations on this issue. Likewise, Bangladesh shares energy resources with both Myanmar and India in the Bay of Bengal. Already Bangladesh in engaged in arbitration with them through the multilateral process. It is most likely that more serious negotiations will ensue soon, and a great deal of creativity will have to brought to bear in resolving the maritime boundary issue to the satisfaction of all parties, and to share the energy resources available in that region.

Raising Competitiveness- At the same time, Bangladesh badly needs to raise its economic competitiveness. Bangladesh has consistently performed poorly on Global Competitiveness Index, and unfortunately changes in government in recent years have not had any significant impact on improving our economic competitiveness. Perhaps, a fresh and professional look has to be taken by the policy makers on an urgent basis to complement the heroic efforts of private sector in raising our competitiveness. Otherwise, our policy incentives will produce only modest results. On the other hand, an economically competitive Bangladesh will derive multiple benefits. It will open up more space for Bangladesh in global trade; it will also attract foreign investment, which could play a vital role in transferring resources, technology, expertise and management skills.

Agenda for Action

A number of policy options could be explored to energize our foreign policy with a view to supporting our transition to a middle income country and creating space for advancing our vital interests in the region and beyond. Our diplomacy produced good results when the global system was perhaps predictable; we need a new approach now to reach out to new constituency of global actors in the fast changing global context. Some of the elements for the new framework are noted below:

a. Redesign our Foreign Policy- Our foreign policy outlook and framework is at best traditional in nature, so are our diplomatic instruments. Dramatic changes, which have occurred in concepts and practices in diplomacy during the last 20 years, are not appropriately absorbed and reflected in our foreign policy. This lag costs Bangladesh in terms of effectiveness of her foreign policy. One example will perhaps suffice. The Embassy of Bangladesh carried out a survey among 1000 Nepalese citizens in four different cities in 2006 to understand their awareness about Bangladesh and her foreign policy achievements. Among other questions, we asked them if they would recall any foreign policy initiative Bangladesh had taken in recent years on a regional scale. A large number of respondents only recalled the role of Bangladesh in the creation of SAARC in 1985. Surprisingly it was 20 years ago by then! Such a response alerted us to the fact that we had fallen far behind in terms of drawing attention of common people with our foreign policy, even within the region and more so in a friendly neighbouring nation like Nepal. Now, with a view to redesigning our foreign policy five areas could be looked at. They include:

i. Adopting a look around policy, instead of looking in one direction. This would include exploring all options in building relationship with all neighbours on the basis of mutual benefit;

ii. Articulating a Bilateral plus policy, which is essentially a process of working with multiple partners to achieve major policy objectives, even within the region; Such a policy would essentially complement bilateral relations, not replace it.

iii. Supporting robust regionalism and sub- regionalism, which could create space for capitalizing on larger opportunities; This could allow Bangladesh to capitalize on its geographical location;

iv. Pursuing a creative and flexible multilateralism, which demands nimble diplomacy on issues of common concerns;

v. Engaging in continuous innovations in our diplomacy, including building coalitions with civil society actors to advance shared objectives. After all, as Princeton University scholar Anne- Marie Slaughter has rightly observed, ◆the emerging networked world of the twenty first century exists above the state, below the state, and through the state. In this world, the state with most connections will be the central player, able to set the global agenda and unlock innovation and sustainable growth.◆ Incidentally, the most networked nations are not the powerful and big states. Singapore, Norway and Costa Rica are the ones, which are most nimble and active in this regard. Is not the message clear for Bangladesh?

b. Expanding Outreach and Reputation Management through Public Diplomacy- As policy process attracts new actors, the need for expanding the outreach with a view to incorporating the new actors into policy process and to seek their help to put into effect such policies has grown enormously. This could be done both at home and abroad. Many countries, such as Canada and Norway pursue such a strategy with great effectiveness. This is particularly relevant also for nations, which suffer from reputation deficit, such as Bangladesh. Reputation or image deficit affects Bangladesh at least on three counts: it deprives Bangladesh of the opportunity of getting a suitable context to conduct its diplomacy abroad in an effective manner. British scholar Mark Leonard observed, "Image and reputation of a country are public goods which can create either an enabling or a disenabling environment for individual transactions. Work on particular issue will feed off the general image of the country and reflect back on to it-in both positive and negative directions.◆ Second, in the absence of right kind of collective image we tend to either sink into invisibility or portrayed negatively; consequently we do not figure out in the global conversations. Third, a distorted image, which often is the function of others defining us instead of we defining ourselves, affects our business potential as well. For example, in the Middle Eastern countries Bangladesh is a major supplier of workers for the last 25 years; we contributed to their economic growth as well. Yet Bangladesh is regularly associated with supplying only unskilled and low end workers. When the issue of importing semi skilled and skilled workers comes, they tend to prefer other countries in the region, for

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example Sri Lanka and India. While emerging nations, such as China and India, which are carefully creating their brand image as a nation, it looks like we are frozen in our old and outdated perception about our inflated self image. Bangladesh needs to wake up from this slumber sooner than later. Experts have suggested a useful tool, namely Public Diplomacy, for articulating a realistic and credible strategy to present the stories of a nation to outside audience. Indeed, many nations, including some developing countries have already integrated public diplomacy in their foreign policy toolkit. Given the growing capacity and potential influence of Bangladeshi Diaspora in many countries around the world, perhaps it is time to articulate a Public Diplomacy programme, which will facilitate their participation in the policy process, among other things. A word of caution would perhaps be in order at this point. Contrary to traditional perception, Public Diplomacy is not about manipulating information to present official version of developments to the foreign audience, nor is it an episodal shot to serve short term political gains either. It is rather a process of engagement with the target audience with a view to building up a relationship of trust. Again, Public Diplomacy it is not a straight jacket affair, one size would not fit all. It has to be calibrated depending on the priorities and sensitivities of local audience. For Bangladesh leveraging Bangladeshi culture and social creativity could form a credible plank of public diplomacy. It is important to note that Public Diplomacy is not an end in itself; it is a support to advance the overall interests of a nation through reaching out to all segments of host societies. These days, some experts also talk about domestic part of Public Diplomacy.

c. The Whole Government Approach- Our current foreign policy approach is highly bureaucratic, vertical and as such fragmented. Foreign Ministry is considered like any other Ministry, while functionally its scope is global in the sense that the Ministry and the Diplomatic Missions protect and promote our vital national interests, spanning over wide range of issues, around the globe. As the process of domestic interconnected has increased resulting in growing interactions among nations on a variety of issues of common concerns, it has become necessary to articulate a whole government approach to deal with issues that have national relevance. Considering the value of horizontal cooperation in dealing with complex problems President Obama had recently advocated such an approach in his National Security Strategy document of 2010. One could argue that the inter-Ministerial consultations, which exist now, could somehow compensate for such a need.

Yet, the value of high level contact cannot be underestimated. One model for consideration for such high level contact could include a Ministerial Coordination Committee comprising a cluster of Ministers, whose Ministries are directly related to issues involving foreign nations. This body could be represented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister for Finance, Minister for Commerce, Minister for Expatriate Welfare, Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism and Executive Chairman, BOI, among others. A suitable Representative from the Ministry of Defense could also be included on issues relating to peacekeeping and disaster management issues. Needless to say, all these initiatives would bear fruit only when they receive strong commitment from the highest political level. The coordination role should however always remain with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs like the role of a conductor in a symphony.

d. Strengthening MOFA and Missions- Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Missions abroad have been given the responsibility to conduct Bangladesh Foreign Policy in the most effective manner, several impediments have diminished their ability to perform at the optimum level. One is the shortage of officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the existing organogram is outdated by thirty years. It is important to upgrade the same so that the strength of the Ministry could be doubled, as had been suggested by Ambassador Farooq Sobhan. This suggestion is very much in line with what our neighbours are doing in the light of new global reality. India is expanding her Foreign Service cadre, so is being done by China. Nepal is also expanding its Foreign Service cadre with a new law, which would give them the coordinating role on all issues related to foreign affairs. In recent years, United States has added more than 1100 officers to her State Department cadre. Expansion of cadre is dictated by the fact that emerging global issues have to be followed, understood, examined, discussed and negotiated with multiple actors on the global scale, which can only be done by the well groomed diplomats. For Bangladesh, which has to leverage on soft power, it is the diplomats who also constitute the first line of defense! On the other hand, budgetary limitation has also stymied the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Likewise, Diplomatic Missions have to be re-tooled with new mission to dramatically expand their outreach to all stakeholders and actors, who can have an impact on Bangladesh. Accordingly, it is necessary to support them with research and financial resources. Enhancement in resources must be matched with improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of Bangladesh diplomats. Consideration could be given to holding a kind of Quadrennial Review on Diplomacy to assess the changing global scenario and to evaluate the effectiveness of our diplomacy vis a vis such transformations. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has launched such a Review for US State Department in 2009. A rigorous performance evaluation mechanism should be developed to assess the performance of the Heads of Mission and other diplomats posted in the Missions. Experiences of some of our neighbouring countries in this regard could be helpful. In order to ensure smooth and professional functioning of the diplomatic Missions, the authority of the Heads of Missions should be further strengthened and the entire team should be responsible to him for performance of their duties. For some time, the issue of the appointment of an Inspector General of Missions was on the card; it would be better to implement this suggestion sooner than later. Consideration could be given to form a Foreign Policy Advisory Body with retired and experienced diplomats, who could advise the Ministry on various issues suitably. Many countries maintain such a system of consultations.

Conclusion

Diplomacy has moved from traditional format of Club Model to Crisis Management model, from vertical bureaucratic model to horizontal network model. Now foreign policy has to address two fundamental phenomena, which have characterized the contemporary global scenario: managing change and dealing with regional and global crises arising out of multiple interactions of myriad actors. We therefore need a new orientation in our foreign policy, need more flexible and creative outlook, need new institutional mechanism and need new set of skills to build coalitions with all actors with a view to managing the evolving reality on the ground. Above all, what we need is the attention and understanding of the political leadership to lead this process of change. Reorganizing the diplomatic set up along with aligning other domestic setup to support the creative diplomatic endeavour is no less important. Bangladesh has lot many friends all over the world; it is us how to tap on that goodwill to widen our space for building lasting relationship with the members of international community. Let us not forget the hard reality that our effort to build a democratic, dynamic, decent Bangladesh in the coming years would be as robust and as vibrant as our diplomacy is!

M. Humayun Kabir is a former Secretary, and former Ambassador of Bangladesh to the United States.

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daily sun

**Acting Editor: Prof. Dr. Syed Anwar Husain.**

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PABX: 02-8119006, 8158856 Fax: 88-02-8158021

E-mail: Reporting: reporting@daily-sun.com, National: national@daily-sun.com, News: news@daily-sun.com



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775436 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Voda ebeling <[redacted]> B6
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 11:37 AM
**To:** abedinh@state.gov; H

Hillary: I received this email today from [redacted] Thought you should know. So sad.....

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
**From:** betsyebeling [redacted] B6
**To:** [redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 5:21 AM
**Subject:** Re: HI

[redacted] You both are in my prayers. Please email me your current home address. I think I still have the one prior to your move. B

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

---

**From:** [redacted]
**Date:** Sun, 24 Oct 2010 20:21:09 -0700
**To:** <betsyebeling [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: HI

Thank you, wonderful lady.
Love, [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 11:39 AM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Trip reading -- Bangladesh is following the lead of the QDDR

Thanks ams.
We are printing for her

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**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 10:57 AM
**To:** 'H'
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Trip reading -- Bangladesh is following the lead of the QDDR

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**Subject:** Article in the Daily Sun

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Regards,
M.Humayun Kabir
Dhaka

If you want to respond to this e-mail, DO NOT press REPLY button. Please TYPE my address:
[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 11:44 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Judeh

FYI.

-----Original Message-----
From: Hale, David M
Sent: Monday, October 25, 2010 9:56 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: 'george[redacted]; Walles, Jacob; Feltman, Jeffrey D B6
Subject: Judeh

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 10/25/2025

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 12:51 PM
**To:** Voda ebeling; H
**Subject:** RE:

Thanks for forwarding betsy.
Rob russo is working on a note now

---

**From:** Voda ebeling [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 11:37 AM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; hdr22@clintonemail.com
**Subject:**

Hillary: I received this email today from [redacted] Thought you should know. So sad.....

[redacted]

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**To:** <betsyebeling [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: HI

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Love, [redacted]

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 5:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Emailing: IMG00265-20101016-2233[1][1] (2).jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00265-20101016-2233[1][1] (2).jpg

<<IMG00265-20101016-2233[1][1] (2).jpg>> One of my favorite photos from the Magical Marigold Weekend. Happy Birthday, Gertie, a day early. Thank you for two magical weekends.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, October 25, 2010 6:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Tiger summit

Bill consulted further today and now feels comfortable on the Putin-Medvedev angle. So I was premature in raising it.

Hu might go. Can't leave the tiger playing field to the Chinese.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 6:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Birthday my dear

So glad you were born!

Kiss your mom for me - she did us right bringing you into the world.

XO
Cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 7:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy, happy!

MS --

Happy Birthday -- hope you have a chance to relax tonight and celebrate!

Here's to a great year ahead --

All the best,
Lona (and the whole Speed/Valmoro family)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 7:35 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/26/10 Tuesday

***Happy Birthday!!!***

7:30 am **DEPART** Private Residence

En route Andrews Air Force Base

7:55 am **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base (AAB)

8:05 am **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base via Mil Air Tail#60206

En route LaGuardia Airport

8:55 am **ARRIVE** LaGuardia Airport (LGA)

9:05 am **DEPART** LaGuardia Airport *En route United Nations Headquarters

9:55 am **ARRIVE** United Nations Headquarters

10:00 am **UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE 10th**

10:30 am **ANNIVERSARY OF RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY**

Security Council Chamber, United Nations Headquarters

10:30 am **MEETING w/UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON SEXUAL**

11:00 am **VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT MARGOT WALLSTROM**

Security Council Meeting Room, United Nations Headquarters

11:00 am **PULL-ASIDE w/AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MICHAEL SPINDELEGGER**

11:20 am Security Council Meeting Room, United Nations Headquarters

11:30 am **DEPART** United Nations Headquarters

En route LaGuardia Airport

12:15 pm **ARRIVE** LaGuardia Airport (LGA)

12:25 pm **WHEELS UP** LaGuardia Airport *En route Andrews Air Force Base

1:15 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

1:25 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base *En route State Department

1:50 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

2:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**

2:30 pm Secretary's Office

2:30 pm **MEETING w/SENATOR JOHN KERRY**

3:30 pm Secretary's Office

3:30 pm **ASIA TRIP MEETING***

4:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

4:15 pm **YITZHAK MOLCOH PRE-BRIEF***

4:45 pm Secretary's Outer Office

4:45 pm **MEETING w/ISRAELI CHIEF NEGOTIATOR YITZHAK MOLCHO***

5:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

Tbd pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

Tbd pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** PNG

Fascinating read

http://mobile.nytimes.com/article;jsessionid=5BC84EF426D7B4AD6F8FF526C7C4E890.w5?a=686322&f=19

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Note on Sudan for your meeting w/Senator Kerry

Madam Secretary,

In advance of your meeting with Senator Kerry this afternoon, below is a short note on the current state of play of Sudan policy discussions.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

Mike

Michael H. Fuchs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-1709
[redacted] (cell) B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Strobe Talbott <STALBOTT[redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 2:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** On another subject.....

Happy birthday - and safe travels.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 2:31 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy Bday

Just now returning from Bogota - v good trip. Toasted you from the Miami airport!
The totally very best to you,
Maria

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 3:07 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Happy birthday....

From Colombia

Sorry to miss the festivities!

Jim

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Neera Tanden [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 3:09 PM
**To:** H

Hillary,

Happy Birthday.

I hope you're getting some rest, though, I'm not placing any bets on it.

Thank you for all you are doing for all of us.

Neera

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 4:47 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H
**Subject:** Madeliene Albright

Her assistant left a voice mail (on her behalf) at the office wishing you a happy birthday. I'll add to our birthday greetings list here.

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 5:03 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW:

FYI –
Hope you had a nice day and have a great trip.

---

**From:** Spahn, Andy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 1:44 PM
**To:** Marshall, Capricia P
**Subject:**

Happy birthday to our favorite Sec. of State !!!! (ever !)

**Andy Spahn**
President | Andy Spahn & Associates, Inc. | 100 Universal Plaza Building 5121 | Universal City, California 91608 | tele: +1-818-733-7336 | fax: +1-818-733-7329

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 6:30 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Start calls

This is a follow up note from Rich but he'll settle for McConnell.

-----Original Message-----
From: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Tuesday, October 26, 2010 4:58 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Start calls

Been thinking that these are important, even before the election...goal is to have members accepting that this is a lame duck matter and also the members we identified are important in the event our kyl strategy falls apart - at least they know we tried with kyl and made tangible offers.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 6:38 PM
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** More bday wishes

Haim saban
Duke kinney
Binta brown
Vali nasr
Fred hochberg
Lisa perry
Diane von furstenberg
Leecia eve
Michael kives
Bill and ophelia rudin

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

Fyi

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Catriona Garde
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Oct 26 19:31:02 2010
Subject: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

Hi there,

Would you mind passing the below note onto HRC from Bono and Ali?

Many thanks
Catriona

Dearest Hillary,

Happy Birthday - we're sad to have missed the other night, but arrived late from the west coast.

We are in NY for a month... if you and Bill are upstate and have time for a catch up, let us know.

Love Bono & Ali

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

I have a letter [redacted] B6
Ill leave at house for you when u r out to dinner.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Oct 26 20:35:06 2010
Subject: Re: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

Do you have something for me from Elizabeth Bagley?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Oct 26 20:00:19 2010
Subject: Fw: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Catriona Garde[redacted]
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Oct 26 19:31:02 2010
Subject: Note for HRC from Bono and Ali

Hi there,

Would you mind passing the below note onto HRC from Bono and Ali?

Many thanks
Catriona

Dearest Hillary,

Happy Birthday - we're sad to have missed the other night, but arrived late from the west coast.

We are in NY for a month... if you and Bill are upstate and have time for a catch up, let us know.

Love Bono & Ali

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

Scroll down to her note

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** 'Liz [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tue Oct 26 20:46:18 2010
**Subject:** Re: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

You are so relentless helpful - shepherding us when we need it, reminding us when we need it and supporting us when we need it.

We are grateful - thank you.

Cdm

---

**From:** Liz Schrayer [redacted]
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Oct 26 20:44:21 2010
**Subject:** USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

Hi Cheryl,
Here is our statement praising the Secretary's Foreign Policy article and preview of QDDR. Fabulous article – congratulations and thank you for your leadership.
Liz Schrayer

**Liz Schrayer** | President
202-689-8900 [redacted]

**Schrayer & Associates, Inc.**
1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
www.schrayer.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:47 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** USGLC Press Statement on Clinton Article
**Attachments:** USGLC_Press_Clinton_Article.pdf

Happy Birthday! An early QDDR return. AM

---

**From:** Liz Schrayer [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 8:43 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** USGLC Press Statement on Clinton Article

**Liz Schrayer** | President
202-689-8900 | [redacted]

**Schrayer & Associates, Inc.**
1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
www.schrayer.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 10:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Cholera fears spark anti-clinic protest in Haiti

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent:** Tue Oct 26 22:45:59 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Cholera fears spark anti-clinic protest in Haiti

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AP) - Protesters attacked a cholera treatment center as it was preparing to open in the city of St. Marc, highlighting the fear surrounding a disease that was almost unknown in Haiti before it began spreading through the countryside, aid workers said. Some of the roughly 300 students and other protesters said they feared the Doctors Without Borders-Spain clinic would bring more of the disease to their seaside town, which is one of the hardest hit in the week-old epidemic that has killed 284 people and infected 3,769, according to United Nations figures. Witnesses said the protesters threw rocks and at least one Molotov cocktail. UN peacekeepers from Argentina arrived with riot shields to reinforce police. Warning shots were heard; the UN said its soldiers fired blanks. There were no reports of injuries. Haitian health officials assured the crowd the clinic would not open in that neighborhood. The 400-bed facility was intended to rehydrate and treat people with the severe diarrheal disease. Doctors Without Borders-Spain country chief Francisco Otero said the group consulted with local authorities and told them the clinic is important for stemming the spread of cholera. He said they would try to reopen it in another part of St. Marc.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 26, 2010 11:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

Am now - getting off plane

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Oct 26 21:26:23 2010
Subject: Re: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

Are you back yet?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Oct 26 20:46:44 2010
Subject: Fw: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

B6

Scroll down to her note

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'Liz
Sent: Tue Oct 26 20:46:18 2010
Subject: Re: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

You are so relentless helpful - shepherding us when we need it, reminding us when we need it and supporting us when we need it.

We are grateful - thank you.

Cdm

---

From: Liz Schrayer
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Oct 26 20:44:21 2010
Subject: USGLC Praises Secretary Clinton

Hi Cheryl,

Here is our statement praising the Secretary's Foreign Policy article and preview of QDDR. Fabulous article – congratulations and thank you for your leadership.

Liz Schrayer

Liz Schrayer | President

202-689-8900 | [redacted] B6

Schrayer & Associates, Inc.

1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600

Washington, DC 20036

www.schrayer.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 7:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Thank you!

You were so terrific at the UN. The statements of gratitude are pouring in. I will take your message to Denmark. The Nordics will be ecstatic.

Last night at Avon, I got many messages for you from people who want to be helpful, particularly from Anna Quinlan and Patrick Dempsey. I'm hoping to get more $ from Avon to fund VAW grants. We are inundated with requests. Reese Witherspoon will go to Russia next year for our women's summit. She's popular there so would be good. Nothing much has happened vis a vis Russian women and US engagement since your efforts in the 90's so we are attempting to restart are relationship with them .They been going backwards in terms of progress.

I'm attaching the email I sent Jake and Kurt on the NZ and Australian initiatives.

Have a good trip.

---

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 07:43:50 2010
**Subject:** Re: Asia trip

This is terrific Melanne and many thanks. Kurt

---

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Fri Oct 22 21:41:33 2010
**Subject:** Asia trip

I just wanted to give you some background on the initiatives that New Zealand and Australia have put together to empower women in the Pacific region and which they would like to spotlight during the Secretary's trip.

NZ wants to announce a collaboration between us and their government to increase women's political participation in the Pacific region. Their development agency has made this a priority for the Secretary's trip. Our hope is that S will welcome the collaboration in her remarks at a business leaders, et al reception.
Australia wants to announce a collaboration with us on an initiative to combat violence against women in the region. I don't know where this will be included in S's remarks, but I hope it will. Both governments are committing significant resources; we are committing much less, but Australia and NZ are eager to partner with us to address challenges in the Pacific region.

I wanted to briefly share some thoughts on this formed during my last trip to China. It made the collaboration with NZ and Australia on deeper engagement with the Pacific Islands on women and development issues that much more compelling.

I was in Shanghai and Beijing last month to speak at the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) international women's forum to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Beijing women conference and to follow up on our interest to launch with the Chinese government the US-China Women Leaders Forum.

The ACWF is a mass organization affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party with strong leaders, huge resources and powerful mobilizing forces throughout the country. The Chair, Chen Zhili, is also the Deputy Chair of the National People's Congress, a former State Councilor; the President, Song Xiuyan, is a former governor of Qinghai Province and rumored to be appointed as a State Councilor after the change of central leadership in 2012. I met with both of them when I was there.

As I walked into the welcoming dinner in Shanghai, I found almost everyone I know of significance who works on women's issues from Southeast Asia, the Pacific and Africa in attendance. However, I did not see government reps from Europe or NEAsia. It appeared to me that the forum was targeted to engage countries and regions where China is expanding its influence.

I know S is going to give a policy speech in Australia during this trip. I hope that you will include our commitment to women in the Pacific Islands, especially through these proposed collaborations with Australia and NZ.

As you know very well, the 12 Pacific Islands, though small in size, represent 12 votes in the UN. They long for our attention and collaboration. I think women's development issues are one ideal way to further our interests and engagement.

Have a good trip!
Melanne

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 11:13 AM
**To:** Jacobs, Janice L
**Cc:** Kirby, Michael D; Kennedy, Patrick F
**Subject:** FW: Big kudos

Take a bow.

Best.
cdm

---

**From:** Kantor, Mickey [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Kelly, Craig A
**Subject:** Big kudos

Cheryl-i hope you share this with the secretary-[redacted] your consulate staff in la paz could not have been more effective and considerate acting in the best tradition of the u.s and the stae department-holly monster--kate flachbart--and omar(do not know last name)[redacted] and was on her way the next morning-heidi and i are deeply grateful-mickey

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 2:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: GoC FM Meetings in NY

Kerry.

**From:** Reynoso, Julissa
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Gonzalez, Juan S
**Sent:** Wed Oct 27 14:01:40 2010
**Subject:** GoC FM Meetings in NY

Jake;

We have been informed that Senator Kerry and Governor Richardson each met with FM Bruno Rodriguez yesterday and today, respectively, in NY. We are trying to get a readout of the Kerry meeting but am assuming he intends to call S directly. Governor Richardson has asked to meet with me tomorrow morning. I will send you details of that conversation tomorrow. thanks. Julissa

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 2:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

Nice – lawyer for the Korean investors

---

**From:** Andrew Samet [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 12:48 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

You r doing a great job – if you weren't pushing...I could not imagine where things would still be with the IDB.

It will still be slower and more painful than all of us would like (but that is the nature of these processes as we know), but things had no focus that I could see until you got involved and I think we might have lost the belief that it could work without your determination.

Really – you are doing a great job and I admire and respect your efforts and don't know how you find the energy given I'm sure all of the other demands you must deal with. You are making a difference here and that is what it is all about.

Please don't bother replying again Cheryl – I know how busy you must be.

Just keep going!

Andrew J. Samet
Sorini, Samet & Associates, LLC
700 13th Street, NW
Suite 930
Washington, DC 20005
Office: 202-393-4481
[redacted]
Fax: 202-393-4494
Email: [redacted]

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 12:36 PM
**To:** Andrew Samet
**Subject:** RE: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

I know right – me too. I am trying not to be too pushy but could not agree more.

On election day I thought folks should get up early and vote and then get to the call!

cdm

---

**From:** Andrew Samet [redacted]
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 12:11 PM

**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

Ok – thanks can sleep later tomorrow; I was just so eager to move it forward☺

Election Day ...hmmm...Got it! ☺

Andrew J. Samet
Sorini, Samet & Associates, LLC
700 13th Street, NW
Suite 930
Washington, DC 20005
Office: 202-393-4481
Fax: 202-393-4494
Email:

B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 12:05 PM
**To:** Andrew Samet; Filippo, Agustin Ignacio; Aguerre, Jose Agustin; georges; ronbaudin; Lee, Ka-Oak; Lee, Sin-Jae; Opertti, Fabrizio; Almeida, Eduardo Marques; ametellus; Beitler, Ady; dodysassine; ldelatour3; (KOTOP) Lee, Steve; Puig, Steven J.; Schulz, Hans U.; Gallon, Jorge Leon; Weissman, Warren Edward; Guillamon, Bernardo E.; Bendersky, Matias; Yu, Chae-Ryong
**Cc:** Warnholz, Jean-Louis; Mark D'Sa; John Sachs; Gabriel Verret; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** RE: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

Andrew:

I will follow-up.

Noted the change the change to Jenny in this traffic for others to use and deleted Da-Woon Jeong.

The call would be Tuesday, 2 Nov (as opposed to tomorrow).

Will revert.

Best.

cdm

---

**From:** Andrew Samet
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 12:03 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; 'Jeong, Da-Woon'; 'Filippo, Agustin Ignacio'; 'Aguerre, Jose Agustin'; georges; ronbaudin; 'Lee, Ka-Oak'; 'Lee, Sin-Jae'; 'Opertti, Fabrizio'; 'Almeida, Eduardo Marques'; ametellus; 'Beitler, Ady'; dodysassine; ldelatour3; '(KOTOP) Lee, Steve'; 'Puig, Steven J.'; 'Schulz, Hans U.'; 'Gallon, Jorge Leon'; 'Weissman, Warren Edward'; 'Guillamon, Bernardo E.'; 'Bendersky, Matias'; 'Yu, Chae-Ryong'
**Cc:** Warnholz, Jean-Louis; 'Mark D'Sa'; 'John Sachs'; 'Gabriel Verret'; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** RE: Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

Thanks Cheryl.

That is very encouraging the necessary analysis for the proposed site selection is completed. If Hansoll is interested would there be anything in writing available on the additional analysis on 14/15 or does that need to wait for the full assessment now being undertaken for Site 15?

Please also add going forward to the email list for Hansoll – Jenny Yu – [redacted] I added her on my reply. You can delete [redacted] B6

I can make the call tomorrow morning.

Andrew

Andrew J. Samet
Sorini, Samet & Associates, LLC
700 13th Street, NW
Suite 930
Washington, DC 20005
Office: 202-393-4481
[redacted]
Fax: 202-393-4494
Email: [redacted]

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 11:32 AM
**To:** Jeong, Da-Woon; Filippo, Agustin Ignacio; Aguerre, Jose Agustin; georges[redacted] ronbaudin[redacted] Lee, Ka-Oak; Lee, Sin-Jae; Opertti, Fabrizio; Almeida, Eduardo Marques; ametellus[redacted] asamet[redacted] Beitler, Ady; dodysassine[redacted]; ldelatour3[redacted] (KOTOP) Lee, Steve; Puig, Steven J.; Schulz, Hans U.; Gallon, Jorge Leon; Weissman, Warren Edward; Guillamon, Bernardo E.; Bendersky, Matias
**Cc:** Warnholz, Jean-Louis; Mark D'Sa; John Sachs; Gabriel Verret; Laszczych, Joanne
**Subject:** Update on North Park Meeting with President Preval and Request for Call on Tuesday - 2 Nov - 7am

All

I just wanted to give a quick update on the productive meeting we had with President Preval and his team of advisers yesterday, including Gabriel Verret, to discuss a number of critical issues to move the project in the North forward.

The GOH has identified site 15 as the preferred site with which to move forward. This decision is based on the incoming analysis from the IDB on flood risk & drainage, as well as soil and water studies. These studies point to better soil quality and drainage on site 15 as compared to 14. Importantly, the analysis did not point to any flood risks.

The site decision enables the IDB to immediately move forward with the in depth environmental and social analysis, which includes a water systems assessment to shed further light on quantities and quality available. President Preval identified site 14 as the back-up site should the assessments point to any unforeseen risks to the development of a viable park in this location.

I think it makes sense to undertake a call on early Tuesday morning to review the status of the project, address outstanding issues, and get an update on this week's conference. I have again attached the overall timeline of the project and note that a number of deliverables are lagging and require greater attention to meet the agreed target of beginning construction in January 2011.

I would suggest a call at 7am Tuesday morning given our multiple time zones. I have copied Joanne and would be grateful if you could RSVP as to the availability of the appropriate representatives from your team to participate at this time. Thanks so much.

Best

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 3:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: One day late, but... happy birthday! Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 8:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Outcomes

See traffic below - read from bottom up.

cdm

-----Original Message-----
From: Curtis, Meghann A
Sent: Wednesday, October 27, 2010 7:39 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Fw: Outcomes

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Ash, Nazanin S
To: Curtis, Meghann A; Radelet, Steven C
Sent: Wed Oct 27 19:32:58 2010
Subject: Re: Outcomes

I described it below, do you need more?

----- Original Message -----
From: Curtis, Meghann A
To: Ash, Nazanin S; Radelet, Steven C
Sent: Wed Oct 27 19:30:55 2010
Subject: Re: Outcomes

What happened to Indonesia?

----- Original Message -----
From: Ash, Nazanin S
To: Curtis, Meghann A; Radelet, Steven C
Sent: Wed Oct 27 19:00:20 2010
Subject: Outcomes

Hi,

Group deliberations resulted in the following tiers (no order within tiers):

[redacted]

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 9:34 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Politico piece on FA article

# Pinstripes to cargo pants -- Clinton tailors new vision for diplomacy

By **Elise Labott, CNN**
October 27, 2010 12:51 p.m. EDT
**STORY HIGHLIGHTS**

- It is the first-ever undertaking for the State Department
- Approach will focus on American leadership through civilian power
- Going forward, diplomats likely to wear cargo pants as a pinstriped suit.

**Washington (CNN)** -- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is outlining how she plans to redefine U.S. diplomacy and development ahead of a top-down review which has taken place this year and will be released in the coming weeks.

In an essay in the November/December issue of Foreign Affairs, Clinton previews the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, commonly referred to as the QDDR. The review, the first-ever such an undertaking for the State Department, is meant to balance a similar quadrennial review by the Defense Department that projects their strategy and priorities.

The new approach to development, Clinton says, will focus on American leadership through civilian power. Both Clinton and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and have talked about "demilitarizing" foreign policy, and Clinton says the QDDR will suggest how to do that, with a whole new set of resources for diplomacy and development, much of which will be geared toward fragile states in conflict or crisis.
In the article, Clinton painted the broad strokes of the document, which she called a blueprint for reforms to be implemented over the next four years. Those reforms include modernizing and coordinating diplomacy across U.S. government agencies, creating a stronger nexus between diplomacy and development and ensuring that development undertaken by the U.S. has a lasting and "sustainable" impact.

"Economic growth is the surest route out of poverty, and expanding and strengthening middle classes around the world will be key to creating the just and sustainable international order that lies at the heart of the United States' national security strategy," Clinton wrote in Foreign Affairs. She said that the U.S. ultimate goal in development was to "put itself out of business" by boosting up countries to assume responsibility for their own projects and future.

President Barack Obama laid out the vision and the basic pillars of the policy in September at the United Nations General Assembly when he released the "U.S. Global Development Policy," which changes U.S. efforts to focus on building up countries that demonstrate good governance and economic potential.

But the QDDR will outline how to put that policy into practice. Officials say the 150-page document will detail everything from how the United States conducts multilateral diplomacy, how the United States undertakes "stabilization" efforts in post-conflict areas, how the State Department works with USAID and contractors to the types and numbers of personnel needed to implement the new approach.

American diplomats going forward, Clinton said, are as likely to wear cargo pants as a pinstriped suit.

---

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 27, 2010 4:45 PM
**To:** Hyde, Dana; Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Politico piece on FA article

http://www.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/10/27/clinton.qddr/index.html?iref=allsearch

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 6:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

You'll love this. Her asylum is still up in the air.

----- Original Message -----
From: Yu, Wenchi
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Wed Oct 27 12:13:51 2010

I went to see [redacted] this morning. She's looking great! [redacted] B6

Talked a lot. She just published another book in Taiwan. She's looking for another publisher for another one. She just keeps writing!!

Paul Weiss is the law firm providing pro bono work for her immigration matters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 7:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) US missile strikes kill 14 in NW Pakistan is 24 hours

**From:** Brown, Justin P
**To:** NEWS-Pakistan; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Thu Oct 28 05:04:13 2010
**Subject:** (AP) US missile strikes kill 14 in NW Pakistan is 24 hours

PESHAWAR (AP) - Intelligence officials in Pakistan are reporting the third suspected U.S. missile strike in North Waziristan in the past 24 hours. The officials say two missiles struck a house, killing seven alleged militants in the tribal region close to the Afghan border. Two other attacks October 27 killed seven suspected militants.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 11:24 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Very scare sign of the times

The Des Plaines Public Library Board Tuesday approved closing the library on Dec. 5 if the city of Des Plaines does not cosign a bank loan of up to $1.5 million and Cook County property tax receipts are delayed.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 11:53 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: One day late, but... happy birthday! Sid

Have a good trip building the de facto China containment alliance. Will discuss election carnage when you return. Sid

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop >
Sent: Thu, Oct 28, 2010 11:00 am
Subject: Re: H: One day late, but... happy birthday! Sid

Thx, my friend.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop

To: H

Sent: Wed Oct 27 15:11:20 2010

Subject: H: One day late, but... happy birthday! Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 1:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Baby [redacted] B6

Fyi.

**From:** Miguel Rodriguez [redacted]
**To:** Traci Rodriguez [redacted]
**Sent:** Thu Oct 28 13:18:30 2010
**Subject:** Baby [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Obama denies batch of pardons

**From:** Toiv, Nora F
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Obama denies batch of pardons

POLITICO

## Obama denies batch of pardons

By: Josh Gerstein
October 28, 2010 04:37 AM EDT

After months of pleas from those who favor more use of the president's pardon power, President Barack Obama has finally acted on the issue—disappointing many of those advocates by denying hundreds of requests for sentence commutations and dozens of criminal pardons.

White House and Justice Department officials confirmed that Obama has yet to grant any pardons or commutations since taking office. Earlier this month, officials said, Obama formally denied 605 commutation petitions and 71 pardon requests, a record that criminal justice reform advocates find troubling.

"We'd like to see him being a lot more generous and actively granting clemency, but it doesn't seem to be a high priority of this administration at all," said Molly Gill of Families Against Mandatory Minimums, an organization advocating the elimination of harsh federal punishment for certain low-level crimes. "Obviously, there are a lot of political decisions that go into clemency decisions, particularly in an election year."

According to Pardon Power, a blog that tracks clemency issues, Obama is currently the fourth-slowest president to commute or void a prisoner's sentence. Only Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and George Washington have taken longer, according to P.S. Ruckman of Rock Valley College in Illinois.

However, Obama's "about 30 days from passing Clinton" to become third slowest, Ruckman said, though he added that details on Washington's grants of clemency are murky.

Neither the White House nor the Justice Department would release the list of those denied clemency by Obama this month.

Last month, the Justice Department argued in federal appeals court that the government has the right to keep secret the names of those refused pardons or commutations. A former Washington Post reporter, George Lardner Jr., sought the names for a book he's writing on executive clemency.

Ohio State University professor Doug Berman, a clemency advocate, said he believes Obama will soon grant pardons and commutations, which traditionally come during the holiday season.

"Kudos to the president for acting, because simply not acting and giving the impression this is going into some black box is actually worse," Berman said. "Wishfully thinking, I would hypothesize that this is a precursor to some future grants. ... Obama has been disappointing so far in that he has sent signals he's going to do nothing or, as of now, deny, but I'm cautiously hopeful."

Margaret Love, a former Justice Department pardon attorney under Clinton and President George H.W. Bush, said she'd like to see Obama grant pardons to some immigrants who have long completed their sentences or never served time but now face deportation because of criminal convictions still on their records.

"It would be wonderful to see President Obama take some action in some of the cases I know are pending where people are under the threat of deportation," said Love, including Chibueze Okorie, a Nigerian who is a Presbyterian minister in Brooklyn, N.Y.

In 1989, he pleaded guilty in federal court to driving a van for a heroin gang and was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Since his release, his community work has been praised by officials, including former Sen. Hillary Clinton, now Obama's secretary of state. But under a 1996 law, Okorie might be forced to leave the country because he was convicted of an aggravated felony.

In May, Democratic Gov. David Paterson of New York set up a commission to deal with cases of green card holders who were convicted before the 1996 law kicked in or who pleaded guilty without realizing deportation was an option.

"Congress set up this list of aggravated felonies. This was a conscious decision," said Ira Mehlman of the Federation for American Immigration Reform. "This is something that ought to be addressed in the legislature, not done by the president or Gov. Paterson exercising their executive clemency privileges."

*CORRECTION: An earlier version of this story said Obama has denied all pending pardon requests. While he has yet to grant any such requests, several hundred applications remain pending, according to Justice Department statistics.*

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 8:03 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Nine policemen killed in ambush in western Mexico

**From:** Rudnitski, Jennine R
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_SWO-Only
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 05:32:53 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Nine policemen killed in ambush in western Mexico

GUADALAJARA (AP) - Public safety officials in Mexico said gunmen ambushed a convoy of 20 police officers, killing nine of them and leaving one missing. The officials in Jalisco state said ten officers who survived the attack fought an hours-long battle with the unknown attackers, and several gunmen were wounded. The attackers, who were riding in about ten sport utility vehicles, were armed with grenades and assault rifles. They fled into neighboring Michoacan state after the attack. Michoacan is the home to a violent cartel known to launch fierce attacks on police convoys.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 9:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Talks to avert Israeli strike to resume on October 31

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 09:08:15 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Talks to avert Israeli strike to resume on October 31

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Talks to avert a public sector strike next week which could cripple Israel's ports and airports have been suspended and will resume after the weekend, Finance Minister Yuval Steinitz said on October 29. The Histadrut labor union wants a 10.5 percent pay rise over three years for the 700,000 public sector workers it represents, but the Finance Ministry has offered 1.5 percent. Talks will resume on October 31, the first day of the Israeli working week. "The gaps are still large but at least we have been able to outline (our differences). I think there is no cause for a strike, it will harm everybody -- citizens, the economy and the workers themselves," Steinitz told reporters. Unions have indicated they may call a strike as early as November 2, which could shut down public transport, government offices and some government-owned companies. Health services and utilities would function at reduced capacity. An official with Histadrut, which represents public sector staff, said the pay rise sought by union leaders was justified. "We are looking to reach a decision and gain a realistic wage rise for the workers. This is the heart of the negotiations," Avi Nisan-Koren told reporters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 10:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Al Jazeera TV's Morocco operations suspended

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-R
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 10:14:26 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Al Jazeera TV's Morocco operations suspended

RABAT (Reuters) - Morocco has suspended the activities of pan-Arab Al Jazeera television on its territory, Morocco's official MAP news agency reported on October 29, citing the Communications Ministry. The agency said the suspension would take immediate effect and that the accreditations of the Qatar-based television station's staff in Morocco would also be suspended. It did not give any reason for the decision.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 10:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Big rally by Islamic Jihad in Gaza, joined by Hamas

---

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Fri Oct 29 10:45:00 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Big rally by Islamic Jihad in Gaza, joined by Hamas

GAZA (Reuters) - Tens of thousands of supporters of the militant Islamic Jihad movement rallied in the streets of Gaza on October 29, chanting "Death to America" and "Death to Israel." Young men and boys wearing white T-shirts with a slogan in the shape of a rifle bore portraits of militants killed in combat, under the black flags of Islamic Jihad. Ramadan Shallah, the group's exiled chief in Damascus, sent a recorded message marking the anniversary of the assassination of the group's leader Fathi Shiqaqi in Malta in 1995, by presumed Israeli secret agents. "Israel will not bring peace to the region, it will only bring war and destruction and therefore, the slogan of all should be that Israel must be wiped out of existence," said Shallah, who is on a United States wanted list. Senior leaders of the ruling Islamist group, Hamas, joined the open-air gathering, the largest for years in honor of Islamic Jihad with up to 100,000 attending according to its organizers. Hamas allowed the group to use city terrain it usually reserves exclusively for its own rallies, and Hamas forces provided security for the parade by its smaller rival.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 11:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Vietnam to award Japan nuclear plants deal

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 11:39:49 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Vietnam to award Japan nuclear plants deal

TOKYO (Reuters) - Vietnam has decided to award Japan contracts to build two of four nuclear power plants it plans to set up by the early 2020s, Japan's Kyodo news agency reported, citing sources familiar with the matter. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung is expected to relay the Vietnamese leadership's decision on October 31 when he and Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan meet for bilateral talks at a regional summit in Hanoi, Kyodo said. Earlier this month Japan said it had agreed with Vietnam to cooperate on nuclear power plant technologies and materials. Japan, the world's third-biggest nuclear power generator after the United States and France, is stepping up efforts to tap the nuclear power development market overseas. In an effort to sell its atomic technologies abroad with the help of the government, a joint venture of 13 Japanese firms including Toshiba Corp, Hitachi Ltd and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries was formed this month.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 12:54 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: (Irish Independent) Irish Foreign Minister's daughter dies

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 12:53 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** (Irish Independent) Irish Foreign Minister's daughter dies

(Irish Independent) - The seven-year-old daughter of Foreign Affairs Minister Micheal Martin has died. It is understood Leana, the youngest daughter of Mr. Martin and his wife Mary, suffered from a heart condition. She died peacefully in Great Ormond Street Hospital, London. Her parents and family were at her bedside. Mr. Martin and his wife said they are heartbroken at the loss of their "darling Leana."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 1:04 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Irish Independent) Irish Foreign Minister's daughter dies

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 12:52:36 2010
**Subject:** (Irish Independent) Irish Foreign Minister's daughter dies

(Irish Independent) - The seven-year-old daughter of Foreign Affairs Minister Micheal Martin has died. It is understood Leana, the youngest daughter of Mr. Martin and his wife Mary, suffered from a heart condition. She died peacefully in Great Ormond Street Hospital, London. Her parents and family were at her bedside. Mr. Martin and his wife said they are heartbroken at the loss of their "darling Leana."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 1:42 PM
**To:** H; jake.sullivar [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: LMI tomorrow

We are updating for the morning and getting from Washington forward leaning language on damns. Will have at 815 staff. Thanks Kurt

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Campbell, Kurt M; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Fri Oct 29 13:25:27 2010
Subject: LMI tomorrow

I've reviewed the notes and do not see any reference to a moratorium on dam projects. Should I raise it or not?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 1:51 PM
**To:** H; 'CampbellKM@state.gov'; 'jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: LMI tomorrow

Joe just gave me point
Hrc has complete packet

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'CampbellKM@state.gov' <CampbellKM@state.gov>; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Oct 29 13:25:27 2010
Subject: LMI tomorrow

I've reviewed the notes and do not see any reference to a moratorium on dam projects. Should I raise it or not?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 2:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Ashton

Fyi.

**From:** Burns, William J
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 14:07:52 2010
**Subject:** Ashton

See S has requested to speak to Ashton. Assume it's about NATO-EU stuff, but on Iran, latest is that letter from Jalili's office to Ashton today was pretty vacuous – no firm answer on dates or venue for 5+1 meeting. Cooper following up with Iranian Amb in Brussels and Chinese (who thought they had a more specific answer). Par for course.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 2:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ashton

Coming

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Oct 29 14:35:05 2010
Subject: Re: Ashton

Any news to report?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Oct 29 14:12:59 2010
Subject: Fw: Ashton

Fyi.

---

From: Burns, William J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Oct 29 14:07:52 2010
Subject: Ashton

See S has requested to speak to Ashton. Assume it's about NATO-EU stuff, but on Iran, latest is that letter from Jalili's office to Ashton today was pretty vacuous – no firm answer on dates or venue for 5+1 meeting. Cooper following up with Iranian Amb in Brussels and Chinese (who thought they had a more specific answer). Par for course.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775500 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

April 23, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Kyrgyzstan Update

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775500 Date: 08/31/2015

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775502 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

April 23, 2010

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Kyrgyzstan Update

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05775502 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:19 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** VMI

What about asking VMI to move to another day--is that out of the question?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:20 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: h: just a line. S

Good advice.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 23 10:05:50 2010
Subject: h: just a line. S

Next time you feel like stepping all over your story by saying you are tired, use the line of the black woman in the Montgomery bus boycott who walked to work: "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested."

On UK: Clegg held his own in the second debate last night. Gordon hit him as "anti-American." This feels like it's moving to a hung parliament. Cameron can't break through. Two-thirds of the voters simply hate the Tories. No matter how well Clegg does the system doesn't allow for any gain in seats to match his personal poll numbers. UK stunned by its first series of debates and the whole campaign has atrophied in wonderment, little happening between the debates. Final one next week, but guaranteed not to be conclusive, just a repetition, confirming the earlier two.

Sid

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 4:43 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'lewjj@state.gov'; 'SteinbergJB@state.gov'; 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NSS/PSD Strategy Going Forward

I think AMS makes a strong case and we should discuss and decide how to proceed asap.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:37:19 2010
Subject: NSS/PSD Strategy Going Forward

I hope that you can read this (3 pages) before your meeting with Secretary Gates on pooled funding on Monday. I have spent a lot of time thinking about these issues in the context of the QDDR, but I think if we're going to push the position I suggest, it has to be now. If you agree, there are a number of ways we can make this quite attractive to other agencies as well as DoD. AM

---

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted] B6
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:33:30 2010
Subject: NSS/PSD Strategy Going Forward

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 5:57 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035**

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 17:24:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

For you eyes only

B1
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Mills Cheryl [redacted]
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:00:09 2010
Subject: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

B6

CDM:
At behest of PDT, I tried to call you just minutes ago to ask about your availability for phone call from him this afternoon.
- First choice: 5:00 p.m. (your time)
- Alternative: 7:00 p.m.
- If neither works for you, then propose time and we'll accomodate.
Two options to suggest:
1. With our individual cell phones, it is difficult to involve third person - to wit, me. Could you arrange for a conference type number and code to which PD and I could call separately?
2. Or as alternative, do you have capacity to call us separately to turn it into a conference call?
Either option would not only make for a smoother conversation, but would also allow me to not have to be in same location as PDT.

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted]

[redacted] so best that call be today.

Regards.

[redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

Sent from my BlackBerry® device from Digicel

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 5:58 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

Kust seeing this--can you talk? I'm on berry in car.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~
Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 17:24:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

For you eyes only

B1
1.4(D)

----- Original Message -----
From
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Mills Cheryl
Sent: Sat Apr 24 16:00:09 2010
Subject: Can you be available for call from PDT Preval this p.m.?

B6

CDM:
At behest of PDT, I tried to call you just minutes ago to ask about your availability for phone call from him this afternoon.
- First choice: 5:00 p.m. (your time)
- Alternative: 7:00 p.m.
- If neither works for you, then propose time and we'll accomodate.
Two options to suggest:
1. With our individual cell phones, it is difficult to involve third person - to wit, me. Could you arrange for a conference type number and code to which PD and I could call separately?
2. Or as alternative, do you have capacity to call us separately to turn it into a conference call? 1.4(B)
Either option would not only make for a smoother conversation, but would also allow me to not have to be in same 1.4(D)
location as PDT.

so best that call be today.

Regards.

B1
1.4(D)

Sent from my BlackBerry® device from Digicel

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 6:26 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: FYI Kornblum... Sid

Pls print and have delivered to my house.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Fri Apr 23 10:10:42 2010
Subject: FYI Kornblum... Sid

In light of Clegg's rising popularity partly based on his anti-Americanism and Germany's growing hegemony in Europe while becoming more insular, John Kornblum has written this op-ed with reference in last graphs to US policy.

The New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/> <http://graphics8.nytimes.com/ads/spacer.gif> Printer Friendly Format Sponsored By
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April 23, 2010
I.H.T. Op-Ed Contributor

Germany in Need of a Dream

By JOHN KORNBLUM
Has Germany abandoned Europe? Do Angela Merkel's tough conditions for aid to Greece mean that Germany is no longer the motor of European integration? Has Frau Merkel in fact morphed from the Miss Europa of 2007 to the Fräulein Germania of 2010, as Germany's own former foreign minister Joschka Fischer has suggested?
As a former American ambassador who has lived and worked the better part of four decades around Germany, my Blackberry often glows red hot with messages from persons asking these questions. My response is always the same: Germany has changed very little, but Europe and the world have changed a lot. Therein lies the dilemma.
Germany has worked hard to dig its way out of the disaster of 1945, but trauma remains a defining issue for German society. Sixty five years later, Germany is still focused on the three essentials of its recovery: stability, respectability and peace. Keep this triangle in mind and lots of things quickly come into focus.
From the first days of the Federal Republic, Germany's leaders emphasized the importance of defining interests solely within a common European and Atlantic vocation. But they also understood that renouncing national ambitions did not remove the responsibility to pursue specific German goals through the common institutions.
Many important postwar accomplishments were conceived and pushed by Germany, sometimes over the opposition of others — including the United States. Ostpolitik was controversial for years, as was NATO enlargement. Germany pushed them with determination.

Helmut Kohl did not consult before promulgating his 10 points on reunification. He agreed to French desires for a common currency, but only if it could be a mirror of the Deutsche mark, for decades the European monetary standard. The euro stability pact, now the object of so much controversy with Greece, was the result. After 1990, the E.U.'s eastward expansion was Germany's way of firming up its Eastern flank.

Slowly and without fanfare, Germany has been remaking the European Union in its image. At each step of the way, Germany made its wishes more palatable by paying more than its share. Part of today's misunderstanding is caused by Germany's success in using its contributions to build an image of selflessness. Germany has been as single-minded in pursuit of its goals as Charles de Gaulle ever was for his, but it almost always left leadership to others.

A new consciousness grew after the costs of reunification began to mount. "Europe" in the institutional sense has become increasingly unpopular. German courts have begun to define German European issues in the context of the German Constitution rather than on the basis of E.U. law. At least some of Ms. Merkel's refusal to allow immediate assistance to Greece was based on her fears that it would fan anti-E.U. sentiment at home. Are these the first signs of a German Tea Party?

Here we find the source of most of the hand wringing about Germany's role as the "motor of Europe." Ms. Merkel's unwillingness to sweeten the financial pot echoed throughout Brussels. To many, it signified the decline of German willingness to "salute the French flag three times before raising the German flag," as Konrad Adenauer used to put it. Germans are not alone in objecting to throwing more money into the E.U. pot, but they happen to be the only ones who can do something about it. Many fear that without German complaisance, the E.U. will stutter to a stop. But such self-denial could never offer a viable foundation for a new Europe. Neither could the inefficiency and even corruption that characterizes many E.U. programs.

Most maddening for most thinking Europeans is the knowledge that the Germans are right. But to them, the question is whether Germany is remaking the E.U. in a fashion palatable to the majority of other member states. They are not so sure that its focus on stability and accountability is the right way to help such a diverse collection of peoples adjust to a globalized world.

And so when Angela Merkel raps Greek knuckles, she is sending a message most Europeans don't want to hear. Not that Germany is dangerous; even worse, that it is unrelenting. The Neue Züricher Zeitung probably spoke for many others when it once accused Germany of wanting Europe to become a large Switzerland.

The growing gap between Germany's aspirations and the perceived needs of other members of the E.U. is beginning to burden both sides. Most Europeans are simply not ready to live up to German standards. Without a more flexible sense of common purpose, the project to build a democratic Europe could stop dead in the water. But as Germans will themselves often tell you: They have forgotten how to dream.

Younger Germans feel this lack of inspiration as well. Dreams were what 200,000 of them were waiting to hear when they rallied to hear Barack Obama in Berlin two summers ago. They wanted more than to "Dare to Hope," which is the characteristically timid German translation of the title of the president's best seller. And they are still waiting. America seems busy elsewhere.

The main conclusion I draw from the debate about Germany is that it is not about Germany at all. The task of building a democratic Europe is far from complete. Most of the foundations have been laid and now the residents are starting to haggle over the design. Weaving today's 27 states into a true trans-Atlantic partnership is a task that is too big for Germany or even Europe to accomplish alone. They desperately need some skilled architectural assistance.

Uniting Europe and North America is the most audacious project ever conceived. If it works, the United States will be joined by nearly 500 million Europeans to form a democratic space, within which modern democratic values will harness more energy than in any single nation on earth. Democracy's future as the operating system for a globalized world will be assured.

European fecklessness seems to worry Washington officials these days. But if Germany has forgotten how to dream and the United States is too busy to try, we will both be guilty of perpetuating the aimlessness we so criticize. To hold up its side of the bargain, Europe needs exactly what Barack Obama originally promised — the audacity of hope.

John Kornblum, senior counselor with the international law firm Noerr LLP in Berlin, served as the U.S. ambassador to Germany from 1997 to 2001.

<http://up.nytimes.com/?d=0/9/&t=&s=1&ui=1384214&r=http%3a%2f%2fwww%2enytimes%2ecom%2f2010%2f04%2f23%2fopinion%2f23iht%2dedkornblum%2ehtml%3femc%3deta1&u=www%2enytimes%2ecom%2f2010%2f04%2f23%2fopinion%2f23iht%2dedkornblum%2ehtml%3femc%3deta1%26pagewanted%3dprint>

DCSIMG
<http://wt.o.nytimes.com/dcsym57yw10000s1s8g0boozt_9t1x/njs.gif?dcsuri=/nojavascript&WT.js=No&WT.tv=1.0.7>

<http://www.nytimes.com/adx/bin/clientside/2c7bce84Q2FRbLQ51TT4Q23TLwQ51Q51Q5BQ25TQ2ATQ22Q22Q2AbQ23Q22Q51>

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 7:30 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Amano [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

I assume Steve et al got the readouts [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 19:21:32 2010
Subject: Fw: Amano [redacted]

Fyi

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/23/2035

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From: Mull, Stephen D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Ashraf, Madeeha S; Waser, Tamir G; Burns, William J; Waller, Robert P; Wells, Alice G
Sent: Sat Apr 24 17:50:47 2010
Subject: FW: Amano [redacted]

FYI, excellent readout from Ambassador Davies' meeting with IAEA DG Amano [redacted]

From: Davies, Glyn T
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 1:24 PM
To: Mull, Stephen D; Einhorn, Robert J; Timbie, James P; Cook, Nerissa J; [redacted]; Scheland, Mark DL; Burk, Susan F B6
Cc: 'Poneman, Daniel'; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Hall, Andrea G; [redacted] Hoh, Christopher J; Pappas, Demitra M; Yu, Alan K; Nephew, Richard M
Subject: Amano [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Good chat with the DG, just a half-hour after he landed from his Tokyo flight.

[redacted] 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

-

G

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, April 24, 2010 7:43 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Harry Reid

I still have not received the call sheet.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 15:19:19 2010
Subject: RE: Harry Reid

We prepared a call sheet that is in clearance now. Will send to you ASAP.

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Newsweek

So what's the verdict on the article?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:18 AM
**To:** 'preines B6
**Subject:** Re: Newsweek

Thx for all your help especially since I know it's hard helping Methodists!

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines B6
To: H; Jake Sullivan <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Apr 25 10:03:32 2010
Subject: Re: Newsweek

Really good stuff. Especially fantastic opening page

Getting very very good feedback

I can't even remember now what if anything in it bugged me yesterday. Nothing in it has anyone making a double take to flesh out so far.

Its overall frame of the partnership paints you in exactly the way I think people respect you most, and I think Hirsh might actually have come up with a theme that will stick.

Have only seen the cover photo online, I want to see the hardcopy since we all know it's the pictures that really matter. Text on the cover is great

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Newsweek
Sent: Apr 25, 2010 9:55 AM

So what's the verdict on the article?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 10:26 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Anything to report?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 11:12 AM
**To:** 'bam@mikulski.senate.gov'
**Subject:** Good luck on a good start!

Barb--

I loved your comments at your re-election kickoff and hope you've scared off all the would-be opponents.

How's our friend, Martin, doing? I know he has a rematch when he should be reelected by acclamation for steering the ship of state so well. Pls give him my best wishes.

And go get 'em! Your friend and booster, Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 3:25 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Iran

Sounds good. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 25 15:05:41 2010
Subject: Iran

You'll get from Derek and me tonight a short agenda with framing questions for the Iran meeting tomorrow. Derek is on call to act as a sort of conductor and move the conversation along, if need be.

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D)

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 4:13 PM
**To:** 'CampbellKM@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'SteinbergJB@state.gov'
**Subject:** Futenma

What is the state of play? I read the reports about [redacted] And what do we do now? 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/25/2035**

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 7:11 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' B6
**Subject:** Can you talk tonight?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, April 25, 2010 9:35 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Harry Reid

I talked w him and will download tomorrow.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Apr 25 21:05:19 2010
Subject: RE: Harry Reid

Did you get what you need? Is there anything else that might be helpful to you?

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 24, 2010 9:31 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Harry Reid

Rich, Given his recent letter to me, I need to call him soon. Can you provide suggested points for Iran and Israel? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 10:15 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list

Pls send Gen. Shalikashvili's numbers to Bill's staff because he asked me to have Bill call him.

Send all of Ron Dellums' numbers also to Bill.

Did I write Kris Durmer? If so, pls remove.

Pls add to list:
Susan Berger
Mark Weiner
Pls take off:
Albright
Lavrov
Spindelegger
Clark (ask Amb. Morningstar to call him to discuss oil shale in Europe) Saudabayev Holbrooke

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 8:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: DAC Chair Election

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'jbatwood [redacted] B6
Sent: Fri Oct 29 20:58:36 2010
Subject: Re: DAC Chair Election

We are so thrilled, grateful and proud.

You will serve us and the global community well.

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: Brian Atwood [redacted]
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Oct 29 15:58:15 2010
Subject: DAC Chair Election

Dear Cheryl,

The member states today confirmed unanimously my election to chair the Development Assistance Committee of OECD. This is a strong mandate and I would not have received it without your support. I look forward to receiving your good advice and counsel during my term of office-- and beyond. Many thanks.

Brian

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Lissa Muscatine
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 11:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: checking in

B6

Glad to hear that you're happy with the transition.

I'll keep you posted on what I'm hearing. In the meantime, good luck on the trip and one of these years we will get you to our Halloween party! xoxo

On Oct 29, 2010, at 10:48 PM, H wrote:

> He's w me in Vietnam right
> now. So, altho I miss you, I think we're ok. Let me know what you
> hear. Love to all--H
>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: Lissa Muscatine
> To: H
> Sent: Mon Oct 25 00:18:27 2010
> Subject: checking in
>
> Just wanted to see if everything is going okay from your vantage point
> with the speech team. I hear from each of them now and then but want
> to make sure things are working out the way you want them to.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 8:14 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Very. [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 26 18:40:29 2010
Subject: FW: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

Interesting.

From: Einhorn, Robert J
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 5:33 PM
To: Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Tauscher, Ellen O; 'Ryu, Rexon Y.'; Samore, Gary S.; Magsamen, Kelly E.; Crowley, Philip J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Chollet, Derek H; Mull, Stephen D
Subject: Ahmadinejad to speak at RevCon

UN Secretariat informed us a few minutes ago that Iran says Ahmadinejad will give Iran's speech at the RevCon on Monday. Because of seniority, he may speak first.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 8:18 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Bad news

Pls send a letter and add her to call list. I called yesterday and spoke w her son-in-law.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Apr 24 20:32:21 2010
Subject: Fw: Bad news

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Doug Band
To: 'jpodesta Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Hannah Richert ; Justin Cooper
Sent: Sat Apr 24 20:30:32 2010
Subject: Re: Bad news

Terrible news
Thx for letting us know

----- Original Message -----
From: John Podesta
To: 'dband millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Apr 24 20:09:37 2010
Subject: Bad news

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) China, Japan leaders meet amid row

**From:** Virgil, Lynn C
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Sat Oct 30 05:35:20 2010
**Subject:** (AP) China, Japan leaders meet amid row

HANOI (AP) - A Southeast Asian official said the leaders of Japan and China have held an informal meeting at a regional summit amid a diplomatic row that has overshadowed the gathering. Surin Pitsuwan, secretary-general of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, confirmed that Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan met Saturday on the sidelines of the summit of East Asian leaders in Hanoi, Vietnam. There had been speculation they would not meet at all because of a dispute over a maritime territorial dispute that plunged relations to a five-year low.

Lynn Virgil
Watch Officer
Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 8:23 PM
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Update on your trip to Doha

Travel well. I'll look forward to hearing your report.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; DiMartino, Kitty <DiMartinoK@state.gov>; Douglas, Walter T <DouglasWT@state.gov>; Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Apr 26 15:09:15 2010
Subject: FW: Update on your trip to Doha

FYI, I will be going to Doha this weekend to meet with Al Jazeera. Also plan to meet with CENTCOM and then onto Kabul for two days of meetings. Back next Thursday.

jm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 04/25/2035

From: Somerset, Ann D
Sent: Monday, April 26, 2010 3:04 PM
To: McHale, Judith A
Cc: Douglas, Walter T; DiMartino, Kitty; Davidson, Mark J; Mellott, Joseph; Sreebny, Daniel
Subject: Update on your trip to Doha

Judith,

Below is a rough outline of your trip to Doha, as it currently stands.

LOGISTICS:

You are currently scheduled to arrive in Doha on May 1 at 6:30 and depart May 2 at 7 pm. Traveling with you will be Kitty DiMartino, Joe Mellott, Mark Davidson, and GSEC's LTC Eric Schoennauer. Dana Smith will fly in from the Media Hub in Dubai to meet you in Doha.

Key events:

Dinner with Al Jazeera (AJ) staff: AJ Director General Wadah Khanfar will host a dinner on May 1 with senior AJ staff, including AJ English Managing Director Tony Burman. We expect 7 people on the AJ side and 6 on ours. (The dinner is schedule for 8pm in a private room in the Four Seasons; post is making reservations for the party to stay in the same hotel.)

Meeting with AJ Board Members at AJ Headquarters: This will give you an opportunity to engage the Qatari leadership of the network. Discussions topics should include the mid-May Washington visit by some AJ Board representatives. We expect Wadah Khanfar to also participate in this meeting.

(TBC) Meeting with Prime Minister Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabir al-Thani (HBJ): As PM, HBJ is the ultimate Qatari authority on AJ. The meeting will also allow you to raise bi-lateral engagement issues as necessary. We expect to know in a few days if HBJ will be available.

Meetings with CENTCOM: You will meet with CENTCOM staff at Al Udeid airbase just outside of Doha. They will brief you on their [redacted] within their AOR, but with particular focus on activities in [redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

MEDIA:

Feature on AJ Arabic: 15 minute "feature" piece filmed at AJ Studios on the Administration's commitment to engagement with Muslim communities worldwide. This will be a good opportunity to highlight the Entrepreneurship Summit. We can expect you to also get questions on PD programs in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. You will be interviewed by one of AJ's "top" journalists; exactly who is still to be determined. The interview will be in English with simultaneous interpretation into Arabic. It will likely air a number of times on AJ.

Feature on AJ English: This would be a second 15 minute "feature" piece similar to the one for AJ Arabic. If we are pressed for time we can consider just doing the AJ Arabic feature.

Roundtable with local Qatari media: This will include journalists from a number of local Qatari media outlets. This is another opportunity to talk about the Administration's commitment to engagement, but with a more targeted focus on bilateral engagement and exchange programs.

Note – Wadah Khanfar has been closely engaged on, if not driving, the portions of your program that deal with AJ. Post reports that he is very pleased to have this opportunity for you to engage with AJ leadership in Doha.

Best,

Ann

Ann Somerset

Special Assistant

Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R)

U.S. Department of State

2201 C St, NW Rm 5932

W: 202.647.9130| M: [redacted] | *: SomersetAD@state.gov B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, April 26, 2010 8:42 PM
**To:** 'preines[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Nice picture!

Just saw the WaPo article w your photo and wondered whether that was on your list?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 28, 2010 7:04 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Dai

Am I talking w him at 7:30?

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(B),1.4(D),B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 6:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Jake---just back from Kabul. Very successful trip. Since we won't see each other for a while, some short takes for H and you--and, please, no one else:

Fyi - some interesting nuggets in here.

----- Original Message -----
From: Holbrooke, Richard
To: 'jake.sullivan Sullivan, Jacob J B6
Sent: Sat Oct 30 05:01:41 2010
Subject: Jake---just back from Kabul. Very successful trip. Since we won't see each other for a while, some short takes for H and you--and, please, no one else:

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

To emphasize this latter point. Zardari sent his Commerce Min to Kabul while I was there to formally sign the Transit Trade agreemdnt in a big ceremony Un which both sides praised the US for making it possible. Lots of pro-US media.

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 10/30/2020**

1.4(D)
B1

9) I field tested this with the press twice--in Kabul Thursday and DC Friday. Will see NYTimes Ed Board monday to continue this "shaping campaign" ahead of Lisbon.

11) Aftrr looking closely at Lisbon sched, I see no reason to go. I have to be in I'bad 2 days earlier, and am way iver-travelled right now.

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

12) Tom is replacing Aneesh Ghoul for india. A leading contender appears to be jonah Blank.

13) Tom still looking for a woman to replace Luz S-R, ivo is helping with the search.

14) Dinner with Mullen tonight. Tom has apparently not yet asked him formally for a senior mil advisor, but I assume he will.
Discussed his succesor drama.

15) Ruggiero and Lute still in region.

16) Massive 2011 personnel issues in Kabul at every level, which I am trying to sort out.

17) Enjoy Hanoi. Best to all.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Iran acknowledges sanctions driving up costs

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sat Oct 30 07:56:05 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Iran acknowledges sanctions driving up costs

TEHRAN (AP) - Iranian officials are acknowledging international sanctions imposed on the country over its nuclear program have dramatically increased the cost of living, but the penalties will ultimately prove futile. Commerce Minister Mahdi Ghazanfari said if the sanctions were really having an impact, then the UN would not have had to impose four sets of penalties. Chamber of Commerce President Mohammad Nahavandian did say the sanctions have driven up the cost of imports by 30 percent.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 10:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) UK says bomb could have brought down a plane

**From**: Casteel, Ezra A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Sat Oct 30 10:34:21 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) UK says bomb could have brought down a plane

LONDON (Reuters) - A bomb found on a U.S.-bound cargo plane in Britain was "viable" and could have brought down an aircraft if it had exploded, British interior minister Theresa May said. In response, Britain will act immediately to stop the movement of all unaccompanied air freight from Yemen into or through Britain, she told reporters.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 10:47 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: visit by HRC

Fyi re reaction to your words B6

---

**From:** Dunn, David
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Luzzatto
**Sent:** Sat Oct 30 08:21:01 2010
**Subject:** Re: David Dunn's and Herb Miller's Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Cheryl, Tamara: Have heard from Huma and we know it is only an airport stop. You were both so kind to take the time to respond.

FYI We have an american friend translating for us so we get unedited version of private comments of elites we see. Would like to pass on following:

Listening to translation of our more senior Chinese hosts commentary on her visit, she is clearly seen here as a figure of extraordinary influence on the global stage.
Her words on regional issues, whether praising or questioning, provoke extensive commentary. Complete sentences parsed and discussed. Fascinating juxtaposition vs back in US.

David E. Dunn

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**To:** Dunn, David; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; albond
**Cc:** Luzzatto
**Sent:** Sat Oct 30 06:50:54 2010
**Subject:** Re: David Dunn's and Herb Miller's Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Hello David - I wish we could figure something out but unfortunately we are super late, we are about to land at the airport, doing an official meeting and has to leave asap. Isn't even getting off airport grounds. So sorry, its just such a fly by night stop.

---

**From:** Dunn, David
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; albond
**Cc:** luzzatto Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Sat Oct 30 05:29:13 2010
**Subject:** Re: David Dunn's and Herb Miller's Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Huma: We are very proud of our friend the Secretary and the job she is doing. But your foreign trip logistics are hard enough. Seeing old friends should hold no priority in relation to her important work, notwithstanding the coincidence of our weekend visit to Hainan.

If she'd like a short reprieve from official duties, and logistics permit, we would of course love to say hello.

(Herb Miller and I are invited by Hainan officials for Monday morning, hosted by fmr Vice Chmn of China Agricultural Bank. We are here in relation to Central Committee plans for Hainan becoming a leading international tourism

destination.)

All the Best,

David E. Dunn

B6

---

**From**: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**To**: albond
**Cc**: Dunn, David; luzzatto; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent**: Sat Oct 30 04:19:40 2010
**Subject**: Re: David Dunn's and Herb Miller's Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Amy

So nice to hear from you.

I am not certain what her sked permits but I know how much she thinks of you and David.

I am adding Huma who is traveling w/ S to advise as to her availability for a hello given her trip commitments.

Thanks for reaching out.

All the best.

Cdm

---

**From**: Amy Bondurant
**To**: Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc**: Dunn, David; luzzatto
**Sent**: Fri Oct 29 23:41:21 2010
**Subject**: David Dunn's and Herb Miller's Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Dear Cheryl,
I hope all is well with you. We are all thrilled about the perception of HRC and the job she has been doing for us all. Makes me miss my old ambassadorial days working with State.

As you can see by the below email to me, husband David Dunn (a lawyer/not lobbiest at Patton Boggs, and an old friend of Hillary's) and another Hillary friend, Herb Miller, will be on Hainan Island on Sat. and Sun. Oct 30 and 31 (already Sat. morning there now) to go to the city of Sanya to visit the Mayor. They are there to commit to a major commercial mall project in Sanya with their Chinese partners, Huinong Capital.

They believe that HRC will be visiting Sanya as well in the same time frame and will meet with officials there.

They would love to say hello to HRC to show US businessmen committed to expanded US China trade relations if convenient for her and not an interference. David can be reached at

Thanks Cheryl.

Warmly,
Amy Bondurant

B6

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**From:** Dunn, David
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 11:28 PM
**To:** albond
**Subject:** Our Hainan Island visit coincides with visit by HRC

Herb Miller and I arrive Hainan Island for Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 30 and 31 visit to city of Sanya to see the Mayor. We are there to commit to major commercial mall project in Sanya with our Chinese partners, Huinong Capital.
HRC will be visiting Sanya as well then and will meet with officials to prepare Pres. Hu visit to US in January.

If not an interference we would love to say hello to HRC to show US businessmen committed to expanded US China trade relations.
David E. Dunn

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 1:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Yemen says forces surround house with parcel suspect

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sat Oct 30 13:10:31 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Yemen says forces surround house with parcel suspect

SANAA (Reuters) - Yemen security forces have surrounded a house where a suspect believed to have sent explosive packages headed to the United States is hiding, Yemen's president said. "National security are sealing off a house in which there is a woman believed to have sent the packages," Ali Abdullah Saleh told a news conference, but he did not give the location of the house or any further details.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 9:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Baby [redacted] B6

I've already got it ready for your return. Safe travels!

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Russo, Robert V
Sent: Sat Oct 30 20:10:33 2010
Subject: Fw: Baby [redacted]

Pls do congrats.

----- Original Message -----
From: Miguel Rodriguez [redacted]
To: Traci Rodriguez [redacted]
Sent: Thu Oct 28 13:18:30 2010
Subject: Baby [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 11:34 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** QDDR

I hope you don't read any of this but I've given Huma a complete draft of QDDR plus four key docs:

The first is the decision memo you asked for; second is recommendations for reforming rather than eliminating IO bureau; third and fourth are two alternative approaches to the major development initiatives (one is the standard approach; the other is Cheryl's that she'd like to discuss with you).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 12:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00068-20101031-1132.jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00068-20101031-1132.jpg

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 1:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00072-20101031-1141.jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00072-20101031-1141.jpg

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 4:46 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** IMG00083-20101031-1645.jpg
**Attachments:** IMG00083-20101031-1645.jpg

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fyi

B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 7:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: QDDR

Ready to talk at your convenience. Timing is somewhat flexible - we have to circulate to interagency on the 19th - but the sooner we nail down decisions the better.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 31 07:40:08 2010
Subject: Re: QDDR

This is a challenge. I'll be ready to talk either later tonight or tomorrow. What's our time frame?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Oct 30 23:34:03 2010
Subject: QDDR

I hope you don't read any of this but I've given Huma a complete draft of QDDR plus four key docs:

The first is the decision memo you asked for; second is recommendations for reforming rather than eliminating IO bureau; third and fourth are two alternative approaches to the major development initiatives (one is the standard approach; the other is Cheryl's that she'd like to discuss with you).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 8:34 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: QDDR

Yep - can do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 31 08:22:10 2010
Subject: Re: QDDR

Can you come to my room btw 10-10:30?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Oct 31 07:57:59 2010
Subject: Re: QDDR

Ready to talk at your convenience. Timing is somewhat flexible - we have to circulate to interagency on the 19th - but the sooner we nail down decisions the better.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Oct 31 07:40:08 2010
Subject: Re: QDDR

This is a challenge. I'll be ready to talk either later tonight or tomorrow. What's our time frame?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Oct 30 23:34:03 2010
Subject: QDDR

I hope you don't read any of this but I've given Huma a complete draft of QDDR plus four key docs:

The first is the decision memo you asked for; second is recommendations for reforming rather than eliminating IO bureau; third and fourth are two alternative approaches to the major development initiatives (one is the standard approach; the other is Cheryl's that she'd like to discuss with you).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 11:12 AM
**To:** H

Happy to come over if you'd like

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Mitchell, George
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 11:36 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Personal--see below message from

OK, will do.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'ldavis
Cc: Mitchell, George;
Sent: Sun Oct 31 06:56:44 2010
Subject: Re: Personal--see below message from

Dear Lanny,

I'm in Asia for the next ten days, so I'm copying George and asking him to read your email below and then contact you to discuss your ideas. Thx for your concern, and thx also to George for following up w you. Hillary

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny J. Davis
To: H
Sent: Thu Oct 21 07:59:20 2010
Subject: Personal--see below message from

Dear H: A message from my soulmate who, like me, agreed with every word of your speech.

"The Secretary did a SUPERP job and the audience responded with a standing ovation. They loved her. I am grateful and relieved. We heard many compliments.

Now I believe we can be helpful through the back door in breaking the stalemate.

We have an idea. Off the record - and you know I have never violated my word to you that only you know of my and efforts at the time of the suspension of the settlements moratorium - we have an idea. But must remain back door and only becomes official when principals propose and agree.
You said you could put me in touch with someone we both can trust to hear what we see as a way to break the stalemate.

I have two suggestions for us to talk to - old friends who know me and whom you trust:

1) Geo Mitchell - did you know Geo was my first "boss" in 1971 in a presidential campaign - Ed Muskie's? (I was the "national youth coordinator" when every "youth" I knew, including Hillary Rodham and Bill Clinton, was for George McGovern)

2) Jim Steinberg - my buddy from my WH days.

Or whoever you suggest. We want to meet off-the-record, no one can know, to share this idea.

As to your speech - it must get wider circulation.

I am going to write about it in my Hill column next week (also appears on Huffington and Daily Caller). Can you have someone send I to me ASAP?)

My heart truly was filled with gratitude and admiration for the courage you showed last night - courage because your words were tough love equally for both sides.

Tough love for both sides.

Isn't that what you have done all your political life - fact-based policies and positions, whether offending purists on either side -- or both?

Best,

Lanny

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 4:08 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Larger impact of hard work on Haiti

That's gratifying. Now we just have to make the rebuilding work--no easy task.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 05 16:20:47 2010
Subject: Larger impact of hard work on Haiti

From an INR report just released:

Western Europe: Publics Credit U.S. for Relief to Haiti

Britons, French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards say the United States has done more than other countries to assist Haiti following the devastating January earthquake. Though relief efforts in Haiti have not themselves directly impacted opinion of the United States, the belief that the United States generally assists disaster-stricken countries does positively affect U.S. image.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Ebeling, Betsy [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Sunday, October 31, 2010 1:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: Very scare sign of the times

Just read in the Sunday paper that the library was given a reprieve and will last until the end of the Des Plaines fiscal year. Tuesday will be such a telling day. On paper there is a co-ordinated Democratic campaign in Illinois--however, it is ghostlike--sort of shimmering in the distance. When WJC was here the other day, they all turned out: Dubrin and "the other guy", Speaker Madigan, President Cullerton, many electeds and all gathered to have their photos taken with him. What an assembly of power going nowhere--just finger pointing and hiding. Of course, they all smiled for WJC and said they were working hard for the party.....Is WJC the only one trying? Must be exhausting for him,,,and you. Safe travels. Awaiting the trick or treaters. It's a beautiful day for it. Love you, B

---

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
**Sent:** Sat 10/30/2010 8:44 PM
**To:** Ebeling, Betsy
**Subject:** Re: Very scare sign of the times

That is a sad sign and I'm afraid more to come.

Happy Halloween from Angkor Wat!

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Oct 28 11:24:10 2010
Subject: Very scare sign of the times

The Des Plaines Public Library Board Tuesday approved closing the library on Dec. 5 if the city of Des Plaines does not cosign a bank loan of up to $1.5 million and Cook County property tax receipts are delayed.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 6, 2010 4:16 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 03 13:48:20 2010
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

fyi

From: Brownfield, William R
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 10:41 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Cheryl

[redacted] B5

Feel free to share if you wish.

WRB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, June 03, 2010 7:33 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Kelly, Craig A; Brownfield, William R; Fuchs, Michael H; Baer, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: FW: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

See b/l re travel to columbia

From: Buhl, Cindy [mailto:Cindy.Buhl@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 02, 2010 3:49 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Buhl, Cindy
Subject: Brief memo for Cheryl Mills on Colombia - for Secretary Clinton

Dear Cheryl –

In my last email (Friday, 5/28), I attached the letter from the bipartisan Co-Chairs and Executive Committee members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission sent to Assistant Secretary Mike Posner expressing grave concern about the recent rise in death threats, attacks and murders of Colombian human rights defenders, religious, community and other NGO leaders. Congressman McGovern also strongly encouraged the Secretary to meet with representatives of those organizations and individuals being threatened, with a particularly effort to reach out to and invite the Bishops of Tumaco (Nariño), Barrancabermeja/Medio Magdalena (Santander), and we would now add Putumayo, since the Colombian Catholic Church just advised us yesterday of increased death threats against religious workers there. In addition, we recommended inviting Monseñor Hector Fabio Henao, director of Pastoral Social, at the Archdiocese in Bogotá, who represents all the pastoral work of the Church throughout the country, as well as representatives from the Mennonite and Lutheran churches, in particular.

While in Colombia, the most important thing the Secretary can do is avoid effusive praise for President Álvaro Uribe, who leaves office in August. Inside Colombia, the visit by the Secretary is being described as focusing solely on the free trade agreement and continuing support of the counterdrug strategy/Plan Colombia. Without changes in the human rights situation and the culture of impunity, it is unlikely that anything the Secretary might say or do will alter the equation on Capitol Hill regarding the trade agreement. It should be noted that the October 2008 GAO report on the counter-drug operations in Colombia concluded that U.S. assistance was successful in increasing security in parts of the country, but a failure in the areas of counter-narcotics (GAO-09-71) , and a subsequent April 2009 USAID evaluation on U.S. aid for Plan Colombia for illegal crop reduction and Colombian counternarcotics policies actually contribute to increased coca production.

The Colombian president has been a solid backer of U.S. policy and U.S. interests in the region, and has achieved some important improvements in the country's security situation. It is important to recognize that, but to do so without repeating the tone of Defense Secretary Gates' April visit, in which he called Uribe a "great hero" <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=58754> and failed even to mention any concerns.

These concerns are of critical importance, and while the Secretary need not list them all, at least some deserve public acknowledgement – some recognition that it is important to the United States that Colombia, including the current government and its successor, show the necessary political will to deal with them:

· A sharp rise in alleged military killings of civilians. In many cases, these are so-called "false positives": non-combatants murdered and later presented as members of armed groups killed in combat. These, notes <http://www.extrajudicialexecutions.org/colombia> UN Special Rapporter for Extrajudicial Executions Philip Alston, "began occurring with a disturbing frequency across Colombia from 2004." Citing prosecutors' and NGOs' reports, Alston indicates that Colombia's security forces may have killed 1,486 civilians during the first six years of Álvaro Uribe's presidency. Alston notes that the Defense Ministry only began to address the situation after the media broke the story of the false-positives and the subsequent negative publicity and horrified public outcry.

The prosecution of "false positives" is moving with excruciating slowness. In perhaps the most notorious case – the murders of about twenty young men from the poor Bogotá suburb of Soacha – nearly all of the accused soldiers and officers have been released from prison <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=49968> , pending trial, as deadlines for timely prosecution have run out. Since their arrest in late 2008, their case has been prolonged by numerous delaying tactics by the defense, including attempts to have their cases tried in the military court system as "acts of service." Alston reports that the impunity rate on these extrajudicial murders by security forces may be as high as 98.5 percent.

· Mounting allegations that the President's intelligence service, the DAS, was put at the service <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1123> of paramilitary leaders and narcotraffickers; used to spy on and intimidate <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=752> Supreme Court justices, opposition politicians, journalists and human rights defenders; and employed in a campaign of sabotage and smears <http://www.cipcol.org/?p=1467> against political opponents.

Prosecutors are alleging that the orders to have the DAS carry out wiretaps, surveillance and "political warfare" came from high up in the Colombian presidency <http://www.caracoltv.com/noticias/justicia/articulo168592-tres-asesores-de-uribe-son-investigados-chuzadas-ilegales> , though the question of "what President Uribe knew, and when he knew it" remains unanswered. Meanwhile efforts to reform or dissolve the DAS are stalled in Colombia's Congress.

· President Uribe's political coalition has also been hit by a scandal known in Colombia as "para-politics." This coalition has included dozens of political bosses from regions beyond the capital. Many are large landholders with ties to narcotrafficking, the same local leaders who created and fostered the brutal pro-government paramilitary groups that killed tens of thousands of non-combatants in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Evidence, much of it from former paramilitary leaders, has brought about 300 criminal investigations against legislators, governors, mayors and other local officials, nearly all of them Álvaro Uribe's political supporters, who made common cause with the far-right warlords. To date, of the 278 congresspeople and senators elected in 2006, 68 <http://www.nuevoarcoiris.org.co/sac/?q=node/64> are under official investigation, on trial, or convicted for paramilitary ties. Those embroiled in parapolitics include the President's cousin, Mario Uribe; the brother of his former foreign minister; and individuals whom the President had named to be Colombia's ambassadors to Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Canada.

The Colombian prosecutors, investigators, witnesses and non-governmental organizations trying to uncover the truth about these abuses are working under conditions of great personal risk. They, too, are heroes and would benefit greatly

from a public expression of concern about the cases they are investigating, and a reminder that their work is legitimate and important to U.S. interests in Colombia.

At the same time, it is important to avoid appearing to endorse any candidate in the June 20 runoff elections. Between the first and second rounds of a country's presidential election is a politically awkward time for a high-level official visit. Though President Uribe's former defense minister, Juan Manuel Santos, is the overwhelming favorite given his margin of success in the May 30th first round of balloting over former Bogotá mayor Antanas Mockus, it is necessary at this stage to convey a sense of balance and a willingness to work closely with whoever wins. As a result, any kind words for one candidate should be balanced by praise for the other.

Finally, it would be helpful to remind the Colombian people that the United States supports a peaceful resolution of Bogotá's worsening differences with Venezuela. While President Chávez's behavior is a significant concern, it would be most unhelpful to be perceived on this trip as fanning the flames of conflict with Colombia – or playing into the Chavez rhetoric that the U.S. and Colombia have military aspirations in the region.

Hope this memo, along with last week's copy of the TLHRC letter to Assistant Secretary Posner, are helpful and useful materials for the Secretary as she plans her trip.

Very best wishes –

On behalf of Cong. Jim McGovern

Staff Contact: Cindy Buhl (202-225-6101 or cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov <mailto:cindy.buhl@mail.house.gov> )

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 4:20 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Can you see

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon Jun 07 16:19:19 2010
Subject: Can you see

If staff of OAS can agree to tell SG Insulza that the lunch should be viewed as the bulk if the afternoon mtg since we have now discussed Honduras for 2 hours.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 4:33 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: confidential

Do you have an opinion about this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 7, 2010 4:33 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: confidential

Do you have an opinion about this?

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 28, 2010 10:34 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Number for cohns

Is this the number you got?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H
Sent: Mon Apr 26 18:47:26 2010
Subject: Number for cohns

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, April 29, 2010 7:36 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Thx. What did Mark Hyman tell you?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu Apr 29 07:14:45 2010
Subject:

BEIJING, April 29 (Reuters) - A knife-wielding man injured 28 children, two teachers and a security guard in a kindergarten in eastern China, state media reported on Thursday, the fourth such stabbing case in recent weeks. Xu Yuyuan, 47, an unemployed local man, broke into a classroom in Taixing city of eastern Jiangsu province on Thursday morning, attacking the children with a 20 cm long knife, the official Xinhua news agency said. The injured children were all about four years old, and five are in critical condition, it added. Xu has been jobless since he was fired from a local insurance company in 2001, and then took part in pyramid selling schemes, Xinhua added. The attack is the fourth reported school stabbing in China in recent weeks, and the rash of violence has prompted public calls for more measures to protect students in a country where many couples only have one child. A man stabbed 16 students and a teacher at a primary school in southern China on Wednesday, the same day that a former doctor was executed for stabbing to death eight school children last month. "More concrete measures should be taken to make school the safest place," a commentary in today's Beijing News said, calling for more serve punishment for these killers. Some Chinese people have taken to the Internet to discuss the root causes of the increasing number of school tragedies

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 5:59 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: NAM lunch

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; H
Sent: Thu Apr 29 22:23:51 2010
Subject: Re: NAM lunch

Hrc - we are going to extend invites tomorrow morning if ok with you?

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Apr 29 19:28:10 2010
Subject: NAM lunch

Huma said you were asking about the goals and purposes of the NAM lunch Monday.

B5

B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 9:57 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Putin Tags Polar Bear in Arctic
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image001.jpg

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Apr 29 15:08:57 2010
Subject: FW: Putin Tags Polar Bear in Arctic

Pretty good stuff.

From: Russell, Daniel A
Sent: Thursday, April 29, 2010 3:08 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Gordon, Philip H
Subject: Putin Tags Polar Bear in Arctic

Jake: This is the event to which Putin invited Bill Clinton during his meeting with HRC in Moscow.

Putin Tags Polar Bear in Russia's Arctic

Russian Prime Minister Helps Scientists Track Endangered Species, Calls for Removal of

Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, right, fixes a radio beacon on a neck of a polar bear, which was anaesthetized, during a visit to a research institute at the Franz Josef Land archipelago in the Arctic Ocean on Thursday. (AP Photo/RIA Novosti, pool)

(AP) Updated at 1:29 p.m. ET

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin played the eco-warrior in Russia's Arctic on Thursday, helping scientists track endangered polar bears and calling for a cleanup of the region.

Putin traveled to Franz Josef Land, an archipelago in the Arctic Ocean off the northwest coast of Russia's mainland in his latest display of adventuring prowess to highlight the country's guardianship of the resource-rich region.

Wearing a bright red coat and cap, the 57-year-old premier kneeled at the head of a tranquilized polar bear to attach a satellite-tracking collar, then helped elevate the beast for weighing. The images were broadcast nationally.

Putin helped measure the bear and roll it onto its side.

On his departure, he shook its paw and uttered the words: "Be well."

"The paw is heavy. This is the master of the Arctic, you can feel that straight away," Putin said.

Of a total 25,000 polar bears remaining in the wild, about 6,000 are in Russia's Arctic territory, Russian news agencies quoted officials as saying.

Putin also called for "a general cleanup of the Arctic," ordering the removal of thousands of barrels of fuel buried in the snow that had been left unused by a Soviet-era military base.

He has been spearheading Russia's re-emergence as a regional power, including the country's claims over the Arctic's formidable natural resources. Some 90 billion barrels of oil and one-third of the world's undiscovered natural gas lie hidden in the Arctic region, the U.S. Geological Survey estimates.

"Geopolitically, Russia's deepest interests are linked to the Arctic," Putin said. "Here Russia's security and defense capabilities is provided for. Here there are vitally important transport communications."

Canada, the U.S., Russia and Denmark have competing claims before a United Nations commission regarding extend their undersea boundaries into areas previously blocked by Arctic ice.

Moscow dramatically staked its claim to the region by dropping a flag on the ocean floor at the North Pole in 2007.

Since then, all four countries have agreed to cool their rhetoric and allow scientists to finish their surveys.

Putin adores the media spotlight when it accentuates his macho side. He has been photographed fishing bare-chested in Russia's Altai region, and was shown on television diving into an icy river and swimming the butterfly stroke.

He has also tackled predators in the wild before, shooting a tiger with a tranquilizer gun and releasing leopards.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 10:04 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 4/30/10 Friday

Correct to reflect Kuwaiti not Qatari FM.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Apr 30 07:40:34 2010
Subject: Mini Schedule 4/30/10 Friday

7:45 am PHONE CALL w/PHILIPPE *Private Residence

8:30 am DEPART Private Residence *En route NBC Studio

8:50 am ARRIVE NBC Studio

9:00 am TAPED INTERVIEW w/NBC MEET THE PRESS' DAVID GREGORY

9:20 am NBC Studio

9:25 am DEPART NBC Studio *En route State Department

9:40 am ARRIVE State Department

9:55 am RECEPTION TO CELEBRATE THE OPENING OF THE USA

10:20 am PAVILLION AT THE 2010 SHANGHAI WORLD EXPO

Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

10:30 am BILATERAL w/KUWAITI DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FOREIGN

11:00 am MINISTER DR. MOHAMMAD SABAH AL-SALEM AL SABAH

Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:00 am PRESS PRE-BRIEF

11:05 am Secretary's Office

11:05 am JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/QATARI PRIME MINISTER AND

11:20 am FM DR. MOHAMMAD al-SABAH al-SALEM AL SABAH Treaty Room

11:30 am OFFICE TIME

12:45 pm Secretary's Office

12:45 pm PRE-BRIEF MEETING

1:15 pm Secretary's Office

1:15 pm BILATERAL w/SPANISH FM MIGUEL ANGEL MORATINOS

1:45 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Camera Spray in Treaty Room preceding.

2:00 pm ONE-ON-ONE MEETING w/AFGHAN PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR

2:30 pm ASHRAF GHANI Secretary's Office

2:50 pm VIDEOS (4)

3:05 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

3:10 pm 152ND FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER ORIENTATION CLASS

3:25 pm SWEARING-IN CEREMONY Dean Acheson Auditorium, First Floor

3:30 pm OFFICE TIME

4:15 pm Secretary's Office

4:20 pm DEPART State Department *En route Washington National Airport

4:40 pm ARRIVE Washington National Airport

5:00 pm DEPART Washington National Airport via US Airways Shuttle #2180

En route New York, NY

6:25 pm ARRIVE LaGuardia Airport

6:35 pm DEPART LaGuardia Airport *En route Private Residence ###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 5:13 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Maternal health and abortion

Can you fax it to my DC house?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Fri Apr 30 17:10:19 2010
Subject: Maternal health and abortion

Attached is a memo from Melanne, Jen, and Rachel on maternal health and abortion.

From: Klein, Jennifer L
Sent: Friday, April 30, 2010 4:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Vogelstein, Rachel; Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: Sorry, noticed a typo

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 6:04 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Oil spill

I'm worried that by Sunday my answer will seem too calm under the circumstances.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Shuttle

Lona---Pls cancel the 9 and I'll let you know about tomorrow. I may have to take a later shuttle or even wait until Sunday. Just not sure yet. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2010 9:44 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Shuttle schedule

Pls cancel the 8am but what are the times later and are any of them the large planes instead of the new littler ones?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, June 10, 2010 4:06 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: To Turkish PM Erdogan: Time to Consider all the Facts

Pls read and discuss.

----- Original Message -----
From: Lanny Davis [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 10 14:36:23 2010
Subject: To Turkish PM Erdogan: Time to Consider all the Facts

If you are having trouble viewing this message, please go to http://community.icontact.com/p/wwwlannyjdaviscom/newsletters/blogs/posts/to-turkish-pm-erdogan-time-to-consider-all-the-facts

Purple Nation

June 10, 2010

To Turkish PM Erdogan: Time to Consider all the Facts By Lanny J. Davis

http://thehill.com/opinion/columnists/lanny-davis/102357-message-to-turkish-pm-erdogan

When several years ago I first met Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and had the pleasure to have two private conversations with him, he immediately struck me as the ultimate "purple" leader. As The Washington Post wrote recently, "Erdogan's Justice and Development Party has religious roots, but it also draws conservative entrepreneurs and liberals with its free-market policies."

But Erdogan has recently appeared to be hostile not only to Israel, but also to the U.S. — flirting with Holocaust denier Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and undermining (apparently unintentionally) the world's efforts to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon.

Concerning the recent flotilla incident, there is no question Israel made serious mistakes in planning, intelligence and execution and the onboard deaths were horrible and tragic. But Erdogan's harsh criticism struck many people, even friends of Turkey, as way over the top, ignoring basic facts.

So I ask Prime Minister Erdogan, who I still believe has a good heart and wants to do the right thing, to assume that he faced the following purely hypothetical facts as leader of his country:

Suppose for years Greek Cypriots were shooting rockets intentionally aimed at Turkish Cypriot civilians, causing many deaths and injuries, and as a result, Turkey instituted a blockade, insisting on searching all ships for armaments;

Suppose that you learned there was a flotilla of ships leaving Greek ports destined for Greek Cyprus, called the "Free Turkish Cyprus" flotilla and sponsored by a Greek organization with leaders hostile to Turkey and with associations with an anti-Turkish terrorist organization;

Suppose that after you ordered that these ships be inspected for armaments and the leaders of the ships refused, your soldiers boarding the ships were accosted by people with pipes, iron bars and long knives, putting the Turkish soldiers in mortal danger; and your soldiers, seeing their brothers and sisters in such danger, reacted instinctively by shooting live ammunition, tragically killing nine people, some of whom were members of the same organization linked to an anti-Turkish terrorist organization.

Mr. Prime Minister: If all of the above were true — and in fact, each of the above "hypotheticals" precisely tracks the circumstances Israel faced — what would you and Turkey have done?

Now, you and your Turkish colleagues may argue that the big difference is that Israel is "occupying" the West Bank. Oh, really? An awful lot of Greeks and much of the rest of the world believe, rightly or wrongly, that Turkey is occupying one-half of Cyprus after a military invasion years ago. I know you and your fellow Turks feel that Turkey intervened to protect Turk Cypriots.

A lot of Turkish Muslims somehow believe that there is religious sacrilege by Israel in "occupying" holy sites in East Jerusalem and on the West Bank. Oh, really? Tens of millions of Orthodox Christians throughout Russia, Greece, Romania and Eastern Europe would remind you that in 1453, the Turks not only occupied the holiest site in all of Orthodox Christendom — the Holy Agia Sophia Church, which is to Orthodox Christians what St. Peter's and the Vatican are to Roman Catholics — but also continue to this day to desecrate that site, which Turkey retains as a museum, with the priceless religious frescoes obscenely painted over and icons smashed, and refuse to allow the restoration of Agia Sophia to the Orthodox Church.

Compare what the Turks did to Agia Sophia to Israel's protection of the sanctity and guaranteed absolute access by Muslims to the holy sites on the ancient Temple Mount of the al-Aqsa Mosque facing Mecca and the Dome of the Rock ever since Israel regained control over Jerusalem in 1967. These are facts, Mr. Prime Minister. Do you deny them?

I am hoping that once you discover the entire truth about the risks to Israel's safety and security represented by these Gaza-bound ships, and recognize that Turkey's history and role in being an occupier is not free from criticism, you will find a way to re-engage your prior friendship and relationship with Israel, especially with regard to the peace process, and open discussions with Israeli leaders, who I know appreciated the constructive role you have played over the years.

Even if publicly you cannot do this, I am hoping that you can privately — which would be consistent with my impression of the man I came to know and admire after just two meetings. I can only hope and pray that you do so, and that the world doesn't lose you as a peacemaker in the Middle East and elsewhere.

######

This piece appears today, June 10, 2010, in Mr. Davis's regular weekly column in The Hill "Purple Nation" and "The Daily Caller" an online political website.

Mr. Davis, with his own Washington firm, Lanny J. Davis & Associates PLLC, served as special counsel to President Bill Clinton from 1996-98 and was a member of President George W. Bush's Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board in 2006-07. He is the author of Scandal: How "Gotcha" Politics Is Destroying America (Palgrave MacMillan 2006).
This message was sent by: Lanny J. Davis & Associates LLC, 600 13th Street, NW Suite 600, Washington, DC 20005

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 11, 2010 8:28 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Rich wants to talk before u see dodd/berman

I tried calling.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 11 08:04:01 2010
Subject: Rich wants to talk before u see dodd/berman

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 15, 2010 1:46 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Can you call me thru ops?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 15, 2010 8:39 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Eikenberry

Do you have Jack's notes for the call?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 2:05 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Dalton Hatfield

Do you have a copy of the letter he sent me? I can't find my copy. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 6:11 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: AFP

[redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: Jake Sullivan <sullivanjj@state.gov>
Sent: Sun May 16 17:06:46 2010
Subject: AFP

'Inept' US cannot fix Afghanistan: top Saudi prince Sun, May 16, 2010

RIYADH (AFP) – An "inept" United States cannot fix Afghanistan's problems and should simply focus on "chasing the terrorists" there, former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal said on Saturday.

The ex-ambassador to the United States also challenged Washington to produce results in just-started Middle East peace talks, and accused US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton of undermining efforts to make the region nuclear-free.

AFP – Saudi Arabia's former intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal delivers a speech during a conference ...

In a speech in Riyadh before diplomats, Turki said US-led NATO troops had irrevocably alienated the Afghan people and had no hope of rebuilding the country.

"What Afghanistan needs now is a shift from nation-building to effectively countering terrorists," Turki told the Arab News conference.

US President Barack Obama "should not be misdirected into believing that he can fix Afghanistan's ills by military means."

"Hunt down the terrorists on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border, arrest them or kill them, and get out, and let the Afghan people deal with their problems.

"As long as GI boots remain on Afghan soil, they remain targets of resistance for the Afghan people and ideological mercenaries."

Turki, who has long served a central role in Saudi-Afghan relations, scolded Washington's handling of relations with Kabul.

"The inept way in which this administration has dealt with President (Hamid) Karzai beggars disbelief and amazement.

"Both sides are now filled with resentment and a sour taste in their mouths," he said. "How can they both get out of that situation? I don't know."

The chairman of the King Faisal Center For Research and Islamic Studies, Turki has no official position but is believed to often reflect high level thinking in the Saudi government.

He is the brother of Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal, and analysts speculate he could become foreign minister when Saud retires.

Turki said Arab states have given Washington four months to show progress in US-guided Palestinian-Israeli peace talks.

"The Arab world has given Obama until September to get things done," said Turki.

"It is not enough to talk the talk. He has to walk the walk.

"If he does not succeed... then I (will) ask President Obama to do the morally decent gesture and recognise the Palestinian state that he so ardently wishes to exist.

"He can then pack up and leave us in peace and let the Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese negotiate directly with the Israelis. No more platitudes and good wishes and visions, please."

Turki also faulted the US and European approach in trying to halt Iran's alleged efforts to build a nuclear weapon.

"The discussions on Iran's nuclear ambitions started off on the wrong foot. The carrot and stick approach does not work," he said.

For one, he said, the US and Europe have had double-standards in dealing with Iran on the one hand, and other nuclear countries on the other.

"You cannot ask Iran to play on one level while you allow Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea to play on other levels."

Turki said a successful strategy toward Iran requires even-handedness, a "universal nuclear security umbrella" for the countries in the area, and "a good military option" against any regional country which does not cooperate.

He said Clinton had undermined efforts to move toward a regional nuclear-free zone, after the UN Security Council's five permanent members recently expressed support for the idea.

"Alas... Clinton then voided the issue of its value by stating that the conditions do not yet exist for establishing the zone," he said.

"Why, then, did she join the other members of the P5 in issuing their statement?"

Turki said he hoped Obama "will find the way to correct his secretary of state's nullification of making our area free of weapons of mass destruction."

Turki also warned of rising violence in Iraq after the pullout of US troops next year, warning both internal and external groups seek to carve up the country.

"Imagine what will happen once internal strife and fighting escalates" following the US pullout, he said.

Without a UN Security Council effort to protect Iraq's current borders, the consequence could be "regional conflict on a scale not seen since the Ottoman-Safavid wars of the 17th and 18th centuries," he warned.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 7:00 PM
**To:** 'Betsy.Ebeling
**Subject:** Re:

B6

I'm more worried about whether Amb CM behaved! I told her no table-dancing or karoake singing. How'd she do? It's a great idea and Chicago was the perfect place to start. Has spring finally come or are you still covering plants and worrying about the frost? I'll try calling later for an update. xxoo

----- Original Message -----
From: Ebeling, Betsy
To: H
Sent: Thu May 13 14:44:34 2010
Subject:

Attended Ambassador Capricia's event last night at the Art Institute. It was a magical evening. We sat with the ambassador from Guyana and the ambassador from the Philippines. Lovely people. A staff from the Dept of State sat with us: Gladys ; hope she would report that we behaved. A lovely idea this field trip for the big guys/gals. —ambassadors pretending that they were more excited about going to the Merc. Rick's group doing a great job. Now if only the weather would cooperate. We had 2 ½ inches of rain this morning.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 16, 2010 9:21 PM
**To:** 'capriciamarshall[redacted] Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Re: Fwd: Tribute to Hillary Rodham Clinton

What is it?

----- Original Message -----
From: Capricia Marshall <[redacted] B6
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun May 16 21:03:26 2010
Subject: Fwd: Tribute to Hillary Rodham Clinton

Have you all seen this?

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <NBeang[redacted] B6
Date: Sat, May 15, 2010 at 2:27 PM
Subject: Tribute to Hillary Rodham Clinton
To: capriciamarshall[redacted] B6

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjWOk_jvlmY

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: Must read when you can. Sid

Pls print 3 copies.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sun May 16 23:58:51 2010
Subject: H: Must read when you can. Sid

H: I'm sure you are preoccupied with the adventures of Lula, et al. Nonetheless, the article below, just posted by the NY Review, soon to be published, is a breakthrough piece that will have a large impact. It's worth reading, not least for Frank Luntz's poll numbers. The hysterical tone of much of the Israeli leadership and US Jewish community is partly rooted in this long-term and profound development. Sid

http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/

The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment

June 10, 2010 <http://www.nybooks.com/issues/2010/jun/10/>

by Peter Beinart <http://www.nybooks.com/contributors/peter-beinart/>

E-mail <http://www.nybooks.com/mail_friend/5/23934/> Single Page
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/?pagination=false>
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<http://www.nybooks.com/galleries/john-springs-illustrator/2009/jun/11/benjamin-netanyahu/>
Benjamin Netanyahu; drawing by John Springs In 2003, several prominent Jewish philanthropists hired Republican pollster Frank Luntz to explain why American Jewish college students were not more vigorously rebutting campus criticism of Israel. In response, he unwittingly produced the most damning indictment of the organized American Jewish community that I have ever seen.

The philanthropists wanted to know what Jewish students thought about Israel. Luntz found that they mostly didn't. "Six times we have brought Jewish youth together as a group to talk about their Jewishness and connection to Israel," he reported. "Six times the topic of Israel did not come up until it was prompted. Six times these Jewish youth used the word 'they' rather than 'us' to describe the situation."

That Luntz encountered indifference was not surprising. In recent years, several studies have revealed, in the words of Steven Cohen of Hebrew Union College and Ari Kelman of the University of California at Davis, that "non-Orthodox younger Jews, on the whole, feel much less attached to Israel than their elders," with many professing "a near-total absence of positive feelings." In 2008, the student senate at Brandeis, the only nonsectarian Jewish-sponsored university in America, rejected a resolution commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Jewish state.

Luntz's task was to figure out what had gone wrong. When he probed the students' views of Israel, he hit up against some firm beliefs. First, "they reserve the right to question the Israeli position." These young Jews, Luntz explained, "resist anything they see as 'group think.'" They want an "open and frank" discussion of Israel and its flaws. Second, "young Jews desperately want peace." When Luntz showed them a series of ads, one of the most popular was entitled "Proof that Israel Wants Peace," and listed offers by various Israeli governments to withdraw from conquered land. Third, "some empathize with the plight of the Palestinians." When Luntz displayed ads depicting Palestinians as violent and hateful, several focus group participants criticized them as stereotypical and unfair, citing their own Muslim friends. Most of the students, in other words, were liberals, broadly defined. They had imbibed some of the defining values of American Jewish political culture: a belief in open debate, a skepticism about military force, a commitment to human rights. And in their innocence, they did not realize that they were supposed to shed those values when it came to Israel. The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was a Zionism that recognized Palestinians as deserving of dignity and capable of peace, and they were quite willing to condemn an Israeli government that did not share those beliefs. Luntz did not grasp the irony. The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was the kind that the American Jewish establishment has been working against for most of their lives.

Among American Jews today, there are a great many Zionists, especially in the Orthodox world, people deeply devoted to the State of Israel. And there are a great many liberals, especially in the secular Jewish world, people deeply devoted to human rights for all people, Palestinians included. But the two groups are increasingly distinct. Particularly in the younger generations, fewer and fewer American Jewish liberals are Zionists; fewer and fewer American Jewish Zionists are liberal. One reason is that the leading institutions of American Jewry have refused to foster—indeed, have actively opposed—a Zionism that challenges Israel's behavior in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and toward its own Arab citizens. For several decades, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to check their liberalism at Zionism's door, and now, to their horror, they are finding that many young Jews have checked their Zionism instead.

Morally, American Zionism is in a downward spiral. If the leaders of groups like AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations do not change course, they will wake up one day to find a younger, Orthodox-dominated, Zionist leadership whose naked hostility to Arabs and Palestinians scares even them, and a mass of secular American Jews who range from apathetic to appalled. Saving liberal Zionism in the United States—so that American Jews can help save liberal Zionism in Israel—is the great American Jewish challenge of our age. And it starts where Luntz's students wanted it to start: by talking frankly about Israel's current government, by no longer averting our eyes.

Since the 1990s, journalists and scholars have been describing a bifurcation in Israeli society. In the words of Hebrew University political scientist Yaron Ezrahi, "After decades of what came to be called a national consensus, the Zionist narrative of liberation [has] dissolved into openly contesting versions." One version, "founded on a long memory of persecution, genocide, and a bitter struggle for survival, is pessimistic, distrustful of non-Jews, and believing only in Jewish power and solidarity." Another, "nourished by secularized versions of messianism as well as the Enlightenment idea of progress," articulates "a deep sense of the limits of military force, and a commitment to liberal-democratic values." Every country manifests some kind of ideological divide. But in contemporary Israel, the gulf is among the widest on earth.

As Ezrahi and others have noted, this latter, liberal-democratic Zionism has grown alongside a new individualism, particularly among secular Israelis, a greater demand for free expression, and a greater skepticism of coercive authority. You can see this spirit in "new historians" like Tom Segev who have fearlessly excavated the darker corners of the Zionist past and in jurists like former Supreme Court President Aharon Barak who have overturned Knesset laws that violate the human rights guarantees in Israel's "Basic Laws." You can also see it in former Prime Minister Ehud Barak's apparent willingness to relinquish much of the West Bank in 2000 and early 2001.

But in Israel today, this humane, universalistic Zionism does not wield power. To the contrary, it is gasping for air. To understand how deeply antithetical its values are to those of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government, it's worth considering the case of Effi Eitam. Eitam, a charismatic ex–cabinet minister and war hero, has proposed ethnically cleansing Palestinians from the West Bank. "We'll have to expel the overwhelming majority of West Bank Arabs from here and remove Israeli Arabs from [the] political system," he declared in 2006. In 2008, Eitam merged his small Ahi Party into Netanyahu's Likud. And for the 2009–2010 academic year, he is Netanyahu's special emissary for overseas "campus engagement." In that capacity, he visited a dozen American high schools and colleges last fall on the Israeli government's behalf. The group that organized his tour was called "Caravan for Democracy."

Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman once shared Eitam's views. In his youth, he briefly joined Meir Kahane's now banned Kach Party, which also advocated the expulsion of Arabs from Israeli soil. Now Lieberman's position might be called "pre-expulsion." He wants to revoke the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who won't swear a loyalty oath to the Jewish

state. He tried to prevent two Arab parties that opposed Israel's 2008–2009 Gaza war from running candidates for the Knesset. He said Arab Knesset members who met with representatives of Hamas should be executed. He wants to jail Arabs who publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day, and he hopes to permanently deny citizenship to Arabs from other countries who marry Arab citizens of Israel.

You don't have to be paranoid to see the connection between Lieberman's current views and his former ones. The more you strip Israeli Arabs of legal protection, and the more you accuse them of treason, the more thinkable a policy of expulsion becomes. Lieberman's American defenders often note that in theory he supports a Palestinian state. What they usually fail to mention is that for him, a two-state solution means redrawing Israel's border so that a large chunk of Israeli Arabs find themselves exiled to another country, without their consent.

Lieberman served as chief of staff during Netanyahu's first term as prime minister. And when it comes to the West Bank, Netanyahu's own record is in its way even more extreme than his protégé's. In his 1993 book, A Place among the Nations, Netanyahu not only rejects the idea of a Palestinian state, he denies that there is such a thing as a Palestinian. In fact, he repeatedly equates the Palestinian bid for statehood with Nazism. An Israel that withdraws from the West Bank, he has declared, would be a "ghetto-state" with "Auschwitz borders." And the effort "to gouge Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] out of Israel" resembles Hitler's bid to wrench the German-speaking "Sudeten district" from Czechoslovakia in 1938. It is unfair, Netanyahu insists, to ask Israel to concede more territory since it has already made vast, gut-wrenching concessions. What kind of concessions? It has abandoned its claim to Jordan, which by rights should be part of the Jewish state.

On the left of Netanyahu's coalition sits Ehud Barak's emasculated Labor Party, but whatever moderating potential it may have is counterbalanced by what is, in some ways, the most illiberal coalition partner of all, Shas, the ultra-Orthodox party representing Jews of North African and Middle Eastern descent. At one point, Shas—like some of its Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox counterparts—was open to dismantling settlements. In recent years, however, ultra-Orthodox Israelis, anxious to find housing for their large families, have increasingly moved to the West Bank, where thanks to government subsidies it is far cheaper to live. Not coincidentally, their political parties have swung hard against territorial compromise. And they have done so with a virulence that reflects ultra-Orthodox Judaism's profound hostility to liberal values. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, Shas's immensely powerful spiritual leader, has called Arabs "vipers," "snakes," and "ants." In 2005, after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon proposed dismantling settlements in the Gaza Strip, Yosef urged that "God strike him down." The official Shas newspaper recently called President Obama "an Islamic extremist."

Hebrew University Professor Ze'ev Sternhell is an expert on fascism and a winner of the prestigious Israel Prize. Commenting on Lieberman and the leaders of Shas in a recent Op-Ed in Haaretz, he wrote, "The last time politicians holding views similar to theirs were in power in post–World War II Western Europe was in Franco's Spain." With their blessing, "a crude and multifaceted campaign is being waged against the foundations of the democratic and liberal order." Sternhell should know. In September 2008, he was injured when a settler set off a pipe bomb at his house.

Israeli governments come and go, but the Netanyahu coalition is the product of frightening, long-term trends in Israeli society: an ultra-Orthodox population that is increasing dramatically, a settler movement that is growing more radical and more entrenched in the Israeli bureaucracy and army, and a Russian immigrant community that is particularly prone to anti-Arab racism. In 2009, a poll by the Israel Democracy Institute found that 53 percent of Jewish Israelis (and 77 percent of recent immigrants from the former USSR) support encouraging Arabs to leave the country. Attitudes are worst among Israel's young. When Israeli high schools held mock elections last year, Lieberman won. This March, a poll found that 56 percent of Jewish Israeli high school students—and more than 80 percent of religious Jewish high school students—would deny Israeli Arabs the right to be elected to the Knesset. An education ministry official called the survey "a huge warning signal in light of the strengthening trends of extremist views among the youth."

You might think that such trends, and the sympathy for them expressed by some in Israel's government, would occasion substantial public concern—even outrage—among the leaders of organized American Jewry. You would be wrong. In Israel itself, voices from the left, and even center, warn in increasingly urgent tones about threats to Israeli democracy. (Former Prime Ministers Ehud Olmert and Ehud Barak have both said that Israel risks becoming an "apartheid state" if it continues to hold the West Bank. This April, when settlers forced a large Israeli bookstore to stop selling a book critical of the occupation, Shulamit Aloni, former head of the dovish Meretz Party, declared that "Israel has not been democratic for some time now.") But in the United States, groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference patrol public discourse, scolding people who contradict their vision of Israel as a state in which all leaders cherish democracy and yearn for peace.

The result is a terrible irony. In theory, mainstream American Jewish organizations still hew to a liberal vision of Zionism. On its website, AIPAC celebrates Israel's commitment to "free speech and minority rights." The Conference of Presidents

declares that "Israel and the United States share political, moral and intellectual values including democracy, freedom, security and peace." These groups would never say, as do some in Netanyahu's coalition, that Israeli Arabs don't deserve full citizenship and West Bank Palestinians don't deserve human rights. But in practice, by defending virtually anything any Israeli government does, they make themselves intellectual bodyguards for Israeli leaders who threaten the very liberal values they profess to admire.

After Israel's elections last February, for instance, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice-chairman of the Presidents' Conference, explained that Avigdor Lieberman's agenda was "far more moderate than the media has presented it." Insisting that Lieberman bears no general animus toward Israeli Arabs, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that "He's not saying expel them. He's not saying punish them." (Permanently denying citizenship to their Arab spouses or jailing them if they publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day evidently does not qualify as punishment.) The ADL has criticized anti-Arab bigotry in the past, and the American Jewish Committee, to its credit, warned that Lieberman's proposed loyalty oath would "chill Israel's democratic political debate." But the Forward summed up the overall response of America's communal Jewish leadership in its headline "Jewish Leaders Largely Silent on Lieberman's Role in Government."

Not only does the organized American Jewish community mostly avoid public criticism of the Israeli government, it tries to prevent others from leveling such criticism as well. In recent years, American Jewish organizations have waged a campaign to discredit the world's most respected international human rights groups. In 2006, Foxman called an Amnesty International report on Israeli killing of Lebanese civilians "bigoted, biased, and borderline anti-Semitic." The Conference of Presidents has announced that "biased NGOs include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Christian Aid, [and] Save the Children." Last summer, an AIPAC spokesman declared that Human Rights Watch "has repeatedly demonstrated its anti-Israel bias." When the Obama administration awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mary Robinson, former UN high commissioner for human rights, the ADL and AIPAC both protested, citing the fact that she had presided over the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. (Early drafts of the conference report implicitly accused Israel of racism. Robinson helped expunge that defamatory charge, angering Syria and Iran.) Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are not infallible. But when groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference avoid virtually all public criticism of Israeli actions—directing their outrage solely at Israel's neighbors—they leave themselves in a poor position to charge bias. Moreover, while American Jewish groups claim that they are simply defending Israel from its foes, they are actually taking sides in a struggle within Israel between radically different Zionist visions. At the very moment the Anti-Defamation League claimed that Robinson harbored an "animus toward Israel," an alliance of seven Israeli human rights groups publicly congratulated her on her award. Many of those groups, like B'Tselem, which monitors Israeli actions in the Occupied Territories, and the Israeli branch of Physicians for Human Rights, have been at least as critical of Israel's actions in Lebanon, Gaza, and the West Bank as have Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

All of which raises an uncomfortable question. If American Jewish groups claim that Israel's overseas human rights critics are motivated by anti- Israeli, if not anti-Semitic, bias, what does that say about Israel's domestic human rights critics? The implication is clear: they must be guilty of self-hatred, if not treason. American Jewish leaders don't generally say that, of course, but their allies in the Netanyahu government do. Last summer, Israel's vice prime minister, Moshe Ya'alon, called the anti-occupation group Peace Now a "virus." This January, a right-wing group called Im Tirtzu accused Israeli human rights organizations of having fed information to the Goldstone Commission that investigated Israel's Gaza war. A Knesset member from Netanyahu's Likud promptly charged Naomi Chazan, head of the New Israel Fund, which supports some of those human rights groups, with treason, and a member of Lieberman's party launched an investigation aimed at curbing foreign funding of Israeli NGOs.

To their credit, Foxman and other American Jewish leaders opposed the move, which might have impaired their own work. But they are reaping what they sowed. If you suggest that mainstream human rights criticism of Israel's government is motivated by animus toward the state, or toward Jews in general, you give aid and comfort to those in Israel who make the same charges against the human rights critics in their midst.

In the American Jewish establishment today, the language of liberal Zionism—with its idioms of human rights, equal citizenship, and territorial compromise—has been drained of meaning. It remains the lingua franca in part for generational reasons, because many older American Zionists still see themselves as liberals of a sort. They vote Democratic; they are unmoved by biblical claims to the West Bank; they see average Palestinians as decent people betrayed by bad leaders; and they are secular. They don't want Jewish organizations to criticize Israel from the left, but neither do they want them to be agents of the Israeli right.

These American Zionists are largely the product of a particular era. Many were shaped by the terrifying days leading up to the Six-Day War, when it appeared that Israel might be overrun, and by the bitter aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, when much of the world seemed to turn against the Jewish state. In that crucible, Israel became their Jewish identity, often in conjunction with the Holocaust, which the 1967 and 1973 wars helped make central to American Jewish life. These Jews embraced Zionism before the settler movement became a major force in Israeli politics, before the 1982 Lebanon war, before the first intifada. They fell in love with an Israel that was more secular, less divided, and less shaped by the culture, politics, and theology of occupation. And by downplaying the significance of Avigdor Lieberman, the settlers, and Shas, American Jewish groups allow these older Zionists to continue to identify with that more internally cohesive, more innocent Israel of their youth, an Israel that now only exists in their memories.

But these secular Zionists aren't reproducing themselves. Their children have no memory of Arab armies massed on Israel's border and of Israel surviving in part thanks to urgent military assistance from the United States. Instead, they have grown up viewing Israel as a regional hegemon and an occupying power. As a result, they are more conscious than their parents of the degree to which Israeli behavior violates liberal ideals, and less willing to grant Israel an exemption because its survival seems in peril. Because they have inherited their parents' liberalism, they cannot embrace their uncritical Zionism. Because their liberalism is real, they can see that the liberalism of the American Jewish establishment is fake.

To sustain their uncritical brand of Zionism, therefore, America's Jewish organizations will need to look elsewhere to replenish their ranks. They will need to find young American Jews who have come of age during the West Bank occupation but are not troubled by it. And those young American Jews will come disproportionately from the Orthodox world.

Because they marry earlier, intermarry less, and have more children, Orthodox Jews are growing rapidly as a share of the American Jewish population. According to a 2006 American Jewish Committee (AJC) survey, while Orthodox Jews make up only 12 percent of American Jewry over the age of sixty, they constitute 34 percent between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. For America's Zionist organizations, these Orthodox youngsters are a potential bonanza. In their yeshivas they learn devotion to Israel from an early age; they generally spend a year of religious study there after high school, and often know friends or relatives who have immigrated to Israel. The same AJC study found that while only 16 percent of non-Orthodox adult Jews under the age of forty feel "very close to Israel," among the Orthodox the figure is 79 percent. As secular Jews drift away from America's Zionist institutions, their Orthodox counterparts will likely step into the breach. The Orthodox "are still interested in parochial Jewish concerns," explains Samuel Heilman, a sociologist at the City University of New York. "They are among the last ones who stayed in the Jewish house, so they now control the lights."

But it is this very parochialism—a deep commitment to Jewish concerns, which often outweighs more universal ones—that gives Orthodox Jewish Zionism a distinctly illiberal cast. The 2006 AJC poll found that while 60 percent of non-Orthodox American Jews under the age of forty support a Palestinian state, that figure drops to 25 percent among the Orthodox. In 2009, when Brandeis University's Theodore Sasson asked American Jewish focus groups about Israel, he found Orthodox participants much less supportive of dismantling settlements as part of a peace deal. Even more tellingly, Reform, Conservative, and unaffiliated Jews tended to believe that average Palestinians wanted peace, but had been ill-served by their leaders. Orthodox Jews, by contrast, were more likely to see the Palestinian people as the enemy, and to deny that ordinary Palestinians shared any common interests or values with ordinary Israelis or Jews.

Orthodox Judaism has great virtues, including a communal warmth and a commitment to Jewish learning unmatched in the American Jewish world. (I'm biased, since my family attends an Orthodox synagogue.) But if current trends continue, the growing influence of Orthodox Jews in America's Jewish communal institutions will erode even the liberal-democratic veneer that today covers American Zionism. In 2002, America's major Jewish organizations sponsored a large Israel solidarity rally on the Washington Mall. Up and down the east coast, yeshivas shut down for the day, swelling the estimated Orthodox share of the crowd to close to 70 percent. When the then Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told the rally that "innocent Palestinians are suffering and dying as well," he was booed.

America's Jewish leaders should think hard about that rally. Unless they change course, it portends the future: an American Zionist movement that does not even feign concern for Palestinian dignity and a broader American Jewish population that does not even feign concern for Israel. My own children, given their upbringing, could as easily end up among the booers as among Luntz's focus group. Either prospect fills me with dread.

In 2004, in an effort to prevent weapons smuggling from Egypt, Israeli tanks and bulldozers demolished hundreds of houses in the Rafah refugee camp in the southern Gaza Strip. Watching television, a veteran Israeli commentator and

politician named Tommy Lapid saw an elderly Palestinian woman crouched on all fours looking for her medicines amid the ruins of her home. He said she reminded him of his grandmother.

In that moment, Lapid captured the spirit that is suffocating within organized American Jewish life. To begin with, he watched. In my experience, there is an epidemic of not watching among American Zionists today. A Red Cross study on malnutrition in the Gaza Strip, a bill in the Knesset to allow Jewish neighborhoods to bar entry to Israeli Arabs, an Israeli human rights report on settlers burning Palestinian olive groves, three more Palestinian teenagers shot—it's unpleasant. Rationalizing and minimizing Palestinian suffering has become a kind of game. In a more recent report on how to foster Zionism among America's young, Luntz urges American Jewish groups to use the word "Arabs, not Palestinians," since "the term 'Palestinians' evokes images of refugee camps, victims and oppression," while "'Arab' says wealth, oil and Islam."

Of course, Israel—like the United States—must sometimes take morally difficult actions in its own defense. But they are morally difficult only if you allow yourself some human connection to the other side. Otherwise, security justifies everything. The heads of AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference should ask themselves what Israel's leaders would have to do or say to make them scream "no." After all, Lieberman is foreign minister; Effi Eitam is touring American universities; settlements are growing at triple the rate of the Israeli population; half of Israeli Jewish high school students want Arabs barred from the Knesset. If the line has not yet been crossed, where is the line?

What infuriated critics about Lapid's comment was that his grandmother died at Auschwitz. How dare he defile the memory of the Holocaust? Of course, the Holocaust is immeasurably worse than anything Israel has done or ever will do. But at least Lapid used Jewish suffering to connect to the suffering of others. In the world of AIPAC, the Holocaust analogies never stop, and their message is always the same: Jews are licensed by their victimhood to worry only about themselves. Many of Israel's founders believed that with statehood, Jews would rightly be judged on the way they treated the non-Jews living under their dominion. "For the first time we shall be the majority living with a minority," Knesset member Pinchas Lavon declared in 1948, "and we shall be called upon to provide an example and prove how Jews live with a minority."

But the message of the American Jewish establishment and its allies in the Netanyahu government is exactly the opposite: since Jews are history's permanent victims, always on the knife-edge of extinction, moral responsibility is a luxury Israel does not have. Its only responsibility is to survive. As former Knesset speaker Avraham Burg writes in his remarkable 2008 book, The Holocaust Is Over; We Must Rise From Its Ashes, "Victimhood sets you free."

This obsession with victimhood lies at the heart of why Zionism is dying among America's secular Jewish young. It simply bears no relationship to their lived experience, or what they have seen of Israel's. Yes, Israel faces threats from Hezbollah and Hamas. Yes, Israelis understandably worry about a nuclear Iran. But the dilemmas you face when you possess dozens or hundreds of nuclear weapons, and your adversary, however despicable, may acquire one, are not the dilemmas of the Warsaw Ghetto. The year 2010 is not, as Benjamin Netanyahu has claimed, 1938. The drama of Jewish victimhood—a drama that feels natural to many Jews who lived through 1938, 1948, or even 1967—strikes most of today's young American Jews as farce.

But there is a different Zionist calling, which has never been more desperately relevant. It has its roots in Israel's Independence Proclamation, which promised that the Jewish state "will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets," and in the December 1948 letter from Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, and others to The New York Times, protesting right-wing Zionist leader Menachem Begin's visit to the United States after his party's militias massacred Arab civilians in the village of Deir Yassin. It is a call to recognize that in a world in which Jewish fortunes have radically changed, the best way to memorialize the history of Jewish suffering is through the ethical use of Jewish power.

For several months now, a group of Israeli students has been traveling every Friday to the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah, where a Palestinian family named the Ghawis lives on the street outside their home of fifty-three years, from which they were evicted to make room for Jewish settlers. Although repeatedly arrested for protesting without a permit, and called traitors and self-haters by the Israeli right, the students keep coming, their numbers now swelling into the thousands. What if American Jewish organizations brought these young people to speak at Hillel? What if this was the face of Zionism shown to America's Jewish young? What if the students in Luntz's focus group had been told that their generation faces a challenge as momentous as any in Jewish history: to save liberal democracy in the only Jewish state on earth?

"Too many years I lived in the warm embrace of institutionalized elusiveness and was a part of it," writes Avraham Burg. "I was very comfortable there." I know; I was comfortable there too. But comfortable Zionism has become a moral abdication. Let's hope that Luntz's students, in solidarity with their counterparts at Sheikh Jarrah, can foster an

uncomfortable Zionism, a Zionism angry at what Israel risks becoming, and in love with what it still could be. Let's hope they care enough to try.

—May 12, 2010

Peter Beinart is Associate Professor of Journalism and Political Science at the City University of New York, a Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation, and Senior Political Writer for The Daily Beast. His new book, The Icarus Syndrome: A History of American Hubris, will be published in June.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: also... Sid

Pls print 3 copies.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Mon May 17 00:13:37 2010
Subject: H: also... Sid

B6

You may have been alerted to this incident: the barring of Noam Chomsky from Israel. His political views may be ridiculous or objectionable, though he is the greatest linguistic scholar in the world, but barring him for his political opinions has created a needless PR disaster, not least for the US, as he is, after all, a US citizen, and a very prominent one internationally. It is unfortunate on every level. And the US should not be a passive onlooker. He is a US citizen barred for his political views, after all. This story is splashed across the European press this morning. Not what anyone needs, yes, yes, like a hole in the head, and bone stupid, but the US effort on his behalf to gain entry should be part of the story. This incident can be profitable if Israel understands it should not be doing this to US or European critics in the future. This is a downward slope, bad news for everyone involved. S

The Lede - The New York Times News Blog <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/>

<http://www.nytimes.com/adx/bin/adx_click.html?type=cookie&pos=Position1B>
May 16, 2010, 11:01 pm

Chomsky Barred From West Bank by Israel

By ROBERT MACKEY <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/author/robert-mackey/>

Noam Chomsky, an American linguist and political thinker who has been critical of Israel, was denied entry into the West Bank on Sunday by Israeli immigration officials when he tried to cross into the Palestinian territory from Jordan to deliver a lecture.
Amira Hass of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz reported <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/noam-chomsky-denied-entry-into-israel-and-west-bank-1.290701> :
No reason was initially given for the decision, but the Interior Ministry later said immigration officials at the Allenby Bridge border crossing from Jordan had misunderstood Chomsky's intentions thinking initially he was also due to visit Israel. Chomsky, who is on a speaking tour in the region, was scheduled to speak at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank on Monday.
A spokeswoman for Israel's interior ministry also told Reuters <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE64F23H20100516> that there had been a misunderstanding and "officials were trying to get clearance from the Israeli military, which controls access to the West Bank to allow Chomsky to enter."
In a television interview from Amman, Jordan, after he was rebuffed, Mr. Chomsky told Al Jazeera English, "the facts were completely clear to everyone; there was no basis for a misunderstanding." He explained that he was interrogated

for several hours before being told that he would not be allowed to cross into the occupied Palestinian territory. The 81-year-old scholar added:

I can only say what was conveyed to me in the discussion with the official who was carrying out the interrogation — he was receiving instructions from the [Israeli] ministry of interior and relaying them. There were two basic points. One was that the government of Israel does not like the kinds of things I say — which puts them into the category of I suppose every other government in the world. The second was that they seemed upset about the fact that I was just taking an invitation from Bir Zeit and I had no plans to go on to speak in Israeli universities, as I have done many times in the past but not this time.

Mr. Chomsky had been invited to speak about American foreign and domestic policy by the philosophy department at the Palestinian university in Ramallah <http://www.birzeit.edu/news/21160/news> .

The renowned linguist was outspoken in his opposition to the Israeli offensive in Gaza <http://web.mit.edu/cis/eventposter_011309_chomsky.html> , which ended in January 2009 and has criticized Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory many times.

In an interview <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/11/02/magazine/way-we-live-now-11-02-03-questions-for-noam-chomsky-professorial-provocateur.html> with Deborah Solomon of The New York Times Magazine in 2003, Mr. Chomsky said, "I objected to the founding of Israel as a Jewish state. I don't think a Jewish or Christian or Islamic state is a proper concept. I would object to the United States as a Christian state." When Ms. Solomon pressed Mr. Chomsky on his opposition to Israel, saying, "Your father was a respected Hebraic scholar, and sometimes you sound like a self-hating Jew," he replied:

It is a shame that critics of Israeli policies are seen as either anti-Semites or self-hating Jews. It's grotesque. If an Italian criticized Italian policies, would he be seen as a self-hating Italian?

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 8:36 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

Be sure I have most updated tps.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 17 08:19:07 2010
Subject:

Davutoglu called about iran. Wants to speak sometime this morning. We are working to schedule.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 8:05 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: re form - weren't able to make changes so call to discuss

Call me tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 17 18:11:03 2010
Subject: re form - weren't able to make changes so call to discuss

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 17, 2010 8:18 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Posner

FOX is beating the heck out of Mike for what he said in his briefing on the China human rights dialogue about the Arizona law. Can you track down [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 11:41 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:27:02 2010
Subject: Fw: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

Are you okay w the below?

Go U.S.!

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H; Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Sat Jun 12 11:24:33 2010
Subject: Pls Clear: Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

D and P have cleared on this:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Anniversary of Iran's Disputed Presidential Election

B5

B5

###

Drafted:NEA/IR: Cash McCracken ext 7-2569

Cleared:NEA/IRJBurns/SHorner ok
NEA/FOJLimbert ok
DRLJHutchings ok
D(S)GRana ok
PECatalano ok
S/PELacey ok
NSCK Magsamen info

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 18, 2010 9:20 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: B. KOUCHNER in Le Monde re Internet freedom

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue May 18 21:00:22 2010
Subject: FW: B. KOUCHNER in Le Monde re Internet freedom

fyi

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From: Ross, Alec J
To: Steinberg, James B; Rivkin, Charles H; Mills, Cheryl D; Kennard, William E; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Hormats, Robert D; Otero, Maria; Burns, William J; Cohen, Jared A
Sent: Tue May 18 17:40:17 2010
Subject: B. KOUCHNER in Le Monde re Internet freedom

The below by Kouchner is worth reading if you haven't seen it.

The Internet: a critical international policy issue, by Bernard Kouchner (May 10, 2010)

In 2015, three and a half billion people - half of mankind - will have access to the Internet. There has never been such a revolution in the freedom of communication and the freedom of expression. But how will this new medium be used? What new distortions and obstacles will the enemies of the Internet come up with?

Modern technology leads to the best and the worst. Extremist, racist and defamatory websites and blogs disseminate odious opinions in real time. They have made the Internet into a weapon of war and hate. Websites are attacked and Internet users are recruited through chatrooms for destructive plots. Violent movements are infiltrating social networks to spread propaganda and false information.

It is very hard for democracies to control them. I do not subscribe to the naïve belief that a new technology, however efficient and powerful it may be, is bound by nature to advance liberty on all fronts.

Yet, all the same, the distortions are the exception rather than the rule. The Internet is above all the most fantastic means of breaking down the walls and boundaries that close us off from each other. For the oppressed peoples, who have been deprived of their right to self-expression and the right to choose their own future, the Internet provides power beyond their wildest hopes. In minutes, news and images recorded on a telephone can be disseminated

worldwide in cyberspace. It is increasingly difficult the hide a public demonstration, an act of repression or a violation of human rights.

In authoritarian and repressive countries, mobile telephones and the Internet have given rise to public opinion and civil society. They have also given citizens a critical means of expression, despite all the restrictions.

However, the temptation to repress free expression is always present. The number of countries that censor the Internet, that monitor web users and punish them for their opinions, is increasing at an alarming rate. The Internet can be used against citizens. It can be a formidable intelligence-gathering tool to spot potential dissidents. Some regimes are already acquiring increasingly sophisticated surveillance technology.

If all of those who are attached to human rights and democracy refused to compromise their principles and used the Internet to defend freedom of expression, this kind of repression would be much more difficult. I am not talking about absolute freedom that opens the door to all sorts of abuses. Nobody is promoting that. Instead, I'm talking about real freedom, which is based on the principle of respecting human dignity and human rights.

In the last few years, multilateral institutions, such as the Council of Europe, and non-governmental organisations, such as Reporters Without Borders, along with thousands of individuals around the world, have made a strong commitment to these issues. This is proof, if proof were needed, that this issue does not pit the West against the rest of the world. No fewer than 180 countries meeting for the World Summit on the Information Society acknowledged that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights applies fully to the Internet, especially Article 19, which establishes freedom of expression and freedom of opinion. And yet, some fifty countries fail to live up to their commitments.

For the occasion of World Press Freedom Day, I have brought together experts, NGO leaders, journalists, business people and intellectuals this week. Their discussions have confirmed my conviction that the path we want to take is the right one. I think that we should create an international instrument for monitoring the commitments that governments have made and for calling them to task when they fail to live up to them. I think we should provide assistance to cyberdissidents, who should get the same support as other victims of political repression, and of the need to show our solidarity with them publicly, in close collaboration with the NGOs working on these issues. I think that we should also discuss the wisdom of adopting a code of conduct regarding the export of technologies for censoring the Internet and tracking web users.

These issues, along with others, such as the protection of personal data on the Internet and the right of digital amnesty for everyone promoted by my colleague Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet, should be addressed within a framework that brings together government, civil society and international experts.

Another project is close to my heart. It will be a long and difficult task to implement it, but it is critical. It is to give the Internet a legal status that reflects its universality. One that recognizes it as an international space, so that it will be more difficult for repressive governments to use the sovereignty argument against fundamental freedoms.

This is a critical issue. I think that the battle of ideas has started with, on one side, the advocates of a universal and open Internet, based on freedom of expression and freedom of association, on tolerance and respect for privacy and, on the other side, those who want to transform the Internet into a multitude of spaces that are closed off from each other to serve the purposes of a regime, propaganda and all forms of fanaticism.

Freedom of expression is "the foundation of all other freedoms". Without it, there are no "free nations", Voltaire said. This spirit of the Enlightenment, which is universal, should run through the new media. The defence of fundamental freedoms and human rights must be the priority for governance of the Internet. It is everyone's business.

Bernard Kouchner, Minister for Foreign and European Affairs

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 1:17 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Flotilla investigation

Jones did. Can you call me thru ops?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 13:15:24 2010
Subject: Flotilla investigation

Word is that we're going to announce our response to the Israeli flotilla investigation today. Did Jones or Ross speak with you about it?

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 18, 2010 10:51 PM
**To:** 'capriciamarshall [redacted] B6
**Subject:** July 4

Do you remember the young people who came to the Dip Room event who wanted to have a July 4th party on the terrace to raise $ for the 8th floor? Pls call or see me tomorrow to discuss. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 7:30 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Calls tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 18:54:41 2010
Subject: Calls tomorrow

We have scheduled calls tomorrow with:
- Swedish Foreign Minister Bildt at 9:00 am
- Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoere at 10:45 am You have call sheets for both.
Ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 9:53 PM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Calls tomorrow

I may have to do on blackberry [redacted] B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:50:30 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

We will connect calls to whitehaven. Unless u want to cancel?

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 19:29:58 2010
Subject: Re: Calls tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 12 18:54:41 2010
Subject: Calls tomorrow

We have scheduled calls tomorrow with:
- Swedish Foreign Minister Bildt at 9:00 am
- Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoere at 10:45 am You have call sheets for both.
Ok?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Mexican treatment of the undocumented

Another example of "you should take the log from your own eye before criticizing the speck in your neighbor's."

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 19 19:51:50 2010
Subject: Mexican treatment of the undocumented

FYI, from WHA:

Mexican law enforcement officials cannot stop individuals and require proof of migratory status. However, like SB1070, officials in the course of official "contact" (i.e. Traffic stops, investigations, hot pursuit) are authorized to request proof of migratory status. They do this in practice routinely. Frequently, individuals who cannot prove legal status are referred to INM (federal CBP-equivalent). In practice, GoM authorities at all levels engage in exploitative treatment of migrants, primarily Central Americans heading to the US. These abuses have been well documented by international human rights groups, as well as by multiple documentary and news media reports.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 10:31 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Sean Wilentz

Is he at your house this weekend?

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 7:47 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Korea Expo --please read before you leave

I'm not doing this again.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed May 19 20:04:31 2010
Subject: Fw: Korea Expo --please read before you leave

See b/l as context fyi

---

From: Pally, Maura M.
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Wed May 19 18:11:36 2010
Subject: Korea Expo --please read before you leave

Jake-

I have been trying unsuccessfully to get a memo up to S on Korea's invitation to participation in the 2012 expo.

B5

B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 20, 2010 7:54 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Pls remind me to discuss a matter w you both

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 12, 2010 10:34 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake- [redacted] B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 11:50 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

Ok. I'll plan for cal tomorrow.

Also, I'd like to talk w you before your mtg w Denis and Ben about future ideas. Can you talk tonight? what times would be best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 13 10:50:39 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G

To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake-

B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: S-Saudabayev call

Could you talk now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 13 12:56:17 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I can talk tonight - whenever is convenient for you.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jun 13 11:50:23 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

Ok. I'll plan for cal tomorrow.

Also, I'd like to talk w you before your mtg w Denis and Ben about future ideas. Can you talk tonight? what times would be best?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 13 10:50:39 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

B5

Will keep you posted.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Abedin, Huma

Sent: Sat Jun 12 22:33:53 2010
Subject: Re: S-Saudabayev call

I'll do [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 12 21:49:40 2010
Subject: Fw: S-Saudabayev call

Fyi. I think this call makes sense.

----- Original Message -----
From: Wells, Alice G
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Krol, George A
Cc: Holmes, David A
Sent: Sat Jun 12 20:30:36 2010
Subject: S-Saudabayev call

Jake- [redacted] B5

Thx

Alice G. Wells

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 3:35 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

No. Are you free after 9pm?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 13 15:23:53 2010
Subject: Just leaving the pool and seeing your mssges - can you talk at 430pm?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 13, 2010 9:28 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Just tried you. Am on cell [redacted] B6

I was just told your number was not in service!? Pls call me at home in DC.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 13 21:03:51 2010
Subject: Just tried you. Am on cell [redacted] B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:24 PM
**To:** 'slaughtera@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'millscd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: From Amory Lovins

I don't recall hearing about this particular project before. Can you do a quick analysis before I follow up?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jun 14 17:04:52 2010
Subject: From Amory Lovins

Am passing on as requested. I will also follow up with Maura O'Neill – I have followed this up before at Amory's request.
AM

From: Amory B. Lovins [mailto [redacted] B6
Sent: Saturday, June 12, 2010 12:54 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: McAuliffe, Marisa S; Rasmussen Eric
Subject: please share also with Secretary Clinton -- thanks!

Dear Hillary and Anne-Marie,

For several months I've been advising on a project to take the rainforest restoration work of Dr. Willie Smits, an Indonesian agroforester, to scale on Borneo. That Smits Model effort now has an economically sustainable design with multiple benefits for the local forest population, the nation of Indonesia, and the planet. The business plan has been developed by an experienced and highly reputable investment group that serves in an Advisory role to the Prince of Wales's Trust, and the business plan has already engaged the interest of the P8, a group of the eight largest global pension funds.

The core goals of the Arenga Reforestation Project include greenhouse gas reduction, habitat restoration, rainforest remediation, deforestation protection, biofuel production that is non-food and carbon-positive, and poverty alleviation for some of the most vulnerable populations on the planet. The Internal Rate of Return, on a fairly mature business model and seven years of module testing, calculates to about 34% -- a decent investment return for almost any industry.

You can watch Willie Smits describe the possibilities at TED (to a standing ovation) here:
http://www.ted.com/talks/willie_smits_restores_a_rainforest.html

The State Department has been on the periphery of the concept development through Moira O'Neill, a Haas Professor of Business on loan to USAID from Cal. She has kept the conversation going with the White House, USAID, and State, but is extremely busy with a range of other obligations and may not have the cycles to follow this to a conclusion.

In my view this effort, the Arenga Reforestation Project, is the leading contender for an economically sustainable tropical reforestation program, and has an unprecedented climate mitigation potential (Indonesia is the world's #4 greenhouse-gas emitter, due largely to the burning and composting of the southern Kalimantan peat swamps and to rapid destruction of rainforest, both of which the Smits Model can reverse). In Aug 08 I spent 11 days visiting key sites of this project in Borneo, largely with Dr. Smits, whom I've known for about 20 years. In my opinion, and that of many others, this is the world's most sophisticated and powerful model for integrated ecological and economic restoration, with exciting prospects for much of the tropics. I can also vouch for the quality and integrity of the key people involved.

To make the impact even more noteworthy, the Minister of Forestry in Indonesia has now agreed to a 1:1 acreage match between Smits Model reforestation and the protection of virgin rainforest in perpetuity as national park. For every 30,000 hectares of Smits Model reforestation, the Ministry will designate 30,000 hectares (about 116 square miles) of virgin rainforest a National Park, and they have agreed to external monitoring by international NGOs for compliance. Since this Smits Model can scale to a million hectares, or ten million, with continually increasing economic, social, and environmental benefits, the two-fer impact is perhaps unprecedented.

It would be worthwhile for you to have someone from your staff take a look at this. In my carefully considered view, the political, social, and REDD benefits could be very substantial, and the possibility of a Public-Private Partnership is worth consideration.

The primary source for information on the project in the US is my friend and Senior Fellow at RMI, the remarkable Eric Rasmussen, MD, MDM, FACP -- CEO of the Google-founded humanitarian NGO called InSTEDD. He's leading, pro bono, the team developing the business plan, and can be reached at [redacted] or on cell at [redacted] B6
Pacific Time Zone.

With warmest regards -- ABL

Amory B. Lovins

Chairman and Chief Scientist

Rocky Mountain Institute

1739 Snowmass Creek Road

Snowmass CO 81654, USA

[redacted]

[redacted] fax 4178, desk [redacted] (on vacation through 15 Jul), cell [redacted]

Executive Assistant (Megan Shean) + [redacted], [redacted]

Chief of Staff (Lionel Bony) - [redacted]

Special Aide (Bennett Cohen) [redacted]

B6

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Further on statement

Should I mention the cabinet and other high rankers like Ex-Im?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:37 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Ok. I also emailed her. Can I get a full list of us participants w the full names of agencies--i don't know what USDTA is!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:34:09 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Hmm, she just emailed.
Also, kurt and jeff went to press to talk to them briefly since it was already set up. Jake talked to them about it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:29:53 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

I tried but got vm.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:25:51 2010
Subject: [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 23, 2010 10:41 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

B6

I can't stay awake any longer. See you in am.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:39:45 2010
Subject: Re:

Yes I asked for the same

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:36:55 2010
Subject: Re:

Ok. I also emailed her. Can I get a full list of us participants w the full names of agencies--i don't know what USDTA is!

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:34:09 2010
Subject: Re:

Hmm, she just emailed.
Also, kurt and jeff went to press to talk to them briefly since it was already set up. Jake talked to them about it.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun May 23 10:29:53 2010
Subject: Re:

I tried but got vm.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun May 23 10:25:51 2010
Subject:

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 24, 2010 6:36 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Carlos Pascual

BINGO! Thx--I thought we were losing our memories.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 24 06:34:43 2010
Subject: Carlos Pascual

Mexico

And there is some Judith McHale component to it because she is going down there to consult on this spreadsheet

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 25, 2010 4:34 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: HRC University. A quick thought

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence
To: H
Sent: Wed May 19 07:15:44 2010
Subject: HRC University. A quick thought

B6

HRC University.

Purpose:

To empower people everywhere with knowledge, purpose and passion so that they are destined-not lucky-to fully develop their God-given talents

We are in the Full Potential Business-here and around the world.

Love Rs

Ride at Dawn

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----------ideacity.legal.disclaimer.01112008

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2010 10:48 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Assessing our progress to date and proposing possible ways to create more leverage

Do you have these papers?

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 26 09:04:23 2010
Subject: Assessing our progress to date and proposing possible ways to create more leverage

For your reading pleasure on the way home, S/P has been working on a project that I discussed with Jake a while back -- aimed at figuring out where we could do better and above all create more leverage to achieve our goals. The papers are blunter than anything you would see from the bureaus -- they should not necessarily be read as policy blueprints but rather as illustrations of alternative strategies. We have made sure that the special assistants have them on the plane. I will also share the individual papers with the relevant assistant secretaries. We will then be happy to take the project further if you approve.

You will be happy to know that rain has stopped at the Expo!
AM

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 26, 2010 6:45 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** How's [redacted] B6

I just landed at Andrews.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:08 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight or tomorrow

Ok.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 16:33:51 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight or tomorrow

Tomorrow you and I have office time at 230pm for 45 min

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu May 27 13:22:34 2010
Subject: Tonight or tomorrow

I can do 830pm at your house(or anytime tomorrow)

Cdm

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:11 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

How long can a recess appointee serve and can one be reappointed?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 18:40:05 2010
Subject:

FYI – the Senate is likely to pass the supp tonight. And, no nominees from any government agency will be confirmed tonight or tomorrow. Would like to discuss the potential for recess appointments with you and Cheryl.

The Brookings event, especially your opening remarks, were excellent. Very thoughtful, with lots of real-life examples. We have gotten lots of positive feedback.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:14 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Tonight or tomorrow

Are you back?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Thu May 27 16:33:51 2010
Subject: Re: Tonight or tomorrow

Tomorrow you and I have office time at 230pm for 45 min

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu May 27 13:22:34 2010
Subject: Tonight or tomorrow

I can do 830pm at your house(or anytime tomorrow)

Cdm

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 7:17 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Brookings

Are you getting any feedback? How soon will FOX attack me for my "tax the rich" comments?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 10:10 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Engel meeting

Why is there no rep from WHA in my meeting w Engel and Mack tomorrow?

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Thursday, May 27, 2010 10:15 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Loretta Sanchez

B5

RELEASE
IN PART B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 7:28 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: 6PT/Revcon

Let's discuss at am mtg.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 28 07:14:32 2010
Subject: 6PT/Revcon

The current revcon document includes a paragraph on North Korea.

B5

How would you like to proceed?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 7:55 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Schedule

When and where is the next AGOA Conference?

Sometime in June I want to schedule the following meeting for an hour w top leadership:

Consular Affairs

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:29 AM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

Am I meeting w Cheryl?

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Fri May 28 07:57:26 2010
Subject: mini schedule, 5/28/10, friday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am (t) PHONE CALL w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE (T)

10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:00 am BILATERAL w/SRI LANKAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL

10:30 am AFFAIRS G.L. PEIRIS

10:30 am PRESS PRE-BRIEF

10:35 am Secretary's Office

10:35 am JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/SRI LANKA FM PEIRIS

10:50 am Treaty Room, 7th Floor

11:00 am MEETING w/QUINN MEACHAM

11:30 am Secretary's Office

11:30 am MEETING w/CONGRESSMEN ELIOT ENGEL AND CONNIE MACK

12:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

12:00 pm OFFICE TIME

12:30 pm Secretary's Office

12:30 pm MEETING w/SPECIAL ENVOY SCOTT GRATION

1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm MEETING w/CONGRESSWOMAN LORETTA SANCHEZ

1:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

1:30 pm WEEKLY DEVELOPMENT MEETING

2:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:30 pm OFFICE TIME

3:15 pm Secretary's Office

3:30pm MEETING w/DENNIS ROSS

4:15pm Secretary's Office

TBD DEPART State Dept *En Route Private Residence

TBD ARRIVE Private Residence

###

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:15 PM
**To:** 'marshallcp@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re:

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 28 17:02:50 2010
Subject:

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2010 8:19 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Posner

O'Reilly is still going after Mike over the Chinese/ Arizona law comment. [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 9:14 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Musa kusa trip canceled.

Can you call me?

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 09:12:02 2010
Subject: Musa kusa trip canceled.

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, May 29, 2010 10:25 AM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] is monday better? B6

[redacted] Monday is good too if better for you. B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 09:55:24 2010
Subject: [redacted] is monday better? B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 7:23 AM
**To:** 'valenzuelaaa@state.gov'
**Subject:** Bolivia and Cuba

Arturo--

Huma forwarded your email and I agree with your plans to visit Bolivia and for us to talk w Sen, Menendez. We should discuss how best to do that after your return later this week. Safe travels--H

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 7:25 PM
**To:** 'sberger[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: SRB op-ed in Wash Post Outlook section Sunday

Thanks for this very clear and fair analysis of the NSS. As you know so well, it's always easier said than done. Happy Holiday to you and Susan,[redacted] Let's visit soon. All best, H B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Samuel Berger <sberger[redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Sat May 29 14:08:11 2010
Subject: FW: SRB op-ed in Wash Post Outlook section Sunday

HRC: Below is an oped on the National Security Strategy I wrote for tomorrow's Outlook.

Unfortunately, they give it a horrible title, but I think the piece turned out alright.

Best, Sandy

By Samuel R. Berger

Samuel R. Berger, chair of the global strategy firm Albright Stonebridge Group, served as national security advisor to President Clinton from 1997 to 2001.

President Obama's National Security Strategy, released by the White House on Thursday, tackles a delicate but unavoidable question: How do we respond to new and old security challenges in an era of financial distress at home and a reordering of political power abroad?

For some time now, it has been clear that the definition of U.S. national security strategy needs rethinking. The September 11 attacks, global economic crisis, cyber-terror threats and even the environmental catastrophe in the Gulf underscore that the challenges America faces in 2010 have changed even from just a decade ago. And while America's military supremacy is certainly not at risk, new international arrangements - such as the shift from the G-7 club of powerful nations to the G-20, which incorporates emerging nations from China to Brazil - are needed so that the costs and benefits of a stable international order are shared. The United States cannot solve most global threats without others, nor should we bear the burden alone.

Enter the National Security Strategy. In my experience, these congressionally mandated documents can easily become laborious and impenetrable, or mere compendiums of bureaucratic pleading from various parts of the government. (Make sure you do right by Japan! Don't step on the Pentagon!) The challenge, which President Clinton insisted upon to me and his other advisers, is to provide a strategic framework that is clarifying to the rest of the world and informs

administration decision makers up and down the line. It's not a blueprint for action, but a means to convey the president's principles and priorities.

In Obama's case, the new sober and comprehensive 52-page strategy incorporates the new realities and breaks with past strategies in several key respects. But it also reflects an understanding that we face enduring challenges - nuclear proliferation, terrorism and regional conflicts - for which the best response is a return to fundamentals.

One such fundamental is the strength of our economy. At a time when the after-effects of a financial crisis and the fiscal burden of two long wars have raised fears of an overextended America, the administration makes a case for economic and technological renewal as a crucial underpinning of U.S. security. The president made this case in his West Point speech last weekend. "At no time in human history," he said, "has a nation of diminished economic vitality maintained its military and political primacy."

Another fundamental challenge is arms control and nuclear proliferation. By seeking strategic arms cuts with Russia, the president has returned to a long bipartisan tradition that languished during the prior administration. And by convening a global summit on securing nuclear material this spring, Obama has given new urgency and global purchase to the effort started in 1991 when Sens. Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar first initiated a program to lock down nuclear materials.

On terrorism, the strategy builds on the past, but breaks with it as well. Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama each have deployed all of America's tools: military power, homeland defense, law enforcement, sanctions, intelligence and vigorous efforts to cut off terrorist financing. But the critical difference in the Obama strategy is that it rejects the Global War on Terror lens through which the prior administration viewed the challenge. "This is not a global war against a tactic - terrorism - or a religion - Islam," the new strategy says. "We are at war with a specific network, al-Qaeda and its terrorist affiliates."

This sharper focus avoids alienating many in the Muslim world, ensures the support of key allies who never accepted the broader construct and avoids the overreactions that led us to forsake the fight against al-Qaeda fight in Afghanistan and turn our efforts to the unrelated threat from Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

In perhaps the most dramatic departure from the strategy of its predecessor, the Obama administration has restored a less provocative policy on the use of military force. In the 2002 national security strategy, President Bush articulated the rationale for preemptive war just weeks before seeking a U.N. resolution to invade Iraq. The new strategy restores the principles that have guided administrations for decades: the use of force should be a last resort, should weigh all the costs and benefits, and should have as much international support as possible. The administration reserves the right to act unilaterally - for example against al-Qaeda and its allies - but resurrects the principle President Clinton often described as "together where possible, alone where necessary."

President Obama's critics have focused on his diplomatic engagement with hostile states like Iran and North Korea. The President sets forth his rationale: "to create opportunities to resolve differences, strengthen the international community's support for our actions, learn about the intentions and nature of closed regimes, and plainly demonstrate to the public within those nations that their governments are to blame for their isolation."
In the case of Iran, Washington's outstretched hand has not resulted in Iran's compliance. But attempts to engage have helped ensure that the world's attention is focused on Iran's intransigence rather than Washington's refusal to negotiate.

Without a doubt, there are gaps between principle and practice. Despite the Obama administration's stated goal of doubling exports in the next five years, it has not put its muscle behind trade agreements with South Korea, Panama and Colombia. And the clarity of its call to respect human rights has at times been muted in the face of tough realities. Sixteen months into this administration there has been much progress, but many of the true tests of this strategy lie ahead.

In the strategy's conclusions, the Obama administration evokes an even earlier era, calling for both political parties to restore the cooperation and common purpose so crucial to our success during the dark days of the Cold War. Despite the intense debates at the time over nuclear arms control, Central America and détente, nearly all American supported the containment of communism.

In that same spirit, the administration's framework deserves broad bipartisan support. We can and should argue out our differences over detention of prisoners, methods to disarm dangerous states, how hard to push for democratic rights, or the costs of climate change legislation. But at the same time, we can rally around the overriding U.S. foreign policy goals spelled out in the strategy: renewing our economy at home to ensure leadership abroad; defeating al-Qaeda; succeeding in Afghanistan; preventing nuclear proliferation; curbing climate change; and promoting an international order of enlightened self-interest, economic prosperity and the fundamental values upon which America is based.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, May 30, 2010 7:33 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Cc:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

I'm copying Rob so a note can be prepared.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri May 28 21:54:31 2010
Subject: FW: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

FYI - will get Rob to write him a note unless you already did one for his own graduation.

-----Original Message-----
From: David Domenici [mailto:

B6

Sent: Friday, May 28, 2010 9:05 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Laszczych, Joanne
Subject: Graduation ceremony - Friday, June 11th at 630pm at Shaw Campus

Cheryl:

Graduation Ceremony for Academy kids is Friday, June 11th, at 630pm. At our Shaw Campus. 1851 9th Street, NW

You might want to let the Secretary know that is going to be the graduation speaker. My guess is she can't come, but maybe she'd want to drop him a note. If so, let me know, I'll draft something for.

B6

d

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 10:40 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ehud barak

I will talk w him anytime. I'm on way to Memorial Day parade but will obviously step out to talk.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 10:38:38 2010
Subject: Ehud barak

He called for you. Wants to discuss situation in israel and trip cancellation. Says he's flexible time wise. Phil gordon and jeff feltman obviously following situation. We don't have a formal talking points yet.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 12:57 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: Several observations on the Israeli raid. Sid

Fyi and itys

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 12:12:58 2010
Subject: H: Several observations on the Israeli raid. Sid

First observation: Bibi's Entebbe in reverse. The father, Benzion Netanyahu, 100 years old, secretary to Jabotinsky, and denounced as too radical by Begin, adored his son Yoni, heroically killed at Entebbe. Benyamin has never measured up. Benzion has constantly criticized him in public for his deviations from the doctrine of Greater Israel. Bibi desperately seeks his father's approbation and can never equal his dead brother. See Benzion's most recent scathing undermining of his son Bibi and Bibi's tearful tribute to his brother just last month. The raid on the ship to Gaza resembles the raid on Entebbe, except that there are no hostages, no guns, it's not in Africa, and it's a fiasco; otherwise, it's Entebbe. (Then, there's Ehud Barak reliving his youth as a raider killing Palestinians in Lebanon, a feat memorialized in Spielberg's film, Munich. Ultimately, it didn't work out well that time either. The film captures the moral quandaries, which appear to have escaped the participants.) Further observation: The international press will inquire whether the Obama administration gave a wink or nod as the Bush administration did for the Lebanon and Gaza incursions. Be prepared.
Further: Of course, the consequences for US foreign policy and national security are negative across the board: from the analogy of the North Korean ship sinking and the Chinese posture to support for Iranian sanctions, etc., etc. Did the Israelis not hear Petraeus's testimony?
Further: Of course, whatever the outcome of such a raid, one of the inevitable ones would be the death of the peace process, such as it is, on the very eve of Bibi's scheduled visit to Obama, which would have been, under any circumstance, in light of the raid, profoundly humiliating for the president. Or are the Israelis bone stupid? I don't think so.
Cheers,
Sid

Like Father, Like Son? Netanyahu's Father Says Son Not Serious About Two-State Solution.

July 8, 2009 · 1 Comment <http://roiword.wordpress.com/2009/07/08/like-father-like-son-netanyahus-father-syays-son-not-serious-about-two-state-solution/#comments>

<http://www.thecornerreport.com/media/blogs/links/nethu.jpg>
In a controversial interview with Israel's Channel II News, the father of Prime Minister Netanyahu, Professor Benzion <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benzion_Netanyahu> Netanyahu, says that his son does not support a Palestinian state. The elder Netanyahu, claims that the prime Minister told him he deliberately placed impossible conditions before the Palestinians.
Here are excerpts from the interview <http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/politics/Article-77cd5b4ae4b5221006.htm&sCh=3d385dd2dd5d4110&pId=978777604> . When asked if his son really changed his position concerning a Palestinian state, the 100 year-old historian unequivocally answered: (translation mine)

"He does not support. He supports such conditions that they (the Arabs) will never accept it. That is what I heard from him. I didn't propose these conditions, he did. They will never accept these conditions. Not one of them."

When asked about his own personal opinion about a Palestinian state, the senior Netanyahu stated:

Herzl <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodor_Herzl> and Nordau <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Nordau> (fathers of zionist movement) did not labor to create a Palestinian state. This land is Jewish land and not a land for the Arabs. There is no place here for Arabs, and there wont be a place here for the Arabs. They will never agree to the conditions.

Published: 04/18/10, 9:03 AM / Last Update: 04/18/10, 9:21 AM

Netanyahu Visits Grave of Brother Who Fell in Entebbe Rescue

by Tzvi Ben Gedalyahu
Follow Israel news on Twitter <http://twitter.com/IsraelNewsStory> and Facebook <http://www.facebook.com/pages/IsraelNationalNews/102510354100> .

On Saturday night, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu visited the grave of his brother Yoni, who fell during the daring rescue of hijacked Israelis in Entebbe <http://www.yoni.org.il/en/jonathan.php> , Uganda in 1976.

<http://info.a7.org/php_en/c.php?b=1816&z=17&clientid=1352&dest=http://www.bneiaish.com>
He and his wife Sarah decided to go to the gravesite on Mount Herzl 24 hours before the beginning of Remembrance Day for Fallen Soldiers in order to prevent security tie-ups for thousands of other Israelis who will visit the cemetery Sunday night and Monday.
The Netanyahus were moved emotionally after seeing for the first time a commemorative decoration that the IDF carved into the gravestone of Yoni, who led the rescue operation and was the only soldier to die in the maneuver. One of his less known heroic deeds is his saving a soldier from across Syrian lines in the Yom Kippur War in 1973.
Sirens will sound throughout Israel for one minute at 8 p.m. (1 p.m. EDT) Sunday night to mark the beginning of Memorial Day for 22,682 Fallen Soldiers and 2,431 victims <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/137050> of Arab terrorist attacks following the re-establishment of the State of Israel after 2,000 years. Another 1,500 civilians were killed between 1860 and the 1948 War for Independence, when seven Arab nations attacked the fledging, newly declared state just three years after the Holocaust ended.
On Monday morning, a two-minute siren will sound at 11 a.m. (4 a.m. EDT). (IsraelNationalNews.com)

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 12:58 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

More fyi.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 12:49:21 2010
Subject: H: this report appeared in Maariv, major Israeli daily, on May 27, fyi, Sid

Netanyahu pleased: I didn't capitulate
Ben Caspit, Maariv, May 27 2010 [page 2 with front page lead; Hebrew original here <http://www.scribd.com/doc/32038200/Maariv-May27-10-Netanyahu-Says-He-Beat-Obama> and at bottom of post] In the course of intimate conversations over the past few weeks with top political officials and civil servants, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has said, according to his interlocutors, that he managed to defeat the US administration. Netanyahu is pleased by the fact that the Americans failed, so he said, to twist his arm and that ultimately, in the duel between him and the Obama administration, he was the one who emerged with the upper hand. We did not make concessions on our red lines and they failed to make us fold and to drag us to places we didn't want to go, said Netanyahu, according to people who heard him speak.
Netanyahu is convinced that he is not going to be forced to extend the settlement construction freeze, which is due to expire in September. According to senior officials in Jerusalem, an agreement has already been reached with the administration that the Israeli government will not announce an extension of the construction freeze in the territories, and the Americans will "make sure" that the Palestinians do not withdraw from the talks. Israel, however, will not take "aggressive" action and construction will be resumed only in areas that are clearly within the consensus inside the settlement blocs.
The Prime Minister's Bureau vigorously denied the above report. "The statements attributed to the prime minister are incorrect," said a spokesman in the Prime Minister's Bureau. "They were not said by Netanyahu in any forum. The reason is simple: the prime minister does not think that, Prime Minister Netanyahu holds in great esteem the commitment by President Obama and the administration to Israel's security and their efforts to renew the peace process in our region."
Eli Bardenstein adds: The formal invitation that Netanyahu received yesterday to meet with President Obama next week might attest to a radical change in the White House's attitude towards him. Political sources in Israel described the planned meeting as "the peak of the campaign for Israel and the Jews that has been pursued by the Obama administration in the past number of weeks." The sources said that the meeting was geared to put an end to the grave crisis that erupted some two months ago between the Obama administration and Netanyahu over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and particularly over the continued construction in East Jerusalem, and to mend the mistaken impression that was received as if Israel was "no longer an absolute ally of the United States."
That crisis, which was initiated by the Americans, elicited fierce criticism in the United States, and sparked a desire among members of the Obama administration to rectify the situation. Another reason for the administration's desire to end the crisis is the fear of failure in the upcoming Congressional elections in November. "The Democratic Party's coffers are empty. Many Democrat members of Congress and Senators have complained that if the hazing of Israel were to continue, they would be unable to obtain donations from Jews and were liable to lose the elections," said one source in Washington.

The prevalent assessment is that Netanyahu will be received far more warmly in Washington next week than he was two months ago. This time the meeting will be covered by the media and the two leaders are expected to have their picture taken together and to give statements to the media.

That said, sources in Washington noted that "Netanyahu is leery of the meeting with Obama and of walking into a trap once again. He knows that the smiles notwithstanding, behind closed doors he is going to have to give answers to very difficult questions, like 'how do you envision the end of the negotiations with the Palestinians.'"

Netanyahu is to begin his political travels today in Paris, where he is to attend the ceremony in honor of Israel's acceptance into the OECD. The prime minister will be arriving in a city that is on strike, which is liable to impede his movement through the city streets to the center of Paris for his meetings.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 1:34 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Ok but I'm confused since I remember talking w Lona about changing to 8 tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 13:36:41 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

That is correct. We are set on 6.
Isabelle coming at 7:30 to whitehaven.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 13:34:26 2010
Subject: Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 2:53 PM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

Let's just stay w 6am tomorrow now. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; H
Sent: Mon May 31 14:13:18 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

Oh sorry. I didn't know you wanted to change to tonite for sure.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 14:08:38 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

We have a reservation for tonight's 9pm (the last one). I can move to the 8pm if that's what we would like to do.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 13:46:59 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

Ok but I'm confused since I remember talking w Lona about changing to 8 tonight.

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 13:36:41 2010
Subject: Re: Shuttle

That is correct. We are set on 6.
Isabelle coming at 7:30 to whitehaven.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon May 31 13:34:26 2010
Subject: Shuttle

The Service still has me leaving at 6am tomorrow. Is that right?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 4:01 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

Are you back yet? If so, pls call me thru Ops.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 15:51:38 2010
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

FYI

---

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica J
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon May 31 15:45:40 2010
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

Jake -

FYI - here is the final as released. - Erica

Sent from my Blackberry - apologies for typos and brevity.

---

From: USUN, PRESS
To: USUN, PRESS
Sent: Mon May 31 15:40:41 2010
Subject: Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

United States Mission to the United Nations Office of Press and Public Diplomacy
140 East 45th Street
New York, NY 10017
(212) 415-4050
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USUN PRESS RELEASE #109 May 31, 2010
AS DELIVERED

Remarks by Ambassador Alejandro Wolff, Deputy Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at an Emergency Session of the Security Council, May 31, 2010

Thank you, Mr. President and thank you, Assistant Secretary-General Fernandez-Taranco.

The United States is deeply disturbed by the recent violence and regrets the tragic loss of life and injuries suffered among those involved in the incident last night aboard the Gaza-bound ships. We are working to ascertain the facts. We expect a credible and transparent investigation and strongly urge the Israeli government to investigate the incident fully.

As I stated in the Chamber in December 2008, when we were confronted by a similar situation, mechanisms exist for the transfer of humanitarian assistance to Gaza by member states and groups that want to do so. These non-provocative and non-confrontational mechanisms should be the ones used for the benefit of all those in Gaza. Direct delivery by sea is neither appropriate nor responsible, and certainly not effective, under the circumstances.

The United States remains deeply concerned by the suffering of civilians in Gaza, and the deterioration of the situation there, including the humanitarian and human rights situation. We continue to believe the situation is unsustainable and is not in the interests of any of those concerned. We will continue to engage the Israelis on a daily basis to expand the scope and type of goods allowed into Gaza to address the full range of the population's humanitarian and recovery needs. Hamas' interference with international assistance shipments and the work of nongovernmental organizations complicates efforts in Gaza. Its continued arms smuggling and commitment to terrorism undermines security and prosperity for Palestinians and Israelis alike.

We will continue to work closely with the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, along with international NGOs and the UN, to provide adequate access for humanitarian goods, including reconstruction materials, through the border crossings, while bearing in mind the Government of Israel's legitimate security concerns.

Ultimately, this incident underscores the need to move ahead quickly with negotiations that can lead to a comprehensive peace in the region. The only viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an agreement, negotiated between the parties, that ends the occupation that began in 1967 and fulfills the aspirations of both parties for independent homelands through two states for two peoples, Israel and an independent, contiguous, and viable state of Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. We call again on our international partners – both inside and outside this Council – to promote an atmosphere of cooperation between the parties and throughout the entire region.

Thank you, Mr. President.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 6:10 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Yes, I would.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 18:08:33 2010
Subject: Schedule

MS, tomorrow you were scheduled to have a pre-brief prior to the Netanyahu meeting which included Senator Mitchell. Would you like to still see him (he was scheduled around 12:30pm)?
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
[redacted](direct)

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, May 31, 2010 6:14 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Also, did Jake reach you about moving the Dav'ou mtg back so we can be better prepared?

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon May 31 18:11:59 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Sounds good, ty.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct) B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Mon May 31 18:10:13 2010
Subject: Re: Schedule

Yes, I would.

----- Original Message -----
From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon May 31 18:08:33 2010
Subject: Schedule

MS, tomorrow you were scheduled to have a pre-brief prior to the Netanyahu meeting which included Senator Mitchell. Would you like to still see him (he was scheduled around 12:30pm)?
Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
(direct)

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 3:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Russia's Putin warns West over missile defense

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Wed Dec 01 02:51:42 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Russia's Putin warns West over missile defense

MOSCOW (Reuters) – Prime Minister Putin told CNN television that Russia will deploy nuclear weapons and "strike forces" if it is shut out of a Western missile defense system, echoing a warning from President Medvedev. In an interview with Larry King, Putin said missile threats against Europe must be tackled jointly -- a reference to an agreement reached at a Russia-NATO summit this month to cooperate on missile defense. But if Russia's proposals are rejected and new threats appear along its borders, "Russia will have to ensure its own security," Putin said. Russia would "put in place new strike forces...against the new threats which will have been created along our borders," Putin said. "New missile, nuclear technologies will be put in place." Putin said Russia does not want this to happen and is not threatening the West, but the remarks underscored the Kremlin's insistence on a significant role in a missile defense system and suggested ties could sour badly if agreement is not reached.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 6:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Afghanistan announces last set of election results

**From:** Vu, Anny T
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-Afghanistan
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Wed Dec 01 06:02:37 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Afghanistan announces last set of election results

KABUL (Reuters) – Afghanistan announced on December 1 the final batch of results from a September 18 parliamentary election, with poll organizers aiming to wrap up a vote marred by widespread fraud and pave the way for a new parliament. The Independent Election Commission (IEC) said preliminary winners would hold their seats in southeastern Ghazni province. Election officials released results for Afghanistan's other 33 provinces and for Kuchi nomads a week ago but delayed Ghazni because of technical issues and irregularities.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: From Amory Lovins

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jun 14 17:04:52 2010
Subject: From Amory Lovins

Am passing on as requested. I will also follow up with Maura O'Neill – I have followed this up before at Amory's request.
AM

From: Amory B. Lovins [mailto: ] B6
Sent: Saturday, June 12, 2010 12:54 PM
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: McAuliffe, Marisa S; Rasmussen Eric
Subject: please share also with Secretary Clinton -- thanks!

Dear Hillary and Anne-Marie,

For several months I've been advising on a project to take the rainforest restoration work of Dr. Willie Smits, an Indonesian agroforester, to scale on Borneo. That Smits Model effort now has an economically sustainable design with multiple benefits for the local forest population, the nation of Indonesia, and the planet. The business plan has been developed by an experienced and highly reputable investment group that serves in an Advisory role to the Prince of Wales's Trust, and the business plan has already engaged the interest of the P8, a group of the eight largest global pension funds.

The core goals of the Arenga Reforestation Project include greenhouse gas reduction, habitat restoration, rainforest remediation, deforestation protection, biofuel production that is non-food and carbon-positive, and poverty alleviation for some of the most vulnerable populations on the planet. The Internal Rate of Return, on a fairly mature business model and seven years of module testing, calculates to about 34% -- a decent investment return for almost any industry.

You can watch Willie Smits describe the possibilities at TED (to a standing ovation) here:
http://www.ted.com/talks/willie_smits_restores_a_rainforest.html

The State Department has been on the periphery of the concept development through Moira O'Neill, a Haas Professor of Business on loan to USAID from Cal. She has kept the conversation going with the White House, USAID, and State, but is extremely busy with a range of other obligations and may not have the cycles to follow this to a conclusion.

In my view this effort, the Arenga Reforestation Project, is the leading contender for an economically sustainable tropical reforestation program, and has an unprecedented climate mitigation potential (Indonesia is the world's #4 greenhouse-gas emitter, due largely to the burning and composting of the southern Kalimantan peat swamps and to rapid destruction of rainforest, both of which the Smits Model can reverse). In Aug 08 I spent 11 days visiting key sites of this project in Borneo, largely with Dr. Smits, whom I've known for about 20 years. In my opinion, and that of many others, this is the world's most sophisticated and powerful model for integrated ecological and economic restoration, with exciting prospects for much of the tropics. I can also vouch for the quality and integrity of the key people involved.

To make the impact even more noteworthy, the Minister of Forestry in Indonesia has now agreed to a 1:1 acreage match between Smits Model reforestation and the protection of virgin rainforest in perpetuity as national park. For every 30,000 hectares of Smits Model reforestation, the Ministry will designate 30,000 hectares (about 116 square miles) of virgin rainforest a National Park, and they have agreed to external monitoring by international NGOs for compliance. Since this Smits Model can scale to a million hectares, or ten million, with continually increasing economic, social, and environmental benefits, the two-fer impact is perhaps unprecedented.

It would be worthwhile for you to have someone from your staff take a look at this. In my carefully considered view, the political, social, and REDD benefits could be very substantial, and the possibility of a Public-Private Partnership is worth consideration.

The primary source for information on the project in the US is my friend and Senior Fellow at RMI, the remarkable Eric Rasmussen, MD, MDM, FACP -- CEO of the Google-founded humanitarian NGO called InSTEDD. He's leading, pro bono, the team developing the business plan, and can be reached at [redacted] or on cell at [redacted], B6
Pacific Time Zone.

With warmest regards -- ABL

Amory B. Lovins

Chairman and Chief Scientist

Rocky Mountain Institute

1739 Snowmass Creek Road

Snowmass CO 81654, USA

[redacted]

[redacted] fax 4178, desk [redacted] (on vacation through 15 Jul), cell [redacted]

Executive Assistant (Megan Shean) [redacted]

Chief of Staff (Lionel Bony) [redacted] B6

Special Aide (Bennett Cohen), [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

**From**: Simmons, Krista M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent**: Wed Dec 01 08:13:22 2010
**Subject**: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

GAZA (Reuters) - The Islamist Hamas movement, whose charter advocates the elimination of Israel, would accept the outcome of a Palestinian referendum on a future peace treaty with the Jewish state, its Gaza leader said on December 1.

Ismail Haniyeh, addressing a rare news conference in the Israeli-blockaded enclave, signaled a softening of Hamas's long-standing position prohibiting the ceding of any part of the land of what was British-mandated Palestine until 1948.

"We accept a Palestinian state on the borders of 1967, with Jerusalem as its capital, the release of Palestinian prisoners, and the resolution of the issue of refugees," Haniyeh said, referring to the year of Middle East war in which Israel captured East Jerusalem and the Palestinian territories.

"Hamas will respect the results (of a referendum) regardless of whether it differs with its ideology and principles," he said, provided it included all Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank and the diaspora.

The Hamas charter, drafted in 1988, regards all of the land of Palestine, including what is now Israel, as the heritage of Muslims. The idea of a referendum on a future peace accord with Israel was rejected by some Hamas leaders when it was proposed by Palestinian President Abbas several months ago.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 8:57 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

Yes.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Dec 01 08:55:46 2010
Subject: Re: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 01 08:17:09 2010
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

---

From: Simmons, Krista M
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Wed Dec 01 08:13:22 2010
Subject: (Reuters) Hamas would honor referendum on peace with Israel

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 9:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Les Gelb makes the points. Sid

H:
Les Gelb, who oversaw the writing of the Pentagon Papers, makes the points that Wikileaks show US today trying to solve difficult international problems, telling the truth and diplomats acting professionally.

# WikiLeaks Accidentally Helps U.S.

## by Leslie H. Gelb

November 30, 2010 | 10:42pm

**Julian Assange clearly intended the State Dept. cable leaks to smear the U.S. as evil and selfish. Leslie H. Gelb on how he inadvertently proved the opposite.**

The Wikileakers dumped a vast pile of secrets to prove that the United States was selfish, stupid and wicked–but their revelations proved just the opposite. When you remove the gossip and obvious trivia that mesmerized the press, you clearly see what the Wikileakers never expected: A United States seriously and professionally trying to solve the most dangerous problems in a frighteningly complicated world, yet lacking the power to dictate solutions. U.S. policymakers and diplomats are shown, quite accurately, doing what they are supposed to do: ferreting out critical information from foreign leaders, searching for paths to common action, and struggling with the right amount of pressure to apply on allies and adversaries. And in most cases, the villain is not Washington, but foreign leaders escaping common action with cowardice and hypocrisy.

Don't think for a New York minute that Julian Assange, the Wikileaker, unloaded this trove to save humankind. Why did he toss in those cables about Italy's leader being a rake and Germany's chancellor being a cautious fuddy-duddy, and President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan being "paranoid"? To save the world? Not a chance. He did it to get attention, and he got attention from a drooling press, which then went on to call the very material they were highlighting trivial. Did Assange leak critical conversations with Chinese or Arab leaders to help solve the problems in Korea and Iran? Not by the hair on your chinny chin chin. He did it to show that he could do it–and for the attention. Anyone who is not a hopeless left-wing ideologue knows that such leaks will crush future serious conversations with those leaders for some time to come. Just think: if you told someone a serious and critical confidence about someone else, and your confidant went out and told others, would you soon repeat that mistake? Assange did not leak these cables to help solve world problems. These leaks were absolutely gratuitous and served only the purpose of making him a media marvel.

When you actually read the cables, here's what you see: American leaders and American diplomats trying to solve crucial world In explaining his deed publicly, Assange suggests that what he's doing is uncovering American misdeeds and lies. His aim, he says, is to inform citizens of democracies and peoples around the world about what their leaders are really doing. Assange also insists he did this for transparency's sake. Yet when he got to look inside, he didn't see what was plain: that our diplomats were doing a good job. Indeed, when you turn off his nonsense and stop listening to the strange commentary on cable news and even on the front pages of great newspapers, when you actually read the cables, here's what you see: American leaders and American diplomats trying to solve crucial world problems.

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–Washington needs China's help in bolstering sanctions against Iran, and China balks for fear of jeopardizing its oil and gas flow from that country. The Obama team arranges for Saudi Arabia to guarantee any loss in supply to China. If the world wants to slow or even prevent Iran's march to nuclear weaponry, this is a key path to doing so.

–The U.S. discovers that North Korea has manufactured new medium-range missiles and is trying to deliver them to Iran through China. The Obama team discovers this, informs Beijing, and asks Beijing to stop the transfer. Beijing declines. Really creepy.

–Yemen's leader takes public responsibility for American missile attacks against Al Qaeda in Yemen. He wants to diminish the power of these terrorists, as do Americans and most others in the world. The "lie" by the Yemeni president is a harmless way to get a critical job done–that is, the job of fighting international terrorism. Wikileaks tears away the political cover of Yemen's leaders.

–No country has anywhere near as much influence over nutty North Korea as China. So, U.S. diplomats are searching desperately to figure out Chinese thinking about North Korea in order to compose a plan for avoiding war on the Korean Peninsula. So, the Wikileakers expose some Chinese leaders who are actually trying to give us some insight into Chinese thinking about North Korean craziness. They won't do that again soon.

Time and again, as one actually reads these cables, one has to be heartened by the professionalism and the insights of U.S. diplomats. What are they doing? They are not lying, and U.S. leaders are not lying. They are actually, believe it or not, trying to solve problems. That seriousness of purpose and the professionalism to execute it is what jumps out at you in these materials.

So, the naïve say, it's good to show the effectiveness of our diplomats. Give me a break. Ask any American diplomat to choose between looking intelligent in leaked cables and making progress toward avoiding war.

None of this is to say that there should not be leaks, or that the press should not pursue classified information that is necessary or very helpful to a sensible public debate on policy. If a U.S. administration is lying, or distorting the facts, or telling one story to the public and another to itself, then by all means, let's have it out in public. If the U.S. government is concocting intelligence in order to justify wars, let's hope an enterprising reporter finds it out for the rest of us.

But the Wikileaks dump is not about providing essential information to Americans or to others–information they need for serious policy discussion. This massive trashing by Wikileaks of a legitimate effort by the U.S. government to preserve confidentiality is the very least a shame and at the most, a crime.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of* Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy *(HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

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URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-30/wikileaks-helps-america-how-julian-assange-proved-us-working-hard-on-policy-problems/p/

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:30 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Strider, Huffington Post: Big Daddy's Rules for the 2010 Campaign Trail

Pls print for me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Burns Strider <
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 11 12:51:45 2010
Subject: Strider, Huffington Post: Big Daddy's Rules for the 2010 Campaign Trail

B6

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/burns-strider/big-daddys-rules-for-the_b_609004.html

"Sarah Palin's brand of politics, for example, defining some Americans as being from "real America" and others as wherever it is she thinks they are from (a city, perhaps?) is bad for America. Such political warmongering implodes our core values...

Our first calling, in politics, is to protect, honor and leave better our American system...

If we tear down the American political process by doing and saying anything to win then we have failed that calling before we ever begin...

The campaign cycle of 2010 has had a tumultuous start. Tea Party libertarians screaming from street corners, unhappy workers taking on incumbents, disgruntled faithful praying that the administration will keep its promises, Birthers repelling from black helicopters into the American mainstream and town hall meetings resembling Three Stooges re-runs have been forever social networked into our national psyche. Something is askew!"

THE RULES FOR 2010... http://www.huffingtonpost.com/burns-strider/big-daddys-rules-for-the_b_609004.html

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The Eleison Group

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Visit Pea Ridge Confidential, My Personal Blog <http://pearidgeconfidential.blogspot.com/>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 9:38 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Egypt Islamists pull out of "rigged" election -TV

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Wed Dec 01 09:34:51 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Egypt Islamists pull out of "rigged" election -TV

CAIRO (Reuters) - Egypt's opposition Muslim Brotherhood, which held a fifth of seats in the outgoing parliament, has pulled out of an election race after winning no seats in the first round, al-Arabiya television reported.

The group, which runs candidates as independents to skirt a ban on religious parties, said the vote was rigged in favor of President Mubarak's ruling party.

Al-Arabiya said the group was pulling out of a run-off to be held on December 5. The group said 26 of its candidates had made it through to the run-off. A senior Brotherhood official told Reuters an announcement would be made later on December 1.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:35 PM
**To:** 'cb[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair

[redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:36 PM
**To:** 'stalbott [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: follow up on Afghan matter

Thx so much for your quick and thorough followup. I'm not surprised that he believes he has to wait awhile. Let's aim for a time to catch up. When will you be back in DC?

----- Original Message -----
From: Strobe Talbott [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: 'Cheryl Mills' [redacted] Jake Sullivan (DOS) <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 02 18:20:34 2010
Subject: follow up on Afghan matter

Hillary, as promised, I connected with Bruce Jones at NYU about Spanta. Bruce got in touch offered to help Spanta put together an arrangement at NYU that might have a Brookings offshoot. Spanta said he needed to decide with Karzai whether in fact the timing was right for him to leave. He just got back in touch with Bruce saying he's decided to stay on a bit longer. That said, he's agreed to participate in some Track II regional work that Bruce has underway. All in all, it sounds as though this has ended up in the right place for now. Bruce, Martin and I will be open to other NY/DC possibilities down the road when Spanta's situation changes. Thanks again for the truly terrific event at Brookings. Regards, Strobe

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 14, 2010 9:39 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: HRC University. A quick thought

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Roy Spence
To: H
Sent: Wed May 19 07:15:44 2010
Subject: HRC University. A quick thought

B6

HRC University.

Purpose:

To empower people everywhere with knowledge, purpose and passion so that they are destined-not lucky-to fully develop their God-given talents

We are in the Full Potential Business-here and around the world.

Love Rs

Ride at Dawn

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B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 16, 2010 8:59 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: confidential

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 15 09:38:26 2010
Subject: RE: confidential

How about arranging a phone call between the two of you first to discuss the issues briefly then you could agree mutually when to meet.
If you give me a time when you can take a quick phone call from the Crown Prince I will get the number for you to ring.

Cherie Blair

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 15 June 2010 02:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

----- Original Message -----
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Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

B6

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Cherie Blair



B6

This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 1, 2010 9:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Les Gelb's Daily Beast Blog, 12/1/2010

Good stuff.

----- Original Message -----
From: Leslie H. Gelb [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wed Dec 01 09:48:41 2010
Subject: Les Gelb's Daily Beast Blog, 12/1/2010

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Intending to expose U.S. government lies, the latest Wikileaks only prove U.S. diplomats' professionalism, writes Les Gelb in his latest blog.

The full text of the piece is included below.

http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-30/wikileaks-helps-america-how-julian-assange-proved-us-working-hard-on-policy-problems/

Sincerely,

Jonathan E. Hillman
Research Associate for Leslie H. Gelb
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10065
tel 212.434.9742 fax 212.434.9813
[redacted] B6

Wikileaks Accidentally Helps U.S.
by Leslie H. Gelb
November 30, 2010 | 10:42pm

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-Washington needs China's help in bolstering sanctions against Iran, and China balks for fear of jeopardizing its oil and gas flow from that country. The Obama team arranges for Saudi Arabia to guarantee any loss in supply to China. If the world wants to slow or even prevent Iran's march to nuclear weaponry, this is a key path to doing so.

-The U.S. discovers that North Korea has manufactured new medium-range missiles and is trying to deliver them to Iran through China. The Obama team discovers this, informs Beijing, and asks Beijing to stop the transfer. Beijing declines. Really creepy.

-Yemen's leader takes public responsibility for American missile attacks against Al Qaeda in Yemen. He wants to diminish the power of these terrorists, as do Americans and most others in the world. The "lie" by the Yemeni president is a harmless way to get a critical job done-that is, the job of fighting international terrorism. Wikileaks tears away the political cover of Yemen's leaders.

-No country has anywhere near as much influence over nutty North Korea as China. So, U.S. diplomats are searching desperately to figure out Chinese thinking about North Korea in order to compose a plan for avoiding war on the Korean Peninsula. So, the Wikileakers expose some Chinese leaders who are actually trying to give us some insight into Chinese thinking about North Korean craziness. They won't do that again soon.

Time and again, as one actually reads these cables, one has to be heartened by the professionalism and the insights of U.S. diplomats. What are they doing? They are not lying, and U.S. leaders are not lying. They are actually, believe it or not, trying to solve problems. That seriousness of purpose and the professionalism to execute it is what jumps out at you in these materials.

So, the naïve say, it's good to show the effectiveness of our diplomats. Give me a break. Ask any American diplomat to choose between looking intelligent in leaked cables and making progress toward avoiding war.

None of this is to say that there should not be leaks, or that the press should not pursue classified information that is necessary or very helpful to a sensible public debate on policy. If a U.S. administration is lying, or distorting the facts, or telling one story to the public and another to itself, then by all means, let's have it out in public. If the U.S. government is concocting intelligence in order to justify wars, let's hope an enterprising reporter finds it out for the rest of us.

But the Wikileaks dump is not about providing essential information to Americans or to others-information they need for serious policy discussion. This massive trashing by Wikileaks of a legitimate effort by the U.S. government to preserve confidentiality is the very least a shame and at the most, a crime.

Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 1:51 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fw: Any news?

Update from phil

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Thu Dec 02 01:21:52 2010
Subject: Re: Any news?

After more back and forth with Russians we've concluded that we will not reach agreement on conflict language. Trying to work w/ Kazakhs to drop the Action Plan settle on the commemoration. Will let you know if we succeed...

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma
To: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Thu Dec 02 00:59:40 2010
Subject: Any news?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 6:20 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Subject:** FW: The Republican case for ratifying New START

Here is the Republican former Secretaries of State op ed, which ran in today's wash post.

# The Republican case for ratifying New START

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/01/AR2010120104598.html?hpid=topnews

By Henry A. Kissinger, George P. Shultz, James A. Baker III, Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Colin L. Powell
Thursday, December 2, 2010;

Republican presidents have long led the crucial fight to protect the United States against nuclear dangers. That is why Presidents Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush negotiated the SALT I, START I and START II agreements. It is why President George W. Bush negotiated the Moscow Treaty. All four recognized that reducing the number of nuclear arms in an open, verifiable manner would reduce the risk of nuclear catastrophe and increase the stability of America's relationship with the Soviet Union and, later, the Russian Federation. The world is safer today because of the decades-long effort to reduce its supply of nuclear weapons.

As a result, we urge the Senate to ratify the New START treaty signed by President Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev. It is a modest and appropriate continuation of the START I treaty that expired almost a year ago. It reduces the number of nuclear weapons that each side deploys while enabling the United States to maintain a strong nuclear deterrent and preserving the flexibility to deploy those forces as we see fit. Along with our obligation to protect the homeland, the United States has responsibilities to allies around the world. The commander of our nuclear forces has testified that the 1,550 warheads allowed under this treaty are sufficient for all our missions - and seven former nuclear commanders agree. The defense secretary, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the head of the Missile Defense Agency - all originally appointed by a Republican president - argue that New START is essential for our national defense.

We do not make a recommendation about the exact timing of a Senate ratification vote. That is a matter for the administration and Senate leaders. The most important thing is to have bipartisan support for the treaty, as previous nuclear arms treaties did.

Although each of us had initial questions about New START, administration officials have provided reasonable answers. We believe there are compelling reasons Republicans should support ratification.

First, the agreement emphasizes verification, providing a valuable window into Russia's nuclear arsenal. Since the original START expired last December, Russia has not been required to provide notifications about changes in its strategic nuclear arsenal, and the United States has been unable to conduct on-site inspections. Each day, America's understanding of Russia's arsenal has been degraded, and resources have been diverted from national security tasks to try to fill the gaps. Our military planners increasingly lack the best possible insight into Russia's activity with its strategic nuclear arsenal, making it more difficult to carry out their nuclear deterrent mission.

Second, New START preserves our ability to deploy effective missile defenses. The testimonies of our military commanders and civilian leaders make clear that the treaty does not limit U.S. missile defense plans. Although the treaty prohibits the conversion of existing launchers for intercontinental and submarine-based ballistic missiles, our military leaders say they do not want to do that because it is more expensive and less effective than building new ones for defense purposes.

Finally, the Obama administration has agreed to provide for modernization of the infrastructure essential to maintaining our nuclear arsenal. Funding these efforts has become part of the negotiations in the ratification process. The administration has put forth a 10-year plan to spend $84 billion on the Energy Department's nuclear weapons complex. Much of the credit for getting the administration to add $14 billion to the originally proposed $70 billion for modernization goes to Sen. Jon Kyl, the Arizona Republican who has been vigilant in this effort. Implementing this modernization program in a timely fashion would be important in ensuring that our nuclear arsenal is maintained appropriately over the next decade and beyond.

Although the United States needs a strong and reliable nuclear force, the chief nuclear danger today comes not from Russia but from rogue states such as Iran and North Korea and the potential for nuclear material to fall into the hands of terrorists. Given those pressing dangers, some question why an arms control treaty with Russia matters. It matters because it is in both parties' interest that there be transparency and stability in their strategic nuclear relationship. It also matters because Russia's cooperation will be needed if we are to make progress in rolling back the Iranian and North Korean programs. Russian help will be needed to continue our work to secure "loose nukes" in Russia and elsewhere. And Russian assistance is needed to improve the situation in Afghanistan, a breeding ground for international terrorism.

Obviously, the United States does not sign arms control agreements just to make friends. Any treaty must be considered on its merits. But we have here an agreement that is clearly in our national interest, and we should consider the ramifications of not ratifying it.

Whenever New START is brought up for debate, we encourage all senators to focus on national security. There are plenty of opportunities to battle on domestic political issues linked to the future of the American economy. With our country facing the dual threats of unemployment and a growing federal debt bomb, we anticipate significant conflict between Democrats and Republicans. It is, however, in the national interest to ratify New START.

*The writers were secretaries of state for the past five Republican presidents.*

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Unsubscribe

The White House · 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW · Washington DC 20500 · 202-456-1111

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: H: Memo on urgent Kyrgyzstan crisis, first hand report and recommendations. Sid
**Attachments:** horton memo kyrgyzstan 061710.docx; horton memo kyrgyzstan 061710.docx

Pls make 3 copies.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop <sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Thu Jun 17 16:46:31 2010
Subject: H: Memo on urgent Kyrgyzstan crisis, first hand report and recommendations. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Kyrgyzstan crisis, report and recommendations

Scott Horton has just returned from a week in Kyrgyzstan, where he held lengthy private conversations with a range of leaders. He has sent me his confidential report. In light of the crisis there—the pogroms that have created perhaps as many as 450,000 refugees, according to the U.N.—and on the eve of the June 27 constitutional referendum—he explains why and how this is an opportunity for joint U.S.-Russian action and other U.S. initiatives. His policy recommendations follow his report.

To: Sid Blumenthal

From: Scott Horton

Date: June 17, 2010

Subj: Developments in Kyrgyzstan

I was in Kyrgyzstan from June 1 – 6, during which time I met with almost all the members of the interim government, with special focus on foreign relations, security and legal issues. Here are major points that emerged from my visit:

1. Crisis in the South. Although I departed before the pogroms had commenced in Osh, I found that the interim government fully expected violence to break out there but did not anticipate the inter-ethnic element. Several candidly acknowledged that the government's grip on the south, particularly Osh and Djalalabad provinces, was extremely tenuous. They said they had severe "loyalty" problems with key figures in the police and military. When I pressed on what they meant by "loyalty," I was told that the Bakiyev family had "its people" in key positions in the police and army and that they had intercepted communications between Janysh Bakiyev and a number of key security officers in the south. "Something is being planned to disrupt the referendum," I was told. Beknazarov told me he believed that, following the pattern of the last two revolutions, they anticipated that there would be an attack on administrative offices in the south, following quickly within a few days by attacks in Bishkek. Government leaders I spoke with over the weekend told me they now recognize they had misassessed the data they had, that the Bakiyev plan was obviously to instigate inter-ethnic violence.

Precisely what led to the tragedy in and around Osh is still unclear and requires careful investigation, but people I have spoken with in Osh describe police and army leaders directing the pogroms, and they were able to identify some of these individuals as persons close to the Bakiyevs. Moreover, the timing and some of the specific descriptions of events support this thesis—Bakiyev was the only person who clearly had something to gain from the violence. If that is so, then Bakiyev adopted an extremely cynical, indeed criminal strategy. His objectives would have been to derail the referendum, demonstrate the weakness of the interim government, and fuel calls for an iron-fisted central government through the resurrection of his presidency. The tactics used bear comparison with those used by Slobodan Milosević and Radovan Karadžić as Yugoslavia disintegrated or by the Soviet MVD in the waning days of the Soviet empire in programs like "Operation Koltso." If the government's charges bear out, serious crimes were committed by the Bakiyev faction.

While Otunbayeva publicly states that order has been restored in the south and that foreign intervention is no longer needed, I am not persuaded that this is what she actually thinks. She is anxious to build public confidence in her government and its abilities. Confidentially she acknowledges that the interim government's grip over the situation in the south is extremely weak and that the government does not feel it can necessarily count on the local police and military there, whose loyalties are plainly divided. This in turn suggests that the international community should give active consideration to both the humanitarian and the security dimensions of the situation in the south. My sense remains that Otunbayeva would strongly welcome such an initiative.

2. Internal Workings of the Interim Government. The interim government verges on being completely dysfunctional. It operates as a collection of individual fiefdoms, with leaders engaged in constant squabbles over patronage appointments. Career civil service personnel report being terrorized and extorted. I spent the better part of three days inside the current government headquarters on Staraya Ploshchod and was able to directly observe primitive horse-trading, threats and counterthreats between key government functionaries, sometimes in agitated voices. Roza Otunbayeva and a handful of figures closest to her were exceptions in this process—admonishing others about the unseemliness of their conduct, urging moderation and restraint. But Otunbayeva also acknowledges that the limitations on her own authority and states that she "has to put up with it," at least for the moment. Three government members advised me during meetings of their intention to resign before the end of the month in order to start running for parliament. Significantly, I sense sharp rifts within the government—between Atembayev and Beknazarov, for instance, who could not refrain from criticizing one another in my interviews with them, or between Sariyev and Beknazarov.

Only Otunbayeva (and to a lesser extent her close ally Elmira Ibraimova) appear to be the glue that holds things together, commanding the respect of the other government members. I found that the admiration for Otunbayeva was almost universal—she appears to be the only figure in the government emerging from the interim period with an untarnished reputation. Still the special order under which she has assumed power as "president of the interim government" presents some clear problems for her authority. She has a fixed term into 2011, but she will have no democratic mandate. After the new government is formed, based on the parliamentary elections, they will have democratic legitimacy and she will not—this sets up a situation in which her authority may well be eclipsed or at least made more narrow. Still, all the members of the current government recognize that she has essential skills that they do not—particularly her ability to conciliate and her ability to reach out to other leaders on the international stage.

There is an expectation that the parliamentary elections will result in a weeding out of the government. The next government is expected to be formed through a parliamentary coalition. But only two or perhaps three of the current seven factions will survive. Much of the bickering and instability in the current government is keyed to the coming game of parliamentary moving chairs—there is an intense struggle now to secure personal loyalty and funds to use in the parliamentary elections; the entire process has an aura of sink or swim about it. Ironically the immediate prospect of parliamentary elections and the sense that they will be genuinely open and fair thus contributes to the ineptness and near chaotic appearance of the current government.

3. Constitution and Referendum. Under the guidance of Tekebayev, the government put forward a proposed new constitution, which it seeks to have confirmed through a referendum vote on June 27. The constitution itself does shift the country further in the direction of a parliamentary democracy, and it contains unusual protection for parliamentary minority factions. Government leaders told me that Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev had waded in on the question of the constitution directly, pressing them to retain a "strong president" system. They say this was coupled with not-very-subtle threats, and that the frontier between Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan remains closed, with harmful consequences for the Kyrgyz economy. A major question exists about holding the referendum as scheduled. The events in the south have resulted in the mass displacement of population and if held as planned, a large part of the population in the south would probably be disenfranchised. However, government leaders say that their current problems all come back to legitimacy, and they will not be able to form a government with democratic legitimacy without a new constitution and new elections. Accordingly, they resist any further delays and are even contemplating moving the date of the parliamentary election forward to the last week of August (it is now set for October 10). The crisis in the south presents a severe dilemma in this regards, and it seems that this would have been Bakiyev's objective in instigating it, if indeed he did.

4. Manas Transit Center. As expected, I discovered that the interim government is deeply fragmented on the question of MTC. One faction headed by Otunbayeva favors a "pragmatic solution" to the base issue under which it will be continued but placed on a more transparent basis in which the economic benefits to the government are clear. Otunbayeva argues that the base can only be accepted under circumstances in which it presents no friction for Kyrgyz-Russian relations; she seeks to have disputes surrounding fuel supply, for instance, resolved directly between the United States and Russia. Another faction, headed by Beknazarov, takes a more demagogic approach, denouncing the base and seeking its closing in internal meetings. Talking with Beknazarov, I had the clear impression that his attitudes were entirely opportunistic—he thinks this will be a good campaign issue to use on the hustings. He suggested rather strongly that he could accept a continued base presence under the right circumstances and that he views threats to close the base as a sort of stick to use to extort more money and other concessions from the Americans. In general, Beknazarov strikes me as hot-headed and crass and an untrustworthy partner in any future discussions. Atembayev also has somewhat demagogic impulses, though they are mild by comparison. Otunbayeva, the third and most senior member of the government engaged on base issues, is the critical voice of reason in the process. My impression based on discussions with numerous figures is that Otunbayeva's views currently hold sway. However, all the government members are agreed that the economic deal struck by Bakiyev is unfavorable to the Kyrgyz state and that the base must rest on transparent economic concessions and there can be no more under-the-table dealings with political figures.

5. Resolving the Crisis in the South. I believe that two key points should be kept in mind when approaching the humanitarian crisis that has emerged in the south. First, the crisis probably has its origins in a raw struggle for power. The interim government's legitimacy deficit contributed to the problem, because it left the government with weak tools to control the situation in the south. A long-term solution to the problem must involve the creation of governments at the national (Bishkek) and regional (Osh, Djalalabad) levels that have an essential modicum of democratic legitimacy. Delaying this process may only hasten the entire country's continued descent into chaos. This highlights the need to conduct free, fair and open elections as quickly as possible. Second, the last thing the interim government needs is a "Sophie's choice" between the United States and Russian Federation. International assistance needs to reflect a joint U.S.-Russian approach and showcase U.S. and Russian leadership (not merely participation). With President Medvedev's visit to the White House now on the horizon, this would be a good opportunity to establish joint sponsorship of an international humanitarian initiative. Here, I believe, are the essential elements of a program that could achieve U.S.-Russian co-sponsorship:

- An Appeal for Restraint: Although the instigation of the conflict appears clearly to rest with ethnic Kyrgyz agitators, including a number in uniform and operating military equipment, at present both Uzbek and Kyrgyz armed groups are involved in random shootings designed to reinforce perceptions of their group being persecuted (rapes etc.) by another. Credible reports are suggesting that there has been political manipulation (including payment of money to drug and other criminal gangs) aimed at fomenting violence. The attack on a sports facility set up by a prominent Uzbek drug baron (murdered several years earlier) in Osh shortly before the violence started also suggests that criminal gangs involved in drug transshipment had another motivation for engaging in the violence. It may be that the violence was an initiative of the deposed president, but once it began, it provided cover for numerous incidents of score-settling and criminal mischief. In these circumstances, a strong appeal for restraint is appropriate and martial law rules including curfews may legitimately be imposed by the interim government. An imprimatur of support from the international community would help establish the authority of the interim government in this process.

- Exit Corridors for Civilians: Civilians who feel threatened must be allowed to leave the high risk zones, and access of humanitarian aid, and creation of a safe zone for humanitarian operation should be priorities at locations created to shelter them. The EU, OSCE and UN issued a statement on June 16 calling for a humanitarian corridor in the southern regions of Osh and Jalalabad provinces, as well as of ensuring the equitable distribution of humanitarian aid among those in need. The cooperation of the Uzbek government may be particularly important in this process.

- Peacekeeping/Policing Operation: The international community should support special arrangements with broad international legitimacy and participation to enhance peacekeeping and police operations in the affected area. As I noted, even though Otunbayeva made a public statement on June 15 to the effect that foreign military/police intervention was no longer needed, the situation remains precarious and in her confidential discussions Otunbayeva acknowledges the benefits in confidence building that would emerge from an qualified, professional and international presence in the region. Peacekeeping/policing operations should at a minimum include security for designated sheltering areas for refugees and internally displaced persons and monitoring operations in tandem with local police and military, to build confidence in their protective functions.

- Investigation of Events: a broad, credible, independent investigation should be undertaken into the events and their origin. The investigation should be under the aegis of an international organization, such as the Security Council or OSCE and it should be conducted by an individual of stature with strong credentials as a fact-finder and prosecutor. The investigation should particularly take cognizance of accusations that crimes against humanity were perpetrated, potentially including crimes of genocide. The involvement of persons exercising ostensible government authority—policemen, military figures, leaders of the civil administration—should be given special scrutiny in this process. The person commissioned to handle the investigation should be specifically empowered to recommend criminal charges be brought against individuals identified in his investigation—either by the criminal authorities of the Kyrgyz Republic or before an international body seized of proper jurisdiction.

- Effective Post-Conflict Reconstruction. UN authorities are estimating that as many as 450,000 persons may have been displaced by the current violence. The devastation in central Osh and in numerous villages is reported to be near total. There will be an intense housing shortage and a crisis with respect to food supply and healthcare. The international community under United States and Russian leadership should provide generous support to jumpstart the reconstruction process, prioritizing its assistance to benefit those most egregiously injured by the violence.

- The Referendum/Parliamentary Elections. In view of the disruption and violence, the interim government may well conclude that the constitutional referendum must be postponed. However, if it does not postpone the referendum, then extraordinary measures should be taken to insure that internally displaced persons and refugees are given an opportunity to vote—in both cases this will be a reemphasis of the bond of citizenship and a promise of inclusion in the democratic process that will be critical to the resolution of the crisis. The international community should also mobilize observers in connection with the parliamentary elections to help assure that candidates have fair access to the ballot and to media, that campaigns are permitted to proceed without unreasonable limitations and that voting occurs in a fair and free manner across the country. Special attention in this process should be given to the affected areas to insure that refugees and IDPs have a fair opportunity to vote and are freed from unreasonable limitations in the process.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Latest con't

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 02 06:02:14 2010
Subject: Latest con't

Deal is falling apart (predictably), as each delegation proposes to ad "just one thing." Best that can be said is that it won't be our fault. Will keep trying but looking grim.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05776492 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Kyrgyzstan crisis, report and recommendations

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Date: June 17, 2010

Subj: Developments in Kyrgyzstan

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4. **Manas Transit Center.** As expected, I discovered that the interim government is deeply fragmented on the question of MTC. One faction headed by Otunbayeva favors a "pragmatic solution" to the base issue under which it will be continued but placed on a more transparent basis in which the economic benefits to the government are clear.

Otunbayeva argues that the base can only be accepted under circumstances in which it presents no friction for Kyrgyz-Russian relations; she seeks to have disputes surrounding fuel supply, for instance, resolved directly between the United States and Russia. Another faction, headed by Beknazarov, takes a more demagogic approach, denouncing the base and seeking its closing in internal meetings. Talking with Beknazarov, I had the clear impression that his attitudes were entirely opportunistic—he thinks this will be a good campaign issue to use on the hustings. He suggested rather strongly that he could accept a continued base presence under the right circumstances and that he views threats to close the base as a sort of stick to use to extort more money and other concessions from the Americans. In general, Beknazarov strikes me as hot-headed and crass and an untrustworthy partner in any future discussions. Atembayev also has somewhat demagogic impulses, though they are mild by comparison. Otunbayeva, the third and most senior member of the government engaged on base issues, is the critical voice of reason in the process. My impression based on discussions with numerous figures is that Otunbayeva's views currently hold sway. However, all the government members are agreed that the economic deal struck by Bakiyev is unfavorable to the Kyrgyz state and that the base must rest on transparent economic concessions and there can be no more under-the-table dealings with political figures.

5. **Resolving the Crisis in the South.** I believe that two key points should be kept in mind when approaching the humanitarian crisis that has emerged in the south. *First*, the crisis probably has its origins in a raw struggle for power. The interim government's legitimacy deficit contributed to the problem, because it left the government with weak tools to control the situation in the south. A long-term solution to the problem must involve the creation of governments at the national (Bishkek) and regional (Osh, Djalalabad) levels that have an essential modicum of democratic legitimacy. Delaying this process may only hasten the entire country's continued descent into chaos. This highlights the need to conduct free, fair and open elections as quickly as possible. *Second*, the last thing the interim government needs is a "Sophie's choice" between the United States and Russian Federation. International assistance needs to reflect a joint U.S.-Russian approach and showcase U.S. and Russian leadership (not merely participation). With President Medvedev's visit to the White House now on the horizon, this would be a good opportunity to establish joint sponsorship of an international humanitarian initiative. Here, I believe, are the essential elements of a program that could achieve U.S.-Russian co-sponsorship:

- **An Appeal for Restraint**: Although the instigation of the conflict appears clearly to rest with ethnic Kyrgyz agitators, including a number in uniform and operating military equipment, at present both Uzbek and Kyrgyz armed groups are involved in random shootings designed to reinforce perceptions of their group being persecuted (rapes etc.) by another. Credible reports are suggesting that there has been political manipulation (including payment of money to drug and other criminal gangs) aimed at fomenting violence. The attack on a sports facility set up by a prominent Uzbek drug baron (murdered several years earlier) in Osh shortly before the violence started also suggests that criminal gangs involved in drug transshipment had another motivation for engaging in the violence. It may be that the violence was an initiative of the deposed

president, but once it began, it provided cover for numerous incidents of score-settling and criminal mischief. In these circumstances, a strong appeal for restraint is appropriate and martial law rules including curfews may legitimately be imposed by the interim government. An imprimatur of support from the international community would help establish the authority of the interim government in this process.

- **Exit Corridors for Civilians**: Civilians who feel threatened must be allowed to leave the high risk zones, and access of humanitarian aid, and creation of a safe zone for humanitarian operation should be priorities at locations created to shelter them. The EU, OSCE and UN issued a statement on June 16 calling for a humanitarian corridor in the southern regions of Osh and Jalalabad provinces, as well as of ensuring the equitable distribution of humanitarian aid among those in need. The cooperation of the Uzbek government may be particularly important in this process.

- **Peacekeeping/Policing Operation**: The international community should support special arrangements with broad international legitimacy and participation to enhance peacekeeping and police operations in the affected area. As I noted, even though Otunbayeva made a public statement on June 15 to the effect that foreign military/police intervention was no longer needed, the situation remains precarious and in her confidential discussions Otunbayeva acknowledges the benefits in confidence building that would emerge from an qualified, professional and international presence in the region. Peacekeeping/policing operations should at a minimum include security for designated sheltering areas for refugees and internally displaced persons and monitoring operations in tandem with local police and military, to build confidence in their protective functions.

- **Investigation of Events**: a broad, credible, independent investigation should be undertaken into the events and their origin. The investigation should be under the aegis of an international organization, such as the Security Council or OSCE and it should be conducted by an individual of stature with strong credentials as a fact-finder and prosecutor. The investigation should particularly take cognizance of accusations that crimes against humanity were perpetrated, potentially including crimes of genocide. The involvement of persons exercising ostensible government authority—policemen, military figures, leaders of the civil administration—should be given special scrutiny in this process. The person commissioned to handle the investigation should be specifically empowered to recommend criminal charges be brought against individuals identified in his investigation—either by the criminal authorities of the Kyrgyz Republic or before an international body seized of proper jurisdiction.

- **Effective Post-Conflict Reconstruction.** UN authorities are estimating that as many as 450,000 persons may have been displaced by the current violence. The devastation in central Osh and in numerous villages is reported to be near total. There will be an intense housing shortage and a crisis with respect to food supply and healthcare. The international community under United States and Russian leadership should provide generous support to jumpstart the reconstruction process, prioritizing its assistance to benefit those most egregiously injured by the violence.

- **The Referendum/Parliamentary Elections.** In view of the disruption and violence, the interim government may well conclude that the constitutional referendum must be postponed. However, if it does not postpone the referendum, then extraordinary measures should be taken to insure that internally displaced persons and refugees are given an opportunity to vote—in both cases this will be a reemphasis of the bond of citizenship and a promise of inclusion in the democratic process that will be critical to the resolution of the crisis. The international community should also mobilize observers in connection with the parliamentary elections to help assure that candidates have fair access to the ballot and to media, that campaigns are permitted to proceed without unreasonable limitations and that voting occurs in a fair and free manner across the country. Special attention in this process should be given to the affected areas to insure that refugees and IDPs have a fair opportunity to vote and are freed from unreasonable limitations in the process.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: UPDATE: (Reuters) SWEDISH HIGH COURT DECIDES AGAINST HEARING APPEAL FROM WIKILEAKS FOUNDER ASSANGE

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**From:** Jackson, Christine P
**To:** NEWS-WikiLeaks; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Dec 02 05:49:24 2010
**Subject:** UPDATE: (Reuters) SWEDISH HIGH COURT DECIDES AGAINST HEARING APPEAL FROM WIKILEAKS FOUNDER ASSANGE

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) - Sweden's highest court has refused permission to Wikileaks founder Julian Assange to appeal against an arrest order issued over alleged sexual crimes, the court said on December 2. Assange's lawyer had this week appealed against an arrest warrant, which has also led to an Interpol notice. Assange has denied the allegations. The court decision means the domestic and international arrest warrants still stand.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Egypt opposition party to abandon seats won in vote

**From**: Jackson, Christine P
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_OS
**Sent**: Thu Dec 02 05:56:21 2010
**Subject**: FW: (Reuters) Egypt opposition party to abandon seats won in vote

CAIRO (Reuters) - Egypt's liberal Wafd party, which controls the second biggest opposition bloc in the outgoing parliament, said on December 2 it had withdrawn backing for two seats won in the first round of elections which it said was rigged. Wafd and the biggest opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood, said they were quitting the election race before run-offs next week after a vote on November 28 they said was marred by ballot box stuffing, thuggery and dirty tricks.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Latest

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 02 04:21:08 2010
Subject: Latest

[redacted] B5

To quote Huma, I don't get paid enough.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 9:49 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palestinians angered over new Israeli construction

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-NEA; NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_CMS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Thu Dec 02 07:19:39 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Palestinians angered over new Israeli construction

JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel is moving ahead with a plan for 625 new homes in east Jerusalem, angering Palestinians as peace talks remain stuck over settlement construction. The plan received preliminary approval from a district planning committee, which published an announcement on November 25. Further approval is required and construction will not begin for about two years. Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat said December 2 the move showed Israel had chosen "settlements and not peace." The units are slated for Pisgat Zeev. While Israelis consider it a neighborhood of their capital, the Palestinians see it as a settlement.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 4:13 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Rice/Baker

Fyi

**From**: Burns, William J
**To**: Sullivan, Jacob J; Verma, Richard R
**Cc**: Wells, Alice G
**Sent**: Thu Dec 02 15:43:43 2010
**Subject**: Rice/Baker

Spoke to both Condi Rice and Jim Baker this afternoon re START op-ed. Condi said she plans her own op-ed, arguing in favor of treaty ratification, due out in next few days. She asked that I tell the Secretary again that she'll be supportive.

B5

Baker said he agreed that things were breaking the right way on the Hill, and shared the view that ratification before the holidays is an increasing possibility. He was glad to have done the op-ed (even while complaining mildly about how much effort it took to "herd the cats" to get it out), and hopeful of its effect.

Bill

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 4:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Done

----- Original Message -----
From: Gordon, Philip H
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Dec 02 12:44:31 2010
Subject: Done

We have just agreed the Astana Commemorative Declaration, which Nazerbayev should soon gavel into existence. Agony getting there but decent outcome -- Kazakhs pleased, Georgians defended, reset preserved, Liths reassured, osce alive. But let's agree no more summits for a while, ok?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 8:37 AM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

I did and thank you. I'll try to call later.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 18 07:24:29 2010
Subject: You get Kyrgyzstan memo?

Sent via Cingular Xpress Mail with Blackberry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 5:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** checking on you - getting on call in 8min (6pm est) for the next hour but then free

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 18, 2010 12:57 PM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** AIPAC?

What happened?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 6:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) House votes to censure New York Rep. Rangel

**From:** Simmons, Krista M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-H
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Thu Dec 02 18:15:18 2010
**Subject:** (AP) House votes to censure New York Rep. Rangel

WASHINGTON (AP) - Rep. Charles Rangel of New York has been censured by the House for financial and fundraising misconduct.

The vote December 2 was 333-79. It was only the 23rd time that the House invoked its most serious punishment short of expulsion.

The solemn procedure calls for Rangel to appear at the front of the chamber while Speaker Nancy Pelosi reads the censure resolution.

The 80-year-old Democrat has served in the House for 40 years.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 6:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** call when you are up - remind me to discuss qddr, afgh, and our fav topic of the week

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** H; 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: The speech

Ok. No problem.
We leave at 10:45. They will be here 9:45.
Brief at 10:15 with jeff etc.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Dec 02 19:00:24 2010
Subject: The speech

I will need to see Jake and Megan in the am an hour before we leave.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Special International Media Report on WikiLeaks, 1700, 12-02-10

**From:** Rapid-Response [mailto:Rapid-Response@state.gov]
**Sent:** Thursday, December 02, 2010 5:01 PM
**To:**
**Subject:** Special International Media Report on WikiLeaks, 1700, 12-02-10

Special Report
WikiLeaks
17:00; 12/2/10

Media coverage in many countries of WikiLeaks releases is decreasing, with new stories from wire services on Assanage and Interpol and the latest Russia reports. Reporting on specific cables is shifting to more local issues, such as US military use of Ireland's Shannon Airport or US interest in Iran's activities in Peru. Governments and many commentators assert US relationships will not be significantly damages, and there are frequent observations that the releases have not revealed "anything new." Anti-US writers and media continue to use the opportunity to skewer the United States.

***Many of the items below are digests of more extensive Embassy reporting. Additional reporting is available from post email submissions.***

**AF:**

**Burundi**
Swahili *Bonesha FM* radio broadcast a report that a Spanish official told Embassy Madrid that Russia, Belarus, and Chechnya had become a mafia states, and also mentioned anti-terrorism expert Russell Travers would investigate the leak. The story suggested the leaks have embarrassed US diplomats.

**Mali**
No local mention in print or broadcast media in Mali.

**Niger**
No local media coverage.

**Zimbabwe**
An online website reports Zimbabwean political parties in a fragile coalition government on Tuesday dismissed WikiLeaks revelations that a power sharing deal between them is doomed because of acute differences between rival politicians.

**NEA:**

**Jordan**

Most local newspapers carry wire reports on Assange's legal situation. Dailies also cited Assange calling for Secretary Clinton to if it's proved she ordered American diplomats to spy on U.N. officials. Local dailies focus on Iran's President Ahmadinejad saying "the documents lack the legality and the credibility and they will not affect on Iran's relations with other countries in the region." Dailies also focused on one alleged report that Syrian President Al-Asad's "is not convinced Iran is developing nuclear weapons." There is no mention of the Jordan-specific leaks in any print media.

A columnist writing for *Al-Ghad* contends the leaks will not harm the region or the US, although they could undermine trust. He sates the documents show that the positions of the US and Middle Eastern states on regional issues is clear. Another columnist writing for the same paper catalogues criticisms of international leaders and concludes by wondering "what will happen next."

**EUR:**

**Azerbaijan**
The only Azerbaijan-specific newspaper reporting is an article in opposition daily *Yeni Musavat* containing a denial by the Bank of Baku of an allegation that it is involved in Iran's sanction-busting. Wide coverage of a document comparing President Aliyev to both Sonny and Michael Corleone in the online news websites. TV maintains tone that Wikileaks is criminal conspiracy and that the documents are inaccurate.

**Finland**
Coverage continues, but much reduced. Focus has shifted to the refusal of Finnish authorities, notably President Halonen and FM Stubb, to comment on revelations about Finland that have emerged from the leaks. Much speculation has focused on suggestions in the leaked documents that China had pressured Finland not to accept Uigur prisoners being released by the U.S. from Guantanamo Bay. Finnish officials continue to assert publicly that the leaks will not affect relations with the United States. It was also reported that Finland has no plans to reassess its own policy on confidentiality. Commentary speculates about what may be revealed in the future, but expects little damage to relations.

**Germany**
Coverage is still primarily focused on the domestic impact of the leaks, particularly on the hunt for the young politician who allegedly provided the U.S. Embassy with confidential government documents. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* said in a joint editorial that "those in Germany who thought North Korea was a dark empire but not a real threat have been proven wrong by the WikiLeaks revelations." *Der Spiegel* is continuing to publish new material on roughly the same timeline and topics as the New York Times; today's coverage focused on Russia and was substantively the same as the English-language reporting over the past few days.

**Ireland**
Media is focusing on specific revelations about the use of Shannon Airport by the U.S. military. According to the *Irish Daily Mirror* "it appears the (Irish) government was not serious about dealing with real concerns about the use of Shannon by the U.S. military on their way to Iraq and Afghanistan. Bloggers opine the Irish government felt conflicted – it liked the revenue it received from U.S. troops passing through, as well as the diplomatic benefits, but felt it had to placate the Irish public before the 2007 elections and publicly decry the use of Shannon. *The Irish Examiner* relied on an excerpt from *TIME* Magazine's interview with Assange. An analyst writing for the *Irish Independent* headlines "Diplomatic corps' horror is pure gold for historians," concluding that, ith 900 further Irish cables set to be published in the coming months, the trouble may only be starting for the mandarins of Iveagh House (Department of Foreign Affairs)."

**Malta**
Interest in Wikileaks continues in the online media, with comments on the more general revelations. There were no new pieces about Malta itself.

**Montenegro**
Over the course of the last two days, the Wikileaks story has moved from the cover pages and headlines of Montenegro's media to the international news sections. All major electronic and print media carried the first official statement of a Montenegrin official on the topic. PM Djukanovic said American diplomats were doing their job and nothing can spoil the US-Montenegran relationship. There was wire coverage of the Interpol warrant and Secretary Clinton at the OSCE.

**Portugal**
Calling it "an Invaluable Service to Democracy, a columnist for *Público* condemns "the orders that American diplomats received to collect personal information from high-ranking international officials, and in particular, Ban Ki-Moon's." He concludes that "The future of freedom is linked to the security and integrity of our personal data – and I do not know that the U.S., after having lost 250,000 of its secret documents, is in any condition to guarantee either one of them."

**Switzerland:**
Swiss press reports feature extensive coverage; however, very little new information. Items reported included preparations for a Clinton meeting with Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey in 2009; the Swiss - Libya affair; FBI-Swiss Federal Police liaison in 2006; Papers also reported that Julian Assange has contacts in Switzerland and that a Swiss citizen from Basel is allegedly in charge of processing donations for Wikileaks. According to the press, Assange met representatives of the Swiss Pirate Party in Geneva. Finally, Swiss papers took up the story that Wikileaks might be targeting Bank of America, writing that the bank is trying to calm down the stock markets. The *NZZ* published two opinion pieces. Both critical of the leaks for the harm they do to diplomacy.

**WHA:**

**Brazil**
Brazilian media today featured extensive coverage. *Folha de Sao Paulo* dedicated six pages, including an op-ed by Ambassador Shannon outlining the U.S. viewpoint. *Folha's* editorial said the information released is relevant but neither surprising nor dangerous, while another outlet praised efforts by certain papers to filter the information and adding that Wikileaks is on the whole valuable to society. A commentator in *Folha* wrote that President Lula should not so quickly dismiss the U.S. observations about the GoB (which he claimed are likely accurate), and another used the documents' description of President Medvedev and Prime Minister Putin to analyze the possible role of Lula in the Rousseff Administration.

**Cuba**
Cuban media coverage continues at levels similar to yesterday's. Online *Cubadebate* and *Juventudrebelde.cu* publish wide-ranging articles, many of them culled from news wires, covering USG reaction, third country reaction (Canada), and Wikileaks reaction (Julian Assange's "insurance" against prosecution and accusations that Amazon violated the First Amendment). In commentary, *Granma*'s Manuel E. Yepe, a Cuban lawyer, economist, journalist and former Cuban ambassador to Romania, suggests that Wikileaks "yielded to pressure from the USG and the media in managing how and when information was released, and insinuates that right wing elements in the U.S. are behind the disclosure of the documents.

**Eastern Caribbean:**
Reporting continues to be general, with the exception of one radio report on *StarCom's LOVE FM 104.1* that WikiLeaks may soon release cables about the Caribbean, and mentioning that the U.S. Embassy in Port of Spain released a statement that WikiLeaks' actions jeopardize the U.S. national security.

**Ecuador**

Discussion continues to dominate the front pages of major newspapers as well as the editorial pages--with an increase in the number of opinion articles. Press continues to report and opine on the invitation to Ecuador offered by Deputy Foreign Minister Kintto Lucas to Assange and the subsequent disclaimer and withdrawal of the invitation by President Correa. Most articles criticized Lucas for his error. A tongue-in-cheek editorial in *El Universo* "The Coming of Julian" expressed regrets that Assange would not be coming to Ecuador as he might have revealed the secrets of the GOE and then would have faced the same or worse treatment that Ecuadorian investigative journalists receive.

**El Salvador**

A columnist for *El Diario de Hoy* asked "What is the big deal?" He said the cables about Honduras "tell us ...that the American diplomats were lost and did not understand what was happening" during the coup there. Any Ambassador who is not reporting on the mental state of people like Hugo Chávez, Daniel Ortega, Evo Morales and Cristina Kirchner, is not doing his job ... This is all so routine that it cannot greatly affect American diplomacy ..." Salvadoran media reporting continues to rely almost exclusively on wire stories. Locally produced articles and TV/radio reports have focused on reaction from Foreign Minister Martinez and Ambassador Aponte, both of whom have repeatedly explained the nature of diplomatic correspondence and have underscored the strength of the US-Salvadoran bilateral relationship.

**Honduras**

The buzz around the WikiLeaks scandal is slowly taking a backseat – for now -- to Honduran issues such as taxes and security issues. Conservative *Tribuna* had a positive editorial arguing countries maintain relations with each other based on national interest. It suggested "the importance of the U.S. on the global stage will ensure that other countries will continue to work closely with Washington in the pursuit of those interests." An op-ed in liberal daily *Tiempo* titled "In defense of Ambassador Hugo Llorens," stressed that diplomats must provide honest advice to their government. *Tiempo's* op-ed claims that "the documents divulged so far havebeen, in their majority, frivolities without importance, however highly sensitive and dangerous issues could pop up in them...[d]iplomacy is a prolonged example of hypocrisy and cynicism."

**Mexico**

*El Universal* in its editorial questions the wholesale, unfiltered dumping of classified information; "the fact that a government hides something does not make it damnable. It's normal...for diplomats to prepare reports about the countries and leaders where they are posted." The paper asserts that "it may be interesting to know that U.S. officials had questions about the mental health of the president of Argentina, but the benefit to citizens of such a revelation is marginal in proportion to the potential damage to relations between the two countries." An op-ed writer for *El Universal*, claims that the "released documents show U.S. diplomats rummaging through personal lives and privately mocking the same leaders whom they publicly treat as friends." Another daily *La Jornada's* in its editorial concludes that "the main factor of diplomatic tension and greatest security risk to world peace is not Wikileaks but Washington's belligerent, unilateral and imperialist warmongering, aggravated now by its defense of opacity."

**Peru**

Peru media are focusing on the first alleged cable to come from Peru, on US concern about Iran's interest in Peru's uranium, as well as regional "revelations" in regards neighboring Chile, Venezuela and Argentina. TV, radio and internet reflect similar slants.

**Venezuela**

Articles on Interpol's "Red Notice" for Julian Assange appeared in most dailies. *El Nacional* cites assessments by the Embassy's Economic Counselor about the development of nuclear energy in Venezuela. *El Mundo* reports alleged comments by then Ambassador Duddy describing the Venezuelan bank interventions in November 2009. A columnist in government owned *Correo de Orinoco* says accuses the U.S. of diplomatic 'excesses,' torture in occupied territories, hiring contractors that fire on crowds, using lies to justify wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Yemen. Taking a different tack, an Op-Ed in *El Universal* remarks sarcastically, "the

U.S. does not have friends, only interests. Bold discovery! Only the ignorant, the naïve, or the crazy – or a combination of those three – can say that this constitutes an international declassification." An article in the online edition of *La Verdad* of Maracaibo speculates the State Department is using Wikileaks to put out information it does not want to release directly.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 19, 2010 10:00 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Quartet

Can you pls call me thru ops?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Jun 19 09:44:53 2010
Subject: Quartet

Dan will stay through Monday to work [redacted] B5

[redacted]

The next step would be to work [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: QDDR

Email from Eric

Background for you

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thursday, December 02, 2010 7:52 PM
**To:** Goosby, Eric
**Cc:** 'Dana Hyde'
**Subject:** RE: QDDR

My comments in text below – need to talk to you – if you get this and can talk – call me through ops – I am still in office.

cdm

---

**From:** Goosby, Eric
**Sent:** Thursday, December 02, 2010 8:40 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** 'Dana Hyde'
**Subject:** QDDR

Cheryl:

I know you are busy but I wanted to close the loop with you on the ED position (Lois Quam), the chair position for Operations Committee, and the need to ensure that there is specific language in the QDDR that keeps PEPFAR in the State Department (one or two sentences). I believe it is in all our interests to do this. [AGREE] I also wanted to discuss with you the process to determine the benchmarks. [I WISH WE COULD GET THEM IN QDDR SO THERE IS FIRMNESS AND CLARITY – WORRIED IF WE DO IT LATER IT WILL BE A NEGOTIATION AND SQUISHY]; Raj is hesitant to concretize , plus I know he is very busy. We are going to deliver to him today a version that has been agreed on by CDC and OGAC. I will propose a process that would include a public vetting of the benchmarks but do not think the benchmarks need to be specifically defined in the QDDR. [FINE BUT SEE ABOVE – CAN I SEE DRAFT AS IS?] The reference to the Operations Committee and the Secretary as the trigger for movement into USAID is enough.

I have been made aware of a growing discussion on the Hill around GHI as an attempt by the Administration to diminish the PEPFAR program contributions because of its association with President Bush. Last night's prime time FOX news piece (>10 minutes) on PEPFAR was well done. President Bush was clear about why he started PEPFAR and why he feels it is still the right thing to do and to continue (Humanitarian/Security both addressed). He also spoke directly to the bipartisan nature of the program (from inception) and the need to continue bipartisan support. It was a missed opportunity not to have had President Obama on the FOX piece to make the point that "GHI is building on PEPFAR..." and to begin a bipartisan dialogue. (WH declined as I understand it) [WE SHOULD MAKE THIS POINT – S ALWAYS CREDITS BUSH ON THIS B/C HE EARNED IT – WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE IT'S PART OF OUR NARRATIVE – I BELIEVE IT CAN BE DROPPED IN QDDR DRAFT TO THAT EFFECT – CAN YOU WORK WITH DANA TO MAKE SURE THAT LANGUAGE GETS IN BY SUNDAY?]

Global Fund

I am here through Saturday, then off to Bulgaria to lay in the reform efforts at the Global Fund retreat followed by the GF Board meeting in Geneva (I won't stay for the whole meeting, just the first day). John Monahan and I have been aggressive in insisting on Board Chair (BC)and Vice Chair (VC) coordination of the reform effort. This has been reflected in a letter from BC and VC with ED support that the retreat directly address and coordinate the reform effort, establish a level for round 10 and address the Maternal and Child Health GF expansion (GWI supports). I feel we will establish targets and timelines in this meeting with a reporting structure directly to the Board. In addition, there will be politicking on the election of a new Board Chair (Tedros' term ends in April). It is critical the new chair be fully aligned with the reform efforts. [GOT IT – FLAGGING FOR S TOO]

Eric

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 3, 2010 12:58 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Netanyahu

Jake suggesting we do a condolence call to netanyahu and offer assistance. Ok?

Israel rescuers: forest fire leaves about 40 dead JERUSALEM (AP) - Israel's national rescue service said about 40 people died in the wake of a massive forest fire in northern Israel. The blaze, which has torched some 1,600 acres, remains out of control.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 3, 2010 1:04 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Speech

We'll come see you at 945.

We'll keep working it.

B5

We can make the Iran fix.

On the overall wordiness, etc., Megan has known that it needs smoothing/streamlining/sharpening and intended to spend the day doing that.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 3, 2010 6:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Cables

-----Original Message-----
From: Mull, Stephen D
Sent: Friday, December 03, 2010 6:33 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: Cables

fyi

-----Original Message-----
From: Sanderson, Janet A
Sent: Friday, December 03, 2010 06:25 AM
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Schlicher, Ronald L
Subject: Cables

Steve, I briefly talked to Jeff when he got up in Bahrain. He is reluctant to turn over cables and is worried about precedent. He'll discuss it with S in prebrief today for the ABZ mtg. If we hear anything more, I'll let you know.

Janet

Janet A. Sanderson
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near East Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7166

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 9:56 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Lavrov

Can you run the traps [redacted] B5

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jun 20 09:27:19 2010
Subject: Lavrov

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 3, 2010 9:55 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good"

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/03/opinion/03iht-edcohen.html?hp

December 2, 2010

# American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good

**By ROGER COHEN**

NEW YORK — Let's hear it for the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service!

They are, to judge from the WikiLeaks dump of a quarter-million of their private or secret cables, thoughtful, well-informed and dedicated servants of the American interest who write clear, declarative English sentences.

I've not heard much in the torrent of Wiki-chatter about these admirable career diplomats whose diplomacy is now condemned to be unquiet. Yet it is they whose lives have been upturned. Every journalist knows that if their correspondence over several years was suddenly made public, they would lose most of their sources. That should give every journalist pause.

So it will be on the front line of U.S. diplomacy. Contacts will self-censor. They will go quiet, particularly in the more conspiratorial parts of the world which also tend to be the most unstable, like the Middle East. Layers of secrecy will be added.

Julian Assange, the thin-skinned founder of WikiLeaks, has hurt U.S. interests across a broad but probably shallow spectrum. That will satisfy him in that he's a self-styled foe of the United States. The guy makes me queasy.

Perhaps the most shocking thing about the Assange treasure trove — beyond the "shock" of venal Gulf Arab Sunni leaders looking for war on the cheap against Shiite Iran so long as it doesn't disrupt their U.S.-armed fiefdoms; or the "shock" of Pakistani double-dealing and nuclear procrastination; or the "shock" of yet more premature Israeli predictions on when Iran will have a nuclear weapon; or the "shock" of continued Saudi funding of Al Qaeda; or the "shock" of the Chinese Politburo hacking into Google; or the "shock" of Muammar el-Qaddafi's taste for voluptuous Slavic women and Silvio Berlusconi's taste for all women — perhaps the biggest shock of all is just how professional, sober and short on embarrassment all these cables are and just how much they conform with the world as we already knew it, right down to the familiar adjectives evoking French President Nicolas Sarkozy: "hyperactive," "mercurial," "authoritarian," "erratic," "monarch-like."

I swear, if they hadn't become diplomats a lot of these State Department people could have become good hacks.

Overall, my longstanding admiration for America's conscientious diplomats has been redoubled, not least for this underreported nugget on the turbulent Iranian election of 2009, contained in a cable of Jan. 12, 2010, from Dubai: "While we don't know nor might not ever know the real June 12 vote count, it is clear that the turnout was at record high levels and that there was systematic vote count fraud (if in fact the votes were even counted) to ensure that Ahmadinejad 'won big' in the first round."

It is good to know that this is the innermost conviction of American diplomacy: the fraud was evident to anyone in Tehran during the election and its violent aftermath.

A couple more observations on Iran: The first is that the Sunni autocrats of the Gulf are as exercised as they are about Tehran in part because they know that any U.S.-Iranian breakthrough might make them more dispensable to the United States. Their vested interest in the prevailing Middle Eastern strategic equation is strong; nothing would redraw the Middle East more than overcoming the U.S.-Iranian psychosis.

The second is that President Barack Obama's approach to Iran has been much more conventional than his initial outreach suggested. Old habits of attempted coercion trumped originality. Very quickly he fell back on Dennis Ross's tired thinking about balancing "appetizing carrots" with "sharp sticks" in tackling Iran's nuclear program.

The cables reveal that as early as March 2009, a senior U.S. diplomat was talking "dual track," telling Europeans that "engagement alone is unlikely to succeed" and calling for added "pressure." Perhaps Iranian skepticism could never have been overcome; certainly this approach guaranteed longstanding Iranian grievances would fester.

Assange himself clearly understands nothing of Iran or the Middle East or diplomacy. In an interview with Time, he expressed approval for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu "coming out with a very interesting statement that leaders should speak in public like they do in private whenever they can" and bought into Netanyahu's view that this, in Assange's words, would "lead to some kind of increase in the peace process in the Middle East and particularly in relation to Iran."

Huh? Netanyahu was referring to Arab leaders' now-documented private calls for a U.S.-led war against Iran, an option he also favors. And that, for Assange, is a step forward to peace! He's all over the place.

What should we make of this brainy naïf who told my colleague John Burns that America is a threat to democracy? He's a loose canon; let him be. My impression is he's self-armed with a spade and he's digging.

And what of the messenger's message? The cables are intriguing, offering plenty of voyeuristic titillation but no gasp of discovery. They provide texture but break little new ground. Yet their publication has done significant damage to the courageous work of America's diplomats and may endanger lives. That's a tradeoff that I find troubling and unpersuasive.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 10:53 AM
**To:** 'vermarr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: consular fees

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 18 17:24:20 2010
Subject: consular fees

We sent the paper on consular fees to Tanner today, and his staff confirmed that he has received it. Assuming Tanner continues to be supportive, we need him to let Hoyer know he supports our effort.

Additionally, Jack thinks it is important for you to talk to Pelosi. Berman mentioned that as well. I can send a call sheet just in case you have a chance to connect with her.

Thanks again for stopping by the AIPAC meeting. It really helped close out some important issues.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 1:13 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Statement

Ok but be sure it's proofread

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 13:07:04 2010
Subject: Statement

This is what we propose to put out, with Rs putting out similar:

Today, Secretary Clinton spoke by telephone with Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov. They discussed preparations for the upcoming June 24 summit between President Obama and President Medvedev. Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Lavrov reveiwed developments in Kyrgyzstan and stressed their shared concern over the recent violence and continuing interethnic tensions. The ministers agreed that the issue of the upcoming referendum us the sovereign decision of Kyrgyzstan to make and agreed to encourage the authorities of Kyrgyzstan to conduct it according to international standards with the monitoring support of OSCE and others. The ministers also discussed coordination of U.S. and Russian humanitarian assistance and other support to Kyrgyzstan to help its authorities restore security, stability, and reconciliation among all citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 3, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Question Posed

**From:** Breeden, Phllip X
**Sent:** Friday, December 03, 2010 12:25 PM
**To:** Smith, Dana S
**Cc:** Hammer, Michael A; 'Chang, Benjamin'; Harris, Jennifer D; Ratney, Michael A; Boland, Matthew H; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** excerpt from Julian Assange live online Q and A with the Guardian today

***Julian.***
***I am a former British diplomat. In the course of my former duties I helped to coordinate multilateral action against a brutal regime in the Balkans, impose sanctions on a renegade state threatening ethnic cleansing, and negotiate a debt relief programme for an impoverished nation. None of this would have been possible without the security and secrecy of diplomatic correspondence, and the protection of that correspondence from publication under the laws of the UK and many other liberal and democratic states. An embassy which cannot securely offer advice or pass messages back to London is an embassy which cannot operate. Diplomacy cannot operate without discretion and the protection of sources. This applies to the UK and the UN as much as the US.***

***In publishing this massive volume of correspondence, Wikileaks is not highlighting specific cases of wrongdoing but undermining the entire process of diplomacy. If you can publish US cables then you can publish UK telegrams and UN emails.***

***My question to you is: why should we not hold you personally responsible when next an international crisis goes unresolved because diplomats cannot function.***

**Julian Assange:**
If you trim the vast editorial letter to the singular question actually asked, I would be happy to give it my attention.

**********
Philip Breeden
Press Counselor, US Embassy London
Tel: 44-(0) 20-7894-0672
Fax: 44-(0) 20-7491-2485
Cell: [redacted] B6
Email: breedenpx@state.gov
Web: http://london.usembassy.gov/
See the New US Embassy Design: http://go.usa.gov/c1M
**********

This Email is Unclassified

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 20, 2010 10:02 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Am up and availabe until 1030pm

What # should I call?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 22:01:09 2010
Subject: Am up and availabe until 1030pm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 8:02 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Quartet statement

Better than we could have expected so good to go.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Mon Jun 21 07:32:51 2010
Subject: Quartet statement

Below is the final text of the Quartet statement, which Lavrov, Ban, and Ashton have now agreed to release *without a call.* Sounds like your discussion with Lavrov did the trick:

The Quartet re-affirms that the current situation in Gaza, including the humanitarian and human rights situation of the civilian population, is unsustainable, unacceptable, and not in the interests of any of those concerned. The Quartet reiterates its call for a solution that addresses Israel's legitimate security concerns, including an end to weapons smuggling into Gaza; promotes Palestinian unity based on the Palestine Liberation Organization commitments and the reunification of Gaza and the West Bank under the legitimate Palestinian Authority; and ensures the unimpeded flow of humanitarian aid, commercial goods and persons to and from Gaza, consistent with United Nations Security Council resolution 1860 (2009). The Quartet declares its readiness to work closely with Israel, the Palestinian Government and international donors in order to achieve sustainable economic development on the basis of the full implementation of the Agreement on Access and Movement of 2005 and in the broader perspective of the two-state solution.

Consistent with these objectives, the Quartet and the Quartet Representative have worked with Israel, as well as consulting the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, and other concerned parties, to effect a fundamental change in policy in Gaza. The new policy towards Gaza just announced by the Government of Israel is a welcome development. The Quartet notes that the elaboration of further details and modalities of implementation will be important in ensuring the effectiveness of the new policy. Full and effective implementation will comprise a significant shift in strategy towards meeting the needs of Gaza's population for humanitarian and commercial goods, civilian reconstruction and infrastructure, and legitimate economic activity as well as the security needs of Israel. The Quartet will continue to work with Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and other concerned parties to ensure these arrangements are implemented as quickly as possible. The Quartet affirms that much work remains to achieve fully the solution stated above, and, in consultation with the concerned parties, it will monitor closely the implementation of the policy in all its aspects. It will actively explore additional ways to improve the situation in Gaza, encourage involvement of the PA at the crossings and promote greater commerce between the West Bank and Gaza.

The Quartet stresses the importance of United Nations and other international interventions, as well as the work of local non-governmental organizations, to be expanded in Gaza to meet urgent civilian needs, and calls on all parties to fully enable this work.

The Quartet recognizes that Israel has legitimate security concerns that must continue to be safeguarded, and believes efforts to maintain security while enabling movement and access for Palestinian people and goods are critical. The Quartet commits to work with Israel and the international community to prevent the illicit trafficking of arms and ammunition into Gaza. It urges all those wishing to deliver goods to do so through established channels so that their

cargo can be inspected and transferred via land crossings into Gaza. The Quartet emphasizes that there is no need for unnecessary confrontations and calls on all parties to act responsibly in meeting the needs of the people of Gaza.

The Quartet also calls for an end to the deplorable detention of Gilad Shalit in advance of the fourth anniversary of his capture on June 25; it further condemns the violation of Hamas' international obligation to provide him access by the International Committee of the Red Cross and demands that Hamas immediately remedy the situation.

The Quartet also reiterates its support for proximity talks toward the resumption, without pre-conditions, of direct bilateral negotiations that resolve all final status issues as previously agreed by the parties. The Quartet believes these negotiations should lead to a settlement, negotiated between the parties within 24 months, that ends the occupation which began in 1967 and results in the emergence of an independent, democratic, and viable Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 8:51 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

Good luck out there. Talk sometime

*Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless*

-----Original message-----

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
**To:** "'sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Sat, Dec 4, 2010 13:44:25 GMT+00:00
**Subject:** Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

Not bad--thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop
To: H
Sent: Fri Dec 03 09:54:38 2010
Subject: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good"

B6

The New York Times <

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December 2, 2010

American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good

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They are, to judge from the WikiLeaks dump of a quarter-million of their private or secret cables, thoughtful, well-informed and dedicated servants of the American interest who write clear, declarative English sentences.
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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05776989 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN FULL



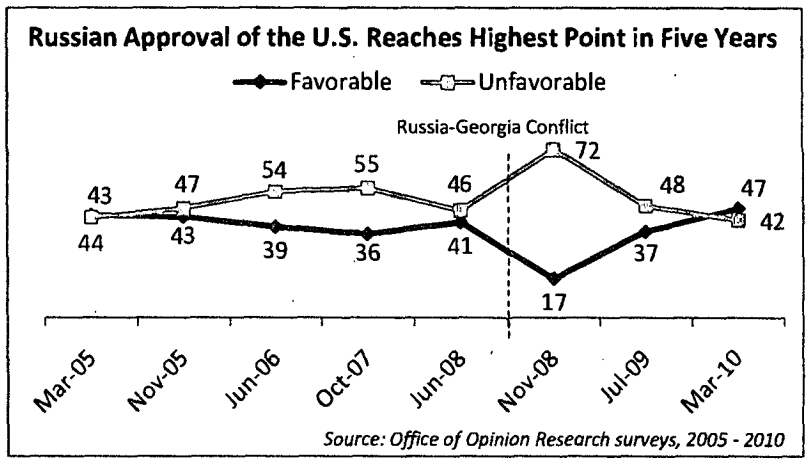
OFFICE OF OPINION RESEARCH

# Public Opinion in Perspective: Russia

## FAVORABLE VIEWS OF U.S. ON THE RISE

Public views of the United States have risen steadily since their low point just after the 2008 Georgia war:

- 47% have a favorable opinion of the United States, up from 17% in November 2008.
- 71% describe the relationship between Russia and the United States as "friendly" and 79% say it is important for Russia to maintain good relations with the United States.




These views are bolstered by favorable views of the new **START agreement** and the desire for greater cooperation between Russia and the United States:

- 66% say it is in Russia's interest to work closely with the United States and Western powers.
- 60% think the previous START agreement benefitted both the United States and Russia equally, and 72% feel that the new START agreement is important.
- A majority would welcome U.S.-Russian cooperation on combating terrorism (87%), stopping the spread of WMDs (86%), stopping climate change (81%), and halting the flow of drugs through Central Asia (76%).

But Russians are wary of the international mission in **Afghanistan** and sanctions against **Iran**:

- 78% oppose their country providing troops to military operations in Afghanistan, and 63% oppose the transit of international troops through Russian territory or air space. However, pluralities would support taking a larger role in development assistance (43%) and the transit of aid (45%) to Afghanistan.
- 48% are unaware of Iran's nuclear program. Among those who have heard of the program, 42% see it as a minor threat to global stability, while 21% see it as no threat at all.
- 45% of those who have heard of the program would support economic sanctions to discourage Iran from continuing its nuclear program. Only 8% would support military action.

## RUSSIANS SEE COMPETITION FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

Russians feel their country should be a leader on the world stage and appear open to greater integration with the world economy:

- 87% say it is desirable for Russia to exert leadership in global affairs.
- 63% favor closer economic ties with other countries.

This global outlook is coupled with wariness about the intentions of other countries, and suggests that improved bilateral cooperation has not erased skepticism about the United States:

- 52% say that the West is trying to impoverish Russia.
- Though increasingly "friendly" toward the United States, 58% still see the U.S. more as a competitor than a partner, and 79% say it is not in Russia's interest for the United States to play a leadership role in global affairs.

## RUSSIANS DON'T WANT COOPERATION IN THEIR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

In one arena of international affairs Russian views are especially clear:

- 81% feel that Russia will always have a privileged interest in the CIS countries.
- A majority oppose U.S.-Russian cooperation on resolving the conflicts in South Ossetia (67%), Transnistria (63%), or Nagorno-Karabakh (60%).


UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05776989 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 7:02 PM
**To:** 'preines [redacted] Huma Abedin B6
**Subject:** Rolling Stone

Can you get me copy of article about McChrystal that is coming out?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 21, 2010 11:16 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Rolling Stone

can you talk now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 21 22:34:49 2010
Subject: Rolling Stone

Talked to Ben. Much to report.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:02 AM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Rolling Stone

Can you call me thru ops.

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 21 23:57:30 2010
Subject: Re: Rolling Stone

Oh darn it - sorry I missed your message - I was engrossed in the PSD script.

If you're still up please call.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Jun 21 23:16:02 2010
Subject: Re: Rolling Stone

can you talk now?

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 21 22:34:49 2010
Subject: Rolling Stone

Talked to Ben. Much to report.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 22, 2010 7:40 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Are you still at office?

I'm on the way back.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:30 AM
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Call

GW is dodging me so ask that letter be drafted that I could send him asap making case.

----- Original Message -----
From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 07:04:00 2010
Subject: Call

Westewelle cannot do call at 7:30.
Holbrooke says he needs to talk to you

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 11:27 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw:

B6

Pls add Jill Iscol and Melanne to call list for [redacted] tomorrow.
------Original Message------
From: Hillary Clinton
To: Hillary Clinton
Subject:
Sent: Jun 11, 2010 9:55 PM

[redacted]--Jill and Melanne[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 11:29 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Assessing our progress to date and proposing possible ways to create more leverage

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed May 26 09:04:23 2010
Subject: Assessing our progress to date and proposing possible ways to create more leverage

For your reading pleasure on the way home, S/P has been working on a project that I discussed with Jake a while back -- aimed at figuring out where we could do better and above all create more leverage to achieve our goals. The papers are blunter than anything you would see from the bureaus -- they should not necessarily be read as policy blueprints but rather as illustrations of alternative strategies. We have made sure that the special assistants have them on the plane. I will also share the individual papers with the relevant assistant secretaries. We will then be happy to take the project further if you approve.

You will be happy to know that rain has stopped at the Expo!
AM

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 11:30 AM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Dear Madam Secretary, Thank you

Pls do letter of congrats, ty etc.

----- Original Message -----
From: David Helfenbein <[redacted]> B6
To: H
Sent: Tue Jun 15 10:29:11 2010
Subject: Dear Madam Secretary, Thank you

Madam Secretary:

If you don't know my personal news yet (and I assume that you might through either Huma or Philippe), then here it is: I [redacted]

Let me say first and foremost: I hope you don't see this as me leaving you or your team. I have asked the question many times to Philippe and Huma about how you would take this news and the answer has always been the same - that you would be happy for me - and I truly do hope that this is the case. The truth is that I applied while working in PA/PL and was eventually wait listed and usually when wait listed you are not given the option to defer. That is neither here nor there, but Philippe and Huma have both been incredible mentors to me throughout this entire decision-making process, and for this, I am most grateful to them both.

The decision was not an easy one. First, Madam Secretary, you know when we first met: Believe it or not, it has been over ten years now, [redacted] You have not only been a role model and a mentor for me throughout the years, but I have watched you behind closed doors; out in public; and quite frankly, I have watched you both win and lose. And whether winning or losing, you are courageous: no matter what, you are determined and inspirational.

I have seen many people join your team, leave your team, some work for a few years, others for many - and everyone says they will still be "part of the family." Some seem to remain in touch; others don't. I see myself as a little different; maybe you don't. Both you and President Clinton have watched me grow since I was young. More than anything, I truly hope to remain a "part of the family."

Sometimes people ask me why I have been dedicated to working for you for so many years. It is not for fame or glory. The truth is, I have worked for you [redacted] because I have always believed in you. You are one of a kind - there is no other one like you, and there never will be. I truly believe that the world needs you in whatever capacity that you are in. And more than anything, I am most appreciative and thankful for all that you have offered me: Not only the mentorship and guidance but the continuous opportunities to learn. On my own path of public service, I can truly say that I was able to learn time and time again from the very best.

Parting from your team is thus not an easy task for me, especially leaving Philippe's direct team, where I really enjoy what I am doing. But I also feel that I want to take another next step forward/a different one in my own life. And I am hopeful that this is not a permanent goodbye in any way. I hope that you and I can remain in touch via email, and I promise not to email too often, as I know how busy you are.

But I must reiterate one comment that I made: I have worked for you for so long for a reason: Not for my resume. Not for myself, But because of you. I am confident enough to say that I know you well enough to tell others that I have worked for the most brilliant mind and strongest leader I will ever see in my lifetime. And I am incredibly proud of that.

With eternal thanks and appreciation, of which cannot be summed up in words, let alone in an email,

My best, always,
David H.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 1:09 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: jackson/vanik

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 18 06:21:31 2010
Subject: FW: jackson/vanik

FYI – on Jackon/Vanik re: Russia. Will send more information as we get it.

From: Hormats, Robert D
Sent: Friday, June 18, 2010 12:14 AM
To: Verma, Richard R
Subject: Re:

Hi Rich,
This is not quite the case....the russians certainly do want it lifted. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Levin wants two votes: one to lift it with provisions that the russians would be committed to meet and then another vote to determine if they have been met. [redacted]

[redacted]

I will send her a more detailed memo when I get back.
Thanks,
Bob

---

From: Verma, Richard R
To: Hormats, Robert D
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thu Jun 17 18:23:28 2010
Subject:

Hi Bob –

The Secretary had a conversation with Senator Levin today about Jackson/Vanik – Levin told her that the Administration has been opposed to his efforts to lift the Jackson Vanik restrictions pertaining to Russia. He said that Administration officials have been telling him that the Russians don't want them lifted. This didn't make a whole lot of sense to me, but she asked me to follow-up with you to find out our current posture on Jackson Vanik and Russia. She'd like to get back to Senator Levin soon. I leave it up to you how you want to get the info to her, but I did want to pass along her request.

Thanks, and hope all else is well.

Rich

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 8:55 AM
**To:** H; monica.hanley
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: Followup

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'monica.hanley <monica.hanley B6
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Dec 04 08:40:36 2010
Subject: Followup

Pls get me two hard copies of Foreign Policy's Top 100 Global Thinkers

Pls see if the library has a copy of Claire Parkinson: Coming Climate Crisis? Consider the past, Beware the Big Fix

Pls see if library has copy of Mary Gardiner Jones, Tearing down Walls

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 9:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Cote d'Ivoire PM says plans to resign over election row

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-II; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Sat Dec 04 09:11:11 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Cote d'Ivoire PM says plans to resign over election row

ABIDJAN (Reuters) – Cote d'Ivoire Prime Minister Guillaume Soro said he believes Alassane Ouattara won the country's presidential election, not incumbent Laurent Gbagbo, and will resign after Gbagbo is sworn in. "We recognize that Alassane Ouattara is the winner of this election. I have decided I will hand in the resignation of my government and my resignation as prime minister," he said in a statement obtained by Reuters.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 10:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) Netanyahu, Abbas hold rare phone chat over fires

**From:** Moore, Anna W
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sat Dec 04 10:24:20 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) Netanyahu, Abbas hold rare phone chat over fires

JERUSALEM (Reuters) - Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas expressed condolences in a rare telephone call with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu December 4 over the deadly fires raging in northern Israel, Israeli officials said. The two leaders were not believed to have spoken since they last met in September when U.S.-backed peace talks stalled in a spat over Jewish settlement construction. A statement from Netanyahu's office said Abbas "expressed his condolences to the people of Israel on those who died in the fire and said he would be happy to provide any necessary help."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 1:12 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Toni and Martin Sosnoff's information

Pls add to call list.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jill Iscol <
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 20 20:06:30 2010
Subject: Toni and Martin Sosnoff's information

B6

Office:
Toni's cell:
NYC apt.
Rhinebeck:
The sooner the better! Thanks a zillion.
Love,
Jill

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 5:32 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; 'preines [redacted] B6
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Tonight

[redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 7:36 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Concert

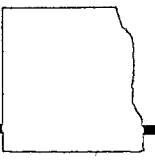
I'm on the way.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Jun 23 19:14:35 2010
Subject: Concert

Bagley and Tauscher are all set with their tickets.

Mikulski will get here close to your arrival time so you might walk in with her - pls let me know if that's a problem. Pelosi is coming separately and is seated close to you.

RELEASE IN PART
B6



**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:**

B6

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 23, 2010 10:41 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:32 2010
Subject: [redacted]

She unfortunately can't come this week - she's away until Tuesday. Will see if Tuesday night or Wednesday morning works with your schedule.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Friday, June 25, 2010 1:30 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: With deep gratitude

Is there a backstory?

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Fri Jun 25 11:27:27 2010
Subject: FW: With deep gratitude

fyi

From: Stanton, Katie
Sent: Friday, June 25, 2010 10:31 AM
Subject: With deep gratitude

Dear friends,

I'm so grateful to have had the pleasure of working with you over the past 18 months. Public service is an honor and I feel so lucky to have had the opportunity to serve our country in both the White House and the State Department. I'm deeply impressed by the important work you do and will leave Washington, DC knowing that our country's best days are ahead of us thanks to your commitment, hard work, and passion.

My last day at the State Department will be July 9th. [redacted] I would love to see you before I go – please save the date of July 8th for a cupcakes and champagne party in DC. B6

My personal email is [redacted] Please visit me in [redacted] J

Best,

Katie

Katie Jacobs Stanton

Office of the Secretary of State

e: stantonk@state.gov || t: 202-647-0419 || c: [redacted]

twitter: @StateDept @KatieS

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 26, 2010 7:24 AM
**To:** 'preines
**Subject:** Re: hPad

B6

That is exciting news--do you think you can teach me to use it on the flight to Kyev next week?

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Jun 25 20:23:28 2010
Subject: hPad

your iPad has arrived!

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Saturday, June 26, 2010 8:17 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Af/Pak trip

I think I should spend the night of the 19th in Kabul before the conference there.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 7:21 AM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Tomorrow

Katie Stanton is leaving to go back to California. Will you ask her to come by to say goodbye to me? Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 8:56 AM
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Notes format

Pls come see me tomorrow about redesigning and updating the format. Thx.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:47 PM
**To:** 'sbwhoeop[redacted] B6
**Subject:** Re: H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid

Very interesting. Thanks. Speaking of Australia, I was sorry about Kevin Rudd.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop[redacted] <sbwhoeop[redacted]
To: H
Sent: Sun Jun 27 10:35:18 2010
Subject: H: memo on UK politics/budget/economy Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

June 27, 2010

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: UK politics/economy

1. UK polls show support for the Lib-Dems after the launch of the draconian Cameron government budget cratering. LD support is down to 16 percent, half what it was at its peak during the election and half of LD members now express a desire to defect from their party. They feel deceived by LD ministers' participation in a Tory budget opposed to their own beliefs. In Parliament, a secret caucus of LDs is meeting with Labour about opposing the budget. Meanwhile, short term support for Cameron is static and for the government slightly up, but only translated to the Tories. Both the Tories and Labour are up, profiting from the LD quandary. The scenario is potentially portentous for the LD Party: There was once an influential Australian Liberal Democratic Party, holding 11 percent of the vote and the balance of power in the Australian Senate. Upon reaching its zenith in 1996 the ALDP supported a Liberal (that is to say, a conservative) government's budget and suffered collapse. Today the ALDP holds 1 percent of the seats in the lower House. The political effect of the conservative budget will almost certainly lead to an implosion of the Tory-LD coalition. In the short run it's possible the Tories will emerge having the greatest plurality of support. But if their budget does not produce prosperity they will pay the price, too. See Stiglitz's analysis below on the Tory budget with cold analysis of the US predicament.
2. The implications for US-UK cooperation are apparent. While there are spheres that remain, they are contingent, including the Afghanistan War, opposed by 75 percent of UK public and about which Cameron felt compelled this week to declare UK engagement would end in five years (that is, before the next UK election). On economic policy, the UK is no partner and no bridge to Europe, where the Merkel government has entered a fugue state of vertigo (another

subject). At no other time since World War II have the US and UK governments been at such odds over international economics. With JFK and Macmillan, Macmillan accepted the postwar Keynesian consensus. Reagan and Thatcher, of course, were of one mind ideologically, and the international economy was buoyed by Reagan's hyper-Keynesianism masked as Thatcherism. Unfortunately, Obama did not reach out to Brown, who sought to reestablish the special relationship around international economic recovery. Speaking of laissez faire, Cameron must be let alone to receive the consequences (within 18 months) of his ideologically driven economics. Can he be engaged on international development? Or does his budget rule that out too? There's not much there.

3. The Labour Party leadership contest is heating up. David Miliband has an article out today on how the Cameron budget will foster "a lost generation." More on that soon...

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/osbornes-first-budget-its-wrong-wrong-wrong-2011501.html

Osborne's first Budget? It's wrong, wrong, wrong!

Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel prizewinner who predicted the global crisis, delivers his verdict on the Chancellor's first Budget and tells Paul Vallely it will take the UK deeper into recession and hit millions – the poorest – badly Sunday, 27 June 2010

George Osborne will probably not be very bothered that there is a man who thinks he got last week's emergency Budget almost entirely wrong. But he should be. Because that man is a former chief economist at the World Bank who won the Nobel Prize for Economics for his work on why markets do not produce the outcomes which, in theory, they ought to.

Professor Joseph Stiglitz, who has been described as the biggest brain in economics, is distinctly unimpressed by George Osborne's strategy. This, he predicts, will make Britain's recovery from recession longer, slower and harder than it needs to be. The rise in VAT could even tip us into a double-dip recession.

Stiglitz, who was once Bill Clinton's senior economic adviser, is now professor of economics and finance at Columbia Business School. He was in the UK this week at the University of Manchester, where he chairs the Brooks World Poverty Institute, but he lifted his head from the detail of international development to scrutinise the economic strategy of the Conservative Chancellor whose Liberal Democrat partners recently reversed their judgement that massive public spending cuts now would endanger the economy and joined in the Tory slash-and-burn strategy. They were deeply wrong to do so, he believes.

It would be a mistake to ignore Stiglitz on this. He has a track record of getting his predictions right. He was one of the few economists who predicted the global financial meltdown long before it occurred.

"What happened was very much in accord with what I expected," he tells me when we meet for a coffee outside the Blackwell bookshop in the centre of the university. "The data was pretty clear about that." And the scale of the crash? "That wasn't a surprise," he adds, in a matter-of-fact manner. "The bigger the bubble, the bigger the burst.

"The thing most economists did not fully grasp was the extent to which the banks engaged in murky risk-taking activities. They were taking a risk with our money, their shareholders' money, the bond-holders' money," he says. Banks were demanding up to 40 per cent of the corporate profits, saying their innovative financing was adding value. But "all this talk about innovation was a sham" because it did not relate to any real increase in the economy's productivity, he says.

"There was a prima facie case of something screwy going on [with all the] perverse incentives that would lead them to take excessive risk. But there was no way anyone could know or believe that the banks were [conducting themselves] at that level of stupidity. I predicted that there was going to be a collapse because of the information asymmetry problems that were being created." His Nobel prize was given for exactly that – showing how markets fail because different people in them hold different levels of information.

Yet there is no hint of I-told-you-so about Stiglitz's tone as he asks the waiter for coffee. He orders decaffeinated, but suggests the British economy needs the opposite: a stiff stimulant rather than the "fiscal consolidation" which is George Osborne's economic euphemism for cuts.

Fiscal stimulus is out of fashion now. World leaders embarked on that strategy – injecting money to re-energise the economy – after the banking crash three years ago. It was widely perceived not to have worked because the money governments pumped into the banks was not passed on to ailing businesses or individuals in trouble with their mortgages.

"The problem was that, in the US, the stimulus wasn't big enough," he says. "Too much of it was in tax cuts. And when they gave money to the banks they gave it to the wrong banks and, as a result, credit has not been restored – we can expect a couple of million or more homes to be repossessed this year than last year – and the economy has not been

restarted." Instead of producing a consensus that the government should have done more, it has created disillusion that the government can do anything, Stiglitz says.

The result is that, following the attacks by the financial markets on Greece and then Spain, everybody is now in a mood of retrenchment. "It's not just pre-Keynesian, it's Hooverite," he says. By which he means governments are not just refusing to stimulate, they are making cuts, as Herbert Hoover did in the US in 1929 – when he turned the Wall Street Crash into the Great Depression. "Hoover had this idea that, whenever you go into recession, deficits grow, so he decided to go for cuts – which is what the foolish financial markets that got us into this trouble in the first place now want."

It has become the new received wisdom throughout Europe. But it is the classic error made by those who confuse a household's economics with those of a national economy.

"If you have a household that can't pay its debts, you tell it to cut back on spending to free up the cash to pay the debts. But in a national economy, if you cut back on your spending, then economic activity goes down, nobody invests, the amount of tax you take goes down, the amount you pay out in unemployment benefits goes up – and you don't have enough money to pay your debts.

"The old story is still true: you cut expenditures and the economy goes down. We have lots of experiments which show this, thanks to Herbert Hoover and the IMF," he adds. The IMF imposed that mistaken policy in Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Argentina and hosts of other developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s. "So we know what will happen: economies will get weaker, investment will get stymied and it's a downward vicious spiral. How far down we don't know – it could be a Japanese malaise. Japan did an experiment just like this in 1997; just as it was recovering, it raised VAT and went into another recession."

Then why have we not learned from all that? Because politicians like George Osborne are driven by ideology; the national deficit is an excuse to shrink the state because that is what he wanted anyway. Because the financial market only cares about one thing – getting repaid. And because other European governments are panicking because of the market's wild attack on Greece and Spain, and they don't want to be next.

"But cutbacks in Germany, Britain and France will mean all of Europe will suffer. The cuts will all feed back negatively. And if everyone follows this policy, their budget deficits will get worse, so they will have to make more cuts and raise taxes more. It's a vicious downward spiral. We're now looking at a long, hard, slow recovery with the possibility of a double dip if everybody cuts back at the same time. The best scenario is long and hard ... and the worst is much worse. If any one of these countries is forced into default, the banking system is so highly leveraged that it could cause real problems. This is really risky, really scary."

So what should we be doing? "The lesson is not that you cut back spending, but that you redirect it. You cut out the war in Afghanistan. You cut a couple of hundred billion dollars of wasteful military expenditure. You cut out oil subsidies. There's a long list of things we can cut. But you increase spending in other areas, such as research and development, infrastructure, education" – areas where government can get a good return on the investment of public money. "I haven't done the calculation for Britain, but, for the US, all you need is a return on government investment of 5 to 6 per cent and the long-term deficit debt is lowered."

Taxes also need to be restructured. Osborne has increased capital gains tax for high earners from 18 to 28 per cent. "There's absolutely no reason why you couldn't tax speculative gains [from rising house or land prices] by 40 per cent. There's no social return on it and land is going to be there whether people have speculated or not. But you lower the tax on investment in things like R&D."

Stiglitz has one more practical solution to offer. Governments should set up their own banks to restart lending to businesses and save struggling homeowners from repossession. "If the banks aren't lending, let's create a new lending facility to do that job," he says. "In the US, we gave $700bn to the banks; if we had used a fraction of that to create a new bank, we could have financed all the lending that was needed."

Indeed, it could be done for far less. "Take $100bn, lever that at 10 to 1 [by attracting funds from the private sector] and that's a trillion-dollar new lending capacity – more than the real economy needs."

Such a move would help ordinary people more than all Osborne's rhetoric about being tough but fair. Stiglitz is sceptical, too, about the moral underpinning of a Budget which claims that "we are all in this together", but then hits the poorest hardest.

Analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies has suggested that the Chancellor's Budget will cost the poor 2.5 per cent of their income, while the rich will lose just 1 per cent. "I've not made an independent study on that point, but cuts in public services will have a disproportionate effect on the poor," Stiglitz says. Osborne's Budget "may be well-

intentioned, but it takes an enormous amount of work to make sure that a package of public spending cuts of that magnitude doesn't hit the poor disproportionately".

His big fear is that overseas aid, which has been protected in this first round of cuts, will not escape a second. "Developing countries have redirected themselves towards Asia, and China in particular, in recent years, so growth in Africa will be more robust than one might have expected, given the severity of the downturn," he says.

Even so, aid remains vital to poor countries. "If aid is cut back, growth will be badly affected," he says. "China is providing aid, but its aid is all in infrastructure, whereas aid from the US and Europe is mainly in education and health – areas in which ordinary people will suffer most if there are cuts."

Joseph Stiglitz has come full circle. What the world needs now – developing and developed – is not retrenchment but greater economic stimulus. It is not a message many are in the mood to hear. But they didn't listen to him last time, either. And he turned out to be right, and they were wrong – and at what a cost to us all.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:48 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Call list

Pls add the following:

Paul Charron about Haiti

Mickey and Heidi Kantor

John Kao

Do letter of thanks to

Gen Kean who was commander in Haiti

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Sunday, June 27, 2010 6:49 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Schedule

Pls reach out to Dianne Feinstein for a dinner which will be very hard for me in July but if I have to be back for a few days in early August, might work then. Just so she knows we are trying.

Also, I want to see Jack Keane for a drink.

FM Lieberman wants to see me in July--let's discuss

Also FM Zebari of Iraq will be in US in July. Pls find out when he is coming

Have you heard from Carlos Slim about a date for a mtg?

Don't forget:

the Skoll mtg,

the Arctic Council in Greenland,

Harlan Dalton's visit,

Carol Evans' request for an interview,

the Vital Voices Summit 9/14-17,

the request for a mtg or call w Dellums

the AGOA conf in DC which I was told is 8/3-4

The Putin conf about tigers in Vladivostock 9/11-19

What happened w the Baucus mtg?

Also, I'd like a working lunch w Ron Kirk and a mtg about Latin America w Chris Dodd

Pls schedule Hannah Rosenthal to see me

David Rockefeller Sr has asked to see me. I'd like to do when I'm in NY or if there is a State Dept award we could give him for his citizen diplomacy esp in Latin America--could you run traps on that idea?

During UNGA, I have to do bilat w Cathy Ashton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 7:48 PM
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Dave Stone

Pls add his burial ceremony at Arlington on July 14 as option for me. Thx.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, June 28, 2010 10:09 PM
**To:** 'millscd@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Ae you still up?

Yes--call me.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 28 22:03:53 2010
Subject: Ae you still up?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 12:42 AM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Let's do Tues evening. Do you know when I can see Maryann?

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:41:18 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Yes she's in Hawaii until Tuesday morning. She can do Tuesday evening ot Wednesday if that works for you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:38 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 12:44 AM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: Schedule

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Cc: H
Sent: Sun Jun 27 18:49:01 2010
Subject: Schedule

Pls reach out to Dianne Feinstein for a dinner which will be very hard for me in July but if I have to be back for a few days in early August, might work then. Just so she knows we are trying.

Also, I want to see Jack Keane for a drink.

FM Lieberman wants to see me in July--let's discuss

Also FM Zebari of Iraq will be in US in July. Pls find out when he is coming

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the Vital Voices Summit 9/14-17,

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The Putin conf about tigers in Vladivostock 9/11-19

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Pls schedule Hannah Rosenthal to see me

David Rockefeller Sr has asked to see me. I'd like to do when I'm in NY or if there is a State Dept award we could give him for his citizen diplomacy esp in Latin America--could you run traps on that idea?

During UNGA, I have to do bilat w Cathy Ashton

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 7:46 AM
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] B6

Could we move [redacted] to 8:30?

----- Original Message -----
From: Huma Abedin
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov' <hanleymr@state.gov>; H
Sent: Tue Jun 29 06:00:45 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Monica - [redacted] is already is locked for tonite. I am seeing her right before actually.

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Jun 29 05:51:47 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Will lock [redacted] in for tonight.
We spoke to Marianne about coming in on the 8th.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tue Jun 29 00:42:02 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Let's do Tues evening. Do you know when I can see Maryann?

----- Original Message -----
From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:41:18 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Yes she's in Hawaii until Tuesday morning. She can do Tuesday evening ot Wednesday if that works for you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Wed Jun 23 22:40:38 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Did you reach her?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 7:18 PM
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
**Subject:** RCH

Did you and/or PIR talk to him today? Do I need to see him tomorrow?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 29, 2010 7:21 PM
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
**Subject:** Ginzburg letter

Pls prepare condolence letter to Justice RBG for loss of her husband, Martin.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Wednesday, June 30, 2010 12:00 PM
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'
**Subject:** Fw: confidential

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair <cb
To: H
Cc: dband
Sent: Wed Jun 30 09:00:41 2010
Subject: RE: confidential

B6

Hilary can you give me a telephone number the Qatar Crown Prince can ring you on and he will get in touch. Alternatively I can get his personal phone number for you. What is the best for you?

Cherie Blair

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: 15 June 2010 02:35
To: Cherie Blair
Subject: Re: confidential

I would be happy to meet w him. How should I follow up to arrange a mutually agreeable time? All the best to you.

----- Original Message -----
From: Cherie Blair <cb
To: H
Sent: Mon Jun 07 09:56:45 2010
Subject: confidential

As you know I have good links to the Qataris. Sheikha Mosah's son is the 31/32 year old Crown Prince and she is keen that he starts to build a wider international profile. He has been appointed head of the Qatar National Food Security Programme which is designed to deal with Qatar's food security issues its a $30 billion programme. He is aware that food security is an issue you are majoring on and would love to meet with you in person to discuss this and to explore potential partnership areas between US and Qatar including possible participation in the US/World Bank Food Security Fund. He is also keen to talk more generally about US/Qatari cooperation and even suggested they could help out with the Oil spill problem. There is apparently a Arab Food Security Summit in October 2010 and he would like to discuss Us participation in that too.

IS a meeting possible he is more flexible on place and times than his mother! Or maybe we could set up an initial phone call.

Can you let me know if this appeals to you at all?

Cherie Blair



This message has been scanned by MailController - www.MailController.altohiway.com

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 1:58 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

I'm at home now. [redacted] or on cell [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: 'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
Sent: Sat, Dec 4, 2010 11:42 am
Subject: Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

Tried calling your home and cell so let me know when you can talk and what #.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoeop [redacted]

To: H

Sent: Sat Dec 04 08:51:11 2010

Subject: Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

Good luck out there. Talk sometime

Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless

-----Original message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

To: "'sbwhoeop [redacted] B6

Sent: Sat, Dec 4, 2010 13:44:25 GMT+00:00

Subject: Re: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diploma cy Revealed — as Good"

Not bad--thx.

----- Original Message -----

From: sbwhoe p [redacted]

To: H

Sent: Fri Dec 03 09:54:38 2010

Subject: H: Roger Cohen in NYT: "American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good"

http://www.nytimes.com 2010/12/03/opinion/03iht-edcohen.html?hp

The New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/>

December 2, 2010

American Diplomacy Revealed — as Good

By ROGER COHEN

NEW YORK — Let's hear it for the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service!

They are, to judge from the WikiLeaks dump of a quarter-million of their private or secret cables, thoughtful, well-informed and dedicated servants of the American interest who write clear, declarative English sentences.

I've not heard much in the torrent of Wiki-chatter about these admirable career diplomats whose diplomacy is now condemned to be unquiet. Yet it is they whose lives have been upturned. Every journalist knows that if their correspondence over several years was suddenly made public, they would lose most of their sources. That should give every journalist pause.

So it will be on the front line of U.S. diplomacy. Contacts will self-censor. They will go quiet, particularly in the more conspiratorial parts of the world which also tend to be the most unstable, like the Middle East.

Layers of secrecy will be added.

Julian Assange, the thin-skinned founder of WikiLeaks, has hurt U.S. interests across a broad but probably shallow spectrum. That will satisfy him in that he's a self-styled foe of the United States. The guy makes me queasy.

Perhaps the most shocking thing about the Assange treasure trove – beyond the "shock" of venal Gulf Arab Sunni leaders looking for war on the cheap against Shiite Iran so long as it doesn't disrupt their U.S.-armed fiefdoms; or the "shock" of Pakistani double-dealing and nuclear procrastination; or the "shock" of yet more premature Israeli predictions on when Iran will have a nuclear weapon; or the "shock" of continued Saudi funding of Al Qaeda; or the "shock" of the Chinese Politburo hacking into Google; or the "shock" of Muammar el-Qaddafi's taste for voluptuous Slavic women and Silvio Berlusconi's taste for all women – perhaps the biggest shock of all is just how professional, sober and short on embarrassment all these cables are and just how much they conform with the world as we already knew it, right down to the familiar adjectives evoking French President Nicolas Sarkozy: "hyperactive," "mercurial," "authoritarian," "erratic," "monarch-like."

I swear, if they hadn't become diplomats a lot of these State Department people could have become good hacks.

Overall, my longstanding admiration for America's conscientious diplomats has been redoubled, not least for this underreported nugget on the turbulent

Iranian election of 2009, contained in a cable of Jan. 12, 2010, from Dubai: "While we don't know nor might not ever know the real June 12 vote count, it is clear that the turnout was at record high levels and that there was systematic vote count fraud (if in fact the votes were even counted) to ensure that Ahmadinejad 'won big' in the first round."

It is good to know that this is the innermost conviction of American diplomacy: the fraud was evident to anyone in Tehran during the election and its violent aftermath.

A couple more observations on Iran: The first is that the Sunni autocrats of the Gulf are as exercised as they are about Tehran in part because they know that any U.S.-Iranian breakthrough might make them more dispensable to the United States. Their vested interest in the prevailing Middle Eastern strategic equation is strong; nothing would redraw the Middle East more than overcoming the U.S.-Iranian psychosis.

The second is that President Barack Obama's approach to Iran has been much more conventional than his initial outreach suggested. Old habits of attempted coercion trumped originality. Very quickly he fell back on Dennis Ross's tired thinking about balancing "appetizing carrots" with "sharp sticks" in tackling Iran's nuclear program.

The cables reveal that as early as March 2009, a senior U.S. diplomat was talking "dual track," telling Europeans that "engagement alone is unlikely to

succeed" and calling for added "pressure." Perhaps Iranian skepticism could never have been overcome; certainly this approach guaranteed longstanding Iranian grievances would fester.

Assange himself clearly understands nothing of Iran or the Middle East or diplomacy. In an interview with Time, he expressed approval for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu "coming out with a very interesting statement that leaders should speak in public like they do in private whenever they can" and bought into Netanyahu's view that this, in Assange's words, would "lead to some kind of increase in the peace process in the Middle East and particularly in relation to Iran."

Huh? Netanyahu was referring to Arab leaders' now-documented private calls for a U.S.-led war against Iran, an option he also favors. And that, for Assange, is a step forward to peace! He's all over the place.

What should we make of this brainy naïf who told my colleague John Burns that America is a threat to democracy? He's a loose canon; let him be. My impression is he's self-armed with a spade and he's digging.

And what of the messenger's message? The cables are intriguing, offering plenty of voyeuristic titillation but no gasp of discovery. They provide texture but break little new ground. Yet their publication has done significant damage to the courageous work of America's diplomats and may endanger lives. That's a tradeoff that I find troubling and unpersuasive.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 1:53 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: T/C w [redacted] B6

I am on official travel and should be back in the office on Monday, December 6. I will check this system intermittently.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 1:59 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: T/C w Musa Kusa

I've told ops to hold any further dissemination until you have talked with these guys about how to execute the call back.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Dec 04 13:53:21 2010
Subject: T/C w Musa Kusa

You will read in the memcon that Musa Kusa asked me that Bill come to Tripoli to discuss the US-Libya relationship and that Pat come to discuss embassy issues. I also, as per Jeff's suggestion, said I was asking Amb Cretz to come back to DC for consultations. Let's discuss how we follow up Monday.

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop[redacted]
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 7:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Kathleen on Palin on JFK. Sid



# Sarah Palin is wrong about John F. Kennedy, religion and politics

By Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
Friday, December 3, 2010; 6:00 PM

Sarah Palin has found a new opponent to debate: John F. Kennedy.

In her new book, "America by Heart," Palin objects to my uncle's famous 1960 speech to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association, in which he challenged the ministers - and the country - to judge him, a Catholic presidential candidate, by his views rather than his faith. "Contrary to common newspaper usage, I am not the Catholic candidate for president," Kennedy said. "I am the Democratic Party's candidate for president who happens also to be a Catholic."

Palin writes that when she was growing up, she was taught that Kennedy's speech had "succeeded in the best possible way: It reconciled public service and religion without compromising either." Now, however, she says she has revisited the speech and changed her mind. She finds it "defensive . . . in tone and content" and is upset that Kennedy, rather than presenting a reconciliation of his private faith and his public role, had instead offered an "unequivocal divorce of the two."

Palin's argument seems to challenge a great American tradition, enshrined in the Constitution, stipulating that there be no religious test for public office. A careful reading of her book leads me to conclude that Palin wishes for precisely such a test. And she seems to think that she, and those who think like her, are qualified to judge who would pass and who would not.

If there is no religious test, then there is no need for a candidate's religious affiliation to be "reconciled." My uncle urged that religion be private, removed from politics, because he feared that making faith an arena for public contention would lead American politics into ill-disguised religious warfare, with candidates tempted to use faith to manipulate voters and demean their opponents.

Kennedy cited Thomas Jefferson to argue that. as part of the American tradition, it was essential to keep any semblance of a religious test out of the political realm. Best to judge candidates on their public records, their positions on war and peace, jobs, poverty, and health care. No one, Kennedy pointed out, asked those who died at the Alamo which church they belonged to.

But Palin insists on evaluating and acting as an authority on candidates' faith. She faults Kennedy for not "telling the country how his faith had enriched him." With that line, she proceeds down a path fraught with danger - precisely the path my uncle warned against when he said that a president's religious views should be "neither imposed by him upon the nation or imposed by the nation upon him as a condition to holding that office."

After all, a candidate's faith will matter most to those who believe that they have the right to serve as arbiters of that faith. Is it worthy? Is it deep? Is it reflected in a certain ideology?

Palin further criticizes Kennedy because, "rather than spelling out how faith groups had provided life-changing services and education to millions of Americans, he repeatedly objected to any government assistance to religious schools." She does not seem to appreciate that Kennedy was courageous in arguing that government funds should not be used in parochial schools, despite the temptation to please his constituents. Many Catholics would have liked the money. But he wisely thought that the use of public dollars in places where nuns explicitly proselytized would be unconstitutional. Tax money should not be used to persuade someone to join a religion.

As a contrast to Kennedy's speech, Palin cites former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney's remarks during the 2008 Republican primary campaign, in which he spoke publicly of "how my own faith would inform my presidency, if I were elected." After paying lip service to the separation of church and state, Romney condemned unnamed enemies "intent on establishing a new religion in America - the religion of secularism."

"There is one fundamental question about which I am often asked," Romney said. "What do I believe about Jesus Christ?" Romney, of course, is a Mormon. He answered the question, proclaiming that "Jesus Christ is the son of God."

Palin praises Romney for delivering a "thoughtful speech that eloquently and correctly described the role of faith in American public life." But if there should be no religious test in politics, then why should a candidate feel compelled to respond to misplaced questions about his belief in Jesus?

When George Romney, Mitt Romney's father, was a presidential candidate in 1968, he felt no such compulsion. Respect for the Constitution and the founders' belief in the separation of church and state suggests that those kinds of questions should not play a role in political campaigns.

Palin contends that Kennedy sought to "run away from religion." The truth is that my uncle knew quite well that what made America so special was its revolutionary assertion of freedom of religion. No nation on Earth had ever framed in law that faith should be of no interest to government officials. For centuries, European authorities had murdered and tortured those whose religious beliefs differed from their own.

To demand that citizens display their religious beliefs attacks the very foundation of our nation and undermines the precise reason that America is exceptional.

Palin's book makes clear just how dangerous her proposed path can be. Not only does she want people to reveal their beliefs, but she wants to sit in judgment of them if their views don't match her own. For instance, she criticizes Rep. Nancy Pelosi (Calif.), a Democrat and a faithful Catholic, for "talking the (God) talk but not walking the walk."

Who is Palin to say what God's "walk" is? Who anointed her our grand inquisitor?

This is a woman who also praises Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural, even though Lincoln explicitly declared, "But let us judge not that we not be judged." The problem for those setting up a free-floating tribunal to evaluate faith is that, contrary to Lincoln, they are installing themselves as judges who can look into others' souls and assess their worthiness. Kennedy did not and would not do that, but not because he was indifferent to faith. In fact, unlike Romney or Palin, in fealty to both his faith and the Constitution, he promised on that day in Houston that he would resign if his religion ever interfered with his duty as president.

My uncle was a man who had his faith tested. His brother and brother-in-law were killed in World War II, and his sister died in a plane crash soon after the war. He suffered from painful injuries inflicted during his Navy service when his PT boat was cut in two by a Japanese destroyer. His God did not make life easy but did require a commitment to justice.

America's first and only Catholic president referred to God three times in his inaugural address and invoked the Bible's command to care for poor and the sick. Later in his presidency, he said, unequivocally, about civil rights: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution."

Faith runs as a deep current through my family. Faith inspired my uncles' and my father's dedication to justice. My father, Robert F. Kennedy, on returning from apartheid-era South Africa in 1966, wrote a magazine article titled "Suppose God Is Black." And my uncle Teddy fought for health care for all Americans, even if in her book Palin presumes to judge that he took positions "directly at odds with his Catholic faith."

Teddy Kennedy believed that his stands were at one with his faith. He did disagree with the Roman Catholic hierarchy at times. But as we have seen, the hierarchy's positions can change, and in our church, we have an obligation to help bring about those changes. That may not be Palin's theology, but the glory of America is its support for those who would disagree - even on the most difficult and personal matters, such as religion.

John F. Kennedy knew that tearing down the wall separating church and state would tempt us toward self-righteousness and contempt for others. That is one reason he delivered his Houston speech.

Palin, for her part, argues that "morality itself cannot be sustained without the support of religious beliefs." That statement amounts to a wholesale attack on countless Americans, and no study or reasonable argument I have seen or heard would support such a blanket condemnation. For a person who claims to admire Lincoln, Palin curiously ignores his injunction that Americans, even those engaged in a Civil War, show "malice toward none, with charity for all."

Palin fails to understand the genius of our nation. The United States is one of the most vibrant religious countries on Earth precisely because of its religious freedom. When power and faith are entwined, faith loses. Power tends to obfuscate, corrupt and focus on temporal rather than eternal purposes.

Somehow Palin misses this. Perhaps she didn't read the full Houston speech; she certainly doesn't know it by heart. Or she may be appealing to a religious right that really seeks secular power. I don't know.

I am certain, however, that no American political leader should cavalierly - or out of political calculation - dismiss the hard-won ideal of religious freedom that is among our country's greatest gifts to the world. As John F. Kennedy said in Houston, that is the "kind of America I believe in."

*Kathleen Kennedy Townsend* is a former lieutenant governor of Maryland and the author of "Failing America's Faithful: How Today's Churches Are Mixing God With Politics and Losing Their Way." She will be online on Monday, Dec. 6 at 11 a.m. EST to chat. Submit your questions before or during the discussion.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 11:10 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Mediators try to intervene in Ivory Coast chaos

**From:** Larkins, Neal B
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
**Sent:** Sun Dec 05 10:55:54 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Mediators try to intervene in Ivory Coast chaos

ABIDJAN (AP) - International mediators tried to intervene in Ivory Coast's growing political crisis after both candidates in the disputed election said they were now president, raising fears the country could again be divided along the lines established during its 2002-2003 civil war. In the northern opposition stronghold of Bouake, several hundred people marched down a main boulevard, calling for incumbent Laurent Gbagbo to stand down. Villagers wielding machetes also created their own checkpoint in protest along one major road in the region.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 1:40 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke

One thing I forgot - Holbrooke called me this morning. He urged again that you see Lambah (Tom is seeing him; Bill Burns has provided guidance on points you could make if you do). He also inquired aggressively about Karl's future. And he wants to come see you about Frank's last trip.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 7:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: H: Les Gelb makes the points. Sid

K

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C; 'Laurenjiloty [redacted] B6
Sent: Sun Dec 05 19:12:10 2010
Subject: Fw: H: Les Gelb makes the points. Sid

Pls point.

----- Original Message -----
From: sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 01 09:20:19 2010
Subject: H: Les Gelb makes the points. Sid

H:
Les Gelb, who oversaw the writing of the Pentagon Papers, makes the points that Wikileaks show US today trying to solve difficult international problems, telling the truth and diplomats acting professionally.

<http://www.tdbimg.com//image/print_blogs_header.gif?v=7.79.12>
WikiLeaks Accidentally Helps U.S.
by Leslie H. Gelb
November 30, 2010 | 10:42pm
Julian Assange clearly intended the State Dept. cable leaks to smear the U.S. as evil and selfish. Leslie H. Gelb on how he inadvertently proved the opposite.
The Wikileakers dumped a vast pile of secrets <http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-28/wikileaks-documents-chinas-google-hack-un-spying-more-secrets/> to prove that the United States was selfish, stupid and wicked–but their revelations proved just the opposite. When you remove the gossip and obvious trivia that mesmerized the press, you clearly see what the Wikileakers never expected: A United States seriously and professionally trying to solve the most dangerous problems in a frighteningly complicated world, yet lacking the power to dictate solutions. U.S. policymakers and diplomats are shown, quite accurately, doing what they are supposed to do: ferreting out critical information from foreign leaders, searching for paths to common action, and struggling with the right amount of pressure to apply on allies and adversaries. And in most cases, the villain is not Washington, but foreign leaders escaping common action with cowardice and hypocrisy.
Don't think for a New York minute that Julian Assange, the Wikileaker, unloaded this trove to save humankind. Why did he toss in those cables about Italy's leader being a rake and Germany's chancellor being a cautious fuddy-duddy, and President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan being "paranoid"? To save the world? Not a chance. He did it to get attention, and he got attention from a drooling press, which then went on to call the very material they were highlighting trivial. Did Assange leak critical conversations with Chinese or Arab leaders to help solve the problems in Korea and Iran? Not by the hair on your chinny chin chin. He did it to show that he could do it–and for the attention. Anyone who is not a

hopeless left-wing ideologue knows that such leaks will crush future serious conversations with those leaders for some time to come. Just think: if you told someone a serious and critical confidence about someone else, and your confidant went out and told others, would you soon repeat that mistake? Assange did not leak these cables to help solve world problems. These leaks were absolutely gratuitous and served only the purpose of making him a media marvel.

When you actually read the cables, here's what you see: American leaders and American diplomats trying to solve crucial world In explaining his deed publicly, Assange suggests that what he's doing is uncovering American misdeeds and lies. His aim, he says, is to inform citizens of democracies and peoples around the world about what their leaders are really doing. Assange also insists he did this for transparency's sake. Yet when he got to look inside, he didn't see what was plain: that our diplomats were doing a good job. Indeed, when you turn off his nonsense and stop listening to the strange commentary on cable news and even on the front pages of great newspapers, when you actually read the cables, here's what you see: American leaders and American diplomats trying to solve crucial world problems.

But when you turn off his nonsense and stop listening to the strange commentary on cable news and even on the front pages of great newspapers, when you actually read the cables, here's what you see: American leaders and American diplomats trying to solve crucial world problems.

–Washington needs China's help in bolstering sanctions against Iran, and China balks for fear of jeopardizing its oil and gas flow from that country. The Obama team arranges for Saudi Arabia to guarantee any loss in supply to China. If the world wants to slow or even prevent Iran's march to nuclear weaponry, this is a key path to doing so.

–The U.S. discovers that North Korea has manufactured new medium-range missiles and is trying to deliver them to Iran through China. The Obama team discovers this, informs Beijing, and asks Beijing to stop the transfer. Beijing declines. Really creepy.

–Yemen's leader takes public responsibility for American missile attacks against Al Qaeda in Yemen. He wants to diminish the power of these terrorists, as do Americans and most others in the world. The "lie" by the Yemeni president is a harmless way to get a critical job done–that is, the job of fighting international terrorism. Wikileaks tears away the political cover of Yemen's leaders.

–No country has anywhere near as much influence over nutty North Korea as China. So, U.S. diplomats are searching desperately to figure out Chinese thinking about North Korea in order to compose a plan for avoiding war on the Korean Peninsula. So, the Wikileakers expose some Chinese leaders who are actually trying to give us some insight into Chinese thinking about North Korean craziness. They won't do that again soon.

Time and again, as one actually reads these cables, one has to be heartened by the professionalism and the insights of U.S. diplomats. What are they doing? They are not lying, and U.S. leaders are not lying. They are actually, believe it or not, trying to solve problems. That seriousness of purpose and the professionalism to execute it is what jumps out at you in these materials.

So, the naïve say, it's good to show the effectiveness of our diplomats. Give me a break. Ask any American diplomat to choose between looking intelligent in leaked cables and making progress toward avoiding war.

None of this is to say that there should not be leaks, or that the press should not pursue classified information that is necessary or very helpful to a sensible public debate on policy. If a U.S. administration is lying, or distorting the facts, or telling one story to the public and another to itself, then by all means, let's have it out in public. If the U.S. government is concocting intelligence in order to justify wars, let's hope an enterprising reporter finds it out for the rest of us.

But the Wikileaks dump is not about providing essential information to Americans or to others–information they need for serious policy discussion. This massive trashing by Wikileaks of a legitimate effort by the U.S. government to preserve confidentiality is the very least a shame and at the most, a crime.

Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0061714542/thedaibea-20> (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.

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For inquiries, please contact The Daily Beast at editorial@thedailybeast.com <http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-30/wikileaks-helps-america-how-julian-assange-proved-us-working-hard-on-policy-problems/p/editorial@thedailybeast.commailto:editorial@thedailybeast.com> .

<http://www.tdbimg.com//image/print_footer.gif?v=7.79.12>

URL: http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2010-11-30/wikileaks-helps-america-how-julian-assange-proved-us-working-hard-on-policy-problems/p/
<http://b.scorecardresearch.com/b?c1=2&c2=6433482&c3=&c4=&c5=&c6=&c15=&cv=1.3&cj=1>

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 9:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Amb. Khalilzad on This Week with Christiane Amanpour

Fyi

---

**From:** Zhu, Ningchuan
**To:** Ruggiero, Frank J; Feldman, Daniel F; Singh, Vikram J; Pauli, Rosemarie; Bommer, Ashley F; Sullivan, Jacob J; S_SpecialAssistants; SSRAP StaffAssistants
**Cc:** LaVine, Christopher M
**Sent:** Sun Dec 05 12:24:41 2010
**Subject:** Amb. Khalilzad on This Week with Christiane Amanpour

From today's roundtable on Afghanistan with Amb. Khalilzad, George Will, and Zbigniew Brzezinski:

ZB: … We haven't had a better alternative than Karzai, and yet some of our officials have made a sport of maligning him. This business of corruption doesn't take into account cultural differences. And last but not least, who are we here in Washington to be moaning and groaning about corruption?

CA: Let me ask you then, should Ambassador Eikenberry leave? I mean, has he done a good job, do you think, for the diplomacy, George?

GW: Well he has a hopeless job to do, so it's hard to say whether he's done it well. If he should leave because of what was said in the -

CA: What he has written in the cables?

GW: Well, who's going to be left in the government, starting with the Secretary of State?

ZK: I think he has been damaged very badly by the leaks that have taken place here in Washington, before WikiLeaks and afterwards. And a trusting relationship, if that is the objective, and I believe it ought to be, would require I think changes to the personnel that are responsible on a day-to-day basis in dealing with President Karzai.

… [exchange about corruption and about Iran]

CA: Do you think, I asked George, Ambassador Eikenberry is doing a good job and should he stay in his position?
ZK: Well I think he's doing a good job, but I think he's no longer an effective interlocutor due to the leaks.

CA: Which means?

ZK: Which means that if we want to deal with the issue of partnership with the government of Afghanistan, if we want to deal with the issue of domestic politics effectively, catalyzing cooperation, we would need to have a new team to be able to do that.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/07/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 3:02 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Just when we thought thing had calmed down....

----- Original Message ----- 1.4(D)
From [redacted] B1
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010
Subject: [redacted]

Dear Melanne

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

**********

The allegation against Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus of 'diverting foreign aid from Grameen Bank to another company' should be investigated, the prime minister has said.
"Bangladesh has set many examples. Deceiving people by siphoning off their money is another such example. This is nothing but sucking out money from the people after giving them loans," she said replying to questions from journalists on Sunday.
"There has been no improvement in the lifestyle of the poor so far. They were just used as pawns to get more aids," Hasina added.
She was speaking at a press conference at her office on Sunday following her three-nation tour of Russia, Belgium and Japan.
"The people of Bangladesh have been made guinea pigs. I have never supported that. And now I protest," Hasina told journalists.
Naimul Islam Khan, editor of Amader Shomoy, said, "Initially, the government had 60 percent share of the Grameen Bank which now has shrunk to 25 percent. It seems Mr Yunus wanted to empty the government exchequer, if he could. The government, however, didn't let that happen."
He also asked whether the government would investigate the allegation raised against Yunus and his Grameen Bank.
Responding to the query, the prime minister said, "Grameen Bank had been grabbed in such a manner as if it's a personal property. This should also be investigated. The poor people are becoming paupers. They have been tricked by sweet talks. Finally, things are getting out."
Hasina compared Khaleda Zia's 'affection' for her cantonment house with Yunus' 'affection' for his Grameen Bank and said, "Grameen Bank is a public property. But it's being privatised out of 'love'. Yunus Sahib has fallen in love with Grameen Bank.

"One can't but get caught if play with the money of the poor," she added.
Norway's national TV NRK aired a documentary on November 30 titled "Fanget i Mikrogjeld" or "Caught in Micro debt", based on which bdnews24.com ran a report on December 1.

According to the documentary, Yunus transferred the money to Grameen Kalyan, which was in no way involved with microcredit operations.

Responding to the allegations, Grameen Bank claimed there was no wrongdoing in the agreement between the bank and Grameen Kalyan under which it received Tk 3,917 million from the bank.
"Decisions were taken by the Grameen Bank Board, with due deliberation, good faith, and with good intentions to benefit the poor," the Grameen Bank rejoinder said.

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/07/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 6:01 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** More [redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 05:31:39 2010
Subject: Re [redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

Thank you for getting back to me.

[redacted]

1.4(D)
B1

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Mon, 6 Dec 2010 04:41:49
To:
Subject:

1.4(D)
B1

----- Original Message -----
From:

1.4(D)
B1

To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010
Subject:

1.4(D)
B1

Dear Melanne

**********

The allegation against Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus of 'diverting foreign aid from Grameen Bank to another company' should be investigated, the prime minister has said.
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"Decisions were taken by the Grameen Bank Board, with due deliberation, good faith, and with good intentions to benefit the poor," the Grameen Bank rejoinder said.

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 7:37 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 12/6/10 Monday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am HST 7516, Principals Conference Room

10:00 am **OFFICE TIME**
11:15 am Secretary's Office

11:15 am **MEETING w/SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIM SUNG-HWAN**
11:45 am Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray at top in Treaty Room.

11:45 am **OFFICE TIME**
12:15 pm Secretary's Office

12:15 pm **MEETING w/JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER SEIJI MAEHARA**
12:45 pm Deputy Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray at top in Treaty Room.

1:00 pm **MEETING w/JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER SEIJI MAEHARA AND**
3:00 pm **SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIM SUNG-HWAN**
Franklin Room, 8th Floor *Open press at top.

3:00 pm **PRESS PREP/PULL-ASIDE TIME**
3:15 pm Madison Room, 8th Floor

3:30 pm **PRESS AVAILABILITY w/JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER SEIJI**
4:00 pm **MAEHARA AND SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIM SUNG-HWAN**
Franklin Room, 8th Floor

4:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:30 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **MEETING w/SENATOR RUSS FEINGOLD**
5:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

Tbd pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence

Tbd pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

###

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/07/2025

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 8:18 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: More [redacted] 1.4(D) B1

I just left DC last night and got to Brussels this morning.They have me on a treadmill but I will get to Bob. I already emailed our ambassador to Bangladesh who was pulled into this several months ago.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 07:09:55 2010
Subject: Re: More [redacted]

Are you back yet? Let's discuss w Bob Blake asap.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Dec 06 06:01:07 2010
Subject: More [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From [redacted] 1.4(D) B1
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 05:31:39 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

1.4(D) B1

Thank you for getting back to me.

1.4(D)
B1

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Mon, 6 Dec 2010 04:41:49
To:
Subject: Re:

1.4(D)
B1

?

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010

1.4(D)
B1

Subject:

1.4(D)
B1

Dear Melanne

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RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 8:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

Will do

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Mon Dec 06 04:39:48 2010
Subject: Fw:

1.4(D)
B1

Mike--pls look into this for me. I'd like to know what really is going on. Thx.

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Mon Dec 06 03:02:28 2010
Subject: Fw

Just when we thought thing had calmed down....

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010
Subject:

1.4(D)
B1

Dear Melanne

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Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 9:03 AM
**To:** H

# U.S. Orders Diplomats to Stop Telling Truth

http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/us_orders_diplomats_to_stop_telling_truth_20101205/

**Posted on Dec 5, 2010**

**Fake news by** Andy Borowitz

WASHINGTON—In the first major policy fallout from the WikiLeaks disclosures, the State Department has ordered all U.S. diplomats to "cease and desist telling the truth until further notice."

"We are working overtime to try to make sure that leaks like these don't happen again," Secretary of State Hillary Clinton told reporters. "But until we've got the leaks plugged, it's incumbent on all our diplomats to put on their lying caps."

Clinton noted that since many U.S. diplomats are major political donors with long careers in the business world, "this shouldn't be a reach for them." But for those career diplomats who came up through the Foreign Service, the State Department will be holding a series of "truth avoidance seminars," led by executives of Goldman Sachs.

Additionally, Clinton said, the State Department would install on all diplomats' computers new software called CandorShield™, which automatically translates truthful language into a less embarrassing truth-free version. For example, she explained, the software would translate the phrase "two-faced weasels" into "trusted Pakistani allies" and would delete all references to French President Nicolas Sarkozy as "Monsieur Shorty Pants."

Elsewhere, Interpol issued this statement about its pursuit of WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange: "We will find Julian Assange, and then we will hire him."

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Tauscher, Ellen O <TauscherEO@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 5:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Onward, my friend.

Dear Hillary,

I hear from Dianne and my staff that New Start is in play in the final CR/tax extension deal so I'm hopeful although I find the process disturbing.

B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Sent: Sun Dec 05 18:59:57 2010
Subject: Onward, my friend.

Dear Ellen,

We're making progress on New START

B6

Hillary

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 8:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Jake Sullivan
**Subject:** Lavrov

Turns out the French got through to him today on Cote d'Ivoire – would you be up for calling him tomorrow?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 8:37 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Tomorrow's meeting with human rights ngos

For your viz.

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**Sent:** Monday, December 06, 2010 3:33 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Tomorrow's meeting with human rights ngos

I tried to get them to switch the agenda to include Egypt instead of China – they are determined to raise China but we agreed that it will come last – so right now there will be a quick mention of Egypt at the top by Elisa Massimino from Human Rights First (who will open the meeting and serve as traffic cop). Then Karen Ryan from the Carter Center will raise DRC, followed by Ken Roth of Human Rights Watch who will raise Af/Pak issues, then David Kramer (former A/S in DRL now at Freedom House) raising China issues. The goal is to allow 15 minutes at the end for S (along with Dan Friend and Harold ) to raise Gitmo issues and ask for their support. We now have 45 minutes for the meeting

**Michael H. Posner**
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor
U.S. Department of State
Room 7802
(202) 647-2126 office
(202) 647-5283 fax
PosnerMH@state.gov
http://www.state.gov/g/drl



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 3:39 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Today

I won't be there for some of your meetings today;however, wanted you to know that Norwegians agreed to match our contribution to facilitate high crime cases and forensics work in DRC. They have been consistently excellent partners and are very happy about your announcement to do a national plan on 1325, where they have also led. At NATO yesterday, I learned about their recently adopted action plan on 1325, which the Dep SG said will have application in Afgh.

For the OECD meeting today, know that their leadership has been very supportive of our efforts to get OECD to collect better data on women and economy as this is important to accelerating economic growth by addressing existing barriers to women's economic participation.

I had very good mtgs at EU on potential development partnerships and sharing of successful models for gender mainstreaming. Many greetings extended to you from all your friends.

Heading to Ukraine in the snow!

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RELEASE IN PART
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 3:41 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Norwegians to Issue Statement on [redacted]

Also appropriate for today. Scroll down from top email to first in chain.

1.4(D)
B1

----- Original Message -----
From: Moriarty, James F
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Blake, Robert O; Heg, James T.; Dean, Nicholas J
Sent: Tue Dec 07 03:31:23 2010
Subject: Norwegians to Issue Statement

B6

Melanne,
I got through to my Norwegian counterpart here [redacted] and she told me that the Norwegian Foreign Ministry is working on the text of a statement that Oslo hopes to issue today. She was very worried that Norway had somehow end up catalyzing unjustified attacks on [redacted] and thought it important that Oslo set the record straight. She believed the statement would be short and concise. She encouraged us to raise the issue also in Oslo. The phone connection was a little shaky, but I think she mentioned that her Minister would be in Washington over the next couple of days.

1.4(D)
B1

Aloha,
Jim

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tuesday, December 07, 2010 10:24 AM
To: Moriarty, James F
Subject: Re [redacted] troubles

1.4(D)
B1

I hope you can get through to your counterpart We have excellent relations with N Maybe EUR can help.

----- Original Message -----
From: Moriarty, James F
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 22:49:19 2010
Subject: RE: [redacted] troubles

1.4(D)
B1

I hope the Norwegians prove helpful. So far, however, the lower levels wouldn't tell us anything of importance, and I'm having a little difficulty getting through to my counterpart.
Aloha
-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tuesday, December 07, 2010 9:46 AM
To: Moriarty, James F
Subject: Re: [redacted] troubles

1.4(D)
B1

Very interesting, Jim. First of all, my apologies for not linking up by phone. I'm at the Eu and there was no way in the midst of events here to take a call.
It was far too late to call when I was freed up.

[redacted] B5

The pain he is feeling is palpable.

----- Original Message -----
From: Moriarty, James F
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Cc: Blake, Robert O
Sent: Mon Dec 06 22:39:28 2010
Subject: [redacted] troubles

1.4(D)
B1

Melanne,

[redacted] 1.4(D) B1

Aloha,
Jim

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Monday, December 06, 2010 5:04 PM
To: Moriarty, James F
Subject:

[redacted] B5

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 7:05 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (Reuters) WikiLeaks founder Assange arrested in Britain

---

**From:** Virgil, Lynn C
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-EUR; NEWS-WikiLeaks
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 05:26:33 2010
**Subject:** (Reuters) WikiLeaks founder Assange arrested in Britain

LONDON (Reuters) - WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange has been arrested by British police on a European warrant issued by Sweden, London's Metropolitan Police said on Tuesday.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 7:20 AM
**To:** H; Burns, William J
**Subject:** FW: Rice: New Start: Ratify, With Caveats

OPINION DECEMBER 7, 2010
New Start: **Ratify, With Caveats**
The treaty **helpfully reinstates on-site verification of Russian nuclear forces, but senators should make it clear to Moscow that they don't see it as limiting U.S. missile defenses.**

By CONDOLEEZZA RICE

When U.S. President Bush and Russian President Putin signed the Moscow Treaty in 2002, they addressed the nuclear threat by reducing offensive weapons, as their predecessors had. But the Moscow Treaty was different. It came in the wake of America's 2001 withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, and for the first time the United States and Russia reduced their offensive nuclear weapons with no agreement in place that constrained missile defenses.

Breaking the link between offensive force reductions and limits on defense marked a key moment in the establishment of a new nuclear agenda no longer focused on the Cold War face-off between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The real threat was that the world's most dangerous weapons could end up in the hands of the world's most dangerous regimes—or of terrorists who would launch attacks more devastating than 9/11. And since those very rogue states also pursued ballistic missiles, defenses would (alongside offensive weapons) be integral to the security of the United States and our allies.

It is in this context that we should consider the potential contribution of the New Start treaty to U.S. national security. The treaty is modest, reducing offensive nuclear weapons to 1,550 on each side—more than enough for deterrence. While the treaty puts limits on launchers, U.S. military commanders have testified that we will be able to maintain a triad of bombers, submarine-based delivery vehicles and land-based delivery vehicles. Moreover, the treaty helpfully reinstates on-site verification of Russian nuclear forces, which lapsed with the expiration of the original Start treaty last year.
Meaningful verification was a significant achievement of Presidents Reagan and George H.W. Bush, and its reinstatement is crucial.

Still, there are legitimate concerns about New Start that must and can be addressed in the ratification process and, if the treaty is ratified, in future monitoring of the Obama administration's commitments.

First, smaller forces make the modernization of our nuclear infrastructure even more urgent. Sen. Jon Kyl of Arizona has led a valiant effort in this regard. Thanks to his efforts, roughly $84 billion is being allocated to the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons complex. Ratifying the treaty will help cement these commitments, and Congress should fully fund the president's program.
Congress should also support the Defense Department in modernizing our launchers as suggested in the recent defense strategy study coauthored by former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry and former National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley.

Second, the Senate must make absolutely clear that in ratifying this treaty, the U.S. is not re-establishing the Cold War link between offensive forces and missile defenses. New Start's preamble is worrying in this regard, as it recognizes the

"interrelationship" of the two. Administration officials have testified that there is no link, and that the treaty will not limit U.S. missile defenses. But Congress should ensure that future Defense Department budgets reflect this.

Moscow contends that only current U.S. missile-defense plans are acceptable under the treaty. But the U.S. must remain fully free to explore and then deploy the best defenses—not just those imagined today. That includes pursuing both potential qualitative breakthroughs and quantitative increases.

I have personally witnessed Moscow's tendency to interpret every utterance as a binding commitment. The Russians need to understand that the U.S. will use the full-range of American technology and talent to improve our ability to intercept and destroy the ballistic missiles of hostile countries.

Russia should be reassured by the fact that its nuclear arsenal is far too sophisticated and large to be degraded by our missile defenses. In addition, the welcome agreements on missile-defense cooperation reached in Lisbon recently between NATO and Russia can improve transparency and allow Moscow and Washington to work together in this field. After all, a North Korean or Iranian missile is not a threat only to the United States, but to international stability broadly.

Ratification of the treaty also should not be sold as a way to buy Moscow's cooperation on other issues. The men in the Kremlin know that loose nukes in the hands of terrorists—some who operate in Russia's unstable south—are dangerous. That alone should give our governments a reason to work together beyond New Start and address the threat from tactical nuclear weapons, which are smaller and more dispersed, and therefore harder to monitor and control. Russia knows too that a nuclear Iran in the volatile Middle East or the further development of North Korea's arsenal is not in its interest. Russia lives in those neighborhoods. That helps explain Moscow's toughening stance toward Tehran and its longstanding concern about Pyongyang.

The issue before the Senate is the place of New Start in America's future security. Nuclear weapons will be with us for a long time.
After this treaty, our focus must be on stopping dangerous proliferators—not on further reductions in the U.S. and Russian strategic arsenals, which are really no threat to each other or to international stability.

A modern but smaller nuclear arsenal and increasingly sophisticated defenses are the right bases for U.S. nuclear security (and that of our allies) going forward. With the right commitments and understandings, ratification of the New Start treaty can contribute to this goal. If the Senate enters those commitments and understandings into the record of ratification, New Start deserves bipartisan support, whether in the lame-duck session or next year.

Ms. Rice, a professor of political economy at the Stanford Graduate School of Business and a senior fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, was U.S. national security adviser from 2001 to 2005 and U.S. secretary of state from 2005 to 2009.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 12:04 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** your legacy

I just want to say that as I brief the QDDR (20 times and counting), one of the points that makes the strongest impression, and that I frankly think is an enormous part of your intellectual and practical legacy, is putting together all the bureaus that focus on protecting individuals – protecting them from insurgent or criminal violence (CCO and INL), protecting their rights through law (DRL, GTIP, S/WCI), or meeting their basic needs in humanitarian emergencies (PRM). It is a major statement about the direction that the world is going and we must follow. This was really your idea, and it is a powerful one. I know your decision today and applaud it. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/07/2025

RELEASE IN PART 1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 1:28 PM
**To:** Laszczych, Joanne
**Cc:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Draft Embassy Statement

Print this traffic for HRC

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Adams, Thomas C; Merten, Kenneth H; Lindwall, David E
**Cc:** Mcdonald, Kara C; Laszczych, Joanne; Reynoso, Julissa; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 13:24:21 2010
**Subject:** Re: Draft Embassy Statement

Can we do a call at 4pm

---

**From:** Adams, Thomas C
**To:** Merten, Kenneth H; Mills, Cheryl D; Lindwall, David E
**Cc:** Mcdonald, Kara C
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 13:20:13 2010
**Subject:** FW: Draft Embassy Statement

B5

1.4(B)
Dan should be back from the oval office credentialing ceremony around 2 or so and it would be good to do a confer 1.4(D)
call then on all of this. B1

–that the observation in the tabulation center did not show that to be possible.

On tabulation process,

[redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

We are reaching out to Luis Vassy at the French Embassy here, who is their man on Haiti matters, to get his help connecting with senior officials in Paris. They have not answered any of our direct messages.

That's it for now.

Tom

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Adams, Thomas C
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 07, 2010 12:39 PM
**To:** Dan Restrepo
**Cc:** [redacted] B6
**Subject:** Draft Embassy Statement

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 1:57 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; CEA
**Subject:** The Advocate

A reporter named Kerry Elleveld of The Advocate is doing a possible cover story on your LBGT efforts at State. Caroline has put her through the ringer of Cheryl, GLIFFA leaders and members, gay ambassadors, Pat Kennedy, etc etc. Would love to put you on the phone with her in the next day or two. Should be super positive.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

---

**From:** PIR <preines [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 2:24 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin
**Subject:** Re: The Advocate

Of course

------Original Message------
From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: The Advocate
Sent: Dec 7, 2010 2:22 PM

Ok as long as I have tps.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR <preines [redacted] B6
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; CEA <caroline.adler [redacted]
Sent: Tue Dec 07 13:57:16 2010
Subject: The Advocate

A reporter named Kerry Elleveld of The Advocate is doing a possible cover story on your LBGT efforts at State. Caroline has put her through the ringer of Cheryl, GLIFFA leaders and members, gay ambassadors, Pat Kennedy, etc etc. Would love to put you on the phone with her in the next day or two. Should be super positive.

RELEASE IN PART B1 1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 4:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: latest

B1
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/06/2025

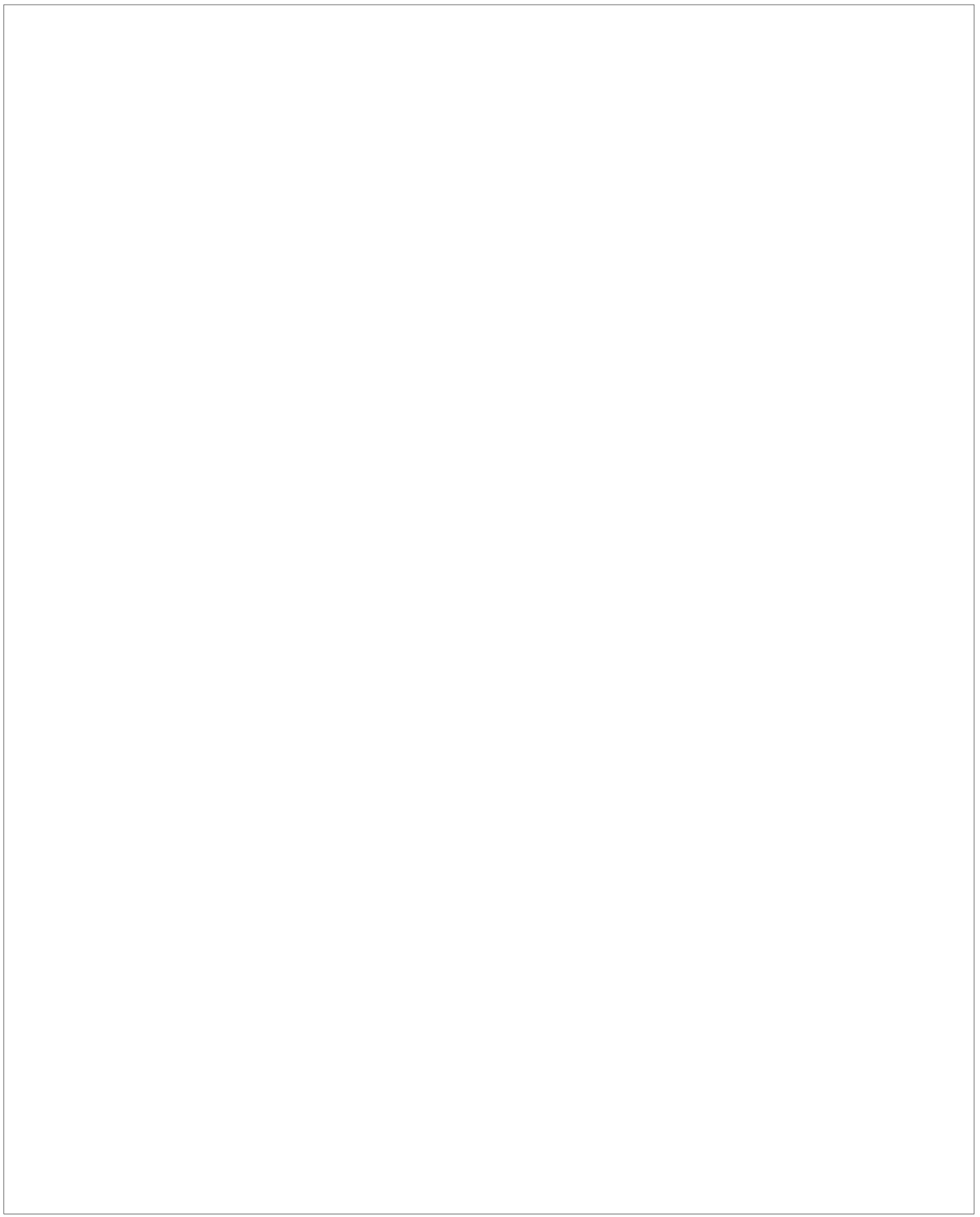
----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tue Dec 07 13:15:18 2010
Subject: Re:

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Tue, 7 Dec 2010 08:06:47
To:
Subject: Re:

We understand that the Norwegians may be putting out a statement.

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 05:31:39 2010
Subject: Re



Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Mon, 6 Dec 2010 04:41:49
To:
Subject: Re:

1.4(D)
B1

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010
Subject:

Dear Melanne

**********

The allegation against Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus of 'diverting foreign aid from Grameen Bank to another company' should be investigated, the prime minister has said.
"Bangladesh has set many examples. Deceiving people by siphoning off their money is another such example. This is nothing but sucking out money from the people after giving them loans," she said replying to questions from journalists on Sunday.
"There has been no improvement in the lifestyle of the poor so far. They were just used as pawns to get more aids," Hasina added.
She was speaking at a press conference at her office on Sunday following her three-nation tour of Russia, Belgium and Japan.
"The people of Bangladesh have been made guinea pigs. I have never supported that. And now I protest," Hasina told journalists.
Naimul Islam Khan, editor of Amader Shomoy, said, "Initially, the government had 60 percent share of the Grameen Bank which now has shrunk to 25 percent. It seems Mr Yunus wanted to empty the government exchequer, if he could. The government, however, didn't let that happen."
He also asked whether the government would investigate the allegation raised against Yunus and his Grameen Bank.
Responding to the query, the prime minister said, "Grameen Bank had been grabbed in such a manner as if it's a personal property. This should also be investigated. The poor people are becoming paupers. They have been tricked by sweet talks. Finally, things are getting out."
Hasina compared Khaleda Zia's 'affection' for her cantonment house with Yunus' 'affection' for his Grameen Bank and said, "Grameen Bank is a public property. But it's being privatised out of 'love'. Yunus Sahib has fallen in love with Grameen Bank.
"One can't but get caught if play with the money of the poor," she added.

Norway's national TV NRK aired a documentary on November 30 titled "Fanget i Mikrogjeld" or "Caught in Micro debt", based on which bdnews24.com ran a report on December 1.

According to the documentary, Yunus transferred the money to Grameen Kalyan, which was in no way involved with microcredit operations.

Responding to the allegations, Grameen Bank claimed there was no wrongdoing in the agreement between the bank and Grameen Kalyan under which it received Tk 3,917 million from the bank.
"Decisions were taken by the Grameen Bank Board, with due deliberation, good faith, and with good intentions to benefit the poor," the Grameen Bank rejoinder said.

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 7:51 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Wed. China PC: Recommend S [redacted] B5

FYI.

**From:** Engle, Thomas S
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 07, 2010 6:50 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** McCarthy, Deborah A; Verville, Elizabeth G; Kelley, John C; Meale, David; Rosenberger, Laura M; Harrell, Peter E
**Subject:** Wed. China PC: Recommend S [redacted] B5

Hi Jake,

I understand S will participate in the PC tomorrow on the Hu visit. We've just learned Commerce Sec'y Locke plans to propose [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Thanks very much.

Cheers,
Tom

*Tom Engle*
*Director, Monetary Affairs*
*U.S. Department of State*
*2201 C Street, N.W.*
*Washington, DC 20520*
*202-647-5935*
*englets@state.gov*

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Overnight Brief 12/08/I (SBU)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 05:26:31 2010
**Subject:** Overnight Brief 12/08/I (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
*Operations Center*

# *Overnight Brief*

**Wednesday, December 08, 2010**
**0530 EST**

## VIOLENCE IN HAITI AS MANIGAT, CELESTIN ADVANCE TO RUNOFF

(SBU) Announced results conflicted with the EU-backed National Observation Council's preliminary reports that Michel Martelly led government-backed candidate Jude Celestin in the vote, media report. Embassy Port-au-Prince reports civil society representatives took care in announcing early findings, but the information was reported locally as hard fact. Post notes gunfire could be heard throughout Port-au-Prince after results were announced late December 7.
***(Ops/Embassy Port-au-Prince e-mail, Port-au-Prince 1590, CNN)***

## MBEKI MEETS WITH SUDANESE LEADERS TO DISCUSS ABYEI

(SBU) Thabo Mbeki, head of the African Union Panel on Sudan, described the meeting with President Bashir and First Vice President Kiir as positive, according to press. The Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan comments the meeting was held to discuss an African Union paper outlining options for resolving the Abyei issue. Bashir and Kiir committed to meet one-on-one to develop a solution and said they would keep Mbeki informed as their discussions progress.
***(Ops/Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan e-mail, Sudan Tribune)***

## DPRK CONDUCTS ARTILLERY DRILL NEAR MARITIME BORDER

(SBU) The drill, heard in the Republic of Korea, was contained within Democratic People's Republic of Korea territory, according to press. Embassy Seoul comments the action was a defiant gesture in the face of international pressure to show restraint and likely connected to Admiral Mullen's visit to the ROK. ***(Ops/Embassy Seoul e-mail, AP)***

Please see our classified website at http://ses.state.sgov.gov

Drafted: KMSimmons/MKBunt
Approved: CTCrosby
Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05777692 Date: 08/31/2015



UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2014-20439 Doc No. C05777692 Date: 08/31/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 5:52 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Embassy Statement

This is the statement we released late last night.

Election results order Manigault, Celestin, Martielly.

May be good to have Tom Adams give you a quick update today.

Cdm

---

**From:** Adams, Thomas C
**To:** 'Restrepo, Daniel A.' < [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D; Lindwall, David E; Merten, Kenneth H; Reynoso, Julissa; Gray, Eugene < [redacted] B6
**Cc:** Laszczych, Joanne; Mcdonald, Kara C
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 17:46:05 2010
**Subject:** Embassy Statement

As Haiti enters the period of electoral contestation, it is essential that all political actors remain calm and encourage their supporters to do the same. The United States, together with Haiti's international community partners, stands ready to support efforts to thoroughly review irregularities in support of electoral results that are consistent with the will of the Haitian people expressed in their votes.

Like others, the Government of the United States is concerned by the Provisional Electoral Council's announcement of results from the November 28 national elections that are inconsistent with the published results of the National Election Observation Council (CNO), which had more than 5,500 observers and observed the vote count in 1,600 voting centers nationwide, election-day observations by official U.S. observers accredited by the CEP, and vote counts observed around the country by numerous domestic and international observers.

Haiti's transition to democracy over the past 24 years has seen many successes, overcoming major challenges. The 2010 elections represent a critical test of whether the Haitian people will determine their destiny through their vote. The United States is committed to the consolidation of democracy in Haiti and calls on the Government of Haiti, the CEP and all political forces to ensure that the will of the people is fully reflected in the outcome of this election.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 7:52 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: New START Treaty -- Judd Gregg

Good public movement on START by Judd Gregg.

G.O.P. Support for Arms Treaty

By

PETER BAKER

Another Republican senator signaled Tuesday that he may vote for the new arms control treaty with Russia if it comes up for a vote before the Senate adjourns for the year later this month.

Senator Judd Gregg of New Hampshire, who did not run for re-election, said he hopes that the Senate will get a chance to vote on the treaty, known as New Start, right after a deal on tax cuts and a spending resolution to keep the government operating.

"Start is an important issue. It should be fully debated. I am leaning towards supporting it," he told Andrea Mitchell on MSNBC. "I haven't made a final decision," he added, noting that Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, the lead Republican negotiator on the treaty, still has concerns. "He has some reservations, but I believe many of those reservations are being addressed," Mr. Gregg said.

President Obama has made passing the treaty his top foreign policy priority for the lame-duck session. Under the Constitution, approving a treaty requires a two-thirds super-majority, or 67 votes, meaning that Mr. Obama needs nine Republicans assuming all 58 Democrats stick with him.

At this point, more than that many Republicans have offered positive-sounding statements like that made on Tuesday

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 11:18 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
**Subject:** FW: WikiLeaks cartoon
**Attachments:** 67704578-hillary-the-plumber.jpg

Madame Secretary, thought you might appreciate this.

PJ

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Barnes, Jennifer L [mailto:BarnesJL2@state.gov]
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 08, 2010 5:11 AM
**To:** Crowley, Philip J; Ratney, Michael A; Smith, Dana S; Chitre, Nanda S
**Subject:** WikiLeaks cartoon

from Olle Johansson, Sweden

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 12:17 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** START

Senate may move to START tonight....after failed cloture votes....and before fy 11 budget and tax issues.

RELEASE IN PART B5

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 2:00 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

Interesting approach towards influencing popular attitudes. We are [redacted] B5

I'm speaking at the Democracy conference in Bali today and then heading home tomorrow. Had a great trip to Indonesia. Was also in Malaysia and met with Paul Jones on the educational initiative.

See you next week.

Jm

---

**From:** Sreebny, Daniel
**To:** McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Cormack, Maureen E; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Whitaker, Elizabeth A; Cedar, Andrew N
**Cc:** Sreebny, Daniel; Hensman, Chris D; Namba, Nicholas; Kenna, Corley; Guimond, Gabrielle; Moore, James R
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 09:30:55 2010
**Subject:** LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-afghan-cop-show-20101208,0,6019051.story

# latimes.com

## Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

### Partially funded by the U.S. and aided by Australian TV veterans, the series 'Eagle Four' follows an elite Afghan police squad. It has a political agenda but gets points for being entertaining.

By Laura King, Los Angeles Times

6:20 PM PST, December 7, 2010

Reporting from Kabul, Afghanistan

Advertisement

A suicide bomber is loose in the city, and the clock is ticking. But an elite squad of Afghan cops is on the case, working street sources and mining databases, equally at ease with witty one-liners and fully loaded assault rifles, looking cool and soulful all the while.

In real life, the Afghan police are better known for illiteracy, drug abuse and shaking down citizens than for daring exploits worthy of the big screen — or the small one. But on the popular new TV series "Eagle Four,"

the squad's resourcefulness, heroism and teamwork never fail to carry the day.

The show, which has slick production values and a noir-ish soundtrack, is midway through its initial run of 13 episodes, and has already garnered a large, loyal following on Tolo TV, the country's most-watched station.

With the show shot entirely in Kabul, the Afghan capital, open-air takes were sometimes ruined by eager onlookers — from ragged street urchins to cellphone-toting businessmen — trying to get close to the cast and crew.

But overly enthusiastic fans were a happy diversion from challenges such as placating an angry mullah who tried to raise a mob to halt the production or dealing with Taliban death threats against several cast members.

"We didn't know at first what the response was going to be," said Faramjan Abrahim, who plays the cocky, hotheaded rookie Baktash. "But then actual policemen started to come up and call me 'brother' and congratulate me for doing a good job solving the case."

Most viewers are probably unaware that the series is financed at least in part by the public diplomacy arm of the U.S. Embassy, which acknowledged its monetary support while declining to disclose a dollar amount. A team of Australian TV veterans was brought in to mentor the Afghans working on the show.

Boosting public respect for the Afghan security forces and drawing higher-quality recruits are crucial to U.S. hopes that the police and army will be ready to assume responsibility for the country's security in three years — a goal some consider way too optimistic.

"We see this as an opportunity not only to help support the Afghan media sector, but hopefully also encourage a dialogue among Afghans about the role of police in society, and their growing capabilities," said embassy spokeswoman Caitlin Hayden. Another U.S.-funded effort is planned for next year: a reality show that will seek to impart a frisson of glamour to joining the Afghan army.

If it's entertainment with a political agenda, "Eagle Four" gets points for being, well, entertaining. It's got all the requisite cop-show elements: rapid-fire action; a gritty, cinema verite feel; and engrossing interplay among the four squad members and their hard-edged but beloved leader, Chief Amin (who is tormented by a dark secret; more on that later).

The show's Afghan and Australian creators said "Eagle Four" was inspired by the hit U.S. drama "24." The mood and pacing are similar, but the resemblance doesn't extend to American Jack Bauer's propensity for torturing suspects until they crack.

Baktash occasionally gets carried away and roughs someone up, but he is reprimanded by his older, more-seasoned partner, Kamran, who shows him that finesse works better than brute force.

"My character is basically a good guy, but he's sort of undisciplined, and he has a lot to learn," Abrahim said. A recurring theme is that when Baktash disregards Kamran's counsel, he usually gets injured within the next few scenes. "He disobeys, he gets hurt," Abrahim said, laughing.

The show's producers take plenty of dramatic license, including the presence of two women on the four-member team, a mingling of the sexes unlikely to be found in any police squad room in this tradition-bound, male-dominated Islamic society. The show's makers see gender equality as an ideal worth reinforcing, even if there's little real-life evidence of it in Afghanistan.

Finding actresses to play the female leads was extremely difficult. Men outnumbered women more than 10 to 1 at auditions. One actress dropped out of the production because of family pressure; writers had to kill off her

character. At one point, executive producer Trudi-Ann Tierney, one of the Australians brought in to bolster Afghan-owned production company Kaboora, stepped in and donned a *burka* to play a suspect's silent wife and a woman's bloodied corpse.

The female characters mainly stay in the office, mirroring the reality that Afghan women are relatively little seen in public. But one of them, Ludmilla, is a computer whiz who relentlessly chases suspects through cyberspace. The script calls for periodic crisp pronouncements from her such as "I've got a fix on the location" or "Looks like the bomber is a decoy."

Somewhat daringly, there's even a love story, albeit a chaste one, between Ludmilla, who manages to make her black head scarf and loose-fitting clothing look Hollywood sultry, and the impetuous Baktash. The two of them bicker their way through much of the season, in classic romantic-comedy tradition.

She eventually softens toward him after he shows sensitivity and understanding about her feelings of guilt over having inadvertently contributed to someone's death. In the final episode of the season — spoiler alert! — they make plans for him to meet her father.

"The whole time, they don't even lock eyes," Tierney said. "But everyone can see they have feelings for each other."

Even if the show's popularity doesn't translate into heightened respect for the Afghan police, the principals believe it does justice to many aspects of Afghan life. One plot line has the seemingly incorruptible Chief Amin submitting to blackmail and deliberately compromising a case after his son is kidnapped.

"It's all part of our social reality: drug-smuggling, suicide bombs, insurgents, graft, abductions," director Ghafar Azad said. "That's all in the show. So in a lot of ways, it's telling the truth."

*laura.king@latimes.com*

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 2:09 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: QDDR Breakfast

Fyi

---

**From:** Hyde, Dana
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Chollet, Derek H; Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 14:08:19 2010
**Subject:** FW: QDDR Breakfast

I spoke to Liz this morning and explained where we are in terms of the interagency and green lighting invitations (i.e., very close, but not there yet). She said that at this point we will probably not be able to attract the number and level of corporate leaders we originally envisioned for next Tuesday. Liz certainly could pull together something with USGLC board members and some military leadership, but if she is to only get one bite of the apple with HRC her recommendation is to "do it right" and move this to January (either the week of the 10th or 24th). The idea in January would be to include members of congress and frame the event as the QDDR making the case for State/USAID's mission and resources in the new environment. We could take the event in a number of directions (Liz would LOVE to get Gates together with Clinton) but the idea to launch the QDDR in January with USGLC as the blueprint for supporting international affairs and the 150 account.

Thoughts? -D

**From:** Liz Schrayer [mailto[redacted]] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 08, 2010 11:17 AM
**To:** Hyde, Dana
**Subject:**

I am sure you are all scrambling to release this next week – I assume we are off for next Tuesday -- Please confirm

**Liz Schrayer** | President
[redacted] B6

**Schrayer & Associates, Inc.**
1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
www.schrayer.com

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 4:17 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: WikiLeaks cartoon

I can think of several folks for you to toss that wrench at!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 08, 2010 2:27 PM
To: Crowley, Philip J
Subject: Re: WikiLeaks cartoon

It certainly hits the mark! Can you hand me a wrench?

----- Original Message -----
From: Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 08 11:18:08 2010
Subject: FW: WikiLeaks cartoon

Madame Secretary, thought you might appreciate this.

PJ

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Barnes, Jennifer L [mailto:BarnesJL2@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, December 08, 2010 5:11 AM
To: Crowley, Philip J; Ratney, Michael A; Smith, Dana S; Chitre, Nanda S
Subject: WikiLeaks cartoon

from Olle Johansson, Sweden

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 7:23 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Quote about Mitch McConnell

FYI

**From:** Djerassi, Alexander M
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 08, 2010 7:22 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Quote about Mitch McConnell

Hey Jake,

Jeff asked me to let you and S know the source of the quote he shared earlier regarding Netanyahu and McConnell – it was [redacted] I know the quote, it's not uplifting. B6

Alex

Alexander M. Djerassi
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
U.S. Department of State
T: (202) 647-8769
E: djerassiam@state.gov

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 7:39 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Molho mtg

You have the points for the Molho meeting (what Sen Mitchell handed you today). Not sure if you got the non-paper – it is being faxed to your house tonight.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 8:10 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; H
**Subject:** Re: Molho mtg

When is it coming?

---

**From**: Sullivan, Jacob J
**To**: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc**: Abedin, Huma
**Sent**: Wed Dec 08 19:39:17 2010
**Subject**: Molho mtg

You have the points for the Molho meeting (what Sen Mitchell handed you today). Not sure if you got the non-paper – it is being faxed to your house tonight.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 8:10 PM
**To:** Abedin, Huma; H
**Subject:** RE: Molho mtg

Dan should've sent it.

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 08, 2010 8:10 PM
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
**Subject:** Re: Molho mtg

When is it coming?

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 19:39:17 2010
**Subject:** Molho mtg

You have the points for the Molho meeting (what Sen Mitchell handed you today). Not sure if you got the non-paper – it is being faxed to your house tonight.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 8, 2010 9:43 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

See traffic b/l

I think this is [redacted] - I think this may be [redacted] B5

That said, you can have a longer process on this for folks to feel heard.

But in name of intellectual honesty, [redacted]

See b/l - from bottom up.

Cdm

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Tauscher, Ellen O
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 21:26:55 2010
**Subject:** Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Ellen -

Give me a call - I would support this:

[redacted] B5

Cdm

---

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 20:34:52 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Fyi

---

**From:** Kirshner, Josh H
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Boese, Wade; Limage, Simon G
**Sent:** Wed Dec 08 20:20:22 2010
**Subject:** Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Jake – We just got off the phone with Ellen [redacted] She's asked that we send up a note to S with her views, which we'll write up now and bootleg to you tonight. She may call Cheryl in the AM. B6

In a nutshell, she's concerned [redacted] B5

[redacted]

However, I assume you wouldn't want something like this in the system, correct?

Wade and I will be here for a while, so we're happy to swing by if you'd like.

Josh Kirshner
Special Assistant
Office of the Under Secretary for
Arms Control and International Security
(202) 647-0071

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted]
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:10 AM
**To:** H; 'abedinh@state.gov'; 'woodardew@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Anne Mulcahy

Ok

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Thu Dec 09 06:07:52 2010
Subject: Anne Mulcahy

After (or before) I see her she should see the right people from NEA, Melanne's staff and AID to discuss Iraq. So could they be gathered in the D conf room or the Marshall room and I could intro her or drop into the mtg?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:20 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Can I call you

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 09 05:38:42 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Also, I thought we were [redacted] B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:43:05 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

See traffic b/l

I think this is [redacted] - I think this may be [redacted] B5

That said, you can have a longer process on this for folks to feel heard.

But in name of intellectual honesty, [redacted]

See b/l - from bottom up.

Cdm

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:26:55 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Ellen -

Give me a call - I would support this:

[redacted] B5

Cdm

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:34:52 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Fyi

---

From: Kirshner, Josh H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Boese, Wade; Limage, Simon G
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:20:22 2010
Subject: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Jake – We just got off the phone with Ellen [redacted] She's asked that we send up a note to S with her views, which we'll write up now and bootleg to you tonight. She may call Cheryl in the AM. B6

In a nutshell, she's concerned [redacted] B5

However, I assume you wouldn't want something like this in the system, correct?

Wade and I will be here for a while, so we're happy to swing by if you'd like.

Josh Kirshner

Special Assistant

Office of the Under Secretary for

Arms Control and International Security

(202) 647-0071

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:25 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

You have agreed [redacted] B5

Ellen is making last argument [redacted]

I want you to know that is coming in case you want to do that.

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 09 05:38:09 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

I thought I had told Jake [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:43:05 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

See traffic b/l

I think this is [redacted] - I think this may be [redacted]

That said, you can have a longer process on this for folks to feel heard.

But in name of intellectual honesty [redacted]

See b/l - from bottom up.

Cdm

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:26:55 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Ellen -

Give me a call - I would support this:

[redacted] B5

Cdm

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:34:52 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Fyi

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From: Kirshner, Josh H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Boese, Wade; Limage, Simon G
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:20:22 2010
Subject: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

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[redacted]

However, I assume you wouldn't want something like this in the system, correct?

Wade and I will be here for a while, so we're happy to swing by if you'd like.

Josh Kirshner

Special Assistant

Office of the Under Secretary for

Arms Control and International Security

(202) 647-0071

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

We have that two, but again [redacted] B5

Jake was talking to [redacted]

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Dec 09 05:38:42 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Also, I thought we were [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:43:05 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

See traffic b/l

I think this is [redacted] I think this may be [redacted]

That said, you can have a longer process on this for folks to feel heard.

But in name of intellectual honesty, [redacted]

See b/l - from bottom up.

Cdm

---

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Tauscher, Ellen O
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 21:26:55 2010
Subject: Re: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Ellen -

Give me a call - I would support this:

[redacted] B5

Cdm

---

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:34:52 2010
Subject: Fw: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Fyi

---

From: Kirshner, Josh H
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Boese, Wade; Limage, Simon G
Sent: Wed Dec 08 20:20:22 2010
Subject: Ellen's views on proposed QDDR change

Jake – We just got off the phone with Ellen [redacted] She's asked that we send up a note to S with her views, which we'll write up now and bootleg to you tonight. She may call Cheryl in the AM. B6

In a nutshell, she's concerned [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

However, I assume you wouldn't want something like this in the system, correct?

Wade and I will be here for a while, so we're happy to swing by if you'd like.

Josh Kirshner

Special Assistant

Office of the Under Secretary for

Arms Control and International Security

(202) 647-0071

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 8:00 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 12/9/10 Thursday

8:15 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:25 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:25 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:00 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:00 am **MEETING w/ISRAELI CHIEF NEGOTIATOR YITZHAK MOLHO**
10:00 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:00 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:30 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room

10:30 am **MEETING w/SAVE THE CHILDREN BOARD CHAIR ANNE MULCAHY**
10:55 am Secretary's Outer Office *Official photo.

10:55 am **PRE-BRIEF w/TOM COUNTRYMAN**
11:00 am Secretary's Office

11:00 am **MEETING w/ALBANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER EDMOND HAXHINASTO**
11:30 am Secretary's Conference Room *Camera spray at top in Treaty Room.

11:30 am **OFFICE TIME**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **MEETING w/NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HENRY ODEIN AJUMOGOBIA**
1:30 pm Secretary's Conference Room *Official photo at top in East Hall.

1:30 pm **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**
1:35 pm Secretary's Office

1:35 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER**
1:55 pm **HENRY ODEIN AJUMOGOBIA** Treaty Room

2:20 pm **MEETING w/U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CHINA JON HUNTSMAN**
2:50 pm Secretary's Office

3:00 pm **DROP-BY THE FULBRIGHT FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING**
3:10 pm **ASSISTANT MID-YEAR CONFERENCE** Dean Acheson Auditorium

3:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:15 pm Secretary's Office

4:30 pm **MEETING ON ENTREPRENEURSHIP**
5:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

5:00 pm **MEETING w/STATE DEPARTMENT AFFINITY GROUPS**
6:00 pm D Conference Room *Official photo.

7:20 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route 1789

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** 1789

7:30 pm **PRIVATE DINNER***
9:00 pm 1789

9:00 pm **DEPART** 1789 *En route Private Residence

9:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

**FYI:**
6:30 pm BLAIR HOUSE HOLIDAY RECEPTION
8:30 pm Blair House *Note: Reception runs from 6:30 pm to 8:00 pm

###

RELEASE IN PART
B1,B5,1.4(D)

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 10:13 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: latest [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

I would love [redacted]

I've made it to Luxor for Mrs. Mubatak's conference on trafficking. She has gathered all the key stakeholders for this. If you have a minute, you might [redacted] I'm now on my way with the Minister on Families to a renunciation of FGM ceremony by a conservative village. Mrs M has been responsible for so much social progress. 40 clerics have been arrested for registering child marriages in so-called temporary marriages of children to old Gulf men who pay off their poor parents. B5

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/08/2025

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Thu Dec 09 05:53:19 2010
Subject: Re: latest [redacted] B1 1.4(D)

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Tue Dec 07 16:51:53 2010
Subject: Fw: latest [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: [redacted]
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Tue Dec 07 13:15:18 2010
Subject: Re: [redacted]

[redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Tue, 7 Dec 2010 08:06:47
To:
Subject: Re:

We understand that the Norwegians may be putting out a statement.

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 05:31:39 2010
Subject: Re:

B1
1.4(D)

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

-----Original Message-----
From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Date: Mon, 6 Dec 2010 04:41:49
To:
Subject: Re:

----- Original Message -----
From:
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010
Subject:

Dear Melanne

**********

The allegation against Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus of 'diverting foreign aid from Grameen Bank to another company' should be investigated, the prime minister has said.
"Bangladesh has set many examples. Deceiving people by siphoning off their money is another such example. This is nothing but sucking out money from the people after giving them loans," she said replying to questions from journalists on Sunday.
"There has been no improvement in the lifestyle of the poor so far. They were just used as pawns to get more aids," Hasina added.
She was speaking at a press conference at her office on Sunday following her three-nation tour of Russia, Belgium and Japan.
"The people of Bangladesh have been made guinea pigs. I have never supported that. And now I protest," Hasina told journalists.
Naimul Islam Khan, editor of Amader Shomoy, said, "Initially, the government had 60 percent share of the Grameen Bank which now has shrunk to 25 percent. It seems Mr Yunus wanted to empty the government exchequer, if he could. The government, however, didn't let that happen."
He also asked whether the government would investigate the allegation raised against Yunus and his Grameen Bank.
Responding to the query, the prime minister said, "Grameen Bank had been grabbed in such a manner as if it's a personal property. This should also be investigated. The poor people are becoming paupers. They have been tricked by sweet talks. Finally, things are getting out."
Hasina compared Khaleda Zia's 'affection' for her cantonment house with Yunus' 'affection' for his Grameen Bank and said, "Grameen Bank is a public property. But it's being privatised out of 'love'. Yunus Sahib has fallen in love with Grameen Bank.
"One can't but get caught if play with the money of the poor," she added.
Norway's national TV NRK aired a documentary on November 30 titled "Fanget i Mikrogjeld" or "Caught in Micro debt", based on which bdnews24.com ran a report on December 1.

According to the documentary, Yunus transferred the money to Grameen Kalyan, which was in no way involved with microcredit operations.

Responding to the allegations, Grameen Bank claimed there was no wrongdoing in the agreement between the bank and Grameen Kalyan under which it received Tk 3,917 million from the bank.
"Decisions were taken by the Grameen Bank Board, with due deliberation, good faith, and with good intentions to benefit the poor," the Grameen Bank rejoinder said.

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 1:22 PM
**Subject:** excerpts

http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/dec/23/bitter-new-washington/
The New York Review of Books

# In the Bitter New Washington

December 23, 2010

Elizabeth Drew

....

Of course Obama should have gotten out of Washington more and listened to people, not just talked at them; and, as Walter Mondale said recently, he should have gotten rid of "those idiot boards"—the TelePrompters on which the great orator has been strangely dependent and which divide him from his audiences. Last year, a friend of mine was invited to a Hanukkah party that the Obamas gave for prominent Jews (a group with whom there had been tensions), and after the Obamas descended the grand stairway, they stood in the foyer briefly, the President made a few remarks and shook a few hands, and back up the stairs they went. No mingling.

In their first two years, the Obamas have seemed a bit tone-deaf: there were too many vacations while people were hurting, especially Michelle's extravagant trip to Spain. (I'm as interested in Michelle's clothes as the next woman but at the same time think she and her staff are too focused on her looking smashing, which she does. Her wardrobe seems quite extensive for these troubled times.)

Barack Obama's personality has been much mulled over in the past two years, but it seems inescapable that his high self-esteem often slides over the thin line to arrogance, which trickles down (with some exceptions) to much of his staff, some of whom are downright rude to all but a chosen few. Obama has seemed uninterested in anyone but his immediate group, and three of the four members of his immediate circle—Jarrett, Robert Gibbs, David Axelrod—had had no experience in governing. The fourth, Rahm Emanuel, expressed himself with such flippancy, arrogance, and overuse of the F-word that he offended not just members of Congress but also would-be allies of the President.

Vice President Joe Biden, who is liked on Capitol Hill, was virtually shut out of the dealings with people in Congress in the first two years—"I can handle them," Obama told Biden—but Biden is now expected to be given a larger role as part of the White House's new determination to "reach out." (A few months ago highly placed members of the staff also swore they would "reach out," but that seemed to last for just a few days.) One of the oddest aspects of Obama's persona is that someone who seems so confident has insisted thus far in having people around him with whom he is said to be "comfortable."

For example, Tom Donilon, his recently appointed national security adviser (a promotion from his role as deputy), is by all accounts a capable man but is no one's idea of a serious strategic thinker. The explanation I was given for Donilon's being given his new position was that "the President is comfortable with him." Just as Obama is described as pleased with himself, he has been treated with hero worship by much of his staff. After all, he had taken on the formidable Clintons, and, against the expectation of almost all the pundits and the experts, he had beaten them. Why should he listen to those who had doubted him? A common complaint about the Obama White House in the first two years has been that there were no "grown-ups" around, people who knew more about governing and who would tell Obama that he was wrong. When people tried to suggest someone who should be brought in, that person was rejected as "not one of ours." Joe Biden is said to argue with Obama on issues, such as Afghanistan, but not to get into the management of the White House....

Those who supported Obama in 2008 expected him to be able to move public opinion, to get people to follow him. The fact that the Obama White House has been so poor at "messaging" baffles even his strongest supporters. In fact, he had no overall message. As Winston Churchill put it, there was no theme to his pudding. When I asked a White House aide about this, he pointed to what had been billed as a "major speech on the economy," at Georgetown University in April 2009. But the speech was utterly forgettable—and forgotten. One ally attributes this problem to the inexperience of both Obama and his top staff. An ally says, "You can't leave a message if you don't have a strategy and you don't know where you're going." Another says, "They had something that worked in the campaign but didn't work in the White House."

Thus, Obama didn't see the need to explain what he was doing. His 2010 campaign themes seemed to wander all over the place: Stanley Greenberg, a pollster and former aide to Bill Clinton, said that Obama's oft-used theme, that we shouldn't go back to the Bush days, actually tested negatively, because people didn't believe that the country was making economic progress.

So Obama's biggest failure was not to be the leader that so many expected him to be. The jubilation that surrounded his swearing-in may have gone to his head, while the celebrants overlooked that there were plenty of people out there who were not overjoyed at the advent of a black president, or even a Democrat. Obama was, apparently in his own estimation, so smart and so adored that he seems to have felt no need to explain—and explain again—to the country what he was doing and to take the country along with him. This failure to put his programs across came up a few times in the 2010 campaign....

More than once, people in town hall meetings told him that they were behind him but were having great trouble trying to defend or explain his agenda. In a backyard gathering on October 21 he made the most awkward reply of those I heard: "Our attitude was that we just had to get the policies right and we didn't always think about making sure we got the advertising properly about what was going on." Advertising. (When I mentioned this to a Democratic senator who was generally supportive of Obama, this ordinarily polite man responded, "Bullocks! What policies?")

The risk-averse Obama had left it to Congress to write the big bills such as on the economic stimulus and health care (with strong participation by White House aides). But he kept up this line of defense all the way through to his pathetic press conference on the day after the election. In these comments, Obama gave away the devastating fact that he didn't really understand the role of the president as leader. A friend of the Obama administration said to me, "Their definition of governing is passing bills." Someone else relatively close to the White House explained that since Obama had been so criticized for being "arrogant" and "aloof," he had to eat large portions of humble pie. ("And I take responsibility for that," Obama said again and again.)

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 8:11 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** RE: LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

In Singapore now heading back this afternoon. Bali Forum interesting although some of the speeches (Iran) were predictably tedious. No wiki mentions anywhere. Remind me to tell you about the Timor slamming of MCC. [redacted] B6 [redacted] The joys of foreign travel.

See you Monday.

jm
-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 09, 2010 5:41 AM
To: McHale, Judith A
Subject: Re: LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

Can't wait to see you and catch upand hear about Bali! Thx for all you're doing and everywhere you're carrying the message.

----- Original Message -----
From: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Wed Dec 08 14:00:19 2010
Subject: Fw: LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

Interesting approach towards influencing popular attitudes. [redacted] B5 [redacted]

I'm speaking at the Democracy conference in Bali today and then heading home tomorrow. Had a great trip to Indonesia. Was also in Malaysia and met with Paul Jones on the educational initiative.

See you next week.

Jm

---

From: Sreebny, Daniel
To: McHale, Judith A; DiMartino, Kitty; Cormack, Maureen E; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Whitaker, Elizabeth A; Cedar, Andrew N
Cc: Sreebny, Daniel; Hensman, Chris D; Namba, Nicholas; Kenna, Corley; Guimond, Gabrielle; Moore, James R
Sent: Wed Dec 08 09:30:55 2010
Subject: LA Times/Laura King - Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-afghan-cop-show-20101208,0,6019051.story

latimes.com

# Afghan TV police drama delivers message with zest

Partially funded by the U.S. and aided by Australian TV veterans, the series 'Eagle Four' follows an elite Afghan police squad. It has a political agenda but gets points for being entertaining.

By Laura King, Los Angeles Times

6:20 PM PST, December 7, 2010

Reporting from Kabul, Afghanistan

Advertisement

A suicide bomber is loose in the city, and the clock is ticking. But an elite squad of Afghan cops is on the case, working street sources and mining databases, equally at ease with witty one-liners and fully loaded assault rifles, looking cool and soulful all the while.

In real life, the Afghan police are better known for illiteracy, drug abuse and shaking down citizens than for daring exploits worthy of the big screen — or the small one. But on the popular new TV series "Eagle Four," the squad's resourcefulness, heroism and teamwork never fail to carry the day.

The show, which has slick production values and a noir-ish soundtrack, is midway through its initial run of 13 episodes, and has already garnered a large, loyal following on Tolo TV, the country's most-watched station.

With the show shot entirely in Kabul, the Afghan capital, open-air takes were sometimes ruined by eager onlookers — from ragged street urchins to cellphone-toting businessmen — trying to get close to the cast and crew.

But overly enthusiastic fans were a happy diversion from challenges such as placating an angry mullah who tried to raise a mob to halt the production or dealing with Taliban death threats against several cast members.

"We didn't know at first what the response was going to be," said Faramjan Abrahim, who plays the cocky, hotheaded rookie Baktash. "But then actual policemen started to come up and call me 'brother' and congratulate me for doing a good job solving the case."

Most viewers are probably unaware that the series is financed at least in part by the public diplomacy arm of the U.S. Embassy, which acknowledged its monetary support while declining to disclose a dollar amount. A team of Australian TV veterans was brought in to mentor the Afghans working on the show.

Boosting public respect for the Afghan security forces and drawing higher-quality recruits are crucial to U.S. hopes that the police and army will be ready to assume responsibility for the country's security in three years — a goal some consider way too optimistic.

"We see this as an opportunity not only to help support the Afghan media sector, but hopefully also encourage a dialogue among Afghans about the role of police in society, and their growing capabilities," said embassy spokeswoman Caitlin Hayden. Another U.S.-funded effort is planned for next year: a reality show that will seek to impart a frisson of glamour to joining the Afghan army.

If it's entertainment with a political agenda, "Eagle Four" gets points for being, well, entertaining. It's got all the requisite cop-show elements: rapid-fire action; a gritty, cinema verite feel; and engrossing interplay among the four squad members and their hard-edged but beloved leader, Chief Amin (who is tormented by a dark secret; more on that later).

The show's Afghan and Australian creators said "Eagle Four" was inspired by the hit U.S. drama "24." The mood and pacing are similar, but the resemblance doesn't extend to American Jack Bauer's propensity for torturing suspects until they crack.

Baktash occasionally gets carried away and roughs someone up, but he is reprimanded by his older, more-seasoned partner, Kamran, who shows him that finesse works better than brute force.

"My character is basically a good guy, but he's sort of undisciplined, and he has a lot to learn," Abrahim said. A recurring theme is that when Baktash disregards Kamran's counsel, he usually gets injured within the next few scenes. "He disobeys, he gets hurt," Abrahim said, laughing.

The show's producers take plenty of dramatic license, including the presence of two women on the four-member team, a mingling of the sexes unlikely to be found in any police squad room in this tradition-bound, male-dominated Islamic society. The show's makers see gender equality as an ideal worth reinforcing, even if there's little real-life evidence of it in Afghanistan.

Finding actresses to play the female leads was extremely difficult. Men outnumbered women more than 10 to 1 at auditions. One actress dropped out of the production because of family pressure; writers had to kill off her character. At one point, executive producer Trudi-Ann Tierney, one of the Australians brought in to bolster Afghan-owned production company Kaboora, stepped in and donned a burka to play a suspect's silent wife and a woman's bloodied corpse.

The female characters mainly stay in the office, mirroring the reality that Afghan women are relatively little seen in public. But one of them, Ludmilla, is a computer whiz who relentlessly chases suspects through cyberspace. The script calls for periodic crisp pronouncements from her such as "I've got a fix on the location" or "Looks like the bomber is a decoy."

Somewhat daringly, there's even a love story, albeit a chaste one, between Ludmilla, who manages to make her black head scarf and loose-fitting clothing look Hollywood sultry, and the impetuous Baktash. The two of them bicker their way through much of the season, in classic romantic-comedy tradition.

She eventually softens toward him after he shows sensitivity and understanding about her feelings of guilt over having inadvertently contributed to someone's death. In the final episode of the season — spoiler alert! — they make plans for him to meet her father.

"The whole time, they don't even lock eyes," Tierney said. "But everyone can see they have feelings for each other."

Even if the show's popularity doesn't translate into heightened respect for the Afghan police, the principals believe it does justice to many aspects of Afghan life. One plot line has the seemingly incorruptible Chief Amin submitting to blackmail and deliberately compromising a case after his son is kidnapped.

"It's all part of our social reality: drug-smuggling, suicide bombs, insurgents, graft, abductions," director Ghafar Azad said. "That's all in the show. So in a lot of ways, it's telling the truth."

laura.king@latimes.com

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 9:25 PM
**To:** H

I forgot to tell you- I fixed [redacted] in your blackberry today. You had an outdated address for her. B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 9:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palin to visit Haiti for humanitarian effort

---

**From:** Casteel, Ezra A
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-III; SES-O_OS
**Sent:** Thu Dec 09 20:24:08 2010
**Subject:** (AP) Palin to visit Haiti for humanitarian effort

JUNEAU (AP) - Sarah Palin plans to visit Haiti this weekend to aid in humanitarian efforts in the Caribbean country. A Palin staffer confirmed the former Alaska governor and 2008 vice presidential nominee would travel to Haiti with the Rev. Franklin Graham as part of the outreach of his Samaritan's Purse relief organization. Palin staffer Rebecca Mansour says Palin is expected to stop at a cholera clinic. She says Palin's husband, Todd, will join her and she believes daughter Bristol will, as well.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 10:14 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Jakarta Globe - State-of-the-Art Statesmanship for US, Indonesia

Fyi, 21st century engagement. Still a work in progress but off to a good start. Enjoy!

Jm

---

**From:** Kenna, Corley
**To:** McHale, Judith A
**Sent:** Thu Dec 09 09:26:19 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Jakarta Globe - State-of-the-Art Statesmanship for US, Indonesia

---

**From:** Sreebny, Daniel
**To:** Guimond, Gabrielle; Kenna, Corley
**Cc:** Sreebny, Daniel; DiMartino, Kitty; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Cormack, Maureen E; Brown, Jessica A; Cedar, Andrew N; Jacobs, Morris E; Lee, Michelle A; Ludington, Rob; Matin, Seema W; Noor Ali, Sehreen I; Rabens, Andrew C; Schinnerer, Karen P; Schwartz, Larry R/PPR; Shakir, Deena S; Starr, Katherine L; Ussak, Amanda E; Whitaker, Elizabeth A; Witters, Joseph B
**Sent:** Thu Dec 09 09:23:48 2010
**Subject:** Jakarta Globe - State-of-the-Art Statesmanship for US, Indonesia

JakartaGlobe
Great Stories. Global News.

http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/lifeandtimes/state-of-the-art-statesmanship-for-us-indonesia/410813

# State-of-the-Art Statesmanship for US, Indonesia

**Lisa Siregar** | December 09, 2010



@America center gives visitors a window into modern America and its accomplishments. Tech firms such as Google and Cisco have donated the latest in communications technology. (JG Photos/Lisa Siregar)

During his November visit, US President Barack Obama said the United States and Indonesia "are forging an even stronger relationship and deepening partnerships." A new, high-tech cultural center is the latest example of the growing partnership between the countries.

Last week, the US Embassy officially opened @America, its first cultural center in Jakarta. The center is located on the third floor of the Pacific Place Mall in Central Jakarta.

The ribbon-cutting ceremony on Dec. 2 was attended by Alfitra Salam, the Indonesian deputy minister for youth empowerment, and the US under secretary for public diplomacy, Judith McHale.

Equipped with what has been called Jakarta's fastest Wi-Fi, all the high-tech features in @America are available to use for free.

McHale said she hoped the facility would make it easier for Indonesians and Americans to communicate.

Adrian Arie, head of the center, said they were working with large American technology companies like Google, Microsoft and Cisco.

For example, Microsoft contributed several of its newly released Kinect motion gaming devices for the opening celebration on Wednesday night.

And Cisco's TelePresence technology has been incorporated into the center to facilitate video conferencing.

Entering the state-of the-art facility, valued at some $2 million, is quite an experience.

From the outside, visitors can see three big screens displaying videos related to the cultural center's bi-monthly theme.

On opening night the screens were displaying images from the Sant Ocean Hall of the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History to go with the center's first theme, Ocean and Marine Environments.

The changing themes will be the unifying concept behind all of the activities the center puts on during those two months.

After passing through a security scan, lockers made of transparent glass are provided for guests to store their bags. You are only allowed to bring handheld items into the center.

Once inside, you will see screens wherever you go.

Turn right, and you will immediately see Google's Liquid Galaxy.

Equipped with seven wide-screen TVs, Liquid Galaxy is used to display Google Earth. You can view and manipulate maps of the earth, the moon and Mars in spectacular high-definition.

There is a touch-screen keyboard that lets you pick popular locations and a joystick to zoom in and rotate the images.

A few cities, such as New York, are already available in 3-D, which means you can virtually walk along Fifth Avenue in Manhattan and look around in every direction.

There are other features at the center that are definitely worth checking out.

There are touch-screen computers in the corner where visitors can play games or get quizzed on their knowledge of America.

A digital photo booth is available next to the information center and there is a small auditorium that can fit about 200 people.

During presentations or panel discussions, real-time video of the event will be displayed around the venue and on the center's Web site, atamerica.or.id.

For gadget lovers, there are also 16 iPads available for use inside the center.

And for those who have never had the chance to use an iPad before, the staff will happily provide a quick tutorial.

Even though it has only been open for about a week, @America has already hosted two presentations.

Last weekend it had a presentation on the discoveries of the Okeanos Explorer, a marine research vessel, and a two-day event, held in conjunction with EducationUSA, to provide students with information about studying in the United States.

The center has also invited a group of prominent bloggers for a discussion about social media. Adrian said the center was planning movie screenings and music shows in upcoming weeks.

He welcomed program ideas, which can be submitted through the center's Web site.

@America is open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. every day, and will be open throughout the holiday season.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 6:31 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Sujay

Sigh

Fyi

---

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Fri Dec 10 06:27:36 2010
**Subject:** Re: Sujay

Senator DeMint is insisting that he and Sujay sit down to personally review her post-hearing QFR answers. This is highly unusual. We offered Sujay up right away, but DeMint's staff insisted that the Senator was only available to meet on December 16 (the Senate target adjournment date is December 17). This effectively scuttles any chance Sujay has of getting confirmed this Congress.

Unfortunately, we don't have much recourse. Sujay's nomination will remain on Tuesday's business meeting agenda, but given his request, DeMint will exercise his prerogative and ask that she be held over. With no other business meetings scheduled this year, she'll remain stuck in Committee.

There's another factor at play here too. We learned yesterday afternoon that Sujay has taken it upon herself to reach out to different Senator's offices. I don't know what exactly she's been saying, but the leg officer (a State Department fellow) handling Sujay's nomination got an email from Hatch's office. He has been supportive of her and we have a good working relationship with them. I don't know what Sujay said, but the message back from Hatch's person is that "while we do support her, this really makes us question her common sense and judgment." We obviously told her to stop her outreach campaign.

Finally, Hatch's office also informed us that Brownback is rumored to be considering a hold on Sujay's nomination if DeMint for any reason relents.

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**To:** Rodriguez, Miguel E
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R
**Sent:** Fri Dec 10 04:20:48 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Sujay

What is the state of play?

---

**From:** Posner, Michael H
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Thu Dec 09 23:00:42 2010
**Subject:** Sujay

Cheryl

I assume that someone is keeping you up to date on Sujay's confirmation process. Here Is the latest. I am worried that the Rs simply will run out the clock so that we need start from scratch in early

next year.

Not sure if there is anything I can do , but if there is please let me know–

mp

---

**From:** Magarian, Sharyn
**Sent:** Thursday, December 09, 2010 4:04 PM
**To:** Fitzpatrick, Kathleen M; Alvarado, Victoria A; Johnstone, Kari A (DRL)
**Cc:** Posner, Michael H
**Subject:** DeMint-Sujay mtg scheduled for next Thursday

Scheduled for next Thursday at 1:45pm. It is a staff-only meeting.

FYI – We've also heard that Brownback might cause trouble too.

Sharyn

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 7:06 AM
**To:** H; 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

will move saeb
Bibi confirmed 12:30. Does that give u enough time?

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: Huma Abedin; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>
Cc: H
Sent: Fri Dec 10 04:05:48 2010
Subject: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

I'd like to start Saeb mtg early--at 10:30.

I'm worried that since Bibi call is on schedule for sometime btw 12:15 and 1:00 it could come right when I'm supposed to see Livni at 1. That would be a problem.

Can you find out 1)if Bibi could do at 12:15 and, if not, tell them I won't have enough time if it can't be until 1 so 2)could we do late tonight--at midnight my time or early Sat at 6am or noon?

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 9:33 AM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Snowe to back START

# Snowe Supports Senate Ratification of New START Treaty

**December 10, 2010**

WASHINGTON, D.C. – U.S. Senator Olympia J. Snowe (R-Maine) released the following statement in support of Senate ratification of the New START Treaty:

"The New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, known as New START, was signed by the United States and Russia on April 8th and transmitted for the advice and consent of the Senate on May 13th of this year. Since then, the U.S. Senate has held 18 hearings and as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, I have worked with my colleagues to scrutinize this agreement and ensure any classified matters are properly vetted. Much has changed since the original START was first negotiated in 1991, and as a result I have supported efforts to make certain that questions regarding our ability to verify Russian compliance with the Treaty's limits, to develop and deploy effective missile defenses, and to modernize our nuclear weapons complex, have been satisfactorily resolved.

"I am confident that New START will provide predictability in our relationship with Russia and thus enhance global stability, and most importantly, our national security. Therefore, if the Majority moves to consider New START under a framework that allows for sufficient debate and amendments, I intend to support the Resolution of Advice and Consent."

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 9:00 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Human Rights Day

----- Original Message -----
From: Posner, Michael H
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Otero, Maria
Sent: Sat Dec 11 08:59:12 2010
Subject: RE: Human Rights Day

Thanks! -- Secretary Clinton was terrific yesterday -- both in presenting the Eleanor Roosevelt awards and at the town hall -- please convey our appreciation. People in DRL were really energized by the whole day

mp

-----Original Message-----
From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, December 11, 2010 7:10 AM
To: Otero, Maria; Posner, Michael H
Cc: Richardson, Eric N; Waxman, Sharon L
Subject: Re: Human Rights Day

Here here!

----- Original Message -----
From: Otero, Maria
To: Posner, Michael H
Cc: Richardson, Eric N; Waxman, Sharon L; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 10 15:33:18 2010
Subject: Human Rights Day

Mike and all DRL staff:

Just a word to acknowledge you and express appreciation for all your dedicated work to improve the practice of human rights around the world. Your contribution is very important, and I recognize each of you on this Human Rights Day.

Best,
U/S Maria Otero

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

[redacted] B6

Traffic b/l explains

---

**From:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sat Dec 11 08:53:54 2010
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Got it thanks

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 08:53 AM
**To:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

[redacted] B6

---

**From:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Sat Dec 11 08:35:18 2010
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

[redacted] B6

Ok, he's pretty pissed about Crowley's response so it would be good if she can call at some point.

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 06:58 AM
**To:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's

Leaders

Sorry - [redacted] B6

---

**From:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Dec 10 16:55:07 2010
**Subject:** RE: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

If she can, his number in [redacted] B6

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 4:51 PM
**To:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

What was PJ's reaction?

Will check - am traveling so not on top of her sked

---

**From:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Dec 10 16:16:09 2010
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Any chance the Secretary could call Leahy to thank him this evening? The State Dept spokesman's reaction to Leahy's statement didn't help.

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 04:10 PM
**To:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Thank you

---

**From:** Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Fri Dec 10 12:57:58 2010
**Subject:** LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

# *Leahy Calls For Freeze*

# *Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders Who Are 'Trying To Subvert The Will Of The People'*

*[(FRIDAY, Dec. 10) -- U.S. Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) Friday said he has urged the Obama Administration to withhold funding to the central government of Haiti, and to suspend visas for travel to the United States by senior Haitian Government officials and their immediate family members, until necessary steps are taken to ensure a fair and democratic outcome to the elections held on November 28, 2010. Leahy chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on The State Department and Foreign Operations, which handles the Senate's work in funding foreign assistance, including aid to Haiti, and the State Department's budget. Leahy also chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles immigration policy issues. Leahy released the following statement:]*

"As if Haiti did not have enough problems, now, once again, those in power there are trying to subvert the will of the people. The United States must come down squarely in support of the Haitian people's right to choose their leaders freely and fairly. By suspending direct aid to the central government and visas for top officials and their immediate family members, the United States would be sending that message. This process needs to bring about a legitimate government respected by the Haitian people and recognized by the international community."

#####

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 12:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Out of Office AutoReply: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

I am currently out of the office and unavailable before 6:00pm EST today, December 10. If you need immediate assistance, please contact Nora Toiv, toivnf@state.gov, or Joanne Laszczych, laszczychj@state.gov, at 202-647-5548.

If this is an emergency, please call the Operations Center and have them reach out to me.

thank you.

cdm

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** What kati asked pj to put out

STATEMENT BY PHILIP J. CROWLEY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Update on Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

Ambassador Richard Holbrooke was admitted to George Washington University Hospital yesterday. This morning, doctors completed surgery to repair a tear in his aorta. He is in critical condition and has been joined by his family.

# # #

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 1:18 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Cancun statement for your sign off

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

The Cancun Agreements

Over the last year, the United States has worked with our international partners to build on the progress achieved at the climate change conference in Copenhagen. We have pressed for substantive steps that would advance the vision of the Copenhagen Accord. This month we joined the nations of the world in Cancun for a new round of talks aimed at mobilizing common action to meet the shared global challenge of climate change.

Today I am pleased to announce that we secured the Cancun Agreements, a set of balanced international decisions under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) which represent meaningful progress in our global response to climate change.

These agreements advance each of the core elements of the Copenhagen Accord: They anchor the Accord's mitigation pledges; build on a system of transparency with substantial detail and content of International Consultations and Analysis which will provide confidence that a country's pledges are being carried out; launch a new Green Climate Fund; create a framework to reduce deforestation in developing countries; establish a technology mechanism; and Setup a framework and committee to will promote international cooperation and action on adaptation.

The Cancun Agreements represent a balanced and significant step forward. In the days and months ahead, the United States will work with our friends and partners to keep the world focused on this urgent challenge and to continue building on this progress.

###

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 1:20 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Sarah Palin arrives in Haiti with mercy mission

**From**: Deyo, Justin A
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; Tomlinson, Christina
**Sent**: Sat Dec 11 13:18:20 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Sarah Palin arrives in Haiti with mercy mission

PORT-AU-PRINCE (AP) - Former Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin has arrived in Haiti. Palin arrived with the Rev. Franklin Graham as part of a humanitarian mission by his Samaritan's Purse relief organization. Group spokeswoman Roseann Denny says details about Palin's itinerary are not being released for security reasons. The potential U.S. presidential candidate is expected to visit the Haitian capital and stop by cholera-treatment centers and other projects of Graham's charity group.

Justin Deyo
U.S. Department of State
Operations Center (S/ES-O)
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 1:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S is calling Leahy today - thx for all the help; advise if a diff no for him today

See b/l

----- Original Message -----
From: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Dec 11 12:49:29 2010
Subject: Re: S is calling Leahy today - thx for all the help; advise if a diff no for him today

They spoke and it was good. He's on board. Thanks.

---
Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, December 11, 2010 12:06 PM
To: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
Subject: S is calling Leahy today - thx for all the help; advise if a diff no for him today

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 1:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Interesting

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Dec 11 12:19:38 2010
Subject: Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

I just spoke to him and he was fine--not sure he even knew about problem.

----- Original Message -----
From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 11 12:08:20 2010
Subject: Fw: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

B6

Traffic b/l explains

---

From: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Dec 11 08:53:54 2010
Subject: Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Got it thanks

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, December 11, 2010 08:53 AM
To: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
Subject: Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

[redacted] B6

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From: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sat Dec 11 08:35:18 2010
Subject: Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

[redacted] B6

Ok, he's pretty pissed about Crowley's response so it would be good if she can call at some point.

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Sorry - [redacted] B6

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To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 10 16:55:07 2010
Subject: RE: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

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Sent: Friday, December 10, 2010 04:10 PM
To: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations)
Subject: Re: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Thank you

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From: Rieser, Tim (Appropriations) <Tim_Rieser@appro.senate.gov>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Fri Dec 10 12:57:58 2010
Subject: LEAHY Calls For Freeze Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Leahy Calls For Freeze

Of Funds To Haiti's Central Government

And Of Travel Visas For The Government's Leaders

Who Are 'Trying To Subvert The Will Of The People'

[(FRIDAY, Dec. 10) -- U.S. Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) Friday said he has urged the Obama Administration to withhold funding to the central government of Haiti, and to suspend visas for travel to the United States by senior Haitian Government officials and their immediate family members, until necessary steps are taken to ensure a fair and democratic outcome to the elections held on November 28, 2010. Leahy chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on The State Department and Foreign Operations, which handles the Senate's work in funding foreign assistance, including aid to Haiti, and the State Department's budget. Leahy also chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles immigration policy issues. Leahy released the following statement:]

"As if Haiti did not have enough problems, now, once again, those in power there are trying to subvert the will of the people. The United States must come down squarely in support of the Haitian people's right to choose their leaders freely and fairly. By suspending direct aid to the central government and visas for top officials and their immediate family members, the United States would be sending that message. This process needs to bring about a legitimate government respected by the Haitian people and recognized by the international community."

#####

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 1:51 PM
**To:** H

B6

One START update: new START remains in the mix for next week, but when it will be fit into the schedule is not firmly decided. On Monday at 3.00 pm, the Senate will vote on cloture on the tax bill. They expect to obtain cloture. If the opponents require the use of all 30 hours, post-cloture, they will finish the tax bill on Tuesday evening. It is possible that new START will then be the next order of business. But that hasn't been decided yet. They could turn to the omnibus or back to don't ask don't tell as a stand alone measure. but we are still in the mix, and will have to keep pushing with Reid, Durbin, Schumer etc.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Saturday, December 11, 2010 2:45 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re:

B5

On the first, we have shared with them all of our intel on likely Republican votes. I think they know we are now well north of 67 votes. On the second, we have confirmed with the parliamentarian that we can move from the treaty to the appropriations bill by consent or with a simple majority vote. So if we begin start on tuesday night there is a way to get both measures done by the weekend. We will keep working it with Reid staff and floor staff over the weekend. If you have any reason to speak with Durbin (he's on sunday shows) or schumer, I'm sure that would help too.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Sat Dec 11 14:24:37 2010
Subject: Re:

B6

What's the best way to make sure it comes up next?

----- Original Message -----
From: Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sat Dec 11 13:50:47 2010
Subject:

B6

One START update: new START remains in the mix for next week, but when it will be fit into the schedule is not firmly decided. On Monday at 3.00 pm, the Senate will vote on cloture on the tax bill. They expect to obtain cloture. If the opponents require the use of all 30 hours, post-cloture, they will finish the tax bill on Tuesday evening. It is possible that new START will then be the next order of business. But that hasn't been decided yet. They could turn to the omnibus or back to don't ask don't tell as a stand alone measure. but we are still in the mix, and will have to keep pushing with Reid, Durbin, Schumer etc.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 11:07 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** jake.sullivan [redacted] B6
**Subject:** [redacted] B5

Jim is seeking your guidance on whether [redacted] B5
[redacted] Just wanted to confirm.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 12:08 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** Draft of your QDDR letter
**Attachments:** QDDR - S cover letter v2.docx

Here's a draft of your introductory letter for the QDDR. Jake and Anne-Marie have weighed in.

One question that's been raised is whether [redacted] B5

Thanks,
Josh

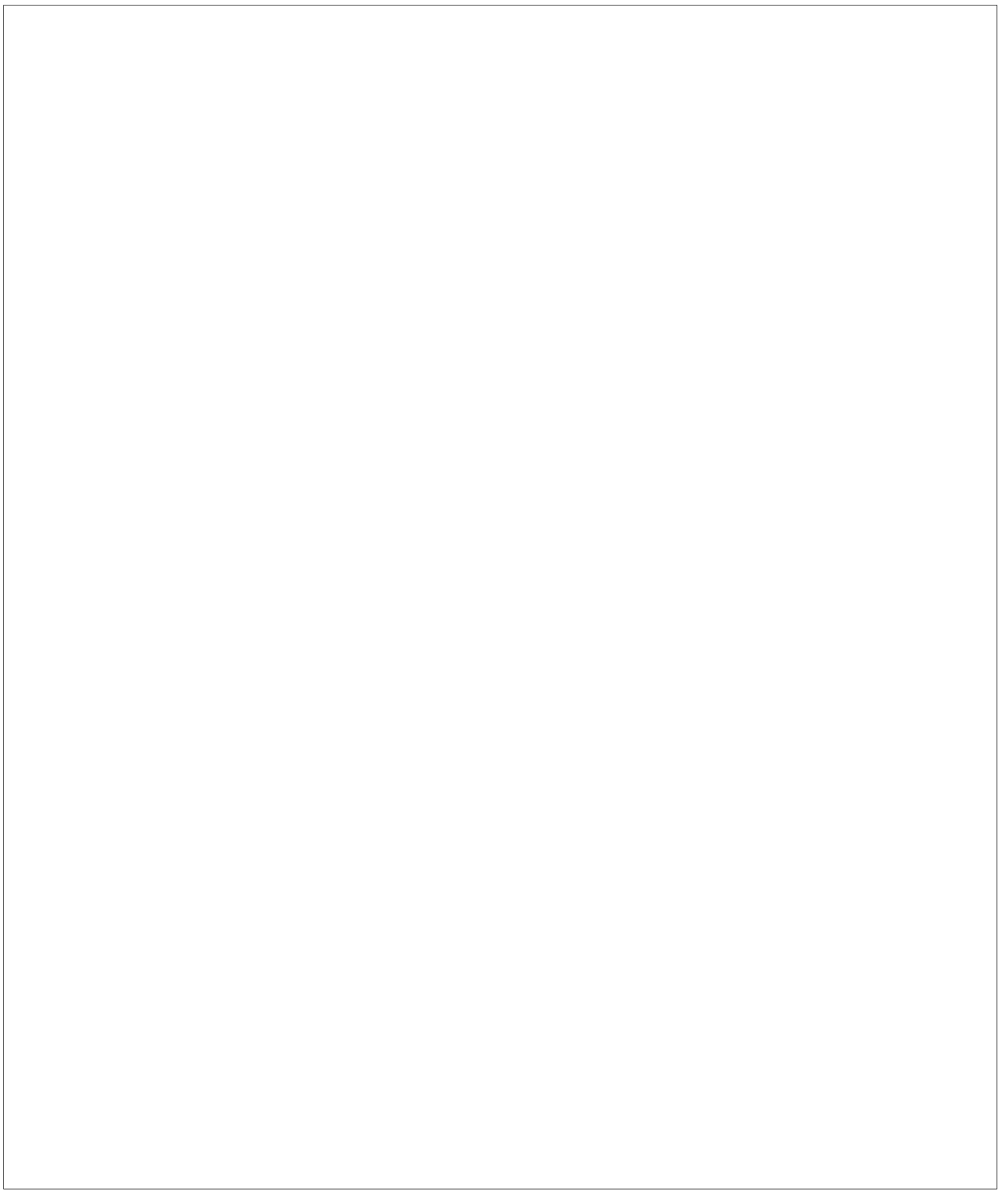
RELEASE IN PART B5

QDDR cover letter from S
12/12/2009 12 pm
Daniel 679-5606

*How can we do better?*

B5

QDDR cover letter from S
12/12/2009 12 pm
Daniel 679-5606



B5

QDDR cover letter from S
12/12/2009 12 pm
Daniel 679-5606

Hillary Rodham Clinton

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 10:38 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (CNN) Fayyad: Peace talks may need stronger U.S. mediation role

**From:** Withers, Anne M
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
**Cc:** SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-III
**Sent:** Sun Dec 12 21:22:29 2010
**Subject:** (CNN) Fayyad: Peace talks may need stronger U.S. mediation role

Washington (CNN) -- The United States may have to expand its role from Middle East peace talks facilitator to become a broker on specific core issues, Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad said on December 12. Appearing on the ABC program "This Week," Fayyad indicated that progress toward a peace settlement could occur in the short-term despite Israel's refusal to halt construction of new settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. However, Israel must provide specifics about its position on core issues such as what a Palestinian state would entail, the status of Jerusalem and the return of refugees, Fayyad said, adding that the lack of a new settlement freeze erodes trust in the process.

Asked if the United States would need to offer so-called "bridging" proposals on specific issues to try to stimulate negotiations, Fayyad said that "may be necessary." "It may be unavoidable, actually, for the United States, acting as a broker at some point, to come in with bridging proposals so we make this happen," he said. The interview, which included Israeli opposition leader and former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, took place two days after U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton outlined a direction for the peace process after giving up on trying to persuade Israel to again freeze settlement construction as a condition for the direct talks to resume.

http://edition.cnn.com/2010/US/12/12/mideast.talks/

RELEASE IN PART
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 11:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Mexican FM Espinosa

----- Original Message -----
From: Stern, Todd D (S/SECC)
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Dec 12 23:23:55 2010
Subject: Mexican FM Espinosa

Patricia Espinosa -- who was the President of the just-completed 16th Conference of the Parties (COP) on climate change in Cancun -- mentioned to me a couple days ago that she'd be seeing HRC in NY tomorrow.

Assuming that's accurate, just wanted to make sure you know that HRC should [redacted] B5

[redacted]

So HRC should [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 3:05 AM
**To:** H

I'm so devastated [redacted] B6

Mrs Mubarak has done a magnificent job with the conference. She asked me to go to a couple of the schools she has renovated in the poorest neighborhoods of Luxor as part of her schools' program. They are state of the art and become magnets for redevelopment. She sends her best. You have been mentioned with great affection repeatedly here by so many. I also went to a huge community renunciation of FGM in a rural area -- some 2000 villagers with men speaking eloquently about why this practice would be no more. This is another great effort they are making here to end FGM through community education. So amidst bad news, there is also the good. We also managed to dodge the latest wikileaks story here. Heading back tomw.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

**From:** PIR <preines[redacted]
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 6:14 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Huma Abedin; CEA
**Subject:** Press

Two notes on reporters who'll be in our small package today:

1) Laura Brown, Australian citizen who writes for Harpars Bazaar - she's embarking on a piece on you

2) Indira Lakshaman of Bloomberg is back to work after [redacted]

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D)

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 7:09 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Wiki/Ranneberger

Fyi

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/12/2035

**From:** Carson, Johnnie
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Burns, William J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mull, Stephen D
**Cc:** Goldberg, Philip S; Crowley, Philip J; Driano, Susan J; Pasi, Geeta; Wharton, David B; Yamamoto, Donald Y; Paradiso, Dante X
**Sent:** Mon Dec 13 06:31:05 2010
**Subject:** RE: Wiki/Ranneberger

B1
1.4(D)

Cheryl: I spoke to Ranneberger several times yesterday, and I have a call in to Prime Minister Odinga to talk about this and other issues. [redacted] I am following this closely. And we will have some press guidance for PJ this morning. Regards, Johnnie

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 6:11 AM
**To:** Burns, William J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mull, Stephen D; Carson, Johnnie
**Cc:** Goldberg, Philip S; Crowley, Philip J
**Subject:** Wiki/Ranneberger

KENYA

President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga warned Ambassador Ranneberger they would not tolerate his activities in the country. The statements come after reports Ranneberger has been funding youth groups to influence Kenya's political direction and described in leaked cables the Kenyan leadership as steeped in corruption.

(Daily Nation)

**From:** OpsAlert
**Sent:** Mon Dec 13 05:00:05 2010
**Subject:** Morning Press Highlights 12/13/I (U)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
*Operations Center*

# S/ES-O Morning Press Highlights

**Monday, December 13, 2010**
**0500 EST**

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

### COSTA RICA/NICARAGUA

Nicaraguan President Ortega said he is willing to meet with Costa Rican President Chinchilla to discuss the border dispute in the presence of "friendly" nations, but without the presence of Organization of American States officials. Ortega suggested Cuba, Venezuela, and Mexico, and said the dialogue must be free of conditions. *(Inside Costa Rica)*

### HAITI/NEPAL

Nepal's army denied Nepalese soldiers introduced cholera into Haiti. Army spokesperson Chettri said three independent studies demonstrated no Nepalese soldier carried the disease into Haiti, disputing a report by a French physician. *(Latin American Herald Tribune)*

## EUROPE

### UNITED KINGDOM/SWEDEN

British police searched a property near London in connection with the bombing in Stockholm. Scotland Yard said there were no arrests and no hazardous materials were found at the property, but the search is expected to resume later. *(BBC)*

### UNITED KINGDOM

The government is considering whether to ban controversial American preacher Terry Jones from entering the United Kingdom. Jones was invited to speak at a rally in February organized by the English Defense League. Interior Minister Theresa May said she is actively looking into the case. *(Al Jazeera)*

## AFRICA

### KENYA

President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga warned Ambassador Ranneberger they would not tolerate his activities in the country. The statements come after reports Ranneberger has been funding youth groups to influence Kenya's political direction and described in leaked cables the Kenyan leadership as steeped in corruption. *(Daily Nation)*

### SUDAN

Minni Minnawi declared dead the Darfur Peace Agreement he signed in 2006 with the Sudanese government, and disclosed talks with Abdel Wahid Al-Nur about the reunification of the Sudan Liberation Movement. *(Sudan Tribune)*

## SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA

### BANGLADESH

Grameen Bank chief Muhammad Yunus said he will not file any cases against the media over reports he diverted foreign aid even though he had been hurt by such reports. *(bdnews24)*

### PAKISTAN

The Sui Northern Gas Pipelines suspended supply to industry in Punjab to meet domestic heating demands. *(Dawn)*

## MIDDLE EAST

### IRAN

Asia's first aid convoy for Gaza arrived in Tehran. The Asian People's Solidarity for Palestine consists of 150 members from Japan, India, Malaysia, Thailand, and Bangladesh. The convoy will stop next in Turkey. *(Iran Daily)*

### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Economists said the Government of Dubai will be able to meet its obligations on $18 billion of debt next year. *(Gulf News)*

## EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

### THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

A ROK fishing vessel sank off Antarctica, leaving at least five crew members dead and 17 missing. A nearby ROK vessel rescued 20 crew members. The ROK asked New Zealand for help in rescue operations. *(Korea Herald)*

### PHILIPPINES

The government is considering a general amnesty for all political prisoners as proposed by former Speaker Venecia. President Aquino dropped charges on a group of health workers arrested in February on suspicion of being communist rebels. The Communist Party of the Philippines said about 400 political prisoners are still being held. *(Inquirer)*

Drafted: EACasteel Approved: PMValdez

**** Morning Press Highlights alerts senior Department officials to breaking news items and is a synopsis of select media stories from around the world. It solely reflects the gist of the stories as presented in their original publications and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources. ****

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 8:14 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: S-Lambah call
**Attachments:** Talking Points for Secretary Call to Lambah.docx

Can we discuss?

----- Original Message -----
From: Vali Nasr [redacted] B6
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Mon Dec 13 06:35:14 2010
Subject: S-Lambah call

Hi Jake

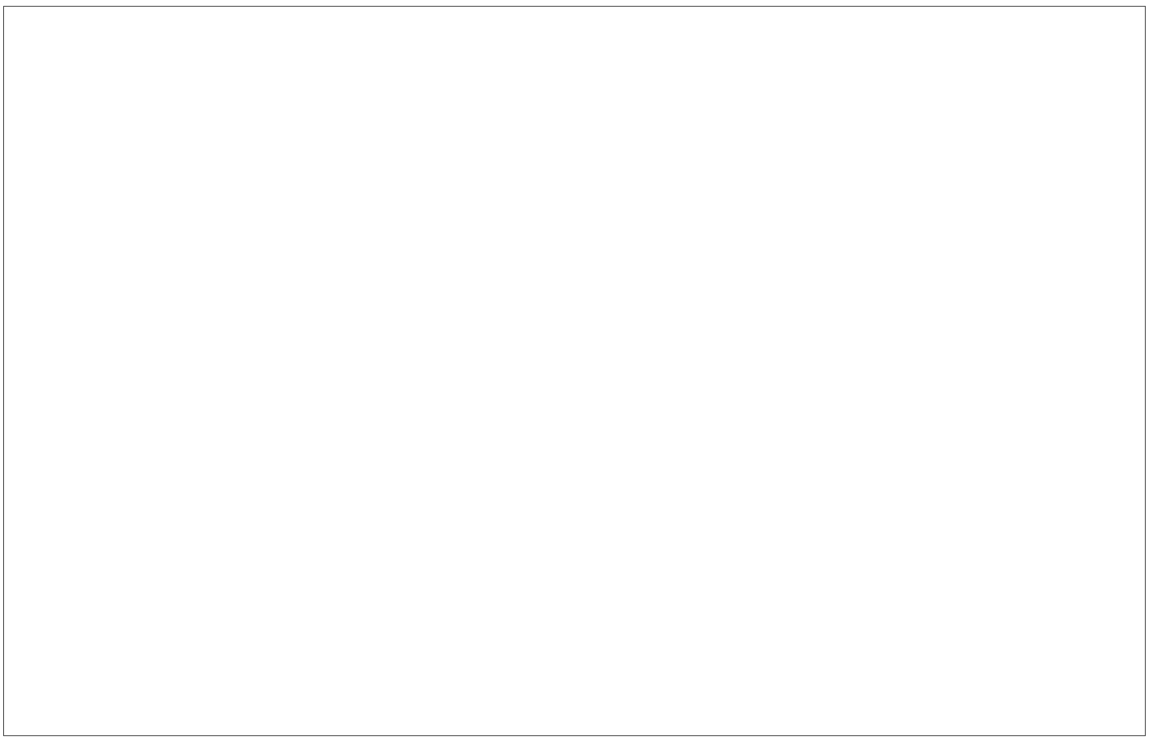
Attached are a few talking points for S call to Lambah. I talked to [redacted] about his conversation with S and his thoughts as well. I believe the recommendation was that the call would happen today to be most effective.

Best
Vali Nasr

RELEASE IN PART
B5

# Talking Points for Secretary Call to Lambah

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 8:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Iran Daily Special Report: FM Mottaki Removed

Fyi

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**From:** Lucas, Laura D
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** S_SpecialAssistants
**Sent:** Mon Dec 13 08:48:02 2010
**Subject:** Iran Daily Special Report: FM Mottaki Removed

FYI

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**From:** Eyre, Alan E
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 8:45 AM
**Cc:** SES-O_Shift-I; SES-O_Shift-II
**Subject:** IDB Special Report: FM Mottaki Removed

Semi-official Mehr News Service is reporting that President Ahmadinejad has removed Manucher Mottaki as Foreign Minister, and appointed Ali Akbar Salehi as the acting Foreign Minister (Details to follow).

**Alan Eyre**
**Director - Iran Reporting Office**
**Consulate General of the U.S.**
**Dubai, UAE**

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

**Israeli-Palestinian negotiations must be grounded in international law and human rights – define borders and address security issues first.**

**13 December 2010**
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For nearly two decades, there have been peace processes in the Middle East but no peace. In our recent visits to four countries across the region and the occupied Palestinian territory, we heard a consistent message: people want peace, but are skeptical about the process and have little faith in the international community to deliver.

There is now an opportunity to reassess the entire approach to the negotiations. The flawed U.S. effort to secure from Israel another partial freeze on settlement-building, in exchange for generous inducements, as a way of resuming direct talks between Israeli and Palestinian leaders has failed.

We now urge a renewed effort, firmly based on international law and respect for human rights, aimed at defining boundaries between Israel and a new Palestinian state and addressing security issues, without neglecting the other issues at the core of the conflict. Without such focus, we may see the possibility of a two-state solution slipping even further away.

Our primary purpose is to help bring peace and security to Israel and its neighbors.

**We therefore call on governments and citizens around the world to insist that future negotiations are based on the following:**

1. Universal human rights and respect for international humanitarian law must apply equally to all.

2. The occupation must end, and the aim of negotiations should be to define the boundaries of a future Palestinian state based on 1967 borders, including its capital in East Jerusalem. Such an accord could entail, if agreed, a one-to-one land swap to allow for minor adjustments. Initial negotiations should also aim at security arrangements in which both Israelis and Palestinians have confidence.

3. The remaining final status issues can be addressed more effectively once there is an agreement on borders and security.

4. Israeli settlements are illegal and all settlement activity must halt throughout the occupied Palestinian territory including in East Jerusalem.

5. Israel must lift its illegal and inhumane blockade of Gaza and stop the demolition and seizure of Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

6. Palestinian authorities in the West Bank and Gaza must end all human rights violations against political critics and rivals.

7. Israel's right to exist must not be denied. Incitement and calls for the destruction of

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 2:46 PM
**To:** H; hanleymr@state.gov
**Subject:** mitch mconnell just called for you. flagging for rich right now unless you are expecting this

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 4:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: And I don't know whether you've seen this yet...

ummmmm

**From:** Hyde, Dana
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 3:38 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Smith, Jeannemarie E; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: And I don't know whether you've seen this yet...

OMG

http://blogs.cgdev.org/mca-monitor/2010/12/twas-the-night-before-the-qddr.php

# Twas the Night Before the QDDR

**December 13, 2010**

By Connie Veillette in Rethinking U.S. Foreign Assistance Tags: QDDR

Twas two weeks before Christmas, when all through the town
Breaths were held expectantly, in the midst of a countdown.
With their keyboards ready, the bloggers abandoned all care,
Hoping that Secretary Clinton soon would be there.

The NGOs were nestled all snug in their beds,
Knowing the QDDR soon would be read.
And the Senate and House, with a sharp rap,
Had just left town for a long winter's nap.

When out on the Mall there arose such a clatter,
Aid analysts sprang from their cubicles to see what was the matter.
Away to their Inboxes they flew like a flash,
Tore open their emails and emptied the cache.

The moon on the breast of the soon-to-fall snow
Gave the lustre of mid-day to the stalled traffic below.
When, what to their wondering eyes should appear,
But an armored car, and eight men in full gear.

With a diplomatic wit, married to Bill,
They knew in a moment it must be St Hill.
More rapid than eagles her people, they came,
And she whistled, and shouted, and called them by name!

"Now Slaughter! Now, Radelet! Now, Geithner and Shah!
On, Nides! On, Steinberg! On Yohannes, hurrah!
To the top of the White House! To the top of the Hill!
Now dash away! Dash away! Get us good will!"

And then, in a flash, her people took to the phone
Spreading the word about what few had known.
As the developmentistas gathered to find common ground,
Behind the podium St Hillary came with a bound.

Her eyes-how they twinkled! Her hair how flaxen!
Her cheeks were like roses, the cameras were flashin'!
Her smart red suit was adorned with a bow,
The perfect "development diplomat" from head to toe.

She addressed the crowd on integration and elevation,
And gave USAID some special designation!
A wink of her eye and a twist of her head,
Soon let them dream that they had fewer things to dread.

She spoke many words, and expressed her complete vision,
While her colleagues set about implementing the QDDR's decision.
And laying her finger aside of her nose,
And giving a nod, she departed, nothing else to disclose!

She sprang to her car, to her team gave a whistle,
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle.
But they heard her exclaim, 'ere she drove out of sight,
"Just trust me on this, it will all be alright!"

May all your dreams come true, from your friends at the **Rethinking U.S. Foreign Assistance initiative** – Connie, Sarah Jane, and Casey – and with many thanks for the creative talents of Casey Dunning and Julie Walz.

**From:** Gavaghan, Ann
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 3:27 PM

**To:** Hyde, Dana
**Subject:** And I don't know whether you've seen this yet...

http://blogs.cgdev.org/mca-monitor/2010/12/twas-the-night-before-the-qddr.php

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 9:15 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Holbrooke

He was larger than life in everything he did -- from AfPak, the UN job, the Balkans - even to planning his annual Xmas party for you. It will be hard to imagine not having him in our midst.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 9:41 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** FW: Secretary Clinton's Statement regarding Ambassador Holbrooke

OMG – I just opened this!

**From:** Tomlinson, Christina
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 9:13 PM
**To:** NEWS-Mahogany; SSRAP_StaffAssistants
**Cc:** [redacted] SWO B6
**Subject:** Secretary Clinton's Statement regarding Ambassador Holbrooke

Please find following the statement released this evening.

Christina Tomlinson
Senior Watch Officer
Department of State Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release
December 13, 2010
2010/1811

*Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke passed away this evening, surrounded by his wife, Kati, his sons David and Anthony, his step-children Elizabeth and Chris Jennings, his daughter-in-law Sarah, and the rest of their family.*

*Secretary Clinton released the following statement on his passing:*

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Passing of Richard Holbrooke

Tonight America has lost one of its fiercest champions and most dedicated public servants. Richard Holbrooke served the country he loved for nearly half a century, representing the United States in far-flung war-zones and high-level peace talks, always with distinctive brilliance and unmatched determination. He was one of a kind -- a true statesman -- and that makes his passing all the more painful.

From his early days in Vietnam to his historic role bringing peace to the Balkans to his last mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Richard helped shape our history, manage our perilous present, and secure our future. He was the consummate diplomat, able to stare down dictators and stand up for America's interests and values even under the most difficult circumstances. He served at every level of the Foreign Service and beyond, helping mentor generations of talented officers and future ambassadors. Few people have ever left a larger mark on the State Department or our country. From Southeast Asia to post-Cold War Europe and around the globe, people have a better chance of a peaceful future because of Richard's lifetime of service.

I had the privilege to know Richard for many years and to call him a friend, colleague and confidante. As Secretary of State, I have counted on his advice and relied on his leadership. This is a sad day for me, for the State Department and for the United States of America.

True to form, Richard was a fighter to the end. His doctors marveled at his strength and his willpower, but to his friends, that was just Richard being Richard. I am grateful for the tireless efforts of all the medical staff, and to everyone who sat by his side or wished him well in these final days.

Tonight my thoughts and prayers are with Richard's beloved wife Kati, his sons David and Anthony, his step-children Elizabeth and Chris Jennings, his daughter-in-law Sarah, and all of his countless friends and colleagues.

###

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 10:27 PM
**To:** H; 'abedinh@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] want to stop [redacted] B6

He [redacted]

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Mon Dec 13 22:24:55 2010
Subject: [redacted] want to stop [redacted]

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 11:57 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** People

Are still here and so appreciative for all you did tonight and over the last several days.

You gave many the ability to push through.

XO
Cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 6:27 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** update

According to the Reid staff, they will tentatively start the Treaty on Wednesday and stay on it through COB Thursday. Then File cloture on the CR. It takes consent to stay on START while we wait for the CR cloture petition to ripen, which would be Saturday w/o consent. So at least two days on the Treaty, at a minimum, and possibly more. But, the good news, is that it appears that we are starting the Treaty, and will go back to it after the FY11 funding issues are resolved.

[redacted] B6

[redacted] We will re-double our efforts to support the SRAP team and do whatever you need in the coming days on Af/Pak and beyond.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 6:50 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Headed to Andrews

My flight takes off at 8 so call before if you have a minute.

CDM

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 7:26 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Last Night

----- Original Message -----
From: Nossel, Suzanne F
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Dec 14 06:56:07 2010
Subject: Last Night

Dear Huma and Jake:

If there is an appropriate way to do so, I wondered if you might convey to Secretary Clinton how much it meant to me personally and to so many of us that she led us last night for cathartic story-telling and laughter. It was such a terrible evening, but she managed to ignite warmth at a moment when everything felt frozen still. Her ability to lift us all up after a trip to Canada, hosting a huge reception, and on top of her own loss, was itself a rallying cry to soldier on the way Holbrooke would have insisted we do. She helped fill the tremendous sense of void with funny memories and an appreciation of how deeply he touched so many of us. I felt better by the time I left, and still do.

Many thanks,

Suzanne

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 7:53 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Re: Letter

That's right; we mean 09. We'll fix it. Thanks.
Sent via Blackberry.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Daniel, Joshua J
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Dec 14 07:38:38 2010
Subject: Letter

I think it is ready to go w one question: when you say in the 4th para, "last July", do you mean 09 or 10? I thought we started in 09.

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 9:35 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** can't say how sad I am about Holbrooke; fitful last night. xo Sid

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 12:26 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Remarks of the Spokesman of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan about the Sudden Death of Holbrooke//. دهالبروک دناڅاپي مرينې په اړه داسلامی امارت دویاند ځرګندونې /

See below (keep scrolling down to the English).

**From:** Rina Amiri [mailto B6
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 12:23 PM
**To:** Barnett Rubin; Ruggiero, Frank J; Feldman, Daniel F; Singh, Vikram J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Bommer, Ashley F; SSRAP_StaffAssistants; DeHart, James P
**Subject:** Fw: Remarks of the Spokesman of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan about the Sudden Death of Holbrooke//. دهالبروک دناڅاپي مرينې په اړه داسلامی امارت دویاند ځرګندونې /

A comic moment

**From:** Dr Tariq ghazniwal < B6
**Date:** Tue, 14 Dec 2010 16:49:09 +0500
**To:** alemarah1< B6
**Subject:** Remarks of the Spokesman of the Islamic Emirate of A fghanistan about the Sudden Death of Holbrooke//. دهالبروک دناڅاپي مرينې په اړه داسلامی امارت دویاند ځرګندونې /

## دهالبروک دناڅاپي مرينې په اړه داسلامی امارت دویاند ځرګندونې

دنړۍ دمعتبرو خبري اژانسونو دراپور له مخې دافغانستان او پاکستان لپاره د امریکایي ولسمشر بارک اوباما خانګړی استازی ، ریچارډ هالبروک ، چې له څه مودې راهیسې ورته دزړه رنځ پیدا شوی وه ، د۶۹ کلونو په عمر دامریکا دجورج واشنګټن پوهنتون په روغتون کې ساه ورکړه ، ریچارډ هالبروک چې د۲۰۰۹ کال دجنورۍ له ۲۲ مې داوباما له خوا ذافغانستان دقضیې پالنه او ځارنه ورلغارې شوې وه ، څه موده وړاندې یې رسنیو ته په ډاګه ویلې وه ، چې دژوند ترټولو له سخت او فشارواردوونکي حالت څخه تیریږي ، نومورۍ له همدې اعترافاتو څو ورځې وروسته ( تیره جمعه ) دافغانستان او سیمې دچارو په اړه دخپل کار په خانګړي دفتر کې بې سده شو، او په بیره روغتون ته ورسول شو ، چې بالاخره یې پرون خپل ستومانه ژوند ته دپای تکی کیښود .

دموضوع حساسیت ته په پام سره تراوسه امریکایي چارواکو دنومورۍ دناڅاپي رنځ دعللو په اړه ډیر څه نه دي ویلي ، خوداسې اوازې له وخته وې ، چې دامریکایي سیاست او دیپلوماسۍ دغه نومیالي ته له هغه وروسته دزړه رنځ پیدا شو کله چې یې دافغانستان له سخت او ناکام ماموریت سره پخوانی نوم او ګټلی اعتبار له ګوابښ سره مخ شو ، دغه راز دافغانستان اوږدیدونکي جګړه او دامریکایي ښکیلتیا مخ په خورې حالت ،هغه څه وه چې دلوړپورې مسؤل په توګه یې هالبروک تردایمي فشار او ذهني پریشانۍ لاندې ساته .

دافغانستان له قضایاوو څخه داسې ناولده پایلې راتو کیدل اوس کومه تراتکل پورته خبره نه حسابیږي ، دپخواني شوروي اتحاد دیرغل په مهال هم کله چې بحران اوج ته ورسید ترمیخایل ګورباچوف وړاندې دشوروي اتحاد دریو مشرانو( برژنف ،کنستانتین چرنینکو اوولادیمیراندرو پوف ) په ډیر کم زماني واټن کې پله پسې سکتې وکړې او له خپل سخت ماموریت څخه یې دهالبروک غوندې په مرګ اوږې سپکې کړې ، وروستۍ علامې داسې ځرګندوی لکه اوس چې په امریکایي سیاسي او پوځي کړیو هم هو به هو همدا رنځ لګیدلی وي ، ځومیاشتې وړاندې امریکایي ځلورستوریز جنرال ډیویډ پیټرایوس هغه مهال دامریکایي سناتورانو په وړاندې بې هوښه شو کله چې دافغانستان دقضیې په اړه تري پوښتنې وشوې ، دغه راز دهالبروک وروستي انجام ،دجنرال مک کرسټل برخلیک او ددفاع وزیر رابرټ ګیټس داستعفا ګوابښ ته په کتو داپه ځرګنده معلومیږي چې دافغانستان جګړه نور په امریکایي سیاسي او پوځی مشرانو تروروستی کچې غمبدلې ده نوځکه څوک په مرګ او څوک په ژوند تري خانونه وزګاروي .

دامریکایي لوړپورې سیاستوال هالبروک داناڅاپي مرینه داسې مهال رامنځته کیږي چې داوباما په مشرۍ امریکایي تصمیم نیونکي له څو ورځو راهیسې دافغانستان دقضیې له سره جاج اخلي اوکیدای شي چې په څو راتلونکو ورځو کې به خپله تګلاره له سره اعلان کړي ، زمونږ په اند لوړه پیښه دامریکایي پالیسي جوړونکو لپاره دیوه مهم او درس آموز رویداد حیثیت لري ، چې ډیر په موقع رامنځ ته شوي او دنوي ستراتیژۍ په تاکلو کې ډیر څه تري زده کیدلای شي .

په افغانستان کي دامريکايي بوختيا لا ويجاړيدونکي وضعيت ته په پام سره دافغانستان اسلامي امارت يوخل بيا په امريکايي مقاماتو غږ کوي ، چي نور دي په دي هيواد دخپلي پوخي او استعماري سلطي خيال له ذهنه وباسي ، دوی دنويو پوخی ستراتيژيو په تاکلو سره کله هم نه شي توانيدلی خپل دناکامی په پوله ولاړ يرغل په بري واروي ،که دوی په دي حالت لاهم تينګار کوي پرته له دي چي دامول نااتکل کړي جنجالونه ورپيښ شي دغه رازيي سياسي اوپوخی حلقي له همیشني بحران او نامطلوب حالت سره مخ شي نور به هيڅ هم ترلاسه نه کړي .

دافغانستان داسلامي امارت ويانډ قاري محمد يوسف احمدي

8-1-1432

14-12-2010

# Remarks of the Spokesman of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan about the Sudden Death of Holbrooke.

According to credible news agencies of the world, the American president's Special Envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Richard Holbrooke, died in George Washington's University hospital at the age of 69. He had been suffering from a heart's disease for the past days.

Appointed on 22nd January 2009, as special envoy for Afghanistan/ Pakistan, Holbrooke was keeping an eye on the Afghan issue. Some times ago, he told reporters that he had been passing through a difficult phase of his life, exerting crippling and sapping pressure on him.

He passed out in his exclusive office for Afghanistan and regional affairs on Friday last, following his above-mentioned reveals and his life of toils and fatigues ended after admission into a hospital where he breathed his last yesterday.

The American rulers have not made any remarks about the cause of his sudden death in view of the sensitivity of the issue but rumors have it that this giant of the American politics and diplomacy became ill with a heart disease when his previous fame and credibility came under question after the unremitting failures of the mission of Afghanistan and his facing the difficult task. The protracted Afghan war and the descending trajectory of the Americans' handling of the warfare in the country had had a lethal dent on Holbrook's health as a high-ranking American official. He was grappling with a constant psychological stress.

Emergence of this untoward phenomenon as an off-shoot of the Afghan issue is not now a strange thing. The same was the case with the former Soviet Union as the crisis touched its climax. Former Soviet leaders Brezhnev, Konstantin Cherninkove and Vladimir Andropov had heart attacks in a short time distance before the coming to scene of Michael Gorbachove. They relieved themselves of the hard task of the Afghan mission by retreating into the lap of death .

The recent symptoms are indicating that an outbreak of the same epidemic diseases has started in the political and military echelons of America.

A **few months ago, an American four stars general, , general David Peteraeus, fainted during a senate hearing when he faced tough questions as regards the issue of Afghanistan.** The end of Holbrooke, the fate of general Mc Crystal and the defense Secretary Robert Gate's warning to step down show that the war of Afghanistan is heavily weighing down on the psyche of the American military and political high-ups. Some of them lighten their burden by simply going to the other world and others, while being still alive, choose to avoid shouldering the mission.

The sudden death of a high-ranking American diplomat happens in a time that American strategists under the chair of Obama have been reviewing the issue of Afghanistan for the past few days. They will expectedly announce their decision soon.

We believe Holbrooke's timely death could have a didactic effect on the American strategists, teaching them many things to learn. In view of the American entanglement in the aggravating swamp of Afghanistan, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan calls on the American powers-that-be to abandon their dream of military domination and colonial sway in Afghanistan. Their formulation of new military strategies will never change the imminent defeat into a victory in the country. Still if they are bent on continuing with the status quo, they will face many unexpected events and imbroglios. Their political and military circles will have to grapple with constant crisis and untoward situations. Nothing more than that, they will achieve.

Qari Yousaf Ahamadi

Spokesman of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

**يږک اوي تخليـــهګواکونوخپلـــــي 7 قـرارخ کـــايي ىهلمنـد:امر**

احمدي يوســف/قـاري 14 December 2010 05:51 ,شـــنبه سه

کلاپـــه ىدموس ولايـــت ىدد ىدوکـبراو پـه شـــپي ري ىدت ىچ ورکـوي خـبر مجاهدين امارت داسـلامي خه خ هلمنـــدولايت لـه نـه مي ىس لـه تم دچورلکوپـــه عســـکريي اوميشـــت يږک تخليـــه وي امکـقـرار اوه واکونوخپلـــــي خ کـــايي ىامر يک ىولســـوال . دي تيـــدلي ښت

تـهءولسـوال يـنګسـن ې چ ې ک سـيمه پـه دشـابانءولسـوال ې دد مرکزونـه واکونوخپـلـ خ کـايي ءامر وايـي مجاهدين مي ءدس
. دي ولـيـ خسـو يـي سـامانونه پراتـه بنـي اوپـک بمونوالوزولـي پـه، ده پرتـه مرغا اودهلمنددرودپـه ې دنـژ

يـي امله لـه ې چ وچاوديـدل ماينونـه دوه مهال پـه تـي بنـدتـي ې بـج دولـس شـپه عسـکروتيره پـه من بنـدد خبرزيـاتوي
. دي پـاتي ې ک ءاخ پـه بنـي دپـي سهارهم اوس يـي ءاودريـش ي بنـغو ې چ شـول مرم ءاخ پـه ءاخ عسـکر امريکـايي لورتنـه خ

**American invaders flee from 7 bases in Helmand**

HELMAND, Dec. 14 – Reports from Musa Kala district say that American invaders fled from 7 of their bases by helicopters last night.

Mujahideen say that the invaders bombed their bases, destroying everything inside. The bases were located in the districts Shaban area which is on close proximity to Sangin district.

Reports add that 2 mines exploded on the Americans while they were fleeing as a result 4 were killed. Their limbs and uniforms are still scattered around the blast scene.

Dr Tariq

www.alemarah.biz
www.alemarah-iea.net
www.shahamat.info

Email: B6
-- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Qari Yousuf Ahmadi
Phone #:0093705186939
Email: B6
-- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Zabihullah Mujahid

Phone # : 0093705464754
Email: B6

--
Dr Tariq Ghazniwal
www.alemarah.info
www.shahamat1.org
www.alsomod.org

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E <RodriguezME@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 2:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Nides

----- Original Message -----
From: Rodriguez, Miguel E
To: Abedin, Huma; Campbell, Piper; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Verma, Richard R
Sent: Tue Dec 14 14:43:25 2010
Subject: Nides

Was just voted out of Committee by voice vote (unanimous).

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 4:10 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw:

----- Original Message -----
From: Howard Paster <HPaster@wpp.com>
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Dec 14 15:41:07 2010
Subject: Re:

Thanks. Had surgery a week ago for infection on brain. Now tethered to 24/7 antibiotic infusion pump. A big bother, but don't feel ill. Sorry to miss Thursday dinner. All good wishes.

----- Original Message -----
From: "Mills, Cheryl D" [MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: 12/14/2010 03:31 PM
To: <hpaster@wpp.com>;"U.S. Dept of State Protocol" <CeremonialsRSVP@state.gov>
Cc: "Marshall, Capricia P" <MarshallCP@state.gov>
Subject: Re:

XO

Are you doing okay?

Cdm

----- Original Message -----
From: Howard Paster <HPaster@wpp.com>
To: U.S. Dept of State Protocol
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Marshall, Capricia P
Sent: Tue Dec 14 14:32:53 2010
Subject:

I very much regret I must decline the Secretary's invitation to dinner December 16 because of recent surgery and would be grateful to be included in subsequent discussions. Thank you.

Howard Paster

Privileged/Confidential Information may be contained in this message. If you are not the addressee indicated in this message (or responsible for delivery of the message to such person), you may not copy or deliver this message to anyone. In such case, you should destroy this message and kindly notify the sender by reply email.

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RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 9:29 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) published its statement

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 12/13/2025**

**From** [redacted]
**To**: Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent**: Tue Dec 14 21:21:04 2010
**Subject**: Re: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) published its statement

B1
1.4(D)

Dear Melanne:

[redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

B1
1.4(D)

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

---

**From:** "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>
**Date:** Tue, 14 Dec 2010 19:09:47 -0500
**To:**
**Subject:** Re: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) published itsstatement

Where do things stand at the moment?

---

**From:**
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 13:22:35 2010
**Subject:** Fw: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) published itsstatement

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

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**From:** "Amiaud, Camille"
**Date:** Tue, 7 Dec 2010 10:48:52 -0500
**To:**
**Subject:** Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) published its statement

B6

B1
1.4(D)

Dear all,

The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD - directorate under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) just published a new statement:

> **Report on Norwegian assistance to Grameen Bank**
> Norad submitted its report today on Norwegian support to Grameen Bank in Bangladesh in the 1980s and 1990s.
>
> Minister of the Environment and International Development Erik Solheim requested Norad to prepare the report after the Norwegian television series "Brennpunkt" raised the question of where the Norwegian aid money had gone.
>
> Norad's report shows that Grameen Bank transferred a total of NOK 608.5 million to its sister company Grameen Kalyan in 1996. Norway's share of this amount is estimated to be approximately NOK 170 million. The Norwegian Embassy in Dhaka reacted immediately when it discovered the transfer in 1997. In the embassy's view, the transfer was not in accordance with the

agreement. The matter was raised with Grameen Bank. Following negotiations, it was agreed in May 1998 that NOK 170 million was to be transferred back from Grameen Kalyan to Grameen Bank.

"According to the report, there is no indication that Norwegian funds have been used for unintended purposes, or that Grameen Bank has engaged in corrupt practices or embezzled funds. The matter was concluded when the agreement concerning reimbursement of the funds was entered into in May 1998 under the government in office at the time," said Mr Solheim.

The report will be made available in English at mfa.no as soon as possible.

Press contact: Christian Grotnes Halvorsen, mobile tel.: +47 48 153 748

Source: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website.

Please do not hesitate to contact us for any further information,

Best regards,

Camille Amiaud
**Burson-Marsteller**
6 rue Escudier - 92772 Boulogne-Billancourt
**Office: +33 1 41 86 76 64**
Standard: +33 1 41 86 76 76

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 10:04 PM
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
**Subject:** Re: Friday

That was what Iona had when she went in to talk to u.
But that's changed now obviously.

----- Original Message -----
From: H
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Tue Dec 14 22:03:09 2010
Subject: Friday

I just saw the line schedule which said I was taking the 3pm shuttle, but I thought I was taking the 2?

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 12:06 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: #1 Social Media campaign of 2010

Fyi

----- Original Message -----
From: Alec Ross [redacted] B6
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue Dec 14 22:15:25 2010
Subject: #1 Social Media campaign of 2010

That would be ours ... http://adage.com/bookoftens2010/article?article_id=147616

And let the record reflect, when they say "mobile effort-backed by TV and spread across Twitter and Facebook..." was a little something developed and made viral by less than a half dozen people ... all of whom had "State Department" on the upper left-hand corner of their checks

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 7:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Daniel, Joshua J
**Subject:** A new draft of the town hall speech
**Attachments:** QDDR TownHall v7.docx

Madame Secretary, I wanted to flag for you that we have just sent Huma a new draft of your town hall speech that reflects considerable changes over night from Anne-Marie and others. We are continuing to polish it but wanted you to have a chance to see its new direction.
Dan

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:18 AM
**To:** H; Schwerin, Daniel B
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** RE: A new draft of the town hall speech

It's at the bottom of page 1:

...Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. This is a huge loss for our Department and our country, and we are dedicating this first QDDR to his memory. Because every day, I see many of the qualities that made Richard great ...

-----Original Message-----
From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:15 AM
To: Schwerin, Daniel B
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Daniel, Joshua J
Subject: Re: A new draft of the town hall speech

Just got draft. Is there a reason we don't mention the dedication to Holbrooke?

----- Original Message -----
From: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 15 07:42:11 2010
Subject: A new draft of the town hall speech

Madame Secretary, I wanted to flag for you that we have just sent Huma a new draft of your town hall speech that reflects considerable changes over night from Anne-Marie and others. We are continuing to polish it but wanted you to have a chance to see its new direction.
Dan

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 7:43 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Speech this morning

I will be at a USGLC breakfast doing qddr so won't be at morning meeting. You will see speech, which is very hard to write given magnitude of report coupled w/ own hall setting. We have aimed it really at press, to try to focus them as precisely as possible in what we want their stories to be, so it's important to get those key message out. But I would just urge you also to speak from the heart -- you know what this is reallly about better than anyone and if your passion for making this happen and commitment to getting it done come through, it will frame the entire exercise. This is your only chance to speak to the press about 14 months of work until we relaunch in january. There is too much going on to make headlines, but we want there to be positive press saying you are ahead of the curve (and the new Congress) in making govt work better. AM

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 1:22 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** tax bill

Passed the Senate 81 to 19. START vote on motion to proceed should be at 2:15.

RELEASE
IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 1:47 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Matt Lee's piece with write-through

**From:** Klevorick, Caitlin B
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 12:43 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Crowley, Philip J; Hyde, Dana; Kennedy, Patrick F; Verma, Richard R; Burke-White, William; Hanrahan, Karen J; McAuliffe, Marisa S; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Matt Lee's piece with write-through

December 15, 2010

# Clinton Seeks to Revamp Diplomacy, Development

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Filed at 11:26 a.m. EST**

WASHINGTON (AP) — Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on Wednesday will unveil plans to restore civilian diplomacy and development to its former role as the leading edge of American foreign policy.

Clinton is scheduled to present the results of a wide-ranging review of the operations of the State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development, conducted with the aim of better responding to global threats and emergencies. The proposed changes will "give our military the partner it needs and deserves," according to an advance copy of the document obtained by The Associated Press.

The plan calls for hiring 5,500 new personnel, creating new positions and the consolidating others under a revamped and streamlined leadership structure.

The plan also outlines a strategy to reduce the government's reliance on private contractors, which has rapidly expanded over the past decade, particularly in Iraq and Afghanistan.

"We will work to break down walls between agencies," Clinton wrote in an introduction. "We will eliminate overlap, set priorities, and fund only the work that supports those priorities. We will empower our people to make decisions and hold them accountable for the results."

No price tag is associated with the changes, which are being presented as a new Congress prepares to be seated next month. Many Republicans, who are now the majority in the House, have called for deep spending cuts in the State Department and foreign operations budgets. Moreover, one of Clinton's most powerful allies in efforts to boost civilian operations — Defense Secretary Robert Gates — plans to leave his post sometime in the coming year.

In her introduction, Clinton said the goal is to ensure that the taxpayer dollar is spent wisely. "It's an important exercise even in the best economic times. In tough times, it's critical," she wrote.

The plan would set up bureaus for international energy affairs and crisis and conflict operations at State, as well as offices for policy planning and science and technology at USAID. It would also add a special State Department cyber security coordinator and expand the department's counterterrorism office.

More broadly, the review calls for giving greater authority to ambassadors and other senior diplomats abroad, making them the top managers for implementing policy across all U.S. government agencies that have offices in their respective embassies or consulates.

"It sounds basic, but it's the kind of change that will help us tap the full potential of our civilian power," Clinton wrote.

The proposals grow out of the findings of a Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review that Clinton ordered when she became secretary of state, and reflects the Obama administration's "smart power" approach to foreign policy stressing civilian over military operations.

The review is dedicated to the late Richard Holbrooke, the veteran diplomat who died Monday.

"He represented the best of our nation's civilian power," it says. "He understood that we cannot project our leadership unless we also promote our values."

The plan proposes expanding the existing undersecretary of state for democracy and global affairs position to include civilian security and human rights. The new crisis and conflict operations bureau would report to this official and coordinate civilian responses to humanitarian emergencies with USAID.

At USAID, the proposal calls for tripling the hiring of midlevel workers from 30 to 95 per year to reduce reliance on outside contractors. This aims to reverse the 38 percent decline in the agency's work force between 1990 and 2007.

Caitlin Klevorick
Office of the Counselor
Department of State
KlevorickCB@state.gov
202.647.6115
[redacted] (blackberry)

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 1:48 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: she is simply a rock star

Traffic below from bottom up

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 1:45 PM
**To:** Hyde, Dana; Smith, Jeannemarie E; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Subject:** RE: she is simply a rock star

[redacted] B6

cdm

**From:** Hyde, Dana
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 12:50 PM
**To:** Smith, Jeannemarie E; Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** RE: she is simply a rock star

Jeanne said it all.

[redacted] Xxooo B6

**From:** Smith, Jeannemarie E
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 12:46 PM
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Hyde, Dana
**Subject:** RE: she is simply a rock star

And without your drive, patience and resilience we would not have made it to today.
It was wonderful to see you beaming.
I think we all had a little joy.

Jeanne Smith
Senior Advisor
Office of Deputy Secretary Lew
Room 7240
202-647-0009
[redacted] (mobile) B6

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 12:44 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Hyde, Dana; Smith, Jeannemarie E
**Subject:** she is simply a rock star

I do NOT know how she does it, but listening to her speak about the issues that we all care about so much, with such passion and depth of knowledge, made it all worthwhile many times over, and I

honestly did not think I could ever say that. That is why we do what we do. I looked over and saw the three of you standing there – I'm sure I must have looked like a proud parent – and was very proud to be part of the team. We did something really important.
AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan < [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 4:25 PM
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Subject:** Fwd: Re BB

fyi

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **aclb** < [redacted] B6
Date: Wed, Dec 15, 2010 at 2:17 PM
Subject: Re BB
To: "jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted] B6

Spoke to him. He agreed to the approach of a 2 stage package of CBMs. Secretary said she would follow up and back it . He's waiting for her call. If that's positive I will go out and get him signed up.

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RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:19 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: Bill Burke White

Agree – he did all the writing and integrating in the first instance and stayed up over the last 48 hours to integrate everything.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 7:24 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Bill Burke White

He should get some kind of love from S for his work on the QDDR. It was pretty incredible what he did toiling behind the scenes.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:36 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: thanks again

Nice

Forgot to tell you about our harrowing circling and attempted landings last night . . .

**From:** McGovern[redacted] B6
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 6:21 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** thanks again

**Hi Cheryl,**

**Thank you once again for the lift to Santo Domingo and for your support and friendship.**

[redacted] B6

**After our adventure last night, I had a delayed reaction to my good news. At the risk of sounding corny, I work up this morning feeling glad to be alive, thankful for the privilege of working with smart, dedicated and passionate people like you, and fortunate to live in a country with clean water, electricity, education, and healthcare.**

**I hope that you, David and your kids have a happy, safe and healthy holiday season.**

**Warmly,**

**Gail**

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:49 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: EU Stopped EURO 47 Million

**From:** Merten, Kenneth H
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 3:59 PM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Adams, Thomas C; Mcdonald, Kara C; 'Restrepo, Daniel A.'; Reynoso, Julissa
**Cc:** Lindwall, David E
**Subject:** EU Stopped EURO 47 Million

Lut tells me EU stopped EURO 47 Million disbursement of direct budget support until the crisis is resolved and there is a verifiably democratically elected govt in place.

Kenneth Merten
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Port-au-Prince, Haiti
Tel: 509-2-229-8000

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 10:49 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D
**Subject:** Fw: more wikithink

Worth a read.

**From:** Baer, Daniel B
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Ross, Alec J
**Sent:** Wed Dec 15 22:28:21 2010
**Subject:** more wikithink

Jake
I am up in the middle of the night in Brussels and took a quick stab at stringing together some of the pieces of the "moral argument". I am not sure how coherent it all is, (caveat lector) and don't want to confuse efforts to pull together talkers for S, but thought I'd share.

This could be boiled down further into key points (and the below is meant to stand on its own as an argument but not be exclusive of others—re internet freedom and wikileaks, for example)

But I think it gets at some of what I think is missing...esp the bit at the end about the alternative---
D

1) Clear thinking demands avoiding simple analogies, or false syllogisms. Some have called WL whistleblowing. Some have lauded it for contributing to transparency. But the comparison and inferences don't hold up. Whistleblowing is when someone reveals an act of official wrongdoing, and because it is official wrongdoing we assume that it's in the public interest to know about this and hold the culprits accountable. Instead what WL is exposing, by and large, is a vast number of official acts of rightdoing—diplomats engaged often with partners from other governments or civil society, in solving the kind of practical problems that arise in a world made up of nearly two hundred nations. Many of the legitimate objectives of these officials—whether securing dangerous materials or negotiating agreements that will advance good governance and human rights—cannot be accomplished in a single conversation or interaction. Instead they are long-term ongoing projects that require trust, tactical sequencing of interactions, and above all, confidence. It's not the ultimate objectives that are confidential—indeed, they are quite public and leaders routinely outline them in speeches, world peace, security, prosperity, etc. Rather it's simply the case that accomplishing good objectives demands the kind of cooperative engagement that confidential relations permit, and so, while we can and should maintain a general commitment to transparency, we also can and should recognize that a responsible government that that is to be held accountable for delivering benefits for its people, will sometimes need to work in confidence in order to do so. Whistleblowing exposes misconduct that runs counter to the interests of citizens. Wikileaks undermines good conduct on behalf of citizens.

2) Absent a world government, it is the relations between states and peoples, whether through formal institutions or everyday conversations and connections, that provides global governance. The formal relations between states, made up of so many constellations of individual interactions, weave the fabric of a blanket of peace and stability, one which creates a permissive environment in which states can live up to their responsibility to provide for and protect people's rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ICCPR and other documents international and domestic lay out the standards, but it is the quality of governance at both the domestic and international levels that determines whether or not people enjoy those rights in their everyday lives.

3) Some of those who are cheering Assange mistakenly believe that his action constitutes a speech act in a debate about good governance—that his action constitutes a kind of critique, a demand for a particular kind of better behavior. But it doesn't constitute a critique or a demand—this is not an exchange with another interlocutor about a particular position or action. The exposure of 250,000 cables isn't a critique of any one of them; it's an attempt to harm the medium itself—confidential communication among governments—rather than a rejection of the messages. This isn't part of a particular debate, it's an action that undermines a key pillar of the system of governance in which all debates can safely take place, in which individuals can, if they're lucky enough to live in the kind of places that Assange has spent his life, make specific criticisms of the government, march, speak out, protest, and do so with the protection of the rule of law.

4) In this specific case it is the communications of the United States that have been compromised. We regret the embarrassment this has caused with some of our partners. We deplore the risk it has imposed on innocent people on the frontlines of struggles against corruption or rights abuses around the world. But we are taking steps to manage the consequences, address them, and to make future incidents less likely. But the attack on legitimate confidential relations between governments is not an attack on the particular government in question, it's an attack on the constellation of relationships and interactions referenced above, the informal agreements, debates, discussions, etc through which governments around the world manage—imperfectly to be sure—to work out their differences and find common ground and common cause; to maintain global order and stability on which the security of their citizens and the citizens of other nations depends; to support and sustain the commercial networks that can augment global prosperity; to do, in short, what citizens count on their governments to do.

5) If wikileaks seeks to undermine this mode of international politics, it's not clear what it seeks to replace it with. A world in which every step of climate negotiations were exposed in real time would not be more prepared to confront the threat of climate change. A world in which every discussion among finance ministers were immediately publicized would not have fewer financial crises. A world in which every discussion of how to counter plots of terrorists or secure dangerous nuclear materials were on the front pages of the world's newspapers would not be more safe.

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

**From:** sbwhoeop
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 11:01 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** H: Jamie Rubin finally lands. Sid

The unsigned editorials will appear in all of Bloomberg's online and print media properties — including Bloomberg Businessweek, Bloomberg.com and the nearly 300,000 financial data terminals leased to Wall Street traders and businesses around the world. It will be run by two distinguished voices: James P. Rubin, a former assistant secretary of state under Bill Clinton, and David Shipley, editor of The New York Times Op-Ed page.

December 15, 2010

# Bloomberg to Publish Editorials

By JEREMY W. PETERS

Being mayor of New York City would be a large enough platform for just about anyone. But apparently not for Michael R. Bloomberg.

The mayor's company, Bloomberg L.P., said on Wednesday that it would begin publishing editorials across its vast media enterprise in an effort to broaden the company's influence on national affairs. And though Mr. Bloomberg has an agreement with the city to have no involvement in the "day-to-day operations" of his company, the endeavor, called Bloomberg View, is intended to channel his personal philosophy and worldview.

"I think it's very important that everyone understands that our editorial page is going to be, for sure, consistent with the values and beliefs of the founder — even if he happens to be mayor of New York City," said Matthew Winkler, the editor in chief of Bloomberg News. "I fully expect us in our Bloomberg View always to reflect those values. In fact, I want people to come away from reading the Bloomberg View infused with those beliefs and values."

The effort presents a host of conflict-of-interest questions for the mayor. The new venture provides the mayor with yet another potent communications apparatus — one that carries his name and imprimatur — to sound off on issues that collide with his job as mayor, his corporate interests and his expanding philanthropic empire.

Bloomberg L.P. executives said they would not shy away from publishing editorials on issues in which Mr. Bloomberg has a direct interest as mayor, like education, public health and environmental policy. Mr. Winkler said the editorials would not avoid such issues but would disclose the mayor's involvement when warranted.

Though Mr. Bloomberg will not have a hand in conceiving and writing the editorials, he is likely to offer feedback from time to time before they are published, Mr. Winkler said.

"I think that there's a very good chance that's going to happen," he said, referring to Mr. Bloomberg's occasional involvement. It is unclear whether that level of involvement is permitted under his agreement with the city to remain at arm's length from the company.

A spokesman for the mayor, Stu Loeser, said the mayor was allowed limited involvement in his agreement with the city. "Weighing in from time to time is consistent with his being the majority shareholder of the company he founded," he said.

As someone whose presidential ambitions are the source of endless speculation, acquiring the platform of an editorial page is certain to draw more attention to Mr. Bloomberg's plans. (On Sunday, Mr. Bloomberg ruled out a run for president.)

The unsigned editorials will appear in all of Bloomberg's online and print media properties — including Bloomberg Businessweek, Bloomberg.com and the nearly 300,000 financial data terminals leased to Wall Street traders and businesses around the world. It will be run by two distinguished voices: James P. Rubin, a former assistant secretary of state under Bill Clinton, and David Shipley, editor of The New York Times Op-Ed page.

Opinion and commentary have not typically been areas of focus for Bloomberg, with its just-the-facts approach. In fact, the mayor has complained about the corrosive effect of the 24-hour news cycle and overheated political commentary in the blogosphere.

But company leaders, including Mr. Bloomberg, who has been aware of the project since it was conceived more than two years ago, saw an opportunity to extend their influence.

For a firm that has made no secret of its ambitions to become the most influential media company in the world, starting an editorial operation is the latest effort to propel it beyond its core mission as a financial news service.

The notion of media barons using editorials to shape public opinion and policy according to their personal views is an old one in American journalism. William Randolph Hearst, for example, often wrote front-page editorials for his newspapers. Mr. Bloomberg, it would seem, is casting himself in that mold, though there are no plans for him to begin writing signed editorials. For now, he is content letting his trusted deputies speak for him.

"He's accepting and embracing the privilege of a media mogul," said David Nasaw, a professor of history at the City University of New York Graduate Center, who wrote a biography of Hearst. "This is what we all do. We try to persuade the rest of the world we are right. Of course we don't have the vehicles to do so. The rich have the vehicles to do so."

Mr. Winkler said: "There's a huge opportunity here for Bloomberg L.P. and Bloomberg News to seize the day, literally seize the day by bringing wisdom to events as they unfold. And one can't always do that with the best result with reporting."

"That certainly is a benefit to the founder of the company, the man. But it is also a huge opportunity for Bloomberg, the company, that it should take advantage of," Mr. Winkler added.

Bloomberg L.P. acquired BusinessWeek last year, giving the 29-year-old company a print product with a long legacy of accomplishment.

Bloomberg is in the midst of an expansion in Washington. With a service called Bloomberg Government, an operation that will eventually employ 300 journalists and analysts, the company will sell, for $5,700 a year, information about government services and contracts to lobbyists and others with business interests in the nation's capital.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 7:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Germany: pullout from Afghanistan to start in 2011

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Thu Dec 16 06:02:08 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Germany: pullout from Afghanistan to start in 2011

BERLIN (AP) - Germany's foreign minister is playing down the country's expectations for Afghanistan's future while reiterating that German troops will start their withdrawal by the end of next year as planned. Guido Westerwelle told parliament December 16 that after nearly a decade in Afghanistan, Germany has "more realistic expectations" for the country, saying that Berlin is no longer expecting good governance but the more achievable goal of "good-enough governance." Westerwelle says German troops will start withdrawing as planned in late 2011 and start handing over the responsibility to Afghan authorities by the middle of next year. He says the last of Germany's current 4,600 troops are to leave by 2014, saying the withdrawal must not endanger allied troops or leave the country in the hands of the Taliban.

RELEASE
IN FULL

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 7:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: (AP) Palestinians seek state recognition in Europe

**From**: Withers, Anne M
**To**: NEWS-Mahogany
**Cc**: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-I
**Sent**: Thu Dec 16 06:02:26 2010
**Subject**: (AP) Palestinians seek state recognition in Europe

RAMALLAH (AP) - Palestinian negotiators are for the first time asking European countries to recognize a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, even without a peace deal with Israel. The move is part of growing Palestinian campaign to pursue statehood outside of peace talks with Israel, which have been deadlocked since September. Palestinian officials say they asked the consuls general of France, Britain, Sweden and Denmark as well as the European Union envoy to the peace process to recognize the 1967 borders between Israel and "Palestine." The EU says it will recognize a Palestinian state "when appropriate," but that negotiations are the only way to peace.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 9:28 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: From Pakistan

**From:** Kati Marton [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 9:16 AM
**To:** Kati Marton
**Subject:** From Pakistan

------ Forwarded Message
**From:** ahmed rashid [redacted] B6
**Date:** Wed, 15 Dec 2010 12:38:53 +0000
**To:** Kati Marton [redacted] B6
**Subject:** ahmed

# Richard Holbrooke, Pakistan's hero: He had a vision for our future

New York Daily News.

By Ahmed Rashid <http://www.nydailynews.com/authors/Ahmed%20Rashid> Wednesday, December 15th 2010, 4:00 AM

No American has tried as hard to ease the fears, apprehensions, doubts, conspiracy theories and ill-informed views of Pakistanis toward the U.S. <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/United+States> as has Richard Holbrooke <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Richard+Holbrooke> . His death is a tragedy for American diplomacy - but much more so for Pakistan <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Pakistan> , because whether you liked him or disliked him, there is no denying that in the last two years, he constantly battled for Pakistan.

The image of Holbrooke wading through floodwater, distributing relief goods to this year's 20 million flood victims - not once but repeatedly at the ripe age of 69 - is an indelible one, that our own much younger leaders barely ever replicated. He pushed for U.S. helicopters to be deployed in Pakistan for the flood victims. He pushed for more aid money for Pakistan from a reluctant Congress.

He helped start a dialogue on a dozen different issues - which will be his lasting legacy - and he pushed Pakistan, especially its army, to change its ways. Under the proverbial cover of national interest, we Pakistanis never made life easier for him or for ourselves by confronting the new realities of terrorism, our lack of political leadership or our collapsing economy.

But Holbrooke soldiered on.

At times he may have been aggressive and pushy, loud and boisterous, too quintessentially American, too bluntly New York <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/New+York> .

But ultimately none of that mattered, because he bought to the table for the first time - after the preferred ignorance of the Bush administration and its lackadaisical love affair with Gen. Pervez Musharraf <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Pervez+Musharraf> - a strategic vision to the U.S.-Pakistan relationship.

What was this vision? That America would remain committed to Pakistan's progress over the long term, even after the Afghanistan <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Afghanistan> war was over, and that it would help improve Pakistani relations with India <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/India> .

This was crucial: Unlike many who came before him and will come after, Holbrooke thought Pakistan was important for its own sake, not just because America wanted to defeat the Taliban <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/The+Taliban> in Afghanistan or solidify trade relationships with India.

He recognized the deep feelings of mistrust and ambivalence that still exist in Pakistan toward the U. S. He knew better than anyone in the U.S. administration that diplomacy makes a difference when diplomats deal with the realities on the ground - and not a preconceived image of what should be.

We should remember that all this time, Holbrooke battled the odds back in Washington <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Washington%2c+DC> . The Obama administration <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Barack+Obama> was and is heavily divided between the Obama-controlled White House <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/The+White+House> , the Hillary Clinton <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Hillary+Clinton> -controlled State Department <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/U.S.+Department+of+State> - in which he was her key adviser on global issues - and the all-powerful Pentagon. Not to speak of a Congress that, even when Democratic-controlled, kept trying to put awkward strings on aid to Pakistan, which Holbrooke opposed.

Holbrooke was a pain in the rear end for many of these power centers. At times he was ignored by the White House or by the Pentagon <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/The+Pentagon> . At other times he was castigated by Congress. But Holbrooke, a strong-willed man, stuck to his convictions.

Whoever comes after him will be far less likely to have that strength of character - call it pigheadedness, if you like - and that will be a great loss.

It is especially problematic as Pakistan's future continues to teeter. The military still gives sanctuary to the Taliban. Extremism is still spreading. The international community still raises fears about the safety of its nuclear weapons. As the end game in Afghanistan approaches, some in Pakistan are pressuring against a final settlement of hostilities there.

Some in America will be happy to have a thorn removed from their sides. But many Pakistanis will remember Richard Holbrooke fondly: He was tirelessly fighting for a more stable future for our country. We have lost a friend, and whoever replaces him will never quite measure up.

*Rashid is author of "Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia <http://www.nydailynews.com/topics/Central+Asia> ."*

------ End of Forwarded Message

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**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 9:30 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** FW: The Envoy

THE NEW YORKER
December 14, 2010

## The Envoy

Posted by *Hendrik Hertzberg*

Last night, as I was unlocking my bike on a windswept Greenwich Village sidewalk after leaving a holiday party, a friend approached, cell phone in hand. A few minutes earlier, she and I had been inside, chatting happily amid the buzz and warmth of a holiday party. Now she had tears in her eyes. "Richard Holbrooke died," she said.

Notwithstanding the hospital bulletins since he fell ill on Saturday—critical condition, damaged aorta, emergency surgery—this sudden, awful ending was a shock, because Richard Holbrooke was such an astounding volcano of vitality. Everything about him was large: his physical size, including the ultimate "in your face" face, a face like a Times Square billboard; his buzz-saw voice, a highly expressive instrument, equally adept at *piano* (a side-of-the-mouth, gossipy wisecrack, often pleasingly nasty) and *forte* (a high-decibel outburst of anger or indignation, almost always calculated for effect); his appetites (for experience, for danger, for praise, for power, for fun); and his ambitions (for himself, for his beliefs, for the United States, for the world). He was no doe-eyed peacenik, but as a diplomat he labored long and hard to seek alternatives to war and ways to end particular wars. He was sentimental about his own unsentimentality, romantic about his own tough-guy realism.

Unlike my tearful informant, who had known Holbrooke as a family friend since she was a little girl, I was acquainted with him in the casual way of many journalists and editors. He was a peer as well as a "source," a prolific and forceful writer whose favorite venues, *The New Republic* and *The New Yorker*, happened to be the places where I've spent my working life. He was gregarious and fond of big, splashy black-tie evenings. The last time I saw him was six weeks ago, on November 1st, at the New York Public Library's "Literary Lions" celebration. At the pre-dinner reception, where he would normally have been on his feet, looming large, he repaired to a folding chair behind a little table and let his wife, Kati Marton, bring the party to him. At sixty-nine he was tired—that much was obvious—but he was as sharp and voluble as ever. He still had plenty to do.

Not long after Holbrooke achieved his greatest diplomatic triumph by negotiating the 1995 end to the Balkan wars, I asked him if he liked Warren Zevon's wonderful song "The Envoy." He said he'd never heard of it. The next day I sent him a CD. After that, he mentioned it every single time I've seen him, up to and including that NYPL gala, saying he puts it on, loud, when he needs a lift. And no wonder: his life was a drama, and he liked it that way.

If the Supreme Court had allowed the votes to be counted in 2000, then the Envoy, almost certainly, would have become the Secretary of State, and the next decade would have unfolded very differently. As it is, Holbrooke has left a stronger, more positive, more creative mark on history than all but a few of those who have held that post. He certainly did not die of a broken heart—Kati Marton saw to that—but it was surely the ghastly, impossible demands of his last, impossible assignment that

brought on the rending of his aorta. He died for his country as surely as any soldier. And his deathbed words may turn out to be the most important he ever spoke.

*Photograph: Marco Di Lauro/Getty Images*

Read more
http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/hendrikhertzberg/2010/12/holbrooke.html?printable=true#ixzz18HjNL4kn

**From:** Kati Marton [mailto:
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 9:15 AM
**To:** Kati Marton
**Subject:** The Envoy

B6

http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/hendrikhertzberg/2010/12/holbrooke.html

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Stern, Todd D (S/SECC) <SternTD@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 10:08 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** update

Hi. Sorry I haven't had a chance to see you, but I did want you to hear directly from me that it was a great result in Cancun. Way beyond any expectations. Many challenges ahead, but a very good day for us and a great day for Mexico. Have a very happy holiday if I don't see you before. Best, Todd

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 7:06 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fwd: FW: Richard (TNR)

I assume you saw this by now -- if not, it's worth a read.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Sullivan, Jacob J** <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Date: Wed, Dec 15, 2010 at 1:21 PM
Subject: FW: Richard (TNR)
To: [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Published on *The New Republic* (http://www.tnr.com)

# Richard

- Leon Wieseltier
- December 14, 2010 | 3:16 pm

[redacted]

Richard Holbrooke was a piece of work. He was a paradoxical man: a remarkably subtle thinker capable of the most egregious lack of subtlety, a brilliant diplomat with one of the least diplomatic temperaments anybody ever encountered. He was always cunning but never malevolent. Mentally, he was sleepless, relentlessly pondering the meanings of even the most trivial events and experiences. (An example: Decades ago Holbrooke was strolling down Madison Avenue with a friend. A man passed them and said "Hi, Dick". Holbrooke stopped in his tracks, turned to his friend, and said: "I wonder what he meant by that." Sleepless.) His powers of observation were extraordinary, the cognitive advantage of his utter extroversion; and they were matched by his massive powers of analysis, which never shut down. He was a disorderly man with an ordered mind; there was rigorous reflection at the heart of the whirlwind. He was, almost preposterously, in constant motion, a stranger to calm, a bull in search of a china shop; but in his thinking, and in his commitment to his country, he was one of the steadiest men on earth.

The legend of his career, and the flamboyance of his person, has obscured a proper recognition of his commitments. Holbrooke was not only a student of power; he was also a creature of beliefs. What he believed in most of all, I think, was in the ability, and the duty, of the United States, by a variety of means, to better the world. He was, in his cast of mind, a realist, but his cast of mind was not his philosophy: this realist—the Democrats' most accomplished Machiavellian—was always returning to first principles, to moral considerations, to the alleviation of human suffering and the spread of political liberty as goals of American statecraft. He came away from his early years in Vietnam with lessons but without a syndrome. He was unanguished about the use of American force, when it was morally justified and intelligently applied—which is to say, he was the last of the postwar liberals. Even in his most virulent criticism of what he regarded as America's military mistakes abroad, there was not a trace of the temptation to surrender a high sense of America's role in history. Isolationism disgusted him. He had a natural understanding, it was almost an attribute of his character, of the relationship between diplomacy and force. He had no illusions about the harshness of the world, and therefore about the toughness that is required for the creation of a world less harsh. His last assignment, the increasingly Sisyphean attempt to bring Afghanistan into the community of open and decent societies, was a bet on this sober and unsentimental optimism. He cared famously about what worked, and he could be brazen in his pragmatism, but Holbrooke's professional life was animated by goals and concepts that no mere pragmatist could share. American interventionism, for him, was not just a policy; it was a way of existing responsibly in the world, the measure of a national (and personal) ideal, the real greatness of a great power.

It was this rare package of means and ends, of ideas and instruments, that made possible Holbrooke's triumph at Dayton. He negotiated a peace with a villain whom he deeply despised, and thereby ended a genocide in which we, the United States, and an administration from his own party, had outrageously acquiesced. In this way he helped to restore the honor of his country after a period of disgrace. On the day that Holbrooke suffered the cataclysmic collapse from which he never recovered, *The New York Times* reported that Henry Kissinger—the Republicans' most accomplished Machiavellian—remarked in 1973 that "if they put Jews into gas chambers in the Soviet Union, it is not an American concern. Maybe a humanitarian concern." Such unforgettably filthy words would never have crossed Richard Holbrooke's lips. In government and out, not least in his groundbreaking work at Refugees International, his career was a loud and effective refutation of that chilling "maybe."

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We were friends for almost three decades. He was a constant source of fascination—I had never before encountered such a union of intrigue and idealism; but mostly he inspired admiration and affection. Now the unstoppable man has been stopped, and the man who was everywhere is nowhere. If only he could have gotten the angel of death around a table....

*Leon Wieseltier is the literary editor of* The New Republic.

**Source URL:** http://www.tnr.com/article/79956/richard-holbrooke-wieseltier-obituary

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 7:41 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Fw: Wyden

**From:** Terrell, Louisa
**To:** McKeon, Brian P. ; Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M
**Sent:** Thu Dec 16 17:42:46 2010
**Subject:** FW: Wyden

B6
B6

- **Sen. Ron Wyden Has Early Stage Prostate Cancer, Will Miss Votes**

Posted Thursday, December 16, 2010 5:06 PM | By **David Weigel**

Here is the statement -- Wyden caught the cancer early, but will have to miss votes tomorrow and next week.

> After my annual physical in late November, I was diagnosed with early stage prostate cancer. After reviewing all the options with multiple physicians, I decided to take a proactive approach and have surgery, which will be performed December 20 at Johns Hopkins Hospital by Dr. Alan Partin.
>
> Thanks to routine screening, this was diagnosed very early and I expect a full and speedy recovery.
>
> I scheduled the surgery for the Monday before Christmas anticipating that the Senate would have recessed by that time and that there would be no disruption to my work in Oregon or Washington. However, it now appears that I will be missing votes tomorrow and possibly next week while I prepare and undergo this procedure. I expect to be back to work full-time when the Senate reconvenes in January.
>
> If anything is taken away from my experience, I hope it is the importance of getting routine physicals. One in six men will be diagnosed with prostate cancer during their lifetimes. Early detection is critical to catching this disease when treatment is most effective.

Wyden's vote is one Democrats are counting on for tough votes; he's needed to pass the START treaty, the omnibus, and possibly the DREAM Act. According to current vote counts, it would be possible for the Senate to repeal DADT without Wyden's vote -- with the support of key Republicans, vote counters say they're at 61 or 62.

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Verma, Richard R <VermaRR@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 8:09 PM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** Senate

Big change of plans in the Senate. Senator Reid just announced that he was no longer going to move forward with the omnibus appropriations bill. Instead, he filed cloture motions on the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell and the DREAM Act.

Those petitions will ripen on Saturday. So it looks like the Senate will be again considering the new START Treaty tomorrow. We should know the starting time shortly.

RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
**Sent:** Thursday, December 16, 2010 10:52 PM
**To:** H
**Subject:** Re: Fwd: FW: Richard (TNR)

K

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Dec 16 22:47:26 2010
Subject: Fw: Fwd: FW: Richard (TNR)

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] B6
To: H
Sent: Thu Dec 16 19:05:54 2010
Subject: Fwd: FW: Richard (TNR)

I assume you saw this by now -- if not, it's worth a read.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Date: Wed, Dec 15, 2010 at 1:21 PM
Subject: FW: Richard (TNR)
To: jake.sullivar [redacted] B6

http://www.tnr.com/sites/default/themes/tnr/images/tnr_sm.gif
<https://mail.google.com/mail/?ui=2&ik=a030c007cd&view=att&th=12ceb44d4b083506&attid=0.1&disp=emb&zw>

Published on The New Republic (http://www.tnr.com <http://www.tnr.com/> )

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Richard

* Leon Wieseltier
* December 14, 2010 | 3:16 pm

http://www.tnr.com/sites/default/files/imagecache/detail_page/holbrooke1.JPG
<https://mail.google.com/mail/?ui=2&ik=a030c007cd&view=att&th=12ceb44d4b083506&attid=0.2&disp=emb&zw>

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RELEASE IN PART B6

**From:** PVerveer [redacted] B6
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 12:12 AM
**To:** H
**Subject:** From [redacted] B6

From: [redacted] B6
To: PVerveer [redacted] B6
CC: alyseneIson [redacted] B6
Sent: 12/14/2010 4:04:15 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
Subj: Hello

Hi dear Melanne and Alyse,
Hope this email reaches you at good time. [redacted] B6
[redacted] B6

[redacted] Please B6
let me know if I can be of any help to your department and will happy to do and please thank Mrs. Hillary Clinton on behalf of me [redacted] and B6
supporting Afghan women.

Thank you,

[redacted] B6

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 10:42 AM
**To:** H
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma
**Subject:** FW: Note for Secretary Clinton
**Attachments:** President Karzai.jpg

See below.

**From:** Eikenberry, Karl W
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 10:11 AM
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Ruggiero, Frank J; Sullivan, Jacob J
**Cc:** Wayne, E Anthony
**Subject:** Note for Secretary Clinton

Madam Secretary,

The outpouring of condolences from the international community and the Afghans for Richard's passing has been extraordinary. We have had a steady flow of visitors from the NATO and diplomatic community and, most importantly, Afghans of every walk of life for several days who have come to sign the condolence book.

Today, during my weekly meeting with President Karzai, I took along the condolence book to be signed at the Palace. President Karzai signed and wrote a nice tribute to Richard and graciously allowed us to bring an Embassy photographer to memorialize the occasion. A photograph is attached. We will separately arrange for a copy to be signed by President Karzai for Kati.

Separately, I would ask that you thank Mike Mullen for permitting the USO show with which he is traveling to stage an unprecedented performance at the U.S. Embassy today. Allowing Embassy Kabul to be the site of a USO show in Afghanistan was very gracious of Mike as normally USO shows are only held at military bases. We had an extraordinary turnout of our civilian and military team from all over Kabul gathered today to see Robin Williams and other entertainers. Mike remains a real champion of our civil-military cooperation and teamwork.

Respectfully,

Karl

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.